



EDITED BY
AGUSTINA MARTIRE, BIRGIT HAUSLEITNER
AND JANE CLOSSICK

EVERYDAY STREETS

INCLUSIVE APPROACHES TO
UNDERSTANDING AND DESIGNING STREETS

 **UCLPRESS**

Everyday Streets

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*Inclusive approaches to
understanding and
designing streets*

Edited by Agustina Martire, Birgit Hausleitner
and Jane Clossick

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Introduction

Agustina Martire, Birgit Hausleitner and
Jane Clossick

Everyday streets are both the most used and the most undervalued of cities' public spaces. They constitute the inclusive backbone of urban life – the chief civic amenity – though they are challenged by optimisation processes. Everyday streets are as profuse, rich and complex as the people who use them; they are places of social aggregation, bringing together those belonging to different classes, genders, ages, ethnicities and nationalities. They comprise not just the familiar outdoor spaces that we use to move and interact and the facades that are commonly viewed as their primary component but also urban blocks, interiors, depths and hinterlands, which are integral to their nature and contribute to their vitality. Everyday streets are physically and socially shaped by the lives of the people and things that inhabit them through a reciprocal dance with multiple overlapping temporalities. This book offers an analysis of many aspects of everyday streets. It examines examples from all over the globe using a range of methodological approaches. It is a palimpsest of overlapping examples, methods and perspectives that provides a solid understanding of everyday streets and their degree of inclusiveness. This book comes at a critical moment, as the Covid-19 pandemic has highlighted the importance of streets as the linear centre of urban life, pushing people out of enclosed spaces and into the public realm.

The primary focus of this book is an inclusive approach to understanding and designing everyday streets. 'Inclusive' means accessible to everybody, with 'accessibility' covering social and economic factors in addition to physical factors. Inclusiveness is not always prioritised in street design. In fact, everyday streets have often been the focus of vehicle-focused 'optimisation' processes. Of course, optimisation for

cars reduces inclusiveness for pedestrians. Julienne Hanson (2004) describes inclusive design as ‘creating environments and products that are usable by all, without the need for specialist adaptation or design’. Tihomir Viderman and Sabine Knierbein (2019) go a step further, suggesting an ‘inclusive design praxis’ that includes a ‘collective capacity to negotiate belonging, to appropriate space and to contest structural constraints through practices of improvising and inventing that are part of everyday life’. The central question framing this book’s descriptions of everyday streets is as follows: *What qualities and processes make everyday streets inclusive places?*

The everyday streets covered in this book were all planned to some degree, whether by engineers, urban planners or the military. We do not discuss informal development processes – that would be far beyond the scope of this book – though it is important to note that everydayness also emerges in informal and peri-urban areas. From the regular rectilinear urban blocks of Montreal to the military-regulated narrow alleyways of Naples; from the resilient market streets of London to the crammed commercial streets of Chennai, the streets in this book were all conceived with a certain level of control. This universal fact enables us to, at the end of the book, make recommendations on the planning and design of everyday streets aimed at increasing their inclusiveness.

What is an everyday street?

Everyday streets constitute the backbone of all urban settlements. They are not merely routes from one place to another; they are linear centres of civic activity where much of everyday life takes place. As expressed by Allan B. Jacobs, ‘Streets are more than public utilities, more than the equivalent of water lines and sewers and electrical cables; more than linear physical spaces that permit people and goods to get from here to there’ (1995, 3). The kinds of streets that we explore in this book are never purely residential or monofunctional; they bring together most of the activities carried out in people’s everyday life. They have precise technical functions for the movement of people and traffic. They host services, sewers and a wide mix of both commercial and civic uses. They have depth and hinterlands, which themselves serve a wide range of functions – including residential functions – contributing to their ‘everydayness’. However, they also have a diverse set of forms and meanings that extend beyond physical functionality

into the economic, social, historical and political realms. Our interpretation of these streets' significance is based on the idea of the everyday (Lefebvre 1991; Lefebvre 1947; De Certeau 1984; De Certeau 1980; Highmore 2012), as a palimpsest of the ordinary and extraordinary in constant flux.

The phenomenon that we term an 'everyday street' has many names. It is also referred to as 'mixed-use street', 'high street' (Carmona 2015; Jones et al. 2007) and, more recently in the UK, 'ordinary street' (Hall 2012). It is also called 'hoogstraat' (street on top of a dijk) (Dings 2017) and 'voorstraat' (front street) in the Netherlands (Meyer 2005), 'main street' in the US (Jacobs 1993; Mehta 2010) and 'Hauptstrasse' (main street) in German-speaking countries. In other languages, cultural, historical and typological contexts determine how these streets are named. Swahili, for example, uses 'mtaa Mkuu' (general street), while Vietnamese uses 'đường lớn' (big street). Generic words such as 'calle' (Spanish), 'rue' (French) and 'Ōdōri' (Japanese) indicate that most streets in these places have 'everyday' qualities. We employ Anna Skoura's term 'everyday streets' (this volume) because it captures the vast range of forms that these streets can take.

Each everyday street has a life of its own, shaped by the histories and cultures of the people who have resided on or passed through it. The term 'everyday' effectively captures the variety inherent in these streets; it is inclusive of all types of civic and social life. As Jan Gehl said, 'The street is the largest stage in the city, and the most used'. Spiro Kostof called the street 'a complex civic institution, culture specific and capable of dazzling formal variation and calculated nuance' (1992, 220). Joseph Rykwert defined streets as 'human movement institutionalised' (1978, 15). Everyday streets act as a space that hosts the performance of everyday life – whatever form it takes. They are rich, layered and multifaceted; they contain more intriguing elements than a single book, or even a whole library, could ever hope to capture.

Despite long being the backbone of urban settlements, everyday streets have only recently come to be considered a significant element of a city's heritage. Introduced in the 1960s, the concept of urban heritage long favoured the aesthetic qualities of buildings and monuments rather than their everyday uses. However, since the advent of the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach (Rodwell 2010, 100), the culture of giving value to urban areas has become embedded in heritage scholarship. This approach goes beyond considering the beauty and age of streets' built fabric; it values the continuity of use types within buildings, the local roots of shops, communal senses of ownership, their

function as a cultural route linking different parts of the city, and the small everyday practices adopted by users. For our authors, the cultural heritage of spatial and material practices is equally as significant as the physical heritage of monuments and museums.

Everyday streets, in both their heritage and contemporary uses, are the product of their local neighbourhood; they are never generic, and they are most significant for those who do not have the financial means to go elsewhere. Streets have been described as ‘rooms’ by Louis Kahn (1973) – significant urban spaces that are highly local and domestic in nature. However, they are simultaneously a manifestation of global forces, linking people and economic activity to a locality (Hall 2012). The capacity of everyday streets to host social and demographic diversity is boundless; they tend to host various classes, genders, races and religions, which often results in negotiation and conflict between groups. Sam Griffiths and Phil Hubbard have commented on local culture and class on streets, concluding that everyday streets appear as key sites for the ‘realisation and perpetuation of locality’ (Griffiths 2015, 32), playing ‘an important economic and social role in the lives of working class populations’ (Hubbard 2017, 8). Sharon Zukin and colleagues also highlighted the ordinary nature of streets and links between the local and global (2015). Therefore, everyday streets also play an important role in the creation of sustainable neighbourhoods (UN Habitat 2014) by serving as places of mutual support and social integration. From Melbourne to Montreal, from village to metropolis, everyday streets are everywhere; understanding their variations and nuances is crucial to grasping the role that they play in society.

A brief history of everyday streets: inclusion, optimisation and value

In the design of everyday streets, there is constant conflict between inclusion and optimisation. We propose that everyday streets have value beyond profit optimisation. They are capable of fostering the inclusion of different age groups, cultures, ethnicities and genders, yet optimisation generally prioritises aspects that result in the exclusion of certain groups by neglecting particular aspects of streets’ value. The everyday street is a multi-layered and complex system that operates at many scales, so it is impossible to predict what may be lost through optimisation. Optimisation at one scale, such as increasing traffic

speeds, can hinder important elements at other scales, such as people's ability to have a quiet conversation.

Everyday streets have always been places where multiple uses and users jostle for space. The first-century streets of Rome featured traffic regulations (van Tilburg 2011). Seventeenth-century urbanisation resulted in everyday streets having copious sanitation problems (Rudofsky 1968). Eighteenth-century streets were cluttered with traffic jams and excessive trade (Corfield 1990). In the nineteenth century, rapid urban growth and industrialisation resulted in streets being noisy, loaded with traffic and highly polluted (Cartwright 1973). The urban plans devised to deal with this problem (Burnham and Bennett 1908; Cerda 1859; Hausmann 1850s; Sitte 1889; Stübgen 1907) carefully managed the relationship between different modes of transport. However, the growth of motor vehicle dependence in the twentieth century resulted globally in highly regulated systems of urban segregation that optimised streets and roads for car use.

The conflict between inclusion and optimisation aligned with twentieth-century modernist movements in architecture and urban planning. The demise of the traditional everyday street was made clear by plans for new and existing cities in the 1960s. Le Corbusier, Josep Lluís Sert and Lucio Costa, among others, denied the importance of the street by advocating for the separation of its functions, the prioritisation of motorised traffic and the disruption of the way streets had traditionally been used. In fact Le Corbusier defined the street as 'a traffic machine' (1929, 131), stating: 'Streets are an obsolete notion. There ought not to be such things as streets; we have to create something that will replace them' (1933, 121). Transport policy, such as Buchanan's (1963) *Traffic in Towns* in the UK, slum clearance and urban renewal in the US and other similar approaches around the world, instituted the domination of car-centric planning. Post-war reconstruction in Europe and rapid population growth in the US and the Global South meant that, by the 1960s, most cities across the world were undertaking a systematic and unprecedented investment in car-focused infrastructure (Kingsley and Urry 2009).

Despite the predominance of cars in cities across the world, many streets have survived as inclusive and resilient public spaces that are central to their local civic and economic life. Car-focused modernist urbanism has faced a wave of criticism since it was introduced, with critics denouncing modern land-use and zoning policies in the US and Europe as detached from the lives and experiences of local people (e.g. Alexander 1977; Appleyard 1980; Cullen 1961; Jacobs 1961; Lynch

1960; Rudofsky 1968; Whyte 1980). These critical writers, journalists and architects recognised the flaws of urban schemes that obliterated traditional street systems. Jane Jacobs gave sidewalks a leading role in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), which discussed the importance of ground-floor uses and 'eyes on the street'. Lewis Mumford (1958) argued early on that motorways were not the proper solution for the future growth of cities, while Richard Rogers (1984) highlighted the role of the car in 'undermining the cohesive social structure of the city'. Donald Appleyard (1973) used drawings to highlight the damage done by traffic to neighbourhood streets, and William H. Whyte (1980) emphasised the importance of streets as central to the placemaking process. The late twentieth century saw a return to the town centre as the focus of human life; in fact, Tim Marshall described this return to traditional urban streets as 'one of the most significant reversals in urban design history' (2005, 9).

The 2020s are witnessing another street transformation. The push to minimise the dominance of cars led by Northern European cities since the 1970s has finally begun to influence the rest of the world (Agervig Carstensen and Ebert 2012; Gehl 1989; Gehl 2015; Pucher and Buehler 2008). Latin American cities, such as Bogotá, Medellín and Curitiba, have since the 1970s introduced temporary and permanent 'ciclovías', while also prioritising public transport over private cars. The Covid-19 pandemic served as a catalyst for this change, with cities around the world opening more outdoor public spaces to encourage and facilitate social distancing. Groups in the UK, the US and Europe have been a part of this push to make streets more inclusive and replace cars with multi-modal transport systems. The Project for Public Spaces (Whyte 1975), Create Streets (Boys Smith 2013), Manual for Streets (Hamilton-Bailie 2007), The City at Eye Level (Glaser 2012) and Human Cities (2006) have all advocated for more inclusive streets. Cities like Pontevedra in Spain have completely pedestrianised their main centres, boosting local foot traffic, while the recent removal of urban motorways in Paris, Seoul, San Francisco and Madrid has transformed swathes of land in city centres (Nieuwenuijzen 2021). While the editors and authors of this book consider these efforts to be largely positive, we must remain vigilant to ensure that they do not merely benefit the affluent to the detriment of less privileged groups. This harmful type of optimisation is common, and often subtle and overlooked.

The ordinary is extraordinary: understanding and designing everyday streets

Everyday life, epitomised by the street's ubiquity, is sometimes understood as a scene of 'relentless boredom' – ordinary and mundane. Here, we aim to emphasise the opposite view – to show that streets are, in Highmore's words, 'a problem, a contradiction, a paradox: both ordinary and extraordinary, self-evident and opaque, known and unknown, obvious and enigmatic' (Highmore 2002). Rita Felski uses feminist theory to critique the way in which modern literature depicts everyday life and its 'congealed patterns', suggesting that the 'work of theory is to break the spell of the habitual and the everyday' (2000, 90). This is the precise challenge that we have set for ourselves in this book. Its chapters are as revolutionary as Lefebvre (1974) would expect, showing that streets are saturated by the dominance of powerful interests in how they are transformed (De Certeau 1984) while maintaining the humour and serendipity that Walter Benjamin (1935, 1999) often discussed in his accounts of the everyday. We dispel the idea that the everyday is either mundane or extraordinary; instead, the everyday is in a state of constant flux between mundane and extraordinary.

Understanding what a street really is – in all its layering and richness – is complicated. In addition to assessing everyday streets' inclusiveness, our objective is to highlight the importance of learning about streets and never taking them for granted. Everyday streets may be 'ordinary' spaces (Hall 2012), but they are nonetheless multifaceted, layered and rich. They undoubtedly warrant academic attention. Shedding light on what Highmore (2002) calls the 'ordinary and the extraordinary of the everyday' and Solnit (2000) calls the 'errand and the epiphany', the chapters in this book seek to expose the everyday street in all its glory. Framed by the overarching question of what qualities and processes make everyday streets inclusive places, we aim to answer the following three questions: *How do people's social lives interact with everyday streets? What is the relationship between the urban form of everyday streets and the activities that occur there? What methodologies are best suited to capturing the multiplicity and complexity of everyday streets?* This book is divided into three sections, each of which explores one of these three questions.

Part I: The social life of everyday streets. This section examines the social processes taking place on streets across the world. It explores the social and historical institution of streets, evaluates cases of touristification, ritual and displacement, and looks at the role of women, ethnic minorities and working-class people.

Part II: The form and use of everyday streets. This section focuses on the relationship between urban form and everyday street activities. It explores diverse geographies, topographies, morphologies, uses and users, and examines how these factors are interdependent and mutually influential.

Part III: Localography. This section explores the range of methods and approaches that may be employed to assess the nuances of streets. It uses walks, recordings, drawings, occupations, installations and more traditional social science methods to analyse the subtle nuances of everyday streets across a wide variety of locations.

This book, like the StreetSpace project from which it grew, transcends the disciplinary boundaries of architecture and aims to revolutionise the methodological approach to the study of everyday streets. The copious diverse qualities that make up streets must be explored further in a way that avoids institutional and regional silos. This book aims to kickstart that process. StreetSpace has encouraged a new kind of interdisciplinary and democratic understanding of everyday streets. In this book we enrich the existing discussion by presenting perspectives from various authors, places and fields, enabling readers to compare and contrast different ideas while opening up new lines of inquiry for understanding and designing everyday streets. The book's stylistic and methodological diversity offers new perspectives on everyday streets, effectively delineating their urgencies. The knowledge presented in this book can inform the practices of urban planners, architects and designers.

Finally, this book has a political objective: to reclaim street spaces for people. We do not claim to write from a neutral position. This book is a manifesto for streets. It aims to help them resist car-focused and commercial optimisation, which sucks away the socio-spatial characteristics that make streets useful to unprivileged groups. In the spirit of Dennis Crow's philosophical streets, we believe that combining theoretical concepts with empirical research can 'remove barriers to citizen participation on policy making, break down ... stereotypes and

examine the long-term global consequences of uneven development’ (1990, 5). This book aims to ‘[fight] against the pro-gentrification agendas implicit in British retail policy’ (Hubbard 2017, 8). It is valuable to support and maintain everyday streets as diverse, significant and slowly evolving public places. We must study streets to ensure that their redevelopment and redesign are inclusive and accessible. Everyday streets must be highlighted – they must be protected.

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Part I

The social life of everyday streets

Agustina Martire, Birgit Hausleitner and
Jane Clossick

The first section of this book looks at the social life of everyday streets, aiming to answer the following question: *How do people's social lives interact with everyday streets?* The authors of these chapters discuss the ways in which social processes are linked to the evolving physical fabric of everyday streets, the memories and histories embedded in everyday streets, and everyday streets as sites of conflict where various identity groups negotiate shared spaces. They consider streets in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, Portugal and Australia, making connections between various disciplinary approaches to provide a comprehensive understanding of streets and the ways in which they are experienced across different settings.

The chapters in this section all address, in one way or another, the interdependence between built space and social processes across several scales. On a small scale, David Littlefield addresses the lack of attention paid to built details on streets, particularly those that are not designed by architects (e.g. signage). Analysing one area in Liverpool and another in Belfast, he highlights how the agency of developers and the government is imposed on the inhabitants of everyday streets through small physical details, such as bollards, signs and railings, dictating people's behaviours. On a larger scale, Buckley discusses the relevance of regulation to O'Connell Street in Dublin, detailing how the street creates opportunities for public display but noting that these opportunities are currently being threatened by new public regulations.

In terms of the histories and memories contained within everyday streets, this section's chapters discuss the ways in which streets are inhabited, imagined and memorialised. History contributes to our feelings about places, with ideas and images about particular places

passed down through generations. However, streets have not featured prominently in our collective history. Rudofsky (1969) highlighted the general lack of interest in streets as independent units. Kostof (1992) agreed, arguing that ‘the history of the street is yet to be written’. Since the early 1990s, however, many attempts have been made to address the absence of streets in our history (e.g. Andersson 2013; Çelik 1994; Jerram 2011; Laitinen and Cohen 2009) through accounts of street histories focused on themes of community, working-class dynamics, gender, surveillance, crime, commerce, consumption, culture, performance and rituals. In this book, Kate Buckley and James Davis add to these attempts with histories of two streets from different angles. Davis discusses the ordinary and mundane qualities of class and gender in late medieval Cheapside. He identifies behaviours, images and notions of identity in archival documents and discusses the resilience and permanence of socio-cultural behaviours through space and time. Buckley discusses extraordinary practices on O’Connell Street, which both the state and the public use as a site of celebration and protest. Buckley and Davis remind us of how streets are understood as places through history and discuss how ideas of place are enshrined in collective memories and traditions.

Everyday streets engage with inhabitants’ social lives through their physical structure: the configuration of buildings, the thresholds separating the interior and exterior, and public-private dynamics. Urban morphologists (e.g. Caniggia and Maffei 2017; Conzen 1960; Larkham 2006; Vaughan 2018; Vernez Moudon 1987) have found that the evolution of everyday streets boasts continuity but note that the disruption of their fabric often stems from the social processes that they accommodate. The physical, social and historical conditions of everyday streets are intimately linked to the lives of the people who inhabit them. These streets are sites of everyday practices, habits and rituals. O’Connell Street in Dublin hosts funerals, processions and protests; Kate Buckley notes the significance of its location in the city, its spatial layout and design in its ritual functions. Similarly, James Davis’ Cheapside exemplifies the persistence of urban form on a late medieval street, where traditional trade practices still occur despite centuries of social and technological change. The relationship between street fabric and everyday practices is particularly poignant in Agustina Martire and Aisling Madden’s chapter, which covers the demolition of the built fabric of Sailortown in Belfast and how it led to the loss of a working-class neighbourhood’s population, memories and unique local nuances.

With regard to everyday streets being sites of conflict, such conflicts impact people's memories, experiences and senses of place and belonging. The social space of the street has always been contested. Appleyard (1987) described these conflicts as typically benefiting those in power to the detriment of marginal, silenced and disenfranchised groups. Considering the social critique in Hubbard's 'Battle for the High Street' (2008), Manuel Ramos' chapter discusses the gentrification and touristification of Lisbon's Rua das Portas de Santo Antão. Building on David Harvey's idea of the 'right to the city' (2010) and Manuel Delgado's concept of '*urbs*' (1999), Ramos analyses the development of this 'secondary' street from an abandoned side street to a completely touristified main thoroughfare – one that excludes its local residents. Groups and individuals occupy different streets, spaces and thresholds depending on their class, gender, age, race, culture and many other factors.

Also writing on how cultural differences interact with everyday streets, Braker details the organic transformation of Lange Reihe and Steindamm in Hamburg. She discusses the social prejudices exhibited toward one street populated by LGBTQ+ residents and another that houses a Muslim community. The chapter by Gill Matthewson, Nicole Kalms, Jess Berry and Gene Bawden builds on recent international research (Colomina 1992; Davidson 2016; Kern 2020; Pain 1997) on women's experiences of walking city streets at night – the constant feeling of vulnerability – and how they can be influenced by elements of street design. Martire and Madden point out how power structures in places of institutionalised conflict like Belfast can completely transform the infrastructure of streets through a process of control and optimisation, resulting in their complete destruction.

Everyday streets epitomise their locality; they are imbued with the meaning and essence of their local area. Edward Relph (1972) pointed out the need for a more nuanced understanding of place. However, Relph's attempt at a complete definition of 'authenticity' and 'identity' did not leave room for the dynamic and evolving nature of streets. Holloway and Hubbard (2001) drew a connection between the changing nature of the everyday street and its relationship with places, while Tim Cresswell reminded us that place is not just a location but a 'way of understanding the world' (2015, 18). Acknowledging that everyday streets are places can help us to understand the work of Davis, Buckley and Martire/Madden, shedding light on how Cheapside, O'Connell Street and Sailortown respectively are receptacles of meaning and memory. By looking at the fabrics, memories

and conflicts of everyday streets, the chapters that follow expose the nuance, complexity and value of such places.

These chapters touch on the main theme of this book: inclusiveness. They highlight how the physical and regulatory contexts of these streets can lead to the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups or individuals. In Littlefield, for example, the metal studs on the boundary of Liverpool ONE sets a boundary, exerting power over certain members of the population, such as street vendors and those suffering from homelessness. Buckley argues that the regulation of protest could affect the balance between ritual, opposition and dissent, hampering political inclusion. Davis discusses inclusion in the fabric of Cheapside, showing how the street is more egalitarian, mixed and inclusive than its side streets. Braker, through her Hamburg case studies, clearly defines the groups in each street and details how they appropriate space, excluding others in some locations but offering inclusion for all in other locations. The Australian cases boast an explicitly inclusive agenda by exposing the ways in which urban streets exclude women, especially at night. Ramos finds that local people are generally excluded, as RPSA mainly welcomes tourists. The strongest case of spatial exclusion can be found in the chapter by Martire and Madden, which features the demolition of Sailortown and the displacement of its entire community. To achieve inclusiveness, we must consider the needs and social lives of all groups that use and reside on everyday streets.

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Figure 1.0: Maps Liverpool and Belfast © Anna Skoura

1

The agency of small things: indicators of ownership on the streets of Liverpool and Belfast

David Littlefield

Streets are undesigned as much as they are designed. Markers and traces of occupation, ownership and belonging can shape streetscapes beyond the designed intention of architect, planner or urbanist. These signs and visual clues can have a transformative effect, and thus can be considered as having agency – they are ‘things’ of the street just as level changes and building surfaces are things. It is important that all stakeholders concerned with the life of the street consider the agency of small, post hoc and undesigned details – their power is far in excess of their physical presence.

Undesigned streets

Nathaniel Hawthorne knew that streets were places of experience rather than raw dimensions. Describing the principal ‘roughly hewn street’ of seventeenth-century Boston in his 1850 novel *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne observed: ‘It was no great distance, in those days, from the prison-door to the market-place. Measured by the prisoner’s experience, however, it might be reckoned a journey of some length’ (1850, 345). For Hester Prynne (the novel’s central character, on her way to the pillory) a simple walk along the length of the street is transformed into an ordeal by the ‘thousand unrelenting eyes’ of the crowd, the gossip, and the Puritan hoods, hats and beards.

The transformative effect of what is *not designed* by architects or urban designers is familiar to all of us. In parallel to the deliberate, mappable realm of building plot, form, facade, level change etc., there is another realm – this is the realm of temporality, erosion, change,

occupation and day-to-day management that shifts the elegance and simplicity of the architectural intention into a complex and nuanced place that demands a high degree of spatial literacy and sensitivity from those using it. Occasionally this sensitivity flourishes as the poetic imagination: 'I have always preferred the winter to the summer in Istanbul ... I love the overwhelming melancholy when I look at the walls of old apartment buildings and the dark surfaces of neglected, unpainted, fallen-down wooden mansions: only in Istanbul have I seen this texture, this shading,' writes Orhan Pamuk (2006, 31). For others, of a more practical sensibility, the subtle coding of the street has a far more direct agency, indicating degrees of welcome or defining behaviours.

Agency

Agency is key. For the purposes of this paper, I use the term 'agency' in the sense of anything that can 'modify a state of affairs by making a difference' (Latour 2005, 71). Jane Bennett uses the useful phrase 'thing power' (2010, 6) to describe the phenomenon of artefacts (or the *non-human*) performing an active role in the human world. For Bennett, things are not 'passive' but have an 'ability to make things happen' (5), to provoke a response and 'produce effects dramatic and subtle' (6). Things can indeed 'provoke' and 'produce', in the same way as (drawing on Latour's Actor-Network Theory) kettles 'boil' and knives 'cut'. However, I suggest that some care is required when investing things with what you might call verb-power; knives do indeed cut, though any agency surely resides in the human operator of the knife? What the knife does is make a difference to a situation.

Frederic Vandenberghe argued that when agency appears to be a property of an object, it is merely illusory – instead, agency or social power is an emergent property of a 'larger social system in which the nonhumans are embedded' (2002, 60). Agency, in this chapter, is considered within these terms, whereby objects appear to perform a role *as if* their transformative role is an inherent, dynamic, active property of the object itself. 'The root of the trail leads eventually back to humans. However humans are interconnected with nonhumans, at the end of the day, it is humans who encounter nonhumans and endow them with meaning, use or value' (55).

Things can, therefore, exercise power (as we shall see) – though we must remind ourselves that power is negotiated through the relationships that people negotiate with those things. Once humans have endowed

the object with meaning, things far more subtle than knives can make a difference to a situation. What is essential is for both human and object to be present in order for that meaning to manifest itself. ‘Simply put, nonhumans do not have agency by themselves, if only because they are never by themselves’ (Sayes 2014, 144). In locating agency (that power to make a difference) within the relationships between people and things, the role of the material realm is acknowledged, while recognising too what Coole and Frost call its ‘complex, contingent modes of appearing’ (2010, 27). It is also important to consider quite what is meant by a ‘thing’ – a material artefact, yes, but other human constructions such as the rule of law, property ownership and what Jane Clossick calls ‘decorum’ also have the force of things. And these things (the institutions and protocols which direct behaviour) are often mediated by material artefacts such as signs, lines, symbols and other surface phenomena. The social world and symbolic systems become folded into material objects which perform agentic roles when people are brought into relationship with them. However, these are reflexive relationships – by establishing relationships with things, we ourselves are changed.

Here, I consider two places in terms of quotidian or trace characteristics which have agentic properties. In spite of large differences in scale, these places have similarities; both are privately operated, publicly accessible, retail-led schemes at the centre of UK maritime cities. And both can be re-seen through paying very close attention to details which might well go unnoticed by most users of these places: the junction of Paradise Street and *School Lane* in Liverpool, and the Fountain Centre extension to *College Street* in Belfast. Both are representative of the increasing privatisation of public space – certainly in the UK and North America, but also more widely. Such privately owned, publicly accessible places often ‘hide in plain sight’, and are revealed only through the detail, or shifts in regulation, as considered below (much has been written on the subject of privatised space. See especially Layard 2010; Layard 2019, also: Carmona 2010; Carmona 2015; Carmona 2017; De Magalhães 2010; Kohn 2001).

Liverpool ONE and Paradise Street

Liverpool ONE is a 42 acre (17 ha) mixed-use estate developed and owned by Grosvenor in the centre of Liverpool. Constructed in 2004–8, this zone borders a series of conservation and heritage sites such as the Albert Dock and Ropewalks, as well as what was (until this

development expanded and redefined it) the main retail district of Lord and Church streets. In many ways, Liverpool ONE has many of the characteristics of the conventional mall. Flanked by department stores, hotels, multi-storey car parks and service yards, this zone comprises largely pedestrian streets giving access to retail and leisure outlets, as well as some residential and office units, clustered around the open space of Chavasse Park (under which is a further car park). However, unlike a conventional mall, Liverpool One is not encompassed by a unifying roof, and the street spaces within the development are, in fact, rather diverse in terms of scale and response to historic context. Further, one of the defining characteristics of the site is the attempt to integrate these privately owned streets into the urban pattern of Liverpool itself:

Underlying all ideas for regeneration was the following principle: that any development should become an integral part of Liverpool and link almost seamlessly into the city as found. This was not to be a self-contained, inward-facing and self-absorbed scheme which would sit, shiny and in splendid isolation, as a distinct and separate part of Liverpool. (Littlefield 2009, 31)

This is a theme that is reinforced in Liverpool ONE's *Occupier Handbook*, which states: 'Liverpool ONE is not a self-contained shopping centre; we integrate seamlessly with the wider city centre'. However, as a privately owned estate there is, inevitably, a boundary marking the separation between the City of Liverpool and Liverpool One. It is a boundary of some complexity and ambiguity, however, and is better described as zone rather than line. Local maps and visitor guides, which simplify boundaries and omit inconvenient details, indicate the facilities available within the estate but do not address the line of legal property ownership. Physical branding (such as banners and bollards) is often sited deep inside that line of legal ownership, thus visitors may be within the private estate but unaware of it; at other points visitors may feel they are within the Liverpool One estate when, in fact, they are not. 'At one scale, the Liverpool One land registry title shows an almost uniform, uncomplicated block of land with a clear boundary ... but on the ground at a detailed scale, the reality of Liverpool One is a complicated, intricate set of thresholds butting up against the wider city' (Littlefield and Devereux 2018, 19).

The boundary conditions of Liverpool ONE are, in places, very deep. This is especially the case in Paradise Street, a now pedestrianised



Figure 1.1: Paradise Street / School Lane intersection, Liverpool ONE. The deep threshold is characterised by three elements (closest to furthest: security, branding, legal). © David Littlefield

thoroughfare dating back (at least in name) to the 1730s. Characterised by premier retail brands, Paradise Street is something of a destination, although the street also performs what Kevin Lynch would call the connector role, linking the civic buildings close to the principal rail station with the historic docks and ‘Ropewalks’ zone. Approximately one quarter of this street remains under the ownership and administration of Liverpool City Council; the remainder falls under the ownership of Grosvenor Estates as part of the property settlement which underpinned the comprehensive regeneration programme of 2004–8. One of the characteristics, then, of Paradise Street is the boundary condition (if one cares to look for it) marking the transition from public to private ownership.

Figure 1.1 shows this well. Taken from inside Liverpool One looking ‘outwards’, the photograph of Paradise Street at the junction with School Lane captures a zone where three boundary conditions are evident. Closest is the security boundary comprised of bollards which carry the ‘1’ estate logo; approximately seven metres beyond the security boundary is a more visible branding boundary comprising large red banners containing the same ‘1’ logo; approximately

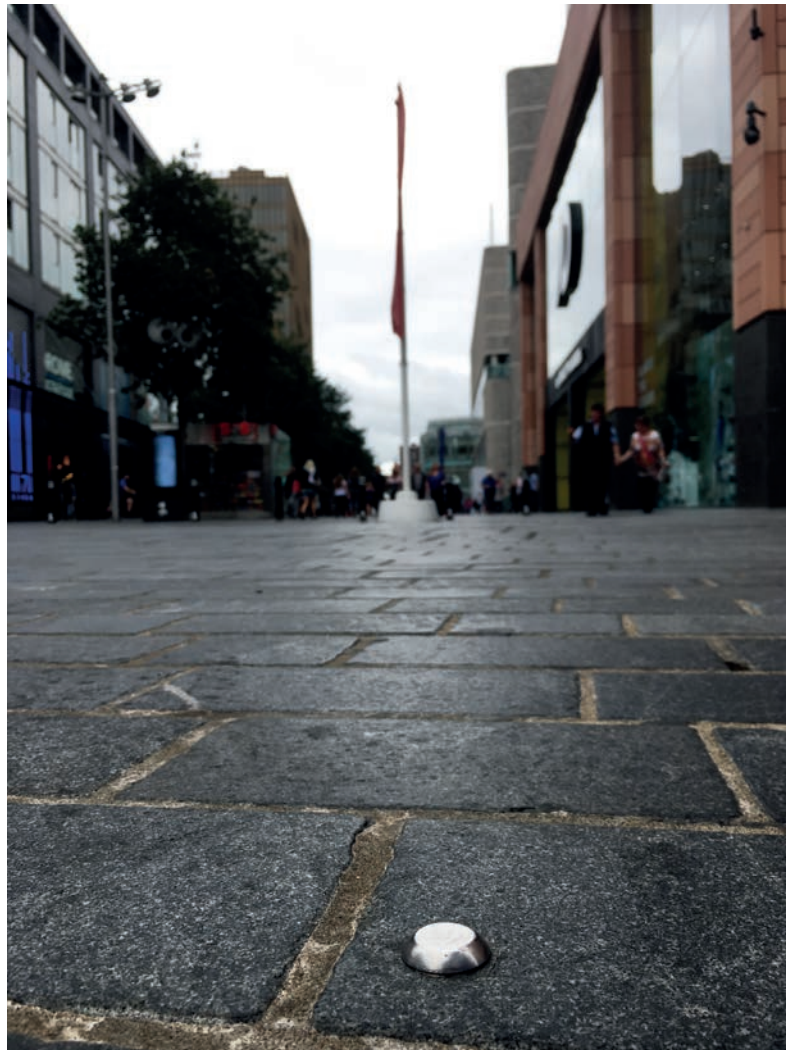


Figure 1.2: Paradise Street, Liverpool ONE; from the outside, looking in. The metal stud reveals the location of the legal ownership boundary.
© David Littlefield

14m deeper into the picture is the third boundary – a series of metal studs set into the paving which indicates the line of legal ownership (Figure 1.2).

Any visitor will therefore traverse approximately 21m from crossing the line representing a shift in property ownership before they encounter the security bollards. These metal studs are located on the



Figure 1.3: Liverpool ONE: metal studs reveal the legal boundary, and are not always situated at the branding boundary. © David Littlefield

legal boundary line around the entire Liverpool One estate, and the example of Paradise Street is not the only occurrence of their spatial separation from the branding line (Figure 1.3). In some respects this is unimportant; the urban integration of Liverpool One into the wider city does imply more of a fuzzy transition from one place to the other rather than the particularity of a measurable edge.

