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An Analysis of Urban Public Space in Three European Cities: London, Dublin and Amsterdam

Thaddeus Philip Lawton

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.

University of Dublin

2009

Declaration

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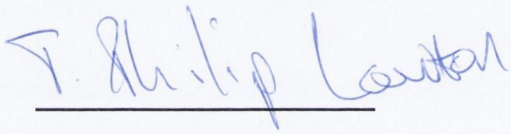

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To my parents, Richard and Marie,
for all their support throughout the years

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Summary

This thesis sets out to enquire into the relationship between recent urban transformation and urban public space in three European cities: London, Dublin and Amsterdam. This involves an analysis of the manner in which public space is produced in an official capacity and the way in which it is interpreted and used in everyday life. A central objective of the thesis is to examine the degree to which official ideals related to public space have been transferred between different urban contexts, and its consequences. Moreover, it also examines the importance of social context in terms of understanding urban public space.

From a theoretical perspective, the thesis draws two broad sets of literature, which, to a certain degree, overlap between each other. First, literature on entrepreneurial planning is used as a means of contextualising the impact of urban structural change and the re-valorisation of urban space as a means of 'selling the city'. Second, literature examining urban public space, and particularly that focusing on the 'privatisation of public space' (Low and Smith, 2006), is used as a means of examining the relationship between everyday life in urban space and its relationship to urban change.

As a means of gaining an insight into the multiple forces related to public space, a qualitative approach was employed, which drew on both secondary and primary data. Two interrelated strands were involved in the approach. The first involved an examination of the official approaches to the planning, design and management of public space. The second involved an examination of the everyday use of public space. As a means of examining these factors in a broad manner, a comparative approach was employed. Within each of the selected cities, case

studies were selected within a business district, a city centre area and an established residential area. These are Paternoster Square, Trafalgar Square and Peckham Square in London; Mayor Square, O'Connell Street and Smithfield Square in Dublin; Zuidplein, Dam Square and Mercatorplein in Amsterdam.

From an examination of the case studies, a number of themes emerged related to the official re-ordering of space. The first is the importance of context in understanding public space. For example, 'entrepreneurial planning' practices, such as those associated with city marketing, were seen to have a particularly strong impact on public space within business districts, in terms of promoting a 'corporate image', and within spaces in the city centre areas in terms of attracting visitor numbers. However, while a number of measures aimed at the control and management of public space were employed in Trafalgar Square, and, more recently, in O'Connell Street, Dam Square is illustrative of a public space in which the promotion of the city was not related to any associated controls. Moreover, the example of Smithfield illustrated the degree to which mechanisms aimed at transforming an established residential area into a city centre 'events space' were limited due to resistance from an established population. Furthermore, while 're-branding' was a key element of change in Peckham Square and Mercatorplein, the importance of 'community' also emerged as a key factor.

The degree to which users and user groups associate different space with particular roles emerged as a key feature in terms of the everyday use of space. While on one hand, such associations were related to the official ordering of space, there was also a degree to which such perceptions were related to history, memory and everyday life. In terms of everyday life, the degree to which users often avoid particular spaces based on the domination by other user groups illustrates the degree to which contemporary public space is inherently influenced by factors related to negotiation and exclusion.

From a broader perspective, the thesis illustrates the tensions within the official

re-ordering of urban space between desires to differentiate both the image and experience of urban space, and those related to desires to standardise space through appearance and social order. Moreover, the examination of everyday life in public space illustrates the degree to which the promotion of pre-defined ideals of urban living are limited by the unpredictability of social life in urban space.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Throughout the last two decades, the centres of Western European cities have undergone significant alterations in terms of the appearance of the public realm. Spaces formerly dominated by the car have been pedestrianised, increased attention has been devoted to the care and upkeep of the historic built environment, and former industrial areas have been converted into up-market spaces of consumption (Harvey, 1989a; McNeill, 1999; Helms, 2008).

A significant driver of these transformations has been the shift from a 'Fordist' industrial economy to a services-based economy (Harvey, 1989b; Scott, 2000). Directly associated with this shift, measures aimed at marketing and promoting the city have become a central feature of urban strategies. This is summarised by Griffiths (1998: 41) as follows:

> "Applied to places, the language of marketing implies that places can take the form of (or be regarded as the equivalent of) commodities; that they are traded in a market-place and bought by consumers; and that they are designed with those consumers in mind".

Urban governments, and other agencies responsible for urban change, have therefore increasingly engaged in 'entrepreneurial' activities as a means of boosting their economies through the attraction and retention of producer-services industries and associated employees, along with boosting visitor numbers (Hall & Hubbard, 1998; Griffiths, 1998; Ward, 2006). This shift in the approach to urban governance has directly impacted on the city in both a social and physical sense. These changes are summarised by Harvey (1989b, 9) as follows: "Gentrification, cultural innovation, and physical up-grading of the urban environment, consumer attractions and entertainment, have all become more prominent facets of strategies for urban regeneration." In short, cities are being reinvented as places that are both exciting to live in and to visit.

On a broad level, these changes have involved the growth of new business districts, often replacing post-industrial areas, such as docklands (Malone, 1996),

the refocusing on the role of the city centre or 'down-town' as a centre of consumption (Zukin, 1995, Kohn, 2004) and policy orientated reinvestment in formerly working class or peripheral areas of the city (Lees, 2003a; Lees et al., 2008) already undergoing rapid transformations in terms of social structure through the process of gentrification (Ley, 1980; Smith, 1982). These alterations have also included increased attention to the management of public space through mechanisms such as Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) and hands-on forms of security such as 'street wardens' (Atkinson, 2003; Mitchell, 2003; Bannister et al., 2006; Helms et al., 2007; Helms, 2008; Zukin, 1995).

In the context of the shift in approach to urban change outlined above, this thesis examines the relationship between the official transformation of public space and the manner in which it is experienced in everyday life in three European cities; London, Dublin and Amsterdam. As a means of both examining the role of economic and social factors, it draws on a number of case studies in distinct areas within each city. This allows for a more detailed analysis of both official approaches and everyday experience of public space to be carried out throughout each city. The spaces analysed range from public spaces within business districts to high-profile regeneration projects in city centre areas, along with public spaces that are central to regeneration projects within residential neighbourhoods. On one level this analysis illustrates the degree to which 'entrepreneurial' modes of planning have impacted on public space through both its physical transformation and associated measures of control. It also illustrates the more nuanced aspects of public space, including the role of both individuals and groups in terms of the social production of space.

Public Space in Context

The social space of a city is both defined by and defines the meanings of its built form (Lefebvre, 1991). While buildings, streets, urban squares and parks, which are themselves the outcome of complex social forces, give definition to city-space in a physical sense, meanings within urban space are constantly negotiated and

contested through the relationship between the regulation of space and everyday use. Recent years have witnessed a considerable amount of attention within the literature to the question of public space, and in particular on a perceived reduction in open and accessible public space (Davis, 1990; Iveson, 2007; Low and Smith, 2006; Mitchell, 2003; Raco, 2003; Smith, 1996; Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 1991, 1995). For example, commenting on public space in the United States, Low and Smith (2006, 1) note how what started as "a creeping encroachment" of private interests in public space throughout the latter part of the 20th century, has over the last two decades "...become an epoch making shift culminating in multiple closures, erasures, inundations, and transfigurations of public space at the behest of state and corporate strategies" (*Ibid*). While for a number of authors, the New York terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 further advanced this clampdown on public space in the United States (Mitchell, 2003; Low and Smith, 2006), the wider focus of the literature has remained predominantly on the continued commercialisation of urban space and its knock-on effects.

Although, as indicated above, much of the recent literature focusing on public space has focused on U.S. examples (Smith, 1996; Kohn, 2004; Zukin, 1995), similar processes have been analysed in both the U.K. (Atkinson, 2003; Helms et al., 2007; Helms, 2008) and, more recently, in a growing number of European cities (Degen, 2002; Hajer & Reijndorp, 2002; Van Melik, et al., 2009). The central concern in each context has been with the relationship between public space and the promotion of the city for investment and consumption. As summarised by Low (2000, 180);

> "A public space that is valued ostensibly as a place for people to sit, read, and gather becomes a way to maintain real estate values, a financial strategy for revitalizing a declining city centre, and a means of attracting new investments and venture capital."

Associated with this view, is a desire to order and control urban space in a manner which upholds a specific marketable image. Of particular note, in this regard, has been the steady increase in the number of gated communities, shopping centres, and privately owned commercial precincts in recent years

(Low, 2000; Kohn, 2004; Low, 2006). As a means of regulating the desired image and maintaining social order, such spaces have included increased attention to surveillance technologies, such as the use of CCTV and the employment of private security firms within 'public' space (Atkinson, 2003). Moreover, the use of these forms of interventions have become increasingly common within established town-centres and high-profile city districts (Kohn, 2004; Low and Smith, 2006).

The growth in methods of securitisation along with the creation of privatised enclaves demarcated as 'public' are directly related to pre-defined notions of what uses are acceptable within public space. Moreover, such measures involve, and are often directly targeted at, the exclusion of individuals or groups from public space, such as the homeless, and other groups deemed 'inappropriate' to a 'public' setting (Davis, 1990; Raco, 2003). However, this is not to say that public space is necessarily predetermined by such forces. Public space is always a fought over and contested realm (Low, 2000; Mitchell, 2003). For example, public space can become the focal point of resistance of a dominant power through the enactment of protest (Low, 2000; Crossa, 2009). Furthermore, public space can become the site of both individual and collective memories (Boyer, 1994; Low, 2000). Public space can therefore be seen as a highly charged arena, the reality of which is often contradictory and contested (Lefebvre, 1991). It therefore requires a thorough analysis of the multiple social forces through which it is produced in order to unpack its underlying meanings.

Aims/Description of Research

This research sets out to examine recent trends in terms of the official approach to urban public space and the experience of public space in everyday life. There are a two core objectives of the thesis. First, it sets out to examine the relationship between 'entrepreneurial' forms of urban planning and the official re-ordering of urban public space (Lefebvre, 1991). This involves an analysis of the impacts of physical changes to public space, including an examination of the

desired social outcomes of such changes. In carrying out this analysis, the extent to which a specific 'geographical imaginary' (Harvey, 1973) influences the transformations at the level of urban public space will be examined. This refers to the degree to which idealised urban images, often borrowed from well known 'urban models', such as the London docklands (Malone, 1996) or Barcelona (McNeill, 1999), have been utilised as a means of promoting a specific 'urban idyll' of refined interaction within public space.

A second objective of this thesis is to examine the relationship between urban change and everyday life in public space. This involves questioning the extent to which the approaches to planning for public space outlined above impact on everyday life in public space (Lees, 2003a). This involves an examination of everyday regulation of space, the promotion of official events, and the manner in which public space is interpreted and used in everyday life. While the analysis of everyday life in urban public space highlights a certain degree of 'resistance' to official measures of control or officially projected meanings, it is also aimed at understanding the role of attachment to place, along with the degree to which users associate with official meanings of public space. Embedded within this analysis is a question of the role of 'freedom' within public space. On one level, the extent to which the everyday use of public space may illustrate the desire of individuals and groups to re-appropriate public space according to their own desires will be considered (Lefebvre, 1991). However, the degree to which such use results in the domination by a particular social group will also be examined. Moreover, this will include an analysis of the manner in which such domination leads degrees of distanciation for other users.

As a means of investigating the above themes, the thesis utilises a comparative approach between a number of case studies in London, Dublin and Amsterdam. The case studies were selected in a manner that allows for both the similarities and differences in the official approach to public space and its everyday use to be examined in an in-depth manner between a number of different urban contexts.

The case studies are summarised as follows: (1) a public space that is central to a recently developed business enclave: Paternoster Square, the City of London; Mayor Square, the IFSC area of Dublin; Zuidplein, the Zuidas area of Amsterdam; (2) a public space that is officially recognised as a focal point of the city; Trafalgar Square, London; O'Connell Street, Dublin; Dam Square, Amsterdam; (3) a public space that is central to the a specific regeneration project in an established urban quarter; Peckham Square, Southwark, London; Smithfield Square, Dublin; Mercatorplein, De Baarsjes, Amsterdam (The relative locations of each of these spaces are indicated in Figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3).

As a means of carrying out this analysis, a qualitative approach was employed, utilising a mixture of both primary and secondary sources. The secondary sources, such as policy documentation and official forms of regulation, provided valuable information on the official approach to public space. However, a combination of two factors required that primary methods be employed from an early phase of the research. The first of these is that the paucity of secondary material available on the planning, design and management of each space necessitated a more detailed a deeper level of enquiry in each space. This entailed interviews with key-officials, detailing particular aspects of the official approach to public space. The second is that the nature of carrying out an enquiry into the everyday life in public space requires a certain amount of primary data collection from the outset. This involved informal observation of each of the spaces being examined along with informal interviews with users in each space. Further detail of the methods employed are outlined in Chapter 3.

Contribution to Existing Literature

As outlined above, recent critical accounts of urban public space have enquired into the continued commercialisation and privatisation of urban public space through mechanisms associated with entrepreneurial planning and associated desires to transform urban space. This thesis seeks to add to this literature by examining public space from a number of perspectives. In so doing, it

investigates the approaches to the planning and day-to-day management of public space in different contexts within three European cities. It therefore illustrates the degree to which policy and practice are influenced by both common ideologies regarding the planning and design of public space and elements that are unique to each space or city. It also highlights the tensions that are inherent within attempts to order social life in public space, which is, by its nature, relatively fluid and unpredictable.

As a means of furthering this argument, the degree to which official interventions in public spaces are subject to constant tensions between the promotion of different or unique urban imagery will be discussed in contrast to the parallel desire to promote the standardisation of the urban environment (Griffiths, 1998; Short & Kim, 1998). Moreover, both the impact of entrepreneurial planning models and their limitations in implementing social change at the level of urban space will be illustrated. In particular, the degree to which the control of urban public space can be directly related to the associated impacts of entrepreneurial planning practices will be queried.

The thesis will also highlight the role of individual choice, memory and attachment to place in terms of public space. In so doing it will point to the manner in which individuals associate certain public spaces with distinct uses and acceptable forms of behaviour in public space. In so doing, factors that are separate to commercially orientated desires to control urban space will be discussed. This, however, is interwoven with questions regarding the 'naturalisation' of the division and pre-defined ideals of public space that have become intensified through the recent rounds of urban structural change.

Outline of Thesis

Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical background for the study of urban public space. It begins with a discussion of public space in the context of 'modern' urban planning from the 18th Century onwards. This leads to a discussion of the more

recent debates about 'the privatisation of public space'. This is followed by an overview of recent literature pertaining to the 'entrepreneurial turn' in urban planning in recent decades. This is used as a means of examining the relationship between wider forces of urban change and public space. Following from this, the chapter discusses approaches to the study of public space and everyday life.

Following from Chapter 2, Chapter 3, outlines the methods employed in the thesis. As briefly discussed above, the methods employed are two-fold in that they are aimed at understanding both the official production of public space as an aspect of urban change, and day-to-day use of public space. Chapter 4 outlines the policy context of each city. Depending on the particular context of each case study, it examines the role of both wider urban policy and policies that are directly focused on the planning and regulation of urban public space. Although Chapter 4 draws on a certain amount of primary data, Chapter 5 forms the first of three main findings chapters. Through a mix of secondary data and primary data obtained from interviews with officials responsible for each space, such as planners, architects and urban designers, it is focused on understanding the more 'embedded' forms of ordering and structuring of urban public space. This is followed by Chapter 6, which examines the relationship between the management and ordering of public space on a daily basis along with its impact on the everyday life of such spaces. Chapter 7 is focused on everyday practices and public space. This highlights issues such as attachment to place, 'negotiated exclusion' (Massey, 2005), and the association of symbolism in the urban environment with desired ways of life. Chapter 8, which is the concluding chapter, brings together the different strands from each of the findings chapters and relates them to broader theoretical debates about urban public space.

Chapter 2: Urban Theory, Urban Change, and Public Space

Introduction

This chapter is focused on examining urban public space in the context of its relationship to both broader urban change and theoretical understandings of urban life. The chapter is divided in two parts. The first part will briefly examine the relationship between the public sphere, urban planning and urban public space from the eighteenth century onwards. This will be used as a frame of reference for understanding the manner in which urban public space is viewed by those who control the wider spaces of the city in an official capacity. It will draw on the concept of the socio-spatial dialectic as developed by Henri Lefebvre (1991; Soja, 1989; Harvey 1989a). In this regard, the manner in which urban space is *perceived*, *conceived*, and *lived* (Lefebvre, 1991) will be used as a means of emphasising the dialectical manner in which public space is produced in the city. However, given the wider significance of urban public space and the broader 'public sphere', the work of Ogborn (1998), along with Sennett (1977), will be used as a means of gaining a fuller understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of what is perceived to be 'urban public space', and how it connects to the public sphere (Habermas, 1989).

The second part of the chapter will examine the relationship between urban public space and urban change in recent decades within the context of political economy of the city and the emergence of 'entrepreneurial planning' (Hall & Hubbard, 1998). Drawing on Harvey's (1973) concept of the 'geographical imagination', it will highlight the impact of particular ideologies on the transformation of urban space. In particular, it will focus on literature related to the reorganisation of post-industrial urban areas, such as London's docklands (Hammnet, 2003), the securitisation of city centre areas (Raco, 2003) and the re-emergence of the middle classes in formerly working class parts of the city (Ley,

1980; Slater, 2006; Lees, 2008). The focus within each of these 'typologies' of space will be on the commodification and privatisation of public space, highlighting the constant tensions between 'diversity' and social control (Harvey, 1989a; Low & Smith, 2006; Mitchell, 2003).

Locating Urban Space: Towards a Socio-Spatial Theory of Urban Public Space

Social theorists writing about the city over the last century, from Simmel (1903) to Harvey (2003) have, to some degree, attempted to interweave ideas about social life with the physical form of the city (Amin et al., 2000; Tonkiss, 2005). For example, in questioning the very right to the city (see Lefebvre, 1996), Harvey (2008, 23) points to the manner in which a collective reshaping of urbanisation would in turn reshape our very relationship to the space which is produced:

> "The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization."

Such logic is directly related to the social processes shaping urban life and the ways in which urban space is produced. However, for Lefebvre (1991), the very nature of capitalism hinges on the 'production of space', which in the contemporary world, is the space of the city: "The city is where this accumulation occurs, even though capitalism may arise from wealth that has been created in the countryside and even though industrial investment may be detrimental to the city" (Lefebvre, 2003, 24).

Urban space is therefore a both a producer and a product of capitalist society. Key to Lefebvre's thinking is the idea that social space is a social product. As pointed out by Soja (1989, 79-80); "Space in itself may be primordially given, but

the organisation, and meaning of space is a product of social translation, and experience." For Lefebvre (1991), space can be seen as a product of a three-way dialectic between the *spatial practice* of society as a whole, the *conceived space* of those responsible for engineering and planning city space and the *lived space* of the user (Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 1990):

> "The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space" (Lefebvre, 1991, 38).

The spatial practice of society can therefore be looked at in terms of the official ordering of space by forces such as the state through the reproduction of economic and social structures (social reproduction). Conceived space [*Representations of Space*] is seen by Lefebvre (*Ibid*) as "...the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent..." The conceived can therefore be looked upon as being particularly suited to the level of urban space in terms of the projection of particular urban ideals in the built form, or the re-imagining of space according to particular ideologies (Harvey, 1973, 1996). Thirdly, *representational space* [spaces of representation] is seen by Lefebvre (1991, 39) as "...space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'..." Spaces of representation can be viewed upon as the manner in which new possibilities emerge in space. It is the space of the imagination as it tries to imprint itself within physical space.

Following from Lefebvre, theorists in recent decades have been at pains to express the importance of the dialectical relationship in the production of space (Soja, 1980, 1989, 2000; Harvey, 1989a). This relationship has been most strongly emphasised at the urban scale. For example, as pointed out by Borden *et al,* (2001, 3) "Architecture offers itself as an object, and the city as the ultimate

technical object: the fantastical concentration of wealth, power, blood, and tears crystallized in office towers, roads, houses, blocks, and open spaces." However, as they continue;

> "...the city is not the product of planners and architects. While urban professionals such as planners and architects might believe themselves to be in turn democratic negotiators, community advocators, neutral social scientists, exponents of the beautiful, and masterful shapers of space, they act only as part of much broader, much deeper systems of power, economics and signification. Too often, architecture is designed (and consequently comprehended) as a purely aesthetic or intellectual activity, ignoring social relations and rendering people passive" (*Ibid*, 4-5).

It is possible using such a structure to examine relationship between urban change, the built environment and social space. For example, for Lefebvre, "Haussmann shattered the historical spaces of Paris in order to impose a space that was strategic – and hence planned and demarcated according to the viewpoint of strategy" (1991, 312). Here Lefebvre touches on the the concept of a totalizing space; a space that is dominated and controlled. However, the dominance of such spaces always creates the possibility of a resistance. For example, for de Certeau, (1984, 95) "...the language of power is itself "urbanizing," but the city is left prey to contradictory movements that counter-balance and combine themselves outside the reach of panoptic power." The 'strategy' of those who control space can be subverted by people's everyday 'tactics' (see Tonkiss, 2005). For de Certeau, the official vision of the city is a certain language, but walking in the city is a form of 'speech'. However, for Tonkiss (Ibid, 143) "...writing about walking as a kind of speaking is in a circular and very obvious way to privilege language as a from of expression and a mode of practice."

Many activities associated with the *lived space* of cities can either fit with or become subsumed into official thinking and modes of consumption that later become evident within both *spatial practice* and *conceived space*. As pointed out

by Harvey (1989a, 219): "The spaces of representation, therefore, have the potential not only to affect representation of space but also to act as a material productive force with respect to spatial practices." In contemporary urban space, this may often take the form of unofficial interventions within urban public space being officiated and ordered according to the desires of order and efficiency.

As a means of bringing these multiple perspectives on space together it is possible to invoke Harvey's notion of the 'geographical imagination' (1973), as it illustrates the manner in which both individuals and organisations interrelate social and spatial processes. As pointed out by Harvey (1973, 24)

> "This imagination enables the individual to recognise the role of space and place in his own biography, to relate to the spaces he sees around him, and to recognise how transactions between individuals and between organisations are affected by the space that separates them."

While for Harvey (*Ibid*), such an imaginary was present, yet weak within urban planning, it provides starting point under which alterations to urban space and their relationship to everyday life can be examined in further detail.

The Search for Social Order: Urban Public Space and the Public Sphere

The ideal of 'public space' brings together aspects of urban life which are often at odds with each other, such as 'diversity', 'community' and 'attachment to place'. In theory, public space overlaps with most, if not all, aspects of urban life and can be viewed as a key representation of the politics of urban life. While in many respects recent urban change has been marked by privatisation and securitisation, very often public space becomes the arena in which meanings of place and the right to the city become fought over (Lefebvre, 1996). In this regard, place-based ideals of the city are grounded in particular imaginings of urban public space as both a physical entity and a social sphere. However, this is not to say that places are so inscribed with meanings that become self perpetuating. As pointed out by Harvey (1996, 320): "To write of 'the power of

place' as if places (localities, regions, neighbourhoods, states, etc) possess causal powers is to engage in the grossest of fetishisms; unless that is, we confine ourselves rigorously to the definition of place as a social process." The meanings we ascribe to public space are therefore always evolving, always in a state of flux and constant evolution. On a political level, public space may either represent a notion of the city that is divided through practices of exclusion and privatisation, or may become the arena in which difference is negotiated (Young, 1990). Public space is always in flux and always a contested arena of social relations.

In practice, the ideal of public space has often been associated with the scale of the urban. As indicated by Low & Smith (2006, 3): "Stretching back to Greek antiquity onward, public space is almost by definition urban space, and in many current treatments of public space the urban remains the privileged scale of analysis and cities the privileged site". In many respects 'public space' is naturalised as being a purely urban phenomenon. Indeed, many have equated the emergence of modern urban planning ideals from the emergence of the bourgeois class and its associated 'public sphere' during the eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries (Harvey, 1989a; Papayanis, 2004). The public sphere therefore takes on a specifically urban image that is associated with the emergence of the new merchant class. For Habermas, the public sphere "develops in the critical zone between the state and the private realm such that 'private people' become engaged in public debate as 'the addressees' of state authority" (Ogborn, 1998, 77: see Habermas, 1989).

For Habermas (1989) and Sennett (1977), it was in the streets and cafés of cities such as Paris and London that a particular ideal of the public sphere came into being. Although particular notions of how a city should be laid out and planned can be perceived in medieval, renaissance and baroque planning, the emerging bourgeois society coincided with the rationalisation and 'improvement' of the

public realm. Such alterations to the streets of Paris, such as paving and street lighting, could be seen as early as the late 17th century, but it was not until the late 18th century that such changes were brought about in the streets of London, and most particularly to the streets of Westminster. As pointed out by Ogborn (1998, 76), at this time:

> "Streets were becoming brighter and safer. They were better lit, and lit for longer periods, by new techniques of street lighting, and they were under the eye of newly organised forms of watching (or policing). Streets were also being ordered and straightened. They were losing some of their crookedness and clutter as the jumble of shop signs and house fronts was tidied away to provide clear straight-lines".

Such alterations cannot be looked at as purely isolated acts, or as a means of beautifying the city for the sake pure aesthetics. Embedded in such projects was a specific aim of altering the psyche of citizens in a manner that was seen as acceptable to the image that was being promoted within the physical fabric itself. For Ogborn (*Ibid*), the emerging class actively sought to promote and pursue a vision of the city that was in their interest:

> "Public magnificence, as expressed in the space and face of the imperial city, was to promote 'a love of elegance ... among all ranks and degrees of people,' producing a 'refinement of taste' in the nobleman and, in the mechanic, 'at least cleanliness and decorum.' (Gwynn 1766, quoted in Ogborn, 1998, 99)

'Modern' urban planning has therefore been about developing a city that would impress and mould its citizens in a certain manner. When taken further, urban space was used as a means of attempting to mould citizens according to a certain class-consciousness. For example, as pointed out by Nicholas Papayanis in relation to 19th Century Paris (2004, 247);

> "The new city, moreover, by virtue of its rational forms, would elevate the moral and physical condition of all its inhabitants – by which the planners meant, whether consciously or not, the subordination of popular culture to middle-class values, thus creating social harmony or at least social control

and hegemonic order."

The rational order of the city became, in effect, a representation of a desired moral order of its citizens.

Throughout the 19th Century, the reordering of the physical and social life of the city was directly connected to the emergence of the Bourgeois society throughout Europe. For example, for Schorske, (1981, 26), in reference to Vienna, "The planning of the Ringstrasse was controlled by the professional and the well-to-do for whose accommodation and glorification it was essentially designed." This was both related to the freedom given to speculative builders in terms of regulation and the design of the ensuing development (*Ibid*):

> "For the Ringstrasse apartments, although generally built by development companies, were prized among the most secure and lucrative private investments. To maximise their attractiveness, the state and city waived property taxes for thirty years. The high aristocrat, the merchant, the widow of fixed income, or the doctor who could afford it, were drawn to buying an apartment building, living in one of its units, and earning income from the rest. In the Ringstrasse house, social desirability and profitability thus reinforced each other" (*Ibid*, 54).

The layout of the Ringstrasse entailed the construction of a broad circular route engulfing the medieval city and replacing its walls. Although the main artery was circular, it was constructed as a wide boulevard bringing together military considerations similar to those in mid-nineteenth century Paris (see Harvey, 2003), and an imposing image of the emerging liberals (*Ibid*). From the perspective of theoretical debates on urban life, Vienna raises issues which have re-emerged in different contexts throughout the last century. The 'rationalisation' of urban space did not go uncontested among those involved in the architecture and planning professions.

In Vienna, this took the form of debate between those aspiring 'organic' or crooked streets, and those desiring a 'rational' city of straight streets that

emerged in the decades after the development of the Ringstrasse. This debate drew on particular ideals about the relationship between urban form, perceptions of human well-being and aesthetics (Frisby, 2001). Two individuals are of particular note in terms of this debate: Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner. Sitte was interested in the creation of enclosed urban space inspired by Italian baroque and renaissance urban spaces, such as from Rome and Florence (Frisby, 2001), and attacked the development of the Ringstrasse based on its "betrayal of the tradition to the exigencies of modern life (Schorske, 1981, 62)." Sitte believed in the psychological qualities of the traditional urban square. This was highlighted by Schorske (Ibid, 72) as follows:

> "...the artist must create a model of community wholeness in a society surrendered to the harsh, divisive rule of Reason, Mammon and Utility. In the cold traffic-swept modern city of the sliderule and the slum, the picturesque, psychologically comforting square can reawaken memories of a vanished burgher past".

On the other hand, Wagner attacked the Ringstrasse based on its "masking of modernity and its functions behind the stylistic screens of history" (Schorske, 1981, 62). According to Wagner, modern architecture, and accordingly, urban planning must "express the realism of our times" (Frisby, 2001, 197). For Schorske (1981), Wagner epitomised the coming "capitalist urbanity" in his desire for 'truth' and promotion of the city as a space of progress.

Through the influences of architect/planners such as Wagner, and the demands of the emerging society of continued rounds of 'time-space compression' from the the railway, to the car to the air-plane, the city of the twentieth century became infused with the constant search for urban order. The search for this form of order, which became manifest in the post-war developments of much of Europe belied the desires of architect-planner Le Corbusier's search for order through design:

> "The Plan is the generator. Without a plan, you have lack of order, and wilfulness. The Plan holds in itself the essence of sensation. The great problems of to-

> morrow, dictated by collective necessities, put the question of "plan" in new form. Modern life demands, and is waiting for, a new kind of plan both for the house and for the city" (Le Corbusier, 1986, 45).

From such notions emerged the segregation of traffic from pedestrians, the zoning of the city between work and leisure, and the continued attempts to rationalise everyday life in the city.

During the second half of the twentieth century commentators such as Jane Jacobs (1961) and Richard Sennett (1970), critically engaged with the continued search for 'urban order' which they perceived as reaching its pinnacle through mid-twentieth-century 'high modernism'. For Jacobs (1961), urban planners and architects, such as Le Corbusier were not only failing in their search for a particular form of 'order', but were producing a dehumanised and disorderly city. The problem for Sennett (1970, 7) was not only about the impacts of these new urban environments in and of themselves, but in the top-down manner in which the modernist planners imposed their views:

> "Over and over again one can hear in planning circles a fear expressed when the human beings affected by planning changes become even slightly interested in the remedies proposed for their lives. "Interference," "blocking," an "interruption of work" – these are the terms by which social challenges or divergences from the planners projections are interpreted. What has really happened is that the planners have wanted to take the plan, the projection in advance, as more "true" than the historical turns, the unforeseen movements in the real time of human lives."

Jacobs is often cited as being one of main influences on the return to a more humanely scaled and diverse city from the early 1970s onwards (Sennett, 1996 [1970]; Berman, 1982; Tonkiss, 2005; Carmona et al, 2003). Much of her writing was related to the role of diversity and the promotion of vibrant cities, which became, to a certain degree, self-policing. For Jacobs (1961), there was a certain vibrancy and natural order about life in the street that was missing from

contemporary attempts at controlling and rationalising urban space. In this regard, she felt the street should be celebrated as being at the heart of urban life. Berman (1982). For Berman (*Ibid*, 316), Jacobs's views as simply re-establishing the street as a centre of urban life in that the:

> "...celebration of urban vitality, diversity and fullness of life is in fact ... one of the oldest themes in modern culture. Throughout the age of Haussmann and Baudelaire, and well into the twentieth century, this urban romance crystallized around the street, which emerged as a primary symbol of modern life."

Jacobs's vision of urban space was a behaviourist approach in that she saw no way in which diversity which was so integral to the city life could emerge from the structured ideal of the modernist city. as pointed out by Fainstein (2005, 4), Jacobs attempted to get planners to "...eschew abstract models of ideal cities..." in favour of looking at the city for what it was and how it was used by people in their everyday lives.

Shifting Architectural Ideals: From Neo-Rationalism to New Urbanism

Emerging at a similar time to Jacobs, a group of architects began to re-examine the contemporary city in terms of the relationship between modernist interventions and the historical city. A leading figure of this movement was the architect Aldo Rossi. Rossi (1982), rejected the modernist ideal of the city in favour of an 'analogous city', which adapted to different uses over time. For Rossi (*Ibid*), the city was associated with memory: "One can say that the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the *locus* of the collective memory" (Rossi, 1982, 130. Emphasis in original).

A key factor in the influence of neo-rationalism in Europe was the emergence of the Movement for the Reconstruction of the European City in the 1970s (Ellin, 1999). Through the publication of *Rational Architecture: The Reconstruction of*

the European City in 1978 (Delevoy et al.) a key group of neo-rationalists, including Louis Delevoy, Leon Krier and Anthony Idler, launched a direct attack on the modern movement while also launching a form of manifesto for the redevelopment of the European city. Within this volume Krier (1978, 163), outlined what would become a central feature of the redevelopment of European cities in the following years and decades; that of a mixed use, medium density urban quarter as a central feature of urban life:

> "Against the amorphous social and physical form of functional zones and neighbourhoods, the quartier represents a social organism of a definite physical size. It integrates work, culture, leisure and residence into a dense urban environment, into a city within the city."

Krier's ideals of community were directly influenced by the ideas of Ferdinand Toennies's as outlined in *Gemeinshaft* and *Gesellschaft* (see Ellin, 1996), along with Camillo Sitte's ideas regarding the relationship between urban form and the social life of cities.

Throughout the last three decades the ideals of neo-rationalism have had a direct influence on the planning and design of cities and suburbs in both the U.S and Europe (Ellen, 1999). Throughout this time-period the notion of mixed-use cities which revolve around particular notions of 'community' have translated into different urban and suburban contexts. In the case of Krier, this would be of particular note in the promotion of the ideals of 'New Urbanism' in the U.S.

'New Urbanism' arose in the mid 1980s within the United States as a response to the perceived 'placelessness' of modern urban suburbs, mono-functional zoning, the decline of central cities, growing segregation of cities by race and income, economic challenges and the environmental damage caused by suburban commuting (Lecesse & McCormick, 2000; Harvey, 2000). The Congress for New Urbanism adopted particular principles that would come to define New Urbanism, which were loosely aimed at restoring urban centres, the reconfiguration of of

sprawling suburbs and the protection of the environment through the promotion of the concept of mixed-use pedestrian friendly neighbourhoods (Lecesse & McCormick, 2000).

The ideals of New Urbanism can be directly associated with Leon Krier, who acted as a consultant to the building of one of the prototypical examples of New Urbanism called Seaside in Florida (Ellin, 1999). Seaside picks up on historic motifs in terms of its layout and design as a means of rectifying what are seen as the ills of city living and an attempt revive "...small town America, its solid sense of community, its institutions, its mixed land uses and high densities..." (Harvey, 2000, 169). It promotes the appearance of a pluralistic architecture associated with older styles of traditional architecture, but with all the modern luxuries of the 20th Century. For Krier, (1998, 16), such developments "...may be the first concreted demonstrations of a form of modernity that is not alienating, kitsch or aggressive but serene and urbane."

New Urbanism, however, has not been without its critics. For example, Harvey (1997, 8) believes that New Urbanism itself repeats most of the basic errors of modernist urban planning in its direct association between particular styles, or spatial forms, and social processes:

> "But my real worry is that the movement repeats at a fundamental level the same fallacy of the architectural and planning styles it criticises. Put simply, does it not perpetuate the idea that the shaping of spatial order is or can be the foundation for a new moral and aesthetic order? Does it not presuppose that proper design and architectural qualities will be the saving grace not only of American cities but of social, economic, and political life in general? (1997, 8)."

Harvey here points to a significant criticism of developments such as Seaside in terms of its exclusivity and the promotion of a particular urban typology as being representative of the ideal community, but is in reality a sanitised and privatised replication of (sub)urban life (see MacLeod & Ward, 2003). This has also been

picked up by Kohn (2004, 126):

> "In New Urbanist communities, "public" space becomes an amenity to be purchased by affluent consumers on the real estate market ... combining an urban life that is sanitized and nonthreatening with a suburban environment that features community and charm."

Such criticisms pick up on Zukin's (1991) analysis of 'Main Street USA' in terms of the 'Disneyfication' and fragmentation of American society. However, its ideals have had a widespread impact on suburban and urban development in the U.S and U.K. In the last two decades. In the U.K it has been directly associated with Prince Charles in the development of Poundbury, Dorset as a "high density neighbourhood appealing to the nostalgia of vernacular styles and small-town intimacies that were supposed to characterise a bygone era" (Harvey, 2000, 171).

The above summary of the ideals of urban planning during the last two centuries indicates a belief that particular physical attributes are representative of a deeper moral and social order within the city as a whole, whether that form is 'organic' or 'rational'. As pointed out by Tonkiss (2005, 76), "visual order and public order are closely linked in the regulation of space". Although the specifics of what constitutes 'order' may vary, the association between the moral order of urban life and urban form emerge as a common theme of enquiry of the city through space and time (Mumford, 1961; Schorske, 1981; Hall, 1998; Harvey, 2000; Frisby, 2001).

Contemporary Approaches to Public Space

The complexities of urban life, including unequal access to power structures and the diverse range of day-to-day interactions, can often complicate the direct connection between the 'public sphere' and urban public space. As pointed out by Ogborn, (1998, 78), "It would certainly be wrong to claim that the street was the space for critical-rational debate, particularly when its politics often took the form of 'mob' riot and élite spectacle". Furthermore, it is unclear as to how the public

sphere as we know it today – mass media, the press, and enhanced electronic communications systems such as the internet – is related to the physical space of the contemporary city. As pointed out by Tonkiss (2006, 66) "...the conceptual and spatial senses of a public sphere are given to run together, but it is not always clear how – if at all – public spaces relate to notions of a public sphere." Amin and Thrift (2002, 136) take this line of questioning further; "...it is not clear why 'public space' and 'public sphere' are treated as the same." They continue by questioning exactly how "...civic virtue will emerge from mingling in public spaces." However, as pointed out by Harvey (2006, 17):

> "While it may prove impossible to sort out the relationship between the physicality of urban public space and the politics of the public sphere with any exactitude, there are, I think, some potent points of linkage between them. We do not, after all, experience the city blankly, and much of what we do absorb from daily life in the city surely has some kind of influence on how we are situated in the world and how we think and act politically within it."

For Hajer & Reijndorp (2002, 12) the prime difference between the public sphere and public space is related to the idea of 'encounter'. Although not denying the role of the 'other' within the public sphere, their perspective of the public realm is one that is based on a physical encounter:

> "The public sphere then also denotes the whole apparatus of social institutions that fulfil a function within that sphere: newspapers, television, parliament, discussion forums. But the public realm, as it is also called, also occupies a unique place in society: it is the sphere where we encounter the proverbial 'other' and where we must relate to 'other' behaviour, other ideas and other preferences. This means it is also a domain of surprise and reflection."

The degree to which such encounter is made possible within the contemporary city has dominated debates about public space in recent decades. These debates, particularly within the various disciplines and sub-disciplines of humanities and social sciences such as cultural geography, anthropology, urban sociology and, to a lesser extent, architectural theory, have focused on the

perceived disappearance of what can be called truly democratic urban public space in recent years (Davis, 1990; Sorkin, 1992; Mitchell, 1995, 2003; Low & Smith, 2006; Iveson, 2007; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). The perception of many of these authors is of an increased securitisation of public space in recent years, if not its disappearance. This is indicated by a wide range of practices that have fallen under the umbrella of 'the privatisation of public space'.

Much of the literature related to the study of public space has focused on the manner in which the focus on spaces of consumption and spectacle (Zukin, 1995; Harvey, 1989a, 2000) has been paralleled by the increase in security and privatised means of control (Mitch, 1995; Raco, 2003). Ellin's, (1996, 149) account offers a summary of the common perception of public space in much critical analysis of public space from recent years:

> "The contemporary built environment offers a dwindling supply of meaningful public space and that which exists is increasingly controlled by various forms of surveillance and increasingly invested with private meanings. Activities which once occurred in the public realm have either been abandoned (e.g., liberal discourse) or usurped by more private realms, as leisure, entertainment, gaining information, and consumption are increasingly satisfied at home with the television or computer. Or, if one leaves home, these activities often take place in the strictly controlled uni-functional settings of the shopping mall, theme park, or variants thereof."

This viewpoint is reiterated by Mitchell, (2003, 18), in perceiving the city as "not so much a site of participation as one of expropriation by a dominant class (and set of economic interests) that is not really interested in making the city a site for the cohabitation of differences." He continues by highlighting how "...more and more the spaces of the modern city are being produced *for* us rather than *by* us" (*Ibid*) (Italics in original). This leads to a question of exactly who public space is for. Is it the arena of interaction, difference and negotiation, or is it an extension of the economic sphere? As questioned by Zukin (1991, 199), should "public space be appropriated by *everyone* and *anyone*, or should its use be defined solely by

private development?" Such issues raise core questions about how public space can be interpreted. For example, in highlighting the changes made to Birmingham in recent years, Hajer and Reijndorp (2002, 8) question the various factors that are taken as *a priori* in deciding the merits of public space:

> "The broad reassessment of the meaning of the public space is treacherous territory. Why do we think that public space in Birmingham functions better now than previously? Because it looks more pretty? Because there are more people walking around? Because it is safer on the street? Because there is more investment and more spending? Because tourism has grown? Because it has improved Birmingham's image?"

Issues related to public space may therefore have more to do with the way the right to place is defined in an official capacity, rather than as an idealised space of interaction. However, given that, in theory at least, the city is accessible to everyone, public space becomes a focal point of tensions between 'capital' and 'culture' and the more nuanced struggles between different social groups within public space (Zukin, 1991; Scott, 2000). To investigate these issues more thoroughly, it is necessary to look at urban public space in the context of broader urban change in recent years.

The Emergence of Entrepreneurial Approaches to Urban Governance

Throughout the last two decades, a significant amount of literature has focused on the emergence of 'neo-liberalism' as a political and economic force on a global scale (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Jessop, 2002; Jones & Ward, 2002; Moulaert et al., 2005). From an urban perspective, there are a number of facets to this transformation. First, western cities have been transformed through a movement from an industrial society associated with manual labour to a post-industrial city associated with an ever-expanding producer-services sector and an emerging arena of cultural and creative industries (Short & Kim, 1998; Scott, 2000; Hamnett, 2003). As a direct outcome of these shifts, the role of the city as a

'growth machine' (Logan & Molotch, 1987), where the reorganisation of urban space is a key element in new rounds of capital accumulation, has become a key factor in urban change (Harvey, 1996). The associated 'creative destruction' in terms of the transformation of urban-space has inevitably involved wide-ranging impacts on the social structure of cities and, at a rapid rate, completely altered official meanings of place (*Ibid*).

Although wider socio-economic factors have played a powerful role in the transformation of the contemporary city, the role of the state has also been of vital importance. At the urban scale such changes can be directly connected to a gradual movement from a "managerial" style of governing associated with post-war urban planning to more "entrepreneurial" style of urban governance. As summarised by Harvey (1989b, 4):

> "Put simply, the "managerial" approach so typical of the 1960s has steadily given way to the initiatory and "entrepreneurial" forms of action in the 1970s and 1980s. In recent years in particular, there seems to be a general consensus emerging throughout the advanced capitalist world that positive benefits are to be had by cities taking an entrepreneurial stance to economic development."

While the provision of services, such as social housing and other redistributive measures could be associated with state intervention at the local level in the post-war era, new policies actively encouraged and supported economic development as a deliverer of urban transformation. These 'entrepreneurial' interventions are directly targeted at attracting what is perceived as increasingly footloose industry and internationally mobile employees. Such strategies are also aimed at using 'culture', through the construction of museums, galleries and the enhancement of the wider experience of urban space for consumption-led practices. Directly connected to this, there has also been a movement back to the city centre by the middle classes and, from a political perspective, a wider aim of creating compact and 'liveable' cities.

The Emergence of Neo-liberalism and the role of the City

When looked at from one perspective, neoliberalism aspires to create a market which is freed from the constraints associated with state mediation and interference. However, it is wholly relient on particular forms of intervention by the state to create the necessary environment which is directly supportive of business interests. In practice this entails attempts to infuse market rule into all aspects of social life (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). A number of factors are worth highlighting in this regard. As indicated by Jessop (2002), the shift toward neoliberalism involves the deregulation and internationalisation of markets, the privatisation of state services, the promotion of market forces across a wide-spectrum of society, and the provision of social welfare as a consideration of cost of production as oppossed to "means of redistribution and social cohesion" (*Ibid*, 459).

Although infiltrating all dimensions of society, the forces of neoliberalism are particularly highlighted at the urban scale. In this regard, cities are both impacted by and fully complicit in the forces of neoliberalism (Swyngedouw et al., 2005). For example, as pointed out by Brenner & Theodore (2002, 367), "while the processes of institutional creative destruction associated with actually existing neoliberalism are clearly transpiring at all spatial scales, it can be argued that they are occuring with particular intensity at the urban scale, within major cities and city-regions." For Jessop (2002), the post-industrial transition has heightened the role played by cities as engines of economic growth due to the rise of the knowledge-driven economy along with constant demands for innovation and competitiveness (*ibid,* 465).

Although for Jessop (1998) the entrepreneurial city is not necessarily the direct outcome of a neo-liberal approach to urban re-structuring, a common connection between all cities pursuing entrepeneurial strategies is the promotion of market forces as a means of ordering and regulating all aspects of social life. With this in mind, a broad range of factors have come to be associated with the

entrepreneurial city. These include the development and promotion of new forms of development orientated agencies, such as Urban Development Projects (UDPs) and Public Private Partnerships (PPP's). For Swyngedouw et al., (2005, 3), Urban Development Projects (UDPs) are illustrative of "...the real-life processes through which post-modern forms, post-Fordist economic dynamics, and neo-lilberal systems of governance are crafted." In summary, they conclude that it is at the scale of large-scale urban development projects that globalisation becomes urbanised (*Ibid*). While various strategies have been employed to promote such areas, large-scale place-marketing strategies of the cities as places to live and visit as a tourist destination have also become hallmarks of the shift to neoliberalism (Harvey, 1989b; Griffiths, 1998; Brenner & Theodore, 2002). Furthermore, and in direct connection to such wider changes, central areas of western cities have become the focal point of a residential transformation which has seen the gentrification of former working class districts by middle classes returning to the formerly abandoned city centres (Smith, 1982; Hamnett, 1991; Zukin, 1991).

Place as Commodity

A key strand of the emergence of the entrepreneurial city has been the intensification of 'place marketing' as an urban strategy. For Griffiths (1998, 41), "the marketing of places, with its emphasis on the projection of deliberately crafted images to external audiences and local populations, has been one of the defining features of the entrepreneurial modes of urban governance that have come to prominence since the 1970s." Place marketing cannot be viewed as being unique to the last quarter of a century or so, with wide-reaching examples evident from at least the nineteenth century, if not before, and the early twentieth century (see Ward, 1998a, 1998b). However, it is widely contended to have taken on increased relevance to the economic restructuring of the post-industrial city throughout recent decades (Griffiths, 1998, Ward, 1998a, 1998b). As indicated by Ward (*Ibid*, 3), in reference to the previous manner in which places were

promoted through the construction of museums, concert halls, art galleries etc., "Culture was the 'icing on the cake'; today it has become part of the cake itself." In other words, the promotion of place has come to encompass the wider well-being of a city as opposed to merely using the built environment as a means of place promotion.

The materialisation of entrepreneurial modes of urban governance and its associated policies can be witnessed in the transformation of urban space on a wide scale. These transformations include large-scale urban projects, such as dockland renewal projects, the promotion of 'iconic' buildings as a means of transforming larger city areas, and the overall upgrading of the public realm as a means of promoting tourism (Urry, 1990). Furthermore, the residential areas of central city areas have also undergone dramatic changes from both a physical and social perspective. Much of this change has involved the promotion of a particular 'geographical imaginary' (Harvey, 1973). For McCann (2008, 2) such an imaginary allows "... actors [to] recognise how spatial relations are mediated by space and ... to use, shape, and manage space for specific purposes." In practice, this allows for a particular urban image to be directly related to up-market living and a 'better' quality of life. These issues will be returned to at a later point in the chapter

Commercial Redevelopment and Festive Spaces: UDP's and Waterfront Change

The political reorientation of urban governance associated with neo-liberalism has resulted in the emergence of new policies which have directly impacted on urban space. These include forms of Urban Development Projects (UDP's), Public-Private Partnerships and the designation of particular areas as Enterprise Zones (Short & Kim, 1998; Swyngedouw et al., 2005; Harvey, 1989, 2000; Malone, 1996; Ward, 2006). Such strategies have resulted in a broad range of outcomes, including new commercial districts associated with global flows of capital, high-profile waterfront redevelopments or cultural centres primarily aimed at attracting

visitors. Moreover, many such developments tend to merge a variety of uses together and may also include residential elements.

Much of the literature examining large-scale UDP's has focused on the redevelopment of former docks and industrial areas (Malone, 1996; Moulaert et al., 2005; Ward, 2006). A number of factors have influenced the transformation of waterfront areas from sites of traditional port activities, such as the transportation and storage of goods, into the commercial and entertainment centres of the present. Coinciding and combined with wider de-industrialisation in many cities, these include increased containerization and rationalization of port facilities along with increased pressure to expand the size of docking facilities (Malone, 1996). The physical effects of such changes resulted in vast areas of former docklands and other industrial spaces remaining relatively unused for long periods of time. There was also a widespread loss of industrial jobs in cities throughout Europe and North America (Moulaert et al., 2005).

The transformation of disused docklands into business, residential and entertainment venues has become one of the most widespread outcomes of entrepreneurial methods of urban development on a global scale. Indeed, the transformations are now so widespread as to alter the meaning of the word 'docklands' beyond recognition. For example, in describing the transformation of London's docklands during the 1980s, Barnes, et al., (1996, 15) commented on how the new meanings now ascribed to such places "...suggested a world created by the enterprise culture, the era of the 'yuppie' and the eastward expansion of London's financial core. Luxury waterfront apartments and and postmodern office buildings became the physical symbols of this new era." While the London model incorporated a vast array of functions, including residential, corporate and leisure aspects, the emphasis on particular functions within docklands renewal projects has depended on the context or desired outcome of the actors involved. What is shared in common, however, is the powerful role

played by privatised bodies and the marginalisation of democratic planning processes.

The transformation of docklands areas from post-industrial decline into office centres and leisure and residential amenities can be witnessed on a global scale, and includes cities such as Melbourne, Dublin, Cape town and Liverpool (Malone, 1996, Moore, 2008). The mechanisms of delivery of such projects have born a strong resemblance to each other, with a reliance of public private partnerships (PPP's), and a focus on speculative 'flagship' development (Ward, 2006; Moore, 2008). Moreover, although each docklands regeneration strategy has varied depending on context, there is a readily identifiable image inherent within such spaces. For example, a common feature of most docklands is the retention and reuse of former warehouses or grain stores so long as they are in keeping with the the desired historic appearance of the scheme (Figure 2.1). Furthermore, as a means of differentiating new docklands developments from their surroundings, attempts are often made by various authorities to associate new spaces with other cities that are recognised as having pursued successful models of urban development through the use of internationally recognisable styles and references (Figure 2.2). On a broader level, much of the influence for these transformations has come from the redevelopment of Baltimore's inner harbour (Harvey, 1989, 2000) and London's docklands (Malone et al, 1996), which have come to be viewed as 'models' of entrepreneurial urban development.



Figure 2.1: Loft Conversion, St Saviour's Wharf London. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 2.2: 'Move your Office to the New York end of Collins Street', Melbourne Docklands. Photo by Author, 2008

For Harvey (1989b), the redevelopment of Baltimore's inner harbour signified a turning point away from community concerns towards more more entrepreneurial means of delivering urban regeneration. This was marked by the narrow passing of a referendum in 1978 which granted private development to take place on public lands. Although Baltimore itself was highly influenced by earlier developments in Boston (Ward, 2006), the scale and means of delivery turned the development of Baltimore's inner harbour into a recognisable 'model' of urban redevelopment.

The transformation of Inner Harbour included the construction of hotels, a convention centre, new town houses and other leisure facilities (Harvey, 2000). In the first year of operation it attracted over 18 Million visitors (Ibid). Indeed, through his dictum 'Cities are Fun!', Rouse was seen as capturing the essence of the new model of urban development. The now familiar scene of cultural entertainment and the image of a sanitised past was summarised by Ward (2006, 277) as follows:

> "In a broader sense Rouse realised that many Americans yearned for a romanticised notion of a vibrant traditional city. In reality this was a place that had never been, a scene of happy animation where people might safely gather in large numbers. It was a scene untroubled by all the competing and

> troubling realities of the industrial past or the post-industrial present. Here was a carefully managed enclave from which all the many problems of urban decay, crime, social and racial tension had been banished."

The development of Rouse's company, Enterprise Development Company (EDC), in Baltimore was followed by the expansion of the model in U.S cities, such as New York, Miami and Portland, Oregon. This was subsequently followed by the expansion of the model on a global scale in afore mentioned cities such as Melbourne and Dublin (see Moore, 2008).

While the Baltimore model is cited as being prototypical in terms of the redevelopment of a post-industrial port, the transformation of London's docklands marked yet another departure in terms of planning urban space. London's urban structure has been dramatically transformed over the last thirty years, with former industrial areas disappearing and being replaced by a mix of residential, leisure, light manufacturing and office functions (Hamnett, 2003). A central feature of this transformation has been the remodelling of the entire dockland area in the East end of the city. While a core feature of British industry for most of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, the restructuring of the global economy, along with a combination of the growth of container ships, and the associated setting up of container orientated facilities in Felixstowe and Tilbury resulted in the closure of the various docks between the late 1960s and early 1970s (Malone, 1996; Hamnett, 2003).

As an urban renewal project, the transformation of the docklands involved a significant amount of state involvement in terms of shifting economic and planning policies in a manner that was supportive of private enterprise and a reduced amount of democratic involvement. While various bodies had been established under the labour government of the 1970s to oversee the renewal of the docklands, it was not until the establishment of the Urban Development Corporations (UDC's) and Enterprise Zones (Hall 2002) under the Conservative

government of the early 1980s that the large scale reshaping of the docklands began.

The UDC's bypassed traditional systems of local government and were directly answerable to central government. They were also granted a variety of direct powers including the ability to grant planning permission without appeal. As summarised by Hamnett, (2003, 236):

> "Essentially, they [UDC's] were designed to take major development out of the hands of local politicians, local authorities and local interests, which were deemed too parochial and inward looking to ensure effective development."

In London, this was implemented through the establishment of the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) in 1981, which directly targeted growth through the promotion of private sector initiatives. More broadly speaking, the remit of the LDDC was to promote the image of the docklands area through various methods. These included site preparation, infrastructure development, and marketing and promoting opportunities to potential developers (Hamnett 2003; Brownill, 1999). Moreover, companies that located within Enterprise Zones were given wide-ranging tax breaks, including freedom from local taxes for ten years and tax allowances on capital expenditure for building (Pacione, 2005).

While the larger area of the docklands, including areas of Rotherine, East India Dock and Royal Victoria Dock, were completely altered in terms of economic function, the development of Canary Wharf stands out in that it involved the creation of the largest office development outside the 'Square Mile'. Plans for Canary Wharf were originally unveiled in 1985, and included 8.8 million square feet of office space, hotels, shops and restaurants (Hamnett, 2003). The original plans were put forward by a consortium including Morgan Stanley and Credit Suisse-First Boston and the development company Tramell Crow. Upon the withdrawal of the original backers, the scheme was taken on by a Canadian developer, Olympia & York. The location of Canary Wharf within an Enterprise

Zone resulted in its benefiting from relaxed planning regulations which allowed development to begin without any appeals or public consultation. With a slump in the property market in the early 1990s (Brownill, 1999), Canary Wharf went in to receivership. However, by 1995 it had been bought back by Paul Reichmann (of Olympia & York) and continued to be developed. By the year 2000, Canary Wharf was considered a central element of London's position at the top of the global financial hierarchy (Hamnett, 2003).

Many of the critical comments on this model of development have revolved around their relationship to the surrounding areas (Hinsley & Malone, 1996; Barnes et al., 1996; Brownill, 1999; Moulaert et al., 2005). For example, Moulaert et al., (2005 p.48) commented that a central question was "...how social, political, and economic groups, communities and organisations interact with the imposition of these sudden and often radical changes in the urban fabric." In this regard, debate has often focused on the exclusionary practices that seem to go hand-in-hand with with contemporary large-scale urban development practices. For Moulaert et al (*Ibid*), these mechanisms are evident throughout the various stages of the process, from project formulation through to construction and implementation.

The design and layout of much of the docklands area is illustrative of its wider separation from the rest of its surroundings. For example, as commented by Hinsley & Malone (1996, 49): "Docklands is developing as a patchwork of dislocated and predominantly monofunctional areas. Its enclaves of office and commercial space and various housing developments do not connect within a coherent urban structure." More particularly, the design of the public realm was perceived to be side-lined by commercial property interests. The particular example of Canary Wharf is cited as symptomatic of the wider issues in terms of the design and layout of the docklands:

> "...Canary Wharf might stand out as a paradigm of late twentieth-century

> architecture, which exploits historical imagery created in the arena of international capital. The combination of a sleek, modern office tower, neo-Edwardian base and a *beaux-arts* landscape may be perceived as bizarre, but it expresses the reality of commodification and the alliance of aesthetics and rent. Socially, Canary Wharf is a place of corporate imagery. The historical references are to public urban space, but this is private territory produced for private ends (*Ibid,* 55)."

This blurring of the public and private has emerged as a common theme with regard to high-profile developments such as Canary Wharf. For Raco (2003, 1871) these spaces obscure the boundaries between public and private space, creating an illusion of publicness:

> "Whereas urban spaces have traditionally had clearly defined boundaries between public and private areas, new developments are increasingly blurring the boundaries and creating hybrid spaces – places where ownership and access are increasingly contested and open to interpretation."

As discussed above, much of the architectural symbolism used in spaces such as Canary Wharf demarcates the openness of the area to the public. However, as with many of these spaces, the logic of such publicness is based almost solely on the promotion and protection of its function as an arena of business and consumption. A number of means are used to reinforce and promote this image. These include a privatised police force, a wide network of CCTV cameras, and the physical separation from the surrounding areas by draw-bridges. A number of signs are also used as a means of reminding visitors of the private nature of the development (Figure 2.4).



Figure 2.3: 'The Image of Global Finance': HSBC Tower, Canary Wharf, London. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 2.4: Private Property Sign, Canary Wharf, London. Photo by Author, 2005

The Expansion of Entrepreneurial 'Models' of Urban Change

Following the development of high-profile, or 'flagship', projects such as Baltimore's inner harbour, new and increasingly marketable forms of urban imagery have been sought as a means of fostering place promotion. An increasingly popular mechanism in recent years has been the construction of iconic buildings designed by globally renowned architects, such as Norman Foster or Frank Gehry, as a central feature of wider urban regeneration projects (Sklair, 2005). There is nothing inherently new about particular buildings becoming renowned as symbols of the city they are in, with the Sydney Opera House, or the Parthenon in Athens being just two examples. However, inter-urban competition has intensified the drive to create instantly recognisable icons as visitor attractions and methods of differentiating a city.

In terms of entrepreneurial urbanism, the logic of the creation of iconic buildings is based on a number of factors. Firstly, the iconic status of such buildings allows for the image of place to be transmitted through various forms of digital and other

forms of communication – T.V, internet, magazines etc. – with great ease. This form of place promotion is designed to attract tourist numbers to visit the city, which is subsequently intended to have a positive effect on the wider economy of the city (Monclus & Guardia, 2006). As cities constantly compete to promote their image, the demand for such building grows, with city authorities actively seeking out 'starchitects' such as Daniel Libeskind, Santiago Calatrava, or Frank Gehry to create their own version of the Guiggenheim museum in Bilbao to promote their city on the global stage.

The Spanish city of Bilbao has become viewed as being the prototypical example of this form of development (Rodriguez & Martinez, 2005). Although there were a number of factors involved in its transformation from a post-industrial city in decline to its present image of a city undergoing an 'urban renaissance', the revitalisation of Bilbao is widely associated with the construction of the Guiggenheim museum. For the various authorities involved in 're-branding' Bilbao, the employment of various well-known architects, such as Frank Gehry, would be essential for success (Rodríguez & Martínez 2005). The impact of the museum on the city is widely held to be significant, with the 'The Guggenheim Effect' used as a means of describing the overall regeneration of Bilbao (*Ibid*; Vicario & Monje, 2005). However, two broad themes emerge in terms of any critique of developments such as this. First, Vicario & Monje (2005, 155) point to the similarity of the development of Bilbao to other entrepreneurial cities as follows:

> "Although the powerful presence of of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao seems to give the downtown a touch of 'originality', it is actually the same urban landscape that can be found in cities such as Baltimore, Glasgow and Barcelona."

Second, the rise in house prices in the surrounding areas, and the wider city, has been highlighted as having a negative impact in terms of gentrification and associated displacement of resident populations (*Ibid*).

These wide-scale changes to an entire city can often be held up as emblematic of an urban ideal, which can be replicated and borrowed from on a global scale. For example, throughout the last two decades the transformation of another Spanish city, Barcelona, has become a focal point within broader debates on urban change within a broad range of academic disciplines, urban policy, and the wider media (McNeill, 1999; Monclús, 2003). Its alterations, have included the physical transformation of its public realm, along with urban regeneration projects associated with the hosting of events such as the 1992 Olympic games. It has been heralded as an ideal model of early twenty-first Century urbanism (*Ibid*). One indicator of the level of interest in the 'Barcelona Model' from outside sources was the awarding by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) its prestigious gold medal to the city of Barcelona in 1999[1];

> "In 1999, precedent has been broken to award the Royal Gold Medal to a city: to Barcelona, its government, its citizens and design professionals of all sorts. Inspired city leadership, pursuing an ambitious yet pragmatic urban strategy and the highest design standards, has transformed the city's public realm, immensely expanded its amenities and regenerated its economy, providing pride in its inhabitants and delight in its visitors. All cities, especially London, for too long without directing influences, can learn much from this example, which many already follow" (The Journal of Architecture, 1999, 229).

For the jury, the reordering of public space was a central feature of Barcelona's wider transformation (Figure 2.5). Indeed, its status as an iconic city was based on a perception of the wider acceptance and endorsement of the citizens of Barcelona, For Balibrea (2001, 187), the jury's summary lacked any critical analysis of the impacts of the transformations on everyday life, and thus typified the outside perspective of Barcelona in recent years:

> "This text is paradigmatic of the dominant perception of the city as seen from abroad: a stylish and exciting metropolis, the perfect civic site for the urban communities of the twenty-first century. The 'Barcelona model' has gained

[1]Prior to 1999, since its inception in 1848, the award has been given to either an individual or architectural practice

official approval and is being copied on an international scale."

The transformations of areas such as the formerly run-down El Ravel involved direct attempts to expand the city centre area in the interests of attracting new residents and tourists. This view was succinctly summarised by a planner from the Barcelona urban planning department as follows:

> "These types of urban changes have a lot to do with improving the social set up of the place. It opens up for other social groups. Before nobody wanted to live in the Old City and now we have changed it, people like us are moving in" (As quoted in Degen, 2002, 28).

This transformation included the designation of the area as a 'Cultural Quarter' that included the construction of a large public space, Placa del Angels, in which the Richard Meier designed Museum of Contemporary Art of Barcelona was placed (*ibid*, 19) (See Figure 2.6). For Garcia, (2004, 65), "... this new strategy of favouring visitors over residents is consistent with the promotion of the city in general and with the entrepreneurial mentality of the current political leadership in particular."

The impacts of large-scale regeneration projects on areas such as El Ravel in Barcelona and residential neighbourhoods in Bilbao has resulted in what is now a familiar process in contemporary western cities; the 'frontiers' of long-established residential areas have been targeted for renewal that sees both the expansion of the city centre and the gentrification of whole neighbourhoods. This will be discussed later in the chapter.



Figure 2.5 : 'The City is Fun': 'Gambrinus', Waterfront sculpture, Passieg de Colom Barcelona. Photo by Author, 2007



Figure 2.6 : Expansion of the 'frontier': The Museum of Contemporary Art, Placa del Angels, El Ravel, Barcelona. Photo by Author, 2007

Social Space in the Entrepreneurial City: The Regulation of Public Space

As discussed above, much of the literature dealing with the connections between public space and the entrepreneurial city has commented on strategies of social control employed within remodelled docklands areas, tourist districts, and central shopping areas. For Swyngedouw et al., (2005, 19), the exclusive homogenisation of space by élite groups involved in new forms of urban governance have eroded "diversity and difference in highly oppressive ways." Indeed, as highlighted by Ward (2003, 117), "aggressive place marketing strategies have been accompanied by efforts to 'civilise' cities." These observations are reflective of broader concerns related to the erosion and corporatisation of urban public space that has been dominant throughout the last two decades (Atkinson, 2003; Breitbach & Mitchell, 2003; Iveson, 2007; Killian, 1998; Low & Smith, 2006; Mitchell, 1995, 2003; Zukin, 1995).

The most extreme version of this form of commercialisation of public space is the growth of shopping centres and similar private spaces of consumption throughout the westernised world during the second half of the twentieth century (Goss, 1993). In such spaces, mechanisms are put in place that ensure that anything that occurs outside the norms of such activity are eliminated through either design or management. In terms of design, the shopping centre subtly

manipulates the manner in which users move around. An escalator may bring people to the top floor, but in order to get back down they will have to walk past other shops. Such measures of everyday control include the regular placement of CCTV cameras throughout shopping centres, along with the constant control by private security guards. Increasingly, this is carried out in a manner that hides such mechanisms through various means of normalising such methods or disguising them. For Goss (*Ibid*) and Mitchell (2000), for example, much of the imagery now associated with shopping centres was originally borrowed from established towns and has been turned from being public-orientated points of citizenship into privately-orientated points of consumption. For example as pointed out by Goss (1993, 26):

> "Several strategies enhance the appearance of vital public space, and foremost is the metaphor of the urban street sustained by streetsigns, streetlamps, benches, shrubbery, and statuary – all well-kept and protected from vandalism."

To a large degree, however, the biggest impact of such centres has been the manner in which existing towns and city centres have in turn been influenced by them. In an effort to attract people back to city centre areas from various suburban shopping centres, city authorities have gradually begun to employ methods of control and regulation similar to those same shopping centres that they are trying to compete with. For example, although not wholly influenced by the shopping centre, the use of CCTV in central city areas has now become so widespread that it is seen as being a normal part of the urban environment. The use of such surveillance methods are seen as a way of making city centre areas feel safe and secure (Raco, 2003).

Returning to discussions related to contemporary urban public space from earlier in this chapter, a focus of much recent literature has been on the manner in which public spaces associated with 'selling the city' have become more controlled and ordered so as to create and reinforce new meanings associated

with the promotion of image and élite consumption (Raco, 2003, MacLeod, Raco & Ward, 2003). For MacLeod (2002, 602) such actions are in direct response to circumstances that are produced by the inequalities inherent in the entrepreneurial city:

> "One political response to these social geographies of "actually existing neoliberalism" ... sees the continuous renaissance of the entrepreneurial city being tightly "disciplined" through a range of architectural forms and institutional practices so that the enhancement of a city's image is not compromised by the visible presence of those very marginalised groups."

In such spaces, it is concerns related to economic development that come to the fore. For Helms (2008, 15), "it proves pivotal to minimise the extent to which even perceived risks and fear of crime can present obstacles for development." Therefore, what is officially thought to be criminal or unwelcome is directly influenced by concerns related to economic development". The outcome of this response has resulted in a variety of measures aimed at controlling and ordering public space. Such controls include the introduction of Zero Tolerance Policing (Merrifield, 2000; Helms, 2008) or new laws regulating activities such as begging and the consumption of alcohol in public space (*Ibid*).

With a focus on city centre areas and high-profile 'flagship' developments, other means of controlling the city include the introduction of measures such as the designation of particular central urban areas as Business Improvement Districts or BID's (Zukin, 1995; Kohn, 2004; Low & Smith, 2006; Bannister, et al., 2006). BID's are geographically defined areas where a group of major stakeholders – usually business interests, such as retailers – have come together as a means of controlling their surrounding environment in a manner that is suitable to their specific goals. Additional services within a BID often involve the marketing the city and cleaning, tourist information and the prevention of petty crime, such as graffiti (Zukin, 1995; Kohn, 2004). They have also included the introduction of 'street wardens', who act as another set of 'eyes' on the street and liaise with the

police on issues related to 'order' and crime (Bannister et al., 2006). While hailed by local government and business interests alike, the development of these districts has raised questions amongst various commentators about 'the right to the city,' (Lefebvre, 1996) and the power of purely commercial interests in terms of public space.

Although tight measures of control can be witnessed throughout cities, and city regions, direct measures of control have become particularly evident in high-profile Urban Development Projects (UDP's) (Swyngedouw *et al.*, 2005) and the rejuvenated city centre areas associated with consumption and tourism. In this regard, much comment related to issues of urban design in such spaces has connected architectural and design features to exclusionary strategies. However, as pointed out by Kohn, (2004, 148) in relation to Battery Park City, New York, the ēlitist nature of such spaces can be primarily connected to various forms of semi-visible strategies employed to control and monitor public space:

> "Although the appeal of Battery Park City is based on a certain dissimulation, the inauthenticity of some architectural references is not to blame. Instead, the operative dynamic is the way that public spaces and urbanity serve to mystify the essentially exclusive and elitist nature of the development."

The constant desire for unique selling points – new iconic buildings, remodelling of public space etc. – combined with the desire to uphold that image through the promotion of a 'diverse' and 'tolerant' social space is constantly complicated by desires to control space and create a social environment that is controlled and ordered.

Urban Regeneration and Gentrification at the Neighbourhood Scale

Running concurrently with changes in the urban economy from a Keynesian industrial economy to a services-based neo-liberal economy, the social structure of western cities has undergone dramatic changes in terms of residential change (Ley, 1980; Hamnett, 1991). More specifically, there has been a return to city

centre areas abandoned during the 1960s and 1970s by the middle classes, and, as a consequence, the gentrification of former working class areas along with former industrial areas (Butler & Robson, 2001; Hammett, 2003; Lees et al., 2008).

While earlier research examined the informal nature of the process from a bottom-up perspective (*Ibid*), the literature became dominated by a debate over the causes of gentrification throughout much of the 1980s and 1990s. More particularly, this debate was focused on issues relating to consumption orientated causes and production orientated causes (Ley, 1980; Smith, 1982; Hamnett, 1991). More recently, some commentators have directly associated gentrification with the growth in the numbers of people working in the producer-services sector and its associated spaces, such as London's Canary Wharf (Lees 2000; also see Butler & Robson, 2003). Furthermore, in both a response to demand and as a means of further enticing the middle classes to live in city centre neighbourhoods, various bodies, such as city councils, local borough councils and metropolitan-wide authorities, have increasingly attempted to promote what are seen as safe and attractive urban areas, which critics have dubbed policy-orientated 'gentrification' (Lees, 2008; McCann, 2008). Increasingly, such policies have aligned themselves towards the wider concept of the 'creative city' in promoting notions of 'liveability', 'social mix', and 'quality of life' (Peck, 2005; Slater, 2006). The promotion of these factors has itself been influenced by debates related to the role of 'social capital' within both policy formation and critical discourse (See Blokland & Savage, 2008).

Debates over the causes of Gentrification

Although emerging in the mid-1960s with a focus on the remodelling of former working class housing by middle class dwellers, and associated displacement of working class populations (Lees et al., 2008), much of the debate within the gentrification literature shifted focus during the 1980s and began probing its

causes. Of particular note are debates between those focusing on issues related to consumption, individual preferences, and lifestyle choices (Ley, 1980; Zukin, 1991), and those emphasising the role of wider socio-economic restructuring, and capital, along with its impact on social class within the city (Smith, 1982).

For Ley (1980), predominantly focusing on Vancouver as a case study, the return to city-centre living was connected to the emergence of a post-industrial society and the corresponding transformation in the labour-force from being predominantly blue-collar to white-collar services or technical occupations. Moreover, the emergence of this class of workers is directly connected to the re-emergence of the city centre as a place of leisure and consumption in that this group is seen as the new taste-makers within society (Hamnett, 1991). Therefore, the connection between aesthetics, lifestyle and social space has been both an explicit and implicit aspect of much of the consumption-orientated gentrification literature. For example, in describing the emergence of Vancouver as a post-industrial city, Ley (1980, 251) gives what emerged as relatively common account of the transformation of city centre residential areas:

> "In the central residential neighbourhoods densities were regulated through repeated downzonings, streets were blocked to check commuter through traffic, trees and shrubs were planted, and new parks were added while encroachment on existing parks was strictly prevented. Public access to the waterfront was improved and a fisherman's market was opened upon council initiative. In short, public spaces were protected, animated and humanized..."

Originally, the focus of much of the literature on particular neighbourhoods resulted in a distinct imagery becoming associated with it. This imagery connected lifestyle choices, aesthetics and land use in a way that promoted the ideals associated with the re-emergence of the middle classes in the city centre. As pointed out by Lees et al., (2008, 113) "A gentrifying or gentrified neighbourhood has a certain feel to it, a certain look, a landscape of conspicuous consumption that makes the process readily identifiable." This particular look and

feel can be attributed to a number of factors. Of particular note in this regard has been the degree to which gentrification has been promoted by an idealisation and promotion of a particular urban imagery, associated with a sanitized version of the past. As pointed out by Zukin (1991, 191):

> "At the outset, gentrifiers' fondness for restoring and preserving a historical style reflected real dismay at more than a decade of publicly sponsored urban renewal and private commercial redevelopment, which together had destroyed a large part of many cities' architectural heritage."

This re-emergence of middle classes in city centres was therefore predicated on a stylistic and morally-based rejection of both the wider social housing typology and market orientated suburban development of the post-war era (Jacobs, 1961; Zukin, 1998) by a particular sub-group (Hamnett, 1991).

The production-orientated perspective of gentrification focused on factors related to the role of urban land markets in terms of the role of capital, developers, and finance (Hamnett, 1991). A central element of this perspective is the role of disinvestment (movement of capital to the suburbs) followed by reinvestment within urban space. For Smith (1982, 147) "... the steady devalorization of capital creates longer term possibilities for a new phase of valorization, and this is exactly what has happened in the inner city." This cycle of disinvestment is followed by reinvestment at a time where the the difference between the actual and potential ground rent becomes 'significantly large' (Smith, 1982). This is the point at which formerly devalued areas become worth investing in again and the focus of gentrification. When looked at this way, gentrification cannot be started without the mortgage lenders, or other agencies willing to support investment in an area.

Critics of the 'production' perspective of gentrification have pointed to a variety of perceived short-comings in its approach. A predominant criticism of this approach is its lack of attention to the role of the individual in terms of choice. As such, the

lifestyle choices of gentrifiers are therefore held up as the driving-force behind gentrification, with the rent-gap only forming one part of the equation (Beauregard, 1986; Hamnett, 1991). However, Smith responded to such claims by pointing to the inherent class dimensions of consumption and the role of the individual (Smith, 1992). In this regard, residential choices are directly related to factors such as income and broader social status.

Beauregard (1986), questioned the logic of the rent-gap based on the fact that while some areas gentrify, others, which seem to have the same advantages in terms of ground rent, do not. Indeed, it appears that there are many factors necessary for gentrification to take place, with the factors of production appearing stronger in one area, while those of consumption in another. For example, Castells' (1983) study of the gay movement in San Francisco illustrates a variety of areas where low-rents attracted people to move into areas that were in a condition of decline. However, much of the subsequent renovation in these areas relied on capital injections from the local bank, which saw the potential to upgrade the areas involved (*Ibid*). In terms of production, the wholesale renovation of urban areas by developers may be reliant on the mediation of urban planning, through re-zoning or the designation of areas as suitable for regeneration through tax-incentives and other related initiatives (MacLaran & McGuirk, 2003; Kelly, 2008). In this regard, it is possible to see the processes of production and consumption as being inextricably connected to each other through the property-development sector, and the associated ways in which it creates and manipulates demand. While tax-breaks can help to foster much of this demand from potential investors, the role of marketing is also highly relevant in promoting the transformation of areas for middle-class living (Figure 2.7). To a certain extent, the scale of transformations within many western cities, along with the associated growth and expansion of literature relating to gentrification, has made defining the limits of gentrification a difficulty in itself (Figure 2.8).



Figure 2.7: 'Living for individuals', Imperial Wharf, Chelsea, London. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 2.8: Former warehouse beside new 'Berkeley Homes' development, Bermondsey Wall, London. Photo by Author, 2005

Contemporary Gentrification: Neo-liberalism, 'The Creative Class', and Urban Policy

The debate between those looking at the 'consumption' side of gentrification and those looking at the 'production' side of gentrification dominated much of the 1980s and early 1990s (Hamnett, 1991; Smith, 1991). In recent years, a number of factors have emerged marking a transition in the scale and nature of gentrification. Of particular significance is the emergence of gentrification as a global phenomenon, impacting upon cities throughout the urban hierarchy. While the expansion of literature examining trends in gentrification has certainly aided this recognition, the wider expansion of gentrification has been influenced by a number of factors. First, the deregulation of global financial markets has allowed global capital to reach the neighbourhood level, where a variety of small-scale developments can be funded by transnational sources of funding (see Smith, 2002). Moreover, the emergence of the so-called 'creative class' has directly connected theories of a transnational labour pool with residential transformation in the form of gentrification. Secondly, and often directly connected to this emerging 'creative city' thesis, the up-scaling of neighbourhoods to attract the middle classes has become a direct aim of urban policy, with cities throughout the global urban hierarchy being influenced by gentrification-orientated means of

regeneration.

Throughout the last two decades, the norms associated with gentrification have gradually become commonplace within urban renewal strategies. For example, as pointed out by Zukin in relation to the early 1990s, "...gentrifiers have become so pervasive in all older cities of the highly industrialised world that their cultural preferences have been incorporated into official norms of neighbourhood renewal and city planning" (1991, 192). More recently, the scales and ambitions of such policy intervention have reached new levels, with a focus on 'diversity', 'social mix' (Lees, 2008) and the role of 'social capital' within urban regeneration taking centre-stage (Blokland & Savage, 2008).

Coinciding with literature pertaining to the role of 'tolerance' in the creative city discourse (Peck, 2005), the policy orientation towards gentrification has been particularly evident in the Europe and North America (Lees, 2008). The language used in much policy formulation plays down some of the more negative consequences of gentrification. As pointed out by Lees (2008 p2452):

> "It is a policy language that never uses the word 'gentrification' and thus consistently deflects criticism and resistance. Terms like urban renaissance, urban revitalisation, urban regeneration and urban sustainability are used instead, avoiding the class constitution of the processes involved and neutralising the negative image that the process of gentrification brings with it."

Advocates of such policies highlight the importance of 'social mix' in responding to issues related to urban deprivation with little attention given to those who may end up displaced by such processes. Furthermore, such policies generally focus on promoting social mix through the promotion of formerly run-down poorer areas as opposed to proposing policy solutions for areas that are predominantly wealthy (Slater, 2006). This can often have a particular racial tilt. As pointed out by Smith (2002, 445): "Advocates of "social balance" rarely, if ever, advocate that white neighbourhoods should be balanced by equal numbers of people of African,

Caribbean, or Asian descent." The notion of 'social mix' is therefore reliant on a particular definition of who are what is considered to be acceptable to what this 'mix' is. This will be discussed in further detail below.

Although varying in specifics, much of the literature relating to gentrification, whether explicitly or implicitly, has involved an analysis of the social meanings of urban public space (Lees, 2003b; Zukin, 1991; 1995; Smith, 2002). This image is predicated on the promotion of a specific 'urban idyll' of a pedestrian-orientated, medium-density city with plenty of entertainment options and 'cosmopolitan cafés' which are attractive to the target audiences in their various guises: workers, residents and visitors (Zukin, 1995; Hoskins & Tallon, 2004). At a base level, the entrepreneurial city needs to attract people to be a success. As pointed out by Zukin (1995 13): "Art museums, boutiques, restaurants, and other specialized sites of consumption create a social space for the exchange of ideas on which businesses thrive." Therefore, the entrepreneurial reordering of cities as places of leisure for both pleasure and business is reliant on a certain 'public culture' (*Ibid*). On one level, notions of 'liveability', 'diversity' and 'quality of life' have become keywords in recent urban regeneration strategies:

> "Diversity represents the new guiding principle for city planners. As such it constitutes an antithesis to previous orientations toward urban design, in which segregation of homogeneous districts was the governing orthodoxy" (Fainstein, 2005, 4).

For example, as pointed out by Lees (2003b, 613), "...in their construction of the postmodern city..." it is argued "...that urban revitalization initiatives must embrace diversity, both cultural and economic, as well as functional and spatial." Indeed, the term diversity is used to describe a range of issues relating to city life, such as 'mixed-use' zoning, diversity in design of street-scapes, diversity of use and ethnic and cultural diversity.

A striking example of the manner in which factors related to 'diversity',

gentrification and urban policy have combined is the emergence in recent years of the 'creative class' (Florida, 2002; 2005, Peck, 2005). For Florida, the future of urban economies is based on the ability to attract and retain what he terms the 'creative class'. This creative class is comprised of a 'super-creative core', which includes scientists, architects, university professors, actors, poets, artists, designers and those engaged in media related labour. Beyond this, it also includes those in knowledge-intensive industries, such as the financial or high-technology sector (Florida, 2002). The conditions Florida sees as necessary for success are *Talent*, *Technology* and *Tolerance* (3 T's). While talent pertains to the attraction of creative workers and technology is related to the constant advancement and innovation in new products, tolerance is directly related to the relative 'open-mindedness' of a city. As such, it pertains to issues relating to general attitudes towards race, 'bohemian lifestyles' and homosexuality. Furthermore, investment in 'soft infrastructure', such as the arts, culture and street festival is seen as further promoting economic growth (Peck, 2005). The importance of investment in quality of place is highlighted by Florida as an essential element of attracting and retaining the creative class:

> "It makes sense to invest in the quality of place that attracts creative workers, and also enable the private sector to meet the amenity needs of this group by providing cafés and similar establishments. Members of the Creative Class prefer active, participatory forms of recreation and have come to expect them in urban centers (Florida, 2005, 167)."

Critics of the 'creative class' thesis have highlighted the manner in which the promotion of the lifestyle choices espoused by Florida are little more than "retreads of some very familiar strategies" (Peck, 2005, 762). Citing Baltimore as an example, Peck (*Ibid*) goes on to highlight how such strategies involve the continuation of the sanitisation of urban public life begun with the Baltimore inner harbour through the promotion of various street festivals, conversion of industrial buildings for creative uses and the wider commodification of social life. In

summary, for Peck (*Ibid*, 764), "Creative-city strategies are predicated on, and designed for, this neoliberized terrain. Repackaging urban cultural artefacts as competitive assets, they value them (literally) not for their own sake, but in terms of their (supposed) economic utility."

As discussed earlier, much literature pre-dating the emergence of the creative class or creative cities rhetoric gave a critical assessment of the emerging consumption patterns in the contemporary city. This literature critically assessed the impact of such patterns on the overall social structure of urban areas (Ley, 1980). For example, Zukin (1998, 826) commented on the emergence of new "urban lifestyles" based around consumption throughout the 1980s and 1990s:

> "Ten or fifteen years ago, urban lifestyles might have been analysed in terms of gentrification and its effects on social class polarization and displacement of the urban poor (Smith and Williams, 1986). Consumption was viewed as a means of driving a wedge between urban social classes and an an indicator – although never a cause – of economic and political realignments. By the end of the 1990s, consumption is understood to be both a means and a motor of urban social change."

Although keywords, such as 'tolerance' and 'diversity' associated with particular lifestyle choices are central elements of the creative city discourse, issues relating to inequality and intolerance of difference have become key elements of critiques of the 'creative city' along with broader entrepreneurial strategies of urban development (Peck, 2005; McCann, 2007, 2008; Zimmerman, 2008). For example, in describing the typical scene associated with the lifestyle choices of the so-called creative class, Florida (2002, 183) comments; "The scene may spill out onto the sidewalks, with dining tables, musicians, vendors, panhandlers, performers and plenty of passersby at all hours of the day and night." This description is representative of an idealisation of urban public life and the promotion of a 'geographical imaginary' (McCann, 2008) that is common throughout both literature related to the creative city and policy orientated towards gentrification. This is illustrated by the manner in which a particular notion of the

'liveable city' formed a central element of 'Urban Renaissance' policies in the UK, with unproblematic notions of public space and community becoming central in urban regeneration strategies (Urban Taskforce, 1999, 2005; Lees, 2003a). However, when examined more carefully, the forms of interaction, diversity and tolerance are limited in that particular activities seen as unsuitable to the enhanced image of an area become regulated and prohibited. For example, Lees et al., (2008) building on Wyly & Hammel (2005), revealed an association between revanchist municipal policies and activities such as 'panhandling' or begging, showing that many of the same cities registering highly on Florida's creativity index (along with ones registering lower down) also exhibited revanchist policies towards particular forms of social behaviour.

Notions of tolerance and liberal attitudes once associated with gentrification, and now a central aspect of creative-city rhetoric, are limited in terms of policies directly aimed at particular forms of behaviour. As summarised by Lees, (2008, 2457) "Far from being tolerant, gentrification is part of an aggressive, revanchist ideology designed to retake the inner city for the middle classes." Therefore, a dichotomy appears in studies related to gentrification, and its associated connection to urban lifestyles and 'social mix'. On one hand, the city is imagined as the 'playground' of the new gentrifiers that is presented through informal ideals of tolerance and diversity. Critical accounts of gentrification, on the other hand, present the city as a 'revanchist' arena (Smith, 2002), where a variety of measures are used to uphold the illusions of a dynamic and diverse city.

Although much of the 'consumption', or 'liberal humanist' perspective (Slater, 2006, 741) orientated literature was critical of these spaces and their wider social meanings (Zukin, 1991, 1995, 1998), it was critics writing from a Marxist perspective who were to initiate the most scathing critique of the social spaces associated with gentrification. This includes an analysis of the 'harder' aspects of the reordering of urban space according to the needs of incoming gentrifiers. As

pointed out by Smith (1982, 139):

> "'Revitalisation" and "renaissance" suggest that the neighbourhoods involved were somehow de-vitalized or culturally moribund. While this is sometimes the case, it is often true that very vital working-class communities are de-vitalised through gentrification. Open doors, street games, and stoop-sitting are replaced with iron bars, guard dogs, high wooden fences and a scorn for the streets."

Moreover, this 'realist' approach to the impacts of contemporary urban change has become a central tenet of recent debates surrounding public space. Such analysis ranges from outright 'battles' over urban space, to the myriad ways in which urban space is controlled and ordered (Helms, 2008). In relation to the former, for example, Smith (1996, 6) uses the 'cleansing' of the homeless from Tomkins Park Square in New York during the early 1990s to illustrate how some of these tensions were played out:

> "...the ten acres of Tomkins Square Park quickly became a symbol of new urbanism being etched on the urban "frontier." Largely abandoned to the working class amid postwar suburban expansion, relinquished to the poor and unemployed as reservations for racial and ethnic minorities, the terrain of the inner city is suddenly valuable again, perversely profitable."

The latter is marked by the subtle, or invisible means of control employed as a means of promoting and maintaining social order. Although, as highlighted above, such tactics are particularly evident in high-profile 'flagship' developments, increasingly, it is possible to see various measures of control at play in a wider spectrum of city areas.

From 'City as Fun' to City as Lived Space

In recent years, a number of authors have challenged to the promotion of the city as a site of cultural consumption and élite lifestyles, pointing to weaknesses in the perception of the dominance of one particular view of urban life. For example, Hubbard (1996, 1442) argues that

> "...the equation between specific urban forms and modes of political

> governance is overly simplistic, empirically untested, and offers an impoverished conception of the cultural politics of place, failing to elucidate the way that the relations of culture and capital are played out differently in different contexts."

While, as outlined above, the dominance of public space by the wider forces associated with up-scaling the city has become a dominant theme in examining the public spaces of the cities in recent years, a body of research has continued which looks at the public space in terms of everyday use. It is in these places that are built to become a representation of the power of the state, or a specific class, and maintained in a manner that is in keeping with whatever city image is being promoted at various times, that protest becomes most evidenced. For Low (2000, 184),

> "...planned central public spaces – sacred spaces or civic plazas – take on layers of historic meaning that are retained through the mnemonics of environmental memory. Spaces such as the Zócalo in Mexico City, Tianmen Square in Beijing, Plaza de Mayo in Beunos Aires, or Praque Central in San José have layers of past meanings semiotically encoded in the spatial relations, furnishings, and architecture of the place. These meanings, embodied in the space itself, become a subtext for the protest that occurs there, and by placing protest in the symbolic center of the society it captures the national attention."

These central spaces are not only sites where official memory becomes inscribed in stone and through official means of mediation and celebration, but also the spaces which become sites of everyday life. The urban form of such spaces become a reminder of such events and further enforces such meanings within it (Boyer, 1994).

For authors examining the experience of such spaces, a key factor has been the degree to which they become the sites of resistance and protest to the dominant ordering or reordering of space (Low, 2000, 2002; Crossa, 2009). For Low (2000), there were three broad categories under which protest could be

examined within public space: *Manifest* protest, *latent* protest, and *ritual* protest. The first of these, manifest protest, is seen as that protest involving strikes and demonstrations, but also includes the appropriation of public space by the homeless, alcoholics or drug dealers. Such protest was defined by the degree to which the authorities perceived it as a threat, and therefore took action to stop such activities, which has included the closing off of public space (Smith, 1996, and Mitchell, 2003). The second of these, latent protest, refers to the ongoing "... public contestation of the symbolic furnishings, design, and surrounding businesses and buildings of the public space" (Low, 2000, 183). For Low, this refers to the less visible struggles over the meanings of particular monuments or the design of public space. The third of these categories, *ritual* protest, involves the temporary inversion of officially inscribed meanings in public space, but without resulting in the closure of public space or other official measures of control.

The categorisation of such activities as protest may seem to overlook the degree to which the use of public space outside that which is officially prescribed does not necessarily indicate protest. For example, the ideal of the protest as a collective unifying force may itself produce a form of exclusionary space as opposed to one which is 'other'. Furthermore, the celebration of difference may ignore the inherent tensions between groups in an over-simplistic manner. For example, for Massey (2007, 88):

> "'diversity' itself, however, implies a geographical imaginary of a simple plurality, a harmonious juxtapositioning. It too can be inadequate if it fails to recognise (just as in the case of some conceptualisations of multiculturalism) the relations that exist 'between' the elements of this diversity, relations which mutually construct the different elements that perhaps set them in conflict. This is an aspect of the city, and of urban space, that is missed too by those simply celebratory depictions of city life. There is indeed much to 'delight' in, but the tensions within the diversity can all too easily be ignored."

The examination of the embedded tensions within public space has become a

focal point of some recent research on public space (Degen, 2002; Iveson, 2007; Watson, 2006). A certain amount of this has focused on the experience of urban space transformed by entrepreneurial modes of urban restructuring. For example, in her examination of the changes to the El Ravel neighbourhood in Barcelona discussed above, Degen (2002, 34) highlights how "...the transitory and fluid nature of public space provides a subversive potential..." to the ideal of a purified and ordered city. Such sentiments are further highlighted by Watson (2006, 7): "Public space is always, in some sense, in a state of emergence, never complete and always contested, constituted in agnostic relations, in that it is implicated in the production of identities as relational and produced through difference". Public space is therefore the constant space of contestation and negotiation.

Moreover, while the official ordering of public space prescribes 'roles' and intrinsic functions to particular public spaces, the degree to which such meanings become inscribed in space is by no means a direct function of such mechanisms (Boyer, 1994: Harvey, 1996 Jacobs, 1961; Mumford, 1961; Sennett, 1977). Although influenced by external factors, the 'roles' adapted by different people are dependent on different social situations, and places (Sennett, 1977). For example, in describing New York street life of the late 1950s as a form of ballet, Jacobs (1961, 50) highlighted the importance of context in terms of peoples' roles in public space:

> "The stretch of Hudson Street where I live is each day the scene of an intricate sidewalk ballet. I make my way own first entrance into it a little after eight when I put out the garbage can, surely a prosaic occupation, but I enjoy my part, my little clang, as the droves of junior high students walk by the center of the stage dropping candy wrappers."

Looking at the city in this manner indicates the degree to which distinctive urban settings become associated with certain activities. In the case of Jacob's writing such activities seem to have evolved in a bottom-up manner without any official coding of space. While this example seems relatively sanguine, unregulated public space space can itself lead to forms of 'negotiated exclusion' (Massey,

2005). For Massey (1994), a striking example of this is the degree to which male domination of place may lead to restrictions in women's mobility in the city. Moreover, ideals of inclusive urban spaces, such as those associated with the neighbourhood, or 'community', level may themselves lead to forms of exclusion (Young, 1990). These themes will be picked up again in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

Conclusion

The changing nature of contemporary cities brought on by the shift from an industrial to post-industrial city and the ensuing shift towards entrepreneurialism can be noted in the many direct changes to the physical and social fabric of western cities. The various transformations of spaces related to global financial capital, spaces of consumption and residential spaces have all had at their centre a particular notion of reordering of the space of the city.

A key challenge in understanding the spaces produced through these processes is to look at the role played by people, the manner in which space is regulated accordingly requiring one to look at cities from multiple perspectives, as opposed to just looking at them from the point of view of city leaders and those with business interests. As discussed by Jessop (1998, 87); "There is a real danger of equating cities merely with the city's political leaders and other notables or, alternatively, with a specific growth or grant coalition." The role of agency must be examined as a means of understanding the city from an experiential perspective. Harvey (1996, 298) picks this up on this strand, arguing that

> "the generalisation of civic boosterism, of growth-machine politics, of cultural homogenization through diversification, hardly provides a full accounting for place-bound identities. Nor can it count for the strength of political attachments which people manifest in relation to particular places."

In describing place as indispensable to human activity, Logan and Molotch (1987, 17) point to an inextricable contradiction inherent in top-down manifestations of

place construction:

> "People use place in ways contrary to the neoclassical assumptions of how commodities are purchased. We do not dispose of place after it has been bought and used. Places have a certain preciousness for their users that is not part of the conventional concept of a commodity."

This highlights the importance of looking more deeply at the relationship between urban space in a manner that further highlights the relationship between the *spatial practice*, the *conceived* and the *lived* (Lefebvre, 1991). Such an exploration would seek to enquire as to the multifaceted aspect of this relationship, including the tensions inherent within official spatial practices and the multiple ways in which urban public space can be used.

Of particular significance in relation to official spatial practices from the perspective of the present study is the constant tension between attempts to *differentiate* and *standardise* urban public space. In this regard, the degree to which the repackaging of particular urban spaces has resulted in the construction of similarly designed spaces has been highlighted by various commentators. These observations have been mainly focused on the degree to which such spaces were becoming repackaged and 'sold' in different urban contexts. Much of the critique has revolved around how the drive for creating difference has invariably resulted in creating spaces that look the same. As described by Harvey (1996, 298), commenting on the broader significance of place promotion,

> "... much of postmodern production in, for example, the realms of architecture and urban design, is precisely about the selling of place as part and parcel of an ever-deepening commodity culture. The result is that places that seek to differentiate themselves as marketable entities end up creating a kind of serial replication of homogeneity."

In a similar vein, Short & Kim (1998, 67) commented that the advertising of particular places involved a continued tension between what they saw as "contradictory trends of homogenisation (similarity) versus distinctiveness (uniqueness) in urban images projected in advertisements." For Griffiths (1998,

56), this tension is an inherent aspect of contemporary trends in urban change. Addressing these issues through what he calls an *imperative of differentiation* and *imperative of uniformity*, he outlines the tensions at work in contemporary urban change. The *imperative of differentiation* is a result of the continued search for unique selling points amongst city leaders. This entails creating physical features which can become unique selling points of a city, such as the afore mentioned Guggenheim in Bilbao. However, the uncertainties associated with the contemporary inter-place competition results in a certain amount of standardisation, or what he (*Ibid*) refers to as an *imperative of uniformity*.

Much attention has been given towards highlighting differences and similarities between cities through the processes associated with globalisation. As discussed by Brenner, (2003, 206), "the tendency to emphasize the special or even paradigmatic properties of particular cities has become rampant within contemporary urban studies." However, what often seems to be lacking in such discussions is a means of bringing together official and unofficial representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991). Unpacking the experience of such spaces beyond their surface images could help to further the understanding of the various processes at work, beyond officially-projected meanings of place. While much of the research on gentrification has indicated the manner in which a wider group consciousness can create particular (consumer-orientated) demands, a broader look at the engagement of people in the spaces associated with entrepreneurial urbanism would help to foster a fuller understanding of place. This can be achieved by examining the inherent tensions between various processes, both official and unofficial, related to *standardisation* and *differentiation* of social space.

Chapter 3: Aims and Methodology

Introduction

The core objective of this research is to examine the relationship between the official approaches to the planning of urban public space, including associated forces related to the political economy of the city, and meanings of urban public space in everyday life. This chapter outlines the methodology utilised for carrying out this enquiry. It begins with a brief summary of the focus of recent literature as highlighted in Chapter 2. Following directly from this, a number of key research questions are outlined. This leads directly to the selection of a research methodology, focusing on comparative methods to enquire into public space in a number of contexts. The use of secondary sources is outlined, including the implementation of policy, and the regulation of urban space. This is followed by an outline of primary sources utilised, such as interviews with key-officials involved in the planning of public space as well as architects and management-personnel. This also includes an outline of the primary sources used as a means of examining the day-to-day life in public space.

As discussed in Chapter 2, recent years have seen increased attention towards the securitisation and privatisation of urban public space (Sorkin, 1992; Mitchell, 1995, 2003; Low and Smith, 2006). Much of this research has focused on spaces in which these forces are particularly strong, and therefore strengthened the argument that public space is becoming more controlled and ordered. While there is certainly strong evidence to support this claim, given the growth in privatised business spaces, such as docklands (Malone, 1996), the widespread use of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) (Kohn, 2004), and policy-orientated gentrification (Lees, 2003a), there is a need to examine the importance of context in understanding both official reordering of public space and the nuances of how day-to-day relationships unfold in public space. This means inquiring the into multidimensional nature of public space (Iveson, 2007), as opposed to merely focusing on the degree to which it is becoming securitised and privatised. In

direct reference to the focus on the privatisation of public space in recent years, this viewpoint was highlighted by Watson, (2006, 16): "There has been a striking paucity of studies of the mundane and commonplace spaces of the city where people muddle through or rub along, living and performing their differences, and even delighting in them." Moreover, there is a need to inquire into the manner in which differences are negotiated in public space, and the extent to which individuals and groups make choices about what 'type' of public space they feel most comfortable in. Therefore, there is a need to examine public space from a number of different perspectives so as to gain a further insight into the myriad forces impacting on it.

Research Questions

Following directly from the literature outlined in Chapter 2, a number of key questions arise about the official ordering of public space and how it relates to everyday life. From a broader theoretical perspective, gaining an insight into public space involves understanding it from the perspective of spatial practice (perceived space), conceived space (representations of space), and lived space (spaces of representation) (Lefebvre, 1991). Therefore, in attempting to undertake a qualitative analysis of public space, it is necessary to examine several separate, yet connected, factors which impact on the everyday reality of public space. On the one hand, it is necessary to examine the manner in which public space is produced in an official capacity. This involves carrying out an examination of public space in terms of its relationship to wider urban change, including planning policy and practice. On the other hand, it is necessary to inquire into the everyday nature of public space, through an inquiry into how it is used on a daily basis. The core questions can therefore be broken down broadly between the official production of space and the everyday use of public space.

The core questions regarding the role of public space in official urban transformation are listed below. Each of the questions are interlinked, with the initial question examining the broader connection between urban change and

public space. The questions which follow act as a means of querying this connection in further detail.

Official Production of Public Space

1. What is the role of public space in official approaches to urban transformation? For example, are alterations to urban public space an implicit aspect of urban change or do they play a more central role in remoulding both the physical and social meanings of cities?

2. To what extent does the physical transformation of public space involve a desire to alter that space in a social sense? Is the alteration of public space carried out as a means of providing for an existing population, or is it used as a means of trying to remould behaviour, or predefine what users should use public space?

3. What is the extent of influence of 'models' of urban change on the transformation of urban public space? This questions the extent to which actors, such as city planners look for inspiration to well-known cities that have undergone change, as in the example of Barcelona in Chapter 2.

4. Is it possible to determine patterns of securitisation and privatisation in urban public space in different urban contexts?

5. What are the connections between the promotion of the 'entrepreneurial city' and desires to manage and control public space?

Following from the above questions, the core questions about the everyday use of public space are directly connected to the issues related to urban transformation and its impact on everyday life in urban space. While the first question acts a core question, those which follow it seek to address specific aspects of everyday life in public space.

Everyday use of Public Space

1. How do users perceive and use urban public space in their everyday lives? For example, is officially-designated public space a central feature of individual and collective social life, or is it a space that is viewed simply as a backdrop to everyday life?

2. Is the day-to-day nature of public space largely controlled and ordered according to official regulations?

3. To what extent do users resist the officially-enforced regulations and transformations of public space?

4. To what degree do users avoid public spaces based on particular social elements or a perceived dominance by distinct social groups?

5. How do users associate with urban form, land-use and particular features such as monuments or sculptures in public space in their everyday lives?

The methods employed were directly related to the research questions outlined above. As a means of maintaining a high degree of consistency, the research methodology was employed across each space in as consistent a manner as possible. A qualitative approach was employed, using a mixture of both secondary and primary sources. While secondary sources, such as policy documentation and regulations pertaining to each space, were used initially, primary data sources, such as interviews with key-officials, were also required due to the short-comings of available secondary data. These provided in-depth information on the official production of public space along with its regulation and management. These sources are outlined in further detail in Table 3.1, and will be outlined in greater detail at a later point in the chapter.

Table 3.1:
Research Questions and Methods Summary: Official Production of Space

Key Questions	*Secondary Sources*	*Primary Sources*
1: What is the role of public space in official approaches to urban transformation?	• Policy documentation • Bye-Laws/Regulations	• Interviews with key officials
2: To what extent to the physical transformations of public space involve a desire to alter that space in a social sense?	• Policy documentation • Bye-Laws/Regulations	• Interviews with key officials • Informal Observation • On-Street Interviews
3: What is the extent of influence of 'models' of urban change on the transformation of urban public space?	• Policy Documentation • Bye-Laws/Regulations	• Interviews with key officials
4: Is it possible to determine patterns of securitisation and privatisation in urban public space in different urban contexts?	• Policy Documentation • Bye-Laws/Regulations	• Photographic Record • Interviews with key officials • Informal Observation
5: What are the connections between the promotion of the 'entrepreneurial city' and desires to manage and control public space?	• Policy Documentation • Bye-laws/Regulations	• Photographic Record • Interviews with key officials • Informal Observation

Given the nature of everyday-life in public space, including its unpredictability and the importance of personal trajectories, the use of primary methods was necessary from an early stage. This included informal observations, a photographic record and on-street interviews. This is summarised in Table 3.2 and will be returned to at a later point in the chapter.

Table 3.2: Research Questions and Methods Summary: Everyday Use

Key Questions	*Secondary Sources*	*Primary Sources*
1: How do users relate to urban public space in their everyday lives?	• Policy Documents (Perceive Use)	• Informal Observation • Photographic Record • On-Street Interviews
2: Is the day-to-day nature of public space largely controlled and ordered according to official regulations?	• Policy documentation • Bye-Laws/Regulations	• Interviews with key officials • Informal Observation • On-Street Interviews
3: To what extent do users resist the officially-enforced regulations and transformations of public space?	• Policy Documentation	• Informal Observation • Photographic Record • On-Street Interviews
4: To what degree do users avoid public spaces based on particular social elements or a perceived dominance by distinct social groups?	• Policy Documentation	• Interviews with key officials • Informal Observation • On-Street Interviews
5: How do users associate with urban form, land-use and particular features such as monuments or sculptures in public space in their everyday lives		• Informal Observation • Photographic Record • On-Street Interviews

The Comparative Approach

As a core question of the research is related to the extent to which distinct models of urban change are transmittable between different urban contexts, it has been necessary to employ a comparative approach. This has also been influenced by a need to carry out a more thorough examination of the everyday use of public space in relation to different socio-cultural settings in different European cities (Moulaert, 2005).

The examination of a number of spaces would allow for the more nuanced aspects of the production of urban space to be understood at a number of

different geographical scales. Recent studies have illustrated the degree to which different 'publics' are evident in different parts of the city (Watson, 2006; Iveson, 2007; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2008). The selection of a number of case studies therefore allows public space to be understood in relation to both the official approaches to urban change and the nuances of everyday life in different urban contexts.

Selecting the Case Studies: London, Dublin and Amsterdam

The case study cities were selected based on two broad criteria. First, as a means of examining the degree to which particular forms of urban entrepreneurialism are visible throughout the European urban hierarchy, cities deemed to be at different levels in the 'global hierarchy' were selected. This allowed for an examination of the degree of policy and practice transfer between different cities. Although not ideal in terms of the transfer of tendencies directly related to city boosterism and urban entrepreneurialism, the cities were initially selected based on the hierarchy of 'global cities' as defined by Beaverstock et al., (1999). For Beaverstock et al., (*Ibid*), a global hierarchy of cities could be created according to the presence of producer-service firms involved in activities such as advertising, banking and accountancy. Cities were therefore ranked according to the representation of these firms. Accordingly, four tiers existed in terms of creating an inventory of world cities (*Ibid*, 456). These were Alpha (e.g; London, Paris, New York, Tokyo), Beta (San Francisco, Brussels, Moscow), Gamma (e.g., Amsterdam, Miami, Munich) and, finally, cities which were deemed to show evidence of 'world city formation' (Dublin, Stuttgart, Rio de Janeiro).[1] From this it was possible to select three cities at different scales of the European urban hierarchy. These were London, Amsterdam and Dublin.

Several factors were considered when selecting each public space examined in this study. In seeking to examine multiple forces and processes impacting on

[1]Furthermore, working through the Urban Europe Research and Training Network (UrbEurope RTN), the numbers of cities within this criteria (along with host institution being located in Dublin) reduced potential research sites. This was also directly influenced by suitability of host institution to area of study along with availability of space.

urban public space, spaces were selected within different contexts in each city. The criteria for selection were based on factors outside of ownership, control and management and based instead on selecting a number of 'typologies' of urban public space. Furthermore, as a means of gaining an insight into recent transformations to urban public space, each space selected had to have been a central feature of a recent regeneration strategy, or central to the redevelopment of an urban area. Through an analysis of broadly comparable spaces in each of the cities, three spaces were selected in each city (Table 3.3). These can be summarized as follows: (1) Spaces central to designated business areas constructed during the last ten years: Paternoster Square in The City of London, Zuidplein in the emerging Zuidas business district in Amsterdam, and Mayor Square in Dublin's IFSC. These are outlined on a case-by-case basis below; (2) Civic spaces officially deemed of national civic importance that have recently undergone physical transformations: Trafalgar Square in London, Dam Square in Amsterdam, and O'Connell Street in Dublin; (3) Spaces central to urban regeneration strategies of particular 'urban quarters': Peckham Square in the London Borough of Southwark, Mercatorplein in De Baarsjes district of Amsterdam, and Smithfield Square as a central feature of the Historic Area Regeneration Project (HARP) in Dublin. These are illustrated in plan format in Figures 3.1-3.9, while the relative location of each of these spaces is illustrated in Appendices 6-8.

Table 3.3: Summary of Selected Case Study Spaces

Typology/City	***London***	***Dublin***	***Amsterdam***
Space central to a business district	Paternoster Square	Mayor Square	Zuidplein
Central Iconic Space	Trafalgar Square	O'Connell Street	Dam Square
Space central to the regeneration of 'urban quarter'/'neighbourhood'	Peckham Square	Smithfield	Mercatorplein

Paternoster Square, London

Paternoster Square is situated in the City of London beside St Paul's Cathedral. The square forms the centre of a small business enclave which is also called Paternoster Square. The square has a long and detailed history with its origins relating to Paternoster Row, which was home to rosary makers from the thirteenth century onwards (Jackson, 2003). In the aftermath of the 1666 fire it became the location of Newgate Market, which subsequently moved in the late nineteenth century, the market space thereafter being renamed Paternoster Square (*ibid*). Following its destruction during World War II the entire site was redeveloped according to a modernist master-plan referred to as the 'Holford Scheme'. The present square and its surrounding buildings were constructed in the late 1990s and early 2000s to replace the above-mentioned 'Holford Scheme'.

In a visual sense, Paternoster Square is strongly influenced by particular ideals of what is and is not acceptable to the 'townscape' of the City and its location beside St. Paul's Cathedral. The square therefore draws directly on 'traditional' styles and is of an irregular form and partially surrounded by a loggia adjoining the surrounding buildings (Figure 3.1).

Trafalgar Square, London

The origins of Trafalgar Square can be directly associated with the desire to create clean and orderly public spaces for the display of grandeur and opulence. For example, Ogborn (1998) points to plans by the architect John Gwynn from 1766 for a 'King's Square' on the site of what is now Trafalgar Square. The square would have formed a central element of a realigned street network in Westminster (See Ogborn, 1998) The plans to create what is now known as Trafalgar Square, however, are widely attributed to John Nash's plans to remodel the centre of London by connecting Regents Circus to Charing Cross in the early 19th Century (Mace, 1976; Cherry, 2006). While Nash's plans resulted in the clearance and 'improvement' of the area around Charing Cross, the square was formally laid out according to a plan by Charles Barry in the 1840s (*Ibid*).

Although alterations were made to the fountains in during the twentieth century, the square remained largely unchanged between the 1840s and the early 2000's. Since taking control of the square in 2000, the Greater London Authority (GLA) has set about transforming its symbolic meaning through its physical transformation, intensification of regulations, and the instigation of events and temporary installations. The physical transformations have included the insertion of a new staircase linking the newly pedestrianised north terrace to the centre of the square. This has aided in redefining the official meanings of the square in creating a space more suited to the hosting of events (Figure 3.2).

Peckham Square, London

Peckham Square is located in Peckham, in the London borough of Southwark. The square was developed from the early 1990s to become a central element in the overall regeneration of the area. It is laid out in an informal manner and is the location of two public buildings; the Peckham Pulse, which houses a gym and swimming pool, and Peckham Library. As well as serving a practical function, the design of the library was consciously used as means of boosting the image of Peckham through the employment of a well-known architect Will Alsop to design a 'landmark building' which was to become a symbol of the regeneration of Peckham. The original feature of the square is Peckham Arch, which is used as a market space and as a connection between the town and the square (Figure 3.3).

Mayor Square, Dublin

Mayor Square is located in Dublin's north docks. It is part of the second phase of the initial redevelopment of Georges Dock and North Quay area. It was planned as the central element in the second phase of the development of Dublin's International Financial Services Centre (IFSC) in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Its redevelopment marked a departure in planning within Dublin's docklands in that from an ideological perspective the planners and architects involved

attempted to move away from a mono-functional business space to creating an urban space more influenced by a 'European model' of urban development. Although at the centre of a business district, it is a mixed-use space with apartments located over shops on the north side and the National College of Ireland fronting the south side of the square (Figure 3.4).

O'Connell Street, Dublin

O'Connell Street is located in the centre of Dublin. It was originally laid out as Sackville Street (Gardiner's Mall) from the 1740s by the private landholder Luke Gardiner as a residential street (Sheridan, 2001). The layout of the street was originally similar to that of an elongated square cut off from the river, such as Smithfield (see below). However, in the 1790s it was joined to the newly widened streets to the south of the river by the wide-scale alterations of the Wide Street Commissioners (*Ibid*). This helped to instigate the transformation of land-use on the street with the gradual influx of businesses. Although the physical structure of the street has been changed significantly, with the most significant example being its reconstruction in the aftermath of the War of Independence in the 1920s, its layout has remained significantly intact since the alterations of the Wide Streets Commissioners.

For Dublin City Council, O'Connell Street is a focal point of the city centre, if not the 'main-street' of the city. Throughout the later part of the 20th Century it was perceived among official circles to have become run-down and no longer reflective of its role as the centre point of the city (Dublin Corporation, 1998). The *Integrated Area Plan* of 1998 set about to transform the street through physical alterations to its public domain, including pavement widening, the standardisation of street furniture and the construction of The Spire of Dublin as a symbol of the street and city. The underlying aim of the regeneration of the public part of O'Connell Street has been to promote reinvestment in the area in an attempt to reprogramme the wider meanings of the street (Figure 3.5).

Smithfield Square, Dublin

Smithfield Square is located in the north west of Dublin City Centre and was laid out in the late 17th Century (Craig, 2006; McCullough, 2007). It is an elongated market space, which runs at right angles to the River Liffey. With the demise of industries of core industries, such as brewing, from the 1960s onwards, Smithfield, along with much of Dublin's city centre, went into a spiral of social and physical decline (MacLaran, 1993; Russell, 2002). Throughout much of the 1980s and 1990s, the square was predominantly used as a surface car park while continuing to retain a small amount of market functions, such as a horse fair on the first Sunday of each month.

In 1996, Smithfield became one of the focal points in the in the Historic Area Rejuvenation Project (H.A.R.P), which targeted the regeneration of the city centre to the west of O'Connell Street. For Dublin City Council, Smithfield was to become the central public space for the 21st Century in Dublin. This desire was implemented through the launch of a competition to redesign the square as an events space in 1997. Following from the redevelopment of the public square itself, the west side of Smithfield has been completely redeveloped as 'Smithfield Market' in recent years. This comprises a mixed development of offices, retail, a cinema and apartments (Figure 3.6).

Zuidplein, Amsterdam

Zuidplein is located in the Zuidas area of Amsterdam (South-Axis) and was laid out in recent years as a focal point in the redevelopment of the area. The Zuidas has been designated as Amsterdam's business district and is currently perceived to be in its first phase of a larger development. Zuidplein is a hard-landscaped plaza flanked by too large-scale contemporary offices which house the World Trade Centre Amsterdam (WTC). The Zuidplein is envisioned by those involved in its design to become a focal point of the Zuidas as it is built over the coming years. From a practical perspective, the designer of the plaza used the placement of trees as a means of softening the effects of high winds which the square is

prone to. The overall design of the square incorporated High-grade materials as a means of reflecting the broader ambitions of creating the area as high-profile business district (Figure 3.7).

Dam Square, Amsterdam

Dam Square originates from the thirteenth century and has gradually come to be perceived as the symbolic centre of Amsterdam (Goverde, 2002). It is the location of the Palace (*Stadhuis*) and National Monument as well as the New Church. For Goverde (*Ibid*), it is therefore reflective of the main powers in Dutch society: the Monarchy, State and Church. It has, however, also become a focal point of rallies and protests against state power or wider social and political issues (*Ibid*).

Throughout much of the twentieth century, the square was divided in two by traffic and trams. From the mid-1990s, the *Stadsdeel Amsterdam Centrum* set about reconnecting the square by removing a number of traffic routes to the north and east sides and making it more pedestrian friendly. The alterations also involved creating a standardised image by laying a uniform paving across the square. This was further emphasised by the installation of uniform lamp-standards, bins and benches, which were differentiated from the standard street furniture in Amsterdam in terms of design (Figure 3.8).

Mercatorplein, Amsterdam

Mercatorplein is a central feature of the Plan-West, which was the westward expansion of Amsterdam in the 1920s. It was laid out by the architect H.P. Berlage in the style of the 'Amsterdam School'. It consists of a regularly laid out rectangular shaped square with residences located over shops (Kloos, 1992). By the 1990s Mercatorplein and its surrounding area had become associated with high unemployment rates and high rates of crime. From 1994, it became the focal point in a large-scale urban regeneration project and the promotion of a 'social mix' policy as a means of balancing the area from an socio-economic

perspective.

While this involved the reconstruction of elements of the buildings surrounding the square, the conversion of the public space of the square formed a central feature of this regeneration project. In summary, this involved the removal of traffic from the east side of the square and the replacement of a soft-landscaped central 'traffic island' with a hard-landscaped plaza so as to improve the pedestrian environment of the square (Figure 3.9).

Secondary Sources: London, Dublin and Amsterdam

Secondary data, such as policy documents, bye-laws, legislation and other forms of official documentation were used as an initial means of examining each case study. The secondary data used in each city is outlined in detail below. The details below are also summarised in Table 3.8.

Secondary Sources, London

Broader Urban Policy in the UK: New Labour's Approach to urban change:

The promotion of an 'Urban Renaissance' became a key element of New Labour's urban policy throughout the late 1990s and first half of the 2000's. Three key documents were examined to gain a further understanding of New Labour's urban policies: *Urban Taskforce: Towards a Strong Urban Renaissance (1999), The Urban White Paper: Our Towns and Cities: The Future (2000), and Towards a Strong Urban Renaissance: An Independent Report by members of the Urban Taskforce (2005).* These documents outlined the approach taken to urban change by the New Labour government in Britain from 1997 onwards. In particular, they highlighted the perceived importance of design and the overall appearance of the public spaces in achieving standards in urban areas that were perceived to be similar to those of other European countries.

GLA Policy Documents

Several policy documents that were specific to London were drawn on. These

included *London Cultural Capital: Realising the Potential of a World Class City (2004a) and The London Plan (2004b).* The focus on design and public space in these documents was of particular note in relation the promotion of London's cultural economy. These were supplemented by *Design for a Greater London* and *The Mayor's 100 Public Spaces Programme* (2003) and *Making Space for Londoners* (2002a). These documents further supplemented the perspectives outlined in the above mentioned documents, outlining specific details about design, safety and quality of life in London's public spaces.

Squares Annual Reports 2002-2007

The Squares Annual Report for Trafalgar Square and Parliament Square Garden provided information on the general management and control of Trafalgar Square. While earlier reports outlined plans to alter the square, more recent reports have highlighted the role of events within the square along with its day-to-day management.

Westminster City Council Documents:

The *World Squares for All Masterplan* (1998) was used as a means of gathering background data about the redevelopment of Trafalgar Square. It gave a detailed outline of the physical alterations including a traffic management plan and details of the insertion of a new staircase between the centre of the square and the north terrace.

The *West End Public Spaces* (2001) document provided valuable information in relation to the official ordering of urban public space in Westminster. Although it was not focused on Trafalgar Square, it provided a background context to contemporary trends in public space management in London, including the promotion of street wardens and constant interaction between policing and local business.

Peckham Partnership Single Regeneration Budget (SRB)

The Peckham Partnership was established through funding from the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB). Its aims were to oversee the regeneration of Peckham through a combination of public and private funding. *A Bid for Single Regeneration Funding* (1994) outlined details of the establishment of the Peckham Partnership and its funding. The *Peckham Partnership Masterplan* (1995) outlined the promotion of safe and accessible public space as part of the overall regeneration of the area.

Parliamentary Acts

Several Parliamentary Acts were used as a means of gathering background information to supplement reports, or bye-laws. For example, *The Greater London Authority Act* (1999) was consulted to examine details regarding the establishment of the GLA, including the transfer of the management of Trafalgar Square and Parliament Square to its care in 2000. Other acts were used as a means of understanding the governance of particular activities in public space. These include the *Criminal Justice and Police Act* (HMSO, 2001) in the UK, which allowed local authorities to control the consumption of alcohol in designated public spaces. The *City of London (Various Powers) Act 1967, Chapter xlii* provided background information on the establishment of rights of way through Paternoster Square.

Corporation of London

The section of the *Unitary Development Plan 2002* entitled *St Paul's and Monument Views: Supplementary Planning Guidance* provided information on the regulation of heights in the area surrounding St. Paul's Cathedral. This had a direct impact on the building of Paternoster Square.

Open Space Bye-laws

The bye-laws relevant to each of the public spaces in London were analysed. These were as follows: *The Royal Parks and Other Open Spaces Regulations* (1997), *London Borough of Southwark Open Space Bye-laws* (1996), *City of*

Westminster Open Space Bye-laws (1996) *Greater London Authority Trafalgar Square and Parliament Square Garden (Amendment No: 1) Bye-laws* (2002), *City of Westminster Bye-laws to Prevent the Feeding of Birds* (2007). *Corporation of London City Walkways Bye-laws* (1974). The bye-laws were a valuable source of information on the regulation of public space

Unpublished Documents

Through contact with members of the Squares Management Team, who have direct responsibility for the day-to-day running of Trafalgar Square, a copy of a document outlining the role of the Heritage Wardens was obtained. This source gave details of the officially sanctioned day-to-day duties of the Heritage Wardens on Trafalgar Square.

Secondary Sources, Dublin

Dublin City Council/ Dublin Corporation:

The *O'Connell Integrated Area Plan* (IAP) (1998) provided detailed information on the plans to transform the street by Dublin Corporation in the late 1990s. It outlined the desire to alter its physical, social and economic profile of the street. It also gave background details to desire to find a replacement monument for Nelson's Column.[2]

A New Monument for O'Connell Street: International Competition for a New Symbol for Dublin (Dublin Corporation and Royal Institute of Architects in Ireland, 1998) gave background details for the competition that resulted in the construction of the Spire of Dublin, including location, site context and desired role of the new monument.

Architectural Conservation Area and *Scheme of Special Planning Control*

These documents gave details of the designation of O'Connell Street as both an

[2] Dublin Corporation became Dublin City Council in 2001

Architectural Conservation Area (2001) and *Scheme of Special Planning Control* (2003). The establishment of an area as a Scheme of Special Planning Control is dependent on the designation of the area as a Architectural Conservation Area. These documents therefore provided direct information on the connection between architectural conservation and the desire for an up-scaling of land-use on O'Connell Street.

The *Historic Area Rejuvenation Plan (H.A.R.P)* document provided detailed information on the planned renewal of the area between O'Connell Street and Collin's Barracks in Dublin. As well as providing information on the role of public space in the plan, it also provided information related to the designation of Smithfield as one of the key sites in the redevelopment of the area.

Custom House Docks Development Authority/Dublin Docklands Development Authority

The original *Custom House Docks Development Scheme* (1987) provided background context to the initial development of the Custom House Docks area. The *Custom House Docks Development Planning Scheme* (1994) gave more detailed information for the plans for the second phase of the regeneration of the area. Although the details of the plans were to change at a later stage, it gave background information on the focus on Mayor Square as a central public space in the redevelopment of the area.

Parliamentary Acts

In the Dublin case studies, several Parliamentary Acts provided background information on the transformation of urban space through the designation of particular areas for tax incentives and promotion. The *Urban Renewal Act* (1986) (DOE) combined with the *Finance Act* (1986) provided information on the establishment of 'designated areas' in Dublin, which included the Custom House Docks. Further to this, The *Urban Renewal Act* (1998) provided information on the preparation of Integrated Area Plans (IAPs) by local authorities. *The Local*

Government (Business Improvement District) Act (2006) was used as a means of enquiring in to the remit of the recently established Business Improvement District (BID) in Dublin.

Other Documents

Dublin City Centre BID Company (2007) *Dublin City Centre BID Proposal.* This document outlined the aims and objectives of the recently established Business Improvement District in Dublin City Centre.

Bye-laws

The *Parks and Open Spaces Bye-Laws* (2002) provided detailed information on the regulation of urban public space in Dublin that is under the control of Dublin City Council. The recent introduction of the *Prohibition of Consumption of Intoxicating Liquor on Roads and in Public Places) Bye-Laws* (2008) provided background information on the introduction of a city-wide ban on the consumption of alcohol in public space.

Secondary Sources, Amsterdam

Policy

Accessing information relating to the direct forms of urban policy was carried out through the interviews with officials with responsibility for each of the three public spaces. From a broader perspective, wider policy relating to 'social mix' through the 'Big Cities Policy' of the 1990s was drawn from sources such as Premius et al. (1997; 1999), Stead and Hoppenbrouwer, (2004) and Aalbers et al., (2005). Policy in relation to the development of the Zuidas was drawn from the work of Salet and Majoor (2005), and Majoor, (2007). The impacts of these policies are dealt with in further detail in Chapter 4.

Primary Sources: London, Amsterdam and Dublin

As outlined above, the collection of primary data was required for two distinct reasons. The first is related to a need to carry out a more thorough examination

of the official reordering of each public space than that provided through the secondary data. This was of particular importance for the Amsterdam case studies where interviews with professionals involved in each space were used as a means of supplementing secondary data gathered from academic papers on planning policy and the reordering of public space.

The second reason was related to a need to use primary data collection as a means of examining the day-to-day nature of each public space being studied. This included observation, informal interaction, and on-street interviews. The fieldwork was carried out between 2005 and 2006. The first phase of primary data collection was carried out in London between June and August 2005. This was followed by a period of primary data collection in Amsterdam between April and May 2006, followed by Dublin between June and August 2006.

Interviews: City Officials, Planners, Managers, Designers, and Architects

While the policy documentation and regulations outlined above, and summarised in Table 3.8, provided background information on each of the case study sites, the level of detail required regarding planning, design and management of each space made it necessary to identify key individuals to interview regarding each location. The respondents were selected based on their having a direct involvement in the transformations to the public space in question. These ranged from planning-officials with direct responsibility for the regeneration of public space to management-personnel responsible for the day-to-day upkeep of public space. While efforts were made to make initial contacts with key individuals, a certain amount of snow-balling, in which a respondent would indicate another potential respondent, was also used as a means of sourcing respondents in each city. As the structures in place varied between each space, the functions of the individuals selected for interview also varied (Table 3.4 – 3.6). Contact was initially made with potential respondents through either a letter or an e-mail, which outlined the purposes of the research. This was followed up in the following weeks by a phone-call. Interviews were generally carried out in the office of the

respondent, or within a meeting room in their offices. An outline of the interview questions is included in Appendix 1.

As a means of identifying the interviews with key officials in each space, each interview was given the prefix of the name of the public space and the letter 'I' for Interview. This differentiated this block of interviews from the less formalised on - street interviews which are outlined below. With the exception of one interviewee, all interviews with key-officials were recorded. The interviews were subsequently and transcribed (Richards, 2005) and coded. While the coding identified the outline in terms of the desired outcome in each space, it was also used as a means of examining patterns and commonalities between each of the spaces being studied.

The interviews with key-officials in London were carried out between June and August 2005. These are detailed in Table 3.4:

Table 3.4: Interviews with Officials in London

Position/Role	***Information obtained***
Trafalgar Square	
Foster and Partners: Project Architect for Trafalgar Square alterations	Background of the design process for the physical alterations to Trafalgar Square
Atkins and Partners Engineering and Design Consultants: Principle Urban designer involved in Trafalgar Square alterations	Further information on design process and details of negotiations involved in carrying out alterations to Trafalgar Square
Planning Division, Westminster City Council: Senior Planning Official	Background information relating to *World Squares for All Study* For Trafalgar Square
Paternoster Square	
Whitfield Partners Architects firm: Senior Partner	Information regarding design philosophy for Paternoster Square
Broadgate Estates: Estate Manager, Paternoster Square	Detail of day-to-day management of Paternoster Square
Peckham Square	
Southwark Council: Group interview with employees of Southwark Council involved in planning and design of Peckham Square	Details of design and layout of Peckham Square
John McAslan and Partners Architects: Senior Partner involved in original design of Peckham Square	Information on design of Peckham Arch as original feature of Peckham Square
Alsop Architects: Senior Partner involved in design of Peckham Library	Background details regarding construction of Peckham Library on Peckham Square
Peckham Programme: Senior Official	Details regarding role of Peckham Square as a central feature of Southwark Council's regeneration strategy

The interviews with key-officials in Dublin were carried out between June and August 2006. These are detailed in Table 3.5 below:

Table 3.5: Interviews with officials in Dublin

Position/Role	*Information obtained*
O'Connell Street	
Dublin City Council: Planner involved in O'Connell Street IAP	Planning context for the alterations to O'Connell Street
Dublin City Council: Project Architect for O'Connell Street IAP	Design context for alterations to O'Connell Street
Dublin City Business Association: Senior Figure	Outline of desires to transform city centre for benefit of business
Smithfield Square	
Dublin City Council: Planning Officer involved in Smithfield	Planning context for alterations to Smithfield
McGarry Ní Éanaigh architects Senior Partner involved in the redesign of Smithfield Square	Details of design brief and design solution for Smithfield Square
Dublin City Council: Events manager	Details of events organisation in Dublin City Council, with focus on Smithfield Square
Dublin City Council: Senior Official, Architects Division	Details of aspirations for the design of Smithfield. Also included wider discussion about transformation of the city centre
Mayor Square	
Dublin Docklands Development Authority: Former Director of Planning and Services	Details of design background and context for IFSC Phase II with a focus on Mayor Square
Derek Tynan Architects/Urban Projects: Senior Partner	Details of the design philosophy and design implementation of Mayor Square
Anthony Reddy and Associates Architects and Urbanism: Senior Partner	Further details relating to the design philosophy of Mayor Square
Integrated Facilities Management Services (IFMS): Senior Management Personnel	Day to day management and control of Mayor Square

The interviews with key-officials in Amsterdam were carried out between March and May 2006. As well as providing information on each individual space, these interviews also provided information on the wider-context of planning for public space in Amsterdam. These are summarised in Table 3.6 below.[3]

Table 3.6: Interviews with Officials in Amsterdam

Position/Role	***Information obtained***
Dam Square	
Senior Partner of Simon Sprietsma Architects, the architects responsible for alterations to Dam Square	Details of design philosophy for alterations to Dam Square in 2000
Senior Official with Planning Division, Stadsdeel Amsterdam Centrum.	Details of planning and implementation of alterations to Dam Square, including information on public space policy in Amsterdam during the last decade
Mercatorplein	
Interview with Wytze Patijn, architect for transformation of the square in 1998	Detail of the alterations to the square, including the rebuilding of the north side
Planning official with Stadsdeel, De Baarsjes	Details of transformations made to Mercatorplein and its surroundings along with its day-to-day management
Former Alderwoman with the Stadsdeel De Baarsjes	Wider background details regarding urban regeneration in De Baarsjes
Events manager with Stichteen Beheer Mercatorplein	Details regarding the day-to-day management of Mercatorplein, including details regarding cannabis and alcohol regulation
Zuidplein	
Urban design supervisor for Zuidas area	Details of planning and design of the Zuidas area
Urban designer with Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening (DRO) (Physical Planning Department)	Details of design philosophy for the Zuidplein, including details of its construction

[3]In one case, where time constraints did not allow for an interview to be carried out, a representative of Stadsdeel Zuideramstel involved in Zuidplein responded to questions by e-mail.

On-site fieldwork: Observation, Photographic Record and 'On-Street' Interviews

A second aspect of the primary data collection involved an analysis of the day-to-day activities in each of the spaces being investigated. This included on-site observation of everyday activities at various times of the day. As well as providing background context to the on-street interviews, it also provided a context for the interviews with key officials in each space. Depending on the particular context, less formalised contacts were also made in different spaces. This was of particular note in Peckham, which had a high amount of 'regular' usage. Observations were recorded by note-taking and a detailed photographic record of each space at different times of the day.

Access

For Lofland and Lofland (1995, 32), accessing a public space for the purposes of research is relatively unproblematic: "if a setting is public and open, that is, defined in law and tradition as a place where "anyone" has the right to be, it is a very simple matter to enter it for the purposes of doing research." For them, it is a case of entering a public space and beginning the process of observation (*ibid*). However, in practice, there are several restrictions to this approach. Of particular note in this regard was the issue of access in relation to privately owned 'public' spaces. While issues of access were not so problematic in terms of observation, permission was necessary in order to carry out the on-street interviews in both privately owned public spaces that had been selected as case studies (Paternoster Square and Mayor Square). Although access was granted, it illustrated the limitations to the designation of such areas as 'public space'.[4] Issues of access were also highlighted in relation to the photographic record, which is outlined below.

Photographic Record

A detailed photographic record was kept of each public space. The photographic

[4] At the beginning of the London fieldwork access was requested to examine the role of public space in Canary Wharf. However, given that the on-street interviews were not allowed in Canary Wharf, Paternoster Square was instead selected as a case study.

record served two functions which are directly related to each other. First, it provided a means of recording design and planning details of each public space. This entailed making a detailed record of the physical features in each public space, including seating, monuments and surrounding buildings. It also allowed for a record to be kept of the temporary transformation of public spaces for the display of events and art installations. Secondly, a visual record of activities taking place in each public space was kept. This supplemented the informal observation of activities taking place in each space.

The use of images raised a number of issues, which needed to be addressed. This included both a degree of appropriateness along with officially-enforced restrictions on taking photographs. Of particular note in the latter were the restrictions imposed on taking photographs in Mayor Square and Paternoster Square, which are both privately owned and managed public spaces. In the example of Mayor Square, this restriction was not known about until the final day of fieldwork when it was enforced by a security guard. Therefore, it did not have any significant impact on the photographic record. In the example of Paternoster Square, restrictions were actively enforced in the aftermath of the London bombings of July 7th 2005. However, they only pertained to the recording of particular parts of the square.[5]

Care was also taken when carrying out observation so as to avoid making users of each public space feel uneasy. This in itself raised other issues relating to the relationship between a researcher and the subject in that it resulted in a certain amount of deception in terms of observation within public space. For Lofland and Lofland (1995, 47) this was quite normal for both 'known' and 'unknown' researchers: "The perception that you, the researcher, are deceiving the people you are studying and the resulting anxiety over possible disclosure of that deception seems to be the emotional stress most characteristic of unknown

[5] In the aftermath of the London bombings of July 7th 2005, security measures restricted the use of photography within Paternoster Square. The general fears associated with security issues on Paternoster Square in the aftermath of the London bombings will be outlined in further detail in Chapter 6.

investigators." The degree to which such concerns were highlighted varied according to the specific context. For example, while the camera becomes 'hidden' amongst other cameras in more central spaces such as Trafalgar Square, Dam Square and O'Connell Street, it is more evident in places such as Peckham Square and Mercatorplein that are away from the central tourist-orientated spaces of the city. The use of the camera was therefore highly dependent on the specifics of both the place and the moment in which it is being used. It also highlighted particular biases of research, in that its use in particular circumstances was dictated by assumptions regarding its suitability or social acceptance. A certain degree of discretion was therefore learned and implemented throughout the period of fieldwork regarding the wider use of photography.