Anecdotally, during a series of ‘walking lectures’ as part of the Being Human Festival, which was sponsored by the UK’s Arts and Humanities Research Council in November 2017, it became clear that participants had little or no sense of where the legal boundary of Liverpool One was situated, even when standing on it.¹ From a general user perspective, the metal studs are either unnoticed or (if noticed) inconsequential; in other words, they have no ‘thing power’ or agency. For others, such as homeless people or informal street vendors, these studs are highly consequential. Representing the shift in ownership from public to private, these innocuous studs signify a dramatic shift in rights and sense of belonging, as well as the powers of security personnel to enforce the regulations of a private estate. Sleeping rough within Liverpool One is forbidden; licensed busking and selling are permitted, meaning that unlicensed vendors must remain on the outside. The locations of a homeless person’s tent (Figure 1.4) and street vendor (Figure 1.5) are not, then, accidental; in these cases, those subtle metal studs have a significance which is out of scale to their physical presence. In terms of *modifying a state of affairs* and *making a difference*, these studs unarguably have agency for particular social groups.

This agency manifests itself in terms of verbs – in that, in relation to particular social groups, these studs operate *as if* they ‘have’ power, ‘prevent’ access and ‘exert’ influence. These studs, arguably, ‘become’ gates and therefore take on a symbolic meaning in a rather extraordinary way. They don’t just *signify* gates; under certain circumstances, or perceived by certain groups, they actually *are* gates.

Rom Harré describes this transformative phenomenon as the creation of ‘social substance’ – the combination of ‘material stuff’ and the ‘properties of some social world’ (2002, 24). He provides the following example: alcohol is mere material stuff; add a narrative, such as transubstantiation, and the result is communion wine – social substance. The socially constructed narrative, then, is key to the agentic power of the object. For those who don’t know the story, the material object loses some or all of its agentic power; but to those privy to the narrative, the physical properties of the object become animated and elevated to a whole new order of expression. ‘An object is transformed from a piece of stuff definable independently of any story-line into a social object by its embedment in a narrative’ (Harré 2002, 25). The metal studs of Liverpool One have no efficacy of their own – there are examples where studs have come loose and disappeared, so the remaining holes perform the agentic role; similarly, you cannot remove a stud and place it elsewhere, thereby shifting the legal boundary;



Figures 1.4 and 1.5: Liverpool ONE: homeless people observing the legal boundary. The tent and the vendor are located outside the boundary that defines the legal limit of the privately owned zone. © David Littlefield

equally, you cannot visit the factory where the studs are made and witness the production of thresholds. The social and agentic performance of the studs in Liverpool is tied into the story they tell – a story of mapping and imaginary lines which make tangible the idea of property ownership. The studs provide a translation service, giving the marks on title deeds a tangible presence in the ‘real world’. For most visitors it is a story that does not need to be read and therefore goes unseen; for disenfranchised groups, however, the text is very legible and it makes a material difference to the manner in which they negotiate the city’s streets.

Belfast’s Fountain Centre

What, then, of texts that are seen and legible to all – the literal sign which *instructs* caution, *forbids* smoking and *warns* of danger? Such signs, which have become ubiquitous, are complex in spite of their apparent simplicity. Webmoor and Witmore, drawing on Latour, describe the ‘gathering’ (2008, 64) of human ideas and invention which have enabled the production of everyday artefacts. ‘Achievements, which involved transactions between various entities and which occurred at a distance in space and linear time, are folded into things as utterly familiar as a map or as seemingly mundane as eyeglasses’ (65). Further, once gathered together, such artefacts function as prostheses and mediators in the performance of advanced practices such as (in the case of maps and eyeglasses) navigation or the correction of failing eyesight. Signs warning ‘mind the step’ are similarly mundane yet enfolded with achievements and transactions: writing, printing, literacy, legal codes, processes of ownership and authority, regulations and insurance – all are invoked by such notices. What, though, might be the story through which such street signs become social substance? The story is, as Coole and Frost argue in relation to the material realm, ‘contingent’.

The Fountain Centre is a relatively small, two-storey retail development located in central Belfast. Completed in 1978, it is architecturally unremarkable, notable only for its elevated open space (which the centre refers to as its ‘piazza’) and ‘Alice Clock’ (a large-scale piece of public art, completed in 2000, which marks the passing of each hour with the chiming of 24 bells). The Fountain Centre is not a street in and of itself but forms part of the retail ‘surface’ and an elevated extension to College Street, a linear element of the grid system defining the centre of the city. Norberg-Schulz described the nature of the street

as generally 'longitudinal', but added, 'this does not imply that it ought to be straight' (1971, 83). I would add that neither does it imply that the street ought to be flat. College Street, then, can be considered as having those *connecting* and *organising* principles described by Lynch and Leslie Martin in the 1960s and 1970s (Blowers et al. 1974); it is also extended horizontally and vertically by the privately owned Fountain Centre, which does not interrupt the street as a square or crossing would, but quietly supplements it. Importantly, just as Liverpool's Paradise Street embodies a shift in 'publicness' due to a shift in legal ownership, Belfast's College Street makes the same shift available through a vertical detour. Apart from the retail function of the centre, this development as a *place* can be understood within two narratives. One is the story recounted on glass in the centre's 'piazza':

Fountain Street was previously known as Water Street. In the 18th century women and children paid a penny for two pails of water from one of the three fountains in the street ... 1978 saw the opening of Fountain Centre and the celebration was marked by the unveiling of a new fountain by Irish sculptor Marjorie Fitzgibbon, depicting children happily playing in the water.

The second narrative emerges from an abundance of formal notices, cautioning, warning and instructing (Figure 1.6).

These notices might be categorised as:

Warnings:

- *Danger*
- *Warning: CCTV cameras in operation*
- *Caution: wet floor*
- *Caution: mind the step*

Prohibitions:

- *Keep Out*
- *No unauthorised persons allowed beyond this point*

And behavioural codes:

- *No Smoking: smoking is not permitted in the piazza area of the Fountain Centre*
- *No drinking alcohol in this area*
- *Please place litter in bins provided*



Figure 1.6: The Fountain Centre, College Street, Belfast. Notices undercut the designed intention of conviviality. © David Littlefield

- Children in this area must be supervised at all times
- Escalator safety:
 1. The escalator is not suitable for use by wheelchairs, pushchairs or trolleys
 2. No prams or buggies
 3. No deliveries
 4. Please stand on the left
 5. Stand facing the direction of travel
 6. Hold the handrail
 7. Keep feet and loose clothing away from sides
 8. Small children must be held firmly

The profligacy and visual intrusiveness of these notices becomes ironic. The agency of the metal studs in Liverpool, in spite of their subtlety,

lies in their legibility and capacity to modify the situation of particular social groups; property law and ownership rights materialise as a barrier when, in fact, no such physical barrier exists. In the Fountain Centre, however, the opposite is true: the presence of litter bins appears insufficient, requiring written notification of their function; and the purpose of a steel and glass balustrade is similarly reinforced with the written instruction 'No unauthorised persons allowed beyond this point'. Agency, in this context, appears to be looser; thing-power appears diminished. But as a 'gathering' of conditions, these notices are revealing.

It is not within the scope of this chapter to make a judgement about the efficacy of these signs; I suggest, rather, an interpretation. The Fountain Centre embodies a tension, seeking to be at once a place of leisure and joy, and one of control and limitation. This is the same contradiction, albeit on a much smaller scale, that others have observed at work in larger and better-known environments. Certain types of behaviour and 'crowd practice' are acceptable on the public pavement, wrote Shields of Canada's gigantic West Edmonton Mall, but expectations and controls can shift within the mall environment. '*No loitering*, as the signs in the mall say. Certain types of comportment are expected. The emotions linked with boisterous behaviour are smothered under a flood of continuous, calming, psychologically tested "music"' (Shields 1989, 149). Allen, writing of Berlin's Potsdamer Platz, describes this push-and-pull approach to the management of place as being '*both* to encourage *and* to inhibit' how people move and behave within privately owned yet publicly accessible spaces (2006, 445).

The tension between architecture and detail

The abundance of notices within Belfast's Fountain Centre, which serve as a prosthetic for an over-zealous management regime, undercuts the designed intention of conviviality. It reveals an under-appreciation of the power of agency, and the profound effect that even the most subtle of visual clues can have on people who know to look for them. It also reveals an under-appreciation of the 'thing-ness' of a social institution. Although the notices of the Fountain Centre may not make quite as visceral a difference to a situation as the peripheral markers in Liverpool, they do combine to conjure an image of a joyless bureaucracy – in exactly the same way as the repeated symbols of the Puritan crowd transformed Hester Prynne's short walk into a 'journey of some

length'. Layard describes it thus: 'It is the developer-led, articulated sense of place that is able to rely on legal mechanisms to subdue other multiple, heterogenous, and diverse senses of place into submission' (2010, 415).

The smallness of these urban artefacts (studs, cautionary notices) ought not be mistaken, then, for only a marginal effect on the street. The difference they make is, in fact, inversely proportional to their physical size. The investigation of the urban detail can be compared to the method Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt (2001) take within New Historicism – an approach to culture which privileges the detail, or the anecdote, as opposed to 'Big Stories' history practice. Through the close examination of the detail, Gallagher and Greenblatt hope to 'puncture' or 'interrupt' conventional histories and cultural interpretations by teasing out the insight offered by irregular, outlandish, eccentric anecdotes – those informal and unnoticed artefacts deemed too innocuous or informal to properly inform a 'grand narrative'. Drawing on Erich Auerbach, the authors aim to 'concentrate on an anecdote and pressure it to reveal a whole system' (Gallagher and Greenblatt 2001, 46). It is a revealing approach when applied to the street, especially when such innocuous or quotidian moments have such representational richness that they reorder a conventional reading, or even reveal what is otherwise repressed. In College Street's Fountain Centre, the charm advertised by the colourful figurines of the Alice Clock and the sculpture of playful children is undone by the sharp whispers of the coercive parent. Enjoy yourselves, says the architecture (but not too much, says the sign).

Scrutiny of the overlooked detail offers a reordering or revelatory process (a retelling of the story) towards which the architect, urban designer and planner would do well to develop a greater sympathy. Urban fragments, such as the details discussed here, have as profound an effect on the street as the grand gestures of architectural form and mass. Both, at either end of the scale, are part of what Coole and Frost call 'intricate interlocking systems' and a 'manifestation of the powerful interests invested therein' (2021, 29). The street, then, is not just a matter of architecture – it is a social phenomenon which is curated, managed and appropriated by all manner of participants over time, revealed through all manner of scales and detail. Importantly, the intangible characteristics of the street (belonging, ambience, ownership) can, through association with things, be considered 'things' also; and as such, ought to be considered within the scope of what it means to create and understand a street.

Notes

- 1 Paradise (Street) *Lost & Found*, walking tours of Liverpool by David Littlefield and Mike Devereux, part of the AHRC festival of ideas Being Human, 18 November 2017.

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Figure 2.0: Map Dublin © Anna Skoura

2

Rituals of O'Connell Street: commemoration, display and dissent

Kate Buckley

O'Connell Street is Dublin's pre-eminent street; 'there is no other street in the Republic which has such an equivocal role as Ireland's main street' (McDonald 1998). It is a fundamental component of the urban tissue of Dublin and of Ireland. The urban landscape of O'Connell Street has made it a ritual space. It has been appropriated by both the public and the state for commemorations, protests, parades, demonstrations and funerals. It is a platform for communicating with the whole of Irish society.

O'Connell Street

O'Connell Street is the pre-eminent street in Dublin, Ireland, one that has been appropriated by both the public and the state for commemorations, protests, parades, demonstrations and funerals. The 2007 heritage submission report produced for the proposed redevelopment of the area around O'Connell Street affirms that 'O'Connell Street has acted as the Metropolitan Civic Plaza, and has been a centre of civic and national ritual and commemoration' (O'Connell-Mahon Architects 2007). Several studies have looked at other ceremonial and ritual avenues, including the Champs-Élysées in Paris (Deroy and Clegg 2012) and Berlin's Unter den Linden (Stangl 2006), but O'Connell Street has yet to be the focus of similar research. O'Connell Street played a key role in and was the focal point of the Easter Rising and the War of Independence. As a result, it holds a central position in Ireland's political and state history. Beyond this narrative historical context, however, O'Connell Street has not been considered a ritual

space. When writing about Washington, DC in the US, Green et al. say that ‘something about articulating a grievance or making a demand while standing on the Capitol lawn or in front of the White House seems to resonate with Americans’ (2014, 77). The same dynamic could be argued for O’Connell Street in Ireland, as a democratic urban environment. This chapter draws on ideas about O’Connell Street as the main ceremonial and ritual street of the nation and assesses the reasons behind its significance.

Ritual

Ritual is difficult to define. While some definitions have religious connotations, others are so broad that anything could be considered a ritual (Grimes et al. 2011). Repetition is not a requirement for a ritual, as ‘sometimes rituals derive their force not from repetition but from their singularity, their rarity’ (Grimes et al. 2011, 12). This study understands public rituals as ‘social practices that generate common knowledge’ (Chwe 2013, 13). Public rituals have been divided into ‘ritual demonstrations’, or expected celebratory processions and commemorations, and ‘reactive protests’, which are less structured and sometimes adversarial (Inclán and Almeida 2017). However, in assessing the public rituals that occur on O’Connell Street, three categories emerge: commemoration, display and dissent. As a public space, the street is a place for rituals. The idea of O’Connell Street as a public ritual space entails the morphology of the street and its associated ideas and perceptions.

History and design of O’Connell Street

O’Connell Street is often viewed as the centre of Dublin. ‘Its scale, symmetry, history, architectural grandeur and central location endow it with a powerful sense of place which has embedded itself deeply in the psyche of the city’s people’ (Dublin Corporation 1993, 3). Often referred to as ‘Main Street Ireland’ (Dublin Corporation 2000, 112), it has played an important role in the country’s history and holds a strong presence in the minds of the Irish people.

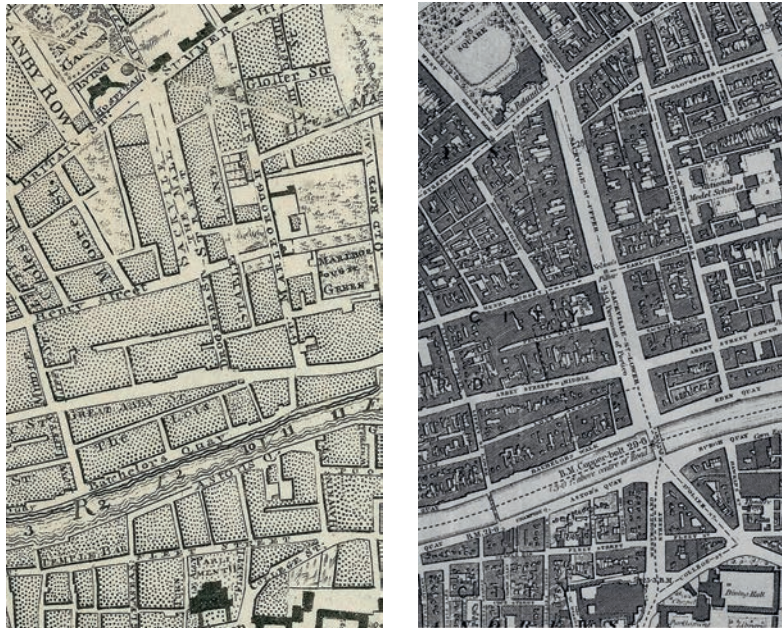


Figure 2.1: A survey of the city harbour bay and environs of Dublin on the same scale as those of London, Paris & Rome / with improvements & additions to the year 1773 by Mr. Bernard Scalé. 1773. A scale of an Irish mile, 320 Perches (= 168 mm). © John Rocque. UCD Digital Library, <https://digital.ucd.ie/view/ivrla:452> (accessed 1 November 2022)

Figure 2.2: Ordnance Survey. Map of the city of Dublin and its environs, constructed for Thom's almanac and official directory. 1874. Six inches to one statute mile. © Ordnance Survey. UCD Digital Library, <https://digital.ucd.ie/view/ucdlib:33001> (accessed 1 November 2022)

Origins

O'Connell Street is first shown as a formal entity on Charles Brookings' 1728 map as the narrow Drogheda Street. It was later widened by Luke Gardiner around 1750 to create Sackville Street, featuring two roadways and a central mall (see Figure 2.1). Gardiner's street was 'one of the three or four most prestigious places of aristocratic residence in the city' (Walsh 1987, 37). In 1784, the Wide Streets Commission began to extend Sackville Street to the river, imposing geometric spatial harmony in the medieval plan of the wider area. Carlisle Bridge (now O'Connell Bridge) opened in 1795, linking Sackville Street on the north side of the River Liffey to Westmoreland Street and D'Olier Street on

the south side. This link opened up the street, which had previously been an enclosed area, making it a long, straight thoroughfare and public space (see Figure 2.2).

O'Connell Street has hosted many protests and public gatherings because Sackville Street was arguably conceived as a ritual space, featuring a mall at the centre of the street with plenty of space for people to see and be seen (Boyd 2006). On Faden's 1797 map, it appears as though the mall had fallen into decline, no longer being formally listed. However, in the nineteenth century, O'Connell Street assumed the form of a memorial space, with a monument erected to commemorate British admiral Horatio Nelson and his success in battle. Erected in 1808, Nelson's Pillar was a four-metre statue atop a fluted Doric column; 'the lofty position of the statue made it widely visible' (Murphy 2010, 18).

Conflict and protest

O'Connell Street suffered substantial damage between 1916 and 1922, when it became a battleground in the Irish War of Independence. As the main location of the 'mythic and symbolic event' (Wills 2010, 14) that was the Easter Rising in 1916, O'Connell Street and the General Post Office (GPO) came to constitute a focal point in its commemoration. The prominence of the street reinforces its status as a ritual space – the chosen space for any event that wishes to be heard by many.

In 1916, the British demolished much of the lower section of the street, from the GPO to Bachelors Walk; again, in 1922, the northeast side was destroyed from Cathedral Street to Parnell Street. Its reconstruction after both events was seen as a matter of national importance (McDonald 1991). In 1924 it was renamed O'Connell Street. At 1:32 am on 8 March 1966, Nelson's Pillar, which had stood at the centre of O'Connell Street for over 150 years, was blown to pieces by Republican militants two weeks before the official state commemoration of the Easter Rising. The 37-metre Doric column was reduced to a stump, and Nelson's stone head was all that was distinguishable amid the rubble. Nelson's Pillar was intentionally destroyed as an act of 'urban iconoclasm' (Boetcher 2020, 596), and this act firmly established O'Connell Street as a public ritual site for Dublin and Ireland. This demonstration of 'urban fallism' (Frank and Ristic 2020, 557) replicated the rubble on O'Connell Street in 1916; the main street of the nation was the centrepiece of what can be described as a ritual act.

Built form and morphology of O’Connell Street as a ritual space

Ellis, in an analysis of streets’ spatial structure, suggested that ‘there are three categories of physical properties, any or all of which can obtain to give a street a special connotation relative to its context: special size, special configuration, and special position’ (1986, 123). An investigation of these features in the context of O’Connell Street allows for an understanding of how the street became the chosen space for rituals and the ‘performance of democracy’ (Azlan 2018, 24) in Dublin.

Scale

At approximately 50 metres in width and 500 metres in length, the dimensions of O’Connell Street provide a long vista of the entire street. Kostof says that ‘the primary purpose of a vista is the framing of a distant view’ (1991, 263). The perspective from O’Connell Bridge, the entrance to the street from the south side of the city, offers a complete view of the street. The rotunda at the north end of the street closes the vista – albeit in a slightly off-centre manner – while the Spire, a stainless-steel needle-like monument designed by Ian Ritchie, takes the historical place of Nelson’s Pillar (Lynch 1972) (see Figure 2.3). It fixes the gaze of onlookers without blocking that which lies behind it, accentuating the long vista, achieving a grand sense of perspective, and cementing O’Connell Street as a ritual space. For rituals to be noticed, they must feature visibility and exposure (Azlan 2018) – and the sheer scale of O’Connell Street fulfils these requirements.

Configuration

Spatial arrangements determine the types of activities that can occur within a space (Azlan 2018). Haussmann’s nineteenth-century Parisian boulevards may allow for mass gatherings, but the straight ‘anti-riot streets’ (Kostof 1991, 230) impede rebellion and suppress dissent through a long vista for surveillance (Parkinson 2012). Straight streets quickly connect two points, encouraging people to move through them (Kostof 1991, 231). This has led to the idea of O’Connell Street as a thoroughfare for moving rituals, such as parades and processions. The plaza developed outside the GPO as part of the 1998 ‘Integrated Area Plan’ (Dublin Corporation 1998) acts as an enclave and a civic



Figure 2.3: O'Connell Street, Dublin. © Kate Buckley 2014

space (see Figure 2.4). It is a pedestrianised space enclosed by trees on three sides; it seeks to draw people in and encourage them to rest there for some time 'out of the main directional stream' (Cullen 1971, 25). The rectangular space juxtaposes the long linear street on which it is located and facilitates difficult-to-ignore physical occupations (Parkinson 2012).



Figure 2.4: O'Connell Street Plaza. © Kate Buckley 2014

O'Connell Street is experienced as a whole, with a definitive beginning at O'Connell Bridge and a clear end at the Rotunda. When Nelson's Pillar was still located on the street prior to 1966, the space was divided into upper and lower O'Connell Street. Even though the Spire is now located where Nelson once stood, the street can be considered in its entirety. It is a designed space, in that the street was considered before anything else. Smaller streets (e.g. Henry Street, Earl Street, Cathal Brugha Street, Abbey Street, Sackville Place, Cathedral Street, Princes Street) intersect with O'Connell Street, allowing for several access and circulation points without distracting from the notion of the street as a single entity. These smaller streets allow participants to both access and disperse from the ritual space with ease.

Dublin City Council has noted that 'the considerable width and spatial coherence of O'Connell Street has promoted its use for over two hundred years as a place of public assembly and civic ritual' (Dublin City Council 2001a, 18). As Clair Wills mentioned in her account of the 1916 Rising, the street has become a 'locus for nationalist protest' (2010, 8). The morphology of O'Connell Street has allowed it to become a ritual space. 'O'Connell Street has certainly the scale of a grand urban room, ideal for organised pageantry and formal display' (Ryan 1998, 64). Rituals depend on visibility to be successful, and the scale of the street facilitates mass gatherings while allowing tremendous visibility. A large audience is essential to rituals on O'Connell Street, as 'the crowd legitimates the ritual' (Parkinson 2012, 146). Ritual spectators and participants are all actively aware of their location on O'Connell Street, having chosen the site due to its ability to command physical exposure.

Perceptions of O'Connell Street as a ritual space

O'Connell Street hosts countless everyday rituals – meeting somebody at Clerys clock or at the Spire, waiting for a bus or getting on the Luas – but its extraordinary rituals are those that arouse public interest. In these spectacles, 'ritual actors elevate actions to make them noticeable, different from the ordinary' (Grimes et al. 2011, 12). In the case of O'Connell Street, the rituals are tied to their specific location. 'Place is important to ritual' (Grimes 2006, 108), and the spatial arrangements – driven by the history of O'Connell Street – have made it the chosen space for extraordinary ritual in Dublin. 'Rituals have a particular way of adapting to existing spaces and subsequently determining the character of those spaces' (Çelik 1996, 4). Participants strategically situate their rituals in symbolic spaces (Azlan 2018), which explains why O'Connell Street is perceived as the ideal space for ritual in Dublin. Three main types of extraordinary public rituals occur on O'Connell Street, namely commemoration, display and dissent.

Distinct pathways or routes through cities have prompted streets to become ritual spaces. The spatial experience of moving through streets sequentially itself constitutes a ritual (Kostof 1991). Just as it was agreed that official parades would occur on Unter den Linden in Berlin (Stangl 2006) or how the Champs-Élysées is located along the *axe historique*, O'Connell Street is located on a prominent route. The 'Civic Spine' is 'the route connecting the network of the city's most historic civic places' (Dublin City Council, OPW and Kennedy Wilson 2013, 9). The spine runs from Parnell Square to Christchurch, linking medieval Dublin to its main street and connecting the north and south sides of the city. The connected streets become a processional thoroughfare of historic, civic and ceremonial significance. O'Connell Street is the key point on the 'Civic Spine', confirming its status as a ritual space.

Commemoration

Commemorations tend to be state-organised. This includes the annual commemoration of the Easter Rising on Easter Sunday, which is a formal and highly organised repetitive ritual to remember past contentions. The plaza opposite the GPO is appropriate for such 'ritual demonstrations' (Inclán and Almeida 2017), as the backdrop immediately associates the commemoration with the Irish struggle

for freedom and provokes memories among viewers. The collective public memory of the space has allowed O'Connell Street to become a 'memory palace'. The memories have been socially constructed and repeatedly confirmed by others, allowing them 'to be properly stabilised' (McBride 2001, 6). Halbwachs and Coser (1992) suggest that actions such as protests, ceremonies and commemorations transmit personal memories into the collective sphere; they are interpretations of the past that attempt to shape collective memory. O'Connell Street and its use as a ritual space have formed a collective social consciousness. Pierre Nora argues that history is a representation of the past – a reconstruction of what is no longer – while memory 'takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects' (1989, 9). In this sense, memory is embedded in rituals performed on O'Connell Street; it has attached itself to the space: a *lieu de mémoire*. Considering the ideas of both Nora and Halbwachs, O'Connell Street constitutes a key site of memory in Ireland. Both official and non-official rituals take place there. Military parades, fly-overs, the laying of a wreath at the GPO – all are associated with the commemoration of 1916 and all take place on O'Connell Street. Without the use of this space, the rituals would not evoke a collective memory among the public. The use of O'Connell Street as a *lieu de mémoire* is what ensures its continued association with memories of the Easter Rising.

Display

O'Connell Street – a wide, straight street – has long been chosen as the street to march through by the public, institutions, collectives and the government. It is almost never excluded from parade spectacles, no matter the specific route through the city. Display rituals, also 'ritual demonstrations' (Inclán and Almeida 2017), use O'Connell Street as a space in which to be seen, in which ideas and identities can be presented to the public (Parkinson 2012). The rituals that take place vary from repetitive to singular actions, from demonstrations such as the St Patrick's Day parade, the final stage of the Irish cycling race *Rás*, a festival announcement or the switching on of the Christmas lights. They can be celebrations about social solidarity or jovial and festive affairs. They can move through the street or be static. But the most important aspect of these rituals is that they adopt O'Connell Street as a stage for public visibility.

Dissent

O'Connell Street is 'the favourite site not only of official commemorations but also of unofficial public protest. The first choice for demonstrations on a whole raft of national and international issues' (Wills 2010, 19). Dissent rituals encompass demonstrations, protests and displays of resistance. These democratic performances can take the form of a rally – a static occupation of the plaza outside the GPO (see Figure 2.5) – or a march through O'Connell Street on a specific route (see Figure 2.6). These can be responses to potential or actual actions, often against the government or state-associated institutions. O'Connell Street has hosted numerous events, including housing protests, student and taxi protests, abortion rights rallies and even a protest against the cancellation of Garth Brooks concerts. Rallies and marches against the government held on O'Connell Street are potentially 'crucial in political and social change' (Chwe 2013, 13). However, in contrast to the displays and commemorations discussed earlier, they can be confrontational and lead to a riot-like atmosphere (Edwards 2006) due to their often unstructured and antagonistic nature. Protest serves to communicate displeasure, and while 'space structures protest' (Azlan 2018, 50) one cannot ignore the antisocial and unpublic nature of many of these 'reactive protests' (Inclán and Almeida 2017) such as the 2006 riots on O'Connell Street that resulted in numerous hospitalisations and arrests.



Figure 2.5: Static protest on O'Connell Street. © Kate Buckley 2014



Figure 2.6: Protest march on O'Connell Street. © Kate Buckley 2014

The threat of the performance of democracy disappearing from O'Connell Street

O'Connell Street is a contentious ritual space. In fact, there have been several threats to the right to protest on the street. Protests are permitted in Ireland as long as they do not 'promote violence' or 'incite hatred'; nor must they be 'unlawful' (Irish Council for Civil Liberties 2020). However, in 1969, 2001 and 2006 there were

calls for legislation to limit the right to parade or assemble on O'Connell Street. The 2001 proposal suggested the need to 'balance the right of access and egress to O'Connell Street with the rights of public assembly on O'Connell Street' (Dublin Corporation 2011). The potential limiting of access to O'Connell Street for rituals met with varied responses, with some calling it 'unconstitutional' and 'unacceptable' (Dublin City Council 2001b), claiming that it would violate Article 40 of the Irish Constitution:

- 6 1° The State guarantees liberty for the exercise of the following rights, subject to public order and morality: ...
 - ii The right of the citizens to assemble peaceably and without arms.

Removing the right to gather on O'Connell Street would remove its ritual aspect and remove the potential spontaneity of meetings, demonstrations and protests. It would limit both 'ritual demonstrations' and 'reactive protests (Inclán and Almeida 2017). O'Connell Street was arguably designed to support the 'performance of democracy', and having public space for rituals – including dissent – is a key condition for democracy (Parkinson 2012). Cities and streets are the 'privileged sites for understanding the social and historical nature of dissent expressed by struggles and protests' (Allegra et al. 2013, 1667). By removing rituals from O'Connell Street, they would become invisible to the passing public and lose their purpose, which is to make people aware of their cause or motivation. Kostof, in a dialogue on streets and public places, says that 'the fundamental aim of the public place is to ensconce community and to arbitrate social conflict ... We are meant to come and go as we please, without the consent of authorities and without any declaration of a justifying purpose' (1992, 124). Should extraordinary public rituals be banished from O'Connell Street, it would no longer be a 'theatre of protest' (Allegra et al. 2013, 1676). In an increasingly online world, one might think that traditional sites of ritual are becoming less relevant, but public debate and democracy still depend on physical public space (Parkinson 2012). If spaces such as O'Connell Street were to become over-regulated, it would risk the loss of their ritual associations, 'undermining some important conditions of democracy in the modern world' (Parkinson 2012, 2).

Conclusion

The public rituals that occur on O'Connell Street – including those of commemoration, display and dissent – are key to the transmission of information and ideas to a wide audience (Chwe 2013). Derooy and Clegg assert that the Champs-Élysées 'brings together individuals and the community in a bond that causes a feeling of collective and individual enjoyment that reception of the spectacle makes visible' (2012, 369). This notion also applies to O'Connell Street. It is a key site of spectacle – a loaded democratic urban space that is well known to the people of Dublin and Ireland.

Grimes (2011) has suggested that rituals are dynamic and can become obsolete, so it is worth wondering whether O'Connell Street and its function as a ritual space could fall into disuse. Covid-19 put a pause on the use of O'Connell Street as a ritual space, with one Irish journalist referring to the street as being 'unpatriotically silent and empty' (Ingle 2021) when discussing the lack of the St Patrick's Day parades in 2020 and 2021. However, the street remains a symbolic space for 'speaking to the nation' (Wills 2010, 19). In fact, it was the focal point of a Black Lives Matter protest held during an early Covid-19 lockdown, protests against gender-based violence in May 2021, and anti-lockdown protests throughout 2020 and 2021. The Proclamation was read to an empty O'Connell Street from the steps of the GPO for the state-organised commemoration of the Easter Rising in 2021, further solidifying the ritual aspect of the street: when no crowds were there to witness it, the street was still utilised as a ritual space. The city street is a suitable space for such rituals, as it is a public space in which 'large numbers of individuals and communities cohabit and coexist, encounter and interact but also confront their ideologies, values, desires and needs' (Boetcher 2020, 558). All over the world, public space is becoming increasingly commercialised and controlled, with space for ritual, opposition and dissent shrinking. O'Connell Street needs to maintain its perception as a public ritual space to facilitate the performance of democracy. If we disregard the need for ritual space in our cities we arguably lose 'a part of public life' (Azlan 2018). Extraordinary rituals on O'Connell Street are not about the individual. They are experienced as a collective, with others, and as a result they are spontaneous, with unpredictable outcomes. Without a doubt antisocial and violent 'reactive protests' such as those in 2006 are not welcomed,

but how can we define or limit what rituals can occur on O’Connell Street when public space should remain public?

‘The public’s image of O’Connell Street as a place for spontaneous assembly, meetings or protests, confers a hallmark of civic character of which any town should be proud.’ (Meagher 2001)

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Figure 3.0: Map London © Anna Skoura

3

Street life in medieval London

James Davis

This chapter provides an analysis of how we might reconstitute the everyday life and space of a pre-modern street, namely Cheapside in late medieval London. Street life in the past can be difficult to recapture in all its complexity and inter-relations. Written documents, such as deeds, purveyances, regulations and court cases, can tell us much, but it is only through a broader range of evidence – archaeological, architectural, literary and visual – that we achieve a better understanding. Such an approach also reminds us how both the built environment and culture of urban space shapes its use, and that the form of the street can be resilient over time despite radical changes.

Cheapside

Cheapside has been referred to as medieval London's greatest street and shopping space (Keene 1985a). On a normal day in the fourteenth century, it thronged with shops, stalls, street traders, officials, clerics and beggars; a congested space, but also undoubtedly one that was vibrant and lively. Henri Lefebvre (1974) understood that the use of public space is shaped by the surrounding private spaces and material environment. To what extent can we recapture the built environment of such a medieval street, and how this shaped the movement of people? How do we develop this analysis further by understanding how medieval people navigated and perceived this particular street? This chapter presents the evidence of historical geographers and archaeologists, alongside cultural insights from visual and literary

sources (Harding 2002), in order to see how far we can recapture a medieval streetscape.

As Jeremy Whitehand noted, 'Each society leaves its mark on the landscape, creating forms that reflect the aspirations and problems of its day. These forms are part of the inheritance of future societies, which they in their turn variously alter, add to, preserve or erase' (1992, 6). A cumulative process is at work in which the streetscape might be regarded as a canvas upon which urban societies inscribe their experiences and values. Michael Conzen (1960; Whitehand 1981) pioneered our approach to understanding urban space across time, focusing primarily on morphological development and 'historical layering in the townscape'. The current urban fabric is a culmination of changes in buildings, plots and use, as well as the surviving plan and edifices, and this reminds us that the life of modern streets is made more complex by characteristics of their past (Whitehand 1987, 2). Ultimately, a historical perspective can inform modern understanding of streets, their use and design, while there is evidence within streets today that can help us better understand the societies that created them.