On-Street Interviews

Following from the informal observations, informal interviews were carried out with users in each space. The interviews were aimed at gaining further information on activities that were observed within each space, but were also aimed at gaining an insight into wider opinions and individual thoughts on public space. While the interviews were of an informal nature, challenges still arose in terms of selecting a methodology that resulted in capturing as wide a selection of users as possible. The Trafalgar Square and Peckham Square case studies were therefore used as pilot studies to test out interview techniques. Initially, interviews were carried out with users in each of these two urban spaces by selecting users who were either sitting or were observed to be actively using the space. However, this soon presented a number of issues. First, it was difficult to create a template for the selection of users without a large degree of pre-selection of respondents being implemented. Moreover, the selection of users spending time within the square also missed out on a core group of users, that of people who chose to use the square as a space in which to walk, and who would not choose to stay within the space over a prolonged period of time.

Based on the outcome of this pilot study, the method was therefore altered to one of selecting interviewees as they were walking through each space. This was carried out at several points within the square, so as to attempt to reduce the degree of pre-selection and as a means of interviewing users who were walking through the square and those who would spend more time in the square. The format of the on-street interviews presented a number of issues. Given the adopted procedure of stopping people on the street, it was not possible to predetermine the length that interviews would take. Interviews varied from as little as one or two minutes to up to twenty minutes. Therefore, a variable amount of interviews were required so as to build an in-depth account of the experience of each public space. Furthermore, from informal observation, it was evident that places such as Trafalgar Square, O'Connell Street and Dam Square had a higher number of users and would therefore require a greater number of interviews in order to gain an insight into the perspectives of different user groups. The number of interviews carried out in each space was also dependent on factors such as time available. As can be seen in the example of Mercatorplein, ten fewer interviews were carried out than originally planned. This was as a direct result of the limitation on the amount of time available for fieldwork in Amsterdam. The number of interviews carried out are outlined in Table 3.7.

Details of each respondents age cohort, sex and ethnic background were recorded. Each respondent was then labelled according to the name of the space in which they were interviewed along with the prefix 'C' for Conversation. This prefix was used as a means of distinguishing these less formal interviews from the more formal interviews with officials as outlined above.

The interviews were recorded, unless respondents requested otherwise. Given the large volume of interview data collected during the on-street interviews and, following Lofland and Lofland (1995), the data was analysed in the following manner: The interviews were listened to and key points were noted. Following this, information which was relevant to the study was transcribed. Data that was

not transcribed included questions from respondents about the nature of the study, or more general questions about the surrounding area. These parts of the interviews were recorded in an outline manner. Furthermore, if respondents gave a short answer, such as 'yes' or 'no', further detail was added indicating what they were discussing (Lofland and Lofland, 1995; Richards, 2005). This data was then used in conjunction with observational data from each public space as a means of understanding the day-to-day nature of public space.

The interview data was subsequently analysed and coded. Initially the coding sorted respondents according to broad 'types' of user in each space, which is outlined in Chapter 6 and in more detail in Chapter 7 and Appendix 5 to Appendix 13. Other details related to opinions about specific aspects of each space were also coded. This gave a comprehensive picture of both the types of users in each space, but also the more nuanced opinions of users in relation to the everyday use of public space.

Table 3.7: Numbers of On-Street Interviews

Space/Square	*Interview Numbers (Target)*	*Interview Numbers (Achieved)*
Paternoster Square	50	*50*
Trafalgar Square	75	75
Peckham Square	60	60
Mayor Square	50	50
O'Connell Street	60	60
Smithfield Square	50	50
Zuidplein	50	50
Dam Square	70	70
Mercatorplein	50	40
Totals	515	505

Short-Comings of Methodology

While the background information on urban policy in the Amsterdam case studies provided by both secondary material, such as academic papers, and primary source material such as interviews, gave an insight into the transformation of each area in which case studies are located, the information gathered for both London and Dublin allowed for a more in-depth analysis of the background context of each space. However, the data gathered from the case studies in Amsterdam allowed for a more rich and varied analysis to be carried out on the nature of urban public space in contemporary European cities.

The language barrier also became a slight impediment to the research during the on-street interviews in Amsterdam. This was of particular note in the Mercatorplein case study. The data gathered in the Mercatorplein case study still allowed for an insight into daily life within public space. Moreover, while the on-street interviews provided an insight into everyday life in public space, time and resources limited the extent to which such experiences could be examined on a broader level. While a broader examination of the everyday-use of public space could enquire into these issues in more detail, this would require a more in-depth analysis of public space on a much broader level within city-regions.

Conclusion:

The methods employed enabled each public space to be examined and analysed from multiple perspectives. The more 'official' data gave detailed information about the role of the planning, design and management functions in the production of urban public space. The observation, interaction and on-street interviews within each space furthered the analysis in that it gave an overview of how users interact with public space, both in terms of their interaction with their physical surroundings, but also with other users within that space. This allowed a balanced and detailed analysis to be made of each of the case study sites. A summary of the methods is outlined in Table 3.8.

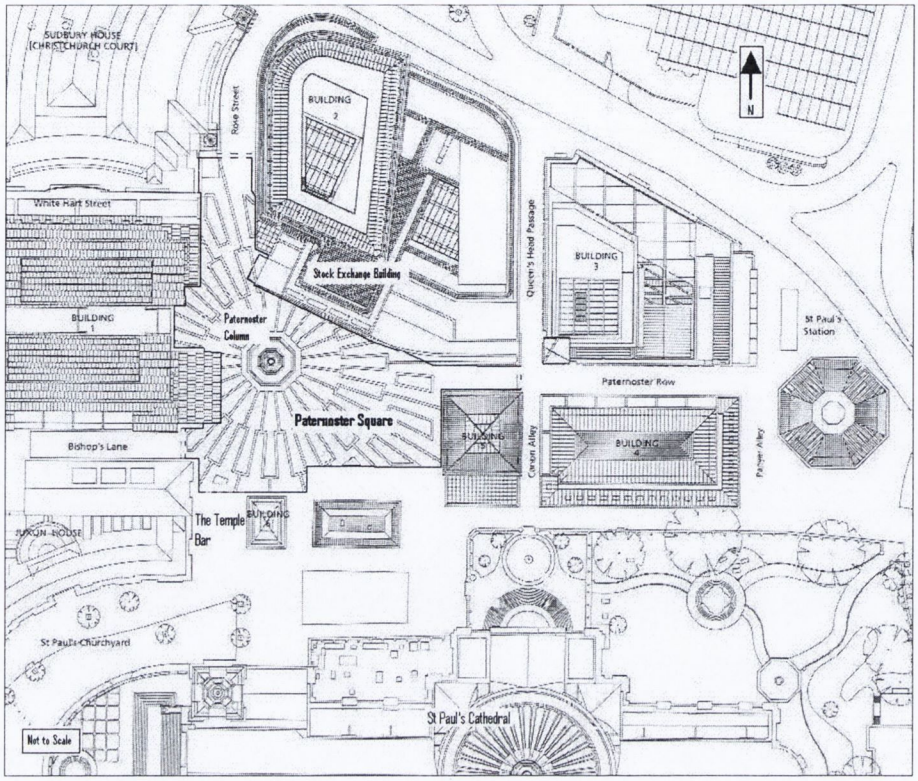


Figure 3.1: Layout Plan of Paternoster Square London. Source, Jackson, 2003, 59 (Architectural Drawing, Scale unknown)

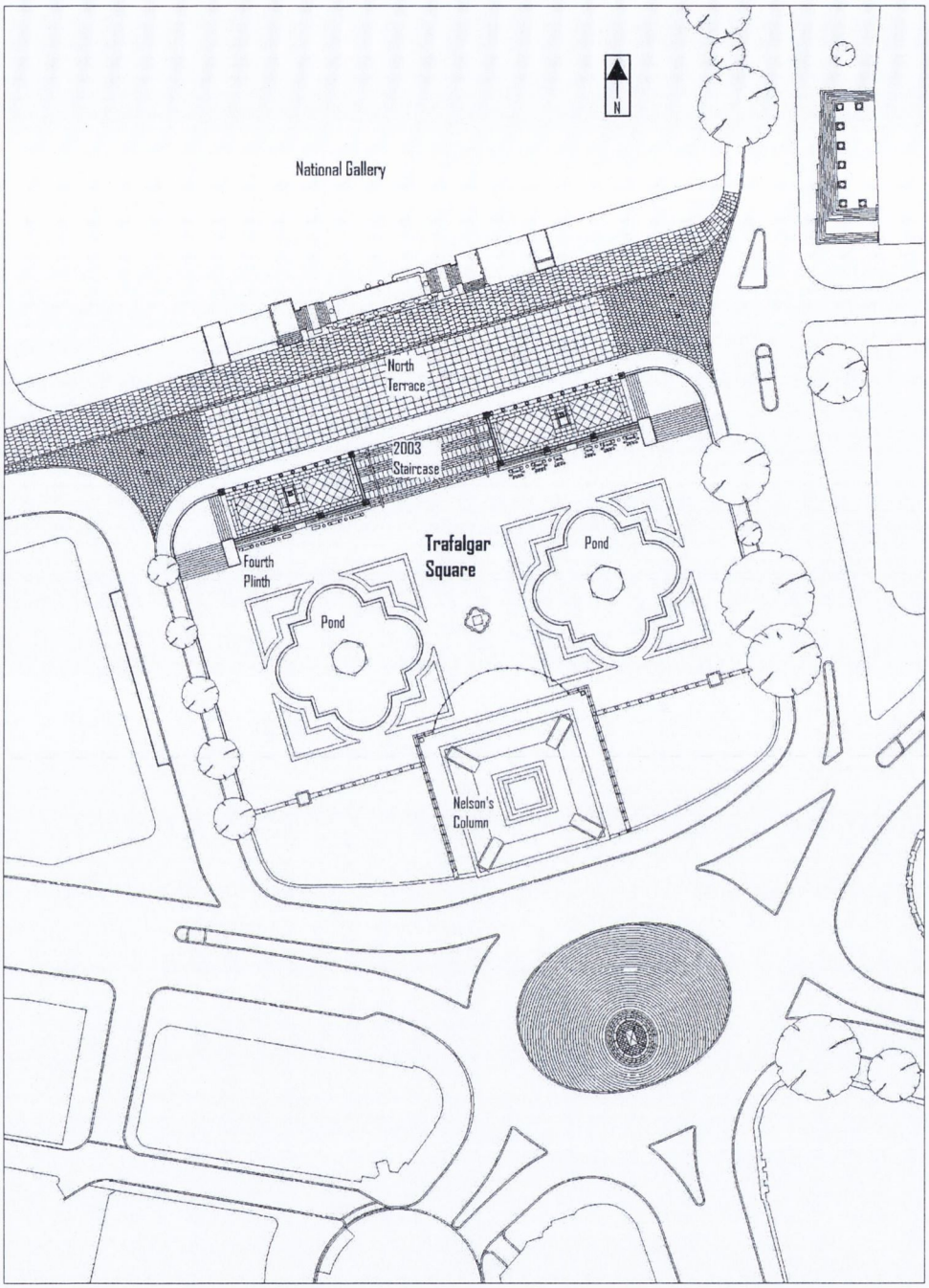


Figure 3.2: Layout Plan of Trafalgar Square, London. Source: Courtesy of Foster & Partners(Architectural Drawing, Scale unknown)

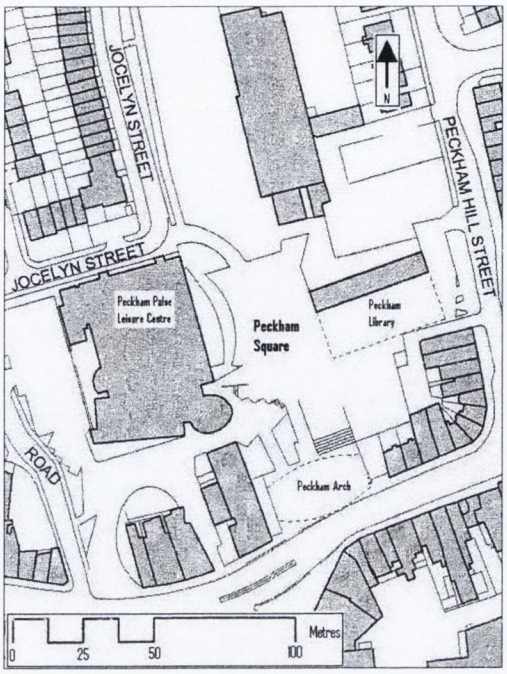


Figure 3.3: Layout Plan of Peckham Square, London. Source, Cities Programme, London School of Economics

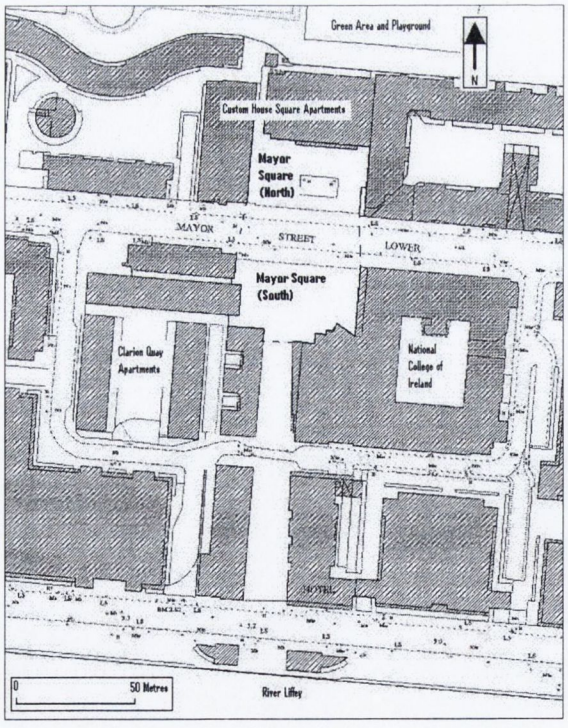


Figure 3.4: Layout Plan of Mayor Square, Dublin. Source, Ordnance Survey Ireland

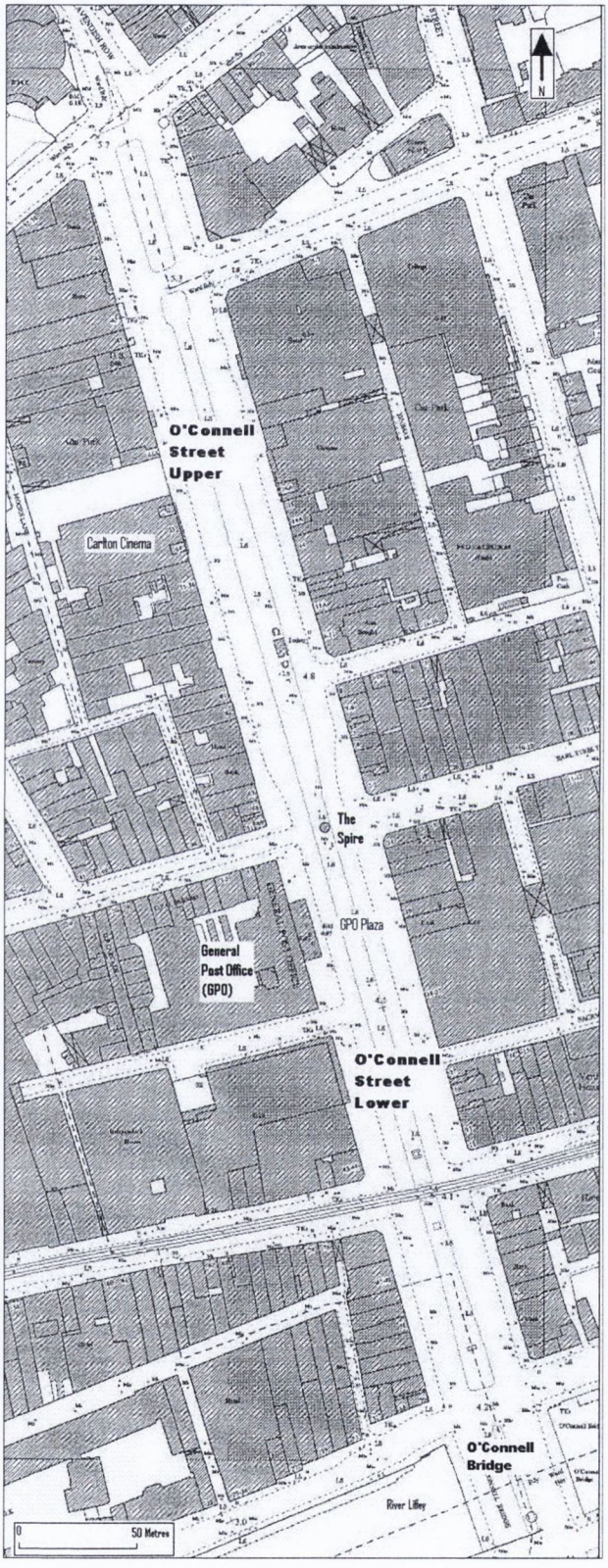


Figure 3.5: Layout Plan of O'Connell Street, Dublin. Source, Ordnance Survey Ireland

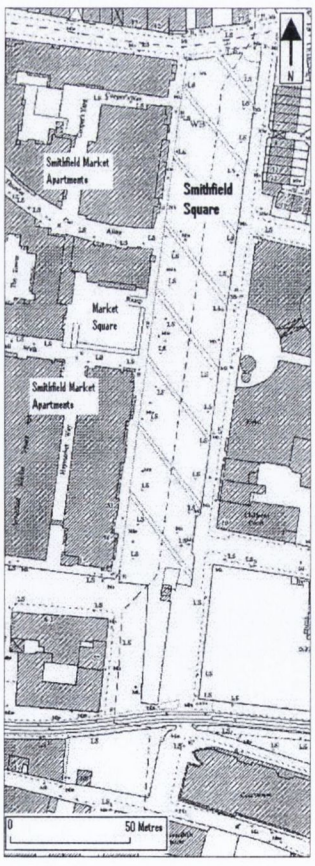
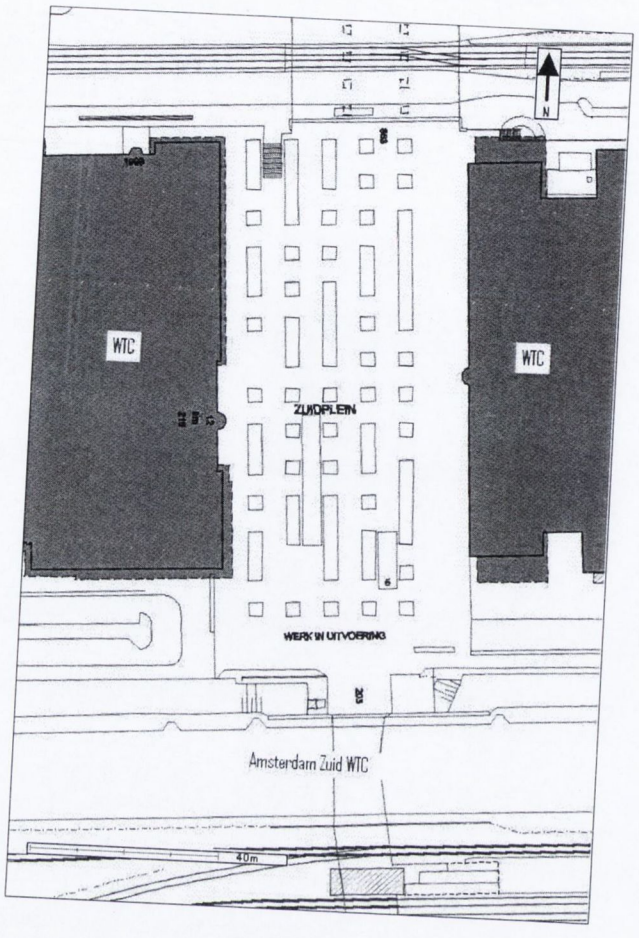


Figure 3.6: Layout Plan of Smithfield Square, Dublin. Source, Ordnance Survey Ireland



t Plan of Zuidplein, Amsterdam. SourceGeo en Vastgoedinformatie, Amsterdam: www.atlas.amsterdam.nl

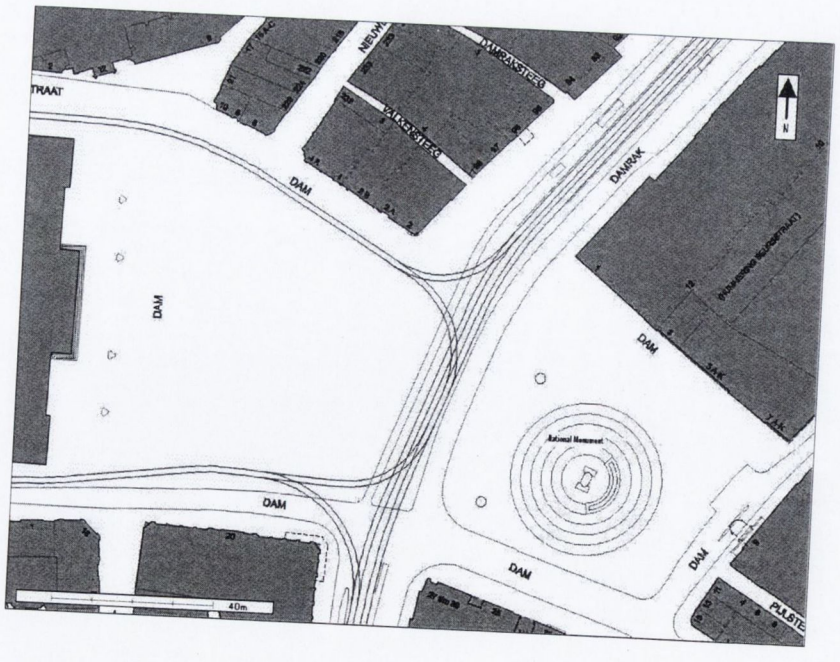
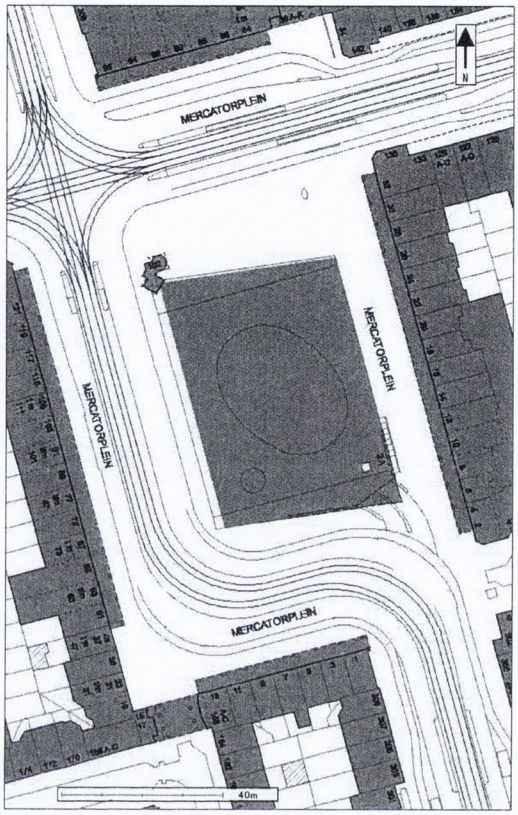


Figure 3.8: Layout Plan of Dam Square, Amsterdam. SourceGeo en Vastgoedinformatie, Amsterdam: www.atlas.amsterdam.nl



t Plan of Mercatorplein, Amsterdam.
SourceGeo en Vastgoedinformatie,
Amsterdam: www.atlas.amsterdam.nl

Table 3.8: Methods Summary

Methods Employed for London Case Studies		
UK Urban Policy Documents: New Labour and the 'Urban Renaissance'		
Source	***Background***	***Use***
(DETR) (2000) *Our Towns and Cities: The Future*, (The Urban White Paper)	Policy document relating to New Labour's aspirations for urban change from 2000 onwards	Background information on wider urban policy in the UK
Urban Taskforce: Towards a Strong Urban Renaissance *Final Report of the Urban Task Force*	Further elaboration on above policy detailing the 'urban renaissance' in the UK	Details of importance of public space as feature of urban regeneration in the UK
Towards a Strong Urban Renaissance *An independent report by members of the Urban Task Force (2005)*	Independent report upon termination of The Urban Taskforce in 2005	Further elaboration on role of public space in urban regeneration in the UK
GLA Official Documents		
Making Space for Londoners: 100 Public Spaces (2002a)	Details of plan for the regeneration of 100 public spaces in London with a focus on first 10 pilot spaces	Background information on role of urban public space within the GLA
London Cultural Capital: Realising the Potential of a World Class City (2004)	Ten year plan launched by the Mayor of London to promote London's creative and cultural economy	Highlighted importance of public space as a means of promoting cultural economy of London

The London Plan (2004)	Section of the London Plan outlining importance of good design and public space to the economy of London	Placed public space in the context of wider aspirations of GLA
Squares Annual Reports, 2002-2008	Details of relevant information regarding Trafalgar Square from 2002 until 2008. Information on various alterations taking place in each year and aspirations for the coming years	Background context and general information regarding ongoing alterations to Trafalgar Square and role of events
Westminster City Council Official Documents		
World Squares for All Masterplan (1998)	Original masterplan outlining aspirations to alter Trafalgar Square, Parliament Square and surroundings from 1998	Background information, including various organisations and individuals involved in changes to Trafalgar Square
West End Public Spaces (2001)	Document detailing day-to-day management of public spaces in Westminster	Information on everyday management of urban public space in Westminster, including Trafalgar Square.
Corporation of London		
Unitary Development Plan 2002, St Paul's & Monument Views: Supplementary Planning Guidance	Details of control of heights in the City of London	General background information on the redevelopment of Paternoster Square
Peckham Partnership		
A Bid for Single Regeneration Funding (1994)	Details of bid for Single Regeneration Budget and background to founding of Peckham Partnership	Economic and social context of Peckham and Southward in early to mid 1990s along with proposed regeneration aims and methods
The Peckham Parnership Masterplan (1995)	Details of proposed changes to Peckham upon set-up of Single Regeneration Budget	Background details including figures and breakdown of funding sources

Parliamentary Acts, United Kingdom/London		
Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001, Chapter 16	Act governing the consumption of alcohol in public spaces	Details of the regulation of the consumption of alcohol in Trafalgar Square
City of London (Various Powers) Act 1967, Chapter xlii	Act granting the right of way through areas designated as 'City Walkway' in the City of London	Details of legal protection of rights of way in Paternoster Square
Greater London Authority Act 1999	Act of Parliament establishing the Greater London Authority	Background details regarding the GLA
Bye-laws		
The Royal Parks and Other Open Spaces Regulations (1997)	Byelaws regulating Trafalgar Square prior to GLA	Information related to the shift in power and associated alterations to byelaws
City of Westminster Open Space Byelaws (1996)	Byelaws governing public space within Westminster.	Details of byelaws for the north terrace of Trafalgar Square
Trafalgar Square and Parliament Square Garden (Amendment No: 1) Byelaws (2002)	Byelaws governing the regulations of Trafalgar Square (and Parliament Square)	Details of prohibited activities on Trafalgar Square
London Borough of Southwark *Open Space Byelaws* (1996)	Byelaws governing the various open spaces in Southwark, including Peckham Square	Regulations relating to Peckham Square
Westminster City Council: *Byelaws to Prevent the Feeding of Birds,* (2007)	Byelaws introduced in response to movement of pigeon feeding from central plaza of Trafalgar Square to the north terrace	Details on introduction of byelaws governming the feeding of pigeons on the north terrace in 2007

Unpublished Documents		
Heritage Warden Document (2005)	Document outlining role of Heritage Wardens on Trafalgar Square	Information on day-to-day responsibilities and duties of Heritage Wardens
Interviews with planning officials, architects and management personnel: London		
Trafalgar Square I 1	Project architect with Foster & Partners Architects for Trafalgar Square alterations	Background of the design process for the physical alterations to Trafalgar Square
Trafalgar Square I 2	Senior Urban Designer, Atkins & Partners Engineering and Design Consultants	Further information on design process and details of negotiations involved in carrying out alterations
Trafalgar Square I 3	Senior official of City Planning Division, Westminster City Council	Background information relating to *World Squares for All Study*
Paternoster Square I 1	Senior partner, Whitfield Partners Architects	Information regarding design philosophy for Paternoster Square
Paternoster Square I 2	Estate Manager, Broadgate Estates	Detail of day-to-day management of Paternoster Square
Peckham I 1	Group interview with a number of employees of Southwark Council involved in planning and design of Peckham Square	Details of design and layout of Peckham Square
Peckham I 2	Interview with senior partner of John McAslan and Partners Architects	Information on design of Peckham Arch as original feature of Peckham Square
Peckham I 3	Interview with senior partner of Alsop Architects	Background details regarding construction of Peckham Library on Peckham Square
Peckham I 4	Interview with senior official of the Peckham Programme	Details regarding role of Peckham Square as a central feature of Southwark Council's regeneration strategy

Informal Observation		
	Informal observation of activities taking place within each public space	Details of activities and control of activities in each public space. Also served to inform questions for various interviews
Photographic Record		
	Detailed photographic record of each public space being studied	
On-Street Interviews		
	Informal interviews with users of each of the three public spaces in London Trafalgar Square: 75 Paternoster Square: 50 Peckham Square: 60	Everyday use, attachment to place and personal trajectorie
Methods Employed for Dublin Case Studies		
Parliamentary Documents Department of Environment and Local Government		
Urban Renewal Act 1986	Act outlining parameters of urban renewal in Dublin for late-1980s and 1990s	Background information on urban renewal in Dublin

Urban Renewal Act 1998	Act governing urban renewal in Ireland in the late 1990s and early 2000s	Background information on the introduction of Integrated Area Planning (IAP)
Local Government (Business Improvement Districts) Act 2006	Act introducing the designation of areas within Irish cities as Business Improvement Districts (BIDs)	Background information on introductiong of the BID model to Ireland and Dublin
CHDDA/DDDA		
Custom House Docks Dublin Planning Scheme (1987)	Original planning scheme for regeneration of Dublin's docks in the late 1980s	Background context for transformation of Docklands area
Custom House Docks Development Authority Planning Scheme (1994)	Second phase of transformation to docklands area	Includes original proposal for Mayor Square as focal point of second phase of IFSC
Dublin Corporation/Dublin City Council		
(1996) *Historic Area Rejuvenation Project (HARP)*	Document demarcating area to the west of O'Connell Street for urban regeneration	Promotion of Smithfield as a central feature of Dublin's urban renewal
O'Connell Street Integrated Area Plan (1998)	Plan indicating proposed alterations to physical and social make-up of O'Connell Street	Background information on changes to O'Connell Street
O'Connell Street Architectural Conservation Area, Final Report, July 2001	Designation of O'Connell Street as an Architectural Conservation Area	Details of connection between urban transformation and conservation
O'Connell Street and Environs Scheme of Special Planning Control (2003)	Designation of O'Connell Street as Area of Special Planning Control	Details of plans to alter image of O'Connell Street

Dublin City Development Plan 2005-2011	Background context to role of public space in Dublin City Council	
Dublin City Centre BID Proposal (2007)	Proposal to establish area within city centre as Business Improvement District	Detailed outline of the implementation of Dublin's Business Improvement District
Byelaws		
Dublin City Council Parks and Open Spaces Bye-Laws (2002)	Byelaws regulating open public spaces in Dublin under the control of Dublin City Council	Outlined details of activities prohibited in public space in Dublin
Prohibition of Consumption of Intoxicating Liquor on Roads and in Public Places Bye-Laws (2008)	Byelaws regulating the consumption of alcohol in public space in Dublin	Gave details of introduction of separate regulation of alcohol consumption in public space
Interviews with planning officials, architects and management personnel: Dublin		
O'Connell Street I 1	Senior figure with Dublin City Business Association	Outline of desires to transform city centre for benefit of business
O'Connell Street I 2	Planner for Dublin City Council involved in O'Connell Street IAP	Planning context for the alterations to O'Connell Street
O'Connell Street I 3	Project Architect for Dublin City Council involved in O'Connell Street IAP	Design context for alterations to O'Connell Street
Smithfield I 1	Planning Official with Dublin City Council	Planning context for alterations to Smithfield
Smithfield I 2	Senior Partner with McGarry Ní Éanaigh architects who worked on the redesign of Smithfield Square	Details of design brief and design solution for Smithfield Square

Smithfield I 3	Official from Events Section in Dublin City Council	Details of events organisation in Dublin City Council, with focus on Smithfield Square
Smithfield I 4	Senior Official with Architects Division, Dublin City Council	Details of aspirations for the design of Smithfield. Also included wider discussion about transformation of the city centre
Mayor Square I 1	Former Director of Planning and Services with the Dublin Docklands Development Authority	Details of design background and context for IFSC Phase II with a focus on Mayor Square
Mayor Square I 2	Senior Partner with Derek Tynan Architects/Urban Projects	Details of the design philosophy and design implementation of Mayor Square
Mayor Square I 3	Senior Partner with Anthony Reddy and Associates Architects and Urbanism	Further details relating to the design philosophy of Mayor Square
Mayor Square I 4	Employee of management team of Irish Facilities Management Services	Day to day management and control of Mayor Square
Informal Observation		
	Informal observation of activities taking place within each public space in Dublin	Details of activities and control of activities in each public space. Also served to inform questions for various interviews
Photographic Record		
	Detailed photographic record of each public space being studied in Dublin	

On-Street Interviews		
	Informal interviews with users of each of the three public spaces in Dublin O'Connell Street: 60 Mayor Square: 50 Smithfield: 50	Everyday use, attachment to place and personal trajectories
Methods Employed for Amsterdam Case Studies		
Policy Overview		
Broader Policy Context	Drawn from a number of secondary sources: Includes analysis of topics such as urban restructuring, 'social mix' and diversity	Role of urban public space in terms of wider transformation of Amsterdam
Interviews with planning officials, architects and management personnel: Amsterdam		
Dam Square I 1	Senior Partner of Simon Sprietsma Architects, the architects responsible for alterations to Dam Square	Details of design philosophy for alterations to Dam Square in 2000
Dam Square I 2	Senior Official with Planning Division, Stadsdeel Amsterdam Centrum.	Details of planning and implementation of alterations to Dam Square, including background information on public space policy in Amsterdam during the last decade
Mercatorplein I 1	Interview with Wytze Patijn, architect for transformation of the square in 1998	Detail of the alterations to the square, including the rebuilding of the north side

Mercatorplein I 2	Planning official with Stadsdeel, De Baarsjes	Details of transformations made to Mercatorplein and its surroundings along with its day-to-day management
Mercatorplein I 3	Former Alderwoman with the Stadsdeel De Baarsjes	Wider background details regarding urban regeneration in De Baarsjes
Mercatorplein I 4	Events manager with Stichteen Beheer Mercatorplein	Details regarding the day-to-day management of Mercatorplein, including details regarding cannabis and alcohol regulation
Zuidplein I 1	Urban design supervisor for Zuidas area	Details of planning and design of the Zuidas area
Zuidplein I 2	Urban designer with Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening (DRO) (Physical Planning Department)	Details of design philosophy for the Zuidplein, including details of its construction
Informal Observation		
	Informal observation of activities taking place within each public space in Amsterdam	Details of activities and control of activities in each public space. Also served to inform questions for various interviews
Photographic Record		
	Detailed photographic record of each public space being studied in Amsterdam	
On-Street Interviews		
	Informal interviews with users of each of the three public spaces in Amsterdam Dam Square: 70 Zuidplein: 50 Mercatorplein: 40	Everyday use, attachment to place and personal trajectories

Chapter 4: Policy, Urban Change, and Public Space in London, Dublin and Amsterdam

Introduction

This chapter outlines the wider urban context of each of the selected case studies. Following from Chapter 2, it examines patterns of urban change and policy in London, Dublin and Amsterdam. It examines the impact of factors such as entrepreneurial approaches to planning the city along with wider social-change in each city. As with Chapter 2, the focus will be on the relationship between emerging patterns of urban change and public space. While some alterations to official treatments of public space have depended on broad socio-economic shifts in terms of planning the city, others have been influenced by themes related to the promotion of notions within planning such as 'liveability', 'diversity', and social mix. As a means of understanding the importance of context in terms of planning and urban change more generally, each city is examined separately. This allows for the location of urban public space within both policy and practice in each of the cities to be examined in greater detail. Thus, it highlights the particular manner in which public space is planned within each city, and whether it is dealt with in an implicit or explicit manner.

British Urban Policy and Urban Public Space

The early 1980s marked a departure in terms of policy orientation in the UK with the coming to power of the Thatcher-led conservative government. As discussed in Chapter 2, the creation of Enterprize Zones and the wider alterations to London's Docklands through the initiatives of Central Government resulted in large-scale alterations to the configuration urban space in the east-end of London, largely through property-led urban regeneration strategies. Although John Major largely followed the policies of his predecessor, the early 1990s also marked a subtle shift in terms urban policy (McGinn, 2004). For example, the Major years were marked by a shift in the approach to urban regeneration

towards partnership, community participation and empowerment (Imrie and Raco, 2003). This included the establishment of the City Challenge and Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund (SRB) (*Ibid*). Although the focus shifted back towards decision making at the local level, the Challenge Funds continued to promote regeneration through a market-led approach. More particularly, in the case of the SRB funding, this involved a competitive bidding process between various local authorities for funding. This was succinctly summarised by Maginn (2004, 22):

> "Applying for central government funding under the two main regeneration programmes, City Challenge and the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), introduced by John Major were akin to a 'beauty contest'. Put crudely, those who presented the glossiest and most attractive brochures outlining their regeneration proposal stood a good chance of winning funding."

A central facet of many SRB schemes was a focus on the physical environment, community safety, good design, and quality of life of all residents (Rhodes, Tyler and Brennan, 2003). While the SRB was continued under the New Labour government from 1997 onwards, it was altered to being based on needs rather than competitive bidding (Maginn, 2004). Inherent to the New Labour approach was an emphasis on an integrated approach to urban renewal. This has included measures aimed at addressing issues such as exclusion and and promoting community involvement (Imrie and Raco, 2003).

As a means of delivering urban regeneration, New Labour also established various agencies and think-tanks with responsibility for urban regeneration. This included the establishment of the Urban Taskforce and the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE). For Lees (2003a, 61), the emergence of bodies such as the Urban Taskforce can be directly associated with "a discourse of 'urban renaissance'". The term 'urban renaissance' has been used in recent years as a cover-all term for the creation of more 'liveable' and sustainable urban areas, based largely on the connection between 'good' urban design and a pre-conceived ideal of urban life. Thus, a primary aim of the Urban

Taskforce was to

> "...identify causes of urban decline and establish a vision for our cities, founded on the principles of design excellence, social wellbeing [*sic*] and environmental responsibility within appropriate delivery, fiscal and legal frameworks" (2005, 1).

As a means of promoting such an ideal, the original Urban Taskforce report of 1999 included a foreword from Pasqual Maragall, former Mayor of Barcelona, indicating how Barcelona had changed its image through the "improvement of her urban quality and international prestige" (DETR, 1999, 5). This was followed by a White Paper entitled *Our Towns and Cities: The Future* (DETR, 2000), which emphasised the role of design and quality of life within urban areas:

> "As Lord Rogers, the chairman of the Urban Taskforce, says, people make cities, but cities make citizens. The quality of life for this and future generations depends not just on how we live and work together, but also on the state of our towns and cities. An urban renaissance is vital" (Ibid, 5).

For many commentators, the vision of public space as pursued by the Urban Taskforce was driven by an idealised notion of the 'European city'. As pointed out by Atkinson (2004, 121), "...the desired urban renaissance was largely built on a European model of high quality urban public space and design using high density, mixed-use development to encourage what were felt to be more sustainable forms of community." The form this 'community' takes is made to seem harmonious, with public space that is "...evoked as a neutral space where all can come together unproblematically" (Amin et al., 2000, 4). Others have seen this vision as an impossibility, unless, of course it is based on the promotion of the city for one particular class grouping, or economic agenda through tourism and consumption. Lees (2003a), for example, sees this vision, and 'urban renaissance' policies in general, as symbolic of a creeping acceptance and promotion within official circles of gentrification as a means of urban regeneration. As indicated by the various policy documents (Urban Taskforce, 1999, 2005; DETR, 2000), together with Lees (2003a), changes to public space is both a mechanism and direct outcome of such processes. For example, as summarised

in *Towards A Strong Urban Renaissance, An Independent Report by members of the Urban Task Force* (2005, 5);

> "A key message of the Urban Task Force was that urban neighbourhoods should be vital, safe and beautiful places to live. This is not just a matter of aesthetics, but of economics. As cities compete with each other to host increasingly footloose international companies, their credentials as attractive, vibrant homes are major selling points. This demands that ever greater significance be given to the design and management of the public realm. Well designed and maintained public spaces should be at the heart of any community. They are the foundation for public interaction and social integration, and provide the sense of place essential to engender civic pride."

The importance of public space in terms of attracting and retaining particular industries and an increasingly transnational workforce has placed a greater emphasis on the role of management and the promotion of safety within public space within both policy and practice. The ideal of clean, safe and liveable communities is therefore promoted through various mechanisms of community policing:

> "Public space issues concern people of all ages in all areas. Litter, graffiti, fly-tipping, abandoned cars, the loss of play areas and footpaths are, for many, the top public service priority; and everyone has a part to play. There is a clear continuum from litter to more serious environmental crime. Left unchecked, dirty streets and neighbourhoods affect the perception of the local community, which can lead to anti-social behaviour and eventually serious crime. Using neighbourhood management and wardens can contribute to cleaner safer greener communities" (ODPM, 2005, 6-7).

In practice, this has involved a number of elements, including the incorporation of methods of design that are aimed at crime prevention, along with methods of surveillance, such as CCTV. However, the role of hands-on forms of management, through community wardens, has become a particularly striking aspect of urban policy in terms of public space during the last decade. Recent literature has begun to analyse critically the role of policing and securitisation in terms of public space (Helms et al., 2007). For example, for Raco (2007, the focus

on crime prevention invokes a restrictive ideal of community, where the very idea of the 'public' is based on notions of exclusion and division:

> "This form of empathic politics is put forward as a mechanism for the mobilization of collective imaginations within communities, with citizens asked to imagine what sorts of public spaces and users of public space would be desirable in their areas. It aims to foster divisive and relational imaginations of citizenship where citizens are asked to consider who might constitute uncontrollable and 'dangerous others'" (Raco, 2007, 316)

These issues highlight the tensions which have arisen in the constant drive to create more pedestrian-friendly spaces within towns and cities. This will be outlined with a direct focus on approaches to urban public space by both the GLA and Westminster City Council below.

Public Space Policies in London

As indicated above, much of the policy rhetoric of the 'urban renaissance' discourse has either explicitly or implicitly been infused with a particular ideal of urban public life. Since the early 2000s, the Greater London Authority (GLA) has promoted the importance of public space for achieving its various objectives aimed at placing London as a 'World City'. For example, in 2002, the then Mayor of London, Ken Livingston, launched what was seen originally as a 5-year plan for London's public spaces, entitled *Making space for Londoners - The Mayor's 100 public spaces programme* (2002a). In the opening paragraph of phase 1 of the plan the Mayor summarized his personal commitment to enhancing the public realm of London as follows:

> "Creating and managing high quality public space is essential to delivering an urban renaissance in London. I have always enjoyed walking through London's streets, squares and parks, but am frequently appalled by the shabby and neglected state of some of our public spaces" (GLA, 2002a, 1).

The transformation of London by the GLA therefore set out to involve key strategies in terms of improving quality of life which also directly involved the alteration and promotion of public space. The aspirations for public space within London were laid out as follows:

- A beautiful city, where spaces between buildings can inspire, excite and delight all its citizens
- A sustainable city, where walking and cycling are pleasant, safe, and as easy as driving
- A prosperous city, with business centres that can compete locally, nationally and internationally
- A connected city, where diverse individual spaces and places are linked together
- A safer city, where all are free from crime and fear of crime (GLA, 2002a, 2)

As discussed above, the focus on safety through the elimination of what is perceived as 'anti-social behaviour' has become a key element of the wider desire to alter public space in London. For example, in 2001, Westminster City Council published a document entitled *'West End Public Spaces: A Review of The Management Issues and a Strategy for the Future'*. In the opening page of the document, Westminster City Council (2001, 3) stated that:

> "clean, safe and orderly public places are vital to public confidence, and wants to take action against activities that degrade the quality of life in and around them. The recent lessons from Soho and Leicester Square are that pedestrianisation in the West End is linked to increased crime, illegal street trading, unlicensed tables and chairs, noise and other forms of anti-social behaviour, increased traffic and parking problems in adjoining streets, plus more rubbish. There has also been a general increase in large scale entertainment uses in the West End which further increases pedestrian numbers and potentially anti-social behaviour to the detriment of local residents and the overall quality of life."

The document went on to propose various means of tackling the various perceived problems, including the introduction of wardens to supplement the roles of the police, the connection between businesses, police, wardens and a CCTV control room (*Ibid,* 26). These measures were part of an overall strategy to try to control public space in a manner that made it feel safe and comfortable for use by pedestrians, at the same time curbing activities seen as anti-social, such as unlicensed trading and general disturbances (*Ibid*).

Wider Changes to Public Space in London

As discussed in Chapter 2, cities such as London have experienced far-reaching

transformations in recent years. While the example of Canary Wharf was drawn on as a prototypical example of contemporary alterations to urban public space within the context of a large-scale flagship development, public space has been a central element of wider transformations in London in recent years. With particular reference to the London borough of Southwark, this has included the extension of the South Bank to link with Bankside on the south side of the river Thames to form a continuous stretch of pedestrian walkway from London Bridge as far as Vauxhall. Furthermore, the insertion of pedestrian bridges flanking either side of the Hungerford bridge and the construction of the Millennium Bridge further highlights the measures taken to improve the pedestrian environment in London. A particularly striking aspect of public space in London in recent years, however, is the rise of privately-managed public spaces, and the impacts on the management of the wider public domain by privately orientated practices.



Figure 4.1: Finsbury Ave Square, Broadgate. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 4.2: Broadgate Arena. Photo by Author, 2005

While spaces such as Paternoster Square (in its post-war manifestation) typified the post-war 'high-modernist' approach to urban planning through its design and separation of functions (Chapter 5), the deregulation of the financial markets in mid-1980s (Hamnett, 2003) and the associated increase in demand for office-space witnessed the emergence of the a new form of office estate, which included events spaces and a 'softer' approach to urban design to actively encourage usage by 'the public'. Along with Canary Wharf (Chapter 2), the Broadgate development situated beside Liverpool Street train station on the

northern edge of the City of London represents a prototypical example of this form of development. Broadgate covers almost 30 acres and is connected to its surroundings through a network of streets and open spaces (Figure 4.1 and 4.2). From an urban design perspective, Broadgate has been appraised for the manner in which the way in which it is integrated with its surroundings. For example, for Carmona et al (2003, 54):

> "the Broadgate development provides a coherent addition to the City of London, is integrated into its context and creates a successful and coherent series of 'public' spaces. It illustrates the potential of the private sector to innovate and its ability to deliver quality outcomes."

However, critics of spaces such as Broadgate have pointed to their privatised nature and the manner in which the 'public' is controlled through the incorporation of private security to monitor every activity on a 24 hour basis[6]. For Milton (2006, 13), in direct reference to Broadgate:

> "The aim of both the design and level of security, according to a developer involved with the initial concept, was to 'create something inward looking', providing high earning employees with high class buildings and facilities in a location they wouldn't otherwise come to."

More recently, commercial districts or precincts have made further efforts to incorporate particular ideals of 'culture' and 'diversity' at the same time as creating a strictly-managed and controlled public realm.

The 'morelondon' development, which is situated in the Borough of Southwark to south west of Tower Bridge in London, can be seen as a prime example of this emerging urban typology. The location of 'morelondon' is in itself significant in that since the 1990s Southwark Council has employed high-profile mechanisms of urban regeneration, which have specifically utilised iconic architecture, urban design and urban public space as a regeneration tool. These have included the conversion of Bankside Power Station to the Tate Modern, and the construction of the Millennium Bridge (Teedon, 2001).

[6] The role of Broadgate Estates management company will be outlined in Chapter 5, with specific reference to Paternoster Square



Figure 4.3: GLA Headquarters with '...more diversity, more life, more art...' hoarding in 'morelondon' development. Photo by Author, 2005

During the fieldwork period in 2005, when the morelondon development was at a halfway stage in terms of the development, the surrounding hoardings enticed potential investors and visitors with slogans such as 'more diversity', 'more art' and 'more culture' (Figure 4.3). While the predominant use of the area is that of commercial offices, it is also a mixed-use area, and the location of the Unicorn theatre, the Hilton hotel and is also the location of the Greater London Authority (GLA) head offices (Figure 4.3). Public use is actively encouraged and pedestrian permeability is promoted as an essential element of the design of the area. Sticking with the theme of 'more diversity' and 'more art', a café spills out into the middle of a triangular-shaped plaza on the Tooley Street side of the development, with a figurative statue of a woodcutter located in a central location. Water flows down the side of 'miesian'-inspired black-polished granite ledges which along with the trees serve to 'soften' the harder landscape features of the design. Although appearing as a public space, when looked at in closer detail, small signs dotted around the development remind users of the space that they are on private

property (Figure 4.5). Such features have become common aspects of urban public space in London in recent years, and will be returned to in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6.



Figure 4.4: More London development. Photo by Author, 2005

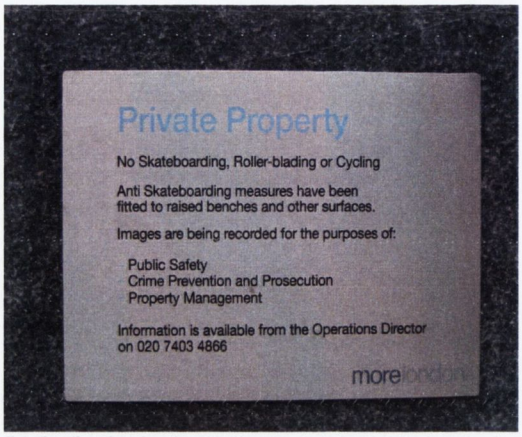


Figure 4.5: Private Property notice, morelondon. Photo by Author, 2005

Irish Urban Planning and Urban Public Space

In comparison to the London context, urban planning policy in Dublin does not specifically address public space *per se*. Instead, ideals relating to urban public space are implicit within various case-specific planning documents, which are the outcome of particular urban renewal strategies or planning acts. In the case of Dublin, two large-scale urban regeneration projects from the late 1980s and early 1990s reveal a shift in focus in the city towards a more pedestrian-friendly 'European' style city. The first of these was the redevelopment of the Custom House Docks in the late 1980s, which was originally introduced under the provisions of the *Urban Renewal Act of 1986*. The second was the development of Temple Bar as Dublin's Cultural Quarter during Dublin's year as European City of Culture in 1991. Such interventions also reveal the shifting ambitions in relation to urban entrepreneurialism of the various bodies responsible for urban change in Dublin in the form of newly-created quangos such as the Custom House Docks Development Authority (Later the Dublin Docklands Development Authority) and Temple Bar Properties (later becoming Temple Bar Cultural Trust).

The *Urban Renewal Act,* 1986, was a direct response to the wider social and physical dereliction of much of Dublin's inner city throughout the 1980s. At this point, the city centre presented two very different scenarios, one of outright dereliction, and another more prosperous retail and commercial district. This was summarised by MacLaran (1999, 21) as follows:

> "Twenty years ago, inner Dublin presented a stark contrast. Its thriving shopping streets performed a national role in the country's retailing hierarchy and had recently undergone pedestrianisation and environmental enhancement following intense lobbying from the Dublin City Centre Business Association".

Beside these shopping streets lay the office core, which was predominantly in Dublin 2, with a spill-over into Dublin 4, and, to a lesser extent, Dublin 1 to the north of the river. As continued by MacLaran, in reference to the above-mentioned retail and office districts (1999, 21-22):

> "These districts stood in sharp contrast with the belt of secondary commercial streets, exhibiting abundant evidence of physical deterioration, decline and discard, and with inner-city residential areas which accommodated an ever-diminishing number of people as residents departed either to seek a better lifestyle in owner-occupied suburbia or were relocated by Dublin Corporation to peripheral public housing estates."

Moreover, from a socio-economic perspective many of those residents who remained in the city centre suffered from high unemployment rates and an escalating drugs problem (see Punch, 2001). Meanwhile, much of Dublin's historic core was perceived to be under threat from the demands of property development (in the more prosperous areas),(MacLaran and Williams, 2003) and road widening schemes throughout the city. Interventions made under the *Urban Renewal Act 1986* were therefore introduced as a means of promoting reinvestment in the inner city through property-led regeneration (MacLaran and Williams, 2003). Under the *1986 Urban Renewal Act,* particular areas, such as the north inner city, became designated for tax incentives as a means of

attracting investment through a mechanism of promoting supply and demand.[7] Although more integrated approaches towards urban planning would not officially appear until the late 1990s, particular ideals of a 'European style' of urban development began to emerge in the late 1980s:

> "Conscious of the need to develop a more European type of mixed use city and inspired by a developing sense of what contemporary urbanism could mean, three models of area-based regeneration emerged: the Master Plan for the Custom House Docks, the Urban Framework Plan for Temple Bar and the Historic Area Rejuvenation Project (HARP) Integrated Area Plan" (Gleeson, 1999, 51).

Two of these models of urban regeneration are outlined below, while the HARP project will be covered in more detail in Chapter 5.

Irish Financial Services Centre, IFSC

In a similar vein to London's docklands area, from the 1970s onwards Dublin's docks felt the consequences of economic restructuring and the associated rationalisation of port facilities through containerisation and associated increase in ship size (Punch, 2001; Moore, 2008). As a result, both the physical and social fabric of the docklands went into decline:

> "By the early 1980s, the inequalities consequent upon post-war economic and spatial restructuring had worked their way through Dublin and were starkly evident across the inner city. Such structural inequality was reflected in a wide range of economic problems, including unemployment and low incomes and urban problems such as physical decay, alienation, limited services and an uncertain housing situation" (Punch, 2001, 42)

As Punch (*Ibid*) goes on to describe, inner-city communities, such as those in the Docklands found themselves in a downward spiral of social problems, including a growing drugs crisis. Early attempts at replacing rapidly disappearing employment

[7]This included a 10 year remission of rates on new buildings, 50% Capital allowances for commercial development along with 5% mortgage interest relief for owner occupiers for the first ten years, which amounted to half the original building costs (MacLaran, 1993).

opportunities failed for various economic and political reasons, the most striking of these being the so-called 'Gregory Deal' in 1981. This deal came about due to Charles J. Haughey's requirement of support from an independent T.D., Tony Gregory, to form a government. The deal brokered was to have given a 27-acre site on the site of former Georges Dock over for the development of social housing and small-scale industrial units. However, this deal fell with the collapse of the government at the end of 1982 (Drudy, 1999; Punch, 2000; Moore, 2008).

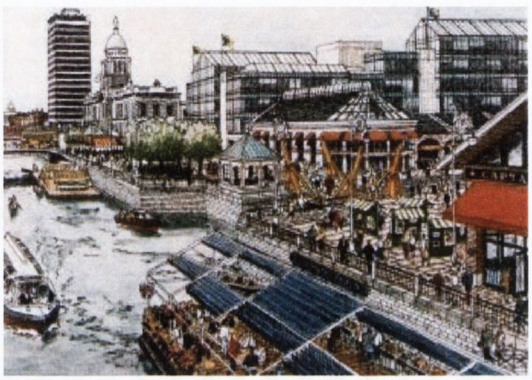


Figure 4.6 : Benjamin Thompson and Associates: Vision for Custom House Docks, C. 1990. Source: http://www.bta-architects.com/c/portfolio_umarketplaces.html

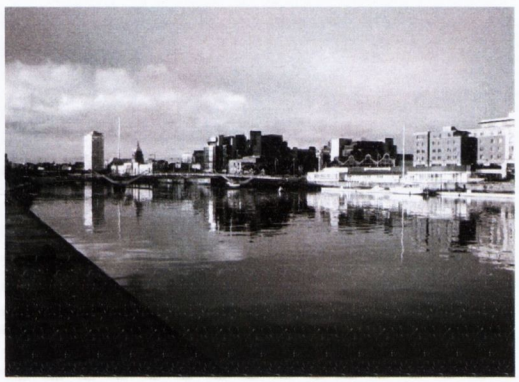


Figure 4.7 : IFSC, Dublin. Photo by Author, 2005

After half a decade of failed attempts to attract investment, the government began to look at other successful international models of development, and appointed an advisory board to the docks area. The result, which came about under the *Urban Renewal Act* (1986) and *Finance Act* (1986), was the establishment of 'designated areas' through which the Custom House Docks Development Authority (CHDDA) was set up. Drawing on experiences of the UDC model in the UK, the CHDDA was set up to remove constraints on development and encourage investment from the private sector (Moore, 2008).[8] A central feature of the Custom House Docks project was the International Financial Services Centre, which was

[8]A number of incentives were offered to companies setting up. These included 100% Capital allowances on office space (MacLaran and Williams, 2003), along with a 10% corporation tax rate as allowed for by the Finance Act of 1986. As a means of encouraging residential development, owner occupiers were granted income tax relief on newly constructed or refurbished private dwellings (*Ibid*).

envisioned as the 'flagship' element of the project in terms of attracting investors (*Ibid*).

The original outline for the Custom House Docks area was for "...a vibrant area with a wide range of uses, including offices, residential, retail, hotels, restaurants, and tourist facilities" (Bartley and Treadwell Shine, 2003, 151) (Figure 4.6). Therefore, it was an attempt to create a 'living development' that was active outside office hours (Malone, 1996). The 1987 planning scheme outlined how fundamental the design of public space was to the development: "The development will be substantially pedestrianised. Similar projects elsewhere have indicated that the quality of public spaces is fundamental to their success" (CHDDA, 1987, 44). Furthermore, it highlighted how "dead-end" spaces would be avoided, attempting to ensure all pedestrian routes had a destination. The masterplan for the area was carried out by Benjamin Thomspon and Associates, who had previously worked on Faneuil Hall in Boston and Harbor Place in Baltimore (Moore, 2008) (Chapter 2). The vision for the Custom House Docks area was therefore strongly influenced by imagery associated with that of the 'festive marketplace' associated with such places.

> "The imagery associated with the Custom House Docks can also be classified according to its marketing function and intended audience. Whereas the imagery created around the IFSC reflects high technology, sophisticated communication systems, high finance and an elitist 'lifestyle', the architectural and design imagery surrounding the Custom House Docks falls into the 'festival tradition' in design and waterfront development. The buzz phrases are 'festival shopping', 'liveability, and 'people place'" (Malone, 1996, 81).

In reality the layout and design of the area, once constructed, was criticised for isolating itself from the surrounding area (Bartley and Treadwell Shine, 2003). As with Canary Wharf, the former George's Docks were maintained as features of the new urban space, with water used as a means of giving it a soft appearance with a harder undertone of creating a privatised enclave of wealth. It became the focal point of offices with a smaller amount of residential space than originally

envisioned, most of which was of a gated nature, and accessed via a bridge over a moat (Figure 4.8). This was further backed up by privatised security, and various other methods of control, such as CCTV, which was not in widespread use in Dublin at the time (*Ibid*), along with numerous private property signs around the 'public' area reminding people of the private nature of the development (Figure 4.9).



Figure 4.8: Apartments at Custom House Dock. Photo by Author, 2009

The development of the first phase of the Custom House Docks provides a useful frame of reference for the examination of Mayor Square, which was built as part of the second phase of the development of the IFSC through an extension of the remit of the CHDDA. This will be demonstrated by both the degree to which particular elements of the first phase were actively rejected and also carried through in the second phase of the development of the IFSC during the late 1990s and early 2000s.

The Emergence of Temple Bar as A 'Cultural Quarter'

The transformation of Temple Bar, which became officially designated as Dublin's 'Cultural Quarter' in 1991, has also had a significant influence on wider alterations to urban public space in Dublin in recent years. Throughout the 1980s, CIE, the Irish national bus and rail company, was gradually assembling properties with a view to developing a central bus station in the area now defined as Temple Bar.

Taking advantage of short-term leases at low rents, various artists and small retailers gradually moved into the area forming what might now be called a 'creative quarter' akin to Soho in London, the Left Bank in Paris or New York's Lower East Side (Montgomery, 2003). While there was certainly a large degree of community pressure placed on the government to retain the Temple Bar area, the designation of Dublin as 'European Capital of Culture' for 1991 combined with, and directly linked with, the then government's realisation of the economic potential of such quarters in terms of urban regeneration and tourism, further boosted plans for the official recognition of Temple Bar as a distinct urban cultural quarter (Temple Bar Properties, 1991).



Figure 4.9: Private Property Sign, Custom House Dock, Dublin. Photo by Author, 2009

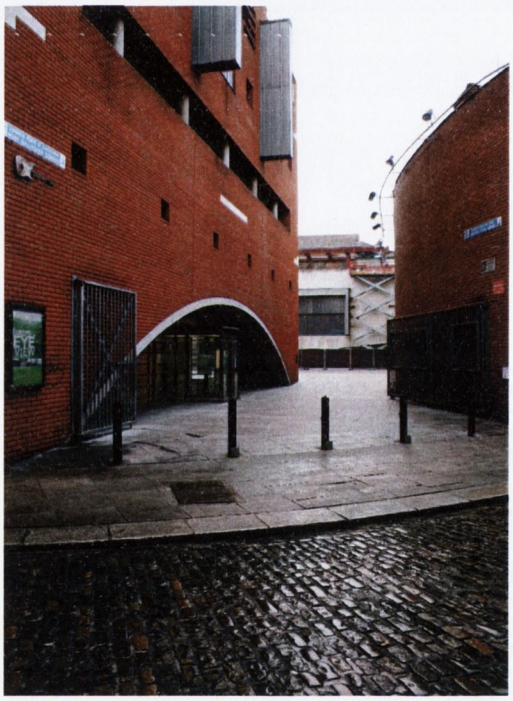


Figure 4.10: Gates at Meeting House Square, Temple Bar, Dublin. Photo by Author, 2009

Under the *Temple Bar Area Renewal and Development Act 1991*, an architectural competition for a framework plan was launched. The architectural framework competition was won by a group of Irish architects collectively known as 'Group

'91', who were directly inspired by the ideals of architects such as Aldo Rossi, and the neo-rationalist movement, which had displaced the modernist approach to intervening in the historic core of the city (Chapter 2). The aim was to intervene in the area in a manner that would create an urban quarter based mainly on what was seen as the 'European city model' of mixed-use zoning and promote a 'living city' (Temple Bar Properties, 1991). Appraising the winning entry, David Mackay, who had been involved in the alterations to Barcelona at the same time, discussed the importance of public space in terms of the city:

> "For too long in Europe there has been not only a neglect of responsibility towards understanding the historical significance of the public space, the on-going creation of new places, but cities have not even been aware that it is their responsibility. This is no doubt due to the fact that architects themselves have neglected to exercise their professional skills in this task of urban design. They have allowed the decisions about the form of the public space to be determined by sectoral interests. These, however, valid they may be, have led in many instances to the destruction of the multiple identities of our cities and neighbourhoods" (Temple Bar Properties, 1991, 11).

Public space was a key element of Group 91's winning entry, with pedestrian permeability being a priority. Three distinct public squares were to act as the focal points in the area: "There is a positive need to carve out of the dense urban fabric of Temple Bar a number of small public open areas, to create a sub-district identity and act as a focus for new development" (Temple Bar Properties, 1991, 27). Two of these squares were developed as originally envisaged, Temple Bar Square and Meeting House Square. Meeting House Square was created as a space where outdoor theatre and films could be shown and is flanked by The Irish Film Institute, the Gallery of Photography, Irish Photographic Archive and 'Eden' restaurant. Temple Bar Square is more central within Temple Bar and is surrounded by shops, bars and restaurants.

Throughout the last last two decades Temple Bar has often been cited as a successful example of urban planning in Dublin. For example, in the latest

Development Plan for Dublin (2005-2011), Temple Bar is directly cited as raising standards in terms of the city's international profile:

> "The strength of the economy, levels of inward investment, urban regeneration and initiatives like Temple Bar and the Digital Hub have resulted in a higher profile internationally. This growing reputation has created a platform for further achievement and consolidation. Major European cities like Copenhagen, Helsinki, Lyon and Barcelona now constitute a frame of reference for Dublin in terms of quality and profile and approaches to city administration and governance" (Dublin City Council, 2005, 9).

However, there have also been concerns within both media and official circles regarding the degree to which the area has, in the words of Roberts (2006, 332), become a "...booze sodden destination for stag and hen parties..." This view was further emphasised in the 2004 *Draft Urban Framework Plan for Temple Bar*:

> "Antisocial behaviour, especially when fuelled by excessive consumption of alcohol, leads to an intimidating, aggressive and sometimes violent atmosphere. The anticipation of such an atmosphere is a turn-off for many people, especially in the 30+ age group. Other manifestations of this behaviour include excess noise, particularly at night time, vomit and urine in the streets and lewd behaviour" (Howley Harrington Architects, 2004, 8).

Such issues illustrate the degree to which the reality has diverged from the desired role of Temple Bar's public spaces in recent years. While Temple Bar still houses a wide variety of cultural functions and venues, it has to a certain degree illustrated the limits of attempting to define the paramaters of social life through cultural planning. For example, the various public spaces in Temple Bar give an insight into the manner in which the ambitions and preferences of Temple Bar Cultural Trust and other interest-groups have changed in recent years. For example, Meeting House Square has been gated, with signs reminding people that the 'management reserves the right of admission' (Figures 4.10 and 4.11). Furthermore, the normalisation of the transformation of this space to a form of 'defensable space' is further highlighted by the suggestions of the Framework Plan in 2004 to "Replace the gates on Eustace Street, Essex Street and Sycamore Street with well designed, beautiful and climb proof gates. Extend the

CCTV system into the square, especially corner areas and generally improve public lighting" (Howley Harrington Architect, 2004, 44). Meanwhile, Temple Bar Square has gradually become dominated by seating from private restaurants, which now take up most of the central area of the square (particularly during the summer period).



Figure 4.11 : Detail of signs beside gates. Photo by author, 2009



Figure 4.12 : 'Playnice' alcohol ban poster on bin in Temple Bar. Photo by Author, 2009

Following on from the concerns regarding 'antisocial behaviour' in the *Temple Bar Framework Plan* of 2004, the various stakeholders in Temple Bar, such as Traders in the Area Supporting a Cultural Quarter (tascq) along with the Temple Bar Cultural Trust and An An Garda Síochána, launched a joint initiative aimed at tackling anti-social behaviour through a 'publicans charter' and a public awareness campaign called 'playnice'. This has involved greater interaction between the various businesses, and the promotion of an advertising campaign aimed at addressing various forms of public disorder such as the consumption of alcohol in public space and excessive noise.

The example of Temple Bar provides important background context in terms of wider changes to public space in Dublin in recent years. From a design perspective, two of the architectural practices that have emerged from Group '91, which were responsible for the original framework plan for Temple Bar, had a direct involvement in the design of two of the public spaces selected as case studies, Mayor Square (Derek Tynan Architects/Urban Projects) and Smithfield Square (McGarry Ní Éanaigh Architects). Moreover, the interaction of various stakeholders in terms of the management and control of urban public space, as highlighted by the 'playnice' campaign in Temple Bar, is becoming a common theme within urban public space in Dublin.