The street

Cheapside was the main commercial thoroughfare of late medieval London, some 50–60 feet broad and running west–east from St Paul's Cathedral precinct to the narrower Poultry and then Cornhill. It remained one of the busiest English streets until the end of the nineteenth century, and is still the main shopping area for the financial 'City' of London. More specifically, Cheapside was often known as 'Westchepe', with 'Estchepe' lying further south and to the east of London Bridge. 'Cheap' derives from the Old English 'ceap', meaning 'market' or 'to buy'.

London was by far the largest city in late medieval England, by area and population, and as such it generated a significant amount of legal and administrative documentation. Derek Keene and Vanessa Harding (1987) have produced the most detailed work around medieval and early modern Cheapside, particularly in reconstructing from conveyances and deeds the property patterns, physical layout, rental values and occupants (see also Keene 1985a; Harding 1985; Harding 2012). There has also been considerable effort in mapping the streets of medieval London, particularly by the Historic Towns Trust (Lobel 1989), which led to recent mapping of London for c.1300 and

components that make up a place are the physical environment, the built environment and the people that occupy it. The physical constitutes the natural topography, such as the gradient, landscape and water courses, which in turn influences settlement and human-created aspects. However, the people might be considered the crucial element, through their sense of place and their daily interactions. This chapter provides a brief survey of late medieval Cheapside, its main structures and activity, and the types of evidence that historians can use to reveal its streetscape.

A commercial space

Primarily, Cheapside was a commercial thoroughfare. The streets and lanes that run off Cheapside provide a reminder of the types of commodity sold there. For example, on the north side, there was 'Wodestrate' (Wood Street), 'Melkstrete' (Milk Street), 'Ismongerelane' (Ironmonger Lane); and to the south, 'Bredstrete' (Bread Street), 'Corveyserstrate' (Cordwainer Street), 'Goselane' (Goose Lane), and the more generic 'Soper Lane' (Shopper's Lane). Although these are not precise indicators – use was flexible and trades relocated – there was a certain clustering of occupations in particular periods (Colson 2016). In addition, the Shambles – the main meat market – was just beyond the west end by St Nicholas church, while corn was sold nearby at the 'Pavement', near the church of St Michael le Querne.

By 1300, the street's shops were dominated by better-off retail and distributive traders, particularly in metals, textiles and spices (Burch et al. 2011, 95). Other manufacturers were relegated to the side lanes, while foodstuffs were sold by poorer, wandering hawkers, often women. There is therefore a sense of a division by social and gender status in the built environment and its access, though the open space of the street itself was more mixed and egalitarian. There were four main types of commercial venues in Cheapside: the shop, the seld (a type of bazaar, discussed below), the market stall, and the street itself. In general, this was a densely occupied street with hundreds of shops by 1300, so frontage was at a premium. Many shop frontages were narrow, some only six feet wide and many less than 10 feet (Burch et al. 2011, 192). In 1314, John le Botonner's shop on the corner of Soper Lane was only five feet square and six feet high (LAN 43). This pressure for space dissipated somewhat after the population decrease caused by the Black Death (1348–9), shown in the evidence

for declining average rental values and the amalgamation of some properties (Keene 1985a, 20).

However, the pressures of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries meant that one option was to build upwards. The rental and archaeological evidence suggest that the height of many buildings along Cheapside stretched to three or four storeys, unusual for domestic or commercial sites at this time. Derek Keene (2008, 206–9) estimates that a three-storey house was about 36–44 feet to the roof ridge. However, he notes that there was a limit to vertical extension, and the value of upper rooms diminished according to distance from the street. It is likely that servants and lodgers lived in the upper floors (Burch et al. 2011, 192). Commonly, the cellars were used for storage, the ground floor for commercial activity, and the floors above for living and sleeping. Multiple use was the standard in medieval urban communities, with many premises used for both retail and manufacture, as well as for the household. Indeed, women were often at the front of the shop, with their husband occupied in the adjoining workshop (Keene 1990, 41). However, it should be noted that there were numerous smaller shops and stalls that could only function for display and retail (Keene 2008, 207–9).

Selds were covered warehouses that ran off narrow passages from Cheapside. There were examples in other towns, such as Bristol and Winchester (Antrobus 2018, 319; Keene 1985b, 517–19), but London had by far the largest concentration. They often contained a range of petty retailers clustered around benches, small stalls and chests (Keene 1985, 12–14; Keene 1990, 32–40), selling leather and textile goods (Mem, 22). Selds thus resembled a quasi-public bazaar and were popular in the thirteenth century, with perhaps a thousand traders in total operating within them. Each developed a distinct identity to promote their trade, such as the Painted Seld, Girdlers' Seld and Broad Seld; 'in 1385–6 the owner of one seld spent 8s 4d on making and painting a sign and hanging it from a pole with an iron hook on the Cheapside frontage' (Keene 1985, 14). However, trading patterns changed as the population fell in the late fourteenth century and these tiny retail units significantly declined in number compared to shops with their more elaborate street-facing displays.

Beyond fixed shops and selds, there were semi-permanent stalls and chests in the street from which itinerant traders sold goods during the morning. Specific sites were designated for many of the commodities brought into Cheapside, such that fish was to be sold near the Great Conduit (Mem, 436, 508; CLB H, 190; CLB I, 67) and meat at the

Shambles (CLB I, 67, 122). Those who travelled in from the countryside were restricted in where they could sell and even how they could move about whilst carrying goods; the privileges of London citizenship influenced the use of space. There was a tendency for some temporary stalls to take on an air of permanency, in both form and occupation, and this led to an order in 1274 to clear away such structures from Cheap. In 1310 it was declared that market stalls and benches were to be cleared away from Cheap's highway after the hour of 'None' (the canonical hour of mid-afternoon; Mem, 75; CLB D, 218). Such regulation was undoubtedly initiated by wealthier shopkeepers, who disliked the hindrance caused by traders in front of their premises, again emphasising the differing rights between citizens of the city and others.

In 1347, the civic authorities launched an inquiry into how to manage the nuisance caused by mobile vendors of victuals in the public highways of Cheap and Cornhill, but reached no conclusion (CLB F, 179). Numerous incoming retailers remained a fact of commercial life and contributed to the crowded bustle of Cheapside. Some traders were nevertheless expected to remain mobile, such as the 'birlisters' – female fish-sellers who were to keep moving along the streets and lanes, only standing to make a specific deal (CLB G, 123; CLB H, 243–4; CPMR, III, 74). They were also not to buy any fish before 10 am, reminding us that the temporal trading patterns in London's streets were strictly regulated.

A medieval perambulation

So far, the environment of Cheapside has been reconstructed through legal and civic records, such as deeds and regulations, which provide a valuable insight into occupational patterns and governing anxieties. Recapturing the sensory and everyday experience is more difficult given the lack of diaries and writings from urban residents. However, a fifteenth-century poem provides an unusual insight into the sights and sounds of Cheapside, as seemingly evoked by a Kentish peasant visiting the city to seek justice in Westminster's law courts. *London Lyckpeny* (Gray 1985) purports to describe this humble visitor's journey back from Westminster, and the following verses (translated from Middle English) relate to the central streets specifically:

Then I drew towards Cheapside, where I saw many people standing. One offered me velvet, silk and linen, and another took me by the hand and said, "Here is Parisian thread, the finest in

the land.” I was never used to such things and, wanting money, I might not succeed.

I then went forth to London Stone, throughout all Candlewick Street, where drapers offered me much cloth. Then one came crying “Hot sheep’s feet!” Another cried “Mackerel, green rushes,” while a third bade me to buy a hood to cover my head. But for want of money, I might not succeed.

Next I hurried to Eastcheap and heard a cry, “Beef ribs and many pies!” Pewter pots clattered in a heap, and there were harps, pipes, and minstrelsy. Some began to cry “Yea, by cock!” and “Nay, by cock!” Some sang of “Jenkin and Julian” for their reward. But for lack of money, I might not succeed.

Cornhill was my next stop, where there was much stolen gear. I saw where my hood hung, that had been lost among the crowd. I thought it wrong to buy my own hood – I knew it as well as I did my Creed. But for lack of money, I could not succeed.

The vibrancy of Cheapside and surrounding streets is clearly expressed, with the visitor assailed by the cries of market traders who are competing for his attention. The public streets are depicted as colourful, sensuous and intense, but real access was only obtained through money. Food and drink sellers were especially ubiquitous and civic documents reveal a constant concern over the price and condition of such commodities.

Alongside this, there is an undercurrent of deception and theft. Legal records certainly suggest that Cheap could be a place of petty crime and assaults (CPMR, I, 37, 106, 205, 216; CLB F, 249, 288; Mem, 50, 204). There were also major disputes, such as when the fishmongers and goldsmiths were involved in a major affray at the corner of Cheap and Friday Street in 1339 – several were wounded (Hanawalt 2017, 56–57; CPMR, I, 103–7, 128, 189). One major affray in 1373 even appears to have been the consequence of a football match in the area around Cheap, Soper Lane and Cordwainer Street (CPMR, II, 152).

The poem perhaps reinforces Michel De Certeau’s (1984, 115–17) approach to urban space as a quotidian journey, traversing and negotiating spatial interactions. The space of streets can only be understood fully through experiencing them as places, and through the individual choices that are made when interacting with authority, symbols and the built environment. Indeed, Cheapside was a street in which the urban rich, middling and poor lived and worked cheek-by-jowl.

The street also had a temporal rhythm. It was recognised that night-time could turn a reasonably respectable street into a more

problematic and criminal setting, dominated more by the lower classes. In 1369 and again in 1392–3, the mayor issued ordinances to regulate ‘Evynchepynges’ – evening markets selling secondhand goods to the poor – which had long been held in Cheapside and Cornhill despite attempts to disband them (Mem, 339, 380, 532–3; CPMR, I, 1; CLB B, 236; CLB D, 229; CLB E, 156–9, 161–2; CLB G, 248). There were concerns that they encouraged criminal activity, so now nothing was to be sold after the bell (‘which hangs upon the Tun at Cornhill’) had sounded at sunset.

A general curfew was in place in the city, signalled by church bells. Individuals might be prosecuted for being ‘common nightwalkers’ against the peace (Mem, 81). Females caught wandering at night were particularly frowned upon because of potential associations with illicit sexual activity. Their activities might have been routine: in 1320 Emma le Wirdrawere was caught after curfew, just off Cheap near St Martin’s, carrying a fardel of cloth (perhaps a delivery). She was nevertheless sentenced to a time in the Tun – a small prison in the centre of the street intended to shame the culprit (Mem, 133). This was all partly linked to concerns about street prostitution, and the names of narrow lanes off Cheapside – ‘Pupekertilane’, ‘Groppecountelane’, ‘Coneyhope Lane’, ‘Bordhawe’ – point towards immoral activities that possibly took place in these areas, particularly after dusk.

Such moral anxieties were embedded in a patriarchal culture verging on misogyny and remind us of the social restrictions that women faced daily (Rose 1993, 17–40). As we have seen, retail was a space in which medieval women could play a distinctive role despite the pervading patriarchal constraints. Derek Keene (1990, 41) noted a high number of female shopkeepers (over 50 per cent) at the Cheapside end of Soper Lane in the late fourteenth century, while many of the perambulating hawkers were women. Women were also active as shoppers, including young female servants, and the streets would have been crowded with both genders. However, such quotidian activity was laced with underlying concerns about sexual mores and harassment. One piece of fifteenth-century advice for young urban women stated: ‘Acquaint you not with each man that travels the street, / If any man speak to you, swiftly greet him’ (Amt 2001, 410–17). Men could loiter around marketplaces and alehouses, but women’s reputation might be harmed for doing the same. Although urban space was not strictly gender-segregated, negotiating the streets could be problematic for medieval women.

Picturing the street

Another view of Cheapside is provided by near-contemporary images, often produced for either ceremonial or civic purposes. Unfortunately, no image survives for the late medieval period itself, but those from the early modern period, before the Great Fire of 1666, allow us to glimpse aspects of the street that remained prominent (Figure 3.3).

The 1547 coronation of Edward VI was encapsulated in a mural of the time (Figure 3.4), which survives in a painting made by Samuel Hieronymus Grimm in 1785. Looking southwards towards the river Thames, we can see the south frontage of Cheapside. The image is a reminder of the prominence of ecclesiastical structures, particularly given their size and height relative to the domestic and commercial



Figure 3.3: Cheapside in 1547. Source: Coronation procession of King Edward VI, 1547. Copy by Samuel Hieronymus Grimm (1785) from a mural at Cowdray House. Society of Antiquaries of London. © Bridgeman Images, SOA2916



Figure 3.4: Cheapside in 1638. Source: *Histoire de l'entrée de la reine mère dans La Grande Bretagne* (1638) by P. de la Serre. Reprinted by W. Bowyer and J. Nichols, London, 1775. © Alamy, Image ID G38F61

buildings, which would have lent a devotional hue to the city's profile. To the left of the image is St Mary le Bow, which for a time was the city headquarters for the archbishop of Canterbury, while to the right is St Paul's. The verticality of Cheapside is clear in the three-storey timber-framed shops (with garrets in the roof-space), adorned in the 1547 painting with pageantry and hangings to celebrate the king. Also visible are the archways and open windows that would normally have served customers. Medieval shops varied in terms of accessibility, but many bargains were enacted through the hatches, under awnings and across shutters that hung down to form counters, while customers stood outside in the public street.

Although from a later period, Figure 3.5 provides another useful pre-Great Fire image of Cheapside, looking eastwards and showing the north side of the street. It depicts the 1638 visit of Mary de Medici, mother of Henriette Maria (wife of Charles I). By the early seventeenth century, the height of the jettied frontage is notable, with numerous four- and five-storey houses, perhaps indicating a further upward extension of many buildings. The breadth of the street also stands out, facilitating stalls and traders in the open space as well as through-traffic. As these images show, Cheapside was ideal for ceremonial, leading people from the royal hub at the Tower at one end to the ecclesiastical authority embodied in the cathedral. Such political and liturgical processions commonly traversed this street, intended to bind together the various constituents of the city through ritual, but perhaps incidentally emphasising their social separation.

The just-visible awnings would have covered the front projection of shops, encroaching into the street; a temporary façade has been erected specifically for the procession. The image also reveals a signpost in the



Figure 3.5: Civitas Londinum, 1561. Source: *Civitas Londinum: The Map of Early Modern London*, edited by Janelle Jenstad, Greg Newton and Kim McLean-Fiander, edition 6.6 (2021). Accessed 1 November 2022. <https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/agas.htm>. © CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license

foreground, possibly a garland of vine leaves indicating a tavern, with glimpses of many more on the shops behind. Similarly, the medieval streetscape was adorned liberally with signs, projecting outwards by six feet or more (e.g. CLB H, 86). They often figuratively illustrated the products being sold, but sometimes displayed a cultural symbol or folkloric tale, such as the sign of the Elephant (*signum olifantis*) held by Simon Sewale, a saddler (CLB I, 99). There were complaints in 1375 that many signs, particularly alestakes in front of Cheapside's taverns and alehouses, were too long and impeded riders, as well as causing damage to the houses because of their weight. Seven feet was thus stipulated as the upper limit (Mem, 381).

Street furniture

In both Figures 3.4 and 3.5, the most prominent piece of street furniture is the Eleanor Cross, originally built in the reign of Edward I as one of a number erected in memory of his queen. It was rebuilt and elaborated between 1441 and 1486, eventually standing about 12 metres high with gilded ornamentation and religious statues. There was another cross located in Cheapside, at the spot where the wards of Bread Street, Cheap, Cordwainer and Cripplegate met, known originally as the 'Stone Cross' or 'Broken Cross'. It was later synonymous with the rebuilt Standard (adorned with angelic statues according to John Stow), which contained a new conduit by 1443 (CLB H, 422).

Such street furniture played a role beyond aesthetics and cultural memory. Mobile vendors were expected to congregate at the crosses when conducting trade. (Mem, 347; CLB G, 263). 'Stations' around both crosses were annually leased by the city for between 6s 8d and 13s 4d each (1379), mostly to female retailers (Mem, 428; CLB H, 127). The crosses also acted as sites for public proclamations (CPMR, I, 41, 122) and punishments. There are numerous instances of fraudulent manufactures and commodities, such as caps, pouches, gloves, fishing nets and unlawful measures, being publicly burnt in the street, usually near the Stone Cross (Mem, 55, 90–91, 116, 247, 341, 523; CLB A, 186; CLB D, 129, 263; CLB E, 223; CLB F, 201; CLB H, 396; CPMR, I, 33, 99). Indeed, medieval Cheapside was replete with expressions of public authority, whether in punishments of deceitful bakers who might be dragged on a hurdle attached to a horse (LA, 232), or in displays of penance, where the penitent walked barefoot, head uncovered and carrying a lighted wax candle (Mem, 202–3, 490, 500, 660). The

humiliation of corporal punishment worked because social credit was important among medieval neighbours, even in towns; similarly, public slander was not tolerated, especially towards officials (CPMR, I, 190–1, II, 4).

The other notable structure, again just visible in both Figures 3.4 and 3.5, was the Great Conduit, a monumental structure (some 45 feet long and 20 feet wide) for supplying water, which was positioned at the entry to the Poultry. The first pipes were laid from 1245, taking water from the Tyburn springs into Charing Cross and then up the Strand, Fleet Street and into Cheapside (Mem, 503–4). The non-central siting of the conduit was not logical in terms of supply, but it was possibly related to the charitable provision of water, for the house of St Thomas the Martyr stood next to the conduit (Burch et al. 2011, 180–1; Barron 2004, 256). In 1345, it was stated that the conduit was originally built so that the better-off might have water for preparing food and the poor for drinking (CLB F, 128; Mem, 225). Like the crosses, it was a gathering point; traders such as the fruiterers congregated there, seeking a ready clientele (Barron 2004, 253; CPMR, VI, 118–19). There were also disputes throughout the period over use of the conduit,



Figure 3.6: Hugh Alley's Cheapside, 1598. Source: *Hugh Alley, A caveat for the city of London* (1598), fol.15r. LUNA: Folger Digital Image Collection, 67931. © CCO 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication License. Folger Shakespeare Library, CC BY-SA 4.0

particularly by traders such as brewers, cooks and fishmongers (CLB D, 236–7; CLB I, 139; Mem, 77–78), which eventually led to charges being levied from 1312 for maintenance of the water supply (CLB D, 299; CLB F, 28–29, 303–4; Mem, 107, 201–2).

All these structures added to the sense of a principal public space, acting as meeting places, focal points in pageantry and royal processions, and imbued with symbolic meaning. Indeed, the continuing prominence of these structures are notable in other early modern images, whether the woodblock *Civitas Londinum* from 1561 (often known as the ‘Agas map’) or Hugh Alley’s stylistic illustration of Cheapside in 1598 (Archer et al. 1988). The latter shows mobile vendors, male and female, amidst (from left to right) the church of St Michael le Querne, the Eleanor Cross, the Standard and the Great Conduit (Figure 3.6).

Conclusion

Modern Cheapside remains a notable commercial thoroughfare, but has perhaps lost its central place in city life. There are also only remnants of the medieval fabric, with significant rebuilding after both the Great Fire of 1666 and the Blitz of 1940, as well as the loss of landmarks such as the Standard and Conduits. The open market was relocated to off-street sites, new streets have been laid through it (e.g. King Street), and some side roads widened (Harding 2008, 78, 95; See Figure 3.1). Yet, the broad layout of the street and narrower side lanes largely remains, with their resonant street-names. Although Cheapside lacks its previous public resonance and centrality, with more priority given to traffic, the City Corporation is keen that it should remain a busy shopping space for pedestrians. It is a street replete with twentieth-century buildings, yet its layout and intended use remains medieval in inception.

This case study has provided a historical perspective on the social character of a public street, and discussed what we can uncover about the impact of the built environment and regulation, along with the effect of ideas about private and public space, user appropriation, identity, performance and cultural exclusion. This case study reminds us of the link between the historical context and our modern perception of our streets. Understanding the streets we live in today, and the quality of street life, is contingent not merely on the architectural fabric and design, but also on our understanding

of these streets as long-lived places of socio-economic negotiation. Medieval Cheapside encapsulated the vibrancy, intensity and contradictions of a busy commercial street.

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Abbreviations:

CLB: *Sharpe 1899–1912*.

CPMR: *Thomas and Jones 1926–61*.

LA: *Riley 1861*.

LAN: *Chew and Kellaway 1973*.

Mem: *Riley 1868*.

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Figure 4.0: Map of Hamburg © Anna Skoura

Who owns the street? The cases of Lange Reihe and Steindamm in Hamburg

Bedour Braker

The nuances of everyday urban life are exposed on city streets. In Hamburg, two main arteries in the neighbourhood of St Georg – Lange Reihe and Steindamm – reveal profound social tension. The former is a popular destination for the LGBTQ+ community, while the latter is a space for conservative Muslim immigrants. This chapter discusses both streets as public spaces dominated by social prejudice. By tracing their histories, cultural backgrounds, and reasons why they are at odds with each other, this chapter discusses who ‘owns’ the street, questioning why all streets do not simply belong to everyone.

Signs and signals of minority streets

Amid contemporary global social mobility, some streets have become social enclaves for specific minority groups, signalled by matrices of semiotics and visual signals that give these streets a special identity. It can be difficult for outsiders to decipher street signals moulded by locals. The street is a receptacle for the layering of urban changes over time. It constitutes a living artery, an extension of the home and a domain in which users practise their daily habits and rituals, express their viewpoints, and exchange conversation and laughter. Such streets serve to distinguish each neighbourhood, being perceived and conceived through cultural meanings of lived daily experiences (Lefebvre 1974, 85). In some cases, they become stigmatised due to the presence of the ‘other’ alongside locals harbouring prejudice.



Figure 4.1: A blown-up map of St Georg neighbourhood in relation to the city of Hamburg. Illustration: Rachael Milliner. © Jan Braker Architekt

This chapter discusses two streets in the vicinity of the main train station in Hamburg, Germany, both with unique histories and historical developments (Figure 4.1). East of the station toward Alster Lake is Lange Reihe Street: a vibrant gentrified street and a key destination for the LGBTQ+ community. Lange Reihe underwent many socio-political changes throughout the twentieth century, from property confiscation for nonconforming minorities in the 1930s to constant police raids on gay bars in the 1940s. Nowadays, people using the street feel safer, surrounded by art studios, galleries, trendy bars and outdoor cafes.

A few hundred metres south of Lange Reihe is Steindamm Street, a wide thoroughfare filled with loud vehicles, oriental eateries, sex and betting shops and small grocery shops. The population of Steindamm has become increasingly religious and conservative since the 1970s, with its predominantly Muslim population living in an ethnic enclave. However, as demonstrated by the presence of sex and betting shops, the users of the street are not exclusively religious and conservative. Like Lange Reihe, Steindamm is a social enclave that facilitates a feeling of communal safety among its users. These two streets typify the diversity of the twenty-first-century city and the way in which modern multiplicity is expressed in urban terms.

Participant interviews and observation

In order to explore the social juxtaposition between the trendy, liberal atmosphere of Lange Reihe and the religious, conservative atmosphere of Steindamm, we conducted in-depth interviews and field studies. The interviews were with residents, visitors and shop owners, including 25 Middle Eastern, European and Asian participants between 20 and 50 years of age of different genders and sexual orientations. During field surveys, we also observed street users, focusing on the lived experiences of both LGBTQ+ individuals and conservative immigrants and the ways in which they interact with the existing physical settings of both streets. In this way, we investigated social conflict and urban transformation. The findings shed light on social segregation, the streets' identities, and the ways in which both streets are shaped by globalisation and gentrification.

Street spaces as minority enclaves

The deepest problems of modern life derive from the claim of the individual to preserve the autonomy and individuality of his existence in the face of overwhelming social forces, of historical heritage, of external culture, and of the technique of life. (Simmel 1950, 409)

Streets as public spaces are potential domains for democracy and acceptance, but they can also serve as enclaves for minorities, especially in cosmopolitan cities. People are often territorial about space, noticing and disliking the presence of strangers who look, act or talk differently. The 'stranger' was discussed by Georg Simmel, who argued that interaction with strangers can sometimes escalate into hatred. This can be avoided through the creation of 'plate-armour': the rational, emotionless perception of others (Simmel 1908). Similarly, Sharon Zukin et al. point out that, despite social interactions being catalysts for generating the unique identities of certain streets, they sometimes facilitate social conflict; people self-defined by ethnicity, religion or sexual orientation mobilise to acquire collective resources and communal territories. They search for an urban refuge in which their lived practices can be maintained despite being in environments that are sometimes unjust or discriminatory (2016, 6–10). Manuel Castells

defined emerging minority areas in cities as responsive, democratic and meaningful: responsive because such areas developed based on users' needs; democratic because they are accessible to anyone; and meaningful because they allow their users to create connections between their personal lives and the populated spaces of the wider city (1985, 160–260).

Spaces as socially constructed constitute a foundational assumption of this study. The seminal voice here is Henri Lefebvre, who claimed that every society produces its own space; this space is critical for transforming abstract ideologies into vibrant physical realities, which change in relation to the political, economic and cultural milieu (1974, 48). The formulation of social space, according to Michael Frisch, has always been a socio-political instrument characterised by dichotomous ideological structures: order and disorder, public and private, production and reproduction. These juxtapositions sometimes lead to oppressive relationships based on assumptions of heteronormativity and binary gender (2002, 263).

LGBTQ+ enclaves resemble other kinds of minority enclaves. Ann Forsyth explains how scholars have used the quasi-ethnic community model to analyse LGBTQ+ enclaves in terms of residential and commercial structures. There are copious historical similarities between both types of enclaves: shared norms, the presence of primary social groups within the population, and isolation from wider society (2001, 38–62). Similarly, Suzanne Hall notes that global economic forces have not only propelled immigrants into cities but have also resulted in polarised urban landscapes between residents and newcomers (2012, 4). The work of Forsyth and Hall supports the ideas in this chapter with regard to the 'push-and-pull' forces between the minority enclaves of Lange Reihe and Steindamm, which are both growing in size and gaining greater recognition across Hamburg.

St Georg: from ghetto to cherished neighbourhood

It seems as if the people of Hamburg have banished to St. Georg everything that they were unwilling or unable to place in the city. (Heß 1811)

Both Lange Reihe and Steindamm are located in the neighbourhood of St Georg, which has undergone many changes since the twelfth century. The now-famous district, spanning 1.8 km², is inhabited by

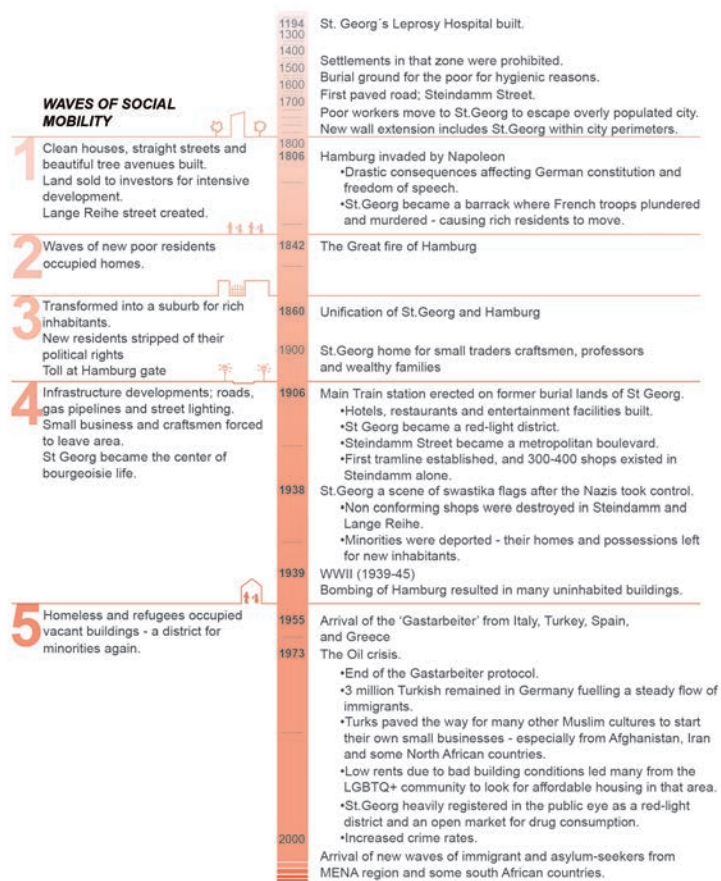


Fig.2: Timeline of St. Georg in Hamburg between 1194-2000)
Source: Bedour Braker, 2021

(Illustration: Rachael Milliner at Jan Braker Architekt)

Figure 4.2: Timeline of the historical development of St Georg between 1194 and 2000. Illustration: Rachael Milliner. © Jan Braker Architekt

11,358 inhabitants of various nationalities and cultural backgrounds.¹ St Georg has been a refuge for outcast minorities since its establishment, witnessing several waves of demographic change in its social fabric. Figure 4.2 summarises the main historical and social milestones that have shaped the district as we know it today.

The religious diversity of St Georg was always appealing to ethnic minorities, represented in the Evangelical Lutheran Trinity Church,

the Catholic St Mary's Cathedral, the Cathedral Church of the Archdiocese, the Centrum Mosque, and the Metropolitan Community Church (the first church in Germany explicitly aimed at gays and lesbians) (Möhring 1995).

In addition to its religious side, St Georg is also an attractive cultural hub in the middle of Hamburg. As you walk onto Steindamm from the direction of the train station, you see the Savoy, an international cinema, the Hansa, a theatre that dates back to 1878, and the famous Politt theatre, a political cabaret built in the 1940s (Streb 2018). St Georg was heavily bombed during WWII, meaning it hosted many urban experiments in the 1960s. This reconstruction is why St Georg is now home to such varied architectural styles.

Another feature contributing to the character of St Georg is its proximity to Hamburg's main train station. As in many other European cities, Hamburg's red-light district is close to the main train station, with sex workers serving visitors to the city (Brown 2008, 131–2; Independent 2006). St Georg became a famous red-light district in the 1980s, known for its relatively open drug market. During this era, drugs were easy to get hold of. Consequently, many sex workers opted to work in St Georg to finance their drug use, contributing to increased crime rates (Ulrich 2001; Welt 2012). The ensuing chaos prompted the majority of St Georg residents to demand the eviction of sex workers from the street, prompting the district to become one of the most heavily policed neighbourhoods in Europe (Friederichs 2014). Rents were low due to the poor condition of local buildings, and members of the LGBTQ+ community began to move in, especially to Lange Reihe (Kalisch 2018).

One of the major milestones in forming the social character of St Georg was the 'Gastarbeiter' protocol initiated by Germany in 1955 to rebuild its economy. This protocol led to the hiring of immigrants from Italy, Turkey, Spain and Greece, most of whom settled in St Georg due to the low rents and local labour-intensive industries. Following the oil crisis in 1973, Germany terminated the programme – but three million people remained, fuelling a steady flow of immigrants mostly from Turkey (Knight 2017). Newcomers slowly established their own food retail and gastronomy trades in places like St Georg, where rents remained affordable. This demographic shift was observed by the German majority, described in the media as a process of replacing German companies with Turkish immigrants (Möhring 1995). The integration of immigrants was also perceived as a failure due to their retention of the Turkish language and the religious solidarity of Islam

(Hall 2012, 3). In time, the Turks paved the way for other Muslim groups – in the 1970s, mainly Afghans, Iranians and some Arabs – to migrate to Germany and start their own small businesses (Spiegel 2008).

The demographic profile of St Georg shifted again during the wave of wars in the MENA region during the 2010s, with a large number of asylum seekers arriving in Germany. Almost 1.6 million refugees were registered in Germany between 2015 and 2018, including approximately 60,000 LGBTQ+ individuals from the MENA region (Woldin 2016). As in the 1960s, this wave of newcomers increased fear and suspicion throughout German society of the growing number of immigrants from Muslim countries and their relatively conservative beliefs (Friederichs 2014; Woldin 2016).

Steindamm: a patriarchal enclave

Steindamm is grey and dull. It doesn't feel welcoming, and I always try to get out of there really fast. It feels strange to me, because I always like travelling to places and getting lost in streets of other exotic places, but Steindamm feels weird to me. (Interview 2021; German resident, straight female)

The space of Steindamm

Steindamm is a city street with a chaotic four-lane layout, packed pavement, and litter scattered about. It is characterised by copious Middle Eastern eateries and convenience shops, offering a colourful range of commodities. The destruction of the north-eastern part of Steindamm during WWII led to its reconstruction as a mixed residential and commercial street. It was later widened into a four-lane 'office mile', marked by car traffic and dominated by modern high-rise buildings with 12 listed houses dating back to the nineteenth century (Hamburg Authority for Culture 2013). Since the 1950s, immigrants have convened in Steindamm to enhance their economic, social, political and cultural prospects. This tendency for newcomers to form localised communities and open ethnically specific businesses demonstrates their urgent need for a psychological and spatial buffer from the pressure of discrimination within the dominant German culture (Jiang 2018). St Georg's central mosque serves as a cushion from cultural clash, providing Muslim newcomers with a sense of security

by strengthening their local religious ties (of the 43 registered mosques in Hamburg, 17 are in St Georg) (Streb 2018, 9). However, since the 1970s, the street's religious profile has not negated its reputation as a sex hub (Spiegel 2008).

The signage of Steindamm's shops constitutes an important element of its streetscape. Its walls offer canvases in various non-German languages. Its shopping windows are full of traditional MENA garments, and its sidewalks feature colourful displays of fruits and vegetables (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). As you approach the main station, the scenery begins to change, with sex shops and sex workers standing discreetly on street corners. This vibrancy belies some of the interviewees' description of Steindamm as 'grey and dull', suggesting that Steindamm's reputation as a conservative enclave colours people's perceptions of it.

The disorderliness of Steindamm – with its packed sidewalks, lack of delivery areas and unstructured footpaths – led the State Authority for Roads, Bridges and Water to develop public-realm plans in 2019. Steindamm was reconfigured in 2020 with two lanes in each direction, separated by 47 trees (Figure 4.5). Parking spaces were rearranged and cycle paths were expanded to boost traffic safety (Streb 2020, 2) and encourage people to walk and cycle rather than drive, hoping, in turn, to reduce social segregation. It is worth mentioning, however, that cyclists are still uncommon in Steindamm.