The Promotion of Events within Dublin

Since the late 1990s, the promotion of events within public space in Dublin has substantially increased. Much of this has been directly related to the associated reordering of the city, including urban public space. As discussed by a representative of the events unit in Dublin City Council during the period of fieldwork in 2005:

> "There was a decision made – there were a lot of events, I think at the time there was the Tall Ships and the Tour de France, there were a lot of sort of fairly high profile events being captured for Dublin and they felt that there was a need to have a unit that would actually look at these events and coordinate them, because there was this increasing demand to actually use public space and particularly at the time as well – there was this big drive as well for films, for filming, promotion and filming usage in the city, so they set up an events unit."

The role of public space was therefore seen as critical in terms of boosting the broader economy of the city through the use of 'culture'. This was outlined in a discussion document entitled *Events and Spaces in Central Dublin: A Discussion and Resource Paper* as follows:

> "Dublin itself benefited from impetus generated by the Millennium Celebrations in 1988 and the City of Culture in 1991. Both events released

> funding for making culture accessible, these created profile events. Both had lasting benefits in creating new uses for buildings or improving infrastructure. Both accessed European funding and used it to leverage match funding locally" (Campbell, 2004, 20).

The document continued by asking what the future possibilities were in terms of generating economic activity through culture:

> "There are examples of this type of successful strategy evolving over a longer period of time. Identifying opportunities and seeing patterns in multiple development strategies has combined hard (physical environment, building programmes, traffic management) with soft (markets, signage, festivals and celebrations, changing demographics) for major re-invigoration of large areas and their populations. These areas become attractive propositions for investment and new projects, they sustain themselves" (*Ibid*).

The reorientation of public space in Dublin's city centre has therefore coincided with the promotion of public space for events. Of particular note in this regard was the redevelopment of Smithfield Square as a central space within the city centre. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

Recent Transformations to Public Space in Dublin

The transformation of the Custom House Docks and Temple Bar during the 1990s instigated wider alterations to Dublin's public domain. These transformations have included alterations to the river-front in terms of the construction of the boardwalk on the north side of the river liffey along with the remodeling of the campshires in the docklands as pedestrian space. Furthermore, a number of urban public spaces have been completely altered during this period. For example, Wolfetone square, a former graveyard turned park, was transformed through the removal of its surrounding railings and a redesign of the square.[9] Throughout the city, smaller-scale alterations have been made to urban public space, whether it involves the upgrading of an existing pedestrianised area, the reclamation of the street for pedestrian use, or the creation of new pedestrian streets within private

[9] It is of note that the grass in Wolfetone Square has been replaced in recent years with a harder surface. This both makes it more suitable for the promotion of events and restricts its informal use as an area on which people can sit.

developments, such as in Quartier Bloom. Many of these alterations have been an integral part of wider urban regeneration projects within the city. The three case studies, Mayor Square, O'Connell Street and Smithfield Square, which are outlined in Chapters 5 and 6, detail the role played by public space within these large-scale regeneration projects.

Recent Planning Policy and Urban Change in Amsterdam

This section examines three interconnected themes relating to urban public space and urban change in Amsterdam. First, it addresses the role of urban public space in terms of broader ideals of social space associated with urban regeneration strategies. Secondly, the impacts of particular socio-economic factors in shaping Amsterdam in recent years will be discussed in direct relation to the Zuidas area of Amsterdam and the redevelopment of the docklands. Finally, it reviews shifting perceptions of the role of heritage and the historic urban form of central Amsterdam, with particular reference to its growing role as a tourist destination.

Urban Residential Change in Amsterdam: 'Mixed Use' and 'Social Mix'

In a similar vein to that of the UK, recent Dutch urban policy has been marked by the promotion of an 'urban renaissance' through the fostering of a compact and liveable city (Stead and Hoppenbrouwer, 2004). For Stead and Hoppenbrouwer (*Ibid*), the driving forces behind the Dutch example differ from those of the UK for a number of reasons. For example, while in the UK, the urban renaissance agenda has been pushed by concerns related to urban social and environmental problems they perceive Dutch policy as being driven primarily by mounting pressure on space along with urban competitiveness. However, as discussed above, the UK example has also been directly connected to urban boosterism and gentrification (Atkinson, 2003; Lees, 2003a). Moreover, Dutch urban policy in the early 1990s was directly targeted at addressing problems associated urban life at the neighbourhood level, such as deprivation, unemployment and crime

(Priemus et al., 1997).

The concept of a 'mixed tenure' and 'mixed use' compact city has a long history in The Netherlands. As summarised by Musterd et al., (2003, 879):

> "The notion that neighbourhoods have an impact on social development potential has a long history in the Netherlands. Post-war politics were heavily influenced by Social Democratic and Christian Democratic beliefs regarding redistribution and egalitarianism. This had the effect that, after the restoration of the housing stock that had been seriously damaged during the Second World War, a continual call was made for 'balanced' residential environments, which, it was assumed, could help to prevent social unrest."

This approach continued through much of the post-war era, with new housing developments, such as Bijlmer, built along the ideals of the 'radiant city', being created as social housing for middle class families. However, these groups preferred the lower density dwellings within other towns and suburbs (Aalbers et al., 2005). Throughout the 1970s, areas such as Bijlmer became a 'gateway' to Amsterdam for new migrants from Suriname and the Dutch Antiles. By the 1980s, these area had become run down and associated with numerous social problems, such as low education levels, low incomes, crime, and overcrowding (*Ibid*).

For much of the 1980s, planning policy focused on the redevelopment of the social-rented sector in Amsterdam, with little focus on the private sector (van Weesep and Wiegersma, 1991). However, by the mid-to-late 1980s there was perception that the larger cities were suffering from various problems due in part to the outward migration of middle class families and their replacement by poorer residents (*Ibid*). This was reflected by the growth of unemployment throughout the 1980s in the four largest cities in the Netherlands to almost twice the level of the rest of the country, reaching twelve percent in 1994 (Priemus et al., 1997).[10]

In the second half of the 1980s, Dutch policy began to reorientate towards a model of a 'compact city' and the promotion of the city centre for middle-class living. Although social housing remained high on the agenda, the focus shifted

[10] The four largest cities in The Netherlands are Rotterdam, Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht

towards the promotion of private ownership. While this period witnessed a certain degree of gentrification (van Weesep and Wiegersma, 1991), it was not until the introduction of the Big Cities policy, brought about by a change of government in 1994 with the coming to power of a liberal and socialist coalition, that agendas related to 'mixed use', 'social mix' and urban liveability began to dominate Dutch urban policy. The urban scenario in the lead up to the Big Cities policy was summarised by Priemus et al., (1997, 678) as follows:

> "For years, the big cities have been confronted with a massive migration of inhabitants and economic activity to the surrounding municipalities, an increasing concentration of unemployment and dependency on social benefits, a rising crime rate, and a decline in safety and liveability. The vibrant diversity of a metropolitan society is being transformed into an increasing separation of population groups along social, economic , cultural and geographic dividing lines. Vitality is being replaced by lack of security, tolerance by polarization."

The Big Cities policy therefore emerged in the early 1990s as a means of building an integrated approach to the problems outlined above.

As summarised by van Kempen (2000, 197), "the main objective of the Big Cities Policy is to make the cities 'complete'. A city is said to be complete if it has a strong economic, physical and social structure." It attempted to address these problems through the use of 'three pillars': (1); The Employment and economic Pillar, (2); the physical redevelopment pillar, (3); the social pillar. The employment pillar was focused on the encouragement of new companies to set up, so as to create employment. Newly-emerging industries, such as ICT and a promotion of the knowledge economy were a particular focus of this policy strand (Priemus et al., 1997; Aalbers et al., 2004). The physical development pillar focused on the promotion of urban renewal through the integration of the municipalities with private forces, such as entrepreneurs, store owners and investors along with various stakeholders, such as residents groups and ethnic minorities, as a means of creating 'complete cities' (*Ibid*). This strand had particular reference to poorer areas mentioned above, which had become known as 'income neighbourhoods':

> "The policy aimed at fighting these concentrations of low-income households.

> Therefore, it concentrated at restructuring the urban housing market at the level of neighbourhoods: low cost accommodation had to be destroyed and replaced by more expensive dwellings in order to create a mix of dwellings and attract more well-to-do households to the neighborhood" (Aalbers et al., 2004, 12).

The social strand was seen as a way of promoting the quality of life within particular urban areas. Of particular note in this regard was the promotion of safety within urban areas. For Priemus et al (1997, 682), the decreased feeling of safety in cities was based on four essential elements:

- urban space is becoming anonymous;
- there is a widening gap between affluent areas and socially deprived areas;
- there is too little formal supervision in public spaces; and
- social control is getting weaker

A number of aspects of the Big Cities policy sought to address these issues, including the employment of more security and patrolmen in residential areas and the expansion of municipal powers to control alcohol licences. These measures also included efforts to 'reduce the public nuisance created by 'coffee shops'" (Ibid, 683).

The drive towards hands-on management of public space has become a key element of the promotion of mixed-use urban areas in recent years (Stead and Hoppenbrouwer, 2004). This is further emphasised by the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment in their 'Plea for Public Space' (VROM, 2007) which commented how "Inadequate management, degradation, unsafe areas, vandalism and street litter bring down the quality of public space in the Netherlands."[11] Thus they pledged that management would become key feature of public space in the Netherlands in the coming years (*Ibid*). For van Melik et al., (2007) the continued increase in the management and securitisation of public space in the Netherlands is having the impact of segmenting and fragmentation of the public realm (see Hajer and Reijndorp, 2002; Van Melik, 2008). These issues will be returned to in Chapters 5 and 6.

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[11] *'Plea for the Public Space'* (VROM, 2007) http://www.vamil.nl/pagina.html?id=37397 (Last accessed, 4th August, 2009)

Economic Restructuring and Strategic Development: The Examples of Amsterdam Zuidas and the Eastern Docks

Amsterdam Zuidas (South Axis) was established as a strategic business district in 1998. It occupies thirty hectares on either side of the Amsterdam ring road to the south of the city centre of Amsterdam. Zuidas is illustrative of the shifts in Dutch spatial planning from its traditional redistributive role to one orientated towards economic growth and enhancing the competitiveness of cities and city-regions. In the early 1990s the area of the southern banks of the Ij river was destined as the new central business district for the Amsterdam metropolitan region (Majoor, 2007). This was primarily driven by the historical development of Amsterdam as a monocentric city and the reluctance of planners to develop beyond the central core (Salet and Majoor, 2005). The desire to focus development of this area was boosted through the establishment of the *Amsterdam Waterfront Financieringsmaatschappij* (AWF) as a public-private partnership. However, a combination of the office slump of the early 1990s along with restrictions on the development of infrastructure in the Ij area, and continued pressure to designate the area to the South of the city as a strategic business district, resulted in the collapse of the AWF in 1993 (Majoor, 2007).

The attraction of the Zuidas area was based on a number of infrastructure-related factors. This included direct access to the A10 motorway and both heavy and light rail. Perhaps more importantly, however, from a broader strategic perspective, was its proximity to Schipol airport. The pressure from investors was manifest in the development throughout the 1980s of various nodes such as The World Trade Centre, The Free University, and the RAI conference centre. Between 1993 and 1994 ABM Amro decided to consolidate its office locations from around the central area of Amsterdam into one location and were soon followed by ING. Under this pressure, the City Government of Amsterdam began to formulate plans that brought together stake-holders from both the public and private sectors, and formulated the first plan for the area, *Masterplan Zuidas*, in 1998. For Majoor (2007, 55) this is illustrative of the power of market forces in this particular case:

> "When viewed from a longer-term perspective of institutional change, the

> developments that form the backdrop to the birth of the Zuidas project represent a peculiar example of a broader shift from a traditional government-led (redistributive) mode of planning towards a more market-orientated (competitive) mode of planning."

The overall aspiration is to transform the Zuidas into the central hub of the Randstad/Delat-Metropolis area (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht). For many involved in the Zuidas project, its development is not simply about creating a business district that serves Amsterdam, but creating a space that becomes a focal point of a wider European urban network. This was outlined by a senior figure involved in planning and design in the Zuidas as follows:

> "Once you see this scale level as the relevant scale level to Zuidas, and not so much its immediate surroundings or concurrence with Utrecth, you're permentantly focused to being a player on the field of those European cities that are competing. Were competing to get businesses in, but also not just businesses, but also people living here, that are European Burghers. They may work in Brussels and live here, or vice versa. Those movements, those mechanisms, are reality, they are present day reality..." (Zuidplein I 1)

The promotion of Zuidas as a 'European' space has had a significant impact on various features of its design and delivery. The initial striking feature of this is the international style of its built form, which stands out from both traditional Dutch architecture and even recent additions to Amsterdam, such as the waterfront area (see below) (Figures, 4.13 and 4.14). However, it should be noted that despite the attempt to visually differentiate it from the core area of Amsterdam, the eventual aim is to create a space that gets away from the model of urban development associated with Canary Wharf or La Defence in Paris, and instead focus on a way of creating a space that generates its own form of vibrant street life:

> "In the core area of Amsterdam, where we are right now, this mix of 50/50%, is what has been kept very carefully, the mix! And you do notice all these corner shops, these cafes, that Amsterdam is spangled with, they are only flourishing because of that very mix. So this has learned us to be very careful about that mix of functions in order to obtain that what everyone likes to have, the street life" (Zuidplein I 1).

The relevance of this aim to the Zuidplein will be picked up again in Chapters 5

and 6.

Eastern Docks, Amsterdam

Returning briefly to the promotion of mixed-use development and the enhancement of the vitality of urban areas, the example of the Amsterdam's Eastern Docks provides a useful example of this form of development in recent years. While, as outlined above, the eastern docks were originally destined to become the focal point of Amsterdam's economic restructuring, a combination of various private forces instigated a shift in focus to what is now the Zuidas area. As a consequence, the redevelopment of the Eastern docks has occured on much a much reduced scale to that which was originally intended. However, its development provides a useful example of a 'mixed-use' urban area in the Dutch context. The logic of mixed use is that it creates vibrant urban areas due to the inclusion of various land uses that promote the use of its streets and other public areas throughout the day. As discussed by Hoppenbrouwer and Luow (2005, 968):

> "Mixed-use development offers opportunities to improve the quality and attractiveness of the urban area – for example by increasing use, activity and vitality during the day, in the evening and at the weekends. There may also be benefits in terms of preventing crime and promoting security."

As a planning approach, mixed-use can therefore be seen as an all encompassing ideal of urban life, which envisions various activities taking place side by side unproblematically. While a proportion of Amsterdam's docks were developed during the mid-1980s as a predominantly residential area (Bongenaar and Malone, 1996), the shift of focus to the Zuidas instigated a reorientation in terms of the planning of the remainder of the docks area.

From the early 1990s, the focus on the docks was therefore shifted to promoting small-scale business mixed with residential usage (Hoppenbrouwer and Luow, 2005). While many of the larger firms are located within business parks within the eastern docks, it is the smaller businesses that have predominated with over sixty

percent having two employees or fewer. The development of the Eastern docks also symbolised a shift away from the social provision of housing towards private housing provision (*Ibid*). Taking the examples of Borneo – Sporenburg and Java, the design and layout of the eastern docks has resulted in predominantly low-rise area with medium-rise buildings inserted throughout (Figure 4.13).

Many of the developments have also aimed to reflect the diversity of styles of the historic core of Amsterdam, with a mix of architectural practices building within a framework (Nai, 2005) (Figure 4.14). While the development of the east docks, from both a design and use perspective, has taken its influence directly from traditional ideals of urban development, the manner in which such ideals have been achieved is symbolic of a wider shift within planning in Amsterdam towards the promotion of the private housing market. However, the example of Amsterdam offers a contrasting example of the development of docklands areas to the examples of Dublin and London.



Figure 4.13: Sporenburg, Eastern Docks, Amsterdam. Photo by Author, 2006

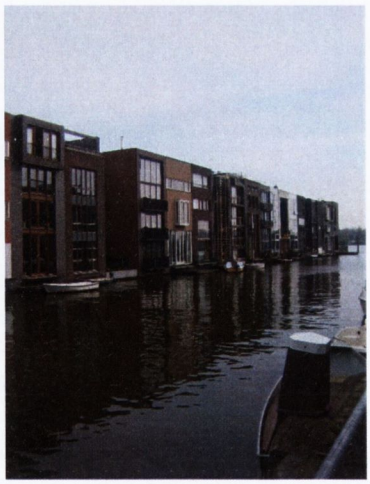

Figure 4.14: Scheepstimmermanstraat, Borneo, Amsterdam. Photo by Author, 2006

Shifting Aspirations for Amsterdam's Historic City Centre

Although much of the historic centre of Amsterdam has remained intact, it

experienced a wide array of pressures from various forces throughout much of the second half of the twentieth century. As summarised by Schoonenberg (2004, 133):

> "Amsterdam's historic inner city barely survived the twentieth century. Even before the Second World War, the exodus of the urban elite from the canal mansions to the Gooi was transforming the inner city from a centre where people lived and worked into one of offices and businesses. Homes were converted into offices or – if this proved impossible – demolished."

These pressures were further exacerbated by the plan by the then Mayor along with with the police commissioner of the time to fill in fifteen canals as a means of creating a ring road and providing car parking facilities (*Ibid*). This view of city centre spaces was echoed by the then Head of Urban Development of the time in decreeing whole areas such as the Nieuwmarkt quarter as having a "...poor layout, uneconomical use of land, [and an] unsatisfactory urban image" (van Eesteren 1953, Quoted in Brinkgreve, 2004, 110). Such viewpoints led to reactions against the potential destruction of the historic centre of Amsterdam (see Deben et al., 2004).

Much of this was orientated towards reappraising the perceived importance of the built environment. Examples have included the pressure exerted by local people following the construction of the Metro line during the mid 1970s to restore the neighbourhood of Nieuw Markt in a manner that was in keeping with its historical street layout (Schoonenberg, 2004). Despite shifting attitudes, struggles over the historic city continued into the 1980s with the construction of a new City Hall (Stadhuis) and Opera House, or "Stopera", which involved the clearance and reconfiguration of the irregularly shaped Waterlooplein (see Smith, 1996). However, the growth of the city as a tourist destination throughout the 1980s and early 1990s altered the perception of the historic core. This was summarised by Deben et al., (2004, 7) as follows:

> "During the 1990s the appearance and beauty of the city streets and squares were reconsidered. The 'city beautiful' movement of the early twentieth

> century seems to have been revived. One by one, square and streets are getting a new look: new street furniture, fewer unnecessary obstacles, and consideration for pedestrians, children and maintenance. City councils are realising that attractive public space increases the general appreciation of the city. Cities are starting to resemble competing brands in their struggle to draw tourists and businesses. Public space catalyses this process."

With this in mind, the early 1990s saw a shift in the manner in which the Municipality of Amsterdam approached the design of their urban public space, particularly in the central city areas. In many ways it seems that this shift was about creating a specific city image. This was outlined by a respondent from Amsterdam Centrum[12]

> "There started a movement in the urban planning department, where I worked at the time. And we had no experience in how to do that. So the man in charge said, this is a chance to enhance the public art in an applied manner. So your street furniture has to be functional, but also be designed by artists as a statement. The first thing in the early 90s was Nieuw Markt" (Dam Square I 2).

At this time, a 'school' was developed within the Municipality of Amsterdam, which looked at designing public space in a manner that infused forms of art and decoration. This included the redesign of Damrak – which leads from the train station through Dam Square – and its continuation, Rokin. The design of lamp-posts and bollards took on a distinctive style of loud colours and contrasting shapes (Figure 4.16). However, as pointed out by a planning official from Amsterdam Centrum, at the same time another 'school' was developing which was saying that "...public space should be a sort of neutral décor for all the colours and lifestyles that life itself provide, but it should not compete with that" (*Ibid*). From this, a handbook was produced which outlined the manner in which the public spaces of the city should be designed. This shift can be directly connected to an emerging desire within Amsterdam to look at other cities within both The Netherlands and Europe from the perspective of influence and

[12] Amsterdam Centrum is the central *Stadsdeel* of Amsterdam. In total there are fifteen *stadsdeels.* The stadsdeels of Zuideramstel, Amsterdam Centrum and De Baarsjes are of particular relevance to this research project.

increased competition:

> "So it is not for nothing that this happened. Other cities went ahead of us, to name The Hague, where they had a plan already in the late 80s, Groningen they did something. And of course everybody went to Barcelona... We did urban planning by renewing dwellings, and they did urban planning by renewing and redoing their urban space, the public space. So we went to see how they made their squares and streets" (Dam Square I 2).

This viewpoint was emphasised further by a representative of the Physical Planning Department of the City of Amsterdam (DRO), who was involved in the design of Zuidplein (Chapter 5) when discussing the changes to public space in the general context of Amsterdam in recent years:

> "There's just a general awareness of a higher quality, from developer to politician to designers themselves. Maybe also influenced by things like Barcelona. Because the first projects we had the Niew Market and Damrak..., going through the Dam. I mean that was a misplaced project, because its funny materials and its funny lamp posts, but it was a project that was a direct influence from Barcelona. People sold Barcelona here to the politicians, that we should be doing the same. I think that was the start." (Zuidplein I 2)

This attention to detail in terms of the public realm is evident throughout the central areas of Amsterdam. While the project to renew Damrak and Rokin in the early 1990s used distinctive lamp-posts and bollards (Fig. 4.16) as a means of redefining its image, later projects, such as Nieuw Markt (Fig 4.15) used more subtle interventions as a means of change. Moreover, the renewal of streets in the centre of Amsterdam in recent years has been carried out according to a particular image, using a standardised layout of paving and street furniture. However, as will be detailed in Chapter 5, particular spaces, such as Dam Square were designed in a manner that distinguished them from their surroundings.



Figure 4.15: Nieuw Markt. Photo by Author, 2006



Figure 4.16: Lamp post on Damrak. Photo by Author, 2006

Considerations

The examination of broader urban policy and change within each of the cities being examined indicates both the similarities and differences in terms of the approach to urban public space in different socio-economic and political circumstances. A common feature in each city is the degree to which a discernible shift in approach to urban public space could be witnessed during the last two decades. More particularly, public space is seen as playing a key role in terms of wider urban transformation in each city. This is of particular note with regards to the manner in which the city has been 'reclaimed' from the dominance of the car through the pedestrianisation of streets and the creation of new public areas. Moreover, while each city differs in terms of its approach to urban public space, a particular ideal, or model, of a 'liveable city', or a 'European city' can be witnessed throughout (McNeill, 1999).

More recently, each of the cities displayed increased attention towards ideals of 'social-mix' and diversity within public space, while also displaying tendencies towards the management and securitisation of public space at both the level of policy and practice. However, in terms of the implementation of a particular 'vision' or imaginary of public space, it is evident that the different agencies of

change in both London and Dublin have placed a greater emphasis on the private management of public space in recent years in terms of both policy and practice, with such tendencies appearing to be more limited in Amsterdam (Van Melik et al., 2009). These issues will be examined again in more detail throughout the case studies.

Chapter 5: Planning for Public Space: London, Dublin, Amsterdam

Introduction

Throughout the research, it became possible to identify two broad categories by which official agencies engage with public space in the city. These can be summarised as *Embedded* interventions and *Managerial* interventions. *Embedded* interventions denote the manner in which space is ordered through the design and layout of the built form. At a broader level this entails an examination of the manner in which public space is initially imagined (Harvey, 1973, 1996) or conceived (Lefebvre, 1991). In practice, this may relate to factors of design oriented towards achieving a particular aim in relation to how a space functions for the movement of people, or attempts to restrict activities which are perceived as problematic to the desired purpose of public space at the planning or design stage. While *Managerial* interventions may also be the direct outcome of the re-imagining of urban space, they differ in that such interventions are active on a day-to-day basis. These interventions are therefore orientated towards promoting particular events or activities, or controlling various actions through the imposition and monitoring of various regulations. While methods may also vary depending on specific context, in general, such controls may involve a mixture of security guards, community wardens, or police, and the use of CCTV.

While issues related to management will be addressed in detail in Chapter 6, this chapter is focused on how attempts are made to embed particular ideologies within urban public space. The chapter introduces each of the case studies and analyses the background context of physical alterations and other aspects of change in each case study. This will include an examination of the role of urban policy, planning, and broader economic factors in terms of official thinking on urban public space. Furthermore, forms of regulation which are relevant to particular locations will also be introduced, such as bye-laws and other legal frameworks.

The chapter will also serve as a means of introducing each space on a case-by-case basis. While subsequent chapters will examine issues in a thematic manner, this chapter is used as a means of setting the scene and showing each space as it exists in reference to the socio-economic factors that are distinct to each city and the specific area in which the case study is located. The three case studies in London will be presented first: Paternoster Square, Trafalgar Square and Peckham Square. This will be followed by the Dublin case studies: Mayor Square, O'Connell Street and Smithfield Square. Finally, the case studies in Amsterdam will be presented: Zuidplein, Dam Square and Mercatorplein.

The London Case studies: Paternoster Square, Trafalgar Square and Peckham Square

Paternoster Square, The City of London

The City of London is traditionally regarded as the commercial centre of London. Since the early 1980s, the transformation of the global economy, including advances in communications, have placed increased demands on the existing physical structure of the City (Hamnett, 2003). As a consequence, the intervening years have witnessed a variety of debates over the suitability of the imposition of particular urban forms that fall outside what is deemed officially acceptable in terms of planning, design and architecture in the City (Jacobs, 1996). These include the prolonged debate over 'One Poultry' on Bank Junction (see Jacobs, 1996), and the transformation of Spitalfields Market (see Hamnett, 2003). Another example is the reconstruction of Paternoster Square, which is located beside St. Paul's Cathedral. Paternoster Square was redeveloped in 2003, replacing a previous post-war office development. The aims behind the redevelopment of Paternoster Square are directly connected to the wider ideals of what is deemed an appropriate image for this area of London in terms of townscape. This 'image' is further promoted by a desire to foster a particular form of socialisation entailing a controlled form of diversity largely orientated towards consumption (Zukin, 1998). This aim is facilitated by the private ownership of the 'public' areas of Paternoster Square.

The destruction of Paternoster Square during World War II resulted in its reconstruction according to modernist principles set out by the architect responsible for the wider reorientation of The City in the aftermath of the War, William Holford (Jackson, 2003). This development involved the placement of individual office blocks ranging in size surrounding a raised plaza, which was accessible via a broad set of stairs (Figure 5.1). A combination of factors, including the economic down-turn and the rejection of 'modernist' ideals of planning and design, resulted in the demise of Paternoster Square during the late-1970s. Much of the focus of the following years was on the suitability of various proposed designs to the existing landscape of the City.



Figure 5.1: Post war Paternoster Square. Source: Corporation of London



Figure 5.2: Paternoster Square after its 2003 reconstruction. Photo by Author, 2005

The physical structure of Paternoster Square as it is at present is the result of both debate surrounding the suitability of particular urban forms to the heritage of London and changing economic circumstances during the last two decades. While the Paternoster estate had been owned by the Church Commissioners throughout much of the 1960s, with much of the land on a long-term lease to the Central Electricity Generating Board (CEGB), in the late 1980s ownership was restructured and the majority of Paternoster was sold on a 250 year lease to a consortium of British Land, Stockley Plc, Unilever and Barkeley's (Jackson, 2003).

In 1987, an architectural competition was launched which was won by the international architectural and engineering firm Arup (*Ibid*). In an effort to publicise the winning design, an exhibition was organised in the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral. In part response to lobbying from Prince Charles, who, through the influence of New Urbanist principles discussed in Chapter 2, was highly critical of the architecture and planning professions during this period, John Simpson, a prominent 'neo-classical' architect of the time, was also allowed to display his scheme at the same exhibition in the form of a model and a picture by the painter Carl Laubin (Figure 5.3). His design was in the neo-classical tradition and, along with the support of Prince Charles, also had the support of the *London Evening Standard.* For William Whitfield, the eventual master-planner of Paternoster Square in its current form, who was present at the exhibition, public opinion immediately favoured the John Simpson design because of the painting that was exhibited with the model of his proposed development:

> "Peter Rees [City of London Planning Officer] said that the whole of Arup's Scheme was skuppered by a painting... At that moment the whole thing was dead because in the public perception the Simpson scheme was about something they could picture and imagine and the Arup scheme was about architectural concepts. [At] that point there was no contest" (Paternoster I1).

Subsequently, another neo-classical architect, Terry Farrell was appointed to redesign the square with John Simpson. The resulting scheme, which was a classically-designed square was granted planning permission but was never built due to the property slump in the early 1990s. At this point, the site was bought by Mitsubishi Estates. However, the debate over the urban form of Paternoster was to have a direct impact on its eventual reconstruction in the late 1990s and early 2000s.



Figure 5.3: Carl Laubin's painting of Terry Farrell proposal, 1990. Source: Jackson. 2003



Figure 5.4: Paternoster Square, 2005, Photo by Author, 2005

In 1996, William Whitfield, who had been an assessor to the original competition in the late 1980s, and who was also a surveyor of the fabric of St Paul's Cathedral, was asked to become the master planner for Paternoster Square. The eventual design of the square was therefore strongly influenced by the prevailing debates about what was suitable for this area of London in terms of its physical proximity and relationship to St. Paul's Cathedral. From the 1930s onwards, there had been a 'gentlemen's agreement' about how new buildings should respect the view of St Paul's. However, the construction of Sudbury House, which formed part of the post-war redevelopment of Paternoster Square during the 1960's, had broken this agreement (Figure 5.1) (City of London, 2002). With the 'St. Paul's Heights' becoming statutory in 1989, any reconstruction of Paternoster would be directly influenced by the context of the Cathedral. Moreover, for Whitfield, the Cathedral acted as a direct reference point in terms of the overall design of the Square :

> "Because of the site and various other needs... it was becoming a relaxed informal scheme, and that pleased me. So I was determined that the buildings should go to a group of different architects, because in the City of course things changed and developed piecemeal. So you get that diversity that makes a city. You can have grand statements, but the City of London isn't such a place. The grand statement is that [St Paul's]. And the City always huddled up to this with comparatively low buildings" (Paternoster I1).

Whitfield was strongly influenced by the design ideals of the nineteenth century architect and city planner Camillo Sitte. For Sitte, the urban square was the ideal urban space. It was like an outdoor room, or "theatre of common life" (Schorske, 1981, 64). As discussed in Chapter 2, Sitte believed that people were more likely to become attached to spaces that were designed according to the principles of the 'traditional' city. However, while the Square is of an irregular shape, and akin to one of the squares so admired by Sitte, its layout owes more to a compromise between factors related to the commercial interests of the developers and an acceptable design solution for this part of the City:

> "From the urban design point of view it was a doddle. The shape of the site – knowing developers attitudes and that they would want to get a return out of it that justified them doing anything at all – meant that certain things had to happen. There had to be an adequate amount of commercial space, of the kind that the developer dictated. I mean people would have liked a museum here. If the development couldn't earn its keep it couldn't be built. So the site to some extent dictated how the thing would go forward" (Paternoster I1).

Several factors contributed to the manner in which the Square was completed. First, a number of architects were employed to design the surrounding buildings, under the guidance of Whitfield. However, each building that fronted the Square had to relate to the loggias, which were designed by Whitfield. Other features were also included as elements of the Square, such as the Paternoster Column (Figure 5.5), the 'Paternoster' sculpture (Figure 5.6), and the Temple Bar (Figure 5.7). While the Column was designed to be a focal point of the Square, it also had more practical functions, which will be outlined below. However, the positioning of the column and the Temple Bar are both illustrative of the desire to reconnect, at least in a visual manner, the site with the history of this part of the City. The Temple Bar had once stood as an entrance to the City on the Strand, but had been removed during the nineteenth century. Its placement at the entrance to the Square was therefore seen as a return to the City. On the other hand the 'Paternoster' by sculptor Elisabeth Frink, which was erected in Paternoster

Square in 1975, remains as one of the few reminders of its first post-war redevelopment.

The layout of the public square and its surrounding buildings was directly influenced by the shape of the car-park gyratory below ground. This was because Whitfield wanted to avoid a modernist mega-structure and allow for buildings to be taken down and replaced independently of one another in years to come. The design was also influenced by means of promoting visual order through the hiding of various utilities, while also promoting a certain form of social order by 'designing in' particular mechanisms:

> "This is a City [thing]..., it's a policing thing. It was the police who were concerned. It brings on an interesting thing about the design of the square. The escapes from the gyratory are contained within the buildings. If you go to Broadgate there are little holes in the [ground]. Because all of that [there] is places that people can hide, people can sleep, people can fall. So the whole idea was that we had to achieve what appears to be natural ground level, even though it is a completely raised deck. That's why the Column comes in that way, because in order to get air into the car-park below you had to devise it, because you had to get air in the base" (Paternoster I1).

The various features, such as the air duct, were therefore designed in a manner that both hid certain practical items for purely aesthetic reasons, but also embedded mechanisms for social control into the public area of the Square. This also included the fitting of 'skate block' devices to the slab stone benches located around the column, which are aimed at stopping skateboarders and roller-bladers.

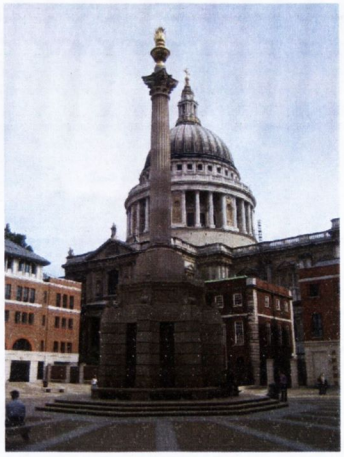

Figure 5.5: Paternoster Column. Note air vents towards bottom of base. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 5.6: 'Paternoster' by Elizabeth Frink. Photo by Author, 2005

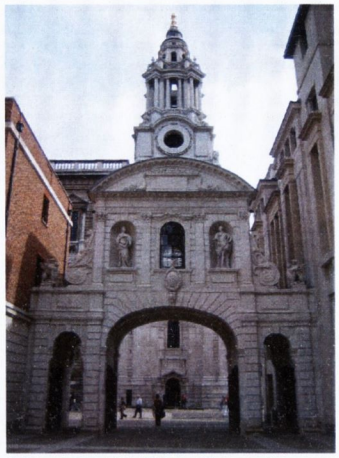

Figure 5.7: The Temple Bar. Photo by Author, 2005

As mentioned above, the Square is owned by Mitsubishi Estates. As a means of maintaining the buildings, Square and the surrounding laneways, Mitsubishi have employed the services of Broadgate Estates. Broadgate are one of the larger management companies operating in London, having contracts in Broadgate (Chapter 4) and One Poultry amongst others. Broadgate take on responsibility for the general up-keep of the Paternoster Estate, which includes cleaning, maintenance and security (Chapter 6). Therefore, to a large extent, the everyday nature of the Square can be regulated and ordered in a manner that is set-out by the management team in accordance with both the owners' and tenants' wishes. However, the public space in Paternoster Square is also officially designated as being open to the public through the *City of London Various Powers Act 1967.* According to the Act, "A city walkway ... is a way or place on which any person may have right of access on foot and may pass and repass on foot as of right..." (City of London, 1967, ch xlii, 4). The origins of the City Walkway legislation can be traced to the vertical segregation of pedestrians from vehicular traffic during the post-war era. Many of the buildings constructed during this period, such as the Barbican (Figure 5.9), were included in the city walkway network. At one point the City Walkways were to extend in a 30-mile network around the City of London, making connections with other elevated walkways elsewhere in central

London. However, as discussed out by Hebbert (1993), the majority of pedestrian movement in the City still took place at ground level. The shift away from vertical separation of traffic and pedestrians during the 1970s ensured that the original complex of walkways was never completed. However, the legal standing of the City Walkway is important in the context of the present day Paternoster Square in that it has ensured that public access was granted as part of its construction, and was not solely based on the desire to create a mixed-use commercial space.



Figure 5.8: Bench, Paternoster Square. Note 'skate block' devices. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 5.9: Thomas More High Walk. Part of the City Walkway network. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 5.10:' Private Property' sign, Paternoster Square, London. Photo by Author, 2005

Under the city walkway legislation, the City takes responsibility for "paving, repairing, draining, cleansing and lighting the city walkway and shall not be exempt from liability for non-repair of the surface of a city walkway" (City of London, 1967 ch xlii, 8). However, since its construction in 2003, Paternoster Square has remained under the control of Broadgate Estates, who manage Paternoster Square on behalf of Mitsubishi Estates Ltd:

> "It was [originally] to go back to City Walkway and the City was to be responsible for maintenance and cleaning etc. We've held discussions with them in the past but politely and delicately we put to them that their cleaning regime wouldn't be as clean or as high as a level or standard as we would recommend and do on our other estates. So we came to an agreement, although it hasn't been put in place, because its still not turned back to City

> Walkway yet, that we would put forward an enhanced level of cleaning, that we would do and pay for out of the service charge in addition to what they would do, and they accepted that. But there is a possibility that it wont actually go back to being city walkway now. They're considering leaving it under the client's ownership and management" (Paternoster I2).

For the management team, the retention of control was related to a desire to provide a higher level of service in terms of the up-keep of the square. It also gives them a degree of control over the space in terms of the activities that can take place there. "[O]ne of the desires that the Corporation have is for this to be a thriving, vibrant square, the 'Jewel in the Crown' of the City of London, as they've said, of open squares" (Paternoster I2). In the view of the management team, one of the ways this could be made to happen was through the disappearance of the City Walkway designation and complete control being gained by the landlord for the estate and square. In many ways this is has happened already, but if the City Walkway designation were to be removed corporate events could be held on the square:

> "If we are allowed to continue in its current capacity, in its private state to carry on doing as were doing, we can have Mercedes cars having a launch etc, etc, and we can do countless numbers of things where the sponsor will dig in to their pockets to pay for it" (Paternoster I2).

In this situation, the fact that the Corporation of London has allowed for the continued private management of space designated as City Walkway points to a shift in the manner in which local governments view the up-keep of urban public space. It indicates that private management of public space is now a more favourable means of delivering a desired outcome (Atkinson, 2003).

The commercial functioning of the Square was further bolstered by the promotion of retail and other non-office orientated functions by both the Corporation of London and the developers of Paternoster during its design and construction (City of London, 2002). Moreover, as a means of differentiating Paternoster from the adjacent shopping area of Cheapside, the architect stipulated, and the developers desired, to seek 'specialist shopping' functions for the square. This

was achieved to a large extent with a mix of up-market restaurants and bars located with seating spilling on to the Square. The area is designed and promoted in a manner that is orientated towards attracting high-profile firms, which in turn attract high-profile retailers, bars and restaurants.

Although it has the image of a traditional square that may be perceived to be restoring this part of the city to what it is 'meant' to be, the bare facts of private ownership and control result in a social space that is aimed to resemble many of the other privately-owned and managed urban spaces in London, such as Broadgate, or Canary Wharf. From a planning and design perspective, the public space of Paternoster Square is therefore fully embedded in issues relating to the broader economy of the city. The manner in which this image is upheld through management and the degree to which such factors impact on the perception of its usage and meanings in everyday life will be returned to in Chapter 6.

'Reclaiming' Public Space: Trafalgar Square, Westminster

As discussed in Chapter 4, the importance of enhancing the public realm for the Greater London Authority (GLA) has been a central feature of various recent policy documents, with particular reference to the promotion of an 'urban renaissance' (GLA, 2002a, 2003). Since taking control of Trafalgar Square and Parliament Square Garden under the *Greater London Authority Act 1999* in July 2000 (DETR, 1999), the GLA set out to transform the image of Trafalgar Square as a space of demonstrations and pigeon feeding into the symbolic space of the GLA. Although the '*World Squares for All Masterplan*' was released in 1998, and thus pre-dated the existence of the GLA, it became a focal point of the GLA's wider strategy to alter the image of public space in London. Through physical alterations along with increased measures of control, the GLA have fostered a particular ideology of public space in Trafalgar Square. This ideology is primarily driven by a desire to use public space as a means of promoting the city's image and attracting tourists through the creation of a 'European model' of a more pedestrian-orientated public realm along with the promotion of events

programmes that highlight the diversity of London life (Griffiths, 1998; McNeill, 1999).

The recent alterations to Trafalgar Square have been influenced by political and aspirational shifts in terms of the official meanings of urban space throughout the previous two decades. For example, in 1986 an exhibition was held in the Royal Academy entitled 'London as it could be', where the architect Richard Rogers displayed plans to alter the connection between the embankment and Trafalgar Square, along with the proposal for a pedestrian bridge to replace the Hungerford rail bridge. Although not directly connected to the aspirations of the 'London as it Could Be' exhibition, the alterations made to Trafalgar Square in recent years are reflective of a wider shift in focus in established city centre urban spaces towards a more pedestrian-friendly environment, which was emerging during this period.

For one planning officer in Westminster City Council, the initial reappraisal of the role of urban public space could be directly connected with changes in government in the early 1990s, and a wider view that spaces such as Trafalgar Square, which were under its remit, were not being properly cared for:

> "John Gummer had become secretary of state for the environment and was showing a more positive view towards London rather than the scene that had been the Thatcher Government from 1979 onwards which had been pretty uninterested either in the planning process or local authorities or doing big things, the intention being that the private sector would eventually get around to do everything. The experience of those of us in the public sector in London was that that's exactly what the private sector wouldn't do, and unless there was some local initiative, some local leadership, probably some local money as well, we weren't really going to go anywhere. So we were given the license to think things, promote ideas within the council (Trafalgar I3)."

This shift in focus has involved an overall reappraisal of the role of such spaces in terms of the wider political economy of place.



Figure 5.11: 'London as It Could Be', Richard Rogers proposal to pedestrianise the north terrace of Trafalgar Square, 1986. Source: www.richardrogers.co.uk



Figure 5.12: North terrace after pedestrianisation. Photo by Author, 2005

The consequence of this shift in approach to the public realm has involved transformations to the physical environment and a particular focus on the experience of the city for pedestrians. In the case of Trafalgar Square, these transformations were initiated through the *'World Squares for All Masterplan'* which was commissioned in 1996 (City of Westminster), 1998). The *World Squares for All Masterplan* (*Ibid*) outlined plans to alter Trafalgar Square, Whitehall, Parliament Square and Victoria Embankment in a manner that promoted ease of pedestrian movement and 'enhanced' the overall experience of the city.[13] As such, the alterations to Trafalgar Square involved the pedestrianisation of the north terrace and the insertion of a stairway to connect the lower and upper terraces.[14]

The title 'World Squares for All' is reflective of the aspirations to promote Trafalgar Square and Parliament Square on a world stage through the enhancement of the pedestrian experience of each space and its surroundings.

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[13] The aspirations to transform the North Terrace can be traced even further back. For example, there were plans to pedestrianise the entire North Terrace extending Eastwards across Charing Cross Road and surrounding the Church of St Martin's in the Field mooted in the late 1960s by the City of Westminster Department of Architecture and Planning Civic Design Group. For one respondent, many of the reasons these plans never went ahead was that they involved the destruction of too many surrounding buildings and tunnelling of roads (Trafalgar I2).

[14] Although the *World Square for All Masterplan* was aimed at transforming both Trafalgar Square and Parliament Square, the transformation of Trafalgar Square was the first part of the plan to be carried out. Moreover, the current Mayor of London, Boris Johnson recently scrapped the ongoing plans to restrict traffic on Parliament Square and alter the central square in a similar manner to Trafalgar Square. http://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/boris-axes-parliament-square-regeneration-plans/1709922.article (Last accessed, 11th August, 2009).

As discussed by one planning officer with Westminster City Council, the idea of creating the 'World Squares for All' slogan came about in the mid-1990s within the planning department of Westminster City Council as a means of recognizing and promoting London as a 'world city':

> "We were always very conscious, although I don't think in a boastful way, because it's actually quite a blight, that we are incredibly fortunate to represent the greater part of one of the world's greatest capital cities. There's probably two cities who really deserve the title of 'world city', in terms of the amount of activity that goes on – economic, social and cultural – that's us and New York, I don't mean Westminster, I mean Central London... the bit that's almost within the Circle Line" (Trafalgar I3).

This viewpoint was further emphasised within the 'World Squares for All' masterplan: "The name 'World Squares for All' recognises that the study area contains public squares of international importance, while the central objective of the Masterplan is to improve accessibility for everyone." (Westminster City Council, 1998, 12). Therefore, the idea of the 'World Squares for All' can be seen as a way of recognizing the role that urban public space can play in terms of the broader political economy of London and as a way of promoting a 'geographical imaginary' of harmonious public space that is at the centre of a diverse yet ordered public space (Bannister et al., 2006).

For many directly involved in the transformation of Trafalgar Square, the transferral of the care and management of Trafalgar Square from from central government to the Greater London Authority (DETR, 1999) and the coming to power of Ken Livingstone was perceived as being the reason that the changes went ahead in the Square. One of the factors to delay the project, however, was that despite the lower terrace being under the management of the GLA, Westminster City Council retained control over the north terrace and therefore could determine whether or not it could be pedestrianised. Moreover, Westminster retained planning control over the entire square, so had a direct involvement in any alterations that were proposed. For example, in 1998 Westminster City Council voted against the proposals to remove traffic from the

north of the Square due to perceived problems associated with traffic congestion that would result from pedestrianisation of the north terrace (*Building Design*, Friday July 3, 1998). However, the introduction of the congestion zone by Ken Livingstone had the effect of reducing traffic within the centre of London. As summarised by one of the urban designers involved in the alterations:

> "When Ken Livingston was elected Mayor and announced that he was going to back it, they said they would oppose it, unless he guaranteed that there would be no costs directly on Westminster Council – i.e, they wouldn't have to pay for any of it. And unless that he instructed the scheme such that the Master Plan was changed, such that there was no severance of existing traffic choices of routes through the area. And thirdly that unless there was a significant – between six and fifteen percent was talked about – reduction of non essential private car traffic coming into Central London, which is a mixture of precise and vague set of criteria. And at the time that was being bandied around, those three pre-conditions, Westminster Council presumably doubted, or didn't believe, that there was any chance of meeting those restraints on central London vehicle traffic, [or] that the mayor had in mind to actually develop a congestion charge scheme" (Trafalgar I2).

The appointment of Livingstone as the Mayor was therefore seen as central to the alterations carried out in the Square. This was further emphasised by one of the architects directly involved in the transformations to the Square:

> "I wouldn't say that as a result of the views of the groups involved that there was specific difficulties, but it does need to be born in mind that not everybody has the same aim, and Westminster answers to a very different group of people including councillors than say the people at the GLA or Transport for London. And perhaps the most significant aspect of the whole transformation, and it may be fair to say, the only reason the project changed from being a masterplan, which was essentially a very theoretical thing that ran the risk of gathering dust on a shelf, [was] the advent of the Mayor, and of Ken Livingstone in particular, [which] meant that this project would become very high profile and important" (Trafalgar I1).

As discussed in Chapter 4, wider transformations to London's public spaces became a central feature of broader policy formation within the GLA under Ken

Livingstone. Therefore, the transformations to Trafalgar Square can be regarded as representative of the wider aspirations for the role of public space within the GLA. While new regulations, including a ban on pigeon feeding (Chapter 6), were part of this transformation, the physical alterations became an essential feature of the vision for Trafalgar Square. For example, as set out by Ken Livingston prior to the alterations in the *Squares Annual Report* from 2002:

> "Since the Greater London Authority (GLA) took management control of Trafalgar Square in the autumn of 2000, we have been working to enhance its social and historic character, for both people of London and for the millions of visitors that enjoy the Square each year, both from home and abroad. My vision is to make Trafalgar Square a vibrant and accessible place whilst maintaining its traditional role as a forum for free speech. I have therefore introduced an innovative events programme that celebrates London's cultural and social diversity. Events on the Square have ranged from bhangra music to opera and have been enjoyed by thousands. We are also moving forward with the World Squares for All project, which will transform Trafalgar Square into a safer environment for pedestrians. A grand central staircase will be built in the Square that will lead from the north terrace to the National Gallery and a cafe, public toilet facilities and a lift will be built into the North Wall (GLA, 2002b, i)."

Although the programme of events was begun prior to any physical works being carried out, the physical alterations were a central feature of the reimagining of Trafalgar Square. As will be discussed Chapter 6, the physical changes have transformed the Square in terms of both the running of events and the everyday life of the space.

The *World Squares for All Masterplan* (City of Westminster, 1998) was carried out by Foster and Partners. Subsequently, a competition was launched to carry out the alterations to the Square. This was also won by Foster and Partners. In terms of carrying out the alterations, the historical setting of Trafalgar Square meant that numerous considerations had be taken into account. For example, Trafalgar Square is designated as a Conservation Area and is surrounded by listed buildings and includes a number of Grade I listed monuments, including Nelson's Column. As pointed out by a representative of Atkins design and engineering

consultants, who were involved in the *World Squares for All Masterplan* and who specialize in integrating urban design with transport planning and engineering, "...a lot of the kind of consultations that heard Foster's lot was to do with the English Heritage aspiration, desire, requirement, whatever, to be sympathetic first and foremost to the heritage setting..." (Trafalgar I 2). This was further emphasised by one of the project architects involved in the transformations to the Square:

> "I don't think we had any greater difficulty than anybody else would have in making changes to grade I listed monuments. The assumption is that if something is grade I listed you cant do anything to it. Its not true, it just means that it is the highest level of importance in terms of heritage, and so, perhaps the criteria by which any proposals change them, their setting, or their actual location are higher or more stringent. I would say we developed a very strong and close working relationship with Westminster City Council and English Heritage, without which it would not have been possible for any of this to have taken place" (Trafalgar I1).

As noted above, the alterations involved the connection of the north terrace and the central part of the Square, along with the associated alterations to traffic routes and pedestrian crossings.

As a means of achieving this, Foster and Partners employed a method by which the movement of pedestrians could be mapped and measured, called Space Syntax (see Hillier 1999). As outlined by one of the architects involved in the Trafalgar Square project on behalf of Foster and Partners, Space Syntax

> "is a method for both analysing how people use space and anticipating how they're likely to use space in a different configuration to the present day. And it is based on an understanding and the realisation that people move in the straightest possible lines, take the shortest possible routes to get from A to B, are assisted greatly in understanding where they're going and how to get there by what is visible at any one time" (Trafalgar I1).

With the promotion of movement through the Square as one of the priorities, the insertion of a wide central staircase, which was aligned to the portico of the National Gallery, became a central aspect of the alterations (Figure 5.13). Two

bronze coloured lift-shafts were placed either side of the newly-installed staircase to improve the overall accessibility to the Square (Figure 5.14). The introduction of the staircase and the pedestrianisation of the north terrace also had consequences in terms of an increased pressure of usage. As pointed out by one of the lead architects on the project, "...Westminster [Council] said that, if indeed, you will have that large increase in visitor numbers, you also need facilities to help deal with them..., and so they required us to introduce toilets into the equation." (Trafalgar I1). In order to have minimal visual impact on the Square, these were placed underneath the North Terrace to the west of the staircase and coincided with the lower level entrance to one of the new lifts. The entrance to the lift entrance on the lower part of the Square was located to achieve a symmetry with the west, acting also as an entrance to a small café which was placed under the east side of the North Terrace.



Figure 5.13: Newly inserted central staircase as informal seating area. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 5.14: Pedestrianised north terrace looking south east. Photo by Author, 2005

The perceived significance of these changes for the GLA upon completion in 2003 have been summarised in a number of documents (2004a, 2004c). For example, since the transformations, the *Squares Annual Report* has been used as a means of actively promoting the Mayor's vision for Trafalgar Square:

> "2003 saw the most dramatic change to Trafalgar Square since the 1800s [sic]. July marking the unveiling of an exciting new look to this central London landmark – a prestigious new public space in the heart of London,

> designed to enhance the visitor experience of both Londoners and tourists from all over the world" (GLA, 2004c, i).

The highlighting of Trafalgar Square as a 'new public space' is indicative of the overall desire to transform the social meanings of Trafalgar Square. Furthermore, the role of Trafalgar Square in terms of the symbolic economy of London has been highlighted in several documents focusing on the future of London. For example, in *London Cultural Capital: Realising the Potential of a World Class City* (GLA 2004a), Trafalgar Square is seen as playing a central role in terms of promoting the wider image of London as a 'world city' in competition with other cities on the world stage:

> "The Mayor's vision for Trafalgar Square has been to transform it into one of the great city squares, defining the world image of the city and rivalling St Mark's Square in Venice or Red Square in Moscow. It should become a symbolic centre for London: a lively and accessible space to be enjoyed by Londoners and visitors alike. It should be a social and historic focus reflecting London's diversity while maintaining its role as a place of protest and dissent, celebration and informal gathering" (GLA, 2004b, 148).

Such statements emphasise the manner in which alterations to spaces such as Trafalgar Square are seen as crucial to the cultural economy of London by the GLA. This is further emphasised by the connection between the events and marketing strategies relating to Trafalgar Square. The importance of this city-image was highlighted by a city planner with Westminster City Council as follows: "...a lot of Olympic-related activity will take place in ... Trafalgar Square ... and other places like that, which are fairly iconic, because that's what you can sell on the global news media" (Trafalgar I 3).

As outlined above, control of Trafalgar Square (along with Parliament Square Gardens) came under the remit of the GLA in July 2000. Since this time, there have been numerous official interventions beyond its physical transformation. While these interventions are interconnected, there are several aspects that need to be outlined separately. Initially, a Squares Management Team was introduced as a means of maintaining both Trafalgar Square and Parliament Square and

promoting events on Trafalgar Square. While the promotion of events will be dealt with in Chapter 6, the manner in which the up-keep of the Square has been carried out is representative of recent shifts in the control and management of urban public space. This has involved the introduction of new bye-laws as well as their enforcement through the introduction of Heritage Wardens.

Under the allowances of the Greater London Authority Act (Section 385 (1)), the GLA may make bye-laws as a means of regulating and maintaining both Trafalgar and Parliament Square:

> "The Authority may make such bye-laws to be observed by persons using Trafalgar Square or Parliament Square Garden as the Authority considers necessary for securing the proper management of those Squares and the preservation of order and the prevention of abuses there."

The new bye-laws came into force on the 1st of October 2000 (GLA, *Trafalgar Square and Parliament Square Garden (Amendment No: 1) Byelaws 2002*), replacing *The Royal Parks and Other Open Spaces Regulations 1997*. As a means of enforcing the bye-laws, the GLA introduced 'Heritage Wardens' to Trafalgar Square: "The Wardens role on the Squares is broadly to uphold the bye-laws, facilitate good management of the spaces, and help visitors to the Squares" (GLA, Unpublished Heritage Warden Role Document, 2005). The Wardens are employees of a private firm which works on a contract basis from the GLA.[15] The role of the Heritage Wardens will be outlined in further detail in Chapter 6. However, their introduction is reflective of a desire to manage and control various activities in the square in a particular manner that is within the accepted norms of the new official image of the square.

The physical transformations are therefore only a part of the overall aim of transforming the everyday nature and meaning of Trafalgar Square as a public space. To understand fully its transformation, the way in which official approaches to management, along with the every-day use of the space, must be

[15]During the period of fieldwork in 2005, the heritage wardens were employees of Cape UK Security Services. This has since been changed to Chubb Security

examined in further detail. This will be taken up again in Chapter 6.

The Development of Peckham Square, Southwark

Peckham is situated in the London Borough of Southwark in South London. It is a diverse area in terms of its ethnic make-up, with particularly strong black African and Caribbean communities (Maginn, 2004). Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, Southwark was identified as one of the most deprived local authority areas in England, with 62% of its wards defined as being in a deprived state in 1994 (Peckham Partnership, 1994). The situation of Southwark is a familiar one of post-industrial decline. As pointed out by Maginn (2004, 142):

> "Southwark had entered into a spiral of decline following the demise of the docks, food processing and warehousing industries in neighbourhoods such as Borough, Bermondsey and Rotherine during the early 1970s. Industrial decline led to the abandonment and demise of large parts of the built environment along the river. Elsewhere in the borough, housing neighbourhoods such as Aylesbury, Heygate and Peckham Estates and the infamous Elephant and Castle shopping centre and road system, began to display signs of growing socio-economic, physical and environmental problems by the 1980s."

As also discussed by Maginn (*Ibid*), Southwark Council set about developing a regeneration strategy based around "...re-branding itself politically, physically, economically, socially and culturally." In the early 1990s, the area of Peckham was identified as being particularly disadvantaged, with the '5 Estates'[16] having the highest deprivation indicators in the 1991 Census (Peckham Partnership, 1994). As a means of securing funding in the form of the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), The Peckham Partnership was set up in 1994 by Southwark Council to oversee an overall strategy in terms of the redevelopment of the Peckham area (Peckham Partnership, 1995).

Through its successful bid it secured £60 Million, combined with a further

[16]The '5 Estates' refer to five high density public housing estates in Peckham built between the 1930s and the 1970s which have been replaced and renovated between the mid-1990s and the present (Peckham Partnership, 1995).

investment of £210 Million in private investment. Although there was overlap with earlier sources of funding, the creation of Peckham Square was a direct outcome of the Peckham Partnership in terms of its provision of various public services surrounding a public space that could become a focal point of the Peckham area: "The strategy comprises an integrated package of projects designed to provide lasting solutions to the area's housing problems, low educational achievement, high unemployment, high crime levels and poor provision of community facilities" (*Ibid*, 6). The manner in which the creation of Peckham Square fitted within this aspirations will be outlined below.

In comparison to traditional town squares, Peckham Square is laid out in an informal manner, as it has been developed gradually in a piecemeal fashion since the early-1990s, with public buildings located at various locations around a hard-landscaped plaza. A number of buildings back onto the square from Peckham High Street to the south and separate it from the centre of the town. The key public buildings are Peckham Arch, which acts as an entrance point from Peckham High Street (Figure 5.15), a fitness centre called Peckham Pulse is located to the north west of the square and Peckham Library (5.16) which is located in the north east of the square.



Figure 5.15: Peckham Arch, Peckham Square. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 5.16: Peckham Library from Peckham Arch during farmers market. Photo by Author, 2005

The Arch was the first element of Peckham Square to be built and was created as a form of market place and 'gateway' in 1993. The area had at once been associated with the possible construction of a Town Hall during the 1980s, followed by a leisure Centre known as 'Peckham Pomp' in the late 1980s. However according to representatives of Southwark Council, shifts in government along with financial restrictions put a halt to these projects taking place (Peckham I1). For those involved in the original development of the Square, the Arch was based on an aspiration of the then director of planning in Southwark, Fred Manson, to act as a catalyst for the overall regeneration of the area. The original concept for the Peckham Square was to make a link between the town centre (Rye Lane) and Burgess Park to the North via the Surrey Canal walk. A competition organised in 1993 was won by Troughton McAslan Architects. A former senior partner with Troughton McAslan commented on the project as follows:

> "Our brief was essentially to create a gateway to Peckham at the Northern end of Burgess Park. That had been formerly been a canal route which had been drained. There was some existing old ... garages on the site. He [Fred Manson] managed to CPO the buildings, which created in a way, the site, which was about 40 metres in width. So he enabled in a way, through purchasing those derelict properties, to create the space for the arch, which didn't exist. It *was* a gap, a drug infested gap" (Peckham I2).

The construction of the Arch was made possible through a £1 Million Urban Partnership Fund. However, this did not cover the full extent of the original plans. The delay between the construction of the Arch and the successful bid for the Single Regeneration Bid meant that the original plans for the Square altered over time:

> "There was really initially a very expansive plan, which got cut back during the course of the project, to essentially consist of the covered ... market place, a covered space, with the opportunity for retail activity around the edges, market activity, a lower space, a step space for events, and then a lower place which would then engage the future building, which at that point was [to be] a leisure centre; it became a library." (Peckham I2).

The construction of the Arch was therefore used as a means to demarcate where

future developments such as the Leisure Centre and the Library would take place. For Fred Manson, the idea of regeneration was not simply about the physical regeneration of an area, but also about job creation and attempting to enhance the overall social regeneration of the area. Therefore, the development of Peckham Square was central to the concerns of the Peckham Partnership. This was not only because it provided a focal point in terms of Peckham as a place, but also because it provided functions that were specifically part of the SRB funding package in terms of the regeneration of Peckham. As pointed out by a representative of the Peckham Programme, which superseded the Peckham Partnership:

> "It's rare to find squares such as Peckham Square in urban contexts as we have in Peckham. For financial reasons and other sorts of reasons, local authorities have not been building town squares, so in that respect I think it is a positive. The other positive aspect is that I think it is an excellent setting for the Library and the other civic and amenity buildings that we have in the square" (Peckham I 4).

Adding to this, he continued:

> "It's one of the key elements of the renewal of the area, which was seen as a primary objective. And its creation has added greatly to a sense of place and a sense of being in Peckham. It has a bit of a heart, that can be seen by the local community" (Peckham I 4).

It was in this context that the Leisure Centre and Library were constructed within the Square. The Leisure Centre was designed in-house by Southwark Council architects as a means of providing a combined space for fitness and overall health. At the same time, the Library was being designed by Will Alsop and Jan Stormer for the north east of the Square.

From the perspective of wider urban regeneration, the Library is of importance for a number of reasons. First, the construction of the library was seen as a key aspect of the overall regeneration of the area in terms of providing an accessible educational facility in the centre of Peckham. Second, the library was also seen as a 'One Stop Shop' for making inquiries about various council services, and promoting a more user-friendly approach to interaction between the council and

the public. It was also hoped that through the location of the One Stop Shop people might be more inclined to use the library. This was summarised by a former senior partner with Alsop and Storper, the architects of the library, as follows:

> "We realised that there was a desire to go to the library either with some social problems or to pay your local council tax or whatever, because they find the Southwark Town Hall a bit imposing – difficult to cross that threshold. That was important, that was how the one-stop shop came into being. The notion of training, computer training, IT training in particular, that was a no brainer you're going to do that anyway. Housing the African Caribbean Music Collection, which I think they still fucked up, I don't think they've got that right... the meeting room there, which is basically open to the public as well as the library. And then the other sort of story-telling room, they were going to use that for other things as well" (Peckham I 3).

As well as providing a public facility, the design of the library was also seen as an important element by creating a 'landmark building' that would act as a focal point of the regeneration of Peckham. In terms of boosting the image associated with Peckham, the Library, and the surrounding Square were seen as key elements which were taken up by various media outlets. For example, much of the media comment relating to the construction of the Square and the Library compared the stereotypical image of Peckham with that the manner in which it was going to change:

> "Here be monsters. The sort of place where strangers expect to be mugged before they get off the 37 bus. It's poor and run-down for sure, but it's actually shot through with a rich charge of world cultures and even great architecture ... brooding behind a monumental superfice of hideous housing estates and choked arterial roads. Now all this will become apparent, as Peckham is about to get a makeover. It's all down to Peckham Square, a magnetic new public place created by the London Borough of Southwark to raise the districts profile and confidence of its people. The heart of the ultra-modern new square will be the Peckham Library and Media Centre, designed by the architects Alsop and Stormer. It promises to be one of the funkiest new buildings in Britain. An urban landmark. A Social catalyst. An architectural experience of a very high order. And great fun too" (Glancey, 1999).

The role of the library in terms of regeneration was formally recognised when the architects Will Alsop and Jan Stormer received the Royal Institute of British Architects Sterling Prize in 2000.

The square was seen by Fred Manson to act as a 'magnet', or 'field of force' to give some sort of definition to the area (Peckham I1). A representative of the Architects of Southwark Council described the manner in which the design of the public plaza was used as a means of trying visually to connect the various buildings on the square which, for him, did not really have much of a relationship to one another as follows:

> "It was funny the way things happen because you might think of the square happening: The idea of the square with a colonnade around it and then the buildings built sort of around it. I know of a lovely little place in Italy like that, a place called Villa Regio. It's got arcades and a little church at the end and it is perfect. This one didn't happen like this. There was a vaguer idea of open space and metropolitan open space. The buildings were set up and then we came along later and did the landscape to try and make a bit of sense of it. These buildings don't have a very comfortable relationship with each other, but we did the best we could" (Peckham I1).

From a design perspective the solution was described as creating a 'magic carpet', in which the space would become visually coherent through the design of the plaza itself. According to one representative of the design team, the elements within the Square were in part inspired by Antonio Gaudi's Park Guell in Barcelona. For example, a sculpture comprising four spherical and semi-spherical pieces representing 'Fire', 'Wind', 'Water', and 'Earth' by sculptor Duncan Hooston is located towards the centre of the square (Figures 5.17 and 5.18). Hooston worked with local children in the construction of the Spheres, which are clad with pieces of coloured ceramics. These were then set within tiles marking out the 'magic carpet'. Finally, elongated curved metal benches are located around the edges of the square and under the covered over-hang of the library. Although there is no strict uniformity to the design of the plaza itself, these features distinguish it from the surrounding area in which it is located, and, in a

visual sense, demarcate it as a distinct urban 'square'.



Figure 5.17: Leisure Centre with 'Earth' in the foreground. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 5.18: Central part of Peckham Square with 'Earth' in the foreground. Photo by Author, 2005

While the creation of a 'sense of place' in the community was seen as a key feature to emerge from the different individuals and agencies involved in the development of Peckham Square, officials from both Southwark Council and the Peckham Programme also commented on the difficulties associated with the upkeep of the square. For example, as indicated by one member of the original design team,

> "Initially the managers were very committed, but after a few years that faded. We had a Square manager, who was a local person, who got to know the trouble spots, he coordinated maintenance, events and he drew up on our experience. We had meetings every few months. He wanted an office on the square, but that wasn't forthcoming, his office was a couple of miles away" (Peckham I 1).

However, after a period of time for predominantly financial reasons, the management of the Square was reduced and merged with issues surrounding the wider public domain:

> "It's not a public highway, so it's less priority than if it were. So it takes its turn in the queue to be looked after and to be nurtured. Therefore, the sorts of standards that I and many others have might be deemed to be very very high and too high for the budgets" (Peckham I 4).

Furthermore, the Peckham Programme saw the overlap of responsibility among different parts of local government as one of the more frustrating aspects of managing the Square.

> "On the negative side, as with a number of features of townscape, where there is no clarity around management responsibility, dysfunctional activities will take place and we also have an issue that it's a very highly attractive well-used piece of the town centre and that means it requires a degree of constant and ongoing investment so it can be up to its best at all times, and I'm not sure that we have achieved that in the square" (Peckham I 4).

The examples cited often included the condition of the light-fittings around the Square, whether they were in the ground or under the Arch, which were viewed as gradually falling into disrepair in recent years. The difficulties associated with the upkeep of the Square reflect the limitations for particular strands of local government to fund public facilities without resorting to private means of delivery and funding. The creation of Peckham Square can be seen to differ from the more generalised view of urban public space as outlined in Chapter 2 (Mitchell, 1995; Raco, 2003; Low and Smith, 2006) in that its was developed in a manner that was aimed at creating a 'heart' for the neighbourhood of Peckham and was surrounded by buildings offering a public service beyond that of consumption. The day-to-day nature of the square will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The Dublin Case Studies: Mayor Square, O'Connell Street and Smithfield Square

Mayor Square, IFSC Phase II, Dublin Docklands

Mayor Square is the central public square in the second phase of the IFSC in Dublin's North Docklands. As discussed in Chapter 4, critical accounts of the first phase of the IFSC resulted in a direct aim of CHDDA to create a more socially and physically integrated urban environment in the construction of Phase II of the IFSC (KPMG, 1996; Bartley and Treadwell Shine, 2003). While the relative success of these aspirations has been debated (Moore, 2008), there was a discernible shift in terms of official approach in the second phase to a mixed-use model of development influenced by a mixture of 'New Urbanist' ideals and a 'European urban model' (Chapter 2).