Figure 4.3: The urban character of Steindamm Street. © Bedour Braker 2020



Figure 4.4: Signage canvas overrules in Steindamm street. © Bedour Braker, 2020



Figure 4.5: State's visualisation of the renewal plan for Steindamm in 2019. Source: © BBS Landscape Engineering GmbH, commissioned by Der Landesbetrieb Straßen, Brücken und Gewässer. Accessed 1 November 2022. <https://www.argus-hh.de/aktuelles/der-steindamm-wird-zur-allee/>

The people of Steindamm

You don't feel welcomed as a European with certain features. You get this wave of aggressive visual contact from the Steindamm people. (Interview 2021; German resident, straight male)

Steindamm is a space that reveals the socio-cultural diversification of Hamburg. It provides a palpable presence of several waves of social mobility through intersections of class, race and ethnicity. One German man expressed his changing perception of Steindamm as follows:

To me, Steindamm feels a bit like a little Istanbul in the middle of Hamburg. There are a lot of immigrant faces, lots of oriental restaurants, and halal meat butchers. In the past, it was actually more [of a mix] of Germans and Turks right after the waves of the Gastarbeiter. Now, it is slowly becoming more concentrated with immigrants than with Germans. (Interview 2021; German resident, straight male)

In the past, Steindamm used to feel different. It was a street with a Turkish flair like many other streets in Hamburg – nothing so special about it. After the 2015 waves of Arab and African refugees, the street changed dramatically. Now it doesn't feel as safe as before, with all the African drug addicts and the Arab attitudes in the streets that are totally different to the nature of German manners. Also, in the past, drugs and prostitution were a little bit discreet; now, it feels more in your face. (Interview 2021; Egyptian immigrant, straight female)

Many of the interviewed immigrants also expressed a fear of discrimination from Germans – an emotion that may serve as a catalyst behind the creation of ethno-religious enclaves. One gay Arab man expressed discomfort at being associated with other Arabs, which leads to him being treated differently. His Arab identity makes him feel less safe than he would feel if he were a white German, in large part due to right-wing Germans who oppose the country's immigration policies. Most families living in these enclaves are reluctant to shed their traditional values. They stick strictly to their religious roots to preserve their distinct ethnic identities and inherited patriarchy. One woman described only going out with her male partner:

I only go there with my husband, but the people are friendly, and I can hear a lot of Arabic around me, so it feels like home. (Interview 2021; Egyptian immigrant, straight female)

Another woman expressed discomfort at living in Germany when asked if she feels integrated within German society:

No, I feel I need to go back home to Egypt. Here is never going to be home to me. (Interview 2021; Egyptian immigrant, straight female)

Thus, Steindamm may be perceived as a male-dominated space – one not well-suited for women – with facilities targeting male clientele. One interviewee had been verbally harassed by a group of young Arab men while sitting in a restaurant on Steindamm. She asserted that the men felt that they were protected from consequences in their environment:

The men behaved as if the space gave them some form of power. (Interview 2021; Egyptian immigrant in St Georg, straight female)

Such behaviour turns spaces into spaces of power, where some people exert their strength over other, more vulnerable people, and the rest remain silent. Acceptance of LGBTQ+ people in Steindamm is seemingly hindered by conservatives who actively ignore their existence within the local community. When asked if it is possible to create spaces that promote social integration between the LGBTQ+ community and Muslim immigrants, one interviewee responded:

I don't have any gay friends and I don't think I am keen on having any. I have my own reservations regarding them, but I also consider myself a moderate Muslim. (Interview 2021; Egyptian immigrant, straight female)

Another interviewee explained how his conservative circle perceives the LGBTQ+ in Hamburg:

There is a lot of rejection for the gay community within the Muslim community here in Hamburg. They can even become aggressive while talking about other gay members. (Interview 2021; Egyptian immigrant, straight male)

When immigrants reveal their LGBTQ+ sexuality, they are beaten, forced into traditional marriages or indefinitely expelled from the community. One of the Arab interviewees said:

You need to act and walk in a specific way not to attract unnecessary attention. I heard of an Iraqi trans who got beaten by other Iraqis once they could recognise his origins and sexual transition. (Interview 2021; Yemeni immigrant, gay male)

However, Steindamm is also a place of belonging for some of those who use it. It is the main space where (mostly male) Muslims come every Friday with their children after weekly prayers to get together, exchange news, have a drink or do their weekly shopping. On Eid, after the month of Ramadan, families gather in Steindamm to greet each other while children wear new clothes and are rewarded with candies. For the majority of Muslim immigrants, it is a space that reminds them of home – a space where they can still practise their social traditions.

Everyone comes wearing new festive outfits. The children as well are proud and happy to show themselves to their friends in their new clothes. They are also happy to get a lot of sweets that day. (Interview 2021; Egyptian immigrant, straight male)

On the other hand, Steindamm is also a restricting space for women and those in the LGBTQ+ community, as they feel that they always need to act, dress and talk in certain ways to avoid offending anybody or provoking conservative men. Walking down the street, one can observe two main elements that signify its conservative, unwelcoming character. The first is the fact that all women's garments on offer are very modest, aiming to cover women from head to toe – veils and burqas dominate store displays. The second consists of the clusters of young men standing at every corner, staring at people in the street while catcalling women who are not properly covered or men who they assume are gay or trans.

Lange Reihe: the 'be free' zone

On Lange Reihe (Figure 4.6), the phrase *frei sein* – be free – is everywhere. You can see it tagged as graffiti or posted on storefront signs. This one-kilometre-long street is considered to be a catwalk for



Figure 4.6: A general view of Lange Reihe Street. © Bedour Braker, 2020

the people of the LGBTQ+ community in St Georg, especially during the ‘Christopher Street Day’ parade, an annual celebration of LGBTQ+ rights. Galleries, small independent shops, cafes, bars, restaurants and gay sex shops line this pulsing street. Rainbow flags are predominant, and traffic lights feature pictograms of same-sex couples (Figures 4.7 and 4.8). Lange Reihe is a public space shaped by the identities of its inhabitants into a social enclave, constituting a space for protection and freedom – just like Steindamm for conservative Muslims.

The face of Lange Reihe has shifted across several waves of gentrification over the past 30 years. Being a distinct place, it has gradually become a tourist destination with economic opportunities for property developers and investors (ARUP 2021, 7). Over the past two decades, some of its listed buildings have been redeveloped and upgraded, and rents have increased. As a result, some longstanding tenants, despite being protected by law, were forced to move out. In fact, some investors intentionally sabotaged buildings to expedite this process. Old residents who could not afford the new rates were evicted, small businesses were terminated, and buildings with new modifications were automatically unlisted. Some of the commercial spaces on Lange Reihe did not survive these challenges of time and disappeared soon after their launch, mainly due to a combination of high rent and

low demand for their products or services. Others succeeded and became street landmarks (Pfadt 2018, 6). Through constant urban renewal, layers of memory have been erased and many properties have become unaffordable to those in the LGBTQ+ community who originally shaped the nature and identity of Lange Reihe. Here is striking evidence of how gentrification succeeds, in many cases, in demolishing identities of old urban fabric, crushing small local businesses in the process (Tieg 2015). As noted by one Lange Reihe user, the aforementioned gentrification stopped the street from being the core location of gay identity that it once was:

I don't really have the feeling it's a gay street anymore; I can see a mixture of visitors. But you can also see that gay couples feel relaxed to express their passion in the street and no one pays attention to them. (Interview 2021; Spanish immigrant, straight male)



Figure 4.7: Traffic light in Lange Reihe with same-sex pictograms. Photo Pharnyada Pakdeepatthapee. © Jan Braker Architekt



Figure 4.8: Annual Christopher Street parade in Lange Reihe Street.
© Bedour Braker, 2017

German authorities consider Lange Reihe to be one of the most influential streets in Hamburg (Müller 2010). Various plans and strategies have been proposed to retain it as a successful tourist attraction, including the listing of 34 of its buildings as monuments in the Department of Monument Protection Act (Building Cultural Heritage 2020). Lange Reihe was one of five main streets in Hamburg to undergo urban development plans in 2009 following residents' demands for traffic reduction (12,000 cars were using the street daily). The Authority of Urban Development and Environment proposed a 'communal-road' concept: a road space merged with sidewalks with almost all traffic signs removed (Müller 2010). Many residents rejected the idea, claiming that this would further increase rents. Some traders worried about what the removal of parking spaces would do to their businesses. In the end, the plan was called off (Mlo 2010).

While the redevelopment of Steindamm to counteract its chaos has been partially successful in improving social integration, Lange Reihe remains an enclave that excludes conservative groups. This may stem from the fact that state plans, instead of pursuing the social integration of both minority groups, focused on improving the public realm to make it more appealing to investors and international businesses.

The people of Lange Reihe

Lange Reihe is mainly visited by Europeans. You rarely see any Arabs there. My Arab friends even feel angry at Lange Reihe due to its reputation as a gay street. Also, they completely refuse to watch the annual Christopher Street parade. (Interview 2021; Egyptian immigrant in St Georg, straight female)

My neighbour and friend is Lesbian. I think we need to learn how to understand, respect, and accept the other if we ever want to create safer spaces for all of us. (Interview 2021; Egyptian immigrant, straight female)

Lange Reihe is a place where queer people can publicly express their identities without fear of reprisal. Since the 1990s, German society has witnessed a positive social trend toward acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community, and homophobia is no longer accepted in public discourse (Shashkevich 2018). In 1949, 39 per cent of the German population considered homosexuality a disease; by 2019, 88 per cent believed that LGBTQ+ people should enjoy the same rights as heterosexual people (Könne 2018). However, according to the German magazine *Siegessäule* in 2018, many LGBTQ+ people still try to avoid public displays of their identity. Bastian Finke from MANEO, a gay anti-violence project, says: 'They adapt their behaviour to heteronormative expectations: no flashy clothes or nail polish, they control their body movement' (Donath 2018).

On Lange Reihe, however, one can see couples walking freely – hand in hand with same-sex partners – without being judged. Most of the LGBTQ+ interviewees perceive the street as a great space where they can relax and have a good meal, even those who avoid exposing their sexuality elsewhere in Hamburg (especially on Steindamm). When asked about his experience in Steindamm, one interviewee said:

In Steindamm, I don't feel safe. Everyone looks, and you don't feel welcomed. (Interview 2021; Jordanian immigrant, gay male)

Signs and semiotics play an important role in shaping the public perception of Lange Reihe, like the Pride flag (Figure 4.9). One street user explained that they see Pride flags as a sign of safety:

The bars are the most attractive spaces in Lange Reihe. Once I see the pride flags hanging, I immediately let down my guard; it is when I feel safe to step in. (Interview 2021; Chinese immigrant, gay male)

To approach the Pride flag through semiotics is to recognise it as a signifier of connoted meanings that are deliberately produced, reproduced and applied in acts of communication between users. This interpretation of the Pride flag allows for an understanding of the arbitrary relationship between the sign and its meaning (Tchertov 2019, 10). Lange Reihe, in that sense, demonstrates how human experience and spatial orientation are reflected in the semiotic systems of its spatial configuration. As in Steindamm, where signs in a variety of languages welcome those whose mother tongue is not German, the Pride flag encodes factors that are both semantic and cultural, creating a sense of safety for users (Thiering 2015, 3–41).



Figure 4.9: Gnosha, the first cafe to welcome LGBTQ+ in Lange Reihe Street. Photo Pharnyada Pakdeepatthapee. © Jan Braker Architekt

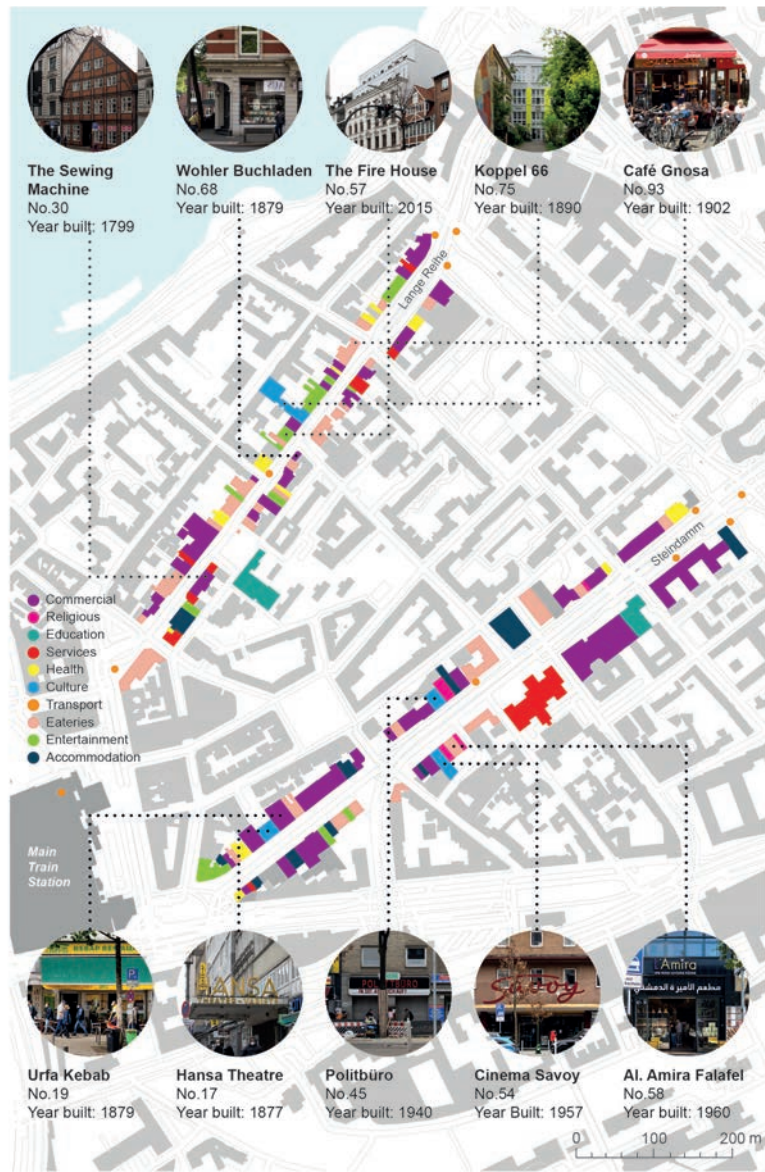


Figure 4.10: The usage of ground floor spaces in both streets.
Illustrations: Rachael Milliner; photos: Pharnyada Pakdeepatthapee.
© Jan Braker Architekt

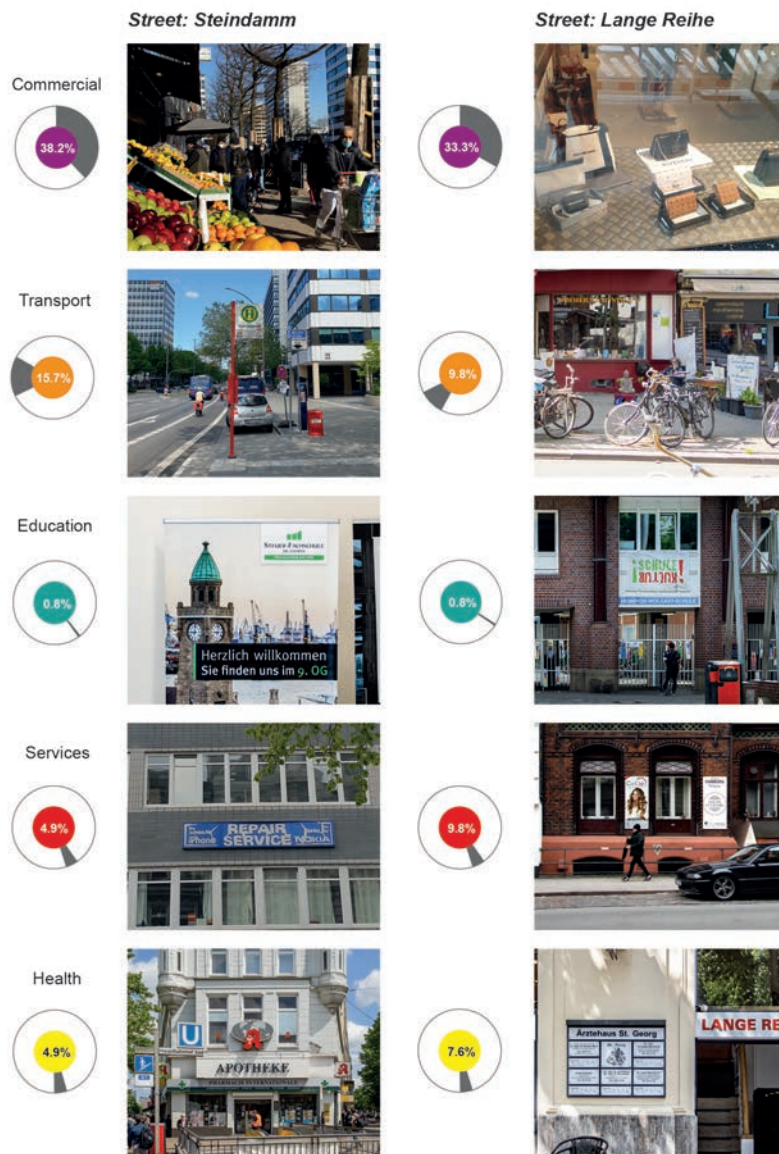


Figure 4.11: Usage diversity: left Steindamm, right Lange Reihe.
 Illustrations: Rachael Milliner; photos: Pharnyada Pakdeepatthapee.
 © Jan Braker Architekt

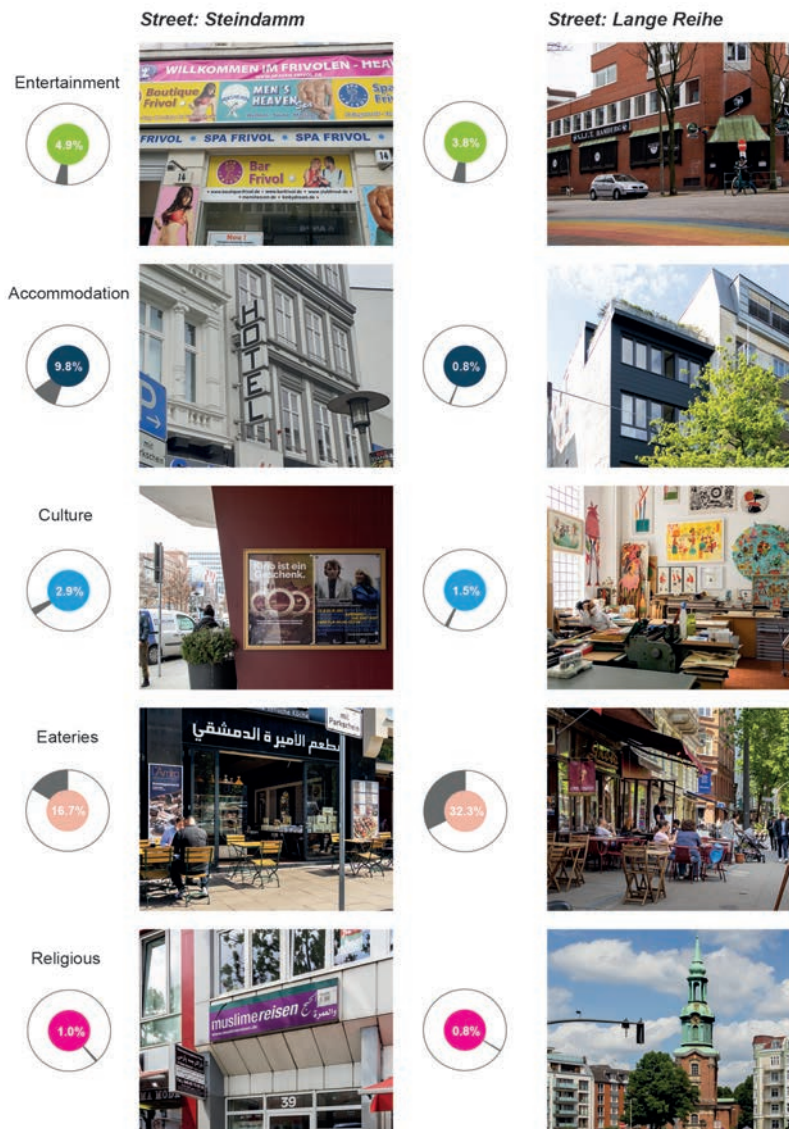


Figure 4.12: Distribution of uses on Steindamm and Lange Reihe.

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Two streets, two cultures

Lange Reihe is generally perceived as a good space that fulfils most human needs in a public place. In contrast, Steindamm is experienced as uncomfortable, unpleasant and unsafe. Figure 4.13 presents the survey results regarding the opinions and perceptions of people on both streets. The interviewees were asked to rate their impressions of both streets regarding accessibility, comfort, safety, pedestrian-friendliness, and atmosphere.

The surveys revealed a huge gap between policymakers and ordinary people who live or work on Lange Reihe or Steindamm. This is problematic, as decisions are frequently made on a top-down basis. Underprivileged users of both streets have been excluded from decision-making processes, making it hard for them to really call the streets their own. Evidently, it is important to consider how minorities can connect to systems of power and have their voices heard. When

Survey Impressions, 2021

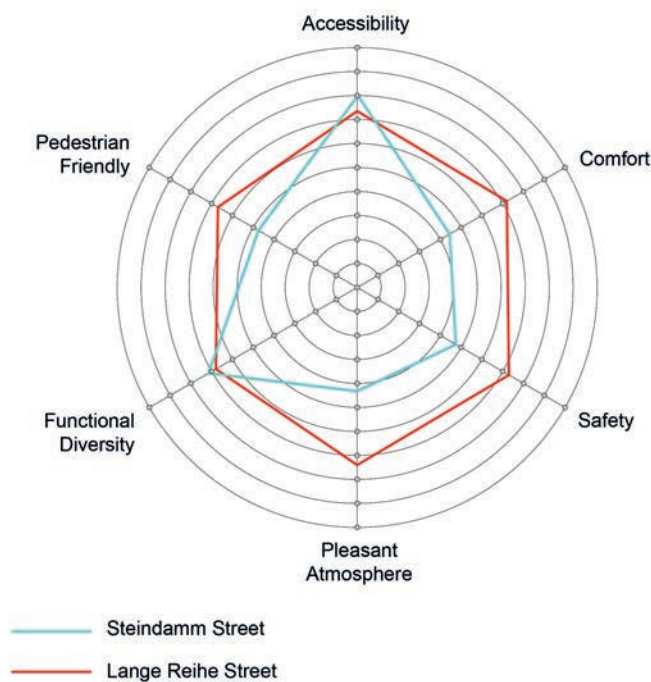


Figure 4.13: Survey Impressions 2021 Steindamm and Lange Reihe.

© Jan Braker Architekt

asked about what, in their opinion, would be the best way to initiate interactions without prejudice on both streets, most interviewees expressed doubts over the feasibility of such a pursuit due to cultural prejudice and conservative thinking. However, some suggested the creation of events that span different public spaces. It is only when people can acknowledge each other's experiences and perspectives that they can learn how to accept one another, regardless of religion or sexual orientation.

Conclusion

It is difficult for the minority communities of Lange Reihe and Steidamm to participate fully in the cultures of their streets. To understand the nuances of this topic, one must consider a multitude of aspects related to history, culture, religion and sexual orientation, which this chapter has attempted to do. St Georg has historically been a destination for the outcast, with multiple evolving dimensions to its mutable social mobility. The discussions that this research facilitated revealed some of the reasons why different minority groups do not feel welcomed in each other's enclaves. It was important to understand how users perceived both streets, as the everyday life of individual practices is what shapes their nature. Their enclaves may function well for them but may be misperceived by other groups and overlooked by those in power.

Both streets have experienced several socio-demographic shifts and urban gentrification, through which residents' needs have often been overlooked. Cultural and economic diversity on both streets led to crossovers between different identities under threat of dissipation due to rapid increases in land value. Rising land value inevitably attracts investors and urban planners to intervene without necessarily considering the street's identity, cultural heritage or underprivileged users.

To achieve a more inclusive future for streets like Lange Reihe and Steindamm – and to properly understand how the semiotics, social lives and patterns of urban movement occur across different minority enclaves – we must start tracing the social and urban developments of different minorities in cities like Hamburg. This chapter demonstrates, on a small scale, how these objectives could be achieved. We must also reinforce planning practices to generate street spaces that facilitate freedom of expression while respecting the life choices of all inhabitants.

Notes

- 1 Information taken from German Statistics, 2019.

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5

Streets after dark: the experiences of women, girls and gender-diverse people

Gill Matthewson, Nicole Kalms, Jess Berry and Gene Bawden

This chapter examines streets as an often-problematic space for women and gender-diverse people because of gendered perceptions of safety. These perceptions profoundly impact the use of streets – especially at night – by women and gender-diverse people. The chapter uses the results of innovative crowd-sourced mapping surveys in Melbourne and Sydney to develop nuanced understandings of safety perceptions and appropriate responses, such as gender-sensitive lighting and awareness campaigns.

Perceptions of street safety

This underpass is the most efficient way to get from the tram stop to the street. However, it's dark, has lots of menacing graffiti and is long and invisible to the street. If someone follows you in there, there's nothing you can do but keep running. (Transport hub St Kilda, Melbourne, female, age 40–44, Anytime, YourGround Victoria)

Never felt safe walking in this area, even if I am not alone. The lighting is terrible and the design of the walkways leaves a lot of spots hidden from view. (Central Station Sydney, female, age 19, Anytime, Free to Be Sydney)

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA



MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA | 2km ↑

Figure 5.0: Maps of Sydney and Melbourne © Anna Skoura

The degree to which people feel safe while traversing a city dictates their personal confidence, mobility decisions and engagement with the economic and social life of the city. Perceptions of safety are closely tied to sex and gender identity, with women and gender-diverse people feeling far less safe, especially at night (Lennox 2022, 643; Whitzman et al. 2013). The assertion that the *feeling* of safety is significant – beyond the mere objective safety of a space – is vital to understanding women’s perception of safety in their communities (Pain 1991, 417). While ‘objective’ safety assessments make sense in terms of traffic and other public hazards, it is insufficient when it comes to perceptions of safety, as these arise from complex sociocultural factors.

Emphasising the role of gendered safety perceptions in spatial inequity, feminist academics and activists in recent decades have sought to both qualify and quantify women’s perceptions of safety in the urban environment (Davidson et al. 2016; Pain 1991; Pain 1997; Valentine 1990). This chapter introduces crowd-sourced mapping surveys and aligned communication campaigns as a means of developing nuanced understandings of safety perceptions and appropriate responses. Using interactive mapping as a form of digital community engagement, the methods employed in this chapter give insight into women and gender-diverse people’s after-dark experiences that are fairly new relative to traditional survey methods. While these surveys (Free to Be and YourGround) were mainly conducted in Australia, the insights that this study provides are relevant to cities across the world. The results can be used in numerous ways, such as improving lighting and informing community awareness campaigns.

The gendered urban environment

Gender bias and gender inequity produce a gendered world. There are two key consequences of this gendering that impact the access and inclusion of women in public spaces: gender bias in the production of the built environment, and gender-based violence. These consequences work together to reinforce social and economic inequities, leading to a lack of agency among women and gender-diverse people in influencing public space.

The urban environment has, for the most part, been designed by men to advance their own interests (Colomina 1992; Kern 2020). Despite the increasing number of women involved in professions pertaining to the built environment, city design and policy are largely

dominated by male perspectives. One way this manifests can be found in how policies and designers imagine a 'default user'. As a result of unacknowledged gender bias, streets and public spaces in the West are geared toward a dominant user – often White, heterosexual, male, able-bodied and English-speaking. This professional bias intersects with many other forms of systemic inequality, including gender-based violence, which has profound implications for perceptions of safety.

Gender-based violence includes intimate partner violence, family violence and sexual violence, and it is responsible for more ill-health among Australian women aged 18–44 than any other public health issue (VicHealth 2017). The main type of gender-based violence that affects the presence of women and gender-diverse people in public spaces is sexual violence, which ranges from harassment to assault. While the impact of actual assaults may be clear, the ongoing threat of street-based sexual harassment is less acknowledged but nonetheless 'related to decreased levels of perceived safety in busy and isolated public spaces as well as increased levels of general anxiety' (Davidson et al. 2016, 558). This is partially due to the fact that women have no way of knowing what interactions could suddenly escalate into a serious situation. Overall, sexual harassment reminds women of their vulnerability to sexual assault and negatively influences how they perceive their own safety (Pain 1997, 300; Viswanath 2013, 81; Walklate 2018, 288). This fear of violence has social, physical, psychological and economic impacts on women and gender-diverse people (Lenton et al. 1999).

As Fatma El Nahry states, 'despite claims made by many men, harassment is not a harmless, direct reaction by men to women and gender-diverse people but an institutionalized system of violence that functions to police participation, freedom of movement and behaviour in public spaces' (cited in Levy 2019, 56). Importantly, the degree of this impact is shaped by various intersecting factors, including age, ethnicity, race, sexuality, ability, indigeneity, religion and socioeconomic status.

The level of vulnerability felt by individuals on the street is also dependent on numerous other factors, including whether they are alone or in a group, whether there are other people nearby and, crucially, the time of day (Plan International 2018a). An unwanted comment from an unknown man in a crowded place during the day is quite different from a similar comment made in a deserted street at night. Thus, even areas deemed 'safe' during the day become off-limits when darkness falls, suggesting a need to consider different strategies for improving public safety after dark.

I always correlate darkness with bad stuff happening. Even the places that I like, I probably wouldn't go there late at night. (Comment, Free to Be Sydney Reflection Workshop)

Among women and gender-diverse people, late-night employment and leisurely nights out can be seriously curtailed by the perception that going out at night is riskier. In Australia, 50 per cent of women do not feel safe walking alone at night, a figure far higher than that of 20 per cent among men (Community Council for Australia 2019, 32). Another study found that a third of the young female respondents believed that they should never be in public spaces at night *at all* (Plan International Australia 2016, 3).

The sociocultural mythology that 'bad things happen at night' looms large and cannot be underestimated (Mason et al. 2013; Viswanath 2013, 81). Women and girls learn about cities and are groomed into trepidation by shows, movies and news stories that highlight their vulnerability in cities at night. While there is a dearth of research on the experiences of gender-diverse people, we can predict, based on the limited research that does exist, that their experiences are at least equally as pervasive (Hubbard 2005; Williams 2008).

After dark, I don't want to leave [the] train station to catch [the] bus. I will catch [a] taxi from rank. I don't go [out] at night if I don't have to. (Suburban street in Frankston, Melbourne, gender-diverse, age 40–44, Night, YourGround)

This situation is further exacerbated by current and historical cultural norms that place the responsibility for their own safety on women and gender-diverse people, shifting culpability away from perpetrators (Lennox 2022, 643; Plan International 2018a; Viswanath 2013, 83). Women and gender-diverse people engage in a wide range of self-protective behaviours and hypervigilant practices, especially at night. Such practices include dressing in ways that avoid attracting attention, talking on a mobile phone with friends or family members, having their keys in hand, and avoiding certain locations, such as car parks, underpasses and parks (Valentine 1992; Vera-Grey and Kelly 2020). Women are advised to routinely undertake 'safety work' to mitigate risk: walk confidently, stay in well-lit areas, keep your hands free, don't take shortcuts and remain 'situationally aware' (Boomsma and Steg 2014; Vera-Gray and Kelly 2020). Women and gender-diverse people employ all these strategies (and more) to keep themselves safe from

male sexual violence and harassment in cities after dark. This daily burden has an ongoing debilitating impact on their ability to engage in public spaces and enjoy public amenities and employment.

The strategies contribute to the complex gendering of responsibility, which fosters a culture of fear and alienation that radically limits women's ability to participate actively and freely in urban nightlife (Preez and Wadds 2016). For those who do not have the economic and social capital to undertake avoidance strategies – such as taking taxis to avoid public transportation – there are extra risks (Lennox 2022).

These types of safety measures show how women restrict their movement and adopt bodily strategies as mechanisms to negotiate public space. On the streets, women and gender-diverse people implicitly understand that they must strike a balance between freedom and safety (Vera-Gray 2021). Part of that negotiation entails continuously reading the environment and calculating risk, and what results are places where specific, minoritised groups may be reluctant to walk, exercise, play and connect.

Mapping the impact: crowd-sourced mapping of safety perceptions

Because of the complexities associated with perceptions of safety, each woman or gender-diverse person has their own personal geography of their city: places they will and won't go. Crowd-sourced mapping is able to delve into this complexity. The management of complex personal urban geographies at night is a recurring theme of a series of projects undertaken by Monash University's XYX Lab and CrowdSpot (a social engagement and tech platform) in collaboration with local and state government authorities and organisations. Free to Be and YourGround (Figure 5.1) are collaborative online mapping surveys that ask women, girls and gender-diverse people to identify and share information about what makes them feel uneasy and at ease – unsafe and safe – in their city.

Crowd-sourced mapping actively encourages participatory ways of thinking about public space. It aims to reduce the barriers to engagement for women and gender-diverse people through interactive, visual and intuitive means. This technique is particularly useful for illuminating stories and issues from people whose voices are not always heard in traditional fora. Sharing experiences on digital platforms connects, empowers and supports women and gender-diverse people; it wields enormous potential to affect positive change, especially for

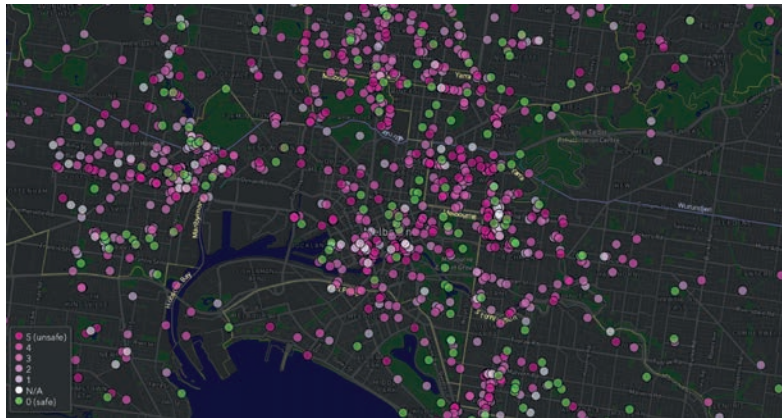


Figure 5.1: ‘Stress’ map of Melbourne (green spots are safe; pink are unsafe. The darker the pink spot, the more stressful it is). © CrowdSpot 2021; Monash University YXX Lab

minoritised communities increasingly using digital technology to expedite change (Kalms 2017). The #MeToo movement is a strong example of this potential, as is Sfetipin, an ongoing project to collect data on women’s safety (Viswanath and Basu 2015). It uses geolocation mapping like Free to Be and YourGround, but it is ongoing rather than a time-limited survey.

The mapping survey approach can democratise the research process by providing autonomy and power to a wide range of participants, as well as drawing upon a wider range of participants – therefore breaking down structural barriers, such as class and race. Women and gender-diverse people participating and sharing their experiences online effectively serves to challenge dominant narratives. Importantly, crowd-sourced mapping provides anonymity and safety to women and gender-diverse people who wish to disclose instances of gender-based violence but fear reprisals from other methods of disclosure and who avoid the traditional justice system in terms of reporting.

The impact: insights from Sydney and Melbourne

The suite of projects drawn on in this chapter stems from significant collaboration. The collaborative partnership model has benefits for strategic communication, and the insights derived from site-specific surveys can be used to inform community awareness campaigns and

dialogue by focusing attention on narratives of gender that influence how public spaces are accessed and occupied. Free to Be Melbourne in 2016 and Free to Be Sydney in 2018 (alongside four other cities) in collaboration with Plan International explicitly sought to capture street-based sexual harassment of young women (Plan International 2018a; Plan International 2018b). The findings were supplemented by reflection and co-design workshops held in each city with young women, stakeholders and advocates. In 2021, YourGround – in collaboration with local and state governments in Victoria, Australia – aimed to elicit information on aspects of the built environment that influence perceptions of safety among women and gender-diverse people.

I pass through here twice a day to get to work and am routinely verbally abused by men. I feel unsafe and would never go through here at night. I wish the police or government would listen to women's stories and do something about this place. (Park near Central Station, female, age 25, Anytime, Free to Be Sydney)

In Sydney, sexual harassment and violence constituted the primary reason why the young women surveyed felt unsafe in public spaces (Plan International 2018b). This result is very similar to those in the four other cities surveyed in the 2018 Free to Be project – Delhi, Kampala, Lima and Madrid (Plan International 2018a). In Sydney, following an incident, nearly half of the respondents avoided going back to a location alone; 12 per cent never returned, and 1 per cent even moved house, left a job or changed school. Even after just a single unsafe experience, women's behaviour can change for their lifetime, including avoiding the particular location.

Incidents in Sydney were so ubiquitous that young women were resigned to their occurrence. Thirty-six per cent of the 2,700 participants said that they were 'used to' incidents, viewing them as a normal part of navigating streets in their community. This tolerance of sexual harassment and violence – due to recurrence – is part of the gendered world that movements like #MeToo and these surveys aim to change.

Further analysis of the Free to Be Sydney data revealed an increased incidence of sexual harassment during the hours of darkness, particularly among those who were in the city for recreational purposes but also for those who were travelling to and from work during these hours (Committee for Sydney 2019, 6). Moreover, most women participating in the survey expected it to occur at night and were even used to it.

While sexual harassment committed by men was the dominant driving force behind the negative perceptions of safety on the streets of Melbourne and Sydney among women and gender-diverse people, environmental qualities also played a strong role. Participants described being wary of areas that are dark, poorly maintained and deserted, especially those that provide opportunities for perpetrators to hide or entrap. Such spaces are described by other research showing that stairs, tunnels, underpasses, poorly lit streets and alleyways contain physical properties of urban space that increase the potential of attackers to go unseen (Koskela and Pain 2000).

This area feels so dodgy. The level light means you can't see who is approaching you. (Street near Flinders Street Station, female, age 39, Night, Free to Be Melbourne)

As a consequence, women and gender-diverse people learn to 'read' both the physical and social aspects of a public space for risk, believing that certain environmental elements indicate the potential for threatening behaviour. Adding to the complexity, individual risk perceptions are shaped by both personal experiences and identity factors, such as age, ethnicity, religion and socioeconomic status. Thus, women and gender-diverse people have varied and sometimes divergent experiences of public spaces.

One of the aims of the YourGround Victoria research project in 2021 was to elicit more detail about the environmental elements that influence safety perceptions. The survey received 6,043 submissions from women and gender-diverse people of all ages, though nearly half of the participants were between 30 and 44. Just 18 per cent of the locations pinned on the map were identified as 'safe', though nearly a fifth of these designations were qualified, often with a note about how they are only safe during daylight hours. Streets were the most commonly pinned location type – and just 8 per cent of street pins were identified as safe places. Eighty-five per cent of these streets were identified as unsafe at any time of day, night or dawn/dusk. Parks and green spaces attracted markedly more 'safe' designations – 32 per cent – than streets. While 15 per cent of respondents stated that they would not return to a place after having an unsafe experience, 7 per cent indicated that they had no choice but to continue using that particular street or location. The survey allowed respondents to record their stress level in the location; among all of the location types, underpasses recorded the highest levels of stress.

The alleys around this area have people drinking and being loud and obnoxious. They are usually minding their own business, but do stare a lot. I feel at any time ‘the pack’ could turn against me and I’ll need to run. (Urban street Collingwood, Melbourne, female, age 30–34, Dawn/dusk, YourGround)

One of the key findings of the survey was that activity type and location type (street, park, public transport, and the like) made a difference in perceptions of safety (YXX Lab and CrowdSpot 2021). For example, dog walkers felt safer than leisure walkers in parks at night. Runners and dog walkers both had concerns about lighting at the beginning and end of a standard 9–5 workday during winter (when these hours are dark). Those who need or want to exercise on a daily basis often need to do so in the dark, so the lack of lighting is strongly felt. Fifty-seven per cent of respondents said that poor lighting was a concern when moving through their communities; this was fairly consistent across all groups (YXX Lab and CrowdSpot 2021).

YourGround participants were asked what might be done to improve the safety of an area; unsurprisingly, better lighting was the overwhelming answer (YXX Lab and CrowdSpot 2021, 16). This was often phrased as ‘more’ lighting; however, many participants also commented that over-lighting a space was not always the right solution, in terms of both their own safety and the natural amenity of an area. This observation that ‘good’ lighting does not necessarily mean ‘more’ lighting has also arisen from other YXX Lab research.

A 2018 collaboration between Plan International, Monash University’s YXX Lab and Arup saw lighting researchers analyse 80 of the most safe and unsafe ‘hotspots’ identified by young women in the Free to Be Melbourne project (Arup 2019; Kalms 2019). The analysis suggested that high illuminance in urban lighting did not create positive perceptions of safety among women and gender-diverse people navigating city streets after dark. In fact, the places deemed ‘unsafe’ by women in the Melbourne study were, on average, four times more luminous than those designed as ‘safe’. Thus, the solution is not necessarily more or brighter light, but careful lighting design that enhances the area rather than floodlighting it. This research provides a foundation for planners and urban designers who often invest in extra lighting due to a belief that bright lighting will automatically increase feelings of safety. In reality, lighting streets to create positive and inclusive urban experiences for women requires a more nuanced approach. This finding has shaped recommendations

regarding lighting to enhance urban safety and crime prevention in Melbourne (Community Crime Prevention 2020).

There is lighting all the way along the whole path but, on a regular basis, only half of the lighting is activated. It leaves the area feeling very unsafe and scary. (Beachfront Geelong, female, age 50–54, Dawn/dusk, YourGround Victoria)

In addition, YourGround emphasised that safety is not just about feeling safe from potential violence; it is also about feeling welcome in an area due to amenities designed for and with local women and gender-diverse people. Well-designed environmental elements targeted to women help to attract people to an area and so activate the area, increasing the sense of safety through positive passive surveillance. Positive amenities noted by participants include public toilets (especially family-friendly ones), play equipment, seats and resting places. Additionally, all infrastructure – including lighting infrastructure – must be well maintained to ensure positive perceptions of safety.

This is a good size recreation ground with paths around. It is well maintained and just about always has people around it, so it feels safe. The street lights help keep the whole area lit at night. The sports building looks good and has a good car parking area as well. (Sporting park, Tarneit, female, age 45–49, Anytime, YourGround)

It is clear from the surveys that enhancing safety perceptions among women and gender-diverse people requires a fundamental shift in approach. One way to achieve this shift is to listen to women and gender-diverse people, incorporating their views, experiences and expertise into urban strategies and policies. In addition to providing designers with insights regarding the spatial conditions that can impact feelings of safety in particular urban environments, crowd-sourced mapping surveys can be used to amplify the voices and experiences of those left out of formal consultation processes, allowing their perspectives to be recognised in the broader community through awareness campaigns.

An example of this type of awareness campaign was drawn from the compelling narratives and data brought to light by YourGround. Through a series of poster and billboard interventions throughout greater Melbourne, women and gender-diverse people's experiences



Figure 5.2: Gene Bawden, Monash University YXX Lab, 2021–2, ‘Keep Running’. Photo: Brett Brown. © Monash University YXX Lab

of navigating urban spaces were made visible to the public. ‘Keep Running’ (YXX Lab 2021; Figures 5.2–5.5) used dynamic graphics to re-insert YourGround research into public spaces. In highlighting the types of spatial conditions that can cultivate fear as well as those that can facilitate feelings of safety, the project prompted dialogue about women and gender diverse people’s right to access public space.

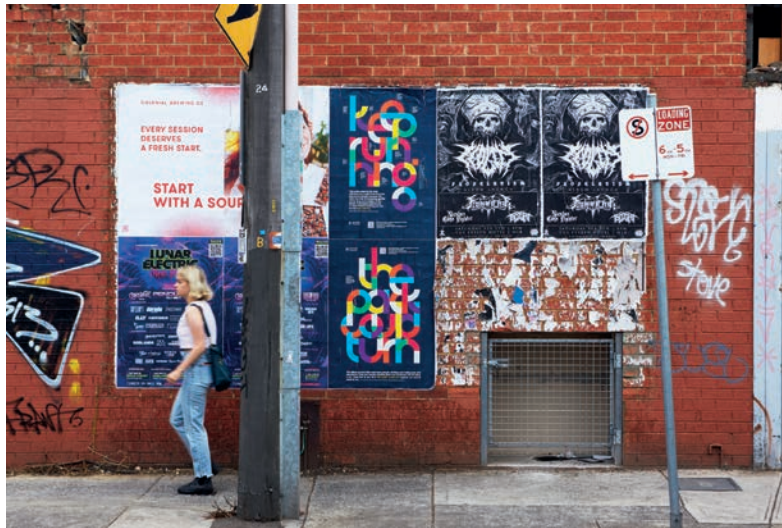


Figure 5.3: Gene Bawden, Monash University XYX Lab, 2021–2, ‘Keep Running’. Photo: Brett Brown. © Monash University XYX Lab



Figure 5.4: Gene Bawden, Monash University XYX Lab, 2021–22, ‘Keep Running’. Photo: Brett Brown. © Monash University XYX Lab



Figure 5.5: Gene Bawden, Monash University XYX Lab, 2021–22, ‘Keep Running’. Photo: Brett Brown. © Monash University XYX Lab

Conclusion

Whether someone steps out onto the streets and takes advantage of their city’s potential largely depends on how safe they feel on those streets. Concerns over personal safety in public space are pervasive among women and gender-diverse people, especially at night. Individual perceptions of safety alter behaviour; for many, navigating their local community is complex, requiring the avoidance of certain places and at certain times. This forced strategic navigation restricts the access of women and gender-diverse people to employment, services and entertainment, significantly impacting their long-term health and well-being.

While the behaviour of unpredictable people is unquestionably a key factor in places feeling unsafe, the environmental and physical factors of streets and public spaces strongly contribute to perceptions of safety among women and gender-diverse people. In particular, poor lighting and spaces that feel entrapping are problematic. Surfacing the realities of women and gender-diverse people’s experiences in streets and public spaces through crowd-sourced mapping surveys provides fine-grained information that can inform better design policy decisions. While changing design processes to include gender-sensitive approaches would undoubtedly lead to better experiences for women,

evidence suggests that cities that address the needs of women end up benefiting universally. In addition, the awareness campaigns drawn from the finding of these surveys provide a call to action for communities to develop an understanding of safety and risk in public spaces that moves beyond simplistic advice to women to avoid these spaces at night.

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6

A tourist catwalk: the pedestrianisation of Rua das Portas de Santo Antão, Lisbon

Manuel João Ramos

The unassuming Rua das Portas de Santo Antão, in downtown Lisbon, was once the unlikely epicentre of the city. During the authoritarian regime of Estado Novo, it fell into progressive decline. Its partial pedestrianisation in 1994 didn't revive it but rather helped sanitise it and empty it to make way for an influx of international tourists. This chapter details the steps by which a central street ended up being touristified, and how the rehabilitation of its heritage, enabling walkability and liveability, failed to connect with its local dwellers. Its rich history is not the object of intense praise, official or otherwise, but rather is lived by its heteroclite users, thanks to recurring acts of ritual appropriation.

The transformation of Lisbon's centre

Universal motorisation arrived late to Portugal, and hence to its capital city, Lisbon. It was only when the country became a member of the then European Economic Community that car ownership became accessible for the majority of the population (Branco and Ramos 2003, 6–8). The city's street redesign shows clear marks of a traffic planning mindset that leans heavily toward favouring private car usage. Given the craggy, meandering character of Lisbon's older neighbourhoods, this policy resulted, during the 1980s and 1990s, in chaotic overlaps of driving and walking needs that greatly diminished its streets' liveability. The city is famed for its picturesque sandstone cobbled sidewalks – both the decorated type in the historic centre and the plain type in every artery of the city (Cabrera and Nunes 1998) – but walkability has



Figure 6.0: Map of Lisbon © Anna Skoura

hardly been the prime goal of this infrastructure. This kind of paving, particularly in the hilly areas, although advantageous as it retains the soil's permeability, has always been contentious for being challenging to walk on and very slippery when it rains. The idea that Lisbon could be a walkable city was for many decades a very marginal one. Now, in the midst of an unprecedented tourist boom, the city council has embraced pedestrianisation, albeit for the most part targeting areas assigned for tourist development (Balsas Mendes 2021; Delgado 2007; Gehl 2010; Malet Calvo and Ramos 2018).

In 1984, Rua Augusta was the first street in Lisbon to be pedestrianised. This street in Baixa (the eighteenth-century grid near the river) was the main artery connecting Terreiro do Paço, the monumental square facing the Tagus, and Praça da Figueira, a square next to Rossio. As is frequently the case, this drew universal criticism from businesses and drivers, and for a long time failed to attract pedestrians. The next attempt was made on Rua Garrett, a steep street leading to Chiado. The consequence of its poor design was tragic: in 1988 a fire spread uncontrollably when fire trucks found it impossible to navigate the maze of concrete stools the council had installed there (Sá Fernandes and Fidalgo 2020, 146). The third instance, though initially resisted, proved immensely successful: only 450 metres of cobblestone pavement were laid in Rua das Portas de Santo Antão (RPSA), in 1994. This was part of the cultural programme for Lisbon as European Capital of Culture, but was enough to completely change its use, ambiance and attractiveness (Costa, Gutierrez and Kother 2015, 752–4). Interestingly, the councillor who proposed the change at the time offered in argument the idea that this limited pedestrianisation would be the starting point for the eventual creation of a 'green corridor' to connect the city centre to the forested mountain of Monsanto, 'the city's lung', as per the urbanists' lingo (Ribeiro Telles 1997; Matos 2018). After decades of resistance, this project finally came to fruition 26 years later, when Lisbon was awarded European Green Capital 2020.

The gentry and the tourist in the old city

The topic of touristification is gaining ground in both sociology and political economy studies, as the forces unleashed by expanding international mobility and neoliberal land policies have begun to impact communities around the world, changing landscapes, cultures and identities. Touristification – a process whereby urban and non-urban

areas are transformed to attract and accommodate large influxes of tourists – is a concept frequently associated with gentrification – the transformation of areas through the influx of affluent residents and businesses (Cocola-Gant 2018). Both processes imply changes in composition, morphology, usage of specific territories and forms of up-marketing, but they also lead to symbolic and imaginary alterations that very frequently result in the eviction of poorer dwellers, voluntarily or otherwise. While there is no necessary causal relationship between the two, they seem deeply intertwined – they can occur simultaneously, and one can generate or piggyback on the other. In urban settings, changes in residential typology can be brought about by changes in commercial usage, and vice versa. In any case, the actions and decisions of authorities tend to be instrumental to them. When authorities cater for ‘outsiders’ as a means of attracting capital to an area to be ‘developed’, they tend to alienate poorer inhabitants by failing to provide for them. They create new infrastructures, promote new usages, and offer new opportunities to investors, promoters and affluent residents alike (Delgado 2007, 53; Minton 2006; Minton 2017; Harvey 1989).

The touristification and gentrification of old central quarters are processes that one would not, at least until very recently, easily have associated with Lisbon. Nonetheless, they have featured in the city’s urban and economic plans, at least as aspirational elements, ever since Portugal’s accession to the then European Economic Community in 1985. Before then, a more socialist narrative inherited from the 1974 revolution had prevailed at both national and local levels, making any suggestion of musealisation – or rather Disneyfication (Sorkin 1992) – of old central Lisbon virtually unthinkable. Considering its particular setting, its challenging mountainous location and the historical effects of the exodus to the peripheries, central Lisbon arrived in the twenty-first century in a curious position, showing the visible effects of many years of disinvestment, a lack of coherent territorial planning programmes, and intense signs of a rent-gap structure. In other words, at the dawn of the new century the inner city was ready for the take and primed for the processes of touristification and gentrification. When they set in, the two processes were deeply intertwined with the ambiguously defined and used trope of ‘heritage’ (Mendes 2018; Malet Calvo and Ramos 2018; Sjöholm 2017; Casagrande et al. 2017).

Brief history of the city's fate

Lisbon's centrality as the capital of a world trading empire suffered an irrecoverable blow during the Napoleonic wars, as the country's royal court moved to Brazil and Portugal's relevance in world affairs was all but extinguished. The long, narrow, meandering way of which Rua das Portas de Santo Antão (RPSA) is the first track was once peppered with the kinds of local small commerce that reigned in Lisbon, complementing the long-established shopping streets of Baixa and Chiado, two adjoining areas that were the locus of the most intense and vigorously planned reconstruction efforts after the devastating earthquake of 1755, and later of heritagisation discourses and practices (Balsas 2005; Cunha Leal 2009). This panorama began to change with both the opening of commercial centres in the city's more affluent quarters and then in its outer rings, and the arrival of international shops to the Avenida da Liberdade, the haussmanesque axis that connects lower and upper Lisbon.

Portugal's inland expansion in the twentieth century, resulting from internal migration caused by the economic unsustainability of traditional agriculture, coincided with a long freeze in the country's house-rental market. By the dawn of the twentieth century, RPSA had become the unlikely centre of the city – the place where all sorts of attractions could be found: political and civic meetings, popular education programmes, scientific conferences, drama and musical shows and, and gambling clubs offering food and wine, drugs and high-end prostitution. Although class segregation was the norm in the interior spaces, the street itself was a showcase of the growing city's mix (Magalhães 2021; Villaverde 2006, 164–5). The extravaganza ground to a halt when the deeply conservative and moralistic Estado Novo regime managed to consolidate itself from 1933, and the street fell into decadence and irrelevance.

The 1974 revolution and ensuing period marked by galloping inflation contributed to the growth of the city's periphery. This led to the historic centre becoming a ghost town, with hundreds of buildings left empty as their owners had neither the means nor the incentive to maintain them. The fire that devastated a number of blocks in Chiado in 1988 was the low-point in a long period of urban neglect that seemed to serve as a wake-up call for the national government and the municipality to launch a number of revival programs in the city highlighting the heritage value of its decadent centre and branding it as a tourist attraction (Malet Calvo and Ramos 2018, 54).

The setting: Rua das Portas de Santo Antão

RPSA is a quaint, pedestrianised, heavily touristified street. It runs parallel to central Lisbon's main road axis, Avenida da Liberdade – an epitome of the celebrated French export, the boulevard. RPSA is one of the city's oldest thoroughfares, linking the squeezed riverain valley that is Baixa to the northern road system. Its name derives from its being the exit lane of one of the medieval city gates (Porta de Santo Antão, previously Porta de São Domingos). Despite its narrow and cramped character, oddly it became the nerve centre of the city in the late nineteenth century: the capital's political and business elite, and the growing petty bourgeoisie, would gather there. The hilly Chiado area, not far to the west, was its intellectual and artistic pole (Villaverde 2006, 153). Further away from Rossio, the old city's main square, the street becomes more tortuous and shoddier, appropriately changing its name a few times. After a mere 400 metres, RPSA morphs into Rua de São José for a stretch of 450 metres, and then to Rua de Santa Marta; after the Largo de Andaluz it becomes Rua de São Sebastião da Pedreira, which now dissolves in the Praça de Espanha hub. The line of the ancient way connecting to the also faded Estrada de Sintra can still be guessed in maps, but urban spread has in practice obliterated it. Over the course of the last century, Avenida da Liberdade, which had previously been a public garden split in two by a creek, evolved in (relative) monumentality, hosting new large new cinemas, theatres and cafes (Silva 2016, 71–2; Cunha Leal 2005). Concurrently, the old, narrow street's previous centrality shrank into irrelevance and the space became a shabby, polluted, inhospitable one. The restaurants, beer houses, clubs and societies that had boomed during the last years of the monarchy and in the early Republic became progressively frozen in time during the rule of the authoritarian Estado Novo.

After the 1974 revolution, as the city and the country moved on, RPSA became a weird no man's land where gipsy drug dealers and cheap prostitutes rubbed alongside small shops and poor inhabitants. But, crucially, given the street's proximity to Rossio, the few remaining restaurants and bars managed to retain their ability to attract the odd international tourist who ventured into Lisbon – especially the Spanish visitors who would arrive every Easter for a quick holiday dash. Its partial pedestrianisation greatly helped to establish it as a magnet for a growing number of visitors. The street was diligently sanitised by the city council in the 2010s, monitored by the police, and transformed

into a place to go – for Lisboners and tourists alike – thanks to the overhauling of the old Coliseum and the theatre just opposite. When tourism was soaring by the mid-2010s, RPSA was already well charted in every paper and online tourist guide. Unlike the Bairro Alto and the recently overhauled Rua de São Paulo, to the West, which have become major rallying points for international millennials in search of the city's nightlife, RPSA offers a slow strolling space and numerous spots to enjoy the city's mild climate and the country's offer of cheap beer and wine, along with the promise of 'typical Portuguese cuisine' to attract respectable tourists.

The council's decision to pedestrianise RPSA in 1994, rather than choose one of the myriad other alternatives, was driven by the low political price of closing it to road traffic, since it was (and is) almost void of residents. Besides, businesses were failing and voiceless, and as RPSA runs parallel to Avenida da Liberdade, it was basically cost-free to divert the few cars that used that stretch. But there was another, deeper reason, as Villaverde stresses in his exhaustive study of the history of the street from the mid-nineteenth century to the end of the first Republic in the 1920s: RPSA is the epitome of the contradictions of the abortive modernisation of the country in that period (Villaverde 2006, 175–6). The unlikely choice, by the bourgeoisie, to implant visible signs of their empowerment (the gigantic coliseum, above all) along that narrow and unassuming street, rather than in the monumental new Avenida da Liberdade, demonstrates the smallness of the city and the half-hearted will to bring modern European forms of leisure (operettas, variety shows, circuses) to a city that had little wish, or capital, to reject its medieval character. Another factor in this empowerment was the *nouveau riche's* impetus to occupy palaces belonging to the old order and change their function by opening them up to the public (Villaverde 2006, 146). The 1994 pedestrianisation was the first of a number of successive steps taken by the council to erase – under the cloak of urban regeneration – the memories of its past exuberance and package the city up for tourist consumption.

The reconstruction that was carried out in Chiado after the fire of 1988, facilitated by generous council tax benefits for major landmarks, further fostered this rapid internationalisation of commerce. The demolition of old derelict buildings, either empty or populated by vulnerable sitting tenants, had already started in the late 1970s in parts of the upper city to make way for office buildings, which also led to 'upmarket' changes in the types of shops in the area, now providing goods for an expanding middle class. Informal street markets were

extinguished in an effort to sanitise street life – concurrent with a city-wide program financed by the European Union to eradicate the numerous shantytowns that dotted the city and its outskirts. By the early 2000s the transformation was complete (Allegra et al. 2017, 4). This was a low period for RPSA: its centrality long gone, it was emptied of its people, commerce, memories, life; now sanitised and hollow, it lay still, waiting for the sought-after tourist boom but still offering a few food and drink places, local versions of international musicals in a renovated theatre, and infrequent attractions at the Coliseum (rock concerts, circus at Christmas and Carnival).

Meanwhile, a tumbling process of planned regeneration of the Baixa-Chiado axis was taking place. This included a failed attempt at classifying it as a world heritage site and a sequence of aborted real estate swaps. Major banks owned large tracts of the downtown area and attempted to develop them, but most development deals were affected by the subprime crisis of 2008–9 and the ensuing sovereign debt collapse of 2011–15 (Lestegás 2019). The post-2015 boom in the Portuguese economy was driven by radical liberalising changes in the rent and job markets, and a very aggressive opening up to international real estate investors, in the form of hyper-generous tax exemptions and the sale of residency permits (so-called gold visas). Low-cost flights and the lightning-fast spread of hostels and short-term rented rooms and flats (mostly via Airbnb), aided by the after-effects of the Arab Spring on international tourism, fuelled the exponential growth of tourism in the city and country (Mendes 2018; Mendes 2019). Starting in the northern section of Baixa, RPSA immediately felt the effects of this prodigious transformation. Overnight, it became lively, busy, crowded and attractive. Tourists flooded in, filling the restaurants and bars, and wandering the street until cobblestone gave way to asphalt and suddenly there was nothing to see. Taking the words of Manuel Delgado, referring to the same process in central Barcelona, RPSA became the epitome of a caricature of a city – a popular catwalk for modelling tourists (Delgado 2007).

Tourists in, tourists out, and then in again

Elsewhere I have discussed how the 20-odd years of branding Lisbon a welcoming tourist destination by the national government and the city's municipality ran parallel to aborting efforts towards gentrifying its deserted historical centre (Malet Calvo and Ramos 2018). Later,



Figure 6.1: Enticing clients, enticed clients, West side. © Manuel Ramos

Figure 6.2: Tourist facing tourist shop window. © Manuel Ramos

both internal factors (the abovementioned structural transformations in the housing market) and external factors (the redirection of tourist flows due to fears of Islamic terrorism in the Maghreb, after-effects of the Arab Spring) suddenly brought about the necessary conditions for transforming Lisbon into both one of the world's top tourist destinations in the second half of the 2010s and a hotspot for real-estate speculation that resulted in the effective gentrification of the half-deserted historic centre. This process was coupled with a series of transformative adaptations of public areas to make the city more appealing to strolling multitudes of tourists (particularly on the riverfront). In tandem, private initiatives, both local and international, renewed and rebranded old shops or bought out failing commercial and residential spaces to transform them into charming hotels, jazzy hostels, local lodging, trendy bars, and fusion restaurants (Figures 6.1 and 6.2).

All of a sudden, following in the footsteps of the successful pedestrianisation of RPSA, large sections of the old city centre became walkable, liveable and attractive, but most Lisboners – those not directly involved in the new tourist industry – became strangers in their own city. Public and private efforts to make the city's public spaces liveable and welcoming resulted in the partial privatisation of those same spaces, as public balconies, verandas, terraces, gardens and squares

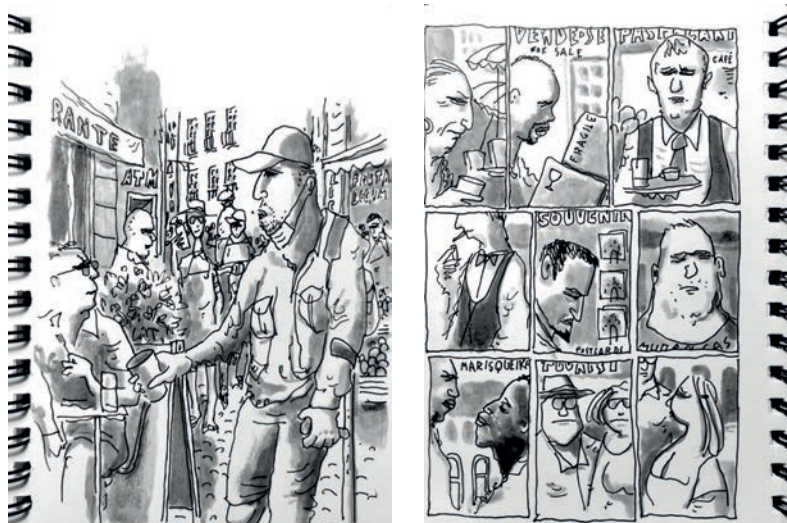


Figure 6.3: ‘Working’ the tourists. © Manuel Ramos

Figure 6.4: Snapshots of passers-by. © Manuel Ramos

were leased to cafes, bars, and restaurants, aggressively cornering and expelling the locals. Silently witnessing the roving hosts of tourists, new international residents and workers catering for the new set-up (Figures 6.3 and 6.4), they now faced being expelled to the suburbs: victims of the ever-expanding Airbnb-isation of the city (Mendes 2019).

During the Covid-19 pandemic years (2020–2), when harsh travel restrictions were imposed and the long periods of lockdown stopped most tourist activity, life in RPSA was deeply impacted (Almeida, Silva 2020). Its restaurants and bars followed the general trend: they resorted to catering for take-aways, reoriented their activities to provide for the local population, suspended their activities, or closed for good. Social and cultural venues – a major source of temporary occupation of the street – were suspended, and of course tourist strollers almost disappeared completely. Those who remained faithful users of the street space were the impoverished locals and the occasional workers from nearby offices and businesses. Between mid-2020 and early 2022, the Lisbon Council offered provisional tax exemptions for restaurants and bars willing to occupy the now empty sidewalks, but that did not really impact RPSA, as it was one of the few streets where that kind of occupation was already the norm (Minton 2006).

The pandemic provided an invaluable opportunity to visually assess how disproportionately high the ratio of tourists and



Figure 6.5: North-south view towards the National Theatre and Rossio Square. © Manuel Ramos

Figure 6.6: Looking North, Rua das Portas do Santo Antao © Manuel Ramos

tourist-related activities is in RPSA. For a brief moment in its long history, the street returned to what it had been before the 1994 pedestrianisation, except that now the long-gone car traffic was replaced by bicycle and scooter traffic – producing new, milder forms of conflict and appropriation of public walking space. Made invisible under the flood of tourists, and of theatre- or concert-goers, the usual clients of the few surviving untouristified cafes and taverns, the remnants of traditional businesses, and all those who tend to use the street not as a place in itself but as a means, again became conspicuous. During the lull caused by the pandemic, RPSA became a *liveable* street – its pavement already pedestrianised, its buildings already rehabilitated, its stillness was now reinstated. But, since it is so much part of the touristified nucleus of the city, and because council social housing policies are not directed at repopulating the historic quarter, once the tourist flow reignited it reverted to being a caricature of its former self (Figures 6.5–6.7).

The progressive lifting of Covid-19 restrictions has led to a ‘return to normality’ and the tourism sector has been revived. However, while the expected pouring of public money into large infrastructure was destined to feed the city’s tourism industry (including a new airport,



Figures 6.7: People on Rua das Portas do Santo Antao © Manuel Ramos

a new bridge, new urbanisation programmes, new railways, the revamping of squares, streets and avenues, and further musealisation projects), it may be hampered by the spectre of inflation and economic downturn that followed the Russian military intervention in Ukraine in February 2022. Forecasts suggest an expected fall of more than 11 per cent in GDP over the next few years.

Final note: speak about commoning

It is fitting to interpret the life of a historic street such as RPSA as an instance of the right of the commons, taken not in a strict but rather in an extensive sense (Borch and Kornberger 2015, 7; Dellenbaugh et al. 2015; Ostrom 1990). The ritualised appropriation of its spaces and flow lines, intersected by recurring segmentation – both temporal (daily, weekly, seasonally) and spatial (southern vs northern sections, sunny vs shady sides) – is founded on a dialogic play between remembrance and oblivion. The memories it harbours are rendered not so much by verbalised narratives, for there are no collectively recognised stories or storytellers beyond the blurbs produced in travel guides and official tourist literature, and the occasional research paper or dissertation, but by the re-enacting of the rituals of being there, and of passing through there. Those who sit in its cafes, stroll over its cobblestones, and gather in its corners and niches, looking unobservantly at its buildings, signs

and colours, do so incognisant of the weight of history and of the spiralling webs that capture unquantifiable layers of individual and collective anecdotal episodes the street has witnessed through time. Invisibly stuck somewhere between private and public rights, it is the common right to the liveability of the street that gives it its ultimate sense, for it is through this right that past memories, present acts and expected futures are summoned together. It is also fitting that such common rights are not consciously recognised by the heterogenous and ever-changing multitude of its users, for that is the way it is meant to be. Every conscious intention of reclaiming them negates their essence and paves the way to asserting hegemonising private, or public, rights: the right to speak about the street, the right to decide upon its usages and its forms, the right to own its history, the right to categorise it. Importantly, accepting this evidence entails what Douglas Hofstadter (1999) would call a ‘strange loop’: the mere mention of it, in these pages, is an act of private – written as well as sketched – unwarranted appropriation.

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The streets that were there are gone ... but Sailortown's stories remain

Agustina Martire and Aisling Madden

The demolition of Sailortown in the 1970s erased the neighbourhood's everyday streets – displacing over 1,000 families and 300 businesses – to make way for the Belfast Urban Motorway. Despite this displacement, the scattered Sailortown community remains resilient, with a sustained sense of belonging to the place. Aware of the class-driven segregation of Belfast, this chapter contrasts the view of this motorway as 'progress' with the loss of the complex everyday experiences of Sailortown. By making people's stories visible, this chapter presents a methodology that enables a nuanced, thorough and people-focused understanding of the complexity of everyday streets. It shows the degree to which people's stories are connected to the past urban grain and street fabric. We argue that a proper understanding of the complexity of these stories could prevent such large-scale planning mistakes from occurring in the future.

Sailortown and the Belfast Urban Motorway

Just as the tramways did in the nineteenth century, motorways promised in the twentieth century to transform people's everyday lives by moving them out of congested and polluted city streets and into healthier, greener, new towns and suburbs. However, not everyone benefited from large-scale investment in urban infrastructure and housing. Urban motorways cut through inner-city neighbourhoods, replacing streets with roads and segregating or displacing communities. They created derelict, abandoned, dystopian urban spaces out of previously thriving, rich, functional streets. These transformations



Figure 7.0: Map of Belfast © Anna Skoura

of the urban fabric have been well documented and discussed since the 1960s (Jacobs 1963; Gunn 2013; Mumford 1963; Urry 2009), but there is still great dissonance between the academic literature and planning policy, which continues to disproportionately harm working-class groups (Thomsen et al. 2016; Urban 2018; Zukin et al. 2015).

The streets of Sailortown in Belfast suffered the demolition of its fabric and the displacement of its people. Since the early nineteenth century, this dense working-class neighbourhood had housed workers of the docks, linen and tobacco factories, smaller industries and all services needed at the time. Between 1969 and 1973, local homes and businesses in Sailortown were demolished to make space for the Belfast Urban Motorway, displacing at least 1,000 families and 300 businesses from one of the city's most lively and diverse neighbourhoods (BBC, 1973).