In 1994, the area that was to be redeveloped comprised land between Mayor Street and the river Liffey to the south, and a large social-housing scheme called Sheriff Street Flats between Mayor Street and Sheriff Street to the north, running from the Custom House Docks to Guild Street in the east. The original ambitions to regenerate the area involved the retention of a certain amount of the physical fabric of the area: "All the Corporation flats are structurally sound and could be described as being in fair condition. They have a certain strong architectural character and have the potential to be attractive in a redevelopment" (CHDDA, 1994 Section 3.06).[17] While it was therefore originally intended that these flats should be kept as part of the redevelopment, the site was sold to Chesterbridge Developments (c.1994) for €3.1 Million. Chesterbridge subsequently redeveloped the entire site. Thus, with the exception of the former Queen's Excise Store, Mayor Street and Mayor Square have been almost entirely redeveloped during the last decade.

[17] From a design perspective, the Sheriff Street flats complex were representative of the wider influence of Dutch architecture on Dublin's social housing throughout the 1930s, 40s and 50s. In particular, such schemes can be directly identified with the 'Amsterdam School' of which the Mercatorplein case study is an example (McManus, 2002) (Figure 5.16).



Figure 5.19: Sheriff Street Flats in the early 1990s. Source: Courtesy of Dr. Andrew MacLaran



Figure 5.20: Mayor Square on former site of Sheriff Street Flats. Photo by Author, 2005

Mayor Square is situated about half-way along the Mayor Street. Although the design and layout of the square have evolved considerably since the original plan of 1994, Mayor Square has remained a central feature of the development of IFSC phase II and has been seen as a central element in terms of "raising the visual quality of the streets concerned" (CHDDA, 1994 6.02):

> "Mayor Street in particular offers the opportunity for upgrading and it is proposed to create a major new urban space at its centre which is shown linked in a visual sense by means of a new route through to the Liffey frontage via the former [intended] National Sports Centre site. This new Square takes advantage of the potential created by the Queen's Excise Store and two blocks of the Sheriff Street flats to determine an attractively dimensioned space" (CHDDA, 1994, 6.02).

For the DDDA, which took over the duties of the CHDDA in the expansion of the docklands remit in 1997, Mayor Square was seen as the focal point of Phase II of the IFSC. From a planning perspective, the aims for the planning of Phase II of the IFSC were to move away from the isolationist 'campus style' model that had come to define Phase I.

The masterplan was led by Terry Durney, former Director of Planning and Services with the DDDA, who, as indicated above, envisioned a return to the principles of 'European Planning' through the promotion of the ideals of 'New

Urbanism' without 'the "twee" style' (Mayor Square I 1). For Durney, "...the objective was to develop a series of city streets and spaces of scale and harmony, which permit the creation of an attractive public realm" (Durney, 2004, 48). The original design was altered prior to implementation but was still directly influenced by a 'European model' of public space. This was indicated by a representative of Urban Projects architects, who were responsible for coordinating the layout and overall design of Mayor Square, as follows:

> "I suppose the only thing I should say, in its broadest terms, is a European tradition of making public space. It seems kind of interesting to me that ... if you think of what's actually happened in Dublin over the last 10 years, lets say 15 ... you have had in a certain sense built, in terms of public space, the spaces in Temple Bar. Whether that be Meeting House Square, Curved Street, or Temple Bar Square. And those were the first public interventions in the city, which made public space, which had happened since the Wide Streets Commissioners [in the 18th Century]" (Mayor Square I 2).

In practice, the example of the IFSC, as with other masterplanned urban spaces, involved the connection of various private developments through the creation of a public space and a new pedestrian street leading from the Square to the water. This involved the coordination between Chesterbridge, The National College of Ireland, The Clarion Hotel and the developers of the Clarion Quay Apartments on behalf of the DDDA:

> "Because, as the Planning Authority, the DDDA runs what's called a Section 25 Planning Scheme, so you don't get planning permission the same as you do in the rest of Dublin City. And it had imposed a condition upon the rest of the developers around here, that they had to essentially contribute to and allow for the design of the space. And so we became the agents on behalf of the Dublin Docklands Development Authority, for coordinating this, for providing an outline design, which was then built by the various people under various contracts. In fact we did most of all of this [South Side], and then we coordinated with Chesterbridge, who are on the Northside, to actually ensure that what was built there was done and so that it was seamless. So what was curious about this, and what was fantastic about it, is that essentially the homogeneity and continuity of that space was achieved, even though it was

built in relation to four separate contracts...(Mayor Square I 2).

The design and layout of the Square was therefore directly connected to the design of each of the individual buildings, which in turn had to be oriented towards the square. In this regard the square is in keeping with the grid pattern of the surrounding streets, and is divided in two by Mayor Street. However, as indicated above, much of the design of the square involved attempts to create a visual unity between the buildings on either side and connect it to Excise Walk. This was achieved through the installation of a particular lighting standard that allowed the space to be differentiated from the surrounding streets, and connect the two sides of the space in a visual sense, while also linking it with Excise Walk.

Land-use was also seen as an integral aspect of the design and planning of the square. The north side of the square is bounded by apartments, with various retail outlets, cafés, and bars located underneath. The south-east of the square is occupied by the National College of Ireland, on the front of which is located a tall sculpture known as the 'Iris', due to its resemblance to the Iris flower. The south-west of the square is occupied by Clarion Quay apartments, which house a small supermarket and a bank at street level. A former Bonded Warehouse, which was retained in the development of the area occupies the site between this building and the road and is currently in use as Starbucks coffee shop.[18] The focus on mixed uses surrounding the Square is indicative of the desire to get away from the mono-functional city that had defined much of the original IFSC and much of Dublin's office development in the preceding three decades:

> "What we wanted was that there was public use on it, and the more intense that use was the better, in that there was retail or commercial or whatever. Because generally..., and that's got to do with kind of rhythm of dimension in terms of what I would call the irrigation of the space. In other words if you have a space which is essentially a plaza, that's an entrance to an office building, ie, the Bank of Ireland on Baggot Street, that's essentially a Plaza... it's Ronny Tallon, Robin Walker bringing a Miesian bunch of buildings together

[18] During the period of fieldwork in 2006, this building was in use as a bar.

> on the model of the Seagram Building, dropping it in to Baggot Street and there's a plaza which is there, which is only seen as a forecourt to the building itself. And while it has a bank on one side, it's essentially an arid space in terms of public use. I suppose our proposition would have been different, coming from the Temple Bar stuff, coming from the idea of making the street, coming from an the idea of that irrigation and intensificaion of the street, would have been the more uses we got the better... (Mayor Square I 2)

This viewpoint was echoed by a senior partner of Anthony Reddy Architects, the firm responsible for the design of the Chesterbridge apartments, and the design of the North part of the Square. For them the aim was to get back to a space that was used for various functions, which meant the degree to which it had a mix of surrounding land uses:

> "We probably pushed the boundaries a little further than they anticipated. It wasn't part of the brief that the ground floors would be restaurants and shops and things like that, that was something we were the ones who pushed. And a lot of agents were saying it wouldn't work, and we just pushed and pushed ... if it failed it could be converted back to housing" (Mayor Square I 3).

Therefore the creation of a mixed-use environment in Mayor Square can be directly related to the economic concerns of the developer of the Chesterbridge apartments on the north side of the Square. However, the desire to create a mixed-use space was driven primarily by the architects involved in terms of creating a connection between the public space and the surrounding buildings.

In many ways, the variety of uses on the square can be seen as representative of the wider aspirations of the DDDA to get away from the mono-functional city that had defined the first phase of the IFSC and attempt to promote a greater amount of mixed-use within the docklands. Furthermore, the desires of local interest groups in addressing the needs of the established local community are also directly evident within Mayor Square. For example, the location of the National College of Ireland on the square is representative of the aim to promote the location of educational facilities in the docklands. The Clarion Quay apartments, which is mixed-tenure development, on the square is a direct outcome of

community aspirations to redress the overwhelming bias towards the private development sector within the docklands up until this period (MacLaran, 2007).



Figure 5.21: South side of Mayor Square. Photo by Author, 2006



Figure 5.22: North side of Mayor Square. Photo by Author, 2006

The numerous layers of ownership and control in Mayor Square have resulted in a complex management situation. This was outlined by a number of respondents throughout the interviews. While Dublin City Council takes care of the maintenance of the road, the overall remit for the control of the south side of Mayor Square, along with the general control and maintenance for the IFSC area, is with the DDDA. A company called North Wall Quay/Mayor Street Management Ltd, which is 100% owned by the DDDA, looks after these spaces on behalf of the DDDA. This is then sub-contracted to a company called Irish Facilities Management Services (IFMS). IFMS also operate the security and general upkeep of the IFSC on behalf of CHD Management Ltd, which has responsibility for Phase I of the IFSC development. Its remit for Mayor Square, which is part of Phase II of the IFSC comes from North Wall Quay/Mayor Street Management Company. In Phase I, the wider area is controlled and managed by the IFMS. However, due to the ownership structure, Mayor Square is different. This was summarised as follows by a representative of the IFMS management as follows:

> "Mayor Square is slightly different in that you have the IFSC Phase II which owns up to the foot-path – there's actually a silver line if you have a look at it, that delineates the public and private. So on the College side that belongs to another management company, North Wall Key Management, set up similar

> to Phase I CHD Management. They have responsibility for the insurance maintenance etc, security of that area. Then Dublin City Council own the roadway. Then across on the other-side you have the apartment block which is set up similarly to Phase II. They own the Square and they maintain and insure that. So in that large Square you have three different owners" (Mayor Square I 4).

While the maintenance and cleaning duty is divided between the above mentioned bodies, the IFMS have the overall remit for the day-to-day management and security of Mayor Square. The impact of these different ownership issues and how it relates to the wider public use and overall aspirations for the creation of a 'European style' urban public space will be returned to in chapters 6 and 7.

'Re-Branding a 'Main Street': O'Connell Street, Dublin

O'Connell Street was originally laid out in the 18th Century as Sackville Mall, and later extended to the river as a thoroughfare. It is perceived within both official discourses and the popular imagination as the 'main-street' of Dublin (Whelan, 2003). Since the inception of the *O'Connell Street Integrated Area Plan* (IAP) in 1998, the publicly controlled part of the street has undergone a physical remodelling as a means of altering its social and economic reality. The alterations included the widening of the footpaths along with the standardisation of street furniture and replacement of trees as a means of giving the street a uniform image. Also included was the selection of a monument to replace Nelson's Pillar, which was destroyed by the IRA on the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 Easter rising in 1966.

During the 1980s and 1990s, O'Connell Street was perceived as run-down and symbolic of the wider economic decline of Dublin at the time (Dublin Corporation, 1998). Throughout this period, various plans emerged that were aimed at transforming the public domain of the street. These included proposals by the Dublin Metropolitan Street Commission to enhance and extend the pedestrian

space of the street as part of the overall enhancement of the public domain in Dublin City Centre in the lead up to Dublin's Millennium year of 1988 (Metropolitan Streets Commission, 1987). The commission was terminated in 1987 without any of its plans being executed. However, minor alterations were made to the street during this period. This included the erection of the Anna Livia Fountain, which was sponsored by Michael Smurfit, an Irish businessman and entrepreneur, on a site close to the former location of Nelson's Pillar (see Whelan, 2003). Various other pieces of street furniture, such as lamps, with a specially designed 'Dublin '88' crest were also installed on the street and around the centre of the city centre during this period (Figures 5.23 and 5.24).

These aspirations to transform O'Connell Street during during Dublin's millennium year in 1988 were also made evident through the launch of an aspirational competition by the Architectural Association or Ireland (AAI), the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland (RIAI), and the Sculptor's Society to find a replacement for Nelson's Pillar entitled 'The Pillar Project'. This project was used as a means of demonstrating the possibilities for placing a monument at the centre of O'Connell Street by Irish architects and sculptors (O'Regan, 1998). At the time, the competition attracted widespread attention from both the public and the media, including a live announcement of a public ballot on the 'late late show' on the national television channel, Radio Telefis Eireann (RTE) (*Ibid*). The winning entry proposed a large triumphal arch on the site Nelson's Pillar called 'Millennium Arch' (Whelan, 2003). While the competition had only been intended as an ideas competition, both it and the proposals for general street improvements on O'Connell Street can be viewed as the initiation of a 'turn' in how the city centre of Dublin was viewed in both the popular and official imagination, which would be picked up again by the City Council during the mid-to-late 1990s.



Figure 5.23: Trees and 1988 lamp before removal. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 5.24: Detail of 1988 logo on lamp standard. Photo by Author, 2005

Throughout the second half of 1990s, Dublin Corporation began actively to seek ways of altering the image of O'Connell Street. This was outlined by a planning officer with Dublin City Council as follows:

> "I was working on the Projects team back in around '98 when the O'Connell Street project was started. The O'Connell Street project started because the City Council itself was very concerned at the state O'Connell Street had got into, as was the public. There was a lot of media, and a lot of publicity at the time into the continuing decline of what is probably our most important street" (O'Connell Street I 2).

Through projects such as O'Connell Street and HARP, Dublin Corporation was starting to promote the image of the city so as to become more competitive with other European cities (Griffiths, 1998). In this regard it began to look at public space in other European cities such as Barcelona and Paris with a view to creating a more liveable city (Dublin Corporation, 1998a).This was summarised by a representative of Dublin City Council as follows:

> "As part of regenerating the city it was considered absolutely essential to regenerate the public realm. You couldn't take one away from the other. And we wanted Dublin to become a competitive European City, and to compete with other European cities, [so we] had to create a public realm of European quality. So we're at the start of that process and we have an awful lot more to

> do. But its more that that. Yeah, ok, we want to be competitive, [but] on the other hand we want to make a city that is for the people, and for the pedestrian" (O'Connell Street I2).

The promotion of the city so as to compete with other European cities was therefore directly connected to the appearance of the public realm, which at the time was perceived to be in poor condition. As pointed out by a representative of the architects division of Dublin City Council, O'Connell Street was perceived "... as a low grade retail environment, a low grade social environment, a low grade tourist environment, a low grade traffic environment, and a low grade pedestrian environment" (O'Connell Street I 3)."

It was in the context of this poor perception of the public realm of O'Connell Street that the *O'Connell Street Integrated Area Plan* (IAP) (1998a) aimed to alter the overall image of the street, from both a physical and social perspective. Throughout the plan the overall objective of Dublin Corporation was made explicit:

> "This plan involves taking a holistic approach to the street and its environs, with the objective of radically altering the reality and image of the street, fundamentally shifting market perception, and changing the attitude of ordinary citizens" (Dublin Corporation, 1998a, 8).

This is further highlighted at another point in the plan:

> "Nothing short of a redefinition of the existing use culture in O'Connell Street and its environs is considered necessary if the street is to respond to its role as Main Street of the capital and of the country" (Dublin Corporation, 1998a, 45).

Throughout the plan, a whole new layout was proposed for the street, which placed an emphasis on improving pedestrian access. Furthermore, the plan sought to construct a new monument in the centre of the street to become a symbol of Dublin in the 21st Century.

In July 1998, Dublin Corporation in association with the RIAI launched an international competition entitled *A New Monument for O'Connell Street: International Competition for a New Symbol for Dublin.* In urban design terms the

aim of the competition was to select a monument that "...would play a pivotal role in the composition of the street..." (Dublin Corporation, 1998b, 3). Furthermore, the shifts in the aspirations within Dublin Corporation towards re-imagining Dublin on the European and global stages were made explicit in both the desired outcome of the competition and the manner in which it was pursued. As summarised within the competition brief "...the monument should be a new symbol and image of Dublin for the 21st century (such as, for example, the Eiffel Tower is for Paris and the Statue of Liberty is for New York)" (*ibid*, 4). Moreover, the international status of the competition may be reflective of a growing desire to use internationally-recognised architectural names as a means of boosting the project and the image of Dublin more generally. The winning design by Ian Ritchie architects from London, comprised of a 120 Metre tapering metal spire called the 'Spire of Dublin' (figure 5.25).



Figure 5.25: The Spire of Dublin. Photo by Author, 2007



Figure 5.26: Simulation of desired alterations to area surrounding GPO On O'Connell Street to form an urban plaza as outlined in IAP, 1998. Source, Gerry Mitchell Landscape Architects; www.mitchell.ie

Although a decision to erect the Spire of Dublin was made by Dublin Corporation in 1999, its construction was held up by a judicial review and the implementation of an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) (see McDonald, 2000). Construction began in 2002 and it was completed in January 2003. This coincided with the wider alterations to the street, which were completed in 2006. As originally outlined in the 1998 IAP, these changes involved the widening of the footpaths on either side, the replacement of the London plane trees and the creation of a new

'civic space' on front of the GPO. The transformations also involved the removal of pieces of street furniture that were deemed unsuitable to the new image of the street, such as the lamps commemorating Dublin's Millennium year of 1988. It also included the removal of the Anna Livia fountain, which had often been associated with 'anti-social behaviour' (*The Irish Times*, June 4th 1997), and was deemed to be out of character with the vertical emphasis of the Spire (O'Connell Street I 2).

In design terms, the overall vision for the street was to create a unified image from end to end. This was achieved through the installation of standardised lights, bins, bollards and other items of street furniture, together with the planting of uniform rows of trees on the central median:

> "I suppose we looked at other models at the time. The Champs-Elysees at that stage had just been completed at the time after maybe a 10 year programme. We looked at things like the Ramblas, we looked at other streets which had a similar role in their own country and looked at how they had been treated, and we wanted to emulate the quality of those streets. We also wanted to create a sort of coherance on the street. I mean, a lot of the problem in Dublin throughout the city is the lack of coherance in terms of street furniture, whether it be lighting, seating, planting, signposting, whatever it is, it's a bit of a hotchpotch. I suppose there's two things, we wanted to create something that was really high quality which would stand up against the competition anywhere else. But also to deliver a coherance to it. Hence the very rigourous attention say to lighting to planting, to all the elements of the street furniture, from the beginning of the street to the end of street, its all done to a coherant design. Same materials, same high quality..." (O'Connell Street I 2).

This uniformity was altered slightly in the centre of the street, which is the location of the GPO Plaza. The idea of the Plaza was to attempt to break up the street to avoid a single boulevard running from North to South, and to refocus attention around the GPO and newly constructed Spire:

> "The idea was to make a civic space basically, to make a civic room, a pausing point in the street, so that you didn't just have the boulevard running

> from the bridge to the Parnell Monument. The idea was to celebrate the GPO, Celebrate the façade of the GPO, and to make it possible that you would have a place..., I mean the GPO, because of 1916 and because of the history of the street its obviously the most important building there. To celebrate it by having a place that nominally people can meet, that the citizens can demonstrate, can have discussions, can have meetings, can have parades, can celebrate the city in at the GPO" (O'Connell Street I 3)(Figure 5.6).

For this reason the artists impressions in the IAP showed an area demarcated by trees which surrounded the GPO on the street and people freely walking around as they might on a plaza without any traffic. However, the realities of the amount of traffic that would remain on the street meant that the Plaza became a compromise between the original intentions and continued demands of traffic in the city centre.

As briefly mentioned above, the transformation of O'Connell Street was aimed at transforming its market perception and use culture. In this regard, the land-use of the street, which is dominated by retail, hotel, restaurant and fast-food functions has a direct influence on the everyday nature of the street. Thus, alterations to the street were directly influenced by business interests both within the street itself and the wider city. The situation prior to the changes, according to a representative of the Dublin City Business Association (DCBA), was as follows:

> "We started doing street schemes on how the buildings were and how they should be. City Council at that time didn't want to know. They said 'it's nothing to do with us.' We said, 'No, no, no, you should have vision plans for each street. You should have architectural plans for each street. How does a retailer know what standards are required in the street if you don't know, and you can't tell them?' So to a certain extent we initiated the whole concept of Area Plans, and Framework Plans, and Vision Plans, we used to call them Vision Plans at the time" (O'Connell Street I 1).

By the the time of the implementation of the IAP, the ambitions of Dublin City Council had significantly changed. As discussed earlier, the planning ideal behind the alterations to the street was directly connected to ambitions to alter the nature of the street through changes in land-use towards 'higher-end' consumption-

orientated uses.

Further to the implementation of the area as an *Integrated Area Plan*, the street and its surroundings were designated as an *Architectural Conservation Area* (2001) (ACA) and, directly connected to this, a *Scheme of Special Planning Control* (2003) (SSPC). An area can only be designated as an SSPC if it is already designated as an ACA. This further reinforces the connection between the aesthetics of the street and desired land use:

> "Part of the strategy, part of the thinking, was that by raising the bar in terms environment and design for what the City Council had control of, which is the public domain, the street, the streetscape, the planting, the lighting, by raising the bar in terms of design quality there, that the quality of the businesses would follow. So we don't have the power to kick someone out of a business, or to change a business or to tell them to change as a City Council, or as a Planning Authority. We do have the power to direct the planning intentions in a certain way. So the Architectural Conservation Area and the Area of Special Planning Control are two tools to direct the planning in a certain way" (O'Connell Street I3).

Essentially, such measures were used as a further means of enticing the private sector to invest greater amounts of capital in the street, and thereby respond and add to the newly-created image:

> "Higher order retail outlets will be the principle use sought at ground floor level, including fashion outlets – both multiple and independent stores, 'lifestyle' stores, 'flagship' stores, niche and specialist retailers including home furnishings, beauty products, camera equipment, jewellery and books" (Dublin City Council, 2001, 8).

The promotion of cafés, restaurants and bars, "but excluding fast food outlets/take-aways" or other forms of convenience food outlets that do not have a waiter service, further compliments this desired land use (*Ibid*). In this regard, land-use is seen as being directly related to achieving a desired socio-economic make-up of O'Connell Street that is reflective of an up-market consumption-orientated lifestyle (Zukin, 1998).

The desire to attract further investment in the street through private development was also marked by an aim to redevelop the area occupied by the former Carlton cinema and its surroundings. The Carlton site, which occupies a large area on the north west side of O'Connell Street was until recently part of a continued Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) involving Dublin City Council (see McDonald, 2000). The development of this site was a central aim of the O'Connell Street Integrated Area Plan:

> "This development will work as a magnet in Upper O'Connell Street, and will be a flagship project, constituting a focus and getting people up beyond the psychological barrier of Henry Street. The main strategy will be to create a strong retail magnet as a foundation for supporting uses. The new route from O'Connell Street to Moore Street will increase permeability and create more options for circularity of pedestrian movement, thus reducing the singular focus on Henry Street. The development will help expand the kind of infrastructure necessary to draw tourists north of the river by providing uses that stay open day and night" (Dublin Corporation, 1998, 47).

More recently, plans for the site and its surroundings have suggested a mixed-use scheme costing €1.25 Billion. which includes apartments, shops and other leisure facilities. It also includes a 'Park in the sky' and a new public space which is to be placed between the street and the new development (Fagan, 2007). For representatives of Dublin City Council, the construction of this project will have a direct impact on the rest of O'Connell Street in terms of up-scaling and attracting further investment:

> "I think if we get a big destination on the Carlton Site and it becomes a destination for people from all over the city and maybe from outside the city, that uses in the surrounding..., on the other side of the street for example, or up or down from the site will also begin to go up, as it becomes more attractive, you will want to be..., if you've got a business, you want to be located close to this main destination. And therefore rents will begin to go up, and maybe the quality of the uses will go up in tandem with that, so the market will drive the quality of the uses up. So we'd hope in the long term to get better quality uses in, and some of them will be cafes and restaurants that will be allowed to spill out" (O'Connell Street I 2).

As well as creating more space for pedestrian use, the newly widened footpaths

were seen as performing an economic function through the provision of space for the location of outdoor eating and drinking. While the public benches were originally removed, one representative of Dublin City Council felt that this was a short-coming of the IAP that needed to be addressed:

> "I think an issue we do have to address is, its my personal opinion, is we made no provision for seating, for public seating, I think its an issue, it is an issue. The Hares in a sense have highlighted that people ... I suppose people always get obsessed here in the Council about, you'd have winos and drunks and whatever sitting around drinking, but you can see by the way people are using the street that ordinary people just want to come out, particularly in the good weather, and just sit, or have a rest, or sit and watch the world go by, whatever it is they want to do, and I think we should be providing for that, and that isn't provided for at the moment" (O'Connell Street I 2).*

Public seating was reinstated on the street in 2007. The above quotation, however, highlights the various internal political pressures at Council level surrounding the planning of public space. It is also indicative of the degree to which a particular definition of 'the public' is central to planning for urban public space. This will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 6.

Overall, the planning of the redevelopment of the public domain of O'Connell Street can be interpreted as symbolic of a shift in the manner in which the central area of Dublin is viewed by Dublin City Council. While to, a certain extent, there is a desire to improve the pedestrian access to the street, there is an overarching desire for land uses to be seen as reflective of a particular image associated with up-market consumption. The alterations to O'Connell Street can therefore be seen as being reflective of a shift within Dublin City Council to more 'entrepreneurial' means of planning the city, in which public space has a central role. The degree to which these changes have actually impacted on land use and the overall experience of O'Connell Street will be discussed in Chapter 6.

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* The Hares mentioned in this quotation were part of a temporary art installation by Dublin City Council in conjunction with the Hugh Lane Gallery (Dublin City Gallery) involving the display of various large sculptures depicting Hares by the artist Barry Flanagan. This will be returned to in chapter 6.

'Re-Colonising the City': Smithfield Square, Historic Area Rejuvenation Project (HARP)

Smithfield Square, which was originally laid out in the mid-seventeenth century as a market-place, is located in the north west of Dublin's inner city. From the perspective of urban morphology, the Square is a long narrow space laid out in a north south orientation. For much of the 1980s Smithfield and its surroundings, as with much of inner Dublin during this time, was marked by the form of social deprivation and physical decay briefly discussed in Chapter 4 (Russell, 2002). This view was summarised by a senior official with the planning department in Dublin City Council who was directly involved in the redevelopment of Smithfield Square:

> "[In]1986 you had in excess of 350 acres of derelict land in the inner city of Dublin – that's in between the canals. That's a huge amount of derelect land. Now derelect land would consist of say vacant sites, surface car parking, derelict buildings. But basically it manifested what was wrong with the city. You had a stagnant economic entity there, an out-migration of the last number of years of economic activity and middle-class population, private population to suburbia; 'just get out of the city'. The residual population then was essentially public housing in the core inner-city area. And then, with the growth from the late 1970s onwards, of drugs; you had all the issues of marginalistion manifesting themselves in these populations of predominantly public-housing areas; low socio-economic characteristic features, very low educational attainment levels..." (Smithfield Square I 1)

While, as outlined in Chapter 4, a certain amount of renewal had been initiated in areas such as Smithfield after 1986, there was a perception that such schemes had been orientated purely towards property interests and had little to do with the established local neighbourhoods or communities in which such development was taking place. It was in this context that the Historic Area Rejuvenation Project (HARP) was formulated and submitted to Central Government in 1994. As pointed out by a representative of the planning department in Dublin City Council:

> "The whole idea behind the HARP area plan was to essentially kind of..., I think it was innovative in the sense that it looked at the socio-economic and physical renewal of the area. Whereas land-use plans generally look at the

> physical. This was the first plan that tried to tie in the socio-economic aspects of regeneration and rejuvenation as well as the physical. ... While the level of dereliction had declined, you still had say problems of high unemployment, you still had the addiction problems, you still had deficiencies in social infrastructure." (Smithfield Square I 2).

The HARP was defined as an area of 110 Hectares, (270 acres), stretching from O'Connell Street westwards towards Collins Barracks on the north side of Dublin's inner city. The plan itself was coordinated by the then Dublin Planning Officer, Pat McDonnell and launched in August 1996 (McDonnell, 1996; Gleeson, 1999). Under the provisions of the Urban Renewal Act 1998, the HARP became designated as an Integrated Area Plan (IAP) in 1998, and therefore became known as the HARP IAP.[19] A central feature of HARP, as with other IAP's was the social, economic and environmental concerns of the area:

> "The central concern of the Framework Plan is the regeneration of the HARP area socially, economically and environmentally. Strategies to achieve this must be based on a full understanding of the opportunities and problems that exist within the area" (McDonnell, 1996, 18).

As a means of achieving this aim, the area was divided into four 'cells', moving from East to West.[20] The Smithfield cell was to be centred around Smithfield Square. As pointed out in the original HARP document:

> "The special qualities of Smithfield require a response in terms of innovative lively civic uses which will exploit and respond to its inherent urban drama. The Corporation will endeavour to attract such uses by the promotion of its vision for Smithfield based on key urban design principles and quality of place that will emerge when these are followed through" (McDonnell, 1996, 66).

Although Smithfield was, at this stage, a key element of the HARP strategy, it should be noted that the desire to redevelop the square can be traced back to the

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[19] In total there were five Integrated Area Plans for Dublin: HARP, O'Connell Street, North-East Inner City, The Liberties/Coombe and Kilmainham/Inchicore.

[20] The four 'cells' were located to the west of O'Connell Street as follows: Henry Street/Mary Street as the retail area, the markets cell, based around the fruit and vegetable markets, The Smithfield Cell, and the Collins Barracks National Museum Cell.

early 1990s. As part of the celebration of Dublin's year as European City of Culture in 1991, an aspirational competition was launched entitled *The Smithfield Design Competition: A New Perspective on Working and Living* by the Royal Institute of Architects in Ireland (RIAI) (Graby, 1991). The brief of the competition, which was sponsored by Powers Whiskey (Irish Distillers Group), was outlined as follows:

> "The competition looks for ideas which assert the vitality of urban life, and asks for proposals which could stimulate creative dialogue on the question of the future of city-centre living. The promoters believe in the city centre as a place to live in, to work in and enjoy. They have chosen to locate their headquarters and museum in this area" (*Ibid*, 6).

Although the competition was aspirational in terms of its outlook, it was another representation of the desire to promote a return to city-centre living and working by both the RIAI and one of the larger drinks companies in Dublin. Moreover, the conversion of the former Jameson Distillery by Heritage Properties in conjunction with Irish Distillers in the late-1990s into a mixed use scheme incorporating over 200 apartments, a hotel, and Irish Whiskey Museum by can be viewed as a direct manifestation of this desire through a design by the architects A and D Wejchert (McDonald, 2000). Moreover, the conversion of a former chimney to a viewing tower was seen as a central feature of this conversion in terms of attracting visitors and the overall promotion of the area for cultural uses.

Smithfield's role within the HARP IAP was representative of a wider ambition to improve the quality of the public space in the north east city centre, which had gradually fallen into disrepair and become dominated by the demands of road-based transportation:

> "The presentation of the public domain is critical: it is that part of the city which everyone can and does experience. The quality and presentation of the public domain will play a decisive part in deciding the area's ability to attract and hold onto passersby as customers, residents and investors" (McDonnell, 1996, 28).

Smithfield Square was therefore to act as a focal point within the HARP in terms of quality of public space, but also as a means of integrating this part of the city into the city centre area as the new central civic space for Dublin in the 21st Century. This role was emphasised by Dick Gleeson, Assistant City Planner for Dublin City Council as follows:

> "The creation of a strong public domain plays an important role in this [project]. A hierarchy of urban spaces punctuates the HARP creating the potential for localised cultural and social expressions. The urban space at Smithfield is the flagship space for the city after 2000. Apart from developing the character of the space itself through an international design competition, the objective is to attract a strong mix of cultural, commercial and specialist uses which will animate the space and ensure that the architecture in which they are housed responds to the civic dignity of the public square" (1999, 52).

The international design competition referred to above was organised by Dublin Corporation in 1997. The brief for the competition was to make Smithfield the main public pedestrianised space in Dublin City Centre (Smithfield I 2). The alteration to Smithfield, and HARP in general, envisioned "...a shift westwards in the economic centre of gravity of the city centre" (Gleeson, 1999, 52).

The design competition was won by McGarry Ní Éanaigh Architects, comprising of Michael McGarry and Siobhan Ní Éanaigh who had both been involved with Group '91 and worked on Temple Bar in the early-to-mid 1990s. Prior to this, they had both worked in London and Berlin respectively, where they had been located for much of the early 1980s. A representative of McGarry Ní Éanaigh described how working in cities such as Berlin with architects such as Josef Paul Kleihues had important formative influences on their practice in terms of looking at public space in the city. Of particular note in this regard was the way in which architects during this period sought a return to the walkable and liveable city that had been lost during the post-war era.

The influence of Kleihues is significant in that he was directly influenced by 'neo-rationalist' movement from the 1960s onwards (Chapter 2). Neo-rationalism

essentially favoured a return to the 'European City', where the street and square are seen as the foundations of the city (Frampton, 1992; Ellin, 1999). As described by a senior figure with McGarry Ní Éanaigh:

> "The idea was to try and have a vision for what the city could become in terms of a place for people to live, work, walk and not just drive through, in simple kind of terms I suppose. So again it was the idea of the European City, what it had been, how it had degenerated in terms of what had happened to Berlin after the war. And just how to somehow address that, and to create places for people to live in again, public space being a primary expression of community, society and the strength and power of European Cities, which is about the of making public space. Fundamentally it is about that. And it's the celebration of how a society, through its buildings, and through the public space it makes values that expression of society some how" (Smithfield Square I 2).

The design for Smithfield was an attempt to return the various characteristics that had defined Smithfield as a market space prior to its demise in previous decades:

> "The proportion of it was something which we found was fantastic. And what we wanted to do really was..., in a way do as little possible to the space, and to re-establish what we thought were its fundamental characteristics which made it special. And that was the issue of scale, proportion and materiality. And materiality was one to do with the nature of ground surface that existed in it, ie, the cobbles. And then what we did in a way was hoover things out of it in order to achieve the scale of the space again" (Smithfield Square I 2)

This was achieved through a number of interventions. First, the relaying of cobblestones, which had gradually been removed over time was seen as being an important part of the physical expression of Smithfield. The relaid lines of cobbles were broken at regular intervals by smooth granite strips laid in a diagonal pattern, for reasons of accessibility and as a means of breaking up the cobbles from an aesthetic perspective. A line of 12 large masts were placed lining the west side of the pedestrian plaza. For the architects, "The point of the masts was that they would register on the night sky." The lights were, in part, inspired by a personal memory of other spaces, but were also related to the proposed use of the space by Dublin Corporation:

> "We also thought that there's the whole thing about celebration, and the celebration of public space, and that its very important for a nation and for a society to be able to celebrate things. And, that there are times during our national festivals, or times of either public mourning, or public success, to have something that is particularly memorable on those occassions. So the idea that we would have a very large flame on the top of these [posts]" (Smithfield I 2).

The lights also acted as a means of defining the west side of the Square, which at this point was gradually being prepared for redevelopment, and was therefore substantially vacant. The design was also about creating a space that could be used for a number of functions without prescribing its function through design:

> "I suppose we subscribed to the idea that we don't necessarily have to go off and design, a space is valid ... If you think of very successful places, the Sienna whatever [Piazza Del Campo] they're highly specific to do with their character, but they're not overdesigned. And a lot of public market spaces in Holland, which we know very well, are all just there as cobble or surface, maybe there's water supply or something, but that activity has to come on top of the space, rather than the space has to design every bit of it. We're very suspicious of overly designed public realm. It really has to be quite robust" (Smithfield Square I 2).



Figure 5.27: relaid cobbles and lamps beside redeveloped west-side of Smithfield Square. Photo by Author, 2006



Figure 5.28: Detail of Smithfield Square including 'Market Square' area of Smithfield Markets development. Photo by Author, 2006

A primary objective of the regeneration of Smithfield Square was the promotion of

the redevelopment of Smithfield Market on the west side of the Square. As originally set out in the HARP document:

> "The west side of Smithfield is recognised as a key site in the regeneration of Smithfield. It will be an objective to establish a strong magnet on this site that will attract people into the area and serve as a major source of local employment and/or as a cultural attraction (Dublin Corporation, 1996, 80)."

Furthermore, the use of the public space was seen as being directly connected to the use of whatever was built on the west side (*Ibid*, 77). There was therefore a direct connection between the development of the Square and the promotion of investment on the west side. As pointed out by a representative of Dublin City Council's planning department:

> "If you view the kind of plan in some ways as being a very broad-based public-private partnership, we had public moneys, assisted by EU, intervening in the public realm, and we were kind of basically investing in the area to give confidence to private investors that the area was changing. So we were going to do our thing in Smithfield, we were going to do our thing in, say, Wolfe Tone, well not so much Wolfetone, as where else...? We did other interventions..., well I suppose you could relate it to say what we were doing in O'Connell Street. We were investing as a public authority in these areas that were run-down, upgrading the public realm, so as the private investor that was coming in..., or, to entice the private investor, would give them confidence that they should invest their money" (Smithfield I 1).

In this regard, the changes made to the Smithfield as a public space can be seen as being directly related to enhancing the profile of the area, and city for the purposes of investment. The redevelopment of the west side of the Square, which was completed in 2006, is a mixed-use scheme comprising apartments above ground-floor units suitable for bars, restaurants and shops, called 'Smithfield Market'. It was envisioned that the uses on the bottom floor of this development would help to enliven the space through various uses spilling out, such as restaurant seating:

> "There was a budget and a scheme for furniture, for benches, that could be moved. That was proposed more recently. And I don't know if that's

> happening. In other words, that..., 'how do you inhabit the space in a way that doesn't compromise its public use?' So you know you could have benches that are moveable, you could have some planting that would moveable. But in the absense of that, the expectation is that the ground floor uses colonise the space" (Smithfield I 2).

Taking these aims in to account, the desire to transform Smithfield Square can be directly connected to an overall ambition of altering the image of a specific urban quarter with the view of attracting new residents, new businesses, and promoting the area as a visitor destination. Although in a different context within the city, it is further reflective of the shifting nature of urban planning in Dublin city centre, in that its implementation was directed at attracting private investment. While the area has been retained under public management the example of the development of the west side of the square is illustrative of the direct relationship between the investment in public space and private development. The degree to which such uses have manifest themselves within Smithfield Square will be returned to in the next chapter.

The Amsterdam Case Studies: Zuidplein, Dam Square and Mercatorplein

Creating Zuidplein, Zuidas, Amsterdam

Zuidplein, is located in the Zuidas (South Axis) area of Amsterdam, which, as discussed in Chapter 4, is the emerging international business district in Amsterdam. Zuidplein is located centrally within the Zuidas area beside the World Trade Centre (WTC), which is to the east and west of the square and 'Zuid-WTC' train station which forms the southern boundary of the square. The west side of the square is dominated by a 107m (27 storey) tower. The north part of the square is demarcated by a causeway, under which a parking facility for bikes is located, and on top of which is a bus stop.



Figure 5.29: Zuidplein, Zuidas. Photo by Author, 2006

The Square marks the termination of the Minervalaan, which is an axial route way of about a kilometre in length, which runs from Zuidplein northwards toward the city centre. Minervalaan was laid out as the main axial routeway of H.P. Berlage's Plan-Zuid in 1916. Prior to the designation of the area as Amsterdam Zuidas, the WTC had occupied the site since 1985. However, the space has only become a formalised 'square' since the reconstruction of parts of the WTC and the addition of a new building to the west of the original building by Kohn Pedersen Fox Architects (KPF) between 1998 and 2004 (Figure 5.29)[21]

21 It is important to note that Zuidplein in its current guise is part a continuing project to redevelop the Zuidas area of Amsterdam. The eventual plan includes positioning the A10 motorway and the

As a means of promoting Zuidas as an international business centre, the treatment of the design and the materials within within the public space are given a high priority:

> "The Zuidas ('South Axis') must become a top-notch international centre. That demands a high-quality design of the public space, which is why a great deal of care has been taken with the design of the public space there. This can be ascertained from the choice of materials, and the way in which these are used" (van der Plas, 2003, 185).

The design of the plaza itself was carried out by a team within the Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening (DRO), which is the the physical planning department for the municipality of the city of Amsterdam. While the master-planning is carried out within the DRO, the actual projects are carried out through a competitive bidding process: "We belong to the department of public open space, but we work like a private company and, in the city planning department, all the work is put to tender and we have to apply for the tender" (Zuidplein I 2). Originally the same designer had been brought in to carry out an overall master plan for the public spaces of the area:

> "About 6 years ago ... I got a brief to make a public open space policy for the Zuidas, policy plan, a master plan, Master Plan Public Open Space. The idea was that if we make a masterplan different designers could do different spots because we've got a master plan. We were supposed to do the streets, because the streets bind everything together but the squares and things could be done by different designers" (Zuidplein I 2).

A French designer was brought in to carry out a plan for Zuidplein. However, the Mayor and Aldermen viewed the plan unfavourably because of its high expense, and due to concerns with how the plan would be carried out. At this point, the same designer who had carried out the master-plan for public space in the Zuidas was brought in to design the Square.

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railway underground at this point and continuing Zuidplein in a southward direction (see Salet and Majoor, 2005)



Figure 5.30: Terracing to east of Zuidplein. Photo by Author, 2006



Figure 5.31: Detail of paving and ledges, Zuidplein. Photo by Author, 2006

The main point of departure in terms of designing the Square was attempting to control the noise of the wind. As the square is in a hollow and has no taller buildings to the north or south, there is a tendency for the wind to funnel into the square. The solution was to plant rows of trees in the centre so as to soften the speed of the wind. However, due to the underground car-park, these trees could not be flush with the ground level of the Square. The solution was to build small raised planters in rows in the centre of the Square, which also doubled as benches for people to sit on. The layout of the Square was also carried out in a manner that would be of benefit to the pubs and restaurants on the east side, with specific areas for the inclusion of a terrace being designated during the design stage (Figure 5.30). This was achieved by leaving a wider gap between the trees on the east side of the square and the World Trade Centre than on the west side of the square.

As with many commercially-orientated spaces, the demand for higher-grade materials was strong in the construction of Zuidplein. The designer of the square was put under considerable pressure to carry out a design that would be in keeping with the corporate aspirations of Zuidas area:

> "When we first made the policy plan for the Zuidas I did it all in concrete, because that's what my client wanted – the municipality. But when we presented the plan we got a lot of angry letters from the developers saying 'we are paying the highest prices in Netherlands for the floorspace and you're

making a very cheap plan'" (Zuidas I 2).

After this point, the stones that were to be used were placed in an area outside the train station to see how they wore for a period of a year. This resulted in the use of Belgian limestone and granite, due their appearance and their quality (Figure 5.31). In this regard, the design of Zuidplein can be seen to be symbolise the aspirations of the various developers in the area to control their environment and create a space that is reflective of the land values and corporate ambitions in the area:

> "So its really that the developers in the area wanted a more high-quality environment. And so that's whats happening. Same thing is happening in the city centre. We're sort of stepping away from very cheap public open space in important areas. Not everywhere, you can't pay [for] everywhere to be brilliant. But the centre of Amsterdam and certain hotspots like the Zuidas, they've got a higher budget. Its €218 per square metres" (Zuidas I 2).

Through the use of more expensive materials, Zuidplein can be seen as different from the surrounding area and from other public spaces in Amsterdam. It also illustrates the degree to which private forces can impact on the layout and image of the public realm. However, in terms of specific mechanisms of regulation being put in place, its control by the municipality of Amsterdam restricts private interests and measures of control within public space. This will be expanded on in Chapter 6.

'Reclaiming Space': Dam Square, Amsterdam

Dam Square is located in the centre of Amsterdam. It is the location of the Royal Palace, the New Reformatory Church and the National Monument and is therefore considered symbolic of the hegemonic power of both church and state (Goverde, 2002). The Square has also been traditionally associated with with both protest and official commemorations, such as that held each year on the 4th of May to mark the liberation of Amsterdam towards the end of World War II. Beginning with plans in the mid 1990s and finished in 2000, the square has been altered through the removal of three lanes of traffic and the creation of uniform

paving in the form of cobbles, or *keitjes,* throughout the Square to give it visual unity. These alterations also included the installations of new trees and street furniture in a general effort to make the square more pedestrian friendly.



Figure 5.32: National Monument, Dam Square. Photo by Author, 2006



Figure 5.33: Royal Palace, Dam Square. Photo by Author, 2006

As discussed in Chapter 4, the historic core of Amsterdam was constantly forced to adapt to the demands of motorised traffic throughout the second half of the twentieth century. For example, the 'Kaasjager Plan' of 1954 had proposed large-scale alterations to the historic centre of Amsterdam in a manner that favoured the demands of the car: "Thereby the *Dam* and *Rembrandtplein* could be turned into huge parking spaces, which would make life easier" (Rooijendijk, 2005, 103). As also discussed in Chapter 4, recent years have witnessed a shift in terms of the approach to Amsterdam's public realm. While, to a certain degree, this shift has involved the creation of a uniform urban image, certain spaces that were deemed to be of special importance, such as Dam Square, were treated seperately and differentiated from the wider public areas through particular design interventions.

The reasons underlying the alterations of Dam Square are connected to the wider

shift in terms of the role of the city centre of Amsterdam in recent years. As outlined with regard to the wider public realm of Amsterdam in Chapter 4, throughout the interviews with various professionals responsible for the planning and day-to-day management of public space in Amsterdam, there was a perception Dam Square had been neglected throughout the latter parts of the twentieth century. For example, a planning officer of the planning division of the *Stadsdeel* of Amsterdam Centrum who oversaw the changes to Dam Square, pointed to the reasons for its alterations:

> "The idea behind it is that symbolically, the most important square in the Netherlands was left very derelict and indeed as two traffic roundabouts: one around the monument and one around the palace. It was unclear what its functions were. At the same time we had all these influences from other cities around the world of course, Barcelona for instance, about how you do a square. Public space in the Netherlands has always been a bit neglected. Spaces are market places, or things to use, but not places with a symbolic function as you have in southern Europe very much. So we had an alderman, woman, who was very ambitious, and she wanted to have on her tab, her name, or her reputation, that she had done Dam Square" (Dam Square I 2).

The alderwoman referred to was Guuste Ter Horste, alderwoman for the Municipality of Amsterdam with the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) from 1994 until 2001. Much of the shift in attitude towards the public realm of the city, as detailed above, has been credited to her. The same planning officer within Amsterdam Centrum, outlined the alterations she made as follows:

> "She started to give body to the notion, that, especially in a historic city like Amsterdam, you should also invest in public space, and do that in a qualititative thorough way, so she gave us an assignment to develop a kind of a handbook, a standard materialisations, standard street furniture, standard profiles in the streets for canals and streets and alleyways, and so forth. And that has proved very successsful" (Dam Square I 2).

The alterations were therefore seen as a means of 'reclaiming' Dam Square from being dominated by traffic and creating a more pedestrian-friendly atmosphere. In a physical sense, the alterations to Dam Square involved the significant reduction

of traffic circulation through closing routes on the west of the square.

The decision to carry out the alterations on the north side of the Square is significant in that new space was created for the placement of terracing, or seating, on the sunny side of the square where there had previously been a roadway. In this regard, decisions regarding how the alterations would be carried out had a direct relevance to the surrounding businesses. However, as will be discussed in more detail below, the extent to which such uses are allowed to dominate is viewed with caution within Amsterdam Centrum. The alterations also involved the laying of a paved surface, or 'carpet', in order to unify the square visually. The reason the afore mentioned *Keitjes*, were used was that they had historically been associated with the square. For Simon Sprietsma, the lead architect in the redesign of the square, these were very much part of what defined Dam Square:

> "The cobblestones – they were for me quite belonging to to the place. I didn't think of using big plates of granite. There was discussion on the surface to make it more smooth, but for money reasons it remained bumpy" (Dam Square I 1).

The uniformity of the *keitjes* was reinforced through the standardisation of various pieces of street furniture across the square. This included the installation of lamp standards across the square, which are of a distinct design and made of stainless steel, which contrasted with the largely historic feel of the space. Likewise, older wooden picnic tables were replaced by polished stone benches of a more contemporary style:

> "We have wooden benches in Amsterdam with a canopy. But they're not right to place here, I think, too romantic, too soft. And the wooden benches I think for the Dam Square, yeah, it's too soft ... Before there were wooden picnic tables, and they were a bit old and I put in a [design] to play Dam, it's a game. It's like chequers but it's different, with the round stones. They were given by a bank, those picnic tables, and we had to bring back the play with the Dam. So I put in every bench the sign of the city, logo, with the Dam board" (Dam Square I 1)

The logo referred to is the Amsterdam 'XXX' logo, which has appeared on street

furniture in the city since the 1970s, was also displayed on the newly installed stainless steel bins around the square. Both the benches and the bins were designed so that they could be removed for official occasions: "the garbage bins, they were designed in such a way that you could just take them away. Also for security reasons, for the Queen, the Palace..." (Dam Square I 1). The clearance of pieces of street furniture during particular events will be returned to in Chapter 6.



Figure 5.34: bins and benches in Dam Square. Photo by Author, 2006



Figure 5.35: Detail of benches with board for 'Dam' and Amsterdam 'XXX' logo. Photo by Author, 2006

The alterations to Dam Square can be seen as being of direct relevance to the role of the historic centre of Amsterdam in the ever-expanding global tourist market, and more general inter-city competition within Europe (Terhorst, 2003; Deben et al., 2004). The businesses around the Square have benefited from the new layout through the introduction of space for terraces, the overall appearance of the square and its enhancement as a pedestrian-friendly space. However, the power of economic forces to impact on the use of the square has been limited by certain factors. For example, while particular parts of Dam Square were orientated in a manner that was suitable for the creation of terraces, there is a still a dominant philosophy within Amsterdam Centrum that wants to defend public

space from being filled with economic activities:

> "In this country we don't have a Square tradition ... this is a commercial sort of Mercantile city in its past, but so is the rest of the Netherlands, and we are afraid of space, although out there there's enough of it. So when you analyse what has been going on, I once had a kind of severe discussion with our collegues from Economical Affairs. Our philosophy is you have to keep these spaces as empty as possible, in order to make as much as possible happen there. And do not serve parts of the public space out to entrepreneurs. People from economic affairs say 'well now you invest so much money on making this space beautiful, and you don't do anything on it, and you don't earn money with it" (Dam Square I 2).

For planners working within Amsterdam Centrum, there was a perception that certain places had become too dominated by commercial activities in recent years. For example, while there was an acceptance of a certain amount of commercial activity within public space, the planners with the responsibility for Rembrandtplein were attempting to get rid of the seating that had dominated the central area of the square in recent years.

> "But even in the middle, and our colleagues here from Rembrandtplein are now busy getting rid of that bar and the terraces in the middle of the Rembrand square, I mean it's enough when you have it at the border" (Dam Square I 2).

However, the same planning officer saw the issue as being directly connected to the political situation in Amsterdam and recent changes in the City Council could therefore potentially change the focus on public space:

> "We now have an alderman, we had elections in March, we now have an alderman from the Liberal party, the liberal party is a very capitalist party, like the conservatives in Britain, who want to sell out as much as possible to private enterprise, so we'll wait to see what's going to happen in the next four years. She wants to have these restaurants and terraces and as much going on there, especially when you earn money by that, especially in public space, where we say, if you do that then you give it away, or maybe you sell it for a certain purpose, and nobody else can get to it anymore, so it's a sort of fight" (Dam Square I 2).

The case of Dam Square is therefore of particular significance in that the planners with responsibility for the Square perceive that the public space should be retained as open space and not given over to commercial demands. Therefore, while the upgrading of the square can be connected to wider aspirations in terms of the political economy of the city, land use is controlled in a manner that controls its economic use. However, the square is used for a limited amount of events which help to generate capital for the upkeep of the square. This will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

Enhancing 'Community' Use: Mercatorplein, Amsterdam

Mercatorplein is situated in the Baarsjes area of Amsterdam. The square itself was laid out in the 1920s as part of the overall Plan-West expansion of Amsterdam and was designed in the style of the 'Amsterdam School' by H.P. Berlage. The area in which Mercatorplein is situated is demarcated by a series of urban squares surrounded largely by residential blocks of apartments. Although the spaces of Amsterdam-West are distinctly of the style of the Amsterdam School, Berlage was also highly influenced by the broader ideals of Camillo Sitte. While, as mentioned above, Sitte was much renowned for his traditionalist tendencies, Berlage was mainly influenced by his ideas relating to the form of enclosure such spaces took, as opposed to the strictly organic style of Sitte.

As with Sitte, Berlage believed in creating 'rooms' and 'hallways' in the city, as a means of promoting community spirit (Schorske, 1981). In this regard, public space played a central role in terms of Berlage's plans. One of the designers involved in the more recent alterations to the square pointed out the importance of such spaces in terms of the provision of public areas from the perspective of the overall form of the city:

> "The public space is the most important thing here. The buildings have to give a contribution to the public space, and the public space, like squares, streets, lengths, are the elements for the designer of the city. So a classical idea

about the city, but as you see it is still working" (Mercatorplein I 1).

The square is enclosed on all four sides by buildings displaying a uniformity in terms of façade design. There is a covered arcade at the base of each building, behind which the shops are located and above which is predominantly residential space. There are two towers situated on opposite diagonals of the Square (Figures 5.36 and 5.37). The taller one is located to the north west corner of the square, while the smaller one is located in the south east of the square. The towers were originally envisioned as a form of 'peoples palace', but became artists studios after they were built (Kloos, 1987).



Figure 5.36: Mercatorplein, 1935. Source, http://www.historischarchiefdebaarsjes.nl/prentbk.html



Figure 5.37: Mercatorplein featuring rebuilt north side of square. Photo by Author, 2006

By the early 1990s, Mercatorplein and its surroundings had become one of the poorest areas in Amsterdam showing indications of social and physical decline. Moreover, the wider district of The Baarsjes had become a predominantly Turkish and Moroccan area. The concentration of minority migrant groups along with the broader social problems in the area instigated a desire to alter the area and attempt to foster a more socially-mixed area (Van Kempen, 2000). As commented by planning official with Stadsdeel de Baarsjes:

> "It was in the late 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, it was a very bad area, drugs and it was a no go area. So it was needed to make some changes. And there was separate organisation to coordinate the changes, and they made some changes in the social..., there was two organisations. One was all the social groups of Police, Welfare, Schools, and they got organised, and also the

physical side, so the renovation..., So there was two organisations to target this area, to improve it" (Mercatorplein I 2).

The initial plans were launched in 1991 and were granted approval in 1994. The total investment amounted to NLG 145 Million, or €65.8. This was divided between the various partners in the following way: *Stadsdeel* of 'De Baarsjes': NLG 17 Million; City of Amsterdam, NLG 60 Million; Private Partners; NLG 64 Million; National Government NLG 4 Million (Arnoldussen and Rose, 1998).

The connection between both local and national government and private investors along with the desire to promote a more socially-balanced neighbourhood was directly related to the introduction of the Big Cities Policy in 1994 (Chapter 4). The initial alterations involved the reconstruction of the north side of the square, which had gradually fallen into disrepair since its construction, with the tower having been taken down in 1961. Although a competition was held as a means of deciding a new design for this side of the Square, disputes arose between those pursuing a 'modernist' design and those preferring to reconstruct what had been there before:

> "Some architects, modernist architects, they don't like this kind of reconstruction of this older architecture. But in my opinion its very good when an architect is also able to make the architecture of another architect. Because sometimes in urban places you need the style of the other architecture to repair the situation. Its as simple as that (Mercatorplein I 1)."

Therefore, the redevelopment of the north side of the square involved the reconstruction of the original building with its tower. This, along with the refurbishment of other parts of the square, involved replacing some of the social-rental housing with private dwellings. This had direct implications for the displacement of people living within the area around the Square, as highlighted by a former Alderman with the Stadsdeel de Baarsjes:

> "I'm not sure where they moved to, because I didn't follow that. I only heard from the people who didn't want to move. When they had a lot of objections they came to me. So we tried to give them another apartment quite near the square. Sometimes on the square. And they got extra money to pay for the movement" (Mercatorplein I 3),

However, during the regeneration of the Baarsjes area, by altering the layout of Mercatorplein, there was a desire that it would become the centre of the Baarsjes: "We wanted the square to be the heart of the Staadsdeel. It should be the focal-point of the local neighborhood. And it was very bad at that time" (Mercatorplein I 2).



Figure 5.38: Benches at bottom of slope forming entrance to underground car park, Mercatorplein. Photo by Author, 2006



Figure 5.39: Cherry Blossom trees and benches, Mercatorplein. Photo by Author, 2006

The architect responsible for the reconstruction of the north side of Mercatorplein was Wytse Patijn, who was also requested to carry out a redesign of the public space. From a design perspective, the transformations to the centre of the square involved the removal of the roadway on the eastern part of the square and the creation of a plaza that was connected to the original central square. This was outlined by Patijn as follows:

> "I saw that when I started there that nobody came here in the centre because of this traffic. So it was isolated, nobody used it. Only people with dogs to do the pee and so on. So in my opinion you had to change this square because of the traffic. So when you make it here on the east side, so it became good in the sun, that was my first proposal..." (Mercatorplein I 1).

While not alluded to by the architect responsible for the changes to the square, there was also a perception that the centre of the square had become dominated by uses regarded as undesirable amongst those involved in planning within the Baarsjes. This was discussed by a former Alderwoman with De Baarsjes as

follows:

> "The second part was that the public space was a kind of island in the square, and the traffic was driving around so it was hard to get there. It was used by some kind of drunks, alcoholics, so it wasn't a nice place to be" (Mercatorplein I 3).

In a similar vein to the conversion of Dam Square in subsequent years, the decision to create the plaza on the eastern part of the square was directly influenced by the location of businesses on this side in that this was the longest stretch that would receive sun during daylight hours. This would allow for tables and chairs to spill out on to the Square. However, the broader aim of creating a plaza was to create a space where a variety of activities could take place:

> "I wanted to have a square where you could be in all kind of situations. And I found it very important in that area to have something for the children to play safe. And also to have for mothers and fathers and sisters to sit there without having to buy a drink. And I think those two purposes have been served very well" (Mercatorplein I 1)

In this regard, there is a balance on the square between the commercial use of space by the terraces and public benches that surround an open plaza on which gatherings can take place.

There was also an attempt to ensure that the design of the space incorporated features that were specific to the social make-up of the neighbourhood:

> "I saw a lot of imigrants in this area, from Turkey and all arabic cities, and they used this square often as a meeting place. So, around the stop for the streetcar, stop for taxis, for cabs, I said lets make here a lot of places to sit. And you can look together with a group but you can also look to the place. I must say when I am passing this route a lot of people are sitting. So they use it. I have always problems with beautiful designs of squares and you are not able to sit" (Mercatorplein I 1).

This area of seating is located to the north of the Square and is surrounded by cherry blossom trees, which had been a feature of the Square prior to the alterations, and were seen by Patijn as being part of the history of the square. This is also the location of a fountain, which was used as a means of creating a

focal point within the square:

> "That's the idea of what you always see in the southern countries when it's warm, and it's part of a public activity, so I liked it very much when you see it in Barcelona, or Madrid or Marseille, that you can drink some water. It's very nice, because this kind of way of walking and sitting in the public space, very often you have nothing to do, only sitting and looking, and a little bit of water is a nice activity" (Mercatorplein I 1).

Much of the centre of the space was kept free from street furniture. This is for a variety of reasons. First, it allowed for a mix of activities to take place on the square in terms of everyday life. Second, it allowed for a variety of events to be staged within the space. There was also a practical reason for keeping the square free from trees, or other objects, which was that as part of the general alterations a large underground car park had been built under the square which limited foundations or tree roots etc.



Figure 5.40: Detail of seating surrounding Mercatorplein. Photo by Author, 2006

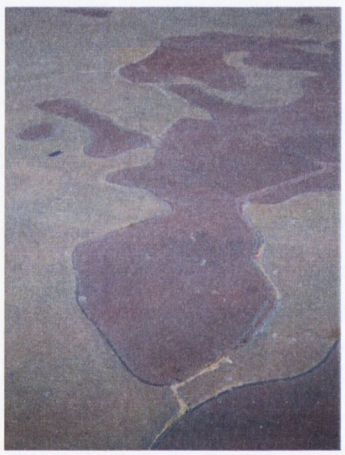

Figure 5.41: Detail of map of the world in the centre of the plaza. Photo by Author, 2006

As well as the afore-mentioned seating area, other seating was also provided around the square. For the design of this seating, and another fountain, which was located to the south west of the plaza Patijn worked with Andrē Volten, a Dutch sculptor responsible for public works throughout the second half of the twentieth century in different locations around The Netherlands (NAi, 2000). The seating therefore has a sculptural appearance, which is matched by the fountain.

The entrance to the car-park is also used as a location for seating, as it curves upwards to create a viewing space over the rest of the Square. Although the centre of the plaza is kept largely empty, a large-scale map of the world was placed in the centre, so as to create a feature within the space:

> "Mercator is a famous designer of maps, so there was somebody of the people of the Baarsjes, they said "why don't we make a globe in this surface." So it was not my idea, it was an idea of a citizen of the Baarsjes. So I took it over, and I thought it was a very good idea, because it also has a connection with the name of the square" (Mercatorplein I 1).

Although the map and the fountain were designed as creating points of interest in the square, they have become focal points of recent discussions about the general wear and tear of the square.

There was a wide-perception amongst those involved in the redesign of the square that the materials that were used were not strong enough and have therefore not lasted as long as intended:

> "The last [time], 1998, the square was maybe too cheap, and they didn't have too much money to make a new Square and, well, they made some wrong choices maybe, but we try to make it better" (Mercatorplein I 2).

As with the case of Peckham, the issue of maintenance can therefore be seen as a central concern for those involved in the planning and management of public space within the Baarsjes. The reference in the above quotation to make the square better is related to a perceived change in the social make-up of the area in recent years.

> "The population has changed a lot since the middle of the 90s. More young professionals are living here, and they like going out in the Neighborhood, or they go to the city centre. I think that's why the politicians think there should be more in this area, so they will stay in that area. They are also living in the area, so they wont disappear in a few years, to buy a bigger house somewhere else (Mercatorplein I2)."

Therefore, more recent plans have involved making the square more commercially oriented and attempting to alter its social image through the creation of more space for terraces and creation of a new pavilion. However,

much of the current format of the square will be retained through the alterations.[22]

Despite attempts to alter the social-mix of the area, the changes to Mercatorplein in 1998 were still focused creating a space for people living within the area. However, the square has recently become subject to an alcohol and cannabis ban which are aimed at regulating the presence of young Turkish and Moroccan men on the square. This will be outlined in further detail in Chapter 6.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to introduce each of the nine case studies and outline the role each has played within the particular urban quarter in which they are located. The broader focus of the chapter has been on examining the role of planning, design and embedded forms of regulation in each of the case studies. Each of the spaces being analysed were subject to strategies aimed at *differentiating* them from their surroundings in terms of appearance. For example, Peckham Square illustrated how contemporary design features, such as Peckham Library were used as a means of boosting the image of place in a deprived part of London. While the differentiation of space was essential as a means of promoting its unique 'selling points' each of the spaces also exhibited a certain degree of *standardisation* (Griffiths, 1998; Short and Kim, 1998). As discussed in Chapter 2, the standardisation of space involves the use of imagery that is directly recognisable from place to place. The use of such imagery therefore signals a degree of conformity of experience. Although seeming to contradict the search for uniqueness, the standardisation of public space is therefore an essential element of place promotion.

While implemented in areas that were restricted by heritage and conservation issues, the changes to Trafalgar Square and, to a lesser degree, Dam Square

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22 This is based on interviews carried out in 2006 and a plan released in 2009. The changes were therefore not carried out at the time of writing (Stadsdeel De Baarsjes, 2009). Accessed on-line at: http://www.baarsjes.nl/aspx/read.aspx?
xdl=/views/amsterdamnl/xdl/pageandVarIdt=39andItmIdt=25229, (Last accessed, 14th July, 2009).

illustrated the role of public spaces in the the attraction of tourists and wider city boosterism within their respective urban authorities. The economic imperative for such transformations was, however, more explicit in the cases of O'Connell Street and Smithfield, where the transformation of the public realm can be directly connected to economic factors, such as the promotion of land and rental values and the attraction of investment in to the area. The unique features, whether it be bespoke pieces of street furniture, distinct paving, or iconic symbols, such as the Spire of Dublin, are used as a direct means of promoting the image of such places.

While the above-mentioned unique features are used as a means of differentiation space, the standardisation of design is implemented through the use of physical reference points that were influenced by other European cities or spaces, such as the creation of a 'boulevard look' in the example of O'Connell Street, and the wider influence of cities such as Barcelona. The desire for standardisation was also highlighted in the example of business districts where the design was directly related to ideals about the appearance of a business space in its given context. While Mayor Square was based on a 'European city' ideal, Paternoster was directly influenced by its surroundings, but also based on ideals related to the historical European city. Moreover, as illustrated by the demand for high-quality materials in Zuidplein, the promotion of a specific corporate image could be directly related to surrounding land values.

A central feature of the design and planning of public space, whether it is implicit or explicit, is the desire to promote social interaction. However, the particular form that the desired type of social life takes varies from place to place. For example, Peckham Square and Mercatorplein illustrate the degree to which those involved in their design and planning perceived public space to be a focal point of community interaction. In a very different manner, the example of privatised controls evident in Mayor Square and Paternoster Square, and the Heritage Wardens in Trafalgar Square, illustrate how public space is controlled as a means

of producing a desired social outcome. Achieving a particular form of social differentiation is therefore directly related to standardised practices of control. Such mechanisms of control are not however limited to these contexts, and are also evident at the local level, although driven by different concerns. These themes will be discussed further throughout Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

Chapter 6: The Relationship Between Official Interventions and Everyday Life in Public Space

Introduction

While Chapter 5 focused on the official re-ordering of public space through embedded forms of change, including physical transformations, much of the changes to public space in recent years has been directly related 'managerial interventions' which include measures aimed at the regulation and control of urban space on a daily basis (Atkinson, 2003; Low & Smith, 2006; MacLeod & Ward, 2003). This chapter is focused on examining the relationship between these forms of official interventions and the every-day use of urban public space. The aim of the chapter is to examine how officially-prescribed 'visions' of public space become manifest in the built environment, and how such visions relate to the everyday nature and use of public space.

The chapter begins by examining how urban space is 'coded' through official interventions. On one level this involves an examination of the everyday policing of space, with an emphasis on 'clean and safe' public spaces (Helms, 2008). This starts with an examination of privately-owned and managed 'public' spaces, and then shifts its attention towards the management of high-profile city centre spaces. It will then examine the role of larger-scale interventions, such as official forms of spectacle and celebration in the re-ordering and re-imagining of urban public space. This will be followed by the limitations imposed by existing uses and attachments to urban space. Following from this, the role of the management and control of public space at the 'neighbourhood' or 'community' level will be examined. It is argued that the control of such spaces, along with the promotion of events, illustrates the degree to which the ordering of public space can go beyond that which is aimed at only boosting the image of the city for the purposes of 'consumption' and instead illustrates the role of both localised fears and desires in controlling public space.

Privatised Interests and Public Space

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, public space can often be directly related to private interests. While control privately owned 'public' spaces, such as Mayor Square and Paternoster Square, stand out as a striking example of these tendencies, there is also a direct connection between surrounding land-uses and public space within publicly owned public spaces, such as O'Connell Street, Smithfield Square and Dam Square. Moreover, while private management and security firms have become a ubiquitous aspect the control of privately owned spaces, they are also becoming a more common-place means of controlling public space on behalf of a public authority.