Prior to the construction of the Belfast Urban Motorway, Sailortown was a thriving and lively neighbourhood despite its relatively high poverty level. As with many other 'Sailortowns' (Milne 2016) and other so-called 'slums' (Wilson 1987), the urban form of Sailortown was a network of terraced houses, small workshops and large factories framed by streets, alleys and courtyards (Figure 7.1a). This urban form enabled a complex sense of community shared by people of various backgrounds and ethnicities (Appleyard in Vernez Moudon 1989; Jacobs 1961; Moran 2016; Smithson 1957; Vaughan 2015).

The contested nature of Belfast over the last 60 years has been well explored by historians and anthropologists, but the need for a more detailed oral history of Belfast's neighbourhoods has been highlighted by Purdue (2020), O'Connell (2018) and Pierse (2020). The planning and spatial transformations aligned with this social context have been investigated by Sterrett et al. (2012), Ellis et al. (2015) and Gaffikin et al. (2016), among others. Sterrett et al. state that 'inner-city working-class communities ... continue to suffer from the impact of 1970s major road infrastructure and defectively designed social housing' (2012, 49). Research has largely focused on ethnonational divides, neglecting the transformations of everyday life among working-class people and the streets on which they work. These transformations are crucial, as they are comparable to global cases of displacement, which erode public street life and exacerbate social polarisation in cities. By 'everyday life', we refer to what Highmore (2002) called the 'ordinary and extraordinary' and how Solnit (2000) framed streets by calling them the mingling of the 'errand and the epiphany'.



Figure 7.1a: Sailortown in 1963 (left). © StreetSpace (Agustina Martire)

The rational, permeable and connected street network of 1960s Sailortown facilitated the transportation of goods from the docks. The many front doors opening onto the streets, which served countless functions, encouraged social interactions. The street was a collective zone where conversations, play and conflict were in constant flux:

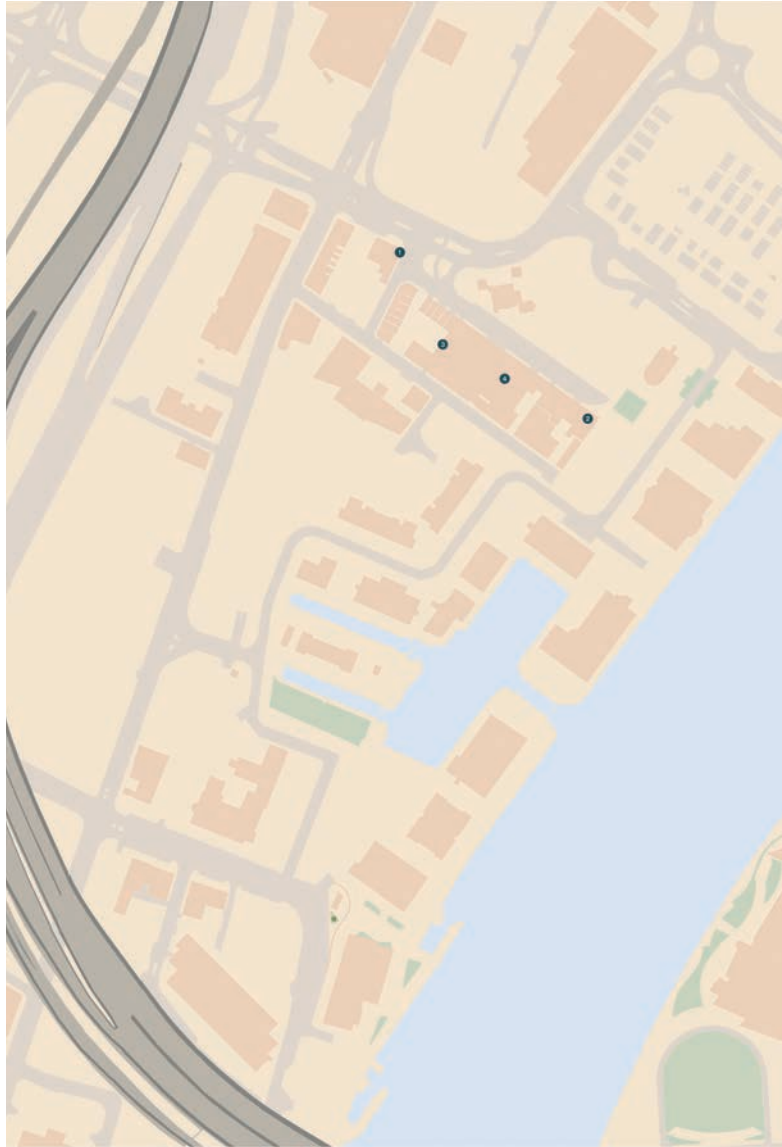


Figure 7.1b: Sailortown 2020 (right). © StreetSpace (Agustina Martire)

‘working-class street life had all the compromises and demands of intimacy; it was not the indiscriminating flow of public discourse’ (Moran 2012, 168) but ‘a constantly shifting pattern of exposure and suppression, as the participants sought both to repair and defend the limitations of their private lives’ (Vincent 1998, 145). The activities,



Figure 7.2: Sailortown stories from social media on a 1963 map.
© Aisling Madden, Juliette Moore, Aisha Holmes and Nathan Cilona

interactions and relationships that we discuss in this study are tightly linked to the qualities of the spaces in which they took place; they are a vivid part of the histories and memories of Sailortown, and a testament to the value of mixed uses in the area (Hausleitner 2019). By illustrating them, we make them visible and permanent – we give them the value that they deserve (Figure 7.2).

‘Progress’ and a ‘way of life’

Following the trend set by *Traffic in Towns* (1963), the Belfast Urban Motorway was introduced as a solution to Belfast’s traffic problems – as a symbol of ‘progress’ (Belfast Telegraph 1962–4; Johnston 2014; Kingsley and Urry 2009). However, its impact was detrimental to the working-class communities of Belfast’s inner city. A series of policy documents resulted in the demise of Sailortown: the Housing and Rent Restriction Law (1956), the Matthew Plan (1963), the Wilson Economic Plan (1964) and the Building Design Partnership Plan (1969). These all aimed to ‘demagnetise’ the city by relocating entire communities to satellite towns and suburbs. The demolition of Sailortown began in



Figure 7.3: Newspaper articles '60s, '70s, '80s. © StreetSpace (Agustina Martire)

the mid-1960s, and people were rehoused with little objection from the local communities and local government (Figure 7.3).

Criticism of slum clearance was widespread in the 1950s but did not reach Belfast until the late 1960s. Peter Smithson pointed out as early as 1953 that 'the short narrow street of the slum succeeds where spacious redevelopment frequently fails'. Roger Mayne wrote, 'This I think is a positive way of life, at the moment the planners are not sufficiently awake to the qualities of these streets which ultimately will have to go' (quoted in Hardcastle 2008). Jack Lynn (1961) believed that in tearing down whole streets which 'despite their sanitary shortcomings, harboured a social structure of friendliness and mutual aid', we had 'thrown the baby out with the bathwater' (Dickens et al. 1985, 176).

As it progressed, the Belfast Urban Motorway was increasingly questioned locally, but ideas of 'progress' overrode the value of people's everyday lives, with councillors highlighting its inevitability despite calling it 'soulless' (BT 22-9-1964) (BT 20-8-1966). Urbanists George Huxley and Cliff Moughtin led the critique, arguing against the motorway (BT 28-10-1968). Inquiries into the Belfast Urban Motorway (1972, 1976) showed that it would be particularly detrimental to

working-class areas (BBC 1973; BT 18-1-1971). By the end of 1973, 27 Belfast city councillors had voted against the motorway, while only 8 voted for it (BT 2-10-1973). However, the damage had already been done. Despite protests backed by John Tyme (1978) and Ron Weiner (1978), the urban motorway had destroyed places, streets and communities. In 1983, the link between the M1 and M2 was built, creating a gap between the city centre and the north and west ends of the inner city.

The demolition and displacement of Sailortown's streets led to the loss of many sites: houses, pubs, churches and, most importantly, the ordinary and extraordinary everyday stories of its people.

The stories of Sailortown: methodology

We would all be failing in our duty to let the history of Sailortown be forgotten and to die along with its many personalities and characters. A book should be written of all her times and of the great people and their warmth and humour which that district by the docks produced or adopted. (Eddie McIlwaine; BT 17-11-82)

Responding to demolition and displacement in city streets, which disproportionately affect working-class areas, the StreetSpace project¹ (Martire 2019; Martire 2020) investigates the value, urban form and histories of those everyday streets. Between 2019 and 2020, the project focused on Sailortown, using interdisciplinary methods to make its stories visible. This methodological overlap between anthropology and architecture shed light on the nuances and qualities of a place that are sometimes overlooked by historians and frequently ignored by urban planners.

The powerful stories of Sailortown have been brought to life by both scholars and community activists. Similar to Fyfe's (1996) understanding of Glasgow's working-class neighbourhoods through poetry, Fagan and Anderson (2016) discussed a project that used song, installation and performance to preserve the memories of Sailortown residents in the shape of an exhibition in the MAC Belfast (2012). Sean O'Connell has spent decades investigating oral histories and the power that they have to depict the complexity of working-class experiences, with a particular focus on Sailortown (2018) in recent years. Following short-lived campaigns in the 1990s and 2000s, local activist Terry McKeown of Sailortown Regeneration has played a pivotal role

in revealing many of Sailortown's stories, bringing it back to life, while SHIP (Shared History Interpretive Project) has been collecting and publishing the stories of the docks and its workers since 2016.

Our approach highlights the value of Sailortown's stories by detailing the relationship between stories and streets through drawing – an exercise of graphic anthropology (Azevedo and Ramos 2016; Clossick 2017; Ingold 2013; Kuschnir 2016; Lucas 2008; Pink 2013). Ethnographic approaches aim to 'provide a depth of understanding that is not achievable with other research approaches' (Schembri and Boyle 2013, 1,252). They entail researchers using their 'embodied experience, to ... comprehend the places [they seek] to analyse' (Pink 2008, 175). Ray Lucas writes extensively about the important contributions that anthropological and ethnographic methods can make in architectural research and practice, noting that they can provide 'the scaffolding for thinking about complex, real-world situations' (2020, 5).

Through this unique architectural and ethnographic approach, we discovered the value of the everyday street fabric in unveiling Sailortown's stories while exposing how the power of a few erased the very fabric in which these stories were formed. The StreetSpace project involved collaboration between architectural academics and students, anthropologists, artists and Sailortown community groups. Informal conversations with both former and current local residents built up a rich and diverse collection of stories from Sailortown's past and present (Martire and Madden 2022). Over time, relationships between the students and the participants grew, and memories, thoughts and opinions were shared. The students attended the weekly prayer service held by former residents outside the now deconsecrated St Joseph's Church amid preparations for a Halloween party organised for local children. They also attended a charity event at the Mission for Seafarers. Others visited former residents at their businesses, attended local history lectures and spent time getting to know the members of the Dockers Club. This wide range of experiences alongside the diversity of the participants in terms of age, class, gender and occupation resulted in a complex and multi-layered bank of information that covered both the historical character of Sailortown and the modern everyday struggles that the area contends with as it continues to strive to exist, retain relevance and adapt to evolving circumstances.

The collected information was processed by the students through traditional architectural drawings (e.g. plans, sections, axonometrics, perspectives, collages) as they combined their architectural training with their research into graphic anthropology. This enabled the

students to gain rich insights into the urban morphology and character of Sailortown. Combining urban morphology and graphic anthropology exposed nuances, details and characteristics of everyday life that other methods generally fail to identify. The aim of this research was not to develop a nostalgic, rose-tinted memory of Sailortown. Still, the diversity of the stories gathered – and the humour and wit with which they were told – conveyed the grit and camaraderie of this industrial area, demonstrating how the area is viewed and remembered by its current and former residents and users.

The stories of Sailortown: findings

The selection of stories below offers insight into the ordinary and extraordinary experiences of people in the streets of 1960s Sailortown, before much of it was demolished. These stories of community, conflict, work, leisure, age and gender reflect the built fabric of Sailortown as a specific place in a specific time – one whose memory must be maintained and whose qualities should be valued. As John Campbell wrote, ‘The characters have vanished but the memories linger on’ (2009).

Community

Nearly everybody talked to each other. Their doors were always open, and there was no break-ins, burglaries – there was nothing like that. (Billy)

The stories indicated that community strength was deeply embedded in the street fabric. Billy’s stories were some of the most revealing. The students developed a friendly rapport with Billy, a retired Merchant Seaman who grew up in the area in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1969, just as the Troubles were brewing in Belfast, Billy’s family encouraged the then 16-year-old to follow in the footsteps of his older male relatives and join the Merchant Navy. Soon after, his family was relocated to a nearby housing estate, and their home on Nelson Street was demolished to make room for the new motorway. Permanently settled back on land following his retirement, Billy spent much of his time aiding in community efforts to bring housing back to Sailortown and volunteering at the local Mission for Seafarers.

A natural storyteller, Billy vividly described the many adventures he had around Sailortown in his youth. The students brought a historical



Figure 7.4: Sailortown blocks in the 1960s (based on Billy's stories).
© Aisling Madden

map of 1960s Sailortown and asked Billy to point out his family home, homes of his friends and nearby businesses. Based on maps, photographs and Billy's stories, the students drew an axonometric of the four urban blocks around Billy's home on Nelson Street. This axonometric (Figure 7.4) enabled us to develop a thorough understanding of the morphology and spatial organisation of the area. Through his stories, Billy described and identified many shortcuts, courtyards and outbuildings that were not legible in the old maps. Furthermore, his anecdotes enabled us to develop an understanding of how the urban fabric shaped Sailortown's social and economic dynamics and sense of community.

Describing Sailortown as 'Aladdin's cave', Billy believed that exploring his neighbourhood was his true education in life, providing him with more worth than school. Based on Billy's encounters with sailors from around the world – witnessing the arrival of exotic new produce and being the first to hear global news and current affairs off the boats – it is clear that Sailortown was like nowhere else in the city of Belfast. Billy recounted stories of the many unusual goings-on that he witnessed within the four urban blocks surrounding his home. The everyday use of the streets featured heavily in his stories, including one anecdote about Billy's next-door neighbour Peter, who stole a series of

ornaments from a grave and gave them to his wife, prompting her to say to a friend, 'Ohhh, what am I going to do Bridget? I'm going to end up in hell!' (Billy).

The humour in Billy's tales makes them vivid yet relevant, helping us to understand cultural elements as well as the built environment, which served as the backdrop of these stories. The density of the area is evident, with the front doors of the narrow terrace houses opening onto the streets of Sailortown. The rhythm and proximity of these doors encouraged a sociable and close-knit community, with neighbours helping one another in times of need.

Ethnonational and class integration

Here, it was all mixed: Protestants and Catholics. (Billy)

Unlike many neighbourhoods in Belfast, Sailortown was a mixed community, where both ethnonational groups – Protestants and Catholics – lived in relative camaraderie. Despite street-by-street divisions, there were many shared spaces and moments. Nelson Street created a boundary that divided Sailortown: Catholic to the east and Protestant to the west. The west side was described by Seánie as 'the other side' (Deeney 2018) and was not considered to constitute 'Sailortown' by some in the local community. However, according to residents Seánie and Pam, there were a series of businesses, such as pubs, bookmakers and 'The Earl Chipper', where residents from the 'other side' were welcome. Paul and Gerry, other former residents (Molloy 2014), also pointed out that there were many crossovers between the two communities. The conflict was solved through everyday experiences. However, integration in Sailortown was not only related to ethnonationality. Sailortown is generally thought of as an exclusively working-class area, but this idea neglects the middle-class residents, whose experiences in larger houses and wider streets were far removed from the poverty seen in other parts of the neighbourhood. Both Great George's Street and Pilot Street were considered to be outside the working-class area, reflecting the diversity of Sailortown's inhabitants.

There were very few houses on the lower end of Great George's Street where we were. Great George's Street was a very wide street, which was unusual; most of these little streets were like guts – blink and you miss them. (Pam)

You had to be a pilot to live in Pilot Street; they were nice houses, so they were. (Seánie)

This wealth difference often resulted in neighbours supporting one another, encouraging social mobility in the area. Marianne, for example, ‘had money lying all over the f***ing house. It was in jars, tins ... But she was very, very good to the community down in Sailortown’ (Billy). Seánie described certain living and washing arrangements: ‘If you were lucky enough to have a bath in your house, you would be sure as hell there would be a bed beside it.’ However, these differences also led to conflict. One of the many pubs in Sailortown was The Bunch of Grapes, ‘run by Liam McMahon, and his clientele were all the businessmen from around here, and that’s where they all congregated on a Friday ... if someone went into the bar that he didn’t like, he said, “Get you out of here!”’ (Billy).

The variety of uses and possible occupations within Sailortown led to an economically diverse population. The urban grid was varied, with the wealthier living on wider, airy and healthy streets in three-storey houses, while multiple families lived on narrow streets with two-storey terraces. This grain facilitated and encouraged everyday interaction between diverse groups. The demolition of this fabric, in contrast, deepened the segregation of local communities into areas divided by ethnicity and class.

Men’s work: Dockers Club

The dockers lined up every morning, and they called it schooling. They would pick out you, you, you and you. Then they all had to be at the gate. If the boss was picking them, it would be on a whim. He decided, “yes, I like your face”, “no, I don’t like yours – I don’t like red hair, so you’re not getting a job”. (Pam)

The dockers were an integral part of the community, seen every morning looking for work and filling the numerous pubs in the evenings. To further understand the experience of Sailortown’s residents, one of the students became a member of the Dockers Club and, through conversations with retired dockers, documented the solidarity present in this group.

If the men walking to work in the morning stood on the “half-moon”, they were going to get it! (Seánie)

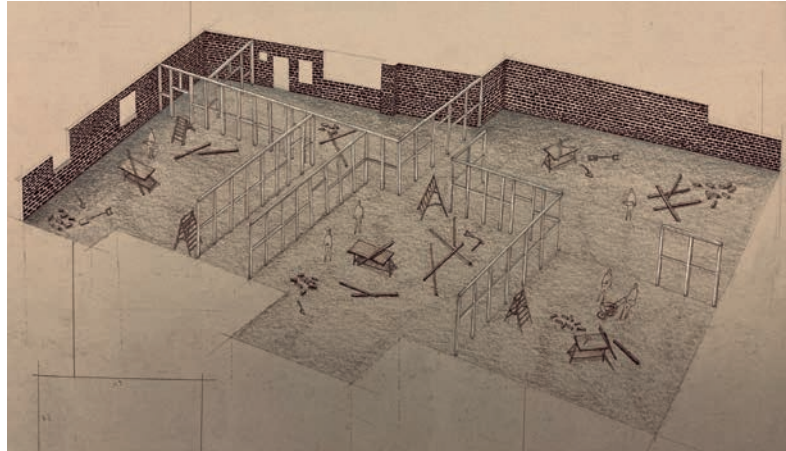


Figure 7.5: The Dockers Club. © Jonny Yau

The male-dominated industries of Sailortown were a tough and competitive backdrop to this part of the city, with the daily sight of dockers looking for work remembered by many. The resultant camaraderie is still evident in modern Sailortown. The dockers built their club (Figure 7.5) in the 1970s, and it remains a popular community building, hosting events and witnessing reunions between former Sailortown residents who are now living around the world:

A few of them went to Australia ... the word went out, and the smoke signals went out, and everyone converged on the dockers who knew them ones, you know. (Billy)

The material culture of Sailortown is demonstrated by the antiques and objects in the club's collection. These histories could be framed as the 'trash aesthetics' of Walter Benjamin (1940), which helps us to understand their importance as unique experiences of those struggling to get by and finding value in what has been devalued or outmoded (Highmore 2002, 63).

Women's experiences

A man never works. Okay, they go out in the morning – eight o'clock, seven o'clock – they go to work, and they enjoy their day. Women work. They have the children, they carry all the shopping,

they do all the housework, the cooking, they have to manage whatever their husband gave them. They had no control over their own money, so they were dependent on whatever the man put on the mantelpiece as their wages. (Pam)

The women of Sailortown constituted the backbone of the community, either looking after their families or working in nearby factories. Narratives of everyday experiences have long neglected the experiences of women (Silva 2002; Woodley-Baker 2009). Feminist geographer Gillian Rose points out that many women do not share the 'rosy' view of home and place that humanist geographers (Relph et al. 2008; Tuan 1977) place at the centre of the discipline (Rose 1993, 53). This resonates with the stories surrounding Gallagher's tobacco factory, where female workers would be recognised in the dances by their 'stink'; 'the first thing a bloke would say was "I KNOW WHERE YOU WORK!"' (Gallagher's Belfast Forum). Sailortown was a tough place to be a woman, either having to work long shifts in the factories or looking after large extended families. Once married or a mother, women had limited options for employment (Multimedia Heritage) and were often forced to stay at home while their husbands went to sea or spent long hours at work and at the pub. Pubs were also segregated by gender:

Women were forced to be hidden away – not to annoy the men. A little anteroom, as big as a very small toilet, [with] a bench, anything but comfort. They didn't offer you comfort. (Pam)

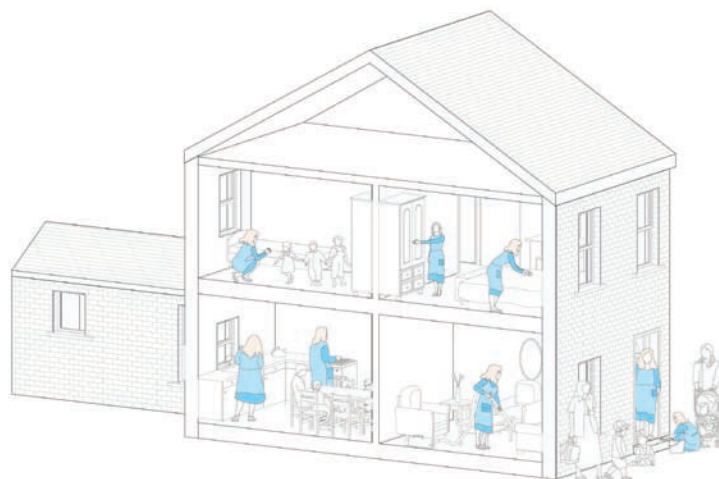


Figure 7.6: Woman's work. © Aisha Holmes

This division was a manifestation of social relationships and part of everyday life across classes and geographies (Figure 7.6). In fact, it is still seen in many contexts today. Given the high number of pubs in the area, the fact that women were rarely allowed to enter clearly demonstrates that Sailortown was an environment designed for and controlled by men. However, it is evident from the many collected stories that the women of Sailortown were responsible for supporting their families and local community.

Children

a spool of thread on someone's door knocker, and then away up the street we'd go ... [and then we would knock on the door by pulling the string] and we'd get chased around the whole area! (Billy)

Kids in Sailortown often played traditional games, such as hopscotch and pavement chalking. The small, terraced houses were often inhabited by large families that struggled to make ends meet. The eldest children often had to think of imaginative ways to support their parents. The close proximity of different households helped children like Billy to support their family by climbing into their neighbour's yard, lifting lead and selling it back to them: 'And that was how I helped sustain the family because we did, as I said, come from a large family' (Billy). Pam, describing children's everyday experiences, explained how Frank, a local grocer, used to ride a bike with a basket in one hand and a rattle in the other to get children out of the way.

The changing practices and reduced presence of street play among children in modern Western cities is well documented (Karsten and van Vliet 2006; Tranter and Doyle 1996) – and Sailortown suffered the same demise with the demolition of its everyday streets.

The overlap of all these diverse and unique stories shows the nuances that are mostly neglected and forgotten in the planning of urban areas – the palimpsest of images, sounds, ideas and memories that help us to understand a place in all its colours (Figure 7.7).

Conclusion

The pursuit of progress – and the belief that all forms of progress are inevitable – contributed to the development of the Belfast Urban Motorway and led to the demise of Sailortown. The few who questioned



Figure 7.7: Sailortown palimpsest. © Juliette Moore

or protested the development did not have a loud enough voice to stop the displacement. This contrasts with other parts of the UK, where resistance by local residents, politicians and scholars prevailed. Appleyard once stated, 'Streets have always been scenes of conflict. The most powerful or well established groups win but they do not by any means represent the public interest' (in Vernez Moudon 1989, 5). The streets of Sailortown were scenes of both mundane everyday routines and extraordinary conflict. In this case, the well-established and powerful actors won. Sailortown disappeared from the map, its

community displaced across the city and around the world – but its stories will remain so long as we are able to safeguard them.

Today, the few people left in Sailortown see new threats to their community and the potential growth of the local neighbourhood and its local streets: an enhanced York Road interchange and a high-rise commercial development, once again threatening the remaining community, and denying the potential of a growing local neighbourhood and its everyday streets. The loss of Sailortown's terraced streets had a significant impact on its social and urban fabric. A more thorough and people-focused understanding of the complexity of everyday streets could prevent such large-scale planning mistakes from occurring in the future.

Alternative approaches to urban design and street design are currently emerging all over the world, prioritising pedestrians and cyclists and paying greater attention to street life and its links to people and programmes. Focusing on streets to start conversations with local current and former residents facilitated the unravelling of Sailortown's stories, enabling them to take a spatial form and giving value to the fabric of Sailortown's streets. This method could enable a more people-focused and participatory process in the development of future streets and urban spaces.

'It's born in you, it's in your blood.' (Seánie)

Notes

- 1 The StreetSpace project is a teaching and research project that explores the significance of everyday streets through workshops, design studios and partnerships between academia, governments, NGOs and practices. See www.streetspaceresearch.com (accessed 1 November 2022).

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Part II

The form and use of everyday streets

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Agustina Martire

Everyday streets facilitate various activities and movements, both indoors and outdoors. The second section of this book addresses the following question: *What is the relationship between the urban form of everyday streets and the activities that occur on them?* Each chapter describes this relationship as well as the spatial forms, features and uses that make up everyday streets. In all of the considered cases, ongoing urban transformations underpin the visualised processes, adding a temporal layer. Andre Corboz (1983) calls this a ‘palimpsest’ – a reflection of the understanding of urban form as a process shaped by its site and social processes and the understanding that, in turn, spatial form builds the conditions for social processes. This section explores the spatial qualities of everyday streets in Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Austria, India and the UK. This introduction begins with an outline of the key morphological mechanisms that underpin everyday streets. It then outlines the themes addressed by the chapters in this section: walkability and pedestrian prioritisation, the accommodation of social and economic change, urban depth, and site significance.

Research on urban morphology considers there to be three key spatial components in urban form: buildings (and their associated open spaces), plots and streets (Scheer 2016). The street network offers choice of way, differentiates the centrality of a place and constitutes the base from which to understand the relationship between places (Hillier and Hanson 1984), while its centres have a particular kind of spatial configuration (Chiaradia et al. 2009). The plot structure represents the ‘distribution of landowners ... which act according to different strategies ... that, in effect, can lead to a higher diversity’ (Marcus 2005). Building types influence the available size and proximity of

occupiable units as well as the availability of and access to open spaces (Berghauser Pont and Haupt 2010). Similarly, building density serves as a proxy for potential access to people and activities.

Meaningful places, such as everyday streets, comprise specific combinations of building types, plots and streets. The relationship between building types, plots and streets and their differentiation into urban types has recently become central in quantitative studies (Berghauser Pont et al. 2017; Fleischmann et al. 2021; Gil et al. 2012) that investigate the extent of whole urban systems with the resolution of the buildings, plots or street segments. Some studies have tied urban form types to specific objectives, such as walkability and pedestrian movement (Berghauser Pont et al. 2019), or micro-business activities (Hausleitner and Berghauser Pont 2017). The results of these typological studies indicate that main streets constitute the most central streets in their neighbourhoods and the primary links between different districts; they generally feature fine-grain parcellation and medium-rise buildings with related open spaces, mostly on the plots' 'back' sides.

A lack of spatial complexity – a lack of rich variety of spaces – may offer fewer opportunities for different types of uses. To understand the relationship between physical characteristics and activities, Anne Moudon Vernez (2019) suggests an 'operational approach, which recognises the nestedness of urban form elements ... multi-levelness of urban form parallels that of societal structures'. Thus, we can conclude that spatial design likely needs to produce nested spaces to achieve 'environmental and social complexity' (Habraken 2016). Everyday streets generally feature these nested spaces. The typical form of main streets generates 'the presence of people in public space' (Berghauser Pont et al. 2019) and micro-businesses in ground-floor spaces (Hausleitner and Berghauser Pont 2017). Although main streets are planned in different ways, relatively similar configurations tend to emerge. While such quantitative methods are useful for identifying general trends, more local, fine-grain spatial descriptions are necessary to achieve a full understanding of the relationship between the form and use of everyday streets. The chapters in this section feature such descriptions.

The buildings and public spaces of everyday spaces accommodate necessary, optional and social activities (Gehl 2006). Matthew Carmona refers to them as 'people places ... intended to be used by people, usually through spontaneous, everyday and informal use' (Carmona et al. 2010). Uses include necessities like 'going to school or to work,

shopping, waiting for a bus or a person, running errands' (Gehl 2006) and optional activities that 'take place only when exterior conditions are favourable, when weather and place invite them' – things like 'taking a walk to get a breath of fresh air, standing around enjoying life, or sitting and sunbathing' (Gehl 2006). Social activities on streets require the close proximity of people in homes, gardens or balconies, offices or other public spaces. These activities may occur spontaneously, as is often the case with children playing and people chatting – these are what Jan Gehl calls 'passive contacts' (2006).

Walkability is essential to the liveability of everyday streets and important for necessary, optional and social activities. The pedestrian scale, John Friedmann (2010) explains, 'allows people to interact in a variety of mostly unplanned ways, on the street or in business establishments among other spaces of habitual encounter'. The degree to which a street's public space facilitates pedestrian flows influences its uses and street life: 'pedestrian movement is circulation, but also permits economic, social and cultural exchange' (Carmona et al. 2010). Sigrid Kroismayr and Andreas Novy address the question of walkability in their chapter on Vienna, demonstrating that high accessibility for pedestrians facilitates the use of adjacent squares with complementary use programs.

The importance of prioritising pedestrians to boost the liveability of streets has been highlighted by researchers for decades, but the need for more walkable public spaces was amplified by the Covid-19 pandemic. Vikas Mehta (2013) identifies three factors that determine the degree to which a street is a sociable space: social (places that have special meanings for the community), behavioural (land uses and their mix) and physical (form and space characteristics). The chapters by Matthew Carmona on London high streets and Deepti Adlakha on Chennai's Pondy Bazaar describe the effect of recent pedestrianisation efforts. Adlakha looks specifically at short-term, low-cost, citizen-led interventions, which are commonly referred to as tactical urbanism (Lydon and Garcia 2015). Carmona prioritises the improvement of the pedestrian experience through adequate space for pedestrian movement and activities in the hierarchy of interventions for street space enhancements. This section's chapters address the behavioural and physical aspects of streets as social spaces and discuss how to develop them into meaningful places for the local community.

The unique morphology of everyday streets can facilitate social and economic change. Urban environments and urban life evolve over time, and the physical elements of urban form change at varying

speeds. For example, the evolution of street networks occurs over long periods of times, while individual buildings evolve at a far faster pace (Scheer 2006). Importantly, however, the aforementioned form types (Berghauser Pont et al. 2019; Hausleitner and Berghauser Pont 2017) are resistant to sudden major shifts, slowing the physical effect of incremental changes in social processes. Research on the resilience of urban form has shown that streets ‘have a stabilizing effect and constrain the reconfiguration of smaller-scale morphological elements’ (Romice et al. 2020). Although buildings show ‘limited capacity to generate systemic change’, Romice et al. (2020) explain that in ‘special circumstances bottom-up processes can trigger wide-ranging transformations’. John Friedmann (2010) described such bottom-up actions as inherent to ‘lived-in’ spaces through which ‘actual physical and social spaces [are] ... transformed ... through the simple fact of being lived in ... as newcomers arrive, old residents depart’. In her chapter on Naples, Orfina Fatigato describes how building transformations can be seen in the appropriation of different types of spaces, with voids filled with new community functions. In other words, social changes occupy the existing fabric in new ways. Another example of such ‘bottom-up’ change is shown in Birgit Hausleitner and Mae-Ling Stuyt’s chapter on Amsterdam, which describes the transformations inside buildings that allow businesses that require more space to fit into relatively small shops by combining two or more units.

Small-scale adaptation between uses and spatial form mainly occurs in what Philippe Panerai (2005) calls the ‘urban leeway’ – the zone between the building and the street where either the public or the private can expand. This zone often shows differences in use at different times of the day or on different days of the week. Such informal shifts in use are facilitated by the permeability of the boundaries between spaces, which are ‘simultaneously means of separation and communication’ (Madanipour 2003). Orfina Fatigato, in her chapter on Naples, refers to this as the ‘porosity’ of spaces, related to the definitions of Paola Viganò (2006) and Sophie Wolfrum (2018). John Habraken (2016) ‘territorialises’ this zone, embedding it in the logic of Anne Vernez Moudon’s concept of nestedness: ‘A territory resides in a larger one and may contain smaller ones ... the control of access that comes with a territory means that what reaches the boarder’s room must first cross boundaries of larger fields.’ The sequence of spaces between public and private areas produces what John Habraken (1998) calls ‘territorial depth’, Machiel van Dorst (2006) calls ‘privacy zoning’ and Jane Clossick (2017) calls ‘urban depth’ – a relational spatial concept

that differentiates spaces by their degree of accessibility. These zones of varying degrees of depth facilitate different uses, not only in buildings and transition zones but also in nested public spaces. Hausleitner and Stuyt note that, in Amsterdam, these territories operate at building, block and neighbourhood scale levels, offering many places with a variety of uses on everyday streets and their hinterland. For Carmona, the everyday street functions best in London when uses cross the street threshold, flowing between inside and outside.

Finally, site matters. Kahn and Burns (2021) elaborate on three bounded domains that frame every site: a distinct climatic region, the material expression embedded in local building traditions (influenced by climate and geomorphology) and a sphere of cultural practices. The coherent spatial design of sites, which comprises these three domains, contributes to the identity of a place. Maria Luna Nobile's chapter on Kiruna is the most interesting in this respect, as it describes the relocation of an entire Arctic city and reflects on what this relocation means for the city's everyday streets. Birgit Hausleitner and Mae-Ling Stuyt's chapter on Amsterdam elaborates on landscape and water engineering as a prerequisite for a settlement and, in turn, for everyday streets.

The chapters in this section also focus on the overarching theme of this book: inclusiveness. Each chapter describes an everyday street with a morphology and range of uses that include broad sections of society. For Fatigato, the *vicoli* of Naples constitute a place for both traditional residents and new tourists, though spatial conflict may emerge between them as ground-floor residential units transform into Airbnbs. For Hausleitner and Stuyt, the diversity of Amsterdam streets accommodates everyday uses that the city needs, including those of large-scale industry. For Adlahka and Carmona, prioritising pedestrians allows their needs to be included in streets' primary functions. Nobile assesses the translation of identity and the inclusion of the Sámi people and new residents in the relocated streets of Kiruna. Finally, for Kroismayr and Novy, the provision of a walkable foundational economy facilitates the inclusion of a wide range of socioeconomic groups in Vienna.

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***Vicoli* as forms of proximity: Naples' Spanish Quarter**

Orfina Fatigato

The narrow streets of the historic centre of Naples are called 'vicoli'. This term refers to the physical size of the streets as well as the ways in which they are lived. The spaces of the vicoli host a diverse body of occupants, and they often shift from linear, continuous spaces to sequences of 'rooms', where public and private meet. This chapter focuses on the concept of 'porosity' as the basis for the unique relationship between public space and private space in the streets of the Spanish Quarter. Porosity facilitates the nuanced occupation of space in these streets, changing seamlessly over time.

The *vicoli* of Naples: porous urban interiors

City streets, according to Benjamin, constitute the home of the collective:

The collective is a being in constant motion, constantly agitated, which lives, experiences, knows and invents as many things between the facades of buildings as individuals within their four walls ... The walls with 'Prohibition of Posting' signs act as desks; the newsstands are libraries, the letterboxes are the room's trophies, the benches are bedroom furniture and the café terrace is a cantilevered window from which you can look at your home ... The street space, more than in any other place, appears here as the familiar and furnished interior of the masses. (1934, 440)



Figure 8.0: Map of Naples © Anna Skoura

This account of streets as large urban interiors is particularly pertinent in a city like Naples, the streets of which host infinite situations – oftentimes unpredictable, ironic and even alienating events. Benjamin directly references the city of Naples in his letters to Asja Lacis, describing the city’s historic centre as a space where architecture is porous, like the rock upon which and with which it was built:

Structure and life continually interfere in courtyards, archways and stairways. The living space capable of hosting new, unexpected constellations is preserved everywhere. The definitive, the characteristics are rejected. Balconies, windows, stairs, roofs are both loggia and stage-set scenery. Private life is fragmented, porous and discontinuous. The street enters the buildings and apartments. Intersections are continuous between night and day, noise and silence, external light and internal darkness, between the public space of the street and the private space of the apartment. (2020, 60)

This porosity, a characteristic feature of the space in the ancient city of Naples (Velardi 1992), manifests itself in the osmotic relationship between outside and inside – between the space of the street and the space of the buildings’ interiors. From the street, a place of movement, meetings and integration, one can move through the hallways and courtyards of buildings. The thresholds between such spaces – open and continuous during the day, closed and filtered in the evening – mark the boundaries between different degrees of internality, creating intermediate spaces that allow for the gradual passage from the public realm to a collective and/or private one. Applied to the physical and metaphysical sense of the city, according to Ian Chambers, the idea of porosity can be broadened to include its historical and cultural formation:

The porous substance absorbs whatever it encounters, and assimilates external elements while retaining its original form. It embodies and incorporates extraneous elements and external pressures. The History of Naples is also, and perhaps more significantly, the history of these processes. (2008, 87)

Such physical and material conditions have always influenced ways of living and accessing the spaces in the streets of Naples’ historic centre. In a sense, Naples’ condition of fragility and many indefinite

thresholds – between inside and outside, between public and private spaces, between streets and homes – has historically contributed to the strengthening of its entire system of intangible relationships, meaning the ways in which inhabitants live in and experience the city and its spaces. Dines (2018) also comments on the specificity and complexity of Italian streets, citing *vicoli* as a street type that invokes a relationship between morphology and a way of life.

Therefore, the *vicoli* have emerged with various informal and creative appropriative practices, through which street spaces are ‘domestically converted’ for private use: extensions of domestic spaces in ground-level homes (*bassi*) along the street, commercial vendor stands with makeshift counters, and an ever-increasing number (especially following increases in mass tourism throughout Naples) of outdoor tables and dining apparatus set up by restaurants. The *vicoli* in the Spanish Quarter are where such forms of conquest are most evident. There is a perceptible aim to transform city spaces, and, given the scarcity of proper public squares, street spaces are often used as playground areas for the city’s youth and sitting areas for its elderly, who often leave their chairs in the street. Examples of this urban dynamic are effectively depicted in a documentary called *Homo Urbanus* by Bêka and Lemoine (2019), who travel to 10 cities around the world, including Naples, and describe how their histories are based on continuous and reciprocated adaptations between humanity and the urban structure in an uninterrupted process of transformation.

The Spanish Quarter, from the street to the sky: historic stratification and social mix

The Spanish Quarter is a key part of Naples’ historic centre. It spreads along a slope between the hill dominated by the Certosa di San Martino and the Via Toledo roadway further down. The construction of the Spanish Quarter’s first cluster dates back to the sixteenth century, when it was decreed by viceroy Don Pedro de Toledo that living quarters for military garrisons and soldiers passing through Naples should be provided. This initial purpose explains the limited size of the building blocks and the narrow streets (five metres wide on average), as the area was essentially conceived as a space for the march of small militias. The orthogonal mesh grid – originally fifteen by six streets – was adapted to steeply sloping terrain, with several expansions made later.

The fabric of the Spanish Quarter maintains its distinct features today: the compact, high-density buildings characterised by alternating city blocks and narrow streets and stairways that follow the slope of the terrain. Along Via Toledo, which marks the neighbourhood's 'downhill' border, lies a part of the city that can be viewed as a porous system, with views through the alleys that rise up the hill. It gives the impression of a system of canyons carved into a constructed mass of buildings through which one might climb and get lost. Looking from above – from Corso Vittorio Emanuele to the slope of the hill, following its contour line – the neighbourhood can be viewed as a system of rooftops and terraces, overlapping one another at varying heights and levels. While the alleys traversing the orthogonal mesh are the channel lines that visually connect the hill to the sea, the longitudinal alleyways are located at the various orographic slope levels, producing a series of 'terrace-style' systems that run parallel to Via Toledo.

While the Spanish Quarter has changed over time, it retains its most distinct characteristics – both material and immaterial. In fact, it is difficult to speak of the Spanish Quarter without referencing the strong connection between its material aspects and its vibrant social life, which unravels in its narrow *vicoli* and dense network of buildings. The neighbourhood comprises 170 city blocks consisting of four- and five-storey above-ground buildings that, while designated as single-apartment blocks, are frequently divided into several different building spaces, with narrow staircases and floors with one or two rooms each.

Overall, in the approximately 600 condominiums, there are nearly 3,000 units housing about 15,000 inhabitants. Many of the people live in ground-floor units with a single window looking out onto the street. The variety and vitality of this area are signalled by the presence of artisan workshops, vendors and many other facilities, including garages and storage units (Laino 2001).

Despite the strong identity often associated with Naples' Spanish Quarter, the area suffers from economic weakness, building decay stemming from lack of care, and a persistent risk of social marginalisation. The social composition of its inhabitants has changed over time but remains diverse, including long-time residents, broken-up families, urban underclass, new upper-middle-class groups (who moved in recently, drawn in by the vitality of the centre), university students, and both new and deeply rooted migrant communities. In his sociological commentary – with a degree of literary humour – Giovanni Laino, a well-known scholar of the area, writes:

The families of the Spanish Quarters can be divided into three fundamental social groups, which in recent years have joined two new tribes:

The Eduardians, referring to the theatrical works of Edoardo De Filippo, or substantially 'healthy' families, with average schooling, who work (although often in very precarious conditions), mostly live in rented houses, participate in popular culture, and are affected in only limited cases by deviant experiences.

The Vivianians, referring to the works of Raffaele Viviani, are families in which school is rarely attended, and whose mostly male members are involved in the activities of Camorra mob organisations, while the women and children give life to the neighbourhoods' streets, made up of informal and oftentimes illicit networks.

The lower-middle classes of workers, generally made up of public employees who only partially live in the neighbourhood, more as residents than as inhabitants, since their social life takes place for the most part outside of the Quarters.

The Indian and Filipino migrants who mostly live in the lower ground floor *bassi* street-level apartments, which are oftentimes the former storage deposits for the area's craft businesses.

The new bourgeois, a newly introduced upper-middle-class group that began to move into the neighbourhood during the late 90s, was attracted by affordable real estate prices and managed to purchase and renovate rather degraded properties in this very central part of the city. (Laino 2001)

Laino goes on to demonstrate how these listed categories were joined in recent years by a rising population of university students who came to the Spanish Quarter in search of off-campus housing. They could not afford to rent apartments in the *Centro Antico*, as that area was largely transformed into short-term rentals. In addition, there are tourists who enjoy temporary residence in this part of the city, often by finding deals for short-term stays in the various properties offered on digital rental platforms such as Airbnb.

This unique social blend at the heart of a central historic district in a great European city makes Naples' Spanish Quarter a continental treasure that, even today, remains a true expression of rare urban vitality.

Despite its changes over time, the Spanish Quarter's *vicoli* continue to constitute a microcosm whose small spaces have always played host to a strong and stratified coexistence of activities, including artisan production, various illicit and unregulated operations, systems of social housing, and informal public gathering spaces. The 'spatial constriction' of its streets has engendered an economy of proximity – often referred to in Italian as the 'economy of the *vicolo*'. As uniquely exhaustive as it is self-sufficient, the *vicoli* are becoming increasingly impoverished in the modern era.

Transformation of the Spanish Quarter's *vicoli*

The *bassi*

The most important transformations of the *vicoli* spaces and their unique 'economy' date back to the 1980s. That decade witnessed radical changes in the market economy's production systems, which resulted in the gradual extinction of the craft activities that were typical of the area, as well as the 1980 earthquake, which exacerbated the area's environmental degradation. The street-level *bassi* – the ground-floor street-facing structures initially used as storage areas for craft workshops – began to be used as housing units in blatantly unsanitary conditions.

After the emergency response to the earthquake of 1980, several important public initiatives were established (namely URBAN 1996–2001 and the S.I.Re.Na Project). However, despite the plethora of proposals made, no real action was ever taken to mitigate the depletion of artisan activities that were so characteristic of the area and its *vicolo* economy, or to limit the seemingly uncontrollable spread of other commercial operations such as restaurants. This inaction dealt a serious blow to the Spanish Quarter's *vicoli*. Towards the end of the 1990s, an important opportunity was missed with proposals to update the historical economic system of *vicoli* in the Spanish Quarter and recondition the ground floors of the area's buildings, restoring the relationship of extensive permeability and porosity between the street space and the ground-floor levels of the various residential buildings devoted to craft and manufacturing.

Until about 15 years ago, Naples could still boast a historic centre that was largely spared from gentrification. This is not the case today, as the urban condition has changed. This is due in large part to the spread of the tertiary sector and the resultant expulsion of artisan workers. Additionally, gentrification has stemmed from the significant pressures of tourism, which, prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, was growing at an annual rate of 10 per cent. This growth resulted in the widespread emergence of economic circuits linked to global tourism platforms. Evidence of such growth is clear from the large increase in rental units listed on peer-to-peer platforms such as Airbnb. Many street-level *bassi* units have been transformed into short-term rental apartments, turning places with undignified living conditions into highly attractive destinations for tourists looking for an ‘authentic’ Neapolitan experience (Pollice 2019). This trend has added a new layer to the centuries-old stratification of living spaces in Naples’ historic centre. It represents a substantial modification of the city’s real estate – one that has largely occurred in a highly unregulated manner.

The old buildings of the Spanish Quarter are characterised by strong social stratification – from the street-level *bassi* to the upper-level apartments overlooking the narrow streets. Even the highest apartments, the terraces of which provide incredible views of the city and the sea, have all witnessed a rise in local properties intended for tourist rentals. Thus, the varied makeup of inhabitants in these ‘vital’ condominium complexes has shifted in recent years to include many tourists who, as transient inhabitants, enjoy ‘identity’ and ‘authenticity’ – immersion in the unique lifestyle of the neighbourhood. After the first transfer of inhabitants to the periphery of Naples following the 1980 earthquake, Naples is now witnessing the transition of *bassi* into accommodation for tourists. This process is ongoing, and the risk of gentrification is strong. The impact of these new short-term housing facilities is not limited to the internal spaces of historic buildings; it is well known that the intensification of tourism can result in a series of ‘chain-reaction’ transformations involving public space.

In the Spanish Quarter’s *vicoli*, one can observe a substantial modification of commercial establishments over the last five years, with the progressive disappearance of proximity trade and bartering and just a few remaining historical craft trades that resisted the great emptying of the 1990s. This modification paved the way for an exponential increase in commercial, mainly cuisine-oriented activities that appeal to tourists.



Figure 8.1: Cultural, social and economic possible network. Image: researchers at SQUIN Laboratory, DiARC. © Orfina Fatigato

This transformation is most clear in the first band of the neighbourhood flanking Via Toledo; its role as a major roadway, which for centuries has always been intended for walking and trading, was strengthened following its pedestrianisation in the late 1990s. This substantial modification resulted in another transformation regarding the use of ground-floor areas in the *vicoli* parallel to Via Toledo, decreasing in intensity the further one moves from the main road. These changes, in line with the topographical conditions of the various roads relative to Via Toledo, persisted and strengthened over the years, as shown by recent transformations stemming from the rise in tourism.

For the most striking examples, consider the three longitudinal streets of Vico Lungo del Mulso, Via Speranzella and Vico Lungo Teatro Nuovo. These *vicoli* have begun to be characterised by a series of informal practices, including the placing of tables, seats and benches for outdoor dining of the area's restaurants and bars. The 'popular' aspect of these informal businesses can be deceiving in

their attempt to pass as long-standing cultural traditions in the neighbourhood. On the contrary, the extent of these deceptions is beginning to homogenise certain aspects of the *vicoli*; they are contributing to the development of a false image of these places that closely resembles the folkloric imagery of the local neighbourhoods conveyed by tourism marketing.

This seemingly unstoppable trend, strongly fuelled by neighbourhood merchants adapting their activities to meet tourists' expectations, suffered a major setback in 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This hurdle has revealed the fragility of an economy based solely on satisfying tourists' expectations, and has shed light on the need to consider urban redevelopment proposals for integrated and inclusive projects capable of engendering cultural innovation as a key element of the local economy.

Amid the ongoing pandemic, the Spanish Quarter's *vicoli* have been places of vitality and solidarity in which traditional forms of sociality and economies of proximity have been activated. Naples can be viewed as a site of persistent deviation towards unconventional paths with regard to the organisation of urban space, culture, production, work, profit and politics (Chambers 2008). With its unique forms of adaptation, there may be a way for the Spanish Quarter to combine twenty-first-century mass tourism with its historical culture of living enabled by its urban character.

Voids and the SQUIN project

Another form of porosity that provides viable opportunities for everyday life in the Spanish Quarter is residual spaces. These small, abandoned voids can be important resources in the dense fabric of Naples' historic centre (Figure 8.2). They are currently listed in the city's municipality plans as 'ruins and sediments resulting from demolition', representing 'voids in waiting'. Such residual spaces constitute a significant resource in a city like Naples – especially in the Spanish Quarter – given the high density of the built environment and the widespread lack of open spaces, public squares, gardens and other public gathering spaces. The SQUIN project¹ was concerned with the 'void spaces' located in the heart of the Spanish Quarter, aiming to investigate the re-qualification of small, empty city fragments and their transformation into new spaces for local communities. This work sought to stimulate development and bring life to these gaps in the city of Naples.



Figure 8.2: Voids as nodes in the *vicoli* network. Image: students at SQUIN Laboratory, DiARC. © Orfina Fatigato

Investigating the potential

Four urban ‘voids’ of different sizes were selected for project design proposals. This project focuses on two of the four – those located along Vico Tofa, taking up the space of an entire city block, and those along Via Emanuele De Deo (which corresponds to an incomplete residential block that was rebuilt after WWII). Today, the void along Vico Tofa is completely abandoned and bordered by an impenetrable wall, while that along Emanuele via De Deo is used informally as a space for meeting and watching SSC Napoli matches (this practice has been considered in the project).

This study interprets these voids as nodes in the network of the *vicoli*, serving to facilitate encounters among residents, exchanges of skills and knowledge, and collective learning. It imagines various strategic scenarios to create this urban network and fill the void fragments with buildings or open spaces, and rethink them as the different sites of a new cultural infrastructure. Temporary residences proposed for welcoming tourists, considered as the area’s new and transitory inhabitants, small living quarters for students and young workers, neighbourhood kitchens to facilitate the exchange of culinary experiences between migrant communities and Neapolitan families, collaborative work-study spaces for nearby universities, co-working



Figure 8.3: Image collage from Melting Pot: an urban strategy for the voids. Image: students and researchers at SQUIN Laboratory, DiARC.
© Orfina Fatigato

spaces and play areas divided into interior spaces and outdoor playgrounds, designed to be on the terraces of the new buildings.

All of the proposed interventions were designed to align with the street space. However, they entail the widening of the narrow streets of the *vicoli* to expand ground-floor space and elaborate spatial components, such as stairways, terraces, small squares and gardens, and vegetable gardens that enhance the porosity of the neighbourhood (Figure 8.4).

The proposed infrastructural elements are conceived of as 'inhabited sections' in which the street can gain new spaces for neighbourhood life at different levels. These new buildings include roof



Figure 8.4: New infrastructural elements as an extension of the *vicoli* space. Image: students at SQUIN Laboratory, DiARC. © Orfina Fatigato

structures – upper-level public squares accessible by urban stairways from the *vicoli* below. In this way, the *vicolo* can benefit from new vantage points, encompassing the neighbourhoods and overlooking the city, so that the places of life along it gain new space, light and air going upwards towards the sky.

Conclusion

The research on the Spanish Quarter entailed broad reflection on the theme of urban regeneration and means of activating synergistic and virtuous processes by working with authentic spaces, their inhabitants and their system of uses, and the relationships that characterise them. The historical reading of the Spanish Quarter and its *vicoli* visualises a

space of sociality, commerce, exchange and movement made possible by extending interior spaces to the exterior. The elaboration of scenarios for reinhabiting and revitalising small, empty residual spaces allows for an interpretation of their role as important resources in the Spanish Quarter's dense fabric.

This project on small-scale urban voids with a focus on new volumes as an extension of the street space reinterpreted the porosity of the Spanish Quarter – a specific character of the historic urban fabric and of the specific way of hybrid dwelling between interior and exterior, between public and private. The new volumes reinterpret the value of the *bassi* through high permeability and porosity, allowing for the reinterpretation and appropriation of such spaces as dynamics change over time. Volumes that act as potential 'condensers' of social values – as hybrid, inclusive and open as possible – should be prioritised. The new volumes have been imagined as activators establishing new relationships with the historical activities of the district but also as places of cultural and economic experimentation and innovation. Together with the newly established network of places, a definition of possible functional programs could support a wider economic network in the city and facilitate increased social mixité.

The project proposals, driven by careful reflection on the connections between places, actors and relationships, are configured as possible intervention strategies and supported by strongly contextualised, adaptive decision-making processes that are capable of regenerating social, economic and cultural values over time. This methodological approach aims to trigger a change in the historic city, beginning by interpreting tangible and intangible values and experimenting with how they might be used as resources for cultural and economic innovation.

Notes

- 1 As part of the research and teaching activities at DiARC, UNINA has developed an experimental project called the 'Spanish Quarters Inhabiting Network' (SQUIN) project. This project entailed local residents, students and researchers working together to elaborate proposals and scenarios for the transformation of some of these 'void spaces' at the heart of the Spanish Quarter.

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Figure 9.0: Map of Amsterdam © Anna Skoura

Spatial-structural qualities of mixed-use main streets: two case studies from the Amsterdam metropolitan region

Birgit Hausleitner and Mae-Ling Stuyt

Streets are where the needs and values of different users and activities come together. Main streets in the Netherlands were either planned in major urban expansions or developed over time in the shape of ribbons upon dykes – ‘long lines’ of continuously active streets. This chapter presents two cases from the Amsterdam metropolitan region: vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat, a main street planned as part of an urban expansion, and Westzijde, a main street that developed over time as part of a long line. While vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat is tightly organised and coherent in both appearance and function, Westzijde is characterised by a multitude of different buildings and functions. This study visualises the spatial-structural qualities that facilitate the evolving economic activities of these two streets. It explores the variation between them by morphological differentiation and determines several spatial characteristics that enable the mix: modularity of the urban plan, complementary ‘front’ and ‘back’ sides, structural coherence and territorial depth – the sequence of spaces between the urban ‘front’ and ‘back’ sides of buildings, blocks and neighbourhoods.

Introduction

Amsterdam, in line with many other major cities, has recently begun to promote a 'mixed-use' environment (Gemeente Amsterdam 2011; Gemeente Amsterdam 2021; Hoppenbrouwer and Louw 2005) for two primary reasons: first, mixed-use development promises health (Stevenson et al. 2016), a reduced need for travel (Hoppenbrouwer and Louw 2005), urban vitality (Jacobs 1961; Kang et al. 2020) and safety (Bellair and Browning 2010; Coupland 1997); second, mixed-use development is compact, meaning that it aligns with the aim of limiting urban growth to the pre-existing boundaries of an urban fabric (Gemeente Amsterdam 2021). Compactness and mixed-use are increasingly prioritised in urban development as land becomes more scarce (European Commission and UN Habitat 2016). In this context, the question regarding mixing industrial and other uses on everyday streets is no longer 'do we want it?' but 'how can we make it work?' – what spatial qualities support the integration of various functions? Everyday streets in Amsterdam constitute a reliable site for such an investigation, as they include both 'the ordinary and extraordinary' (Highmore 2002, 16).

One consequence of the push for compact, mixed-use development is the increasing multi-functionality of urban environments. Diverse activities increasingly occur in close proximity to one another, often with conflicting needs. Grant (2002) considers that there are three categories of mixed-use environments depending on their potential for conflict. The first is a mix of dwelling types. The second is a mix of residential and commercial facilities. The third is the integration of typically segregated uses, such as industry and housing. However, the presence of multiple functions in one area does not necessarily make a mixed-use neighbourhood. Montgomery (1998) names three pre-conditions for a truly mixed-use environment: 'users must use the same streets and spaces, users must use at least some of the same facilities, and activity must not be concentrated into a particular time of the day.' In other words, the spatial scale of the mix of functions and the proximity of different activities and users are central; Montgomery's pre-conditions focus on the street as a key space in which to integrate users and activities through design.

Each of the two main streets presented in this chapter belongs to a neighbourhood with historically and contemporarily diverse functions. The first, vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat, is more common. It features a

mix of residential, commercial, retail and service functions; industrial activities are usually excluded by functional zoning. The second, Westzijde, comprises fragments of industrial typologies and uses that are integrated with residential and commercial facilities. The historical evolution of the two streets is significant, as it is indicative of the type of mix that residents expect on their everyday street, which influences



Figure 9.1a: Location of the main streets parallel to the main waterways, including main commercial and industrial activities

Figure 9.1b: Streetlife on vanWoustraat (bottom left) and Westzijde (bottom right). © Hausleitner and Stuyt 2022

what they appreciate or object to. Both streets are parts of neighbourhoods considered to be ‘liveable’ (Leefbarometer 2020). Main streets in the Netherlands were either planned in major urban expansions or developed over time in the shape of ribbons upon dykes – ‘long lines’ of continuously active streets. vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat is one of the former; Westzijde one of the latter.

Spatial form is an important factor with regard to economic activities; the two are intimately intertwined. Jacobs (1961) was the first to suggest that spatial and functional diversity are related. The impact of the street network and its differentiation on economic activities have since been extensively explored (Chiaradia et al. 2009; Froy 2021; Hillier and Hanson 1984; Marcus 2000; Narvaez et al. 2014; van Nes 2005). In addition, places that accommodate urban economic processes (e.g. shops, factories) can be identified by how the main elements of urban form are combined and differentiated (Hausleitner and Berghauser Pont 2017): the street network (centrality of a place), the built density (building types), the grain of parcellation, and territorial depth (the sequence of spaces between the urban ‘front’ and ‘back’ sides of buildings, blocks and neighbourhoods) (Hausleitner 2012; Hausleitner 2019). This chapter explores streets in two types of areas with regard to how a functional mix occupies street space and what spatial qualities facilitate the mix.

Two mixed-use main streets: one planned, one developed over time

The two streets evolved in different ways. These differing histories resulted in different patterns of spatial form. vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat was planned with aesthetic and functional considerations, while Westzijde was shaped by landscape engineering and functional requirements. vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat (see Figure 9.1a) is centrally located in modern Amsterdam South, crossing two neighbourhoods: Pijp and Rivierenbuurt. The street runs parallel to the city’s namesake, the river Amstel. It lies 300–450 metres (the equivalent of two to four city blocks) away from the western riverbank, the old main dyke along the Amstel. Similarly situated by a waterway, Westzijde (see Figure 9.1a) runs along the Zaan (a canal) northwest of Amsterdam and through the neighbourhoods of Oud Koog and Oud Zaandijk. Along its length, its official name varies – Zuideinde, Lagedijk, Hoogstraat and Lagendijk. The street is separated from the canal by a strip of plots ranging in

depth from 50 to 200 metres. While the development of Pijp and Rivierenbuurt was driven by large-scale development plans executed over a relatively short period of time, the development of Oud Koog and Oud Zandijk occurred slowly, plot-based, over a far longer period.

The urban plan for Pijp, which included vanWoustraat, was part of the nineteenth-century Plan van Nieftrik-Kalff, initiated in 1877 (Figure 9.2, top left), while Rivierenbuurt, which included Rijnstraat, was part of Berlage's plan for Amsterdam's southern expansion in 1915 (Figure 9.2, top right). Plan van Nieftrik-Kalff aimed for the area 'by means of form continuity to be experienced as a total' (Van der Hoeven and Louwe 1985). It based the area's street network on agricultural land divisions (Jobse 1980), resulting in narrow, stretched urban blocks that have been rationally subdivided into plots with maximised street-front and relatively little depth. Van der Hoeven and Louwe (1985) describe the resulting urban plan as a system that could deal well with exceptions and maximise the number of houses. The plan behind the development of Rivierenbuurt, south of Pijp, follows a different rationale: Berlage did not consider previous agricultural parcellation. Instead, he emphasised two main aspects: a monumental system of main streets and introverted residential sub-areas. Berlage emphasised coherently designed streets and pleaded for at least whole blocks to be designed by a single architect to achieve cohesion (Hoekstra 2018).

vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat links Pijp and Rivierenbuurt. In Pijp, the street was planned as a 20-metre-wide main radial connection to the old part of Amsterdam, featuring shops and a tram line. Two special streets cross Pijp's section of Woustraat-Rijnstraat. First, Albert Cuypstraat was built along the former sawmill waterway. At an average of 15 metres wide, Albert Cuypstraat is wider than most side streets and has accommodated a market since 1905. Second, Centuurbaan is part of a continuous street that encircles the seventeenth-century city; at 30 metres wide, it leads to a bridge across the Amstel at the eastern edge of Pijp. Both Centuurbaan and Albert Cuypstraat accentuate vanWoustraat and host more commercial activities than most other side streets (see Figure 9.1a). Extending vanWoustraat, Rijnstraat was initially conceptualised in the Berlage plan as a main traffic connection only. In its realisation, Rijnstraat became a main street with social and economic activities. The orientation of the long sides of the urban blocks along Rijnstraat results in fewer side streets connecting Rijnstraat and its hinterland. This spatial setting led to a differentiation of a mixed-use main street with a predominantly residential hinterland.

In contrast to the planned nature of vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat, Westzijde, which runs through Oud Koog and Oud Zaandijk, was developed piecemeal alongside local developments in water engineering. The dyke constituted the main connection between settlements; as those settlements grew, they eventually merged into a long line parallel to the Zaan (Figure 9.2, left). Westzijde is an exemplary ribbon-shaped settlement that runs along the top of dykes on the high ground of the 'lowlands'. Its hinterland is characterised by land divisions that followed drainage ditch patterns dug during the reclamation process (Palmboom 1990). After the dykes were built in the thirteenth century, settlers developed an intricate system of ditches and both high and low dykes. Farmers built their houses on the high dyke along the Zaan. To cultivate the land, they dug ditches perpendicular to the dykes. This practice led to land subsidence. To keep the land dry, they extended the system of ditches plot by plot along the dyke. Around 1580, industrial activities began to occupy land previously used for agriculture. Serving the markets of Amsterdam and Haarlem, the area around the Zaan did not receive city rights, which would have come along with strict regulations, so more polluting industries settled. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, larger homes and warehouses were built on the riverside of the dyke, overlooking the agricultural land and the mills, oriented away from the river. Ditches perpendicular to the dyke led to the industrial mills on the land side, with small workers' homes established along these paths.

During the second industrialisation in the late nineteenth century, large steam-engine-powered factories replaced the mills. These factories were mainly located between Westzijde and the Zaan – outside of the dykes, as these plots were accessible by ships. These buildings and plots were larger than those built during earlier periods. Many homes, offices and shops were established along the dykes to serve the factories and their workers. On the land side of the dyke – the western side of Westzijde – small wooden workers' homes were replaced by warehouses and larger villas for factory directors with a direct view of their factories and the Zaan. The rail network was developed in the area around 1860, attracting many settlers. The village paths and dykes were hardened, and ditches were reclaimed to serve traffic instead of boats. During the twentieth century, the number of factories increased, resulting in increased housing demand. New workers' neighbourhoods were built between the dyke and path structures (Figure 9.2, bottom-right). After World War II, new neighbourhoods were developed in line with modernist principles, no longer viewing the water system as



Figure 9.2: Historic plans of the case study areas. Top: plan Kalff (left) and plan Berlage (right). Bottom: Koog aan de Zaan in 1868 (left) and 1950 (right). Sources (websites accessed 1 November 2022): Top left: plan by Jan Kalff 1875.

a structuring element. The piecemeal development of Westzijde over more than 500 years resulted in an urban grain that is very different from that of the planned districts around vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat.

Today's variation in the mix of economic activities

The historical maps (Figure 9.2) and narratives of the two streets indicate two different development paths that have impacted today's uses and are the underlying conditions for their different economic and urban lives. On vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat in Pijp and Rivierenbuurt,

shops are dominant. On Westzijde in Oud Koog and Oud Zaandijk, industry is dominant. However, there is a diverse mix of uses on both streets. Their varying economic activities reveal a distinct pattern in both areas. Figure 9.1a shows these patterns, including commercial (red) and industrial (dark grey). As a result of their divergent histories, Pijp and Rivierenbuurt are about three times more densely populated than Oud Koog and Oud Zaandijk, and the residential densities are mirrored by different dwelling types prevailing in each neighbourhood.¹ The planned Pijp and Rivierenbuurt areas feature almost exclusively multi-family housing with closed urban blocks, while most homes in Oud Koog and Oud Zaandijk are terraced, single-family homes.

The types of uses on the two streets (and in the neighbourhoods through which they pass) are similar overall but distributed differently as a result of their morphology and available building typologies. Additionally, business density is more than five times higher in Pijp and Rivierenbuurt than in Oud Koog and Oud Zaandijk. In Pijp and Rivierenbuurt (see Figure 9.1a, left), there is significant variation in the density of economic activities. In Pijp, small-scale manufacturing, construction and logistics companies are relatively spread out across the area, which hosts a lively community of small-scale furniture makers, printing houses, shoemakers, metal and woodworkers, bakeries, fashion and textile designers, and creative businesses. The main sectors represented here are commercial shops and service providers, both of which align well with small plot sizes. Further south, Rivierenbuurt hosts a few bakeries and some home-based craft workshops in metalworking, clothing design and furniture making. Overall, Pijp is more commercial with higher business density, while Rivierenbuurt hosts more small-scale amenity providers spread throughout the area in relatively smaller numbers. On average, there are twice as many manufacturers and service providers in Pijp than in Rivierenbuurt.

Westzijde, in contrast, has a distinctly industrial character. It features larger factories producing at scale with smaller crafts businesses serving local areas. Manufacturing industries are the dominant sector in the area, followed by business services and shops. The factories produce cocoa, chocolate-making equipment, oils and starch; the smaller businesses include metalworkers, woodworkers, bakeries and breweries as well as producers of furniture, musical instruments and electronics. Unlike vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat, which is relatively homogenous in terms of scale and functional mix, despite the spatial differences between Pijp and Rivierenbuurt, Westzijde hosts industrial clusters alternating with residential clusters featuring some

commercial activities. Overall, Westzijde does not have a continuous line of commercial activities; rather, it boasts clusters with various functions (see Figure 9.1a, right). The intersection of Westzijde and Guisweg, a street linking Westzijde to the provincial road, features a cluster of shops, restaurants and hotels, a fire department, a furniture store, a construction business and a stone supplier, serving a larger area than just the local neighbourhood. Due to the larger plots available in Oud Koog and Oud Zaandijk, business density is more than five times lower there than in Pijp and Rivierenbuurt.

In all of the discussed neighbourhoods, commercial activities and amenities are concentrated along the main street. However, the reach of these activities differs. Most shops and services on vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat, such as clothing stores and hairdressers, perform typical functions of a main street, serving their local community. One exception is the market in Albert Cuypstraat, which attracts people from across the city and constitutes a tourist destination. Thus, it features a disproportionate number of cafes. Like Albert Cuypstraat, supported by its high connectivity, Westzijde and around its intersection with Guisweg is a similar exception, hosting functions serving tourists going from the train station to the Zaanse Schans, a popular tourist attraction.

Mapping the mixes shows that the mixed-use environments in both areas manifest at different scales with differing distributions. The mix of uses shown in Figure 9.3 was calculated using four simple categories: housing, retail and services, productive industry and business services.² Figure 9.3b shows the degree of mixed-use in buildings (the darker the grey, the more businesses) and the mix in each street segment (the darker the red, the more mixed), as measured by Simpson's diversity index (Simpson 1949). Many buildings in Pijp are mixed-use, particularly on vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat and its cross streets adjacent to the main street. In Rivierenbuurt, the street is predominantly mixed, with a lower diversity of economic activities in the buildings than in Pijp. Behind the main street, Rivierenbuurt has only a few mixed-use buildings. In contrast, most of the buildings in Oud Koog and Oud Zaandijk are mono-functional, while mixed-use buildings are primarily located on Westzijde, where use diversity is present in adjacent buildings.

Importantly, in both of the case studies, the main street seems to constitute the main structural element organising a mix of functions. In Pijp and Rivierenbuurt, the mix changes in a gradient away from the main street. In Oud Koog and Oud Zaandijk, the mix changes sequentially along the street.