Private Control and Public Space: The Example of Business Districts

Paternoster Square is a highly-ordered and securitised space. It contains no fewer than 14 CCTV cameras, which are monitored in an adjoining control room by Broadgate Estates. Moreover, it is also monitored through the constant presence of private security guards who patrol the square and the network of privately-controlled laneways around it. The remit of Broadgate Estates regarding the day-to-day management of Paternoster Square is directly influenced by the location of Goldman Sachs and the London Stock Exchange as the tenants of two of the larger buildings adjoining the square. Measures introduced in the aftermath of the London bombings in July 2005 are particularly illustrative of fears of these two main tenants. In the weeks after the bomb attacks, the security guards on Paternoster Square were observed actively to discourage people from taking photographs of the London Stock Exchange building. According to a representative of Broadgate Estates, this was directly connected to the security concerns of the above-mentioned tenants:

> "Since the bombings we've stepped up security a bit, but it was always quite a high level of security. Because we've got the Stock Exchange and Goldman Sachs. Stock Exchange are very security conscious ... You just got to be more vigilant. The Stock Exchange have asked us to be more vigilant about people taking pictures. Particularly of their building. I mean, you can't stop people taking pictures of St Paul's, but just to be more vigilant of exactly what they are taking pictures of" (Paternoster I2).

Moreover, throughout this period Broadgate Estates began to project "a more visible presence and a more visible security level" (Paternoster I 2).

While the security concerns of particular businesses are of a high priority, the everyday management of such spaces is aimed at managing public usage and limiting particular uses that are seen as outside the bounds of what is acceptable to the desired image of Paternoster Square. During an interview with the Broadgate Estate Manager for Paternoster Square, very little direct action was discussed by the respondent in terms of the removal of particular users such as homeless, 'street drinkers' or other users out of keeping with the image of Paternoster Square as a privately-managed business enclave. This was also noted through informal observation of the square. The lack of such interventions, it seems, are directly connected to the high levels of security within the Square. Therefore, much of the focus was on what might be termed the 'softer' elements of regulation, such as the removal of cyclists and skateboarders:

> "In addition we do have regular patrols, Snowhill Police station is only a stones throw away, and beat officers will patrol through the square on route... In addition, we have a lot more police now in the City of London on mountain-bikes. So they'll pass through the square, maybe use one of the retail outlets to stop and have a break. But again it just adds to that high vis presence in the square to deter the people that we don't want; the cyclists and the skateboarders, even though they are cycling themselves, but we turn a blind eye to that" (Paternoster I 2) (Figure 6.1).

The focus on these issues may be illustrative of the manner in which Paternoster is physically and socially separated from its surroundings, and in a certain way demarcated as being private through subtle visual clues in its design and layout as outlined in Chapter 5. The reference to the interaction between the security company and the City of London Police is directly related to 'Project Griffin', which is an initiative set up in 2004 between the City of London Police, business interests and the private sector security industry in an attempt to curb crime and terrorist activities in the City.[23] The City is therefore a highly regulated and policed

[23] See Http://griffin-web.simulacra.com/ (Last accessed June, 8th, 2009)

environment, of which spaces such as Paternoster Square are an integral part.



Figure 6.1: Two police officers cycle past seating beside Starbucks coffee shop. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 6.2: Wednesday Market on Mayor Square. Photo by Author, 2006

While the everyday control of Paternoster Square is the predominant manner in which Broadgate Estates interacted with the City of London Police, the use of Paternoster Square for high-profile events also involved a high degree of interaction:

> "...there's quite a high level of interaction. We have a local beat bobby that we see now and again. Various events: we had a tsunami memorial event when we had a big liaison with the Police because it involved Tony Blair and the Queen going to St. Paul's. We set up a marquee here for after service drinks and things, so the square was effectively blocked off and we had to have interaction with the Police" (Paternoster I 2).

The location of Paternoster Square within the City of London, along with its proximity to St. Paul's Cathedral, has influenced security and management factors in a certain way which is connected to the status of London as a centre of global finance and the associated terrorist threats of the current era.

The importance of context is also underlined by the example of Mayor Square in Dublin. As outlined in Chapter 5, Mayor Square, which is also a privately-managed and controlled urban public space, is located within a mixed-use area and is therefore directly influenced by the concerns of residents, businesses and wider community considerations. Moreover, many of the security concerns within Mayor Square are directly related to the proximity of Mayor Square to Sheriff

Street, which houses long-term residents of the area who were moved from the Sheriff Street flats during the transformation of the area around Mayor Street into a financial district. An off-duty member of An Garda Síochána, who took part in the on-street interviews outlined the security situation in Mayor Square and the IFSC more generally as follows:

> "As a guard, there's very little trouble here. It's relatively crime free. There is an odd bit of trouble, say thefts from shops ... You see, it's in close proximity to the Sheriff Street area, which is just on the other side of the buildings. All trouble in here comes from the people from there" (Mayor Square C 38, off-duty member of An Garda Síochána).

He continued by highlighting the impacts of having such a wealthy area beside an area that was so deprived, pointing to the necessities of crime prevention through spatial control:

> "That's crime. There's always going to be crime. Especially if you put a place this wealthy that close to a place that's so crime ridden and has a population that are so hell-bent on crime, there's always going to be crime in here. But considering the population that is in there, the amount of crime in here is still fairly low. I think a lot of it has to be attributed to the Chubb security. There's cameras all over this place. We're probably being recorded by about six or seven different cameras here" (*Ibid*).

The same respondent continued by describing how much of the contact between An Garda Síochána and the younger generation from the surrounding area was related to crime prevention and how they were seen as disruptive within the IFSC:

> "[The kids], they're always plaguing us... You see that FM 104, that machine, they have on the road? [points towards portable radio van further up Mayor Street], they were up there bugging the girls that were giving out free chocolate, up there on the steps kicking the door off it and they go in shop-lifting a lot" (*Ibid*).

As a means of controlling the use of Mayor Square by the children living in the surrounding area, the IFMS outlined measures taken to promote 'good behaviour' through the granting of access within the IFSC based on a certain criteria:

> "We're trying to get the kids to have ownership of the place ... you know, [if] you want to use the space, you look after it and it has worked ... If we're

> running an event ... we had four or five of the kids who we knew very well and they would come down and you'd maybe talk to them or chat with them. They sort of policed the other kids for us ... So if you give them a bit of ownership in the place and give them a bit of interaction with them, you know, if they're sitting on a wall and the guards come along to start to patrol the city, they'll have a chat with them, you know, talk to them by name ... and then gradually they come round to it and then you sort of grant them favours as well; like you're allowed to sit on the wall but it can't be messed up" (Mayor Square I 4).

Access to the public spaces of the IFSC was therefore seen to be related to a certain 'code of conduct'. The example of Mayor Square highlights the degree to which a private management agency can make access to public space reliant on a form of behaviour that is acceptable in the specific context of the area. As will be discussed in reference to Mercatorplein, the limitations of activities in public space are not necessarily connected to private means of control. However, in the example of Mayor Square, the degree to which the children living in the surrounding area were engaged with by the security guards seemed more related to the up-keep of the public space, rather than a concern for the well-being of the children themselves.

Other day-to-day management activities within Mayor Square were directly related to the desire to promote corporate events and activities. This includes car launches and a market on a Wednesday. As well as providing a service to the surrounding businesses and residents, the events were also seen as a way of generated a small amount of revenue for the management company (Figure 6.2). However, the mixed-use nature of the IFSC had a direct impact on when such events could take place. This was directly related to the surrounding land-use, which included apartments and the National College of Ireland. These concerns were also raised in respect to the use of the square for everyday activities, such as during the evenings when people working in the surrounding area went to the bars on the square for a drink:

> "We have security on there and we monitor with the cameras at all times, everybody that's out there, especially with glasses and stuff like that. You don't know what's going to happen but we've never had any serious incidents

> at all, the bars as well tend to have peak times, maybe Friday night at five o'clock. If it's good weather then they would have people outside so we can't – it's not up to us to police the licensing laws ... and again the bars respect what their trade is and the fact that they're a part of the greater community here so they do police their premises very well. They're very well aware of the various issues that can happen especially phase two [of the IFSC] because there's so many residents down there and there's greater density of apartments" (Mayor Square I 4).

Both Mayor Square and Paternoster Square highlight the direct influence of private forces in terms of the management of 'public space'. However, they also highlight how differences relating to the socio-economic context of their surroundings can have a direct impact on the day-to-day management practices.

The Limits to Private Control of Public Space: The Example of Zuidplein

Unlike Mayor Square and Paternoster Square, the third public space located in a business district, Zuidplein in the Zuidas area of Amsterdam, remains within the ownership and control of Stadsdeel Zuideramstel, the local authority for the Zuidas area. Moreover, the levels of indirect and direct forms of securitisation were far less in Zuidplein than either Paternoster Square or Mayor Square. A total of two CCTV cameras were identified within Zuidplein during the fieldwork period in 2006. One of these was pointing at the terraced area to the north east of the square, while another was directed at the entrance to the railway station.[24] Indeed, the levels of direct intervention in terms of control were less evident in Zuidplein than in spaces such as Trafalgar Square, Peckham Square or Mercatorplein. As such, the attempts at controlling particular activities were related to 'softer' elements of control, such as bike parking. However, attempts to control such activities was itself limited due to legal constraints regarding public space in the Netherlands.

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the square is located beside the World Trade

[24] Information based on personal observation and correspondence with a representative of Stadsdeel Zuideramstel by email.

Centre (WTC) and Amsterdam Zuid WTC train station. Its location beside the train station has resulted in extra pressures as a transport hub, particularly regarding bike parking. During the period of fieldwork in Amsterdam during 2006, wardens dressed in orange coats were observed throughout the square, notably during rush hour in the mornings and evenings on weekdays. Their role was to attempt to persuade people to park their bikes in the underground parking areas, which are provided at a charge. However, the raised ledges into which trees were planted provided alternative areas in which people could park their bikes free of charge (Figure 6.3).



Figure 6.3 (Above): Bikes parked against ledges on Zuidplein. Photo by Author, 2006.



Figure 6.4 (Right): Young man skates across ledge on Zuidplein. Photo by Author, 2006

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the aim of those directly involved in the planning and development of the Zuidas area was to create a mixed-use area loosely based on the ideal of Amsterdam in terms of functional mix and an active street-life. However, the orderly presentation of Zuidplein as the central public space of the Zuidas was also seen as a top priority, with bike parking emerging as being of highest concern. This was highlighted by the urban design supervisor of the Zuidas area as follows:

> "The law tells us that we cannot exclude. If people want to park their bike anywhere [they can] 'Just throw it'. You can't take that bike away. It's a very hard law. I hate the Zuidplein to be scattered with bikes already now again.

> We did try to exclude it last year, and we will do another go. But it is very hard to legally enforce that kind of use, although I hate the... It's unbelievable how people throw their bikes all over the place. But they have the right to do so, so it's very strange" (Zuidas I 1).

Such a regulation highlights the clash between the appropriation of public space as it is used in everyday life and the desires of Zuidas planners and officials to maintain a particular form of visual order through the de-cluttering of public space. Such concerns contradict desires to create a street-scene that is reflective of that historically associated with Amsterdam, as outlined in Chapter 4, and instead illustrate the desire to create Zuidas as a form of 'international' model of urban space. However, the retention of public control and the legal status of the square limits the degree to which such actions can be taken.

The approach to the use of the space for skateboarding and roller-blading is of note in that while originally against the use of the space by skaters, the designer of Zuidplein reappraised the situation and decided to dedicate a particular part of the space to skateboarding by transforming part of the stone from rougher stone to a smoother surface:

> "We got complaints about the skateboarders. So I actually went and talked to the guys, I think they are also users. That's one of the reasons that we used the slightly rougher stone is to keep skateboarders from the square, because they tend to break a lot of things aswell. But they managed to convince me... Everything is rough except for the cycle path... But that was ideal for the skaters because they can go on the smooth stones and scrape along the ledge. So we changed... We said one side, this side, because people were having noise problems as well, so we said your not allowed to skate on that side you're only allowed to skate on one side, if you promise not to break the stones. And they haven't broken it yet, only they use the sort of wax. But I don't mind that, it's not a damage that stays for a long time" (Zuidas I 2).

The side that was altered was the side away from the part of the Square onto which the restaurant seats spill out. The significance of this is that it illustrates the manner in which a public space can accommodate different uses to the extent to which they are segregated within that space (Figure 6.4). However, it also

illustrates how the tolerance of particular activities deemed 'antisocial' in one context, as outlined in the example of skating in Paternoster Square in Chapter 5, can be promoted or tolerated in another (Figure 6.4).

The continued public ownership of Zuidplein illustrates the limitations to ordering space according to particular principles. Moreover, while Zuidplein, and Zuidas more widely, can be associated with high-profile flagship projects such as Canary Wharf, a number of factors limit the degree to which it accords with the principles of such spaces. First, the political will to retain public ownership of the space limits the degree to which it can be managed and ordered according to the desires of private forces. Second, and directly related to this, the social context in which an officially designated 'public space' is located has a direct impact on the mechanisms of control and the desired image being pursued by those in an official capacity to do so. The desire to regulate high-profile business districts may therefore not be seen as relevant in the context of what is presently a suburban business centre in Amsterdam in comparison to that of a high-profile business centre in Dublin (IFSC) or the City of London (Paternoster Square).

Private Interests and Public Space in a City Centre Context: The Example of O'Connell Street, Dublin

As discussed in Chapter 2, recent years have witnessed an intensification of private interests in the control and management of public spaces (Mitchell, 1995; Low & Smith, 2006; Helms, 2008). Such interests have been particularly evident in high-profile, or central-city areas. The example of O'Connell Street and the wider city centre area in Dublin provides an illuminating example of this tendency. For example, for the Dublin City Business Association, the ethos of Dublin Corporation changed with the appointment of John Fitzgerald as City Manager in 1996:

> "So we moved on then to John Fitzgerald. Our view at the time, and what we said it to him, 'what we want is we want performance, we don't want excuses. And we don't want the City Council and the rate payers constantly at war, and hassling each other.' Because all business people want is they want clean

> streets, they want the refuse collected, and they want the customers to walk down the street safely, that's all they want.' It's no big deal. If you're paying the kind of money that my guys are paying, they're entitled to it" (O'Connell Street I 1).

In recent years, Dublin City Council has intensified measures to maintain the city centre. In many ways, the creation of more pedestrianised spaces was directly seen as increasing the need for more intensive cleaning operations and the increased attention to issues related to safety in public space. The logic of this increase in the attention to such factors within public space was outlined by a representative of Dublin City Council as follows:

> "There's battle and always, you know, you create public space and you are saying the tourists will love this. You know the visitor, the local will benefit, you know he will have a sense of pride, he will have the use of it, the whole lot, and visitors come; it's a comfortable place. But as soon as you do it you create other demands like the cleansing regime, the maintenance regime, the supervisory regime, you can't have someone getting sick on the board walk and leave the sick there for the day, you know, you can't have people abusing it, you can't have people threatened on it, and if you like as we moved from the old regimes to this one our maintenance and our waste people are there once a week or twice a week, that's no good; you know, you must go once a day, twice a day, three times a day if need be, because now you have created spaces, you have created expectation and you can't let them deteriorate. Then it backfires on you, somebody says they went to Dublin, walked on the boardwalk, 'everybody shooting up, all sorts of drugs problems, I saw one young woman being raped and there was sick all over the place'. Now you have just cut your own throat, you were better without it, so you have to follow through, you know you must maintain it" (Smithfield I 4)

In terms of direct action, recent years have witnessed the introduction of a Business Improvement District (BID) in Dublin city centre, of which O'Connell Street is a part. During the fieldwork in Dublin during 2006, the Dublin City Business Association was in the process of lobbying of central government as a means of getting legislation passed to allow the creation of the BID. For the DCBA, the aim of the BID was summarised as follows:

> "Then we have to do a referendum in the BID area, with the rate payers, and once we win that we will have people out on the street removing chewing gum, power hosing, removing graffiti..., our objective is once we get up and running properly, it will take us about 6 months or 8 months to really get going, but once we get going, say two years after we're up and running we expect that there will be no graffiti visible in Dublin central, and that the streets will be pretty, that there will be a visibly higher standard. But our objective and our target will be that we will have removed graffiti within two hours of it being discovered. We will have extra litter bins, extra washing, we'll do some recycling, we'll do the marketing..., and we'll also have BIDs ambassadors out on the streets. Some of them will be cycling, some of them will be walking."

As a means of promoting the establishment of the Business Improvement District within Dublin a web-page was set up entitled Dublin Bids, which highlighted the benefits of establishing the city centre as a BID. The homepage of this site reiterated the aims outlined regarding the role of the BID in the city centre:

> "Dublin is a cosmopolitan and sophisticated city. It is a city we can be proud of with its new Luas, Liffey Boardwalk and rejuvenated O'Connell Street it looks better than ever. Now imagine a Dublin city with landscaped streets, without chewing gum, without graffiti, with no overflowing rubbish bins, with no broken paths, with no drunken revellers on our streets, no dilapidated buildings, a city with a welcoming and embracing environment, with hospitality wardens helping people, family friendly facilities, special community care and amenity projects.....Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) will transform our Capital City to reach its full potential" (Dublin Bids, 2008).[25]

The BID legislation was passed in 2007 and a proposal was put to Dublin City Council later that year. In January 2008, an area encompassing much of the central retail core of Dublin, including O'Connell Street, was formally established as a Business Improvement District through the creation of the Dublin City Centre Bid Company, which is a not-for-profit company. In the *Dublin City Bids levy Brochure* the chairman of the Dublin City Centre Bid Company outlined the

[25] Dublin Bids was a website established to promote the establish the central areas of Dublin City Centre as a Business Improvement District. The above quote was taken from its homepage (http://www.dublinbids.com/, last access 20th of December, 2008). This website, however, has more recently been substituted by www.dublincitybid.ie (Last Accessed, 20th July, 2009).

aspirations of the BID in terms of the competition it now faces from other cities at both a European and global scale:

> "This is a critical time for Dublin City Centre – business has become more competitive and we now compete with cities such as New York, London and Paris for customers. In order to attract customers to our shops restaurants café bars and businesses we need to raise the environmental quality of our streets and buildings to a world-class standard" (Dublin City Centre Bid Company, 2007, 2)[26]

In practice, the BID has included an increased level of cleaning, and has focused on removing graffiti from the city centre through a 'zero tolerance' approach. It has also allowed for the introduction of Street Ambassadors. As outlined in the BID proposal, the Street Ambassadors are to become a central element of the BID scheme, providing assistance to visitors and feedback to the BID company: "These Ambassadors will become the eyes and ears of the BID area and will reassure people, help reduce crime, address anti-social behaviour and increase people's sense of personal safety" (Dublin City Centre BID Company, 2007, 14). The role of the Street Ambassadors is therefore directly connected to issues of personal safety and crime prevention. It can also be directly connected the recent enforcment of a ban on the consumption of alcohol in the city centre, as a means of cleansing the streets from unwanted activities and users.[27]

While the activities of the BID are not only aimed at O'Connell Street, the combination of efforts, such as the BID, the IAP, its designation as an *Architectural Conservation Area* and *Scheme of Special Planning Control* are all aimed at boosting O'Connell Street's image as a central part of the overall promotion of the City Centre. The wide remit of the BID is to standardise the experience of O'Connell Street in a similar vein to the rest of the city centre, while the various mechanisms outlined in Chapter 5 are directly targetted at visually differentiating it from the rest of the city. Moreover, the introduction of BIDs

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[26] Downloaded from www.dublincity.ie/SiteCollectionDocuments/BID%20Levy (Last accesssed 2nd June, 2009)

[27] More recently a city-wide ban on the consumption of alcohol has been introduced in Dublin through introduction of new bye-laws: *Prohibition of Consumption of Intoxicating Liquor on Roads and in Public Places) Bye-Laws* (2008).

ensures that the experience of the city centre area is controlled and ordered in a widely different manner to other public spaces in the city.

Official Control of Public Space and its Impact on Everyday Life: The Example of Trafalgar Square

The use of privately-hired security or wardens has become a regular feature in terms of the control of contemporary urban public space. For example, the BID scheme recently introduced in Dublin employs 'Street Ambassadors' as a means of regulating the area around O'Connell Street and Grafton Street. The 'Street Ambassadors' are in direct contact with the Gardai Siochana, reporting on crime, and 'anti-social behaviour'. While the 'Street Ambassadors' were introduced only in 2008, the impact of similar mechanisms of control are discussed here in relation to the 'Heritage Wardens' on Trafalgar Square.

While the physical alterations outlined in Chapter 5 formed a central feature of the GLA's plans to alter its everyday meanings and transform the wider public perception of Trafalgar Square, the manner in which the space has been socially re-engineered has been a central element of these changes. Although Trafalgar Square has historically been a heavily regulated space (see Mace, 1976), the renewed focus on bye-laws through hands-on monitoring by Heritage Wardens has transformed its day-to-day nature. The Metropolitan Police still play an important role in terms of policing the Square but the enforcement of the bye-laws is directly controlled by the Heritage Wardens. Activities taking place within the Square are therefore actively monitored and controlled by the Heritage Wardens on a daily basis. This includes anything from roller-blading or pigeon feeding to public drinking (officially controlled by the police) and playing in the fountains (Figure 6.8).

The control of the central part of Trafalgar Square by the Heritage Wardens has a significant impact on the everyday nature of the entire square. While they enforce the different bye-laws, the Heritage Wardens have also become the target of acts

of resistance to the dominant order of the square, such as paddling in the pools, cycling, skating or pigeon feeding. However, throughout the period of informal observation, the concerted effort to control the central part of the square seemed to have a direct impact on the way in which the the north terrace functioned as a social space. The lack of regulation of the north terrace was made evident through its informal role as the space of impromptu roller-discos, teenagers street drinking or performances of Capoeira (Figure 6.6). In short it often became a form of *representational space* which was free from the constraints of the central part of the square (Lefebvre, 1991).



Figure 6.5 (Above): North Terrace as space of displaced resistance: Pigeon feeding on the north terrace. Photo by Author, 2005.



Figure 6.6 (Right): North terrace as performative space: Capoeira dance taking place. Photo by Author, 2005

Of particular note in terms of both the remit of the Heritage Wardens and the divergence between the central part of the square and the north terrace is the ban on pigeon feeding, which was introduced in 2002. While illustrating the desire by the GLA to promote 'clean and safe' public spaces in London, it is also directly illustrative of how such visions can be resisted and contested.

In the 2002 *Squares Annual Report,* the GLA outlined its perception of pigeons on Trafalgar Square as follows:

> "There is currently an unnaturally high number of feral pigeons on Trafalgar Square. The pigeons and their mess (guano and feathers) are linked with

causing significant damage to the Squares historic monuments and may pose a risk to human health. In order for Trafalgar Square to be a clean and welcoming place, the GLA spends thousands of pounds each year cleaning Trafalgar Square from the litter left by pigeons. Results from public consultation support the view that current population levels are unpleasant. Part of our vision for Trafalgar Square is to create an open public space where people can sit and enjoy a coffee or a light snack. Consultation results suggest that visitors would feel uncomfortable to do this whilst the pigeon numbers remain as high as at present" (GLA, 2002, 10).

The operation to reduce the pigeon numbers has involved a wide array of measures, which included the rescinding of the licence to sell bird feed on the Square in 2000[28] and the introduction of a bye-law in 2002 prohibiting the public from feeding pigeons on Trafalgar Square. As well as the targeting of pigeon feeders by the Heritage Wardens, the controlled release of a Hawk on a regular basis was also used as a means of deterring pigeons from using the square (GLA, 2006) (Figure 6.7). The ban covered the area under the remit of the GLA's control, which, as discussed in Chapter 5, covers the central part of the Square. The enforcement of this bye-law therefore became one of the central duties of the Heritage Wardens.

There are two interrelated strands to the resistance to the pigeon-feeding ban. The first is related to interventions by animal-rights activists, the second, while directly related to this, is connected to the feeding of pigeons by people as a form of everyday activity that is associated with the meanings of and historical associations of Trafalgar Square .

In 2002, an agreement was reached between the GLA and the Save the Trafalgar Square Pigeons Action Group which allowed for the feeding of the pigeons at 7.30 a.m. each day. However, throughout the period of fieldwork in 2005, the newly-pedestrianised area on the north terrace had become the focal point for

[28] 'The Birdman of Trafalgar Finally Loses his Perch', The Independent, 8th February, 2001, Accessed on-line at http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/the-birdman-of-trafalgar-square-finally-loses-his-perch-690757.html, (Last accessed, 20th June, 2009).

pigeon feeding (Figure 6.5). This was often in direct response to the Heritage Wardens moving people away from the central plaza of the square, or, as observed on occasion, directing users towards the north terrace where others were feeding the pigeons. In 2006, the GLA rescinded the deal and stopped feeding from taking place. This resulted in the Trafalgar Square Pigeons Action Group unsuccessfully challenging the GLA in a 2007 court-case for a breach of the agreement. At the beginning of the court case a spokesperson for the GLA stated that the reasons for the reasons for the withdrawal from the deal was based on "persistent and antisocial feeding by pigeon-rights activists on the north terrace of the square, which is controlled by Westminster City Council"[29] (GLA spokesperson quoted in *The Independent*, Tuesday 12th December 2006).[30]



Figure 6.7: Hawk rests on Handler's hand. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 6.8: Public safety notice aimed at stopping paddling in ponds. Photo by Author, 2005

The pigeon ban was often commented on by respondents in the on-street interviews. For many, the pigeons were a symbol of Trafalgar Square and acted as a focal point in their memories. For example, two women in their 50s living in London commented as follows on the removal of the pigeons from Trafalgar Square:

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[29] In September 2007 a ban covering the north part of Trafalgar Square was introduced by Westminster City Council which has enforced a blanket ban on pigeon feeding on the Square (Westminster City Council, 2007).

[30] Accessed online at http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/pigeon-lovers-sue-mayor-over-feeding-ban-428131.html, (Last accessed 3rd June, 2009)

"I usually come in here for the square, because I used to come in here to feed the pigeons and stuff since I was a little girl I used to do that: you can't feed them any more..."

Respondent A:

"[I'd] prefer to be able to feed them. Even though there is a lot more shit all over the place, it's fun for the kids."

Respondent B:

"The kids love it, don't they? That's the memory from childhood and it hasn't affected us. At least I don't think it has (laughs)(Trafalgar Square C 8, Two females in their 50s living in London).

Another respondent directly associated coming the square as a child with feeding the pigeons:

"I can remember as a child coming up here because my father was Canadian and my mother used to collect her Canadian war widow's pension from... That used to be Canada House then [points to Canada House]... and the pigeons were a big highlight. Everyone fed the pigeons. And of course now they seem to get rid of them, and they're not allowed to come back until after dusk. I know I did as a kid, I used to love them sitting on my head and on my arms and I think it's a shame that they've been banished" (Trafalgar Square C 58, Female in her 40s living in Kent).

One respondent commented on how he saw the birds in his garden as symbolic of the displacement of the pigeons from the square:

"I like the birds and everyone loves the birds and it seems a little bit mean chasing them out, but they're a tough old bird. They're part of London as well. They certainly survive. We've got some in our garden. I always think of them as refugees from Trafalgar Square (laughs)..." (Trafalgar Square C 65, Male in his 50s living in London)

While for many respondents, the pigeon ban had, along with other features, resulted in the square looking a lot cleaner, there was also a certain degree to which people also missed them as a symbol of the square:

"When we're in London we tend to just wander down and we used to feed the pigeons when you were allowed to feed them... I don't mind [the ban] because I'm scared of them. I used to bring my son to feed them, he liked them..." (Trafalgar Square C 57, female in her 50s living in London).

The pigeons can therefore be seen as a powerful symbol of people's memory of, and attachment to, Trafalgar Square as a place. The ban on feeding them can be seen to have a direct impact on many users who directly associated the square with their own memories of childhood or the memories of bringing their children to the square.

The gradual impact of measures such as the pigeon feeding ban recodes the space and removes what can be seen as an active form of engagement with the square on an everyday level. Moreover, the transformation of the square and its focus on cleanliness was becoming a point which other users now focused on. This viewpoint was summarised by one user as follows:

> "I never come here just to hang out but I've just seen the little café down there it crosses my mind that I would do ... I mean before it was a roundabout, whereas now if has a lot more of a pleasant feel to it: it's got a little way to go yet, but it could be like one of those nicer big piazzas you get in one of the continental cities, that would be really nice" (Trafalgar Square C 43, male in his 30s working as a reporter on the square during Olympic Bid announcement)

The physical and social reordering of the square may therefore be seen to be replacing the image of the square as one often associated with pigeon feeding to one associated with a new image of public space based on what might be termed a 'continental imaginary'. The surroundings of the square, including the new interventions are in keeping with this new image. However, pigeon feeding is not. While those respondents who associated the square with pigeon feeding were drawing on social memory, the new imaginary draws on the physical history of the space, while eliminating the parts that no longer fit in with such meanings. The active recoding of Trafalgar Square will be returned to at a later point in the chapter in relation to the promotion of events.

Regulating Space and 'function creep'

Along with the control of activities such as pigeon feeding, an aspect of the

Heritage Wardens which became apparent throughout the fieldwork in 2005 was the degree to which they would often be observed to extend their functions to the control of activities outside their normal remit. Under the *Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001,* Local Authorities have the right to impose alcohol controls in areas where "the are satisfied that – (a) nuisance or annoyance to members of the public or a section of the public; or (b) disorder has been associated with the consumption of intoxicating liquor in that place." The designation of specific places gives the Metropolitan Police the discretionary power to stop people from consuming alcohol. These places are designated through the *Alcohol Consumption in Public Places (Central and North Westminster) Designation Order* (City of Westminster, 2004). This includes both the north terrace and the central plaza of Trafalgar Square. The regulation gives police officers the discretionary power to stop people from consuming alcohol. During the duration of the fieldwork the Heritage Wardens would regularly monitor the consumption of alcohol in the Square. An example of this is outlined below.

Notes from the Field 6.1: Trafalgar Square, 27th May 2005

> *>On the evening of the 15th of July 2005, the BBC Proms were being displayed on a large Television screen located in the south west of the central plaza of Trafalgar Square from approximately 7.00 p.m onwards. At approximately 8.30 pm two women in their mid 40s sat on their own-provided deck chairs to the North West of the Square to watch the performance. While viewing the Proms they began to consume a bottle of white wine. At approximately 8.45 pm two Heritage Wardens approached the women and informed them that they were causing an obstruction and would have to move. An argument developed during which the two women were then also told that they were not allowed to drink their wine. The reasons cited for attempting to stop them from using their deck chairs and consuming alcohol were related to the bye-laws After the interaction between the women and the Heritage*

Wardens, the two women commented on how they felt that couldn't relax after being approached and further commented that 'this is meant to be public space!'<

As discussed earlier, there is no mention of alcohol in the bye-laws, nor that of causing an obstruction by sitting on a deck-chair. In the above example, this was pointed out to the Heritage Wardens by the two women.[31]

While the discretionary nature of the power allows for the police to profile particular users and control the consumption of alcohol in a selective manner, the control of the consumption of alcohol by the Heritage Wardens illustrates the degree to which powers can be assumed by those given a particular power in public space. In a similar manner to that illustrated by attempts to control the parking of bikes on Zuidplein, the assumption of powers in public space is becoming a common means by which public space is controlled and ordered. Moreover, the control of the consumption of alcohol in public space is becoming a common feature of the management of public space. Along with the introduction of discretionary powers in the U.K, in 2008, Dublin City Council introduced bye-laws prohibiting the consumption of alcohol in public places. Similar regulations have also been introduced in the Mercatorplein in Amsterdam. This will be outlined in more detail later in the chapter.[32]

The role of Events and Installations in Urban Public Space

As briefly outlined in Chapter 4 in relation to Dublin, recent years have witnessed the growth of the promotion of events that can be directly connected to the wider cultural economy of place promotion (Hall & Hubbard, 1998). However, the role of events in each of the spaces being studied varied considerably depending on a number of factors, such as location, scale and desired image of the space concerned. They included markets, art installations, temporary fairgrounds and

[31] This is based on an informal conversation held with the two ladies as a means of gaining a further insight into the altercation that was observed.

[32] Given the recent introduction of the bye-laws governing the consumption of alcohol in public space in Dublin it has not been possible to outline the impacts of such on either Smithfield or O'Connell Street here.

large-scale events such as concerts and other cultural centre-pieces. The markets ranged in scale from small-scale farmer's markets held on a weekly basis, to larger scale markets held as once off events. On a broader level, some of the more recently initiated events highlighted in the case-studies have been about promoting a particular vision of public life in which the city is celebrated as a diverse and tolerant social entity.

A central feature of the promotion of events in public space is the degree to which they transform public space both physically and socially. They are illustrative of the constant tensions in public space between social control and diversity of uses. Events dominate a public space and reorder them in a manner that is orientated by the body with official control for such space. This may involve the clearance of street furniture (Figures 5.9 and 6.10) and other 'obstacles', such as parked bikes, which allows for the event to be staged. From a social perspective, the orientation of public space to events recodes space, although temporarily, in a manner that can come to symbolise what a public space means. While Trafalgar Square may have been traditionally associated with protests or rallies, its transformation in recent years to an events space adds a new layer of meaning, which may, in time, come to dominate the wider meanings of the square.

This section of the chapter will examine the promotion of events in different contexts. The example of Dam Square, which is briefly outlined below, is illustrative of how a small number of events may be used as a means of generating capital for the upkeep of the square. It will then focus on the role of events in terms of boosting the profile or image of the city. This will draw on the examples of O'Connell Street and Trafalgar Square. The limits to these forms of intervention will then be illustrated through the example of Smithfield.

Events and the Upkeep of Public Space: Dam Square

As discussed in Chapter 5, the degree to which commercial uses are allowed to

use parts of Dam Square is regulated by the *Stadsdeel Amsterdam Centrum*. However, small-scale semi-structured interventions were promoted that had very little to do with the official capacity of the local authority. The most predominant example of this were the 'moving statues', who were street performers that were given licences to perform within Dam Square. From the perspective of the local authority, these performers placed features of interest in the centre of the Square on a temporary basis without taking up too much of the public space. However, larger and more official events also take place within Dam Square, including a book market and a funfair. The funfair is used as a means of generating income for the upkeep of the Square: "But they also pay a lot of money twice a year, I think we get €900,000 out of that so we can maintain the square" (Dam Square I 2).



Figure 6.9: Distinctive Street Furniture, Dam Square. Photo by Author, 2006



Figure 6.10: Street furniture removed in preparation for 4th of May commemoration on Dam Square. Photo by Author, 2006

The example of Dam Square illustrates how hiring of a public space to a private body can be directly associated with the everyday up-keep of public space. However, the square is also used for official commemorations, such as the marking of the end of the occupation of Amsterdam during World War II each year on the 4th of May, along with rallies and protests. The impact of such uses will be discussed later in the chapter in reference to peoples attachment to the

square.

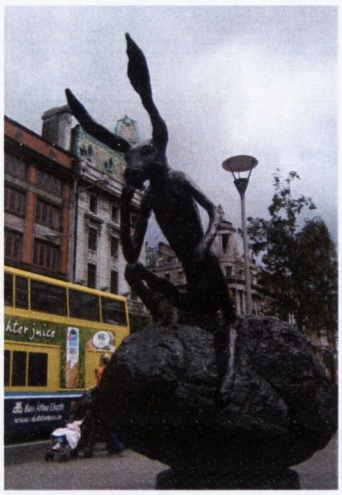

Figure 6.11: Barry Flanagan Sculpture, O'Connell Street. Photo by Author, 2006

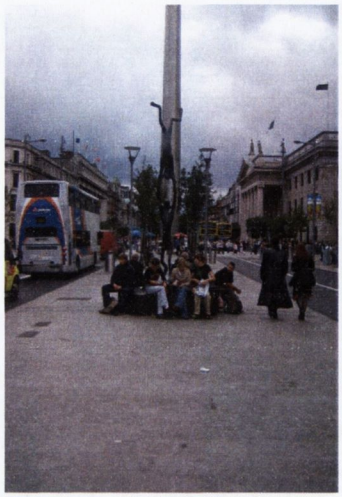

Figure 6.12: Sculptures re-appropriated as benches. Photo by Author, 2006

The role of art and installations in public space: The example of O'Connell Street

As discussed in Chapter 4, the promotion of events and art installations has formed a central feature of the transformation of public space in Dublin in recent years. The economic imperative for such activities was made clear in terms of attracting tourists, but events were also used as a means of differentiating public space from the out of town shopping centres:

> "in relation to animation of public space, one of the major drives in relation to it would have been the need to make the city something different that people wanted to come to. It wasn't just an area that you came in to just to shop, and [the city centre] would have been under a certain amount of threat as well from all these out of town major shopping centres that were being developed, and what they were losing critically I suppose was really the family element to it ... If we were going to keep developing, we were going to say upgrade and spend an awful lot of money on the likes of O'Connell Street, even Henry Street, Wolfe Tone Park as well, Smithfield and these other venues, well we needed to be kind of doing something with them, to give something back ... on a day to day basis, what do they mean to people..." (Smithfield I 3)

To celebrate the completion of the works on O'Connell Street during the summer

of 2006, Dublin City Council in association with the Hugh Lane Gallery (Dublin City Gallery), situated on Parnell Square to the north of O'Connell Street, placed a series of sculptures between O'Connell Street and the gallery by the sculptor Barry Flanagan (Figure 6.13). The installation involved placing a total of ten sculptures between O'Connell Bridge and Parnell Square, including six giant hare's on the central median.

> "Barry Flanagan's monumental bronzes have been exhibited in other prestigious streetscapes such as Park Avenue in New York and the Champs Elysées in Paris and this unique and quite exceptional exhibition demonstrates Ireland's ability to host world-class exhibitions in the heart of the capital city. Exhibitions of this quality and reputation ensure that Ireland remains a key player on the international stage and will attract, not only local and national interest, but world-wide visitors too" (Hugh Lane Gallery, 2006)[33]

While the press release discussed the importance of people being able to engage with the sculptures in their own environment (*ibid*), it also highlighted the manner in which such installations are seen as an important aspect of the promotion of cities as spaces for visitors. Moreover, the manner in which the sculptures, which were part of a Hugh Lane exhibition, directly connected Parnell Square with O'Connell Street is part of a wider strategy to promote the regeneration of the north end of O'Connell Street and the Parnell Square area. This was described by a representative of the architects division of Dublin City Council who had been involved in recent alterations to both Smithfield and O'Connell Street as follows:

> "the whole issue that is how do you link Parnell Square to town? And [an] immediate simplistic one is have your ten Barry Flanagan's. You start at O'Connell Bridge, look northwards and go prancing all towards the gallery, so that's the object of the exercise, and it works extremely well" (Smithfield I 4)

As discussed in Chapter 5, the sculptures were therefore part of wider plans to transform the north end of the Street and Parnell Square in the coming years.

While the drive towards city marketing and boosting the economic potential of the north end of the street and Parnell Square was an important aspect of the

[33] Hugh Lane Gallery Press Release, 21st May, 2006

positioning of the pieces of sculpture, the manner in which the sculptures were re-appropriated as gathering points became a significant factor in terms of the everyday use of O'Connell Street in the period after its alterations in 2006.

During the period of fieldwork, respondents often commented on the role of the Hare sculptures which were colloquially referred to as the 'rabbits'. While some of the commentary was directly related to what may be referred to as dichotomous perspectives on the statues, such as 'I like them' or 'I don't like them', other respondents indicated the degree to which the hares had been appropriated by different users. A more extreme example of this appropriation was highlighted by one respondent who worked as a bar man in the city centre:

> "It gives Dublin a bad name... What are rabbits famous for? Breeding! And it looks like Dublin people are very ah... I'm a bar man and there was three of us talking and one of them said 'what's all the rabbits there?' Irish women must be like *that*!"

The more common means by which users discussed the appropriation of the statues was, however, related to their practical use as seats. For example, one respondent commented as follows about the hare sculptures: "I like what they're doing with the paths in the middle of the road as well. I don't know what those rabbits are there..." (O'Connell Street C 23, Male teenager living in Dublin). However, later in the interview he commented on how the hares were now a place where he and his friends would like to sit: "We'd sit around in the middle down there at one of those mad looking rabbits! ... sit down, relax ... [It's a] big long street, you may as well have somewhere to sit" (*Ibid*). A similar viewpoint was expressed by another respondent as follows:

> "I came to see all the statues and I wanted to take some pictures, but it surprised me, it was a nice day, but I couldn't take the pictures; everybody was sitting down on the base [of the sculptures]. I was thinking 'there's no seating on O'Connell Street, I say, how come?' It's supposed to be that people can enjoy the main street of Dublin, and it's great, I think it's fantastic, but there is no place to sit down" (O'Connell Street C 57, Spanish male in his 30s living in Dublin).

As discussed by a representative of Dublin City Council in Chapter 5, the

sculptures pointed to the role of areas for seating within the street. This was also picked up by another representative from the architecture division of Dublin City Council:

> "Funnily, one of the spin offs ... was seating. People sit comfortably, any time I go up there I'm taking photographs, you know, there's a great cluster of people sitting there and that's back onto the seating issue again, I suppose with seats, the sort of thing that if we put in well-designed seating there and it doesn't work, you take it out, you know, but this whole sense that the commercial sector and the retail people don't like it and that security then if it's then abused does it then take from the space generally and looking at Placo Royale [In Barcelona], now where we have seating along the board walk, there is just so much of it again, you could be reasonably confident that the average is good, you may get socially unacceptable types along there, but I would be inclined after seeing Flanagan's success and we will do other [things]... There are kiosks to go in there which are hardwood, they will bring a lot of activity there and they will bring chairs, tables, people sitting out and that if you like again tends to defeat the anti-social behaviour, you know. If you are on a piss-up and you are on the wine or drugs or whatever, you don't want to be sitting there... But the Flanagan thing I think has been a huge success" (Smithfield I 4)[34]

While the Hare sculptures were to a certain extent re-appropriated by the public, the above comments regarding potential for antisocial behaviour are indicative of broader fears regarding usage of such spaces and, more particularly, the assumption that the 'solution' to such uses is to create more commercial uses in public. Such issues highlight the degree to which planning for public space uses a certain amount of iconographic differentiation while also desiring a certain amount of social control of for whom that public space is designed (Atkinson, 2003). Pursuing 'order' in spaces such as O'Connell Street is not so much about seeking a solution for what are perceived to be the ills of society, but is more focused on creating an up-market, tourist orientated city for consumption (MacLeod & Ward, 2003; Mitchell, 2003).

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[34] The kiosks which are referred to were part of the original IAP (Dublin Corporation, 1998). At the point of writing they had yet to be installed on the street.

Trafalgar Square: Temporary Installations, Event Management and the Re-Imagining of Public Space

Trafalgar Square has historically been associated as a place of both official celebration and unofficial protest (Mace, 1976). However, since taking control of the Square, the GLA has embarked on a policy of installations and events promotion with its coordination unit called the Squares Management Team. From a general perspective, these official installations and events are aimed at showcasing the diversity of London as a living city using Trafalgar Square as an exemplar of the aspirations of the GLA for public life in London. Throughout the fieldwork in 2005, a number of small-scale events took place within Trafalgar Square. These included 'Olcote', which involved the placing of a caravan beside Nelson's Pillar as a representation of the prejudices surrounding the travelling community and, for a longer period, the installation of the sculpture *Alison Lapper Pregnant* on the Fourth Plinth. Examples of the events include a Russian Winter Festival (Figure 6.13), a St. Patrick's Day Festival (Figure 6.14) and 'Liberty', which promotes the work of deaf and disabled artists.



Figure 6.13: 'Red Square' promotional leaflet. Source, GLA/Authors personal collection

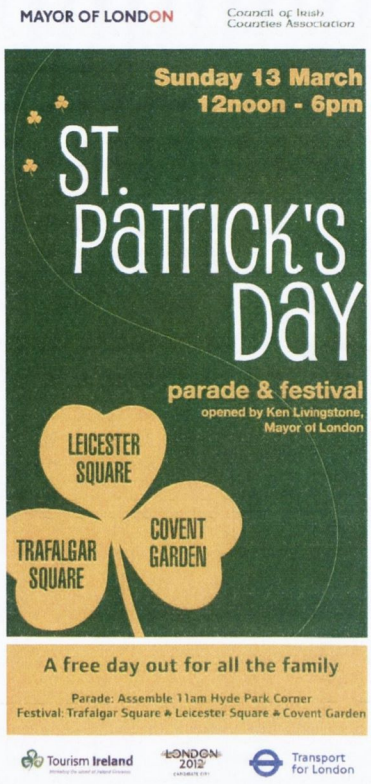

Figure 6.14: St Patrick's Day in London promotional leaflet. Source, GLA/Author's personal collection

The *Alison Lapper Pregnant* sculpture is part of The 'Fourth Plinth' project which has played a significant role in terms of the re-imagining of Trafalgar Square in recent years. The Fourth Plinth is located in the north west corner of the central plaza of Trafalgar Square. It was originally meant to be the location of an equestrian statue of William IV similar to the statue of George IV on the north east plinth. However, due to funding constraints and subsequent disagreements about a suitable statue, it remained vacant until the late 1990s (Mace, 1976; Cherry, 2006) (Figure 6.15). The Fourth Plinth project was instigated in the early 1990s by the Royal Society of the Arts (RSA) with a project aimed at finding a permanent choice for the selection of a statue on the empty plinth, through the temporary display of five pieces of sculpture. From these five, one would be selected for permanent display on the plinth (Vacant Plinth Advisory Group,

2000). However, given potential controversy over the selection of a permanent sculpture, it was decided to select three pieces of sculpture over a three-year process and then look to start the process of selecting further pieces again (*Ibid*). Therefore, while the origins of the Fourth Plinth project lie outside the remit of the GLA, former Mayor, Ken Livingston, saw it as a central feature of the his vision for Trafalgar Square:

> "One of the most valuable aspects of the Fourth Plinth is that it gets people thinking and debating about the place and value of public art. It forms an integral part of my vision for Trafalgar Square which is to be a vibrant, accessible space that is the symbolic as well as literal heart of London"(GLA, 2005)[35]

One of the two pieces selected in 2004 and unveiled during the period of fieldwork in London during 2005 was 'Alison Lapper Pregnant' by Marc Quinn. Alison Lapper is an artist who was born without arms and shortened legs (Figure 6.16). The sculpture depicted her when she was eight months pregnant and was placed on Trafalgar Square as a means of challenging views about public statuary and sculpture in public space. For Ken Livingston the sculpture was a "bold, modern and complex work that challenges people's notions of beauty and disability. It also questions our assumptions of who should be the subject of a statue or memorial" (*Ibid*).[36]

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[35] Direct quotation from Ken Livingston in Fourth Plinth Press Release, 25th of June, 2005 (accessed on-line at http://www.fourthplinth.co.uk/press-releases/press_release2.htm, (Last accessed 31st August, 2005)

[36] In 2000 Ken Livingston controversially questioned the positioning of the different symbols of empire in Trafalgar Square seeking for more contemporary statues to be placed within the Square (See Cherry, 2006). Throughout his periods in office, he also campaigned to have a statue of Nelson Mandela on Trafalgar Square as a way of recognising the post-imperial period. After debate about the suitability of the site this statue was eventually unveiled on Parliament Square in August 2007 (GLA, 2007, accessed on-line at http://www.london.gov.uk/view_press_release.jsp?releaseid=13472, last accessed 4th June, 2009).



Figure 6.15: The vacant fourth plinth. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 6.16: Alison Lapper Pregnant by Marc Quinn. Photo by Author, 2005

Throughout the fieldwork in 2005, Trafalgar Square hosted a number of temporary installations, such as those during the launch of Architecture Week on Saturday 11th of June 2005. This involved activities including a small maze called 'superconductor' and 'red ladies', which involved a staging of a political demonstration at which a group of women marched around the Square dressed in red and black and performing songs and speeches, including a version of The Declaration of Human Rights and voicing questions, such as "Why are there no statues of women in this Square?" (Figure 6.18).



Figure 6.17: Architecture Week promotional leaflet. Source, GLA/Author's personal collection

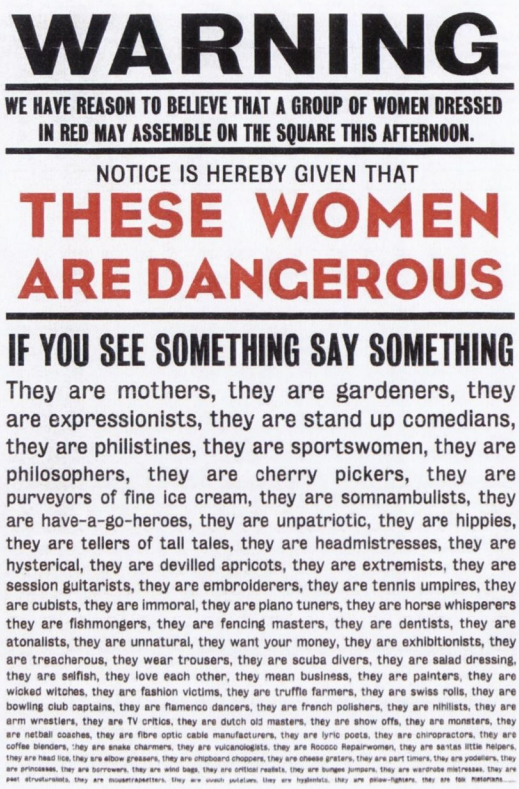

Figure 6.18: 'Red Ladies' promotional leaflet. Source, GLA/Author's personal collection

A central feature of these events is the 'Summer in the Square' festival which is a programme of events which has taken place throughout each summer in recent years. The festival is based on particular themes each year. During the fieldwork in 2005, the theme was focused on showcasing the diversity of London. As outlined by Ken Livingston in the programme of events:

> "The 2005 festival draws strongly on the grand architecture of Square but at the same time is mindful of its place in a modern world city. The programme reflects and celebrates the many communities who live and work in London, showcasing traditional work but also inspiring fusion, the bringing together of new and old, near and far, familiar and unknown to provide a programme of diversity, surprise and excellence" (GLA, 2005b, 2).

The programme of events, as with many of the official activities on the Square is generally aimed at putting on display the cultural diversity of London in the form of spectacle. In terms of the 'grand architecture of the Square', the insertion of the steps between the central plaza and the north terrace, has altered the manner in

which the space can be used as a space of performance, in many ways lent itself as an 'urban theatre', in which the diversity of London life was on display. The first of these is the manner in which the steps become a 'stage' with a focus on the portico of the National Gallery as the stage-set (Figures 6.19 & 6.20). The second of these is the manner in which the steps can become semi-formalised seats, or formally enclosed as an official sitting space.



Figure 6.19: Steps as stage-set for celebration of Chinese community in London. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 6.20: Steps as seating arena for Olympic bid announcement. Photo by Author, 2005

Two official occasions in Trafalgar Square illustrate the manner in which events can have a direct influence on the public space in terms of urban boosterism and promotion and what might be referred to as 'crisis recovery'. The first of these was the announcement of London as the host-city for the 2012 Olympic Games on July 6th, 2005 and the second was the use of Trafalgar Square as place of officially dedicated mourning in the aftermath of the bombings of July 7th, 2005.

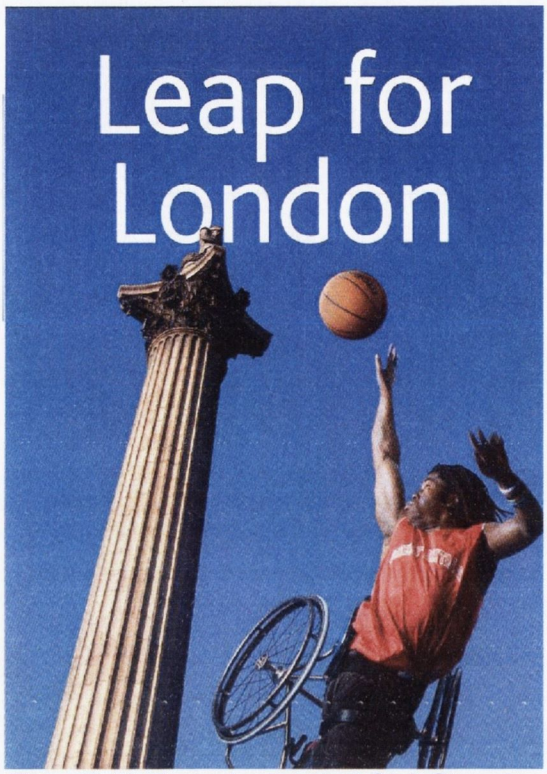

Figure 6.21: 'Leap for London' GLA Olympic Promotional Postcard. Source, GLA/Author's personal collection



Figure 6.22: 'The City Celebrates' promotional leaflet. Source, GLA/Author's personal collection

On the day of the vote to decide which city was to host the 2012 Olympic Games, a stage had been set up to the North side of Nelson's Column on Trafalgar Square, with a large sign saying 'Thank You London' behind it. Two presenters, Margherita Taylor and Katy Hill, from Capital FM radio hosted the event, bringing British Olympic medallists such as Kelly Holmes on stage and introducing numerous acts. Large screens situated either side of the stage displayed images being projected live from Singapore, where the IOC vote was taking place. In the intervals between the rounds of voting, images were displayed from some of the other competing cities. An image showing people gathered on Plaza Mayor in Madrid was repeatedly switched to that of people gathered on Place de l'Hôtel de Ville in Paris, and then back to an image of Trafalgar Square. Upon the announcement of the London's successful bid, confetti in Olympic colours was launched from machines around the square. This was followed closely by the Royal Air Force display team, the Red Arrows flying over the square and

releasing blue, red, and white coloured smoke representing the British flag.



Figure 6.23: Promotional hoarding for London Olympic bid, 6th July, 2005. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 6.24: Increased police presence on north terrace in aftermath of July 7th bombings. Photo by Author, 2005

Although the official celebrations did not continue for much longer after the announcement, the square remained as a formal space of celebration throughout the afternoon. While there was a large police presence on the Square, activities which would normally be actively monitored or stopped, such as the consumption of alcohol or paddling in the ponds, were allowed to continue largely unchecked. This illustrates the degree to which many of the regulations that are enforced in public space are highly influenced by the perceived appropriateness to the social context, which have a temporal as well as a spatial aspect. Moreover, it illustrates the extent to which official forms of intervention provide the possibility for a form of subversion of the normal rules and regulations that govern public space (Griffiths, 1998). Although not to the same extreme, such activities point to Harvey's (2006, 28) comment on how spectacle "...can all too easily spin out of control to produced unintended and sometimes quite surprising consequences." The promotion of officially coordinated events therefore inevitably leads to the potential for re-appropriation of space (Domosh, 1998).

Trafalgar Square as Space of Official Commemoration

In the days following the bombings of the 7th of July 2005, in which a total of four suicide bombs exploded on London's underground and buses, killing 52 people and injuring up to 700, London was on high terror alert, with security issues becoming a focal point for both public and private agencies. For example, the manner in which security was stepped up in Paternoster Square, as mentioned above, was indicative of wider impacts on public space in London. Police presence became more evident, with a police van locating on a semi-permanent basis on the north terrace of Trafalgar Square (Figure 6.24). In short, the symbolism of collective fear became visible within urban space (Davis, 1990).

One week after the bombings, Trafalgar Square became an official vigil site and place of public mourning. On the 12th of July 2005, a press release from the GLA announced the plans for two memorial services to be held on the 14th of July on Trafalgar Square, which included two-minutes of silence, was to be held at 12.00 noon with books of condolence opening at 1.00pm. It also gave details of a vigil that would be held at 6 o'clock that evening:

> "At 6pm Londoners are invited to a vigil in Trafalgar Square to remember those who died, to show that London will not be moved from our goal of building an open, tolerant, multi-racial and multi-cultural society showing the world its future and to thank the heroes of the transport and emergency services who saved so many lives last Thursday."[37]

On the morning of the 14th of July 2005, the Square was set up with fencing wrapping around the bottom of the steps. In the middle of the steps there was a giant board covered in a white sheet (Figure 6.25). The North Terrace was also cordoned off with hoardings saying 'LONDON UNITED' in large white letters and a dark blue background. There were two hospitality tents located on the North Terrace, one either side of the steps. With approximately 15 minutes to go until the two minute silence, the white sheeting was removed revealing the slogan

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[37] From a Press Release dated the 12th July 2005 'London united in defiance of terrorist attacks': Last accessed on the 24th September 2007 at: http://www.london.gov.uk/view_press_release.jsp?releaseid=5325, (Last accessed 13th July, 2005).

'ONE CITY ONE WORLD'. Gradually the steps began to fill up with selected members of the public. There were representatives of different ethnic groups of different ages and different professions, including representatives of the fire service, police, nurses, along with school children, to indicate the diversity of London. Standing behind the sign was the then Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, the chairman of the London 2012 Olympic bid, Sebastian Coe, Dr. Abdul Bari, the then secretary of the Muslim Council of Britain, and Ken Livingston, then Mayor of London (Figure 6.26). At 12.00 noon, the two minutes silence was observed. After that, the members of the assembled sample of London public life moved to cordoned off area on the north terrace and began to sign the books of condolence.



Figure 6.25: Steps set up for official two minute silence, 14th July, 2005. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 6.26: 'One City One World': A sample of the diversity of London, Trafalgar Square, 24th of July, 2005. Photo by Author, 2005

Later, on the evening of the 14th of July a vigil was held in Trafalgar Square, which was organised by the GLA. The first to speak was the poet Ben Okri, who recited a poem originally commissioned by the GLA, entitled '*Lines in Potensis'*, retitled as *'A Hymn to London'* for the vigil:

"One of the magic centres
Of the world;
One of the world's
Dreaming places.
Ought to point the way
To the world.
Here lives the great music

Of humanity

The harmonisation of different

Histories, cultures, geniuses,

And dreams"[38]

This was followed by a speech by Ken Livingston in which he emphasised the way in which a city remembers events from its past, and how people in London had suffered from previous horrors of war, such as the Blitz, and fought on to rebuild the city. He continued by invoking ideals of tolerance and unity in London; 'the world gathered in one city', and how the memory of joy on the day in which London was chosen as the Olympic venue and terror on the day of the bombings would be not be forgotten. His speech placed particular emphasis on the selection of London as host city of the 2012 Olympic Games:

> "Tonight in every country in the world, young men and woman and boys and girls will go to sleep dreaming that in seven years they will come to this city to run faster and jump higher and throw further than anyone has done before. And for everyone who dreams of that a thousand dream of coming to this city to study or to become surgeons, or to create new products and processes the world has not jet envisaged. It's what makes this city great."

The promotion of the strength of the city as a collective social entity was further boosted through the association of London with ancient Athens:

> "Pericles, who was the first Mayor in Athens, over 2000 years ago said, 'in time all great things flow towards the city, and the greatest of those is the people that come.' I have watched this city transformed in my lifetime as a beacon about what the world can be, and I hope and pray will be. It is a city that embraces change, and is a city that is the most tolerant in the world. Those who came here to kill last Thursday had many goals, but one was that we should turn on each other, like animals trapped in a cage, and they failed, they failed totally and utterly. There may be places in the world where still that would have happened, but not here. The ancient Athenians had an oath when they created that great city, and I think it is what we need to guide us through the months and years to come. That Athenian oath was simple; 'We leave this city not less but greater, better and more beautiful than it was left to us.' There can be no better way of remembering those who died last week than that

[38]Excerpt from 'A Hymn to London' by Ben Okri, Recited on Trafalgar Square, 14th July 2005.

> each generation in this Square tonight commits themselves that they will do the same in their turn for this city and the people who choose to make it their home" (excerpt from Ken Livingston's Speech, Thursday 14th July, 2005, Trafalgar Square).

This speech was followed by those of other 'celebrities' who lived in London, or considered themselves as 'Londoners', such as the current affairs journalist Trevor McDonald. The emphasis was heavily on the ideal of London as a diverse and cosmopolitan world city that embraced difference.

The use of Trafalgar Square as a space of official commemoration and multi-faith, multi-ethnic reflection emphasised the notion of a place-based bond (Massey, 2007) amongst people of London with Trafalgar Square as its symbolic centre. Occasions such as this emphasise the limits to the promotion of the 'global city' through city-marketing in that there seems to be a genuine desire to boost confidence in a 'public' through the hosting of such events. However, the promotion of the resilience of London as an example to the world emphasised the degree to which such an occasion is used to reiterate the desire to maintain London as a 'world city' through a reaffirmation by Ken Livingston of London's ability to host the 2012 Olympic Games. The placed-based promotion of London was further emphasised through the 'One City One World', 'London United' and '7 Million Londoners, 1 London' slogans. Moreover, two weeks later, Trafalgar Square hosted an Olympic celebration event as a means of thanking the people of London for their support in the Olympic Bid, further reinforcing Trafalgar Square as the symbolic space of the GLA.

Voices From the Square

The promotion of diversity of cultures within London stands in direct contrast to the imposition of particular regulations in space, such as the regulation on pigeon feeding, the control of paddling in the fountains and the clamp-down on the consumption of alcohol in the square and public space in London more generally. While the square is used as a means of promoting cultural diversity, it is also

symbolic of a desire to control public life in a particular manner, and produce an ideal of public space based on control and order.

The events of July 7th and the related use of Trafalgar Square as an official centre of commemoration had a direct impact on the contributions of different respondents in terms of what Trafalgar Square meant to them as a place. Most of those who talked about the bombings or visiting Trafalgar Square referred to the victims and the impact of the bombings on them in a personal manner. For example, two days after the attacks, one user very quickly shifted from his description of his use of Trafalgar Square on a daily basis to an emotional outpouring about the bombings of July 7th:

> "I usually sit over there and just [watch] the tourists, and you know that bomb atrocity? Well that hit me very hard. One day it was the... you know, we got the Olympics and I say to myself, well I'm 57, I say to myself I'm going to be 62, hopefully, and the next day the bombs and everything! It just gutted me ... I was in my flat and I just wanted to get out ... All these people slaughtered for no reason" (Trafalgar Square C 53, Scottish man in his 50s living in London).

Most responses revolving around the terror attacks focused on the role of Trafalgar Square as a place in which those who died could be commemorated and that people in London could gather in solidarity in public. For example, a Pakistani man in his 60s who was visiting London with his son described the importance of coming to Trafalgar Square as follows:

> "The unfortunate things that happened, that is very sad and unacceptable and I believe very strongly that no religion on planet earth says all these bad things and we are very much against it. I think it's very unfair ... It's a very welcoming place and I think we owe it to them; we should come and write our views in a book of condolence because they do deserve this, I believe" (Trafalgar Square C 61).

Another man in his 60s living in Hackney described his signing of the book of condolence as follows: "I come purposely to sign the book of condolence and wish those who have died, I wish them perfect peace. And those who are still alive, I wish them a good recovery" (Trafalgar Square C 60).

Respondents interviewed during this period, and particularly with those respondents who lived in London, displayed a strong attachment to Trafalgar Square as a place. While the official speeches highlighted the importance of a place-based collective consciousness for the purposes of recovery, the on-street interviews highlighted the degree to which solidarity was felt with those who had been killed. The symbolism of Trafalgar Square was therefore reinforced as a space of mourning: "Trafalgar Square is a nice place, but today it is a very special day, so that made it more important to come out" (Trafalgar Square C 64, female in her 50s living in London). Moreover, there was a feeling for some that they had witnessed a strange sequence of events over a very short period of time:

> "It's been such an extraordinary sequence of events in London in the last week or so. There was G8; the big concert[39], and then London won the Olympics. And then, the very next day, you know, this bizarre disaster happened. And you know it's very powerful. Also, there was the commemoration of the second World War. London's survival then was an extraordinary thing. You know, it certainly has a very big pull on one's heart strings. I don't know whether you could say more than Paris or Rome, but it's a very very powerful place this" (Trafalgar Square C 65, Male in his 50s living in London)

The above comments highlight how the events of the previous days had further highlighted people's personal attachment to a place such as Trafalgar Square. Although the event was officially organised by the GLA, these personal attachments, it appeared, consisted of another layer of meaning for users that went beyond the official reordering of Trafalgar Square.

In a similar vein to the example of the pigeon-feeding ban, the promotion of GLA-oriented events highlights the manner in which a public space that is layered with meanings can be transformed through constant interventions. The sheer scale and intensity of these interventions, it appears, have added yet another layer of meaning to the square. While the pigeon-feeding ban, discussed above, highlighted the degree of resistance to the recoding of the square, the use of the square for such high-profile events as the Olympic bid celebrations and the vigil

[39] This is in reference to the Live 8 concert in Hyde Park on the 2nd of July, 2005

constantly reinforce the newly-desired meanings of the square as the symbolic space of the GLA. However, while the projection of this official meaning is powerful, the example of individual reactions to the bombings and their visit to Trafalgar Square highlights how such meanings are always contextualised in individual experiences of place.



Figure 6.27: 'Caution Traffic': Everyday risks highlighted in the conversion of Smithfield to events space

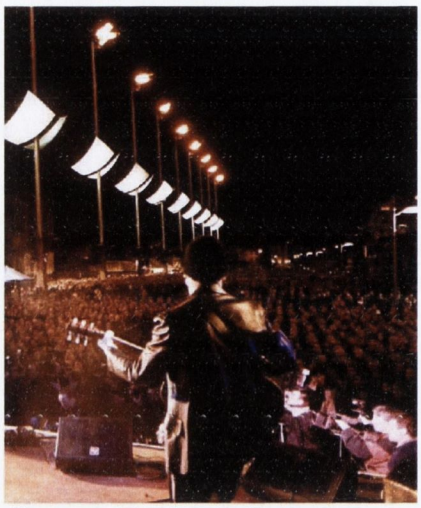

Figure 6.28: U2 playing on Smithfield Square in March 2000. Source:McGarry Ní Éanaigh Architects, http://www.mcgnie.ie/projects/smithfield/page19/page19.html

Re-imagining Smithfield as a city centre events space

Coinciding with the redevelopment of Smithfield Square, Dublin City Council began to pursue other means of promoting the city through a recognition of the role of the 'symbolic economy' (Zukin, 1995) and the promotion of particular types of high-profile events in Dublin in the late 1990s (Chapter 4). As discussed in Chapter 5, a key element of the transformation of Smithfield was related to creating a new public space for Dublin in which events could take place that were perceived to be of importance to the wider city. This was seen as key in terms of 're-colonising' this part of the city centre and attempting to merge it back to the main core of the city from both a cultural and commercial perspective:

"I would see it as more city ... I think you see, we are still kind of re-colonising

> the city, we are still marching out there to get up to Smithfield. Smithfield is still, in a lot of people's mind, on the edge. Luas helps to a certain extent as, you know, like, okay, the ice rink there, it helps. The ice rink can be successful because there is a Luas link..." (Smithfield I 1).

Soon after the initial transformations to the square, events were held there. This included the freedom of the city being granted to the members of the band U2 and their manager in early 2000 (Figure 6.28). However, newspaper reports of the time indicated a lack of satisfaction of the area's sudden transformation of the square to an events space from a surface car-park. As highlighted by a report in *The Irish Times* from 2001:

> "The residents are anxious about noise, and the possibility of people urinating or vomiting in their gardens. They are afraid that the sale of alcohol will not be adequately monitored. Additionally, they fear their houses will become virtual prisons as the area will be sealed off, with restricted access only" (*The Irish Times*, 5th May, 2001, Weekend Supplement, P42).

The article went on to describe how the local residents viewed the cordoning off of the square as being representative of the privatisation of public space, highlighting a lack of community events and the promotion of corporate interests. This viewpoint was further acknowledged by another representative of Dublin City Council:

> "And there was a decision taken which, I would say now at this point, not enough consultation and communication happened in relation to it, there was a decision taken that there would be seven concerts in Smithfield and at the time I had just moved into the events unit as it was in the corporate services department and had the role of actually going out now to try and consult after basically people were completely just... They just felt completely alienated from a decision that was made in relation to what they considered to be their front door basically and they had no input into it, they had no involvement in it ... There was a certain amount of damage that had happened because of the lack of consultation and I think the other big thing at the time as well was that there was a sense of not wanting to kind of hand over public property to a commercial organisation who were I suppose were considered to be only ripping people off anyway" (Smithfield I 3)

Furthermore, the promotion of Smithfield as a focal point for new events within the city also clashed with the historical use of the space as the location of a horse market on the first Sunday of every month (Figure 6.29). While, as outlined in Chapter 5, Smithfield Square had been used as a surface car park prior to the physical transformations which have taken place there over the last decade, it had also been traditionally used as a marketplace from which a horse fair has emerged.

The exact origins of the horse fair were unclear for those working within the city council. However, the officials interviewed felt that the horse fair should be removed from Smithfield:

> "effectively the horse market, you know, that horse market that was there on a Sunday has been basically kind of falling down to nothing, until the advent of the urban cowboy... The urban cowboy as in say the, you know, the fondness of say people living in say your housing estates in Coolock, Ballymun [for horses] and that brought it back into life. It's the only reason, like it was gone, So that's the urban myth. It's not hundreds of years old, and there's huge issues in terms of health and safety and the welfare of animals, it's appalling what's going on there, it should be closed down a long time ago because it's not regulated" (Smithfield I 1).

The discussions related to the imposed use of Smithfield as a space for a new events space for the city were mainly related to the early 2000's. Much commentary throughout the on-street interviews focused on the use of the square for the horse fair. For example, one respondent commented as follows: "If there's any events we come over and have a look; the horse fair's here since I was a child ... I like the French market, I'd come down and have a look. But again, it's expensive. Ordinary Joe Soap's aren't going to spend seven Euro on an apple tart" (Smithfield C, female in her 40s living on Church Street beside Smithfield).

Although there were conflicting opinions between different users, these were not split directly between long-established and newer residents in the area. As

discussed by city officials above, the commentary by some respondents reflected the confusion over when the fair had actually started. For example, while the above respondent indicated that she remembered the fair on the square another respondent, who had grown up in the vicinity of Smithfield could not:

> "They have the horse fair here, but I don't think it should be held here. It's not the ideal spot for a horse fair, so... Growing up, I don't even remember the horse fair being here, you know? Someone said it's been here so many years, but I never remember it as a child being in Smithfield" (Smithfield Square C 4, Female in her 40's living near Smithfield).

One resident who had been living on the square for over twenty years commented as follows:

> "They have the horse fair once a month, which is a nuisance... It brings a lot of the wrong kind of people... you see it's nearly all travelling people now that has the horses, the likes of Delany's won't open the pub: there's a reason for that! (Smithfield, Square C 8, male in his 60s living near Smithfield).

The perspective of the City Council was that the fair should be moved and that it was no longer suitable for the area. However, they also recognised that it would not be resolved in the near future:

> "I mean at the moment in relation to the horse fair, like nobody in the area, even in relation to that usage policy document, one thing that everybody adamantly agreed on in that policy document is that they don't want that event there in its current form, right that it's not an addition to the area, it's not an addition to, it's not a tourist attraction in the proper sense, it's not a reasonable way to, even it's not a reasonable way to kind of look after animals or take care of them or anything else, and we are still like at the moment in relation we are just waiting for legal opinion to see just what the outcome on that will be in relation to it, but it's not anything that is going to be resolved tomorrow..." (Smithfield Square I 3)

Although the horse fair divided opinion amongst those living in the area, it did point to a divide in terms of what the space *should* be used for on an everyday basis: "The only good thing out of it is the horse fair once a month... They have

the odd concert here and the ice skating in the winter, but that's all money-promoting stuff. There's nothing for the kids really" (Smithfield C 31, Male in his 40s living beside Smithfield Square).

Much of the work of in terms of events management within Smithfield in recent years has been about trying to address these issues. However, the construction of Smithfield Market has completely altered the nature of the 'community' living in the area and, in a sense, restructured the everyday politics of place. This was highlighted by a representative of the architects division of Dublin City Council:

> "In ways, it's interesting that the community has now changed its nature. It was originally the indigenous population who lived in the area largely in Friary [Grove] -- they have been totally out-voted now by the new group who are numerically much stronger, they are articulate, they are structured, they have a management company, so now they have a net input into the space as to what should and should not be done, and they are very articulate, so they are well structured. So I suppose their views and the views of the original indigenous population community aspects of it are now being considered" (Smithfield I 4).

It was not possible to ascertain the impacts of this shift in terms of the 'community' due to the recent construction of Smithfield Market. However, the limitations of the conversion of Smithfield to Dublin's new events space for the 21st century as envisioned by City Planner, Dick Gleeson (Chapter 5) were highlighted both by the residents living in the area and the experiences of a member of the events team with Dublin City Council. This indicates the importance of context and place meanings in imposing a new 'vision' for an established urban quarter. The uncertainty surrounding its perceived role will be returned to in Chapter 7.



Figure 6.29: Horse Market on Smithfield Square in 2006. Photo by Author



Figure 6.30: French Market on Smithfield Square in 2006. Photo by Author

Public Space as a 'Community Good'

The regulation of urban public space raises important questions about the definition of 'community' and about the scale of power relations. While the regulation of a space such as Trafalgar Square can be directly related to the scale of the 'city centre', the desire for safe public spaces is not wholly connected to the desire to up-scale city centre areas. As will be outlined below, both the control of urban space and the promotion of particular events is not always a direct outcome of entrepreneurial policies, but may be a reaction to particular issues that are perceived to be affecting the 'neighbourhood'. The monitoring of space or the control of certain users and uses perceived as being outside the remit of that which is acceptable can be directly connected to the concerns about behaviour and broader societal issues.

Throughout the research, it became evident that at the community level there was an interest in using public spaces as a means of promoting forms of behaviour that were desired in public space. For example, during fieldwork one evening in Peckham Square, one man who had been sitting with a group of other men in the Square discussed what he was doing there. He said that he was there in his capacity as a 'detached' youth worker connected to the Damilola Taylor Centre[40]

[40] Damilola Taylor was an 11 year old Nigerian boy who was murdered in Peckham on the 27th of November 2000. The Damilola Taylor Centre was set up by funds from a private doner to provide a centre for children and young adults to take part in activities such as football, dance and aerobics: http://www.damilolataylortrust.com, (Last accessed, 11th August, 2009).

and spent Friday nights on the Square observing the young teenagers to make sure they didn't get into any trouble or become involved in anti-social activity. According to the youth worker, the philosophy of detached youth work is that the workers interact with potentially vulnerable young people on their own terms, and in the places that they may spend time, such as the park, the street or café. Throughout the time he spent in the Square on that evening, he was approached by young men on the Square, who seemed familiar with him and talked to him on an informal basis.





Figure 6.31 (left) Signs informing of ban on cannabis and alcohol consumption on Mercatorplien. Photo by Author, 2006

Figure 6.32 (Above) 'Magic Circus' on Mercatorplein. Photo by Author, 2006

Mediating User Groups through the Regulation of Activities: Mercatorplein

In recent years, a ban has come into effect on the consumption of alcohol and cannabis on Mercatorplein. The alcohol ban was brought in during 2002 in response to complaints to the *Stadsdeel* of The Baarsjes area from local residents. The official line of the *Stadsdeel* is quite forthright about its reasons for the cannabis ban, which was introduced in 2006. In August 2003, a 33-year old

Moroccan man was shot and killed in the Warung Swetie restaurant on Mercatorplein after attacking a police officer with a knife. In response hundreds of young Moroccan men engaged in rioting throughout the evening of the killing. In a summary of the recent history of Mercatorplein the *Stadsdeel de Baarsjes* outlined how since then the Square had become a focal point for young people, and particularly young immigrant groups as follows:

> "Since that event, large groups of Moroccan youths hung around in the neighborhood. The north side of the Mercator Square often attracted a group of young immigrants of Moroccan, Suriname and Dutch Caribbean descent, who smoked cannabis, engaged in drug dealing and created noise nuisance. They were part of a wider problem of anti-social behaviour. This neighborhood is home to many cannabis-selling "coffee shops," which attracted large numbers of young cannabis users, to the detriment of this part of town. In the summer, the pot smokers were joined by a group of alcoholics, who settled in near one of the supermarkets and consumed large quantities of alcohol" (Hirs, 2006).

Highlighting the role of the cannabis ban, this viewpoint was further backed up with an interview with a representative of the planning division of the Stadsdeel de Baarsjes:

> "Well it's not because of the cannabis, we don't mind if people smoke cannibus at all. It's about the young people from the West, the far West, that come here to buy their cannibus and smoke it here, that's all ok, but they hang around and cause trouble... People were afraid of them. So it's not about the cannabis, its about the trouble they are causing" (Mercatorplein I 2).

Furthermore, as highlighted by a representative of the Stichteen Beheer Mercatorplein, the ban was primarily influenced by the perception of danger from the younger Turkish and Moroccan men:

> "You can just buy, in and out, and then they smoke it and they smoke it outside opposite of the coffee shop. Here in the Hudsonstraat is the Hudsonhof, which is a place where seniors live from all cultures. It's the first integrated senior meeting point I think in The Netherlands, and it's working very well but the difference in culture and generation is enormous; people in the seventies, eighties and there's the kids,

fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, whatever, they don't mix very well" (Mercatorplein I 4)

Similar viewpoints were garnered from the on-street interviews. For many respondents, the banning of cannabis smoking and alcohol on the square was a positive measure, as it had made the square feel more comfortable to use on a day-to-day basis. For example, as commentated by one respondent living in the vicinity of Mercatorplein:

> "[the cannabis ban] is a good idea because before they were sitting here on from of Dirk van der Broek and they buy their beer in Dirk van der Broek and they sit here and smoke their joints and they're screaming and shouting and spitting at people. Now it's better" (Mercatorplein C 8, Male in his 60s living in the Baarsjes).

However, while the ban was popular, there was a perception that it did not solve what was perceived as problematic behaviour and was merely used as a tool to displace unwanted social groups from public space:

> "There's this police man who actually thought of this idea and he was just looking for a way of solving these problems. And, I know it doesn't really solve it because they go and smoke somewhere else" (Mercatorplein C 15, Female in her 40s with male in his 40s living in the Baarsjes).

> "It has little to do with the smoking, but the kind of youth which is hanging around and making the trouble. It's not the cannabis which makes them start the trouble" (Mercatorplein C 15, Male in his 40s with female in her 40s living in the Baarsjes).

For a representative of the Stichteen Beheer Mercatorplein, the reasons that the area around Mercatorplein became so popular for large groups of young people to smoke cannabis was directly related to the established social norms within the Turkish and Moroccan community, and was therefore connected to a desire to smoke cannabis somewhere away from their neighbourhood.

> "The thing is that there is a very strict social network in the Moroccan and the Turkish and the Surinamese community, a lot of these people

> they know each other, big families ... they know each other so if the guys, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen years old want to smoke a joint they're not going to do it in their quarters, they're going to come and pick it up here..." (Mercatorplein I 4)

The association of the square with activities such as smoking and other 'anti-social activities' led to new initiatives on the square as a means of reprogramming its meanings. These are outlined below.

Promoting events at the local level

Aside from the cannabis ban, other measures have been introduced in recent years as a means of addressing perceived problems related to social order and anti-social behaviour which have directly involved the reappraisal of the role of Mercatorplein within the area of the Baarsjes. For example, in recent years the Mercatorplein has become a focal point for events that are aimed at the local community and involve local children and teenagers in terms of organisation. These interventions were a direct response to the issues associated with anti-social behaviour in the area. As outlined by a representative of the events organisation section of the Stichting Beheer Mercatorplein:

> "They [*Stichting Beheer Mercatorplein*] asked me if I wanted to organise events on Mercatorplein, there had been riots here. The problems were the kids from the neighbourhood, the Moroccans and the Turks. So, I said sure and I asked them what the problem was and they said 'Well we have a couple of clubs here – or gangs, whatever you want to call them and they create disturbances ... and specifically when we have events and small disturbances and up to the riot and also in the neighbourhood'. So I went to talk to these guys and I said 'Well I'm going to organise events, now we can do two things, we can fight it out right here, right now', which was ridiculous because there was about thirty-five around me so they were looking at me like 'Who is this guy?' ... Or you can come and work for me and I reimburse you for it, you can do stuff and you can be part of what we do on the Square and maybe if you have some ideas" and we started talking and since then they come and help out" (Mercatorplein I 4)

The representative of the Stichteen Beheer Mercatorplein went on to explain how he used Mercatorplein as a space to promote community cohesion between the various groups of young people, particularly those from the Turkish and Moroccan communities:

> "The group consists of brothers, of neighbours, of nephews, of nieces, all – mostly from the De Baarsjes but we have occasionally – once we had a girl from Rotterdam, we have some from north Amsterdam, east Amsterdam and we have some from the other side of what we call the ring around the centre and all the quarters and I don't want it to be specifically for one quarter of the city, I don't want to create another ghetto. That's what I really worked hard on in the beginning, because the Moroccans on this side of the Admiralengracht Canal, the canal [that] crosses through the De Baarsjes, and they said "It's our quarter, it's our Square" and the guys at the other side they're not welcome so I immediately invited both of them ... and so it's grown" (Mercatorplein I 4).

The activities that are promoted on Mercatorplein varied, but involved interaction by the children and teenagers. Some involved the older teenagers working for the event organisers, while others directly involved them in the activities taking place within the Square:

> "We have a circus, you have the circus and you have the Funfair, and then now, now slowly but certainly we're starting to do other things with the kids. We always try to have integrated programmes so they can do ... they can act and they can play, they can do the sports, they can [do the sports], if we have acrobats the acrobats do workshops with them, if we have wood workers, they'll work with the wood or with ice or whatever, always try to integrate them, it's a square for – there are always a lot of children" (Mercatorplein I 4) (Figure 6.32).

In a similar vein to Mercatorplein, Peckham Square is also used as a focal point in terms of local activities and officially organised events, which were organised by the local authority, Southwark Council. A central feature of this is the I♥PECKHAM! festival, which began in 2004 and is held each year during the

summer months (Figures 6.33 and 6.34). During the period of fieldwork in 2005 the festival was held on Saturday 13th and Sunday the 14th of August. While events took place around the area of Peckham, the focal point of the event was Peckham Square. The focus of the 2005 event, as with each year, is on the expression of the diversity of Peckham through a range of activities involving local community groups and arts organisations. These included the Farassa organisation, the Southwark Vietnamese Chinese Community (SVCC). The aims of Farassa are to bring the West African people in Southwark together for language and employment training with the wider aim of integration into London life (Southwark Council, 2005). Likewise SVCC was founded with the aim of promoting the Chinese and Vietnamese community in the local area. While a key focus of the festival is to highlight the diversity of the Peckham area, the manner in which this is highlighted is through the promotion of arts events on the Square. This included performances by a group called the Kinetica Bloco who are a carnival group consisting mainly of young people from the Southwark and Lambeth area. Their performance on Saturday the 13th of August was aimed at exploring the notion of freedom through a dance examining the movement of Africans to Trinidad as part of the slave trade (Figure 6.35).

Figure 6.33 (Above): 'I ♥ Peckham postcard. Source, Peckham Programme/Author's personal collection

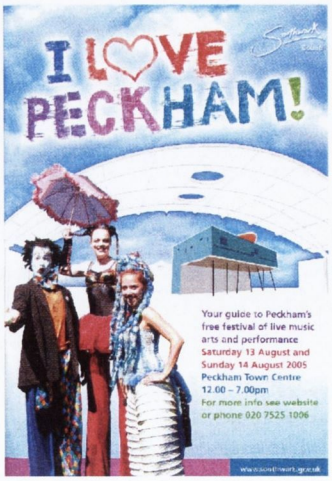

Figure 6.34 (Right): I ♥ Peckham' promotional leaflet. Source, Peckham Programme/Author's personal collection

From a general perspective, a central feature of the festival was the promotion of

the arts in the community, where people took part in a number of activities, including 'Carve in the Community' and other work shops organised by Camberwell Arts, which is a registered charity involved in arts education for schools and community groups. A focal point of the arts interventions was the sporadic involvement of local people, particularly children, teenagers and young adults. While a proportion of the events were choreographed, others were run by artists or other people involved in the local council or Peckham Programme and were aimed at promoting involvement from people on an informal basis (Figure 6.36).

The examples of Mercatorplein, and Peckham Square illustrate the manner in which public space at a localised level can be defined by processes that go beyond that of 'themed' space or securitisation for the purposes of consumption. They are illustrative of the manner in which public space can become representative of the aspirations of those in authority to restructure the social life of an area according to particular principles of what is socially acceptable, and based on pressure from the wider community with regard to fears or desires within public space (Young, 1990). The role of events promotion can be seen as a means of not only altering the meanings of place through forms of social control, such as the cannabis ban, but also trying to seek the active involvement of younger groups as part of the public space, as opposed to simply seeing them as a social group which must be removed. Although divergent from the other public spaces, they highlight the manner in which aspects of social ordering can become an inherent part of public space beyond that of ideals of the 'entrepreneurial city'.



Figure 6.35: 'Kinetica Bloco' perform on Peckham Square during I ♥ Peckham Festival, 2005. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 6.36: 'Carve in the Community', One of the activities during the I ♥ Peckham Festival, 2005. Photo by Author, 2005

Considerations

This chapter has brought together a number of strands of enquiry related to public space. Throughout the chapter, the tensions between the official desire to promote 'vibrant' and active public space (Lees, 2003b; McCann, 2008) along with desires to control such were made evident (Atkinson, 2003). Such issues illustrate the degree to which desires to differentiate and standardise public space, as discussed in Chapter 5, are directly related to both measures of everyday control and everyday experience. However, the exact nature of this desire to order public space took on different guises within the different case studies. For example, the control and regulation of business spaces was directly related to achieving and maintaining a particular corporate image. However, the degree to which this could be implemented was to a large extent reliant of forms of private ownership and management. This was of particular note in the restrictions on managing bike parking within Zuidplein. This illustrates the manner in which the retention of publicly owned land, as in the creation of the Zuidas area, allows for public space to remain under the control of a local authority.

In the city centre examples, and most particularly in Trafalgar Square and O'Connell Street, the control of public space and the hosting of events was directly related to desires to promote the city as a space for visitors and in terms of the wider promotion of consumption-orientated practices. However, in the

example of Smithfield, such measures seemed to be limited. To a large extent this would seem to be related to the degree to which it was an established 'urban neighbourhood' that was distinct from the city centre. This illustrates the limits to imposing a particular geographical imaginary through the promotion of events within an urban area already containing multiple layers of meaning.

The example of the cannabis and alcohol bans in Mercatorplein highlight the limitations to much of the underlying assumptions related to control of public space throughout much of the existing literature regarding the 'privatisation of public space' (Low & Smith, 2006; Kohn, 2004). It points to an example of the regulation of space outside the arena of pure city boosterism or market-led exclusion. Moreover, it directly highlights community fears regarding particular user-groups in a 'neighbourhood' context. These themes will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7: Public Space and the User: Place Attachment, Symbolic Association, and Distanciation

Introduction

Throughout Chapter 6, the perspectives of different users were drawn on as a means of illustrating viewpoints relating to the official restructuring of public space and how it impacted on the everyday life of urban public space. Picking up on some of these themes, this chapter will focus on the importance of attachment to place and personal trajectories in relation to public space. Drawing on both observational and interview data as outlined in Chapter 3, this chapter will therefore focus on the quotidian experiences of public space.

Through an analysis of the respondents in each of the nine case studies it has been possible to create four broad categories of user. These categories can be summarised as follows: (1) Users who passively experienced each space in terms of their everyday life yet indicated having a certain amount of attachment to the place through everyday use; (2) Users who felt a strong attachment to the particular public space based on either everyday use or particular historical associations or personal memories; (3) Users who perceived the space to be dominated by a particular social group which, to a varying degree, led to a certain amount of distanciation from such spaces; (4) Finally, for the purposes of clarity, users who were visiting a place as a tourist or visitor were also categorised separately. These user groups are summarised in the Appendices 5-13.

Some of these categories were more relevant to a particular space than to another. For example, while Trafalgar Square, Paternoster Square, O'Connell Street and Dam Square all had a role as tourist spaces, Mercatorplein and Peckham Square were far from the tourist routes of their respective cities. However, there were still examples of respondents experiencing a place for the first time, such as in Mayor Square. Likewise, the degree to which spaces were viewed as being dominated by a particular social group, which led to a degree of distanciation, varied considerably throughout the case studies both in terms of

that which is perceived to be the dominant social group and the extent to which users perceived such domination in a negative light. The example of Peckham Square illustrates the extent to which strong attachments to place experienced by a predominantly younger male local population has led to many female users to feel insecure within the square (Domosh, 1998; Massey, 2005; Watson, 2007).

Following from the association of public spaces with particular ways of life, the example of O'Connell Street will be used to illustrate how users displayed a desire for particular uses to become more dominant than they already were within public space due to the association of what are perceived as negative attributes from both a social and aesthetic perspective. This will then be expanded on in relation to the association of public space with officially-projected meanings. This will highlight the degree to which contemporary public space is seen as being *for* certain users and uses.

Personal Trajectories and Everyday Life in Public Space

The discussion of relative attachments to place in terms of passive and active experience of place it is not aimed at trying to prioritise one form of experience over another, but is instead aimed at highlighting the manner in which the experience of space differs between groups and individuals. Moreover, the role of passive experience of space may give a more in-depth understanding of users' relationship to public space. While responses which indicated an active or emotional involvement with a particular public space, including perceived negative attributes of activities or users of place, were explicit in terms of attachment to place, responses related to the everyday use of space were often related to overt feelings about a place and more strongly related to inner feelings regarding the role of that space in everyday life.

The normality of everyday surroundings was one example of how place was often discussed throughout the interviews. This view of public space is summarised in each of the user summary charts. However, two comments below point directly to the degree to which certain everyday users of Dam Square perceived the

surroundings of the square:

> "When you're going for shopping or something you don't look because you are here many times. You are getting used to it, but if you are in another country you'll watch everything. It's for us usual to see it" (Dam Square 37, teenage female living in Amsterdam).

> "We often don't see the buildings because we live here in Amsterdam, but they are are very old, very nice, very special, but if we come here, we mostly come for shopping, not to look at the buildings" (Dam Square C28, Male in his early 20s living in Amsterdam).

Although Appendices 5 to 13 illustrate the degree to which public space can become taken-for-for granted, such embeddedness of place may often indicate that a space forms an important backdrop to the daily life of an individual. For example, the role of O'Connell Street in terms of everyday life was expressed by a by a woman living in the Smithfield area of Dublin as follows:

> "I came from the Smithfield through the Tram and I stopped at Abbey and then I walked through Clery's, and then we are heading to the Rotunda to see my friend who has just been put to bed – this is her first child – and she's just had another baby, so we are going there to see her. And this street is quite busy, every day, any time. I think I like it. And the fact that everywhere you have cameras, so the Gardai have some information. I think I like it. It's a beautiful road and it's quite busy all the time so you have no fear walking along the street" (O'Connell Street C 22, Woman in her 30s with a child)

The use of public space can therefore be so embedded that the surroundings become engrained in the everyday-life in the city. Such expressions varied depending on the respondent and the space being discussed. This will be outlined in further detail through the example of Dam Square below.

Public Space and the Meanings of 'Freedom': The Example of Dam Square

The evocation of memories and everyday practices associated with the public spaces being studied indicates the importance of personal attachment and relationships to public space in the city. The example of the National Monument

on Dam Square and its surroundings highlighted the degree to which a number of respondents from different generations living in Amsterdam viewed the meanings of the monument and the Dam differently. While the monument was seen as a symbol of 'freedom', the form which this freedom took varied according to what it was associated with by the particular individual's response. Throughout the period of fieldwork in 2006, observations of activities around the monument indicated that it was a form of *representational space* (Lefebvre, 1991) in which people congregated relatively freely (Figure 6.37). It was often an area where people would use as an informal location in which to sit and drink alcohol or smoke marijuana. The tolerance of such activities combined with the physical make-up of the monument and its surroundings allowed for different groups to congregate in close proximity yet to a large degree autonomously. One respondent made the following comment in this regard: "I see people hanging around the monument and I think that's the main function of it; it creates some kind of hide-out" (Dam Square 65, Male in his 20s living on Dam Square). To many of the younger respondents living in Amsterdam, the monument had become embedded in everyday living in the city. One respondent, a woman in her 20s, commented as follows: "Of course, it means something but it's not like I think about it every time I cycle by. It's such a part of everyday life for me that it doesn't ring a bell any more" (Dam Square 25, female in her 20s living in Amsterdam). However, it still formed an important feature in terms of her personal associations or memories:

> "I have a friend who... We went out one night on the *Raamstraat* and it was about 9 o'clock and everything was closed. She met a friend of ours who was also still out, and I went to bed. But apparently they fell asleep on the steps by the monument and some tourist woke them up; 'what are you doing? Are you O.K.?' 'yeah, we're fine, we're just sleeping.' They weren't even that drunk, but they were just sitting in the sun and they just dozed off" (*Ibid*)

This form of association with freedom of personal choice differed to the forms of freedoms that other respondents highlighted. For many of the 'post-war' generation, the monument had come to symbolise a form of freedom to engage

politically and to openly demonstrate opinions in public space:

> "Well, I'm born after the Second World War, but this monument tells you about the freedom: so that you have the freedom to stand here and to be who you are, to believe what you are, have your identity what you are, it's all all right..." (Dam Square C 41, male in his 50s living in Amsterdam).

Another described how she had slept on the square as part of a hippy movement in the 1960s: "I did spend a lot of time on the square in the past... I'm from Amsterdam, I'm born in Amsterdam, and in the '60s were sleeping on the Dam Square." The same respondent then described the protests revolving around a housing shortage in Amsterdam at the time of Queen Beitrix's conferral ceremony in 1980:

> "We didn't like that. And there was a sentence ... *"geen woning; geen kroning"* [No Dwelling, No Crowning]. There was a lot of things going on in Amsterdam because the dwellings, there was a shortage, so we said 'if there's no dwelling, if there's no *woning*, then there won't be a *kroning;* crowning. And because of that there was much smoke and smoke bombs..." (Dam Square C 26, female in her 50s living in Amsterdam).

One respondent who also experienced the protests of that day lamented what he perceived as a lack of engagement with political issues by the current generation:

> "I was there then for the crowning of the Queen ... that was a real strike ... and then just the crowds going to fight for their right and that's totally gone. That's what I miss a little bit, people going to fight for their right" (Dam Square C 20, Male in his 40s living in beside Dam Square)

For an older respondent, who remembered the war, the monument "...is the symbol of freedom..." He then continued by describing how its use in recent decades was a mark of disrespect for its official meaning:

> "...four times a day. Just passing, walking, shopping... I hate these people around. They don't have respect for it, but that's the government whose making this decision, but I would like to have a gate around it or something like that, to have more respect for this, it has a value, I'm from before the

war ... We had the freedom from the Germans here in 1945. This square has something... And the marriages of of the Queen. When Beatrix got Queen it was a terrible situation. People were not very respectful I think; they don't have any idea of what it is" (Dam Square C 49, male in his 70s living in Amsterdam).

The example of the National Monument and its surroundings illustrates how a space can come to take on different meanings which revolve around a general concept of 'freedom'. While the first respondent saw it as a space that was part of her everyday trajectory, and a symbol of the freedoms of youth, others saw it as reflective of freedom to protest against the government or a space in which to 'fight' for particular rights. For the respondent from the older generation, the monument and the area around it were hallowed ground and a symbol of freedom from oppression. The everyday freedoms for which it has become associated, were for him, a mark of disrespect to its official meaning (Figures 6.37 – 6.40).

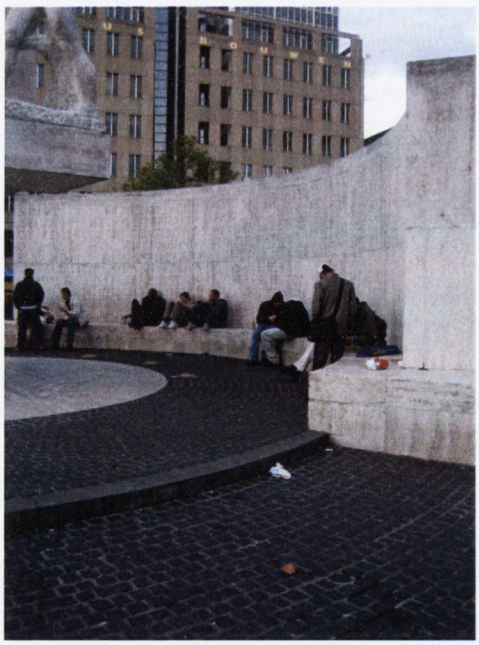

Figure 7.1: Monument as 'Hide Out': Everyday use of the monument. Photo by Author, 2006

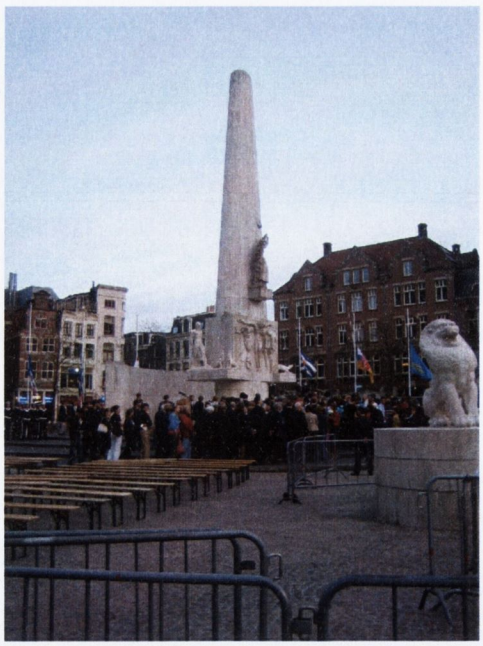

Figure 7.2: Monument as 'Active space of memorial', Commemoration of end of occupation after world war II on May 4th, 2006. Photo by Author, 2006



Figure 7.3: Monument as 'gated memorial'. Flowers from May 4th commemoration behind railings. Photo by Author, 2006



Figure 7.4: Monument as 'Celebratory Space': Queens Day celebrations, 2006. Photo by Author, 2006

Everyday Life and Attachment to Place: Bottom-up Domination

The ideal of freedom of expression is an essential element of the question of public space, and is an implicit element of the evaluation of public space in much recent literature, whether it is related to its official constraint (Mitchell, 1995, 2003; Iveson, 2007; Raco, 2003) or the manner in which it produced from the bottom-up (Low, 2000). Despite particular regulations, many of those interviewed who were directly involved in the management and day-to-day control of public space outlined how they had a belief in the role of public space as a space of freedom. For example, a representative of the Stichteen Beheer Mercatorplein commented as follows about Mercatorplein:

> "What I like about this square is its freedom, like, the guys that play cricket and you can come there and there's twenty people playing volleyball, bring their own net and start playing volleyball, six lounge chairs, you know [like] the beach and you're sitting there and hanging out or a family planning a bus trip to go skiing and they plan in the Mercatorplein! Things happen, Galatasaray won the cup, soccer cup, the square was... After the last whistle, within the hour, the square was filed with dancing and celebrating Turks" (Mercatorplein I 4).

However, as expressed in the example above regarding Dam Square, freedom

within public space is highly subjective and directly influenced by such factors as personal trajectories, the dominance of particular social groupings or a prescribed ordering of space according to an official 'vision' of public space. While officially-organised events in both Peckham and Mercatorplein were directly aimed at promoting positive attributes of community life within public space it was on the everyday life of such spaces that respondents focused when describing their relationship to public space.



Figure 7.5: Couple pass as group of young men play football in Peckham Square. Photo by Author, 2005

As indicated in Appendix 7, Peckham Square became a focal point for young black males to congregate at different times of the day. Activities included football, drinking alcohol and smoking marijuana along with just sitting down in groups or alone. Through informal observation it was noted that the use of the square by these groups was particularly evident in the early evening during the summer months (Figure 6.41). Such use highlighted the degree to which the square was an informal and relatively unregulated space.

From the interviews conducted, it was possible to enquire further into the importance of place for this particular user-group. As indicated by informal observations, the square was perceived as a focal point of social life for young black males living in Peckham. It was a place to congregate and used as a means of leaving the house and engaging in chance encounters with others:

> "Winter and summer people use the square. We can't stay in the house all the time. Sometimes we need outside you know, we need outside... to look at the sky, look around, that's it. And apart from that, people passing by, you might see someone... you might see someone you know and that's always happening, so it's a continuous flow" (Peckham Square C 41, male in his 30s living in Peckham).

> "I sit down there and watch, and look at people moving, walking around. This place is a much... You see a lot of people, because the traffic, the human traffic is always very high. Basically that just what I do; I walk from the house to this space, sit down for a while, maybe 15 minutes, walk back home" (Peckham Square C 32, male in his 20s living in Peckham).

The importance of the square and the adjacent green area leading northwards towards Burgess Park was also highlighted as a place to come and relax and unwind:

> "It's also seeing, going up and down through the park, it's also like you can see people so it's like a place we are in, people can meet, friendly, and also we can encourage other people. If they are stressed, come out here and you can see lots of people and that gives you energy, because to be on your own is no good. If you can see good energy that is how you can feed your soul" (Peckham Square C 45, male in his 30s living in Peckham).

This function of the square was also highlighted by a respondent who didn't use the square on a regular basis, but felt it played a particular role in the area: "It's all right because it's the place where an individual, if you have problems, can sit by yourself on a bench and relieve a bit of stress..." (Peckham Square, Male in his 20s living in Peckham).

As discussed above, Peckham Square formed an important social space in the lives of young males living in Peckham. While on one level it indicates the freedoms that could be normatively associated with public space, it also resulted in a form of male domination of the space, which resulted in other users avoiding the use of the square for prolonged periods. As indicated in Appendix 7, this was particularly evident amongst female users. Much of the reaction to this domination was expressed in a negative manner in a manner that reflects Massey's (2005, 153) notion of 'negotiated exclusion'. For example, one respondent, a Hispanic woman commented how "It's not safe; because a lot of people there were drinking with cans of beer. I wouldn't be sitting there and always little teenager kids running, robbing each other" (Peckham C 53: Female living in her 30s living in Peckham). Another respondent, a black teenage girl commented as follows: "I don't like to stay there for an hour because something like... you can easily get kidnapped, you can get stabbed some days, so I don't stay very long. For boys it's O.K., for girls it's dangerous" (Peckham C60, teenage girl living in Peckham). However, while many respondents discussed how they avoided Peckham Square, there was a temporal dimension to such perspectives. The same respondent went on to comment how she used the space to meet friends, but not for prolonged periods: "It's really nice, it's a big place. It's nice to stay for fresh air, to hang around with your friends" (*Ibid*). Another respondent, a black woman in her 20s, initially commented as follows: "It's very lovely, but the only problem is these guys smoking and all stuff... So it doesn't really give you the chance to bring your kid around because of smoking and stuff" (Peckham Square C 48, Female in her 20s living in Peckham). However, later in the same interview she commented as follows:

> "Sometimes ... it brings friends together, brings families together as well. Sometimes you may be walking through town and you are tired; you can just come and have a sit here, or maybe you are waiting for a friend or something. You can just come and sit here. Most shops don't have seats in them so when you are tired you can come. It's just a leisurely place to sit down" (Ibid).

This illustrates the degree to which users can reconcile what may initially appear

as contradictory emotions towards place. Although demonstrating a desire to avoid the square at times, the above respondent also indicated that it formed an important role in her life in terms of meeting people and taking a break from everyday tasks such as shopping. Moreover, for some, there was a perception that the space was *for* a particular group and therefore the domination by a particular social group was not seen in a particularly negative light: "I normally just pass through 'cos I live around these areas but I don't really spend time in the square ... no reason, there's just nothing for me to hang around for really. So yeah, that's about it. But kids hang around a lot, but not adults" (Peckham C 33, female in her 20s living in Peckham). This highlights the degree to which public space can be demarcated by users as being defined as being a 'type' of public space. This will be raised again at a later point in the chapter in relation to public spaces that are deemed to be 'business spaces.'

Domination of Public Space: The Example of Mercatorplein

Similar perspectives were also highlighted amongst groups of users in Mercatorplein. As in the example of Peckham, much of the commentary was from females who perceived males on the street as a threat. The following respondent, an Asian female living in the area discussed how other people she knew perceived the area:

> "I think some of the problems on this square is the people on the street. Sometimes women feel intimidated about that... they are pretty open to what they think about you, they do talk to you. I always find that if there aren't any people on the street and there's one lunatic they have a bigger chance of doing something if then if they are. So, I don't feel less safe but a lot of people do, they feel a bit intimidated" (Mercatorplein C 28, Female in her 30s living in Amsterdam)

While in the example of Peckham, it was mainly black women avoiding black men, the example of Mercatorplein became more complex in that much of the fear was of the Turkish and Moroccan men living in the area among other ethnic groups. For example a black female in her 40s commented as follows about Mercatorplein:

> "I live nineteen years in this area, but on that side; Bos en Lommer side. But if they have a market, anything I just go here or come and shop, but I do my best not to be around there so much; avoid it! ... It's because of the Muslim people, because of the Arabic people. Their way of thinking and as a woman you don't have rights. So, I don't deal with them. I keep away from them because I know how to defend myself" (Mercatorplein C 23, Female in her 40s living in de Baarsjes).

In a similar vein to Peckham Square, many of the respondents commenting on how they perceived it to be dominated by a particular social group also felt a strong attachment to the square. While such viewpoints can come across as being irreconcilable with each other, they highlight the degree to which personal place attachments can often combine feelings of both attraction and repulsion from place. Initially the following respondent, a man of Asian origin, commented on how he perceived Mercatorplein as the centre of the Baarsjes neighbourhood:

> "This is the heart of the Baarsjes; everybody's coming here to do their shopping to sit on the benches to meet people and to go out to the Baarsjes. This really is the centre of the Baarsjes" (Mercatorplein C 7, Male in his 60s living in the Baarsjes).

As with other users within Mercatorplein, the architecture and the general surroundings were also important in terms of the continuity of place: "I'm happy that they bring back the trees 'cos these trees were here before... these are the original trees, they put them back" (*Ibid*). However, he went on to comment about his fears regarding social change in the neighbourhood in recent years. Such fears were representative of those of a number of long-term residents living in the area:

> "Sometimes it's not nice, but it's O.K. I've lived here now for 25 years and in the beginning it was not like this but in these 25 years [it's] so different, so changed. Sometimes I'm a little bit scared ... scary because too much. I'm not a racist or something like that, but it's too much. Look around you, you'll see what I mean" (*Ibid*).

Moreover, as discussed earlier in the chapter, much of these fears were directly related to groups of younger people who use the square:

> "We've got 165 different cultures here and sometimes it doesn't connect, so that's the problem. And the youth of this time is so different to ten years ago... The culture is so different than ten years ago. People were nicer. And now, if you look at somebody you can expect a smack in your face and that was not ten years ago. There was more harmony then it is right now ... It's not the colour of the person, of which country they're from, it's the people in general... The youth is so different to ten years ago" (Mercatorplein C 20, female in her 30s with female in her 60s living on Mercatorplein).

The examples above illustrate the degree to which respondents saw personal freedoms in public space to be restricted by particular fears of other users. In the example of Mercatorplein, such fears highlight the reasons for the implementation of the cannabis and alcohol bans. The perceptions of dominance can also be related to official ordering of space which restricts its use to certain, often economic, concerns. This will be discussed in further detail below along with the domination of public space by tourists, which illustrates the degree to which illustrates how public space can come to be perceived as serving the interests of particular social groups.



Figure 7.6: McDonald's as example of 'undesirable' image/use on O'Connell Street. Photo by Author, 2006

O'Connell Street: Symbolic Associations and Social Desires

A key question in the understanding of urban public space is the degree to which users accede to the over-riding assumptions about the up-scaling of urban public space (Hubbard, 1996). This may also indicate the degree to which 'a public' demands and promotes the up-scaling of such spaces based on their own internalised beliefs about the role of public space and its symbolic meaning. In the case studies presented here, such desires were particularly evident within those spaces that were central to their respective cities and therefore already experiencing a high degree of boosterism based on consumption and the promotion of spaces for tourism, along with the more business orientated spaces.

The association of shop-fronts and land-uses that were deemed inappropriate to the architecture and symbolic significance of O'Connell Street was a common theme to emerge from respondents interviewed on O'Connell Street. For some respondents, the gradual change of land-use on the street over time had changed its sense of place and eroded the character of the street:

> "Once you let a street go down, no matter what you do with it... It's O.K. To change the landscape or the street-scape and so forth, but if you interfere with the buildings... If you look at the old buildings in Dublin, in O'Connell Street, they were far more aristocratic; you had the Metropole; what's that now, only another store, stupid store. It's the same with Busaras, and all of these buildings, if you start changing them they lose their character and therefore their sense of place is gone" (O'Connell Street C 36, male in his 60s living in the city centre).

Generally, respondents reacted positively to the alterations to the street. However, the desires to transform the general appearance of the street through economic up-scaling along with physical alterations to shop-fronts and façades along with clean and 'higher-end' retailing discussed by city officials in Chapter 5, was often referred to by respondents as a means of altering its daily reality:

> "The changes are pretty good all right. I disagreed at the time with tearing down the trees that were there, I dunno, were there for years. But it's looking well now. I like the Barry Flanagan things, the sculptures. I'm not sure if the bag shop is still there, but the shop fronts are pretty poor, the Savoy [cinema] has done a pretty good job recently, but generally it's kind of... well Dublin as a whole is pretty filthy like, so it's disgusting really. Well they're making an effort here and cleaning up the GPO is a good move as well, but just in terms of certain shop fronts, like the Carroll's shops and things like that, [they] are not in line with the general architecture of the place" (O'Connell Street C 30, Male in his 30s living in Dublin)

> "Definitely an improvement, a practical improvement for pedestrians, aesthetically it has more of a European city look to it. I'm not sure about these trees, I know they're indigenous trees, mountain ash or whatever; probably when they mature they'll probably help to give a boulevard look... still an absence of nice coffee shops or up know, even at this time of year they could easily have seats and table outside" (O'Connell Street C 27, female in her 60s living in Dublin)

In a similar vein to official desires to transform the street, many commented on the association between the physical appearance and its social reality. The following respondent summarised the connection many made between particular land-uses and concerns relating to feelings of safety:

> "Once you get passed Henry Street it gets dangerous ... there's no decent buildings, well there's decent buildings but there's no [decent] businesses ... It's the main street, you [need to] get rid of McDonald's, Burger King, all those lads ... I think they bring an unwanted element to the street, especially at night time. [It's] not safe to walk down at night time. Like there was a fellow mugged there two weeks ago and he died there three days ago [for] forty Euros, just at the top of Parnell Street" (O'Connell Street, C 42, Male in his thirties working on O'Connell Street)

The above comments highlight how negative associations regarding land-use and the symbolism of the globalised image of fast-food chains have become a dominant theme regarding the role of O'Connell Street as the 'main-street' of the

city within the popular imagination of many users of O'Connell Street (Figure 7.6).

Visiting the city: Tourists and Public Space

As indicated with the association between O'Connell Street and a 'continental imaginary', the projection of experiences of other places can be seen to play a powerful role in the experience of contemporary public space. The function of public space as a centre of tourism further highlights how users of space constantly draw on other experiences in assessing public space:

> "This is my first trip to Europe. We just came from a week in Paris and I notice through my browsing of the city, like London and Paris, it's very interesting for us to have a nice, lets say walkable place to be able to rest, take pictures and have a museum to be able to walk in and... So it's very important inside a city to have a place for pedestrians" (Trafalgar Square C 51, Male in his 30s from Canada)

While the context of each space was seen as important for respondents, the experience was more often one regulated by, or part of, a 'check-list' of places that needed to be recorded. This was highlighted by the experience of visitors in Trafalgar Square:

> "We went down... I've got a little group here from the United States, we took some photographs; the lions and the usual thing... And now they're going to the National Gallery... We've always come to Trafalgar Square. They always take a photograph opportunity; fountains; lions..." (Trafalgar Square C 14, Tour operator in his 50s guiding a tour around London)

> "I've taken a few photos; just of the different monuments, the buildings, the waterfall, some of the people, the whole atmosphere" (Male in his 20s from USA)

The centrality and fame of spaces such as Trafalgar Square and Dam Square was also of significance in terms of their attraction for tourists. A key role of these spaces was therefore as a means of finding their way around the city, but they were also seen as places that were 'must see' in terms of visiting the city. As

highlighted by two respondents with divergent views on the role of pigeons in Dam Square:

> "There's not enough green, but I love the street performers. The pigeons are disgusting, especially with bird flu threatening, but other than that it's The Dam. Everyone knows Dam Square. You come to Amsterdam, you go to the Dam; it's one of those things" (Dam Square C 39, Female tourist in her 20s from USA).

> "It's a good square. It's something like Notre dame in Paris where you start feeding the birds, it's good ... [I will] spend a few more minutes because I just want to see what's there to see. Otherwise I've taken a few pictures..." (Dam Square C 44, Indian male in his 40s visiting Amsterdam).

A significant factor to emerge from the on-street interviews was the extent to which users living in either Amsterdam or London perceived spaces such as Dam Square or Trafalgar Square as being spaces for tourists. For many, the dominance of the space by tourist orientated functions, such as the more expensive bars and restaurants, combined with a more embedded knowledge of the city was cited as reasons for avoiding such spaces:

> "It's not a square I'd sit in, it's not a square I'd sit in. There's no grass or anything, so it's not a... It's a place you pass through and you meet people at. But compared to the likes of Rembrandt or any of those you'd sit down and have a drink and then you'd spend more time in it, but this is just a pass through place ... sometimes I think it's a pity that the only place you can have a drink is that place [points to Majestic Bar] and it's a touristy rip-off" (Dam Square C46, Female in her 30s living in Amsterdam)

However, it should be noted that the decision to avoid spaces such as Dam Square was not wholly based on negative associations to do with prices of surrounding bars, but was also based on an everyday understanding of the city and the selection of particular locales for everyday use.

> "On Friday the 4th was remembrance day, so I was here. That's a special occasion. Otherwise I don't come, don't stay on the square. It's really a

> tourist thing. So when I want to get a drink or... I go to the more local [places], more outside the tourist centre" (Dam Square C 48, Male in his 20s, living in Amsterdam).

Although to a lesser extent, there was also a perception that Trafalgar Square was a space that was mainly for tourist use:

> "I think it's mostly tourists who use this square to take pictures in. I come through here whenever I'm going to the National Gallery or Charing Cross Station. Mostly for walking through rather than hanging around" (Trafalgar Square C48, teenage male living in London).

The above comment succinctly summarises the differences in terms of the experience of place amongst those using a space in the everyday and those who visit a space. While the respondent clearly has an attachment to the area in terms of his everyday life, he perceived his use as being different to that which he associated with tourists. For him it was 'just' for walking through. Such comments illustrate the importance of the 'everydayness' of spaces as officially revered as Trafalgar Square. When viewed in this way, public space can become a container for multiple layers of meaning.

The example of tourists use of space illustrates the degree to which the image of a space is important in that it informs them of 'history' and also allows the experience of place that is in some way similar to others, but is at the same time a new experience (Urry, 1990; Terhorst et al., 2003). Meanwhile, the person who uses the space in their everyday life associates it with going somewhere else and as part of their journey through the city.



Figure 7.7: Workers gather outside Corney & Barrow Wine Bar, Paternoster Square. Photo by Author, 2005



Figure 7.8: Outdoor Seating, Mayor Square. Photo by Author, 2006

From Public Space for Visitors to Public Space for Business

The dominant function of Paternoster Square as a business space was supplemented by particular expectations about 'townscape' that were in keeping with the image of 'The City' by both visitors and regular users alike (Jacobs, 1996). The following comments are representative of common assertions about the appearance and general experience of Paternoster Square for visitors and tourists:

> "We did actually see this beautiful sort of contemporary work and we did really like it because it's actually quite nice how that was organised in terms of the architecture and the buildings surroundings. So, it was quite a nice experience and also the tranquillity of the peace and maybe social space as well" (Paternoster Square C 21, Dutch male in his 30s living in London with Dutch female in her 30s visiting London)

> "We spent some time, we went to Starbucks ... [and sat] outdoors... It was just a nice place to sit in and we could see the Cathedral, or parts of it and [it was] quiet ... It's a very pleasant place, it's clean and people can sit there in comfort" (Paternoster Square C 13, English female in her 50s visiting London).

While central spaces such as Dam Square and Trafalgar Square highlight the importance of a routine or pathway in terms of the tourist experience, Paternoster Square highlighted the role played by exploration in terms of experiencing the city as a visitor. For those working in offices in the City, who either walked though it

on a daily basis, or used it as an area in which to have lunch or a quick break, the up-keep of the area as a clean and tidy 'continental' style square was of high importance.

> "I like the fact that there's a focal point without it being overwhelming, I like the fact that there's a Starbucks and there's a bar over there and there's a chop house over there that begins to encroach on it. I think it makes it more continental" (Paternoster Square C 37, Male in his 40s living in London).

> "The buildings seem pleasant. It was all nice, clean and tidy: what I like to expect around London. Nice area to take a quick five minute break before going into a meeting" (Paternoster Square 31, Male working in the city living in London).

For many regular users, the experience of the new Paternoster Square contrasted sharply with the older Paternoster Square which it had replaced. Although they saw the new Paternoster Square as being clean and modern, it was not the brash 'new world' of the post-war modernist development now seen as out of keeping with the image of The City. The following comment is a typical response regarding the old Paternoster in comparison with its new development:

> "Very pleasant, it's full of outside tables, people eating, drinking. Sometimes there's a bit of music going on in the square, nice architecture ... I'm a Londoner, so I remember old Paternoster Square. So I love the contrast between the horrific concrete thing and what we now have, which is much improved" (Paternoster Square C 50, male in his 50s working in the area)

Although in a very different context, the experience of both Zuidplein and Mayor Square by those either working within the space or visiting on business was similar to that of Paternoster.

For many respondents, there was a high expectation regarding how the area around Mayor Square should function considering its designation as Ireland's financial centre. The following comments capture these sentiments by different users:

"Modern, plenty of room, plenty of pedestrian facilities, plenty of cafés and a wee market, that's nice isn't it? ... A pedestrian area in a city centre is good to have. You go to any continental cities in Europe, the major ones, they've all got good pedestrian areas and it's very nice, you know. Mixture of apartments and financial buildings strung along with cafés Very nice really" (Mayor Square 44, Male in his 40s visiting the square for the first time) (Figure 6.46).

"I don't think enough people look after it. Your talking about the financial centre of Ireland and you see people throwing rubbish on the ground. I think it's a shame ... I've done a bit of travelling in Europe and that and every city I've ever been to always have nice little areas or squares and to that extent Dublin's a bit short on it at times; You have to go even to Trinity or that ... Whether it was a fountain area that [people] sat around or a little queen in the middle, there was somewhere where people congregated together and that. And I think they add to cities anyway" (Mayor Square C 11, male in his 20s working in the IFSC).

In a similar vein, there were high expectations of Zuidplein, with users commenting on how it was reflective of its role as a business area of the city:

"I think it's a good place to stop by. Lets say you have a colleague or something, you could say we would meet at this and discuss it" (Zuidplein, C 28, male in his 30s living in near Zuidplein).

"It's neat, it looks well maintained. I like the trees and the flowers and it looks an up scale little square" (Zuidplein C 10, female in her 20s living nearby).

"Nice. I actually saw it building... I like it. It's modern. It's a bit different from the architecture from the rest of Amsterdam. The whole business kind of thing as well" (Zuidplein, 48, Female in her 20s living nearby).

The manner in which such spaces are associated with particular functions highlights the degree to which public space is perceived as being segmented into different parcels, or what Hajer and Reijndorp (2002, 61) refer to as 'archipelago of enclaves', each serving a particular 'public'. At a base level it can be seen that the association of public spaces with particular lifestyles or functions is seen as being the accepted norm. For example, the following quotations are typical of the

type of response from users regarding Zuidplein:

> "I think it's more for the people who are working here. Because if I don't need anything I would prefer to be in the Vondell Park, not especially here; but for the people who are working here, why not: to have a sandwich out here or something" (Zuidplein C 41, Spanish female visiting the square).

> "It's nice, it is very nice, but I think it's more for the people who work in the buildings, not for the people who live here or the passengers, no" (Zuidplein, C 3, female in her 60s going from the train station to the bus station on the other side of the square).

While the above responses illustrate the degree to which users demarcate certain spaces as being for certain users, few respondents commented directly on issues directly associated with their own imaginary about space and their desire to reject particular users. However, the following example from Mayor Square illustrates two divergent perspectives and expectations on the meanings and function of Mayor Square. The first respondent was a business man working within the IFSC. The second respondent was a man living in the nearby Sheriff Street who grew up in the Sheriff Street flats:

> "There's an element of Sheriff Street around the back who disrupt everything that happens here. They steal, they steal people's bicycles, just an element. And also, you know, the signs say for skateboarders and footballs, no one adheres to at the weekends. When I used to live straight across the way, skateboarders all weekends, loads of rubbish, no security. People doing as they please when they please..." (Mayor Square C 41, Male in his 40s living in Dublin)

> "It's not a community space really, no, it's a bit different compared to the community. I mean they sort of 'differented' the community away from here, I find. That's what they do here. It's a thing I don't agree with. If you want to join the gym you have to live in the area here, you have to live in the financial centre apartments to join these gyms. That's not right for the people in Sheriff Street, you know what I mean? That's not right at all really. Because we are residents. Like I mean that's my house there when you look through the

> railings. We're just as much part of here as everyone else... but other than that it's lovely, it's beautiful. Markets here on a Wednesday and all" (Mayor Square C 45, Male in his 40s living beside the IFSC).

The above comments highlight how a dominant perspective about for whom a public space is intended, or how it should function, can override those of other prospective users. The officially prescribed role of Mayor Square as a focal point of a business district is, to a certain extent, therefore upheld by the demands and wants of users who desire that 'type' of public space. The experiences of the second respondent highlights the degree to which it is perceived to be an area of the city isolated from the nearby street on which he lives.

The Limitations of Image-Orientated Public Space

As discussed in the example of the Hares on O'Connell Street in Chapter 6, many users highlighted issues related to seating within public space as a concern in terms of everyday usage. This was particularly evident in the Dublin case studies of Mayor Square and Smithfield. As indicated in Appendix 8, many users perceived the Mayor Square to be lacking in public seating. Although users commented on appropriating various ledges around the square, these were seen as being of limited use-value. While the space was seen as reflecting the role of the area as a business district, users, whether local residents or people working in the area, also had a desire to be able to use the square in a more informal manner. The following comment summarises the views expressed by many regarding the square:

> "It's very nice, I think it works. I suppose if there was a little more space for sitting it would hold people in the square. It's really a walking through square as it is ... There's a great variety of buildings and I think they don't scream at each other" (Mayor Square C 48, Male in his 70s walking through the square).

Other practical concerns were raised throughout the fieldwork. Of particular significance was the gap between image and practice in the example of Dam Square. While, as outlined in Chapter 5, the relaying of stones was seen as being in keeping with the history of the square, many respondents discussed how it

made it difficult to walk across due to the unevenness of the ground

> "Well the bricks are not that good, not to walk on and not to bike on, but it's O.K., it's not very comfortable; it looks nice, but for the praxis it's not very handy" (Dam Square C 27, male in his 30s, living in Amsterdam).

> "I don't like the new stones... When I am with my aunt who is in a wheel chair, it's really uncomfortable, and I don't like that" (Mayor Square C 26, female in her 50s living in Amsterdam).

These comments highlight the degree to which practical concerns regarding public space can often dominate concerns related to city-image. At times there seemed to be a considerable amount of frustration among users regarding the over-emphasis on the promotion of image over use. The difference in such perspectives are brought into sharp contrast in the example of Smithfield Square.

Smithfield: Conflicting Visions of Usage

As highlighted by the example of the more recent events and the horse fair in Chapter 6, the Smithfield case study provided a wide range of perspectives on attempts to reprogramme public space and the associated limitations to such. These limitations of the projected vision for Smithfield also became apparent in relation to its everyday usage. While a minority of users viewed it as a space that should be more orientated towards tourists and attracting visitors, the general perspective was of 'emptiness' and 'soullessness' or lacking in character. This was summarised by one respondent working in the area around Smithfield:

> "Very untidy, it's on the main tourist trail. Not very attractive, lack of seating, lack of use. When they do have events during summer; Bastille Day, The Chinese Festival, it looks usable. As it is it's very barren" (Smithfield Square C 21, Male in his 50s working beside Smithfield).

For many of the respondents who had lived in Smithfield over a long period of time, the changes were seen as being positive from the perspective of removing various run-down and vacant buildings, but negative in terms of the provision of play areas and facilities for children to use.

> "We weren't too pleased about the building actually going up because they block out all the sunlight we had, you know. Now we have no sunlight, so it's after putting a damper on our end. But I mean don't worry about that. Whatever is good for the kids around here is what you really want, you know. And there should be something in there: that's a big space, so there should be something in there, something for the kids. Even a bit of a football pitch, a five a side pitch or something ... The square is nice. It's a big space going to waste. It's there for tourists for whoever wants these apartments" (Smithfield Square C 31, male in his 40s living beside Smithfield).

In a similar vein to Mayor Square, however, one of the common themes running throughout the comments by different users was the perception that the square lacked in terms of the provision of public seating. For example, one respondent who had recently moved the Smithfield Market development commented as follows:

> "It's not as nice as I thought it would be... There's no benches to sit on apart from the private ones, which is stupid. But I know that they do horse races or something here as well. But even along the side, you know, there's not much going on, there's not much community, there's no trees and there's no benches. So on a sunny day you couldn't exactly sit out or anything" (Smithfield Square C 46, female in her 20s living on Smithfield Square)

Another respondent added to this:

> "Apart from the cobblestones, there isn't really a character in the square at all ... I don't think you can [sit out]. I don't see any seats. So, if there was seats and there was more in it then absolutely I'd sit in it" (Mayor Square C 23, Male in his 20s working beside Smithfield).

As the period in which the fieldwork in Smithfield was carried out coincided with the opening of the 'Smithfield Market' development, it is difficult to gauge shifts in terms of the micro-political perspectives of the square. However, as indicated by both long-term and more recent residents within the area, there is an overall perspective that there is a lack of particular elements, such as seating, or, as highlighted by some respondents, a lack of play facilities for children. This

reinforces the sentiments expressed in Chapter 6 regarding the use of the square for different events.

Considerations

This chapter has examined the more nuanced aspects of urban public space, in terms of its daily use, attachment to place, and social meanings. More particularly, it has inquired into the manner in which users associate particular public spaces with both the officially designated image and the manner in which it has been appropriated by social groups and individuals. Drawing on interview material with users in each space, it was possible to observe the degree to which users became attached to particular public spaces. This pointed to a number of different aspects related to everyday use, which are summarised in Appendices 5 to 13. While highlighting the degree to which users felt either an active or passive attachment to place, it also highlighted the inner tensions in relation to place attachment. Such tensions were directly related to the users definitions of 'freedom' within public space, and the manner in which differences in expectations about space became played out.

While the examples of Peckham Square and Mercatorplein illustrated the degree to which the dominance of particular user-groups resulted in a form of 'negotiated exclusion' based on fear of other users, the example of Dam Square revealed the degree to which space can be perceived to be for a particular group, which in this example was tourists. Although this illustrates a 'softer' means by which urban space becomes defined through everyday use, it still points to the degree to which public space is a defined based on different functions within the contemporary city. This was further emphasised in the example of business spaces, in which users perceived the function of public space to be directly reflective of its role as a business space, and therefore acceding to its desired image projection (Hubbard, 1996). These themes will be returned to in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

> "'The public realm' is too often evoked as a neutral space where all can come together unproblematically. Yet we know this not to be the case. Public space at its worst can be the site of one group's dominance over others. At its best it can be a place of active engagement and debate. The city is a place of difference, and that includes different interests" (Amin et al., 2000, 4).

This thesis has sought to examine the role of public space from both the perspective of its official production and its experience and use in everyday life. As a means of pursuing this investigation, it has drawn on comparative studies of a number of different contexts in three European cities; London, Dublin and Amsterdam. As has been presented throughout the preceeding three chapters, the different spaces varied considerably in terms of planning, design, control and usage. While there are significant overlaps in terms of the forces of change, differences in context have also emerged as a significant aspect of the connection between urban transformation and public space.

Given the multiplicity of spaces examined in this study, the importance of context has emerged as an underlying factor in terms of the examination of public space. The official approach to 'public space' in different municipalties, or within other bodies responsible for change, vary widely depending on socio-political context and the primary motivating factors of that organisation. For example, the difference in approach between such spaces as Paternoster Square and Peckham Square speaks volumes about the contemporary approach to public space, and the production of urban space (Lefebvre, 1991) more widely, yet, they are both produced for 'public' use. To a large extent, public space is therefore about expectations and social norms in a given context, in both an official and unofficial capacity, and the degree to which such norms are reproduced, whether by official or unofficial actions. On a broader level, this illustrates the key-issue regarding the study of public space. The case studies presented throughout this research have all illustrated the stark differences between one another, yet the term 'public space', in its broader theoretical meaning, is used as a cover-all term

for these spaces.

The official re-ordering of urban public space is directly influenced by a number of factors related to the political-economy of the city or city area in which it is located. This illustrates the importance of *spatial practice* in producing the contemporary city (Lefebvre, 1991). Moreover, particular *representations of space*, such as the planning and design of public space as a means of boosting a city image, are directly related to these practices (Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 1989a). In terms of operationalising these interventions, each of the case studies highlighted the role of a 'geographical imaginary' as a means of promoting a desired social reality as an aspect of urban change (Harvey, 1973; McCann, 2008). However, the degree to which such desires were pursued varied from case to case. In certain case studies, such as Trafalgar Square and Paternoster Square, this has taken the form of active engagement in space through the 'operationalisation' and promotion of a prescribed form of social life within public space through the regulation of certain activities and the promotion of others. In other spaces, such as Peckham Square and Dam Square, the imaginary was more about creating the space in which social life could evolve in a less formalised manner. Moreover, the complexities of life as it is *lived* (*Ibid*) within public space further complicated such desires. These themes will be examined in more detail below.

Public Space and Urban Entrepreneurialism

As discussed in Chapter 2, and again throughout the findings chapters, the entrepreneurial shift in urban governance has been both influenced by, and fully implicated in, changes to urban public space. A key question outlined in Chapter 3 was related to the role of public space in urban transformation in recent years. With a particular focus on the impact of 'entrepreneurial' urban planning (Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Griffiths, 1998; Ward, 2003), a number of issues were raised within each of the case studies. It is therefore possible to comment on both the role of, and limits to, the impact of entrepreneurialism on both the official function and everyday use of urban public space in different urban contexts.

Throughout this research, the degree to which city authorities and other agencies responsible for urban change perceive themselves to be in competition with other cities was highlighted as a key element of transformations to urban public space (Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Harvey, 1989b). Of particular note was the degree to which the agencies with responsibility for high-profile city-centre spaces, such as O'Connell Street, Dam Square and Trafalgar Square, highlighted the impact of increased competition with other cities as a driving force in terms of the transformations of urban public space (Griffiths, 1998; Ward, 1998a). Moreover, the form that such transformations took were often directly influenced by other 'models' that were deemed to be proto-typical of the implementation of successful forms of entrepreneurial planning strategies, such as the Inner Harbor area of Baltimore, or, as widely cited throughout the case studies, Barcelona. While, as noted above, this was of particular significance in the regeneration of high-profile areas, it was also evident throughout the case-studies to differing degrees.

As discussed in Chapter 2, and briefly outlined above, an important question is why practitioners, municipalities, and other organisations, or people involved in urban change, have been so influenced by such models of urban development such as Barcelona. The answer to this, it would seem, lies in the degree to which such models can be imagined as an urban idyll (Peck, 2005; McCann, 2008). For example, in reference what he refers to as 'Europe's reasonably affluent', McNeill (1999, 9) comments on how

> "Instead of idealistic commitment to political and humanistic principle, they are able to use their knowledge and education to consume the political heritage of places. And this political agenda has two dimensions: an openness to the idea of a New Europe, and a fondness for the – often related – notions of civilized life: cafe culture, modern art, long lunches, strolling. The European city."

The successful adoption of the 'European city' ideal, or what will be referred to here as a 'continental imaginary', is therefore related to the promotion of an imagined geography of refined consumption and interaction within safe and clean pedestrianised public spaces (Zukin, 1995; 1998; Raco, 2003; MacLeod and

Ward, 2003). The ease by which this form of imaginary can be adopted helps to explain why it has become such a popular mechanism of urban transformation (Peck, 2005). Indeed, the representation of this 'continental imaginary' became a common thread to emerge throughout the case studies. While this was more predominant at the official level of intervention in public space, it was also manifest in the everyday experience of space, on which it relies for its successful implementation. Moreover, the exact origins of this ideal of urban space seemed to be multi-faceted. While, for example, those involved in the design of urban space conceived of the 'European city' as something that could be spatially conceived, they did not evoke a city that was strictly regulated as a means of achieving such an ideal. Indeed, many spoke a it in a manner that sought a divergence from the strict orthodox of modernist planning and design. The 'continental imaginary', it would seem, emerges from a number of different sources and can be adopted in a number different ways.

At the level of official intervention, the influence of this 'imaginary' and its associated forces was directly evident throughout each of the case studies. However, there was significant variation in terms of the extent of its impact between the case studies. These can be divided loosely between those spaces in which the transformations of space were directly connected to a broader ideal of an officially desired form of social life, and those spaces in which such influences were more limited to that of aesthetics. For example, while in O'Connell Street and Trafalgar Square the influences of this ideal of public space were reinforced through the emergence of new forms of regulation, the examples of Dam Square and Peckham Square illustrated the limitations to the desires to directly mould urban space. This is not to say that such changes were without a social objective, but merely to point to the degree to which such objectives were enforced.

Moulding Public Space through Social Regulation

As outlined in Chapter 2, the emergence of new forms of urban governance, such as the Urban Development Project model (UDP) (Moulaert, et al., 2005), have directly impacted on the approach to the planning, design and management of

urban public space. Furthermore, these approaches have been directly associated with the regulation and privatisation of urban public space including a clamp-down on activities outside the mould of desired consumption-orientated practices (Mitchell, 2003; Raco, 2003; Helms, 2008). Therefore, there has been a direct association between the regulation of space and its associated everyday use for consumption (MacLeod, 2002; Helms, 2008). From the perspective of this research, the examples of Mayor Square and Paternoster Square are directly illustrative of the impact of such models of change on public space. The commonality between such spaces is the search by planners, developers and other officially interested parties, for an urban idyll through physical transformations and social regulations. While the positives of such an idyll are often highlighted, the negative connotations, such as mechanisms of exclusion, often remain hidden (Amin et al, 2000; Atkinson, 2003). Within different contexts within their respective cities, respondents involved in planning or design either explicitly or, as in the case of Paternoster Square, implicitly discussed a desire to 'get back' to a 'European city', which promoted a form of sociability revolving around an active street culture, yet lacking in the negative sides of urban life, such as violence and drunkenness. The manner in which such controls are made possible is reinforced by the private nature of such spaces (MacLeod, 2002; Mitchell, 1995; 2003).