Figure 9.3: Degree of mixed-use buildings and mixing in street segments in vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat (left) and Westzijde (right). © Hausleitner 2022

Differentiation of spaces of economic activities

Economic activities appear in different ways on the two streets. Here, we turn to the question of how spatial form facilitates mixed-use differences.

vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat and Westzijde (see Figure 9.4) are in their neighbourhoods the main central street, the ‘front’ side, which is generally associated with high footfall and in both cases contain the highest number of shops and services (see Figure 9.1a). The clear urban front sides of the blocks that line vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat (see Figure 9.5) make these buildings particularly suitable for public-facing

economic activities, such as shops. The entirety of both Pijp and Rivierenbuurt is designed with closed urban blocks that clearly define the border between public and private on the block scale, creating clear urban front sides facing the street. Westzijde, in contrast, does not have a clearly defined front side. Instead, the alignment of the buildings with the street and facades with entrances oriented toward the main street form the front side. The places at the river and the canal form the ‘back’ sides on the neighbourhood scale (see Figure 9.4); these are less accessible from the main street and are complementary to the main street. Such ‘back’ sides are not as clear in their shape as the ‘front’ side in both places but appear to cluster building types, and plot sizes differ from those of the front sides (see Figure 9.4). The large grain plots along the river – originally factory sites – constitute an exception in Pijp and Rivierenbuurt, providing space for activities with a larger footprint. The ‘back’ side location takes further advantage of the lower

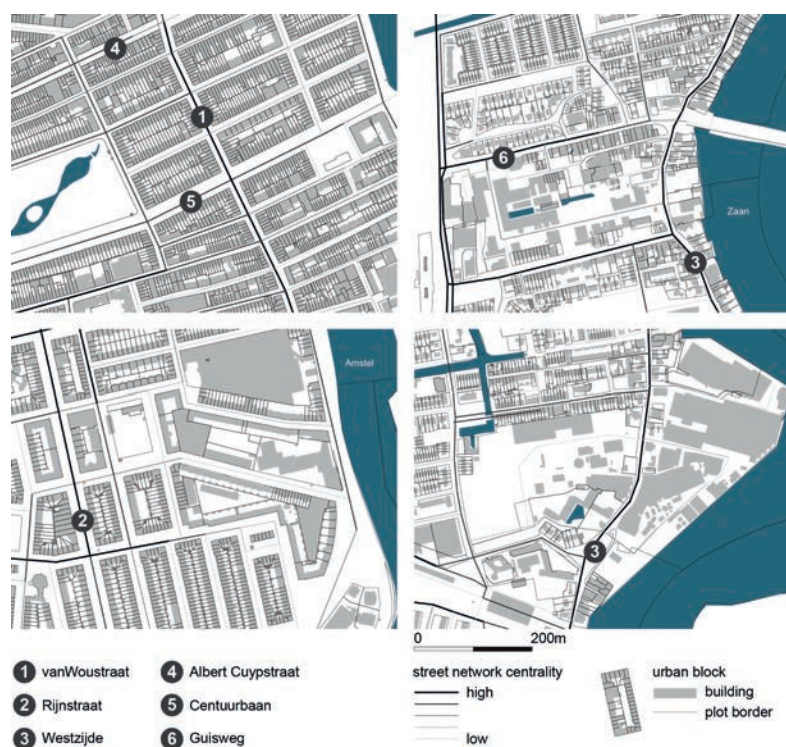


Figure 9.4: Mapping of plots, buildings and betweenness centrality in two zooms in vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat (left) and Westzijde (right).
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connectivity to the main street. Vehicular traffic attracted to the back side comes from the road along the waterfront without impacting life on the main street.

On a smaller scale, variation within blocks forms complementary 'back' sides, offering space for extraordinary activities. Some of the western side streets of vanWoustraat feature craft workshops and car-repair workshops with a larger footprint in mostly low-rise industrial buildings in the courtyard of the block (see Fig. 9.5). Similarly, on Westzijde, medium-grain areas along the main street facilitate buildings with a larger footprint behind the street-front buildings. These courtyard activities are facilitated by deeper plots in both places, providing space for a second building in the blocks' interior (see Figures 9.4 and 9.5). A pre-condition for active back sides is their accessibility (see Figure 9.5). The back sides in Pijp and Rivierenbuurt are accessible via doors on the main street's front buildings. The back side buildings on Westzijde have access roads and are often accessible from multiple sides of the plot. This means less industrial traffic and, in turn, fewer nuisances on the main street. These accessible courtyards along Westzijde also provide loading space, which Woustraat-Rijnstraat lacks. Thus, on the latter main street, delivery trucks have to unload on the 'front' side. Evidently, this distinction between 'front' and 'back' sides is relevant on plot, block and neighbourhood scale for ordering activities with similar needs.

Territorial depth creates distance between the front and back sides on multiple scales. In both cases, the streets between the main street (the urban front side) and the river (here interpreted as the urban back side) increase the territorial depth on the neighbourhood scale. A differentiation of the street network is visible in both cases, though this is much more explicit along Westzijde, where the main street is considerably wider than its side streets. Proximity to the river means that the side streets east of vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat are less accessible, resulting in less economic activity than on the side streets west of vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat. The urban blocks on the northern part of vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat are oriented with their short side along the main street. Consequently, fewer turns are necessary to access the main street from every part of the neighbourhood. In contrast, more turns are necessary on the southern part of vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat, as long blocks build a barrier between the main street and its hinterland. Thus, the predominantly residential area behind this part of the main street is more 'private' than the main street. On both vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat and Westzijde (see Figure 9.4) deeper urban plots foster



Figure 9.5: Spatial organisation of diverse functions on vanWoustraat (top) and Westzijde (bottom). © Hausleitner and Stuyt 2022

a gradual decrease in publicness inside the block. In the more fine-grain, higher-density areas around both streets, public storefronts have more hidden storage and office space behind publicly accessible rooms. Residential units are located on the upper floors of mixed-use buildings – a vertical step from the main street. While the findings in this chapter concern the differentiation of places by territorial depth for business activities, Clossick and Smink (this volume) have found that depth is of similar importance for social conditions. Evidently, distance can be created by different types of morphological elements or spaces.

In terms of buildings and plots, the scale of the urban grain on vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat is largely homogeneous. Westzijde, however, boasts high variation in plot and building sizes on account of its fragmented development. Still, variation in the density of the street mesh leads to some variation in block sizes on vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat. Especially on its southeastern part, a less dense street network near the river results in relatively large urban blocks, contrasting with the rest of the neighbourhood. These large blocks host a tram shed and large commercial buildings on the site of a former car factory.

Minor variations in footprint and storefront size of the buildings on vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat enable a variety of public-facing businesses to occupy these buildings. The urban blocks along the northern part of vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat tend to have slightly deeper plots in their middle sections (see Figure 9.5), providing open space in the blocks' interior. Here, the ground floor is typically divided into two- or three-deep units. Each has a short storefront along the main street, both providing businesses with sufficient floorspace to operate and taking advantage of their place on the main street. The corner shops, while operating in smaller buildings, have more metres of storefront. In some cases where businesses require more space, ground floors have been internally connected.

Westzijde, in contrast, depicts alternating sequences along the street with fine-grain and large-grain urban blocks. Plot sizes vary greatly, accommodating many different use types, including large-scale industry. Blocks with fine-grain plots and buildings for shops and housing facilitate functional diversity by integrating medium-size plots into the block. These medium-sized plots facilitate buildings with larger footprints behind the main street.

The main spatial and morphological diversity along vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat is evident in the differentiation of its hinterland. There, one can find a wide range of businesses that do not require a public frontage but may still benefit from their proximity to the main

street. vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat entails a typological and functional transition – gradients of combinations of plots, building types and accessibility: from highly accessible, small-grain and similar sized mixed-use buildings along the main street (the ‘front’ side) to less accessible, relatively lower-rise buildings with larger footprints on the ‘back’ sides of the blocks. Pijp and Rivierenbuurt have gradients on the block and street-network scales. Additionally, they demonstrate typological contrast with large-scale industrial inserts behind Rijnstraat.

Along Westzijde, street sections of small-grain plots and buildings with small local shops, service providers and housing alternate with street sections of large-grain industrial plots and buildings. Surrounding the clusters of large-scale industry along Westzijde is a gradual typological and functional transition between industry and housing. Surrounding the industrial plots, medium-sized and small-grain plots feature construction companies and multi-business centres. Finally, surrounding these are housing units. On the plot level, the large industrial plots of Westzijde comprise office and storage buildings along the public sides of the block, offering a buffer from the production and logistics activities occurring in the centre of the plot. The industrial plot of the cocoa factory is such an example. Notably, it occupies an entire block on both sides of the main street. Although the factory has a public frontage facing the main street, the continuous line of facades on the main street is interrupted due to the factory’s need to access the waterfront. The production process is conducted on both sides of the street, enabled by pipes crossing above the main street. The factory here is just one example of the interesting functional alternations on Westzijde.

Accommodating mixed use in main streets

Vital mixed-use streets are not merely containers for a random mix of functions; rather, they afford function combinations based on specific functional-spatial relations. In both of the discussed localities, the type and scale of the uses found on the main streets and in their hinterlands are dependent on available building types, which are, in turn, dependent on plot sizes, connectivity and centrality, which are, once again, dependent on local topography, geography and history – whether the place was planned or developed organically. While shops and services can generally fit in smaller spaces, most manufacturing industries require space beyond that offered by standard mixed-use city

plots and buildings. Manufacturing at scale requires proper consideration in the planning of the urban layout, by providing larger business units and considering routing to prevent overlaps in road traffic by trucks and slow traffic. From the observations made in the two case studies, we can draw four main conclusions regarding the urban structural conditions that afford a mixed-use environment on main streets and their hinterlands:

Modularity of the urban plan on the building, plot and block scale levels helps to maintain coherence along the street while still allowing for differences and adaptability. Modular organisation in the urban plan enables the upscaling and downscaling of business space based on a smaller unit within the units of the next higher scale (building combinations up to the plot, plots combined up to the block). The large-scale aggregation of multiple blocks can be successful if the main street and street network remain permeable for all users. Within a modular frame, variation in building types, plots and streets forms the basis for their future occupation, businesses of various sizes, and needs.

Providing complementary 'front' and 'back' sides in proximity and across several scales is a pre-condition for providing places with different environmental conditions. On the neighbourhood scale, main streets are the most public place – the 'front' side. The presence of territorial borders near the main street in the form of rivers or infrastructure elements enables the integration of spaces for producing and selling in proximity. Larger plots and main traffic routes form urban 'back' sides. These are good sites for industrial facilities and large-scale amenities. They foster a mixed-use environment by clustering similar spatial needs and providing separate routes for industrial and slow traffic. Without territorial borders, physical design on other scales becomes relevant to the creation of distance between spaces, allowing the co-existence of disparate activities. The topology of the street network differentiates place accessibility. Public front sides and interior back sides on urban blocks afford differentiation in visibility, allowing for less capital-strong economic activities to have a place next to 'A-locations' along the main street.

Structural coherence that still allows for exceptions creates a clear character for the street space. While neither of the case studies showed solid structural coherence, they indicate two different ways to achieve it: spatial sequences that show transition gradients and spatial

sequences that show typological contrast. The front-to-back transition gradient has two purposes: first, it organises affordability of place; second, it organises the alignment of environmental qualities, which supports functional diversity in proximity and thus mixed-use.

Territorial depth with steps between front and back sides provide for transitions between environmental qualities (e.g. from more noisy to less noisy, from more footfall to less footfall). Such transitions can be organised at different scales and supported by elements of the urban plan, such as varying grades of accessibility, or varying plot sizes and building types (the latter two being aspects of modularity). Various spatial elements can facilitate transitions from one to the other zone: fences or hedges, stairs, new building types, plot sizes or street turns. Thus, spatial transitions can appear as horizontal or vertical. Both case studies showed places where the 'extraordinary' function appears with typological contrast of built form. In both cases the processes that could result in nuisances for the main street had little spatial overlap with the main street, meaning that such business can use the main street, but only when minimising their operation along the main street. Integrating factory shops along the main street – that part of factory activity most similar to common main street activities – can facilitate mediation in places of functional-spatial typological contrast. In this way, coherence is not necessarily provided by spatial characteristics; it is provided by activities that align with the common functions of the main street.

vanWoustraat-Rijnstraat was planned as a part of a major urban expansion. It appears, in its functional mix, to be more closely in line with what is commonly thought of as a main street, being embedded in a residential, mixed-use neighbourhood. Westzijde boasts activities in the mix that are more commonly thought of as incompatible, shifting from an industrial street to one with more commercial and residential places. The spatial-functional description of the two streets presented here has shown how spatial-structural characteristics are related to the functionality of everyday street spaces and the appropriate location for production and selling – from craft and manufacturing at one end of the spectrum to retail on the other. It has offered guidelines for urban designers who wish to facilitate a mixed-use environment.

Notes

- 1 Data on the sub-neighbourhood areas have been aggregated, including CBS 2022 for inhabitants and BAG 2018 and fieldwork for businesses.
- 2 The business categorisation employed SBI codes (G, I and parts of S covered retail and services; F covered production industries; J, K, L, M and N covered business services). Source: ARRA business database provided by DRD Amsterdam.

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Figure 10.0: Map of Kiruna © Anna Skoura

Kiruna, lost and found: identity and memory in the streetspace of an Arctic town

Maria Luna Nobile

Kiruna is a Swedish mining town that is currently on the move; the new town is being constructed, while the centre of its initial settlement is being demolished. Its mesh of streets is an expression of the town's unique culture, way of life and Arctic climate. The town's relocation presents an intriguing question: Is it possible to retain the relationships developed between the town's inhabitants and streets over the course of a century while moving the town? This chapter reflects on the relocation of Kiruna by exploring the spatial and temporal conditions of the existing town and considering the plans for its new form. It offers some reflections for the designers behind the new Kiruna.

Kiruna is one of the northernmost Swedish towns, located 145 kilometres north of the Arctic Circle. It is known for being one of the largest iron-mining settlements in the world, supplying 90 per cent of Europe's iron. Recently, it has come to be known as a city on the move (Lindstedt and Walldin 2014), as extensive mining activities and related subsidence below the old town centre have made Kiruna no longer safe to inhabit. At one point, a choice emerged between saving the mine and saving the town – and the mine won. The town's extreme conditions and industrial nature are embedded in its very identity, yet the town itself is now on the move, presenting a unique town-level displacement.

Despite its current mobile status, Kiruna's population is growing. While climate change has recently begun to force architects and urban planners across the world to rethink development values, several cities in Sweden – especially in Norrland, where Kiruna is located – are

confronting massive development as a result of small towns' populations being displaced. Over the last 10 years, northern Sweden has hosted a significant increase in construction as a result of population displacement; this trend is expected to continue in the coming years (Boverket 2021). This trend has been elevated by a regulatory shift: since 2009, people have been permitted to hold ownership rights in housing blocks rather than just single-family homes. This change has encouraged people to purchase flats in housing blocks, boosting population growth in towns like Kiruna.

The history of Kiruna

Kiruna is a modern, twentieth-century settlement borne of industrial necessity. Founded in 1900, the town is located in an environment characterised by forests, natural streams and rivers. Kiruna was planned by architects Per Olof Hallman and Gustaf Wickman, who were commissioned to design a town by the state-owned Swedish mining company, LKAB. The settlement is a mesh of streets and housing blocks adapted to the site's geographical conditions; it is endowed with social and cultural amenities inspired by Camillo Sitte's model town plan (Nilsson 2010). Its streets were adapted to the southwestern slope and designed to shelter residents from the northern winds. In the early 1960s, LKAB began to excavate the first tunnels beneath Kiruna alongside the development of the town's new civic centre.

I went out for a walk around the town, admiring the plants in the glow of LUX lights. What do I see? An electric tramway, modern cottage houses, vast stores. One person with a kindly smile pointed me to a 'men's outfitter' while I was in a linen shop looking to get ends for my braces. They thought I was from the countryside. So I felt [like that], too. The hundreds of lights of Kirunavaara glimmered in rows, steam whistled and hissed, cars roared. I felt at home. (Hallström 1907)

The settlement in and around Kiruna changed the lives of the nomadic Sámi people, who had lived in the area for centuries. The first non-Sámi inhabitants were largely male miners, but the population grew rapidly. By 1910, industrial development in the area had led to the population reaching 8,000 (also in 1910, the first of 15 hydropower plants was

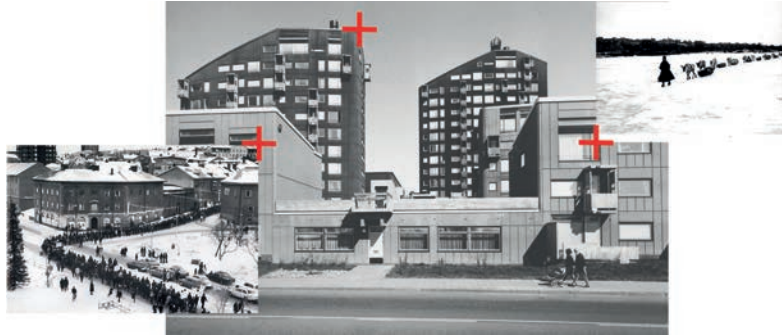


Figure 10.1: Kiruna imaginary. © Maria Luna Nobile

built along the Lule River) (Shapiro 2020). As observed by Hallström in 1907, the town was vibrant and busy early in its history. The area's industrial development and new status as a tourist destination (Eklund 1946) made the native Sámi people realise that there was a conflict brewing between their peaceful, nomadic way of living and the new modern reality. There was an inherent contradiction between the Sámi people's nature-driven life and the mining industry's prioritisation of economic growth; many Sámi people began to settle in the area and work for local industries (Granås 2012). This oppressive overlap between industrial development and natural origin defines Kiruna's modern identity (Maudsley 2020).

We shall never forget that the mine, at its beginning, forced two Sámi villages off their grazing land. Now it's the turn of the Kiruna people to leave their homes. (Shapiro 2020)

Kiruna faces radical seasonal changes in terms of both light and temperature, with particularly harsh conditions during the winter. This dynamic climate aligns well with the town's inherent instability.

Moving the town centre

Shifting the city two miles east presents an unparalleled opportunity to transform Kiruna into a vibrant, low impact and economically diverse urban hub for current and future generations. (White Arkitekter 2014)

In 2004, LKAB announced that worsening ground conditions alongside new mining plans meant that the town of Kiruna would need to gradually relocate (Shapiro 2020). Kiruna's town centre was built upon rich seams of iron; to take advantage of this resource, the ground below the town would continue to be undermined, causing dangerous subsidence. While the resultant definition of a new plan involved both public and private actors, it was largely driven by LKAB in consultation with public agencies. The town's inhabitants were not consulted; those responsible took for granted the idea that their extreme response was appropriate in this state of emergency. In truth, the town's subsidence was made inevitable years prior, when industry transformed the local landscape.

LKAB, which owns most of Kiruna's land and buildings, began to plan the transfer and demolition of a large part of the historic city in 2012. It planned to move the town centre three kilometres to the east. Kiruna landmarks and symbols, including its first wooden houses, wooden church and clock tower, were to be dismantled and rebuilt, while other elements of the town would simply be demolished, such as the Kvarteret Ortdrivaren, a brutalist modern housing estate designed by Ralph Erskine (Laestadius 2020; Figure 10.2). In June 2012, the Kiruna Municipality, in partnership with the Swedish Association of Architects, invited 10 architectural offices to take part in a competition pertaining to the vision, strategy and design of a new Kiruna. This competition was won by White + Ghilardi Architects, making them responsible for gradually remaking the town's urban core – physically, socially and politically.

The whole development process is a paradox. At the same time as new attractiveness is created, other parts will decay; and meanwhile, the entire city has to be kept alluring and attractive. Very great importance thus attaches to communicating that the new Kiruna is a place radiating sustainability, attractiveness and character.¹

These words from the chairperson of the competition's jury demonstrate the way in which the Kiruna Municipality sought to communicate the project as a necessity. It wanted the town's inhabitants to view the development of the new Kiruna as a unique opportunity for modernity rather than a destruction of their place of dwelling, memories and identity. Of course, regardless of how they interpreted the change, the demolition of the town's symbols, places and streets inevitably has a strong impact on the lives of its inhabitants (Figure 10.3).



Figure 10.2: Kvartet Ortdrivaren, designed by Ralph Erskine, and its position in relation to Kirunavaara. © Maria Luna Nobile

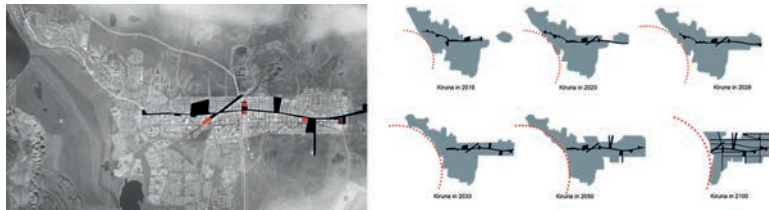


Figure 10.3: 'Kiruna 4 Ever', plan for the Kiruna of tomorrow. © Maria Luna Nobile

The meaning of streets in Kiruna

Lars Janssonsgatan is the main street that connected the core of Kiruna's former city centre to the town's train station and town hall, both of which were demolished in 2018; the street passed by the Ortdrivaren housing estate and continued to the Folket Hus square. It served as a link between private spaces of domestic life (Ortdrivaren) – and as a link to places of everyday life of at least three different generations of Kiruna inhabitants: the square, the school, the swimming pool. These places formed the heart of Kiruna's social and civic life, meaning their loss will inevitably be felt deeply by its inhabitants. Lars Janssonsgatan will gradually disappear over the coming years; by 2033, it will be just a faint trace of the town's history. It will become a park that will replace the historical centre of Kiruna.

Streets like Lars Janssonsgatan reflect the relationships that define a city. Streets reflect the identity and image of a city: by

closely examining its streets, we can decipher the social, cultural, and political life of a city. Streets are arenas for individual and group expression, sites for [the] exchange of information and ideas, forums for dialogue, debate and contestation, spaces for conviviality, leisure, performance and display, places for economic survival and refuge, a system of access and connectivity, and settings for nature in the city. Fulfilling these roles, the street works with its own logic and has its own ecology. (Mehta 2014)

With regard to how long-term relationships relate to notions of identity, there are two dimensions of 'identity': *spatial*, identified by specific parameters measurable by architectural and urban planning tools; and *temporal*, identified by parameters embedded in historical, political and social dynamics that represent interactions between a place and its inhabitants (Taylor 1955).

Spatial parameters describe the relationship between elements of urban form and their uses. In a new town, forms and uses are often driven by architects and planners. In Kiruna, in terms of spatial identity, there is a geographic relationship with the mountain of Kirunavaara, which has been drastically modified by the mining industry. It serves as a landmark, establishing a connection with the towers and the Ortdrivaren housing complex. The main streets in Kiruna host wooden houses, churches, housing blocks, municipal buildings, cultural spaces, sports facilities, bars, shops and libraries, all of which influence its spatial identity.

The aspects of *temporal* identity in Kiruna are elements determined by four processes: first, cultural, political and social interactions between inhabitants and the streets; second, the landscape and climatic conditions of the extreme north that have historically defined the Sámi people's routes and nomadic settlements; third, the recent phenomenon of touristification; and fourth, the turning point of the industrial development. Affection held for the streets is influenced by the rituals and habits of the miners; these streets constitute a place for huge demonstrations that play an important role in the memory of generations of workers.

Spatial and *temporal* elements of Lars Janssonsgatan can be identified along the path that currently connects the Kvarteret Ortdrivaren to Kiruna's centre. The street assumes a particular meaning in the Arctic context, where weather and light conditions strongly impact the way public spaces are experienced throughout the year. This concept has been explored by Ralph Erskine (1960), and

Mínguez Carrasco focused on the ongoing relocation of the town in their *Kiruna Forever* project (2020). Arriving in Kiruna, walking toward the Kvarteret Ortdrivaren with its orange and yellow buildings, one's path is illuminated by blended light; the *Kaamos* (a word in Finnish meaning 'polar night') is the intense blue tone of an early November afternoon following 'the hundreds of lights of Kirunavaara glimmering in rows'. It refers to a readiness to understand the exceptional value of this on-the-move town.

There are several different proposals as to how the memory of the city now disappearing is to be treated. Archives of different kinds obviously have their part to play. The older wooden buildings are movable, but the modern heritage, which includes, for example, Erskine's buildings and the Town Hall, cannot be relocated and given a context in the same way. The memory of these buildings and of the structure of the old city is [far] more evanescent. (Kiruna Kommun 2013)

At the southern end of Lars Janssonsgatan is the Ortdrivaren housing complex, designed and built in 1960–2 by Ralph Erskine as part of an urban development plan for Kiruna (Maudsley 2020). The demolition of the town's southern end is currently planned for 2023. The spatial identity of this area is unique. The position of its buildings on a slope represents the inhabitants' relationship with their local landscape. Additionally, their aerodynamic shape was defined in response to the Arctic climate; this makes it possible for them to maintain internal temperatures during even the harshest winters. Their pitched roofs prevent snow from falling on sidewalks. Their balconies constitute natural refrigerators while allowing for the permeation of sunlight during summer months. The internal paths between buildings in the housing complex connect to the lower part of the town, where the main road currently links the relocated station with the urban centre.

In terms of temporal identity, the social, political and cultural life that has existed in Ortdrivaren will also disappear when it is demolished. This warrants reflection on the relocation of Kiruna with regard to the town's physical fabric and the memories that it wields – memories of multiple generations that could be erased from existence. How might it be possible to keep track of these memories when demolishing and rebuilding an entire housing complex? This is the biggest challenge identified by the brief of the aforementioned competition.

The challenges of master-planning Kiruna

In relocating a town, the everyday practices that define the space must be accommodated in a new place. The notion of space as a place of everyday practice was introduced by De Certeau (1984), who conceived that space comes into being when performed and activated by users – ‘when it is caught in the ambiguity of an actualization, transformed into a term dependent upon many different conventions’ (91). Spaces are determined by inhabitants as well as local political, cultural and historical dynamics. ‘Thus, the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into space by walkers’ (De Certeau 1984, 91).

According to the competition brief, the project proposal must show a vision for the Kiruna of tomorrow that boasts sustainability, attractiveness and identity. The vision must affirm growth and new, robust patterns of living. It must also outline a strategy: a basic sustainable structure for accomplishing the urban transformation through a dynamic, quality-creating process in which new and pre-existing elements form a holistic entity and will function throughout the transformation process. Finally, it must detail means of shaping a sustainable, distinct and pleasant urban centre in the east, within a holistic structure encompassing the entire city (Kiruna Kommun 2013). This study has demonstrated that *identity*, both spatial and temporal, is a core value that must be considered during the relocation process.

In the brief of the aforementioned competition, the street is one of the main elements regarded as fundamental to urban transformation:

Five types of public spaces are presented as structuring elements for the new city: streets, squares, neighbourhood parks, city parks and nature parks. These are tailored to meet the challenges of the suburban climate and new urban life of Kiruna. (Ghilardi 2014)

One of the most important challenges in establishing the guidelines for urban transformation is defining a clear strategy that considers social, cultural, practical and experiential aspects as well as the views of Kiruna’s inhabitants. The competition constituted an opportunity to identify and decode new means of defining the notion of street while considering unique Arctic conditions. The streets of the former urban centre (e.g. Lars Janssonsgatan), with which its users identified, will be erased by their demolition. The meaning of these streets will be

translated into new spaces – or at least there will be an attempt to do so. It is possible, if the everyday practices of the old Kiruna can be adequately accommodated in the new Kiruna, for the spatial and temporal identities and memories of Lars Janssonsgatan and Kvarteret Ortdrivaren to be replicated and retained in a new place.

Conclusion

The unexpected relocation of a town represents an opportunity to assess how social, cultural and spatial conditions are reflected in the transformation of spaces in which everyday life occurs and how relationships are rooted in urban fabric (Overud 2019). Displacement facilitates reflection by architects and planners responsible for building a new space on the following questions: Is it possible to translate the meaning of relationships established over long periods of time between inhabitants and streets while moving a city? How and in what ways is it possible to translate relationships between urban form and uses in connection to the experience and atmosphere of a place? What are the limits of architecture in defining the traces of life?

The notion of reinventing a city presents the possibility (or risk) of encouraging harmful environmental modifications, such as those that forced Kiruna to relocate. In the plan for the new Kiruna, the streets are connections between a new sequence of spaces: a square; a New Town Hall, which is already in place; houses, hotels and shops. The ‘hundreds of lights of Kirunavaara’ will be four kilometres away; they’ll be substituted by the artificial light of a commercial street – by a symbol of globalisation.

Kiruna will continue changing, and perhaps one day it will move to mend its pathological relationship with nature. For now, its relocation serves as proof not of the omnipotence of design and technology, but rather of the contingency that lurks behind the surest plans. Kiruna’s displaced residents have something in common with groups around the world who must leave their homes, a situation that is occurring with increasing frequency. Kiruna – and the culturally resurgent Sámi – may ultimately offer lessons for other communities on the move. (Shapiro 2020)

One sentiment that frequently emerges from dialogue with Kiruna inhabitants is a contradiction: the mine is both an expression of the

town's identity and the reason for the town's demise. 'A community reinventing its city' (White Arkitekter 2019) is the slogan employed by the architects who won the design competition. The word 'community' here links together the Sámi people, mine workers from across the country, refugees, scientists and other specialised workers; it attempts to reflect the town's social diversity. As Shapiro (2020) points out, this type of transition is not unique to the people of Kiruna; lessons should be learned to ease future transitions among other peoples.

One key lesson is to recognise the spatial and temporal identity of major streets – to acknowledge that such places host cultural heritage and memories. The *Kiruna Forever* project, recently also the object of an extensive exhibition at the Swedish Centre for Architecture and Design, attempts to gather these cultural elements before the town is destroyed. It serves to recognise the instrumental value of the nature of Kiruna – to encourage us to reflect on the architectural, cultural, historical and political machinery that has always influenced the image of the city. For architects and urban planners, the relocation of Kiruna points to the need to consider spatial and temporal relationships in the definition of a town. The complex ecosystem of social, political, material and immaterial values represented by connections between inhabitants and places should constitute the basis for any future development initiatives.

Nevertheless, the natural conditions and resources that led Kiruna to become a town, due to its position and relationship with the Kirunavaara mountain, are paradoxically the reason behind this recurring change in its definition as a town, as a place, as a community.

The current uncertainty of our position as architects invites us to re-consider the *spatial* and *temporal* parameters in a way that considers the notion of alignment with evolving dynamics. The Kiruna of tomorrow will likely represent another temporary step in the process – one that is open to the challenge of post-industrial society but exposed to the challenges of the future.

Notes

- 1 Christer Larsson, Malmö City Planning Director, Jury Chairperson of the KIRUNA Competition, 2014.

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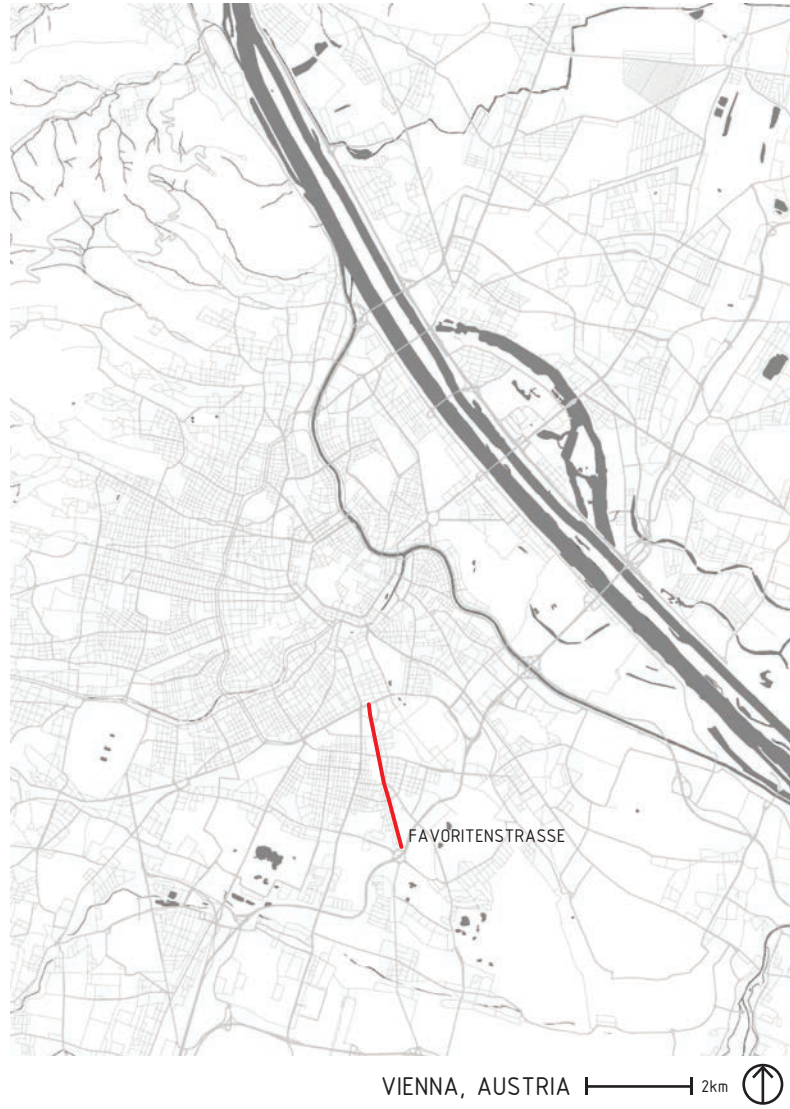


Figure 11.0: Map of Vienna © Anna Skoura

Foundational economy and polycentricity in the five squares of the pedestrian zone of Favoritenstrasse, Vienna

Sigrid Kroismayr and Andreas Novy

The Viennese pedestrian zone Favoritenstrasse is located in a densely populated, low-income area with a high share of migrants. The section of the street discussed here comprises five squares, all within walking distance of one another. In our description of them we focus on various sectors of the foundational economy, including food retail, mobility, and cultural initiatives. The five squares form a line of sub-centres that provide foundational goods and services essential to everyday life. Shops, market stalls, social amenities including a public swimming hall, public administrative offices, public benches, public playgrounds and green spaces provide a beneficial mixture of commercial and non-commercial uses for low-income residents who depend on local provisions. The urban form explored in this study facilitates access to basic goods, services and infrastructure within walking distance of one another.

Introduction

The desire to create lively public spaces as well as an aspiration to provide ‘a good life for all within planetary boundaries’ (O’Neill et al. 2018) have guided Viennese policy ambitions in recent years (Stadt Wien 2019). In 2019, the municipal council passed a document entitled ‘Technical Concept: Centres of urban life – Polycentric Vienna (MA 18