Spaces such as Mayor Square are directly reflective of a significant shift in terms of the approach to urban change in Dublin, where a private body takes on the role formerly held by a local authority (McGuirk and MacLaran, 2001; Swyngedow et al., 2005). Directly related to this, the example of Paternoster Square illustrated the manner in which an area that was legally under the jurisdiction of the Corporation of London was now directly managed and controlled by a private entity. While the example of Mayor Square illustrates the degree to which local authorities were removed from their responsibilities for public space in certain contexts, the example of Paternoster Square illustrates the degree to which public bodies are endeavouring to remove themselves from the day-to-day

management of public space, with the wider ambition of boosting the image of the city. As illustrated in this example, the Corporation of London loses control over a public space, yet gains in that it has to invest less in the cleaning and maintanence of public space, while allowing a private management company, which can invest more in the up-keep of such a space, control the public realm. This is directly relevant to Harvey's (1989b) observation on how "...investment increasingly takes the form of negotiation between international finance capital and local powers doing the best they can to maximise the attractiveness of the local site as a lure for capitalist development." The appearance and up-keep of public space can therefore be seen as playing a role in such endeavours.

The forms of management and control associated with such privatised spaces are becoming more prevalent in the public spaces of the city (Mitchell, 2003; Low, 2006). For example, the measures put in place in O'Connell Street as a means of re-moulding it towards more élite patterns of consumption highlight the connections between the desire to promote a 'continental imaginary' and the upscaling of the city. For example, the designation of the area as an Integrated Area Plan, followed by Architectural Conservation Area and Scheme of Special Planning Control, followed by its inclusion in the Business Improvement District indicates a consistant desire to alter its image through a restructuring of its land-use. Moreover, the investment in the public domain can be directly connected to this desire to attract 'high-end' retailing and remove land-uses such as fast-food and convenience stores. The recent city-wide ban on the consumption of alcohol in public spaces further emphasises the crack-down on what is perceived to be unacceptable behaviour in public space in Dublin's city centre (Dublin City Council, 2008). Such measures are illustrative of a gradual shift in Dublin towards 'revanchist' practices (Smith, 1996) in terms of the enforcement of regulations specifically targetted at eradicating "...those publics who represent non-consuming citizens" (Atkinson, 2003, 1832).

While the example of O'Connell Street is striking in its attempt to mould public space for the attraction of further private investment within the street, the

example of Trafalgar Square stands out in the attempts by the GLA to re-imagine an existing public space through a combination of physical alterations, enforcement of regulations and the staging of dedicated events aimed at promoting the image of the city. While the promotion of a new imaginary of what the GLA desires Trafalgar Square to become has involved direct forms of regulation, such as the pigeon-feeding ban, it is the active promotion of the square as the symbolic centre of the GLA through an extensive events programme that demonstrates most powerfully the role of public space in the constant desire to promote the 'image of the city' on a global stage. Indeed, the aspirations of the GLA, in its comparison between Trafalgar Square and spaces such as St. Marks in Venice and Red Square in Moscow, illustrate the officially perceived importance of high-profile public spaces in the promotion of the city (Balibrea, 2001).

The extent to which the promotion of a dominant ideology within urban space (Lefebvre, 1991) involves direct forms of intervention, whether it be by the management of everyday practices in public space, or the promotion of officially coreographed events in public space, therefore forms an important part of understanding how power becomes operationalised. Such factors are an important aspect of the production of public space. For Lefebvre, (*Ibid*, 73), this is a central facet of social space:

> "(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object."

The implementation of change is therefore directly intertwined with changes, such as surrounding land-use and the control of public space on an everyday level. This is illustrative of Harvey's (1996, 296) observation regarding investment in physical alterations to place: "Those who have invested in the physical qualities of place have to ensure that activities arise which render their investments profitable by ensuring permanence of place." While physical alterations can have

a direct impact on our experience of place, the everyday interventions through management practices ensure that such changes become part of everyday practice, and therefore reproduced. This, however, as will be discussed below, is not to say that such practices were inevitably connected.

Such tensions can be related back to Lefebvre's (1991) concepts of *spatial practice*, the *conceived* (representations of space) and the *lived* (spaces of representation) in as much as while spatial practice may produce a certain form of public space through representations of space, including planning and design practices, it becomes reproduced through the manner in which it is lived. While on one hand, lived space is remoulded through use, such use may also fit within the mould of official forms of spatial practice. The combination of a 'public' that aspires to such ordering along with mechanisms of control therefore serve to reinforce a dominant spatial practice (*Ibid*).

Limits to the Regulation of Space

While the examples mentioned above illustrate the role of hands-on regulation and action in the promotion of a 'continental imaginary', the degree to which such forms of regulation went hand-in-hand with the reordering of public space was directly related to the context of each public space being examined. For example, as outlined in Chapter 4 in relation to the reappraisal of public space in Amsterdam in the 1990s, the influence of the desire to attract more tourists was a key element in terms of the re-moulding of public space in the historic centre of the city. This resulted in attention being focused on other cities in The Netherlands, along with seeking inspiration from cities within Europe, such as Barcelona (Deben et al., 2004). However, unlike the example of Trafalgar Square, the alterations to Dam Square, as with much of the rest of the centre of Amsterdam, have not involved the same forms of spatial regulation being enforced. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 5, it was evident that the planning ethos within the Municipality of Amsterdam sought to limit the degree to which private concerns could dominate public space. This is reflective of recent

research pertaining to the limitations of private interests in public spaces in other cities in The Netherlands (Van Melik, 2008; Van Melik, et al., 2009).

In a very different context to Dam Square, the example of the cannabis ban in Mercatorplein illustrates the degree to which the regulation of space can go beyond the pure rationale of city boosterism and consumption, and instead points to local fears and concerns of other users related to a particular social group. Such interventions highlight the degree to which 'communitarian' interests can serve to regulate public space in a particular manner that is deemed suitable within public space by local groups (Young, 1990). Although clamp-downs on activities such as the consumption of alcohol, or, as in this case, the consumption of cannabis in public space are a central feature of the neo-liberal city (MacLeod, 2002), the regulation of space is not in itself necessarily a by-product of such processes (Van Melik et al., 2009). Moreover, the cannabis-ban was by no means a direct outcome of more recent ambitions to re-order Mercatorplien as a way of attracting and retaining some of the newer residents into the area. Indeed, many who commented on it favourably in the on-street interviews were residents who had been living in the area for a prolonged period. This raises important issues regarding the definition of 'diversity' within planning policy and practice as discussed in Chapter 2, and made evident throughout the case studies. Furthermore, it illustrates the direct connection between everyday use and a desire for a certain amount of regulation in space. Both of these themes will be discussed in further detail later.

Public Space and Everyday Life: Layers of Meaning

Drawing on Lefebvre (1991), Staeheli and Mitchell (2008, 119) point to a common representation of the relationship between the official production of public space and its everyday use as the "... struggle between designers, planners, engineers, or other powerful actors who seek to create a space of order and control, and users of the space who nesssarily perceive space differently..." Indeed, on a broad-level, this research began with this general perspective, and, to a certain extent, has illustrated the limitations to the view of urban space as a commodity

(Logan and Molotch, 1987). As suggested, the everyday use of space contradicts the desire to use urban space as a tool for marketing the city.

While the upkeep of a marketable image is to a large degree reliant on the forms of regulation discussed throughout the case studies, its unpredictability makes it difficult fully to maintain this officially-desired image (Low, 2000). For example, the use of events and spectacle involves a certain amount of risk on the part of the organising body. For Griffiths (1998, 50); "Intrinsic in the notion of festival is the suspension of the normal order of everyday life. Festivals are times when boundaries are crossed and behaviours that are normally prohibited or discouraged ... become temporarily acceptable." The example of people dancing in the fountains, and wide-scale public drinking in Trafalgar Square during the Olympic bid celebrations is directly illustrative of this tendency. Official interventions in space may therefore result in unplanned outcomes. Moreover, the imposition of new official visions of public space, may be limited by the existing social context, as outlined in the example of Smithfield in Chapter 6. *Lived space* (Lefebvre, 1991) is therefore highly unpredictable and difficult to define.

While, as discussed above, mechanisms related to city boosterism and marketing have been directly evident in a number of the case studies presented here, the broader picture of public space presents a far more complex situation to the one of clamp-downs, privatisation and the promotion of direct forms of urban entrepreneurialism. For example, the practice of pigeon feeding on Trafalgar Square illustrated how a recently enforced clamp-down highlighted personal attachments and memories that were associated with the square. These forms of personal attachments were evident throughout the case studies. Of particular note was the degree to which young males used Peckham Square a focal point of their lives. This use of space highlighted both the degree to which public space could become a focal point of community life, as well as the limits to such. It is the limits to this view which is a particularly striking element of the everyday use of public space.

Authors following the line of Jacobs (1961) have depicted an ideal of a desired form of public space as the arena of unhindered social interaction, which is freed from the constraints imposed by 'community' and is instead an arena where strangers can intermingle (Sennett, 1972, 1977, 1990). For example, Young (1990, 240), comments as follows on such an ideal:

> "The group diversity of the city is most often apparent in public spaces. This helps account for their vitality and excitement. Cities provide important public spaces – streets, parks, and plazas – where people stand and sit together, interact and mingle, or simply witness one another, without becoming unified in a community of 'shared final ends' (Young, 1990, 240)"

To a large extent, Dam Square was observed to be an example of an open and tolerant space in which different groups of users or individuals can come together as strangers. While for some it should be more controlled and ordered, there seemed to be a general perspective that the activities taking place there were acceptable given its inherited role as a space of 'freedom'. However, the example of 'negotiated exclusion' (Massey, 2005) in both Peckham Square and Mercatorplein, as discussed in Chapter 7, illustrate the limitations to public space becoming a site of unmediated interaction, and the centrality of community concerns to the question of public space.

Connected to the perceptions of a space being dominated by a particular social group, the case studies also illustrated the degree to which users had embedded ideals of what was acceptable in particular circumstances or contexts. Following from Watson (2006), the case studies illustrated how public space is often framed by perceptions of what individuals or groups perceive to be acceptable or unacceptable forms of behaviour in public. The example of the users' reactions to the cannabis ban on Mercatorplein are illustrative of this and, moreover, the direct inter-relationship between official mechanisms and individual and collective desires for a more 'orderly' public space. To a certain degree, such perspectives fit in with Lefebvre's (1991, 43-44) suggestion that:

> "Perhaps we shall have to go further, and conclude that the producers of space have always acted in accordance with a representation, while the

> 'users' passively experienced whatever was imposed on them inasmuch as it was more or less thoroughly insterted into, or justified by their representational space."

However, in the desire for more order within public space, such experience is not passive. It does, however, indicate the direct connection between *spaces of representation* and r*epresentations of space*, if not *spatial practice* more widely (*Ibid*), in so much as wider demands impact on official practice. The example of business areas, such as Zuidplein and Mayor Square, albeit in very different contexts to Mercatorplein, reinforce the degree to which such expectations were made evident. Different parts of the city can therefore be seen to play a 'role', with users perceiving that action within a public space must be in keeping with its perceived role (Sennett, 1977, 1990). Embedded within such perspectives, however, is the degree to which other users, or user groups, may be excluded from public space. Lived space (Lefebvre, 1991) is therefore not only about the contestation or acceptance of the official ordering of social life but is also about tensions between different 'publics' and how they relate to spatial practice (Harvey, 1989a).

The 'Standardisation' and 'Differentiation' of Urban Space

As discussed in Chapter 2, the underlying tensions within contemporary urban change relating to what Griffiths (1998) refers to as the *imperative of uniformity* and the *imperative of differentiation* are a common theme of urban change. Throughout the findings chapters, the interrelationship between the standardisation and differentiation of urban space has been highlighted as a central feature of the official approach to the production of urban public space. While the desire for visual differentiation emerges as a common trend in the alterations of public space, there is also present an inherent desire within planning and management to order public space in such a manner that it can be experienced in a similar way to other spaces (Harvey, 1996; Short and Kim, 1998). The popularity of the 'continental imaginary' was of particular relevance in this regard, where urban-imagery was directly borrowed from other 'successful places' (Harvey, 1996). This was of particular relevance to case studies that were

central spaces of their respective cities, and within business districts. For example, while features such as the Spire of Dublin are used to differentiate O'Connell Street and give Dublin a brand image, the uniformity of the street is in keeping within the bounds of an internationally recognisable design aesthetic, which is directly influenced by places such as La Ramblas and the Champs-Élysées. This highlights what Griffiths (1998, 56) sees as the importance of adhering to the "tried and tested" means of city promotion within official place restructuring.

As witnessed in Chapter 6, the promotion of differentiation through design has as its end-goal a certain amount of social differentiation. This, as illustrated above, requires the control of public space in a manner that in itself results in a certain amount of standardisation. The attraction of people to use public space is crucial for the officially-perceived success of the public space in question. For example, an ideal of 'diversity' is promoted in Trafalgar Square, and, indeed, celebrated. However, in reality, the diversity of actions and activities are strictly regulated (Lees, 2003b). The example of Trafalgar Square is therefore illustrative of the manner in which 'controlled diversity' has become a central element of the official imagining of public space in recent years (Atkinson, 2003; MacLeod, 2002).

Official definitions of diversity are therefore inherently limited in their relationship to public space. Where they often seem focused on 'race', 'ethnicity', broad cultural differences between populations, they also seem to desire a removal of those from public space that do not fit within the mould that is acceptable to the given context. 'Tolerance' (Florida, 2002) is in many ways therefore restricted to the tolerance of the image of difference rather than that of the promotion or tolerance of behaviour that is acceptable within public space. This, it would appear, is a central feature of the official production of urban public space. While public space can be officially viewed as the space of imagined harmonious sociability, the pursuit of this desired form of social life is achieved through intense ordering and control of space. The tensions related to standardisation and differentiation of public space are therefore inherently about the search for a

form of controlled diversity.

The Limitations of Planning for Public Space

While the promotion of urban ideals such as the 'urban renaissance' can be associated with perceptions of 'successful' urban projects such as in Barcelona, questions arise as to why these become viewed as being desired ways of life. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the associated imaginary of such ideals goes some way to explain the manner in which they have become a central feature of urban transformation in recent decades in terms of the pursuit of the city as a 'growth machine' (Logan and Molotch, 1987). When viewed in this manner, planning becomes representative of a powerful group that sees its own way of life as being the form that interactions should take (Iveson, 2007; Low, 2000). However, in a similar vein to other critics of public space in recent years (Low and Smith, 2006, Mitchell, 1995, 2003; MacLeod, 2002, Raco, 2003), for Watson (2006, 166), the limits to this perception are that "...dominant, preconceived and fiercely held notions as what is appropriate behaviour in public act to exclude and marginalise others, at the same time as providing fertile ground for disenchanged – even agonistic – urban encounters." When viewed this way, the division of public space into 'parcels' further exacerbates social division within the city (Hajer and Reijndorp, 2002).

The clear differences in the socio-economic structure of areas such as The City of London with Peckham in Southwark is both an outcome and a cause of the differences in their social make-up. Although it may seem inevitable that public spaces in different contexts of the city will have very different characteristics, the normalisation of the practices now becoming standard practice in the management of public space may serve further to differentiate public space based on the 'type' of public that is promoted to use such spaces. As discussed by Staeheli and Mitchell (2008, 137) "The important point is that differentiations of property are productive of differentiations within people". For Bannister et al., (2006, 932) this is a central feature of the contemporary city: "The diversity to be

found in the city rests in its large populace playing fragmented social roles brought about by a complex division of labour under advanced capitalism." While on one level such differentiations can produce diverse cities where people from different backgrounds can meet as strangers, the continued division between public spaces leads to a reduction in interaction between people of different backgrounds and beliefs. The consequence, as Bannister et al. continue, (*Ibid*, 934) may lead to us becoming "less tolerant, more fearful and increasingly prone to overreact to minor representations of difference."

The inherent uneveness of the contemporary city is directly connected to the inherent uneveness between its citizens which, it would seem, directly contributes to a fragmentation of urban public space (Hajer and Reijdorp, 2002). Therefore, in reality, the relationship between urban planning and public space is a highly complex one. 'Public space' as that space in which indviduals can congregate is problematized by the constant tensions between the differentiation and standardisation of urban space inherent in the endless search for new spaces of capital accumulation (Harvey, 1996). This tendency is further complicated by the role of individual choice, which to a large degree is regulated by, and adds to, the desire to create divided and disintegrated cities.

Final Considerations: Towards A Reappraisal of the role of 'public space'

While the case studies presented throughout the findings chapters were aimed at examining the relationship between official approaches to urban public space and its everyday use, a number of questions have arisen about what type of city, or what type of public space, is desirable and under what conditions can this exist. For example, in reference to the transformation of London's docklands, Massey (2007, 29-30) commented as follows: "With a day-pass you can treat it like a funfair, its tinny precariousness making it feel even more like a ride in a fairground in and amongst the amazing concrete and glass. The ambiguities abound: I campaigned against this stuff!" she exclaims, and then continues: "yet

even as we object, the very energy, the preposterousness of it all, entralls." Such a viewpoint raises questions about what type of public space is desired. Indeed, the search for another form of public space seems an implicit aspect of much of the critical debate on public space in recent decades (Raco, 2003; MacLeod and Ward, 2002; Mitchell, 1995, 2003; Low and Smith, 2006; Merrifield 2000). The extent to whether this is possible is also another important question. For Domosh (1998), directly referring to Sorkin (1992), it is difficult to grasp the complexities of public space in that much research seems to lament the loss of public space, when in reality, public space has always been the site of control and regulation. The findings presented here have attempted to get past this unilateral vision of public space as being solely about intensified control, and instead attempted to illustrate the tensions between the continued rationalisation of public space, the search for individual freedoms and its limitations. However, such observations still lead to a certain amount of questioning about what type of public space would be desired, and by whom. This leads to questions about how urban planning practice should relate to the notion of public space.

A pitfall of the promotion and celebration of 'diversity' and 'social-mix' in relation to public space seems to be in its selective categorisation of desired ways of life, when perhaps negotiation and tension play a positive and an essential element of urban social life. This is not to say that violence or the threat of dominance should be sought in an urban context, but to seek ways of solving such tensions through means that are beyond that of spatial dislocation and instead seek to source the roots of inequality and intolerances that become represented in urban public space. A key-question pertaining to critical urban theory is therefore one of what type of city is desired; is it a city that is 'tolerant' of different class-structures and the complex structure of different social groups,or, is it a city that becomes a representation of a more equitable socio-economic system. While much recent literature has been critical of the desire to promote 'social-mix', in that it is often used as means of promoting policy-orientated gentrification (Slater, 2006; Lees, 2008), other recent literature has sought a city that seeks to promote what Young (1990) refers to as the "being together of strangers" (see Watson, 2006; Iveson,

2007). This involves a call for citizens, and particularly those with more power, to embrace difference.

In a similar vein to Young (1990), authors such as Sennett (1990, 1994) have, as a result of the perceived disappearance of democratic public space, called for cities to be places in which 'difference' is tolerated. For example, Sennett, (1990, xiii) commented as follows about his desire for public space:

> "We need to see differences on the streets or in other people neither as threats nor as sentimental invitations, rather as necessary visions. They are necessary for us to learn how to navigate life with balance, both individually and collectively."

Following from such a plea, Watson (2006) evokes a form of planning for public space that "does not fix activity or [the] use [of public space] immutably..." (*Ibid*). This is a call for a degree of 'flux' in public space and openness to unregulated activity. The aspirations of such a call cannot be faulted, yet its plea may fall redundant among the constant pressures of capital to shape the city in its likeness (Harvey, 2006). Moreover, it would seem that the constant dialectical relationship between such forces and public use may inevitably lead to a certain degree of order in public space, whether it is of domination by official ordering of space, or a form of negotiated domination by a user-group (Harvey, 1989a; Lefebvre, 1991). While cities are, as Sennett points out, spaces in which strangers meet, they are also spaces in which community bonds become strong. At both the local level and the scale of the wider city, the importance of such connections should not be underestimated in terms of influencing social space.

Taking such ideas at face value, the question of public space is complicated by the degree to which normative values regarding whom a public space is for and what its function is will always be at its centre. In short, in a democratic society, will people not choose what spaces they want to use, and therefore is it possible to hope for a form of public space which promotes the interaction of strangers. The findings of this thesis illustrate that the choice and selection of public space based on personal trajectory is a central feature of the question of public space

on a broader level. A future analysis would therefore need to take into account the multiple factors which influence these personal choices.

While many public spaces may be defined by unofficial domination by certain groups, or may become the focus or reason for conflicts between social groups, the introduction of rules and regulations, or the dominance of commercial functions in space withdraws the possibility of negotiated resolution from public space. In the end, a solution is reached that benefits one perspective over the other, negating interaction as a crucial role of urban public space. While the idea of 'public space' is implicitly presented as a space that should be a neutral container of urban public life, the reality is that urban public space in the contemporary city is influenced by a myriad of different micro-processes that result in a geography of differentiated urban public spaces containing differentiated 'publics'.

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Appendix 1: Outline Interview Structure: Professional Interviews: Planners/Architects/Other interested parties

1: Background to role in organisation/company:

What is the background to the company organisation you are working in?

- Can you describe your role in the company/organisation you are working in?

2: Previous experience prior to current role (Outside company/organisation)

- Can you describe your professional background prior to working with your current company/organisation?
- What impact has this experience had on you?

3: Original involvement in transformations to featured public space:

- How did you get involved in this project?
- What were your main influences in terms of the transformations that you were involved in?

4: General information on creation or alterations to public space:

- Can you describe to overall aspiration of the changes/creation of a public space?
- Can you describe the design/planning ambitions of these alterations/creation of a public space?
- Can you give details regarding the plans/design of this space?
- What factors allowed this project to go ahead in this manner? (Financial, Political etc.)
- Were there any restrictions in relation to the original plan compared to the outcome?
- Was there an involvement with the local community in developing this space?

Appendix 2:
Outline Interview Structure: Management Personnel/Events Personnel

1: Background to role in organisation/company:

What is the background to the company organisation you are working in?

Can you describe your role in the company/organisation you are working in?

2: Previous experience prior to current role (Outside company/organisation)

- Can you describe your professional background prior to working with your current company/organisation?
- What impact has this experience had on you?

3: Overall remit for management of public space/promotion of events:

- What is the overall aim in terms of the management of this public space?
- What is the overall aim in terms of the promotion of events in this public space?

4 A: General information on day-to-day management of public space

- Can you describe your role in terms of day-to-day?
- Is there any particular activities that are promoted or desired?
- Is there any particular activities that are actively discouraged or stopped?
- How are these activities discouraged or stopped?
- Is there any liaison between the management company and surrounding residents/organisations?

4 B: General information on promotion of events in public space

Can you describe the background to your involvement in the organisation of events for this space?

- Who are the events organised for?
- Who is involved in the organisation of events?
- Are there any outside bodies involved in the organisation of events?
- Have there been any restrictions placed on the events being organised in this space?

Appendix 3: Outline Interview Structure: On-Street Interviews

Section A: Questions relevant to each space:

1: Initial Question

- Have you just walked through the space, or have you spent time in the space?

2: Follow on questions, depending on the answer to the first question:

Would you spend a lot of time here?
Would you ever spend much time here?

3: Qualifying question related to answer from the second question:

- What makes you want to spend time here?
- Is there any particular reason you wouldn't spend time here?

Section B: Site Specific Questions

4: Trafalgar Square/Paternoster Square/Dam Square/Mercatorplein/ O'Connell Street / Smithfield

- Do you remember this space before it was redeveloped?
- What do you think of the changes to the space?

5: Peckham Square / Zuidplein / Mayor Square

- Do you remember what this area was like before this space was developed?
- What do you think of it since the changes were made?

6: Question related to regulation of space: Trafalgar Square

- What are your thoughts on the recently introduced ban on pigeon feeding?

7: Question related to regulation of space: Mercatorplein

- What are your thoughts on the recently introduced ban on cannabis smoking and the consumption of alcohol?

8: Question related to attachment to place: Trafalgar Square/ O'Connell Street/ Dam Square:

- Does this square/street mean anything to you in terms of as a space of national identity?

9: Do you have any other thoughts about this space/square?

Appendix 4: Indicative Ownership, Management and Land-Use Summary

	Ownership	*Management*	*CCTV*	*Surrounding Land-Use: Public*	*Surrounding Land-Use: Private*	*Commercial-Use of Public Space?*	*Events*
Paternoster Square	Private	Private	Yes	Public Toilets	Commercial Offices, Stock Exchange	Restaurant/pub seating on three sides of square	Limited amount of corporate events
Trafalgar Square	Public	Public/Private	Yes	National Gallery	Commercial Offices, Embassies, Retail, Café	Limited amount of seating beside café on square	Regular GLA events, Organised protests
Peckham Square	Public	Public	Yes	Peckham Library, Peckham Pulse Fitness Centre	Café	Limited amount of seating beside café in Pulse gym.	Sunday market, Regular Community events
Mayor Square	Quasi-Public/ Private	Public	Yes	National College of Ireland, Third Level Institution	Restaurants, Bars, Cafés	Restaurant/pub seating on both north and south sides of square	Wednesday market, Dublin City Cycle, Corporate events
O'Connell Street	Public	Public/Private	Yes	General Post Office (GPO)	Retail, Restaurants, Banking, Commercial Offices, Hotels	Limited amount of seating throughout street	Temporary sculpture installations
Smithfield Square	Public	Public	Yes	Children's Court, Whiskey Museum	Pubs, Restaurants, Hotels	None	Dublin City Council Events, Horse fair once a month
Zuidplein	Public	Public	Yes	Zuidas Information Office	Retail, Pub, Restaurant	Limited to one corner of square	Limited/None
Dam Square	Public	Public	Yes	Stadhuis, Nieuwe Kerk, Madamme Tussaud's	Retail, Pub, Restaurant, Banking	Pub/Restaurant seating on north side of square	Funfair twice a year, 4th of May Commemoration
Mercatorplein	Public	Public	No	Police Station	Retail, Pubs, Restaurants, Banking	Pub/Restaurant seating on east side of square	Markets, Circus, Regular Community Events

Appendix 5: Paternoster Square User Summary

Passive regular users: Passively use the space, yet displayed certain attachments to the square as a place			
sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Everyday use	Paternoster C 18: Male and female couple in their 30s	"It's really sad [to say, but] it's a cut through, so it's no more than that."	"When we come through everything seems to be shut at the weekends, every thing's shut... Were on our way to the tube station basically."
	Paternoster C 23: Female in her 20s living near Paternoster Square	"Because I live around here I'm just used to it being here really. It doesn't occur to me to come here off my own bat for pleasure."	"I think it's really nice and considering what was here before, it's fantastic what they've done."
	Paternoster C 26: Male and female couple in their 40s	"You wouldn't come to Paternoster Square just to come to Paternoster Square."	"And they've put this back as well: Temple Bar, which I spotted 'cos we walked down. I spotted it through the trees. I remember when it going back to when it was rotting up in Hertfordshire."
	Paternoster C 38: Male in his 20s working in an office in Paternoster Square	"I usually just walk across it ... I don't know, it's kind of, it's sort of maybe familiarity breeds contempt. It's just there everyday so I take it for granted..."	"I really like that vista through there with the columns there like that and I like the design of the buildings around, they've really been nicely done."
	Paternoster C 45: Female in her 40s working in the City	"Well actually I don't think about it. It looks pretty good, but you don't really register it; it's modern."	"It's nice and big and airy and you can sit down."

Paternoster Square: Active regular users

sub-grouping	*User Summary*	*Comment/general perspective*	*Qualifying comment*
Economic	Paternoster C 8: Female in her 30s who runs bar on the square	"We're doing very well, best week ever last week."	"We love St. Paul's, it's a great area; great for all the businesses around here, very clean. It's a new development. People always like new developments."
City Image	Paternoster C 28: Male in his 30s working in the City	"I walk here every day to work and sometimes call in for a coffee here."	"It's clean, it's well designed and it bonds well with the architecture of St. Paul's."
	Paternoster C 31: Male in his 20s working in the City	"I actually sat down in the centre and had a coffee."	"The buildings seem pleasant. It was all nice, clean and tidy: what I like to expect around London; nice area to take a quick five minute break before going to a meeting."
Use value	Paternoster C 32: Female in her 40s working in the City	"I'm actually just walking across as I often do on my way to work."	"Well I walk across the square 'cos I like it on a sunny morning and it reminds me of being in Italy."
	Paternoster C 35: Male in his 20s working on Paternoster Square	"Just coming across, just going back to work."	"I do come out now and again and sit down there. If it's nice I'd come out and have my lunch with people from work."
	Paternoster C 10: Female in her 20s working in the City	"I'm just walking through because I work over there, so I walk through every day."	"Normally on a lunch hour I sit over there or at the side, but today I'm going shopping."
	Paternoster C 47: Female in her 40s working in the City	"It would be mostly to visit the restaurants, café's; Starbucks, Broddies."	"I just think it's lovely and modern, it's in keeping with the area. The more shops that open make it lively. It just looks nice and feels nice."

Memory	Paternoster C 50: Male in his 40s working in the City	"Very pleasant; It's full of outside tables, people eating, drinking. Sometimes there's a bit of music going on in the square, nice architecture."	"I'm a Londoner, so I remember the old Paternoster Square. So I love the contrast between the horrific concrete thing and what we now have, which is much improved."
	Paternoster C 27: Male and female couple in their 70s living in the City	"We were born here and we live here now"	"This was bombed from here... You could see from here to Moorgate: it was bombed absolutely flat. Except for the church in the middle of it."

Paternoster Square: Active Avoidance: Users who use the space yet perceive it to be dominated by a particular social group or consider particular visual attributes to be symbolic of a particular type of social space in a manner that may lead to a certain amount of *distanciation* from that space

sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
	Paternoster 14: Male in his 50s living and working in the City.	"We used to have a pub here. That was the Sir Christopher Wren. I mean you have mainly wine bars and what have you now."	"We had one just here and you've got a wine bar here and the Chop House place here which quite expensive. But, I mean that's for people up here who've got lots of money. I mean 15 pounds for a one course meal is quite a bit."

Paternoster Square: Tourist/Visitor, Sight Seeing

sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Exploring the city	Paternoster C 2: Female in her 60s from Wales visiting London	"I was actually going up the side there and I thought 'Oh, this looks interesting", just have a little peak."	"I just think it looks really nice and light and clean."
	Paternoster C 29: Two males and one female in their 30s living in London	"Spent some time in the square wandering around."	"We live just over the river so we come a lot ... usually when we've got guests."
	Paternoster C 15: Male in his 30s living in London	"I've been past here before, but this is the first time I've gone this way."	"I'm always going from A to B, but it's a nice place. It's a lot better than the estate that was here before."

City Image	Paternoster C 44: Male and female couple in their 60s living in London	"I've come to the cathedral, I've walked around the square."	"This looks a bit like the *Ideal City* by that man [Piero della Francesca], who's picture hangs in Urbino."
	Paternoster C 19: Male in 60s from London with group of friends sight-seeing in London	"We wandered in because I wanted to show my friends Temple Bar."	"I think it's an improvement on the 1960s and it's nice that it's pedestrianised. I'm not wholly convinced by the architecture... I suspect Prince Charles would approve" (Laughs).
	Paternoster C 22: Two males in their 30s living in London wandering the City	"It's better than what was here before but in many ways it feels like a bit of a lost opportunity."	"The way they've used much the same material throughout the square, there isn't a huge amount of variety, and there are some really poor details."

Appendix 6: Trafalgar Square User Summary

Trafalgar Square: Passive regular users: Passively use the space, yet displayed certain attachments to the square as a place			
sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
The 'everydayness of space'	Trafalgar Square 43: Male in his 30s living in London working as a newspaper reporter on the square	"I don't think battle of Trafalgar every time I come here. It's just the centre of London really, isn't it?"	"I've never come here just to hang out, but just seeing that little café down there it crosses my mind that I would do. I'd [also] go to the National Gallery obviously."
	Trafalgar Square C 2: Two males in their 20s living in London	"Well we come through every day."	"It's just familiarity, you know what I mean? I've seen it every day. It's like when you go passed Big Ben every day, so it's not a great thing any more."
	Trafalgar Square C 6: Female in her 60s living in London	"If I know there is something special I would probably come down and see what was going on."	"I pass the square quite often... It's usually passing through... It's because it's on my way. My bus-stop is down there and another bus stop over there, so between the two."
	Trafalgar Square C 26: Male in his 20s living in London	"Just walking through"	"Mostly go to see the galleries ... I probably wouldn't come just to see the square."
	Trafalgar Square C 12: Female in her 40s living in London	"I'm just walking through to the National Gallery Shop."	"Well I think this is a real improvement, the pedestrianised bit. I think it's wonderful. I'm really pleased with that and I'd quite like the rest of it to be done too."
	Trafalgar Square C 42: Female in her 50s who has come to go to the National Gallery	"I don't think I would ever sort of loiter, I would just go through."	"I have to say I'm really pleased with what they've done here with the pedestrianisation of and I'd like to see it even more because we don't have a central point like other cities do for meeting."

	Trafalgar Square C 70: Male and female American couple living in London for a few months	"We were at a pub and some guy said there's music here so were like 'all right'. Were going to have a sit, do some writing and then go home for dinner."	"The thing is I usually wind up here in the middle of the night. It's the only way to get a bus home." (laughs).

Trafalgar Square: Active regular users

sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Square as place of relaxation	Trafalgar Square C 53: Scottish Male in his 50s living in London	"I just like to watch the world go by"	"I like it, I like to watch the world go by and I like the clear air and I talk to people and... I've had a couple of beers..."
	Trafalgar Square C 57: Female in her 50s living outside London	"It's just a nice place to just come and chill out for 10 minutes by the fountain on a hot day if you happen to be walking around London."	"I just had a watch of what was going on over there and had a dip with my fingers in the cold water."
	Trafalgar Square C 66: Spanish female living in London	"I spend some times, usually Friday's when I come from work, and I enjoy coming here."	"Usually I like to go down stairs and see and stay around the fountains, look at the children. It's very relaxing, very pleasant. Always something happens here."
Recent alterations to the square	Trafalgar Square C 19: Female in her 60s with two female children	"There's usually something on, so we came to see what was on."	"...I love the way it's pedestrianised, because there's a beautiful view down from the National [Gallery]. The Square's more alive than it used to be and I'm glad there's not so many pigeons as well."
	Trafalgar Square C 65: Male in his 50s from London	"The place is much more friendly than it used to be."	" There's cafés in here, it's got more atmospheric, more continental."

	Trafalgar Square C 54: English female in her 60s with group of French friends	"It's the heart of... it's one of the hearts of London."	"At one time it used to be pigeons and lions and now you have a few other things to be looking at and its more disability friendly."
Centre of London/ Historical Associations	Trafalgar Square C 60: Male in his 60s living in London	"Trafalgar Square is the centre of London, where you can come and see all sorts of things."	"It's in the centre. It's a very long time since I've been here and I really enjoyed coming here; enjoyed the fountains, enjoyed the people around."
	Trafalgar Square C 49: Female in her 40s living in London	"I haven't been here for so long, I'm just looking around trying to remember."	"It's the heart of London, which is the city I love."
	Trafalgar Square C 37: Male in his 70s living in London	"I was born and brought up in London and this is Marvellous."	"It means a great deal to me because I'm a Londoner and that's Nelson up there. And this year is Nelson's 200th year since he died. So it means a lot to me."

Trafalgar Square: Active Avoidance: Users who use the space yet perceive it to be dominated by a particular social group or consider particular visual attributes to be symbolic of a particular type of social space in a manner that may lead to a certain amount of *distanciation* from that space

sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
	Trafalgar Square C 48: Female teenager living in London	"I'm waiting for somebody"	"I think i's mostly tourists who use the square to take pictures in. I come through here whenever I'm to the National Gallery or Charing Cross Station. [It's] mostly for walking through rather than hanging around in."
	Trafalgar Square C 52: Male and female couple in their 60s from outside of London	"It's a focal point ... You think of London and Trafalgar Square is high on the list of places that come to mind."	"We're just around the corner in Pall Mall and it's on the way to almost everywhere, but we walk through it as a thoroughfare and not as tourists."

	Trafalgar Square C 31: Male in his 30s working near Trafalgar Square	"I work on Oxendon Street"	"Occasionally I'll come down to the square but because it's very tourist heavy I tend not to. I tend to go to some of the smaller streets instead." "Generally it's a very good thing. It's much more of a public space. Whereas before it was just a slightly grimy... just an awkward traffic situation."

Trafalgar Square: Tourist/Visitor, Sight Seeing

sub-grouping	*User Summary*	*Comment/general perspective*	*Qualifying comment*
	Trafalgar Square C 18: Male American tourist in his 20s	"I was actually just walking through."	"I've taken a few photos; just of the different monuments, the buildings, the waterfall, some of the people, the whole atmosphere."
	Trafalgar Square C 30: Canadian male in his 40s with his two teenage daughters	"I come here about once a year on business."	"I always head straight for the square because I really like it here. Lots to see and people watching to do and kind of being in the heart of things."
	Trafalgar Square C 38: Male in his 30s from Barcelona	"I'm an architect, so I travel just to see architects, I don't know, maybe Norman Foster."	"As an architect I see a lot of power [in this space]"
	Trafalgar Square C 46: Indian male in his 30s visiting London	"It looks like a historic place and the weather is nice."	"I don't know much about this place, so I've come as a tourist. So I'll walk around and see around the place."
	Trafalgar Square C 73: Spanish man in his 30s living in London	"I remember how it used to be. It's much better now."	"I normally come to the national gallery on my way through from Charing Cross to Picadilly, but normally we spend time as well; sometimes just sit down."

Appendix 7: Peckham Square User Summary

Peckham Square: Passive regular users: Passively use the space, yet displayed certain attachments to the square as a place			
sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Use of facilities	Peckham C 10: Male in his 30s from New Cross	"I don't like Peckham that much ... too much trouble all the time. Too many police cars and that drives you nuts."	"Sometimes I go in the library... Not all the time. Sometimes I do. I can't read very well so sometimes I don't bother going in there you know."
	Peckham C 1: female in her 40s living in Peckham	"I don't really sit in it very much"	"I go to the library, I go to farmers market, but I walk through it nearly everyday"
	Peckham C 6: Female in her 30s living in Peckham	"I was just walking through it. I was going to somewhere."	"I quite like the library and I like that the gym's next door."
Active regular users			
sub-grouping		***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Regular users of the square	Peckham C 8: Male in his 20s living in Peckham	Sometimes sits in middle of square because he can see everything from there	"Usually they have church people here singing, which is very nice."
	Peckham C 9: Male in his 60s living in Peckham	"I think it is nice, it's brought something into Peckham that we needed for a long time, especially the library."	"Sometimes I have time, I just stand for 20 minutes and observe what's going on and that's about it."
	Peckham C 14: Two male teenagers living in Peckham	"It's a space that you can meet up in innit? it's a big space."	"So you can say 'meet near the library, meet near the pulse'.
Everyday users of the square	Peckham C 25: Male in his 20s living in Peckham	"Actually I was just looking forward to relaxing, no what I mean?, [to] get out of the sun"	"Some evenings I just come and relax ... it's quiet, it's cool, it's cool, it's O.K..."

	Peckham C 32: Male in his 20s living in Peckham	"I sit down there and watch and look at people moving, walking around."	"You see a lot of people because of the traffic, the human traffic, is always very high. Basically that is just what I do. I walk from the house to this space, sit down for a while, maybe 15 minutes, [then] walk back home."
	Peckham C 41: Male in his 30s living in Peckham	"I do sometimes come around and, you know, and sit down. I feel calm here."	"So when I'm a little bit bored of the house, live right at the back on the high-street, so sometimes, when I'm bored [I] just come and find somewhere to sit down and relax."
	Peckham C 57: Male in his 20s living in Peckham	"Peckham's got such a bad name: I lived in Peckham all my life, and I don't think there's nothing wrong with Peckham."	"When you feel the breeze you can just have a nice think in the mind: renew your mind, control your mind."

Peckham Square: Active Avoidance: Users who use the space yet perceive it to be dominated by a particular social group or consider particular visual attributes to be symbolic of a particular type of social space in a manner that may lead to a certain amount of *distanciation* from that space

sub-grouping	***User***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
distanciation	Peckham C 33:	"I just normally, just pass through, 'cos I live around these areas, but I don't really spend time in the square."	"There's just nothing for me to hand around for really ... But kids hang around here a lot, not adults."
	Peckham C 31: Female in her early 20s living in Peckham	Always walks through	"There's too many men hanging around ... too much crowds. They're always playing football."
	Peckham C 43: Three teenage girls living in Peckham	"I used to [be on the square] all the time, but to many people are just here ... the men just sit there like."	"All of them, they all sit in that little bush over there smoking ganga."
	Peckham C 53: Female living in her 30s living in Peckham	"Walk [through] every day"	"It's not safe: because a lot of people there were drinking with cans of beer and I wouldn't be sitting there. Always [there are] little teenagers running, robbing each other."

	Peckham C 26: Female who recently moved to Peckham	"When you get here It's a little bit disappointing, 'cos I've heard so much about the library ... I think this is an award winning library. This bit doesn't do it justice..."	"I already feel hesitant coming here. I don't know if I'll get robbed, or if I'm safe here."
Use space, but still negative feelings harboured based on particular factors	Peckham C 12: Male and Female couple in their 30s living in Camberwell	"I think it's very nice, it's a lot better than many parts of Camberwell, eh, Peckham."	"Unfortunately there's always the association in my mind of Damilola Taylor because those last pictures were [him] running and climbing along here, so for some reason that's always associated in my mind. That's not so positive."
	Peckham C 5: Female in her 40s living in Peckham	"I like the space"	"Sometimes it's not a very comfortable place to relax. You get a bit hassled because it's also used by a lot of drunks ... during the day."
	Peckham C 48: Female in her 20s living in Peckham	"Sometimes when you feel like coming to walk around and enjoy..."	"It's very lovely but the only problem is these guys smoking and all stuff ... so it doesn't really give you the chance to bring your kid around because of smoking and stuff."

Appendix 8: Mayor Square User Summary

Mayor Square: Passive regular users: Passively use the space, yet displayed certain attachments to the square as a place			
sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
'Everydayness' of space	Mayor Square C 10: Female in her 30s working in the IFSC	"It's well kept ... I pass through for the most part, it's fine, it's pretty modern."	"It's not welcoming or unwelcoming, you know what I mean? It's easy enough. Sometimes there can be unsavoury characters around, but just keep moving."
	Mayor Square C 46: Male in his 40s who comes to IFSC for meetings once a week	"I generally walk through it."	"I have meetings in the IFSC so I just use it as an area to kill time I suppose."
	Mayor Square C 47: Female in her 40s visiting IFSC for business meeting.	"I'm here at a business meeting this morning and I have another one at half 12 so I'm just putting some time in really."	"Not so much opportunity to sit and linger."
	Mayor Square C 7: Male in his 20s living in the area	"I'm walking through, I live here."	"It's always pretty much somewhere I walk through. There's not really any place to sit ... but I do shopping in Marks and Spencer's."
Perceived limitations of square	Mayor Square C 26: Two female students in their late teens studying in NCI	"Probably just out smoking, that's it."	"They should have more benches maybe or something, 'cos at the side of the college there's only 3 or 4 tables so It's not really much of a sitting area."
	Mayor Square C 34: Male in his 30s living in the area	"There's nothing to it, there's nothing beautiful about it, there's nothing ugly about it. It's just functional space."	"I noticed that there was kids there playing with skateboards. Security guards in the area were trying to stop that. They probably shouldn't. That's what it's good for. It's an urban space that's good for kids and skateboarders [and] probably students..."

	Mayor Square C 12: Female in her 30s with two children	"The odd time when we've been been in restaurants, but not just to come to this square."	"It has limited value. I mean i's a lovely space and architecture's lovely but it has limited sort of purpose value for [my older daughter]."
	Mayor Square C 20: Male in his 20s living in the area	"Generally never think about it really. 'cos I live so close, I'd have no reason to hang around here. I just really come and go."	"To be honest, I never really thought about it like. I suppose, summertime, when there's some stalls over there. I suppose that's nice. And when they have a beer garden there for the bar which is good as well."
Use space intermittently	Mayor Square C 22: Female in her 40s who works near by	"I just come down here to do some shopping."	"I think it's lovely, very relaxing... There's very little traffic. It just seems more... richer or something; the buildings and that. And it's spacious. You haven't got cars and bicycles running around."
	Mayor Square C30: Female in her 20s working in the IFSC	"It's lovely and bright and spacious."	"I generally just pass through... tend to be in a rush. Am, I suppose there's not an awful lot of seating as well; there should be more seating if they want people to sit about in it."
	Mayor Square C 49: Male in his 20s working in the IFSC	"It's a nice open space. It's reasonably well designed. Particularly for this part of Dublin. It's modern, it's bright and it looks more upper end rather than what it replaced."	"It's a walk through space. Sometimes with the cafés and stuff you might sit outside and use the space."
	Mayor Square C 18: Male in his 20s working in the IFSC	"Just a space I walk through really."	"I like the way you can sit down on the square there, you know that square part. It's all paved... I think that's nicer ... you can sit down there and have the craic with who ever; have a few drinks."

Mayor Square: Active regular users

sub-grouping	*User Summary*	*Comment/general perspective*	*Qualifying comment*
Usage, cleanliness, centrality etc.	Mayor Square C 1: Male in his 30s working in the IFSC	"I would sit out in it for lunch during the summer."	"It's open and you can sit down and have something to eat and people just gather here."
	Mayor Square C 25: Male in his 30s working in the IFSC	"Lots of glass and brick so it's very typical of new Irish architecture. It's like... Nowhere in Europe is like this, so it's very effective."	"Normally you walk and it's like you have here more space. So you'll definitely stay here if you see more people..."
	Mayor Square C 2: Female in her 30s working in the IFSC	"I've been there, I've been to the coffee shop and the quick food thing at Marks & Spencer"	"It's attractive, it's nice how clean it is. I know a lot of people get there and it's a nice place to sit down for a sandwich in the afternoon if the weather cooperates."
	Mayor Square C 27: Male in his 20s working in IFSC	"I normally come here during my break. You know, it's a nice place, you see people coming, going. It's a nice place to be."	"There is nowhere that is dirty or unpleasant to sit in. Every where's just pleasant and nice to sit in."
	Mayor Square C 28: Male in his 20s living in Dublin	"It is a focal point. Like, everyone gets drawn down towards this end."	"It's clean, it's modern and you've got all the facilities around the square that you need."
Desire for change	Mayor Square C 5: Male in his 30s working in Mayor Square	"I'd sit out and have a coffee, have a cigarette when I used to smoke, going to the shops, using the bank machine."	"there's no where really proper to sit. It would be nicer to have a better focal point where people could sit because people are using it anyway."
	Mayor Square C 37: Female in her 20s living in the area	"It's a nice open space. A little more seating area would be nice on a sunny day."	"Sometimes it feels underused. Maybe I'm just not here when it is used, but it seems quite empty, it can seem quite empty."

	Mayor Square C 24: Female in her 30s who works in IFSC and studies in NCI	"Well architecture-wise, it wouldn't be my style. There's too much concrete, but it is a good square to meet to have lunch, to have some exhibitions; I've seen some shows in here."	"I sit there where there's the low [steps], but I would prefer somewhere where you could sit. But there's not many spaces."
	Mayor Square C 41: Male in his 40s working in the IFSC	"I always have coffee in La Corte. I'm here, I have a coffee there every single day of my life except for Sunday's."	"Somewhere nice to sit, a bit more greenery, a few more bins and maybe get rid of some of the locals from the area [would be nice]"
Memory	Mayor Square C 14: Female in her 40s living in the area	"[It's] better. Well yeah, because years ago there was cattle sheds around here when we were kids so obviously it's more attractive than smells in the air and you know, all that business."	"It's beautiful. It makes a big change to here. People that moved away and they come back ... say 30 years ago ... even 10 years ago say they can't believe the change. Change for the best like. It's great; doctors, clinics, dental, everything."

Mayor Square: Active Avoidance: Users who use the space yet perceive it to be dominated by a particular social group or consider particular visual attributes to be symbolic of a particular type of social space in a manner that may lead to a certain amount of *distanciation* from that space

sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
	Mayor Square C 16: Male in his 40s who delivers goods to the area each week	"'Lovely land!; would you find as many BMW's on this road here then you would 15 years ago? And all the type of lifestyle compared to what used to be here. That's why I call it lovely land, because they all love themselves."	"Unfortunately, the rich stays rich and the poor get poorer. Cos their forcing all these people out of here that used to be here. Where have they gone?"

Mayor Square: First time visitors: Users in Mayor Square experiencing the space for the first time

sub-grouping	*User Summary*	*Comment/general perspective*	*Qualifying comment*
	Mayor Square C 9: Male (New Zealand) and female (Irish) couple in their 20s visiting area for first time	Female: "Amazing, I can't believe it. We were just saying it doesn't even look like you have to leave this area for anything. They have everything here; all the bars, restaurants. It's crazy."	Male: "It's sort of like the waterfront area down in the harbour in Wellington and maybe the Viaduct harbour in Auckland is bit like that as well; quite modern."
	Mayor Square C 48: Male and female couple in their 70s visiting for the first time	"Grand big open space that I wouldn't have come down through ten years ago, 5 years ago. Lovely open space. Lots of youth and obviously a lot of business going on."	"Lots of well healed youth around isn't there."

Appendix 9: O'Connell Street User Summary

O'Connell Street: Passive regular users: Passively use the space, yet displayed certain attachments to the street as a place			
sub-grouping		***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
	O'Connell Street C 4: Male in his 30s living in Dublin	"I'm in a gym on O'Connell Street, I'd walk through it a lot."	"Major street in our city."
	O'Connell Street C 31: Female in her 20s working near O'Connell Street	"I come here and just walk by, so... I don't know if I pay attention to the street or not, so, I just walk by when I want to go somewhere."	"I find this street cleaner and more beautiful, more than before."
	O'Connell Street C 35: Male in his 20s living in Dublin	"I live around the corner so I walk through it every day."	"You can't not use it, it's the main street. So, you know, the same things are here pretty much."
O'Connell Street: Active regular users: Users who actively use the space and engage in various activities taking place there			
sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Changes, Image and land-use expectations	O'Connell Street C 48: Female in her 60s living in Dublin	"I'm very proud of my street."	"If they get rid of half the old café's and graffiti, if they could put tables and chairs and seats in it would be nice."
	O'Connell Street C 54: Female in her 30s bringing daughter to school	"I wouldn't have walked down as much 'cos I bring my daughter in in the morning and I wouldn't normally have walked down O'Connell Street. I'd usually detour off. Since they've widened it, it's much easier to get around."	"It looks more like a decent European proper street, but it shouldn't have all this crap on it; all these shops."

	O'Connell Street C 15: Female in her 60s living in Dublin	"It's nice and spacious, plenty of room, lots of foreigners... It's brilliant, it's going to make a big difference to the town."	"...the new shops and a better look about the shops. They aren't as run-down as they [were] before."
	O'Connell Street C 29: Female in her 20s working in Dublin	"I walk past the street every day when I'm going to work, you know... Not because of my route, I just like walking on this street."	"You know, there's a lot to do on it,you know, lots of shops... it's nice, interesting to be in... I like the Spire, you know, the G.P.O area. It just interests me, it's nice."
	O'Connell Street C 7: Male in his 50s living in Dublin	"I just got the bus across and I'm just going up to Marks and Spencer's on Mary Street. I could have gone to the one on Grafton Street, but I fancied coming across the river."	"Originally I was aghast when they were going to rip up the old trees, but I think they're an improvement."
Practical elements: Street Furniture	O'Connell Street C 50: Female in her 30s living in Dublin	"I think there's got to be some elements introduced that make people want to stay in the street or linger in the street instead of just shooting through."	"More street furniture, I mean seating and things I think are needed. I know there are other issues around that, the accumulation of litter and all that has to be considered, but I do think it would make it more of a happening place so people could linger more."
	O'Connell Street C 60: Polish man in his 20s living in Dublin	"I think this [points to the Spire] is the main point of this street, of this city. Always when I don't know where I go, I go to this point and I can find a way."	"There aren't any places to sit, I think somebody should something about this."
Identity/Memory	O'Connell Street C 11: Male in his 40s living in Dublin	"It's more inviting [now]. O'Connell Street is a kind of street... You're not inclined to hang out on O'Connell Street. It's a major thoroughfare."	"Every capital city should have a centre of identity."

	O'Connell Street C 24: Male in his 50s living in Dublin	"I've seen a lot of parades outside the GPO and stuff like that. It's just part of life, just walking up and down it you know."	"I think it looks great now compared to what it was. It's a lot better."
	O'Connell Street C 21: Female in her 40s living in Dublin	"Variety of shops has gone down ... but it would have the potential for upgrading. I think ... business-wise it's very attractive. In terms of an architecture point of view it's on a parallel with any European City."	"I'm from north Dublin and O'Connell Street is the centre of the city. For anyone from north Dublin the rest of it is superfluous really (laughs). I must have been 20 before I went over the Liffey. There was nothing I needed beyond this end at that time."
	O'Connell Street C 38: Male in his 60s living in Dublin	"It's vastly changed, it's vastly changed!"	"I worked in the Carlton Cinema in the 1960s... Before my time it was Sackville Street and before that Drogheda Street."
	O'Connell Street C 10: Female in her 60s living outside Dublin	"We get off [the bus] there at the Gresham."	"I saw poor old Nelson going up. I was here in Dublin at the time so we've seen a lot of changes in O'Connell Street. It's still [has] a very cosmopolitan capital city feel and it shows for all that."

O'Connell Street: Active Avoidance: Users who use the space yet perceive it to be dominated by a particular social group or consider particular visual attributes to be symbolic of a particular type of social space in a manner that may lead to a certain amount of *distanciation* from that space

sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Distanciation	O'Connell Street C 36: Male in his 50s living in Dublin	"Too many take away's still ... and what have you. It attracts an undesirable element and that element is still here."	"The changes are positive, but you know, but... There's no point in adorning someone with a beautiful dress if it's not going to work for them."
	O'Connell Street C 42: Male in his 30s working on O'Connell Street	"You [need to] get rid of McDonald's, Burger King, amusements, Dr. Quirky's, all those lads..."	"I think they bring an unwanted element into the street, especially at night-time, not safe to walk down at night time. Like there was a fellow mugged there two weeks ago, and he died there 3 days ago – 40 Euros – just at the top of Parnell Street."

	O'Connell Street C 46: Male in his 30s living in Dublin	"All these fast food restaurants, I dunno! Come to O'Connell Street and eat a burger maybe!"	"What do you do? You put seats here and you get bloody heroin addicts."
	O'Connell Street C 58: Female in her 30s living in Dublin	"I just think there's too many fast-food restaurants and that's it."	"It's a bit rough walking down at night time and that."

O'Connell Street: Tourist/Visitor: Sight Seeing

sub-grouping	*User Summary*	*Comment/general perspective*	*Qualifying comment*
	O'Connell Street C 13: Dutch man in his 50s visiting Dublin	"What I especially like is this thing over there [points to the Spire], it's easy to recognise where you have to be and also the several statues are well placed."	"You have a feeling in a certain sense that it's the commercial [shopping] centre."
	O'Connell Street C 25: American female in her 60s	"We came across to walk on O'Connell Street. We're tourists. Our destination was Parnell Square and the Gate Theatre and of course we wanted to look at the 'Spiral' [sic] ... and we are tourists so they told us to walk on O'Connell Street."	"The closer you are to it [The Spire] when you look up the scarier it is. It's fine from here, but when you're real close to it and looking up I felt I had to to hold to something."
	O'Connell Street C 28: English couple in their 60s visiting Dublin	"It's very multicultural. Much more than I expected."	"And for that reason it's and obvious magnet just to see what other people are doing as opposed to what we are doing."

Appendix 10: Smithfield Square User Summary

Smithfield Square: Passive regular users: Passively use the space, yet displayed certain attachments to the square as a place			
sub-grouping			
Physical character of the space	Smithfield C 6: Female in mid 20s recently moved to the area	"It's a short-cut"	"it's kind of empty, there is nothing going on."
	Smithfield C 23: Group of three males in 20s working in the vicinity of the square	"Apart from the cobblestones, there isn't really a character in the square at all."	"I don't think you can [sit out], I don't see any seats. So, if there was more seats in it then absolutely, I'd sit in it."
'Everydayness' of space	Smithfield C 4: Female in her 50s living in the area all her life	"I'm years walking up and down here"	"I suppose when these things are close by you don't pay too much attention to them when they're on your doorstep"
	Smithfield C 14: Female in mid 20s living in the area over the last few years	"I walk through it going to the shops."	"I really don't take that much notice of it, I just walk past it all the time."
	Smithfield C 41: Female living in the area in recent years	"It's just a kind of space I'd walk through. I'd never actually spend time in it."	"It's just a kind of a space, it's there you're kind of used to it."
	Smithfield C 22: Male in his mid 20s living in Dublin	"Just going through to see my probation officer."	"I sit over there having a few drinks, or in court."
Aesthetic judgement	Smithfield C 35: Male in his early 20s	"I do be in here at court and when the horse fair is on."	"I don't see what this big waste of money is, that lift, what's that supposed to be?"

	Smithfield C 29: Male in his early 20s bringing his younger brother to school	"Just collecting him from school so we pass through here every day."	"It's a lovely place now. I used to go to school over here, and there used be like buildings here and a big scrapyard and it was run down basically."
Aesthetic Judgement/lack of facilities	Smithfield C 10: Male in his mid 20s living n the area for the last few years	"Basically walk through and buy some shopping"	"I like the cobblestones, obviously the chimney, the gas towers, it's very nice, it's good, it's cultural." "There's no where really to sit."
	Smithfield C 18: Couple from France living in area in recent years		"The space and the look of the square is great, it's big with a lot of space. We really like it." "Just without anything to sit down."
	Smithfield C 25: Polish man in his 20s living in Smithfield Market for one month	"It's nice, it's modern, a modern place with sometimes some activities"	"I miss here some seats."
	Smithfield C 24: Male in his forties living in the area in recent years	"I know the square fairly well."	"I think it should be amended now to become a softer space" "Its a great space for a cattle market 50 years ago, but not as a residential inner city space."
Smithfield Square: Active regular users			
sub-grouping		***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Memory	Smithfield C 2: Female in her 40s living in area all her life	"I live on Church Street and I come through and forth every day, going to work and coming home"	"If there's any events we come over and have a look. The horse fair's on since I was a child."

	Smithfield C 5: Female in her late 30s who grew up in the area	"Growing up we'd be used to seeing the horse fair"	"It's not the old Smithfield. I think a lot of the old people would prefer the old Smithfield but then times are changing and you have to go with the times."
Feeling of space	Smithfield C 17: Asian man in his 30s living in Dublin for past 5 years	"This area is booming"	"I don't spend that much time. It's a nice area being empty... And it's actually lovely to sit down there where they made the space there where the steps are. It's a pretty cool place around the city centre, except for the Phoenix Park."
	Smithfield 47: Asian man working in the Fresh supermarket on Smithfield Square	"I work early in the morning 'til 2."	"It's a good feeling that when you walk out from the shop, it's a nice place compared to when you work in the city-centre."
Regulated activities	Smithfield C 27: Male in his 60s living in the area all his life	"I love everything about it, people, I love it, I love it ... I spend a lot of time in it, I'd say 80% of my time I spend in Smithfield."	"What I do now is I have a few cans over there, a few cans, and ... I love it here."
	Smithfield C 13: Group of three teenage boys living in the area all their lives	"We got kicked off it yesterday by the police because we were playing football."	"And then we played around the back of the houses, and [someone said] 'you have to go to the square.' We're never kicked off it! ... that's what it's there for: football."

Smithfield Square: Active Avoidance: Users who use the space yet perceive it to be dominated by a particular social group or consider particular visual attributes to be symbolic of a particular type of social space in a manner that may lead to a certain amount of *distanciation* from that space

sub-grouping	***Users Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Distanciation	Smithfield C 3: Male in early 20s living and working in the area	Walks through	"I would like to sit down over there, but some of the people they are nasty."

	Smithfield C 21: Two men in their 50s working within the proximity of the Square	"It's a place you walk through as quickly as possible."	"Then you have a lot of winos hanging around here. I know the guards have tried to move them on" "If you walk through other European cities, right, you will see ... a place for people to sit and eat, to have coffee, even drink. What's to attract [people to Smithfield]?"
	Smithfield C 30: Man in his early 20s working in the area	Walks through twice a day	"It's a pity we have the children's court over there as well. It's a bit of am... it detracts from the place, when you think about it really; tourists, or whoever else coming into the area, new people, and they see the carry-on that goes on outside it ... the graffiti, smoking joints..."

Smithfield Square: Tourist/Visitor: Sight Seeing

sub-grouping	***User Details***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
	Smithfield C 28: Two male Dutch tourists in their 20s	"It's quite nice, very modern."	"It's not a place I'd stay around for more than half an hour. Just to walk by and take a couple of pictures and that's it." "There are no seats, that's what's missing."
	Smithfield C 19: Male and female Swedish tourists in their late 20s/early 30s	"This feels very modern, very fresh. A little bit more of a major city"	"I don't know what it looked like before, but it feels like an improvement." (Laughs)

Appendix 11: Zuidplein User Summary

Zuidplein: Passive regular users: Passively use the space, yet displayed certain attachments to the square as a place			
sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
	Zuidplein C 19: British female in her 30s uses WTC train station	"I'm just walking through. I'm coming from the station."	"I just use it to go to the station, but the reason I use this station is that I don't like central city busyness and I really appreciate this green stuff."
	Zuidplein C 21: Female in her 30s working in Zuidas	"I was working in the tower."	"Just that it's here. It's not particularly attractive, but it's open in comparison to sitting up there."
	Zuidplein C 43: Male in his 30s working in Zuidas	"It's really because I work here. It's not a place to to out and not that interesting to spend more time."	"It's very difficult because the buildings are very high. It's like Almere, new town, with a lot of big buildings but the atmosphere is not very cosy..."
	Zuidplein 22: Female in her 30s working in Zuidas	"I just came from work, so I just left the building and now I'm walking to my bike."	"I think it looks nice but it's very windy. There's a lot of drafts coming through... It would be more comfortable if it wasn't so windy."
	Zuidplein 24: Female in her 20s uses WTC train station	"I just walk through it."	"They have renovated it, and I do like... there's a lot more green right now and they've expanded the terraces and... I do like terraces. It's just a bit concrete."
	Zuidplein 25: Male in his 20s living in the area	"I've just crossed it because of the station."	"I think the buildings are impressive and I like them. I like the atmosphere."
	Zuidplein 49: Male in his 40s living close to Zuidas	"I live a five minute bike ride from here so I'm going to get my bicycle and bike home."	"I also think it's good that they have a bar now there because usually it used to be totally silent and empty after 6 o'clock."
	Zuidplein 5: Female in her 30s working in Zuidas	"I'm walking through. I'm working right there in that building and I'm doing some shopping."	"It's OK, maybe could use some benches here and there."

	Zuidplein 11: Male in his 20s working in Zuidas	"I normally walk through. I work over there and sometimes I sit around here and also on front of the ... bar on the other corner."	"It's comfortable. It depends on the wind. Because of high winds it can be windy, but I like the atmosphere."
	Zuidplein 15: Female in her 30s visiting Zuidas on business	"I just walked through it."	"I'm here for business so my boss is paying for my time and I can't sit down."

Zuidplein: Active Regular Users: Users who actively engage with the space and use it on a regular basis

sub-grouping	*User Summary*	*Comment/general perspective*	*Qualifying comment*
	Zuidplein C 16: Spanish female working in Zuidas	"I work here so I just spend some time. It's my lunch time. [I eat here] not every day but almost every day."	"It's great, it's nice, very modern."
	Zuidplein C 28: Male in his 30s who used to work in WTC	"I spent some time in the square."	"I think it's a good place to stop by. Lets say if you would have a colleague or something. You could say we would meet at this and discuss it. It's like a meeting point."
	Zuidplein 31: Male and Female in their 30s working in Zuidas	"When the weather's fine and the winds not too bad."	"Because it's quite industrial: the rest of the buildings, the offices, it's a good place to have at least some human contact."
	Zuidplein 37: American male in his 30s living in Amsterdam	"Except when the wind's... the weather's bad, it's a nice place to walk through. Aesthetically it's appealing."	"It's just nice and open. As a foreigner, it typifies new construction in the Netherlands and Amsterdam."

Zuidplein: Active Avoidance: Users who use the space yet perceive it to be dominated by a particular social group or consider particular visual attributes to be symbolic of a particular type of social space in a manner that may lead to a certain amount of *distanciation* from that space

sub-grouping	*User Summary*	*Comment/general perspective*	*Qualifying comment*
	Zuidplein 39: Female in her 20s living near Zuidas	"I come here very often and I think, especially during lunch time, it's nice because then there are a lot of people."	"Otherwise it's business, it's a business space... I think it looks nice, but you can tell it's made because of business."
	Zuidplein, C 3, female in her 60s	"It's nice, it is very nice..."	"...but I think it's more for the people who work in the buildings, not for the people who live here or the passengers..."

Appendix 12: Dam Square User Summary

Dam Square: Passive regular users: Passively use the space, yet displayed certain attachments to the square as a place			
sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Embedded personal memories:	Dam Square C 29: Male in his 30s living in Amsterdam	"I live in the city so I like it."	"I don't often go through here, because it's too touristic for me, and I don't like that. I like the shopping streets, but not this square particularly." "The hotel does mean something for me, because my parents had their wedding night there. It's thirty eight years ago, but I still, when I pass it, I sometimes think think about it you know?"
	Dam Square C 20: Male from Amsterdam in his 40s living beside Dam Square	"I'm living here, behind [the square], so I'm walking here everyday" "Just for me, I've lived here for thirty two years and it's just shopping, people go shopping. That over there, we always sit there, like today when the sun shines, on the monument. But it's really a tourist thing."	"I was there then for the crowning of the Queen, that was '80, that was a real strike... and then that's totally gone. That's what I miss a little bit, people going to fight for their right."
The 'Everydayness' of space	Dam Square C 38: Male in his 40s living in Amsterdam	"I come from work and I go home"	"I walk through most of the time. I live here all my life, 47 years, so I know it by heart now, so I just walk through."
	Dam Square C 28: Male and female in their 20s living in Amsterdam	"We are here two days a week [or] three days a week"	"Sometimes there are many protests or other things, and festivals. We are always there, but there's nothing special mostly."

	Dam Square C 42: Male in his 30s living in Amsterdam	"I'm just walking through"	"I live here for 25 years, so I don't really think much about it, but well it's a nice place. Nice place to walk around."
	Dam Square C 25: Female in her 20s living in Amsterdam	"I'm just walking through on my way to the station."	"The buildings are fine 'cos they're old and they're there and they're all right, but I think it's too flat or bland or something. Like there's much more cosy, tiny square like the Nieuwmarkt. This is just a bit too big or something." "Of course [the monument] means something, but it's not like I think about it every time I cycle by. It's such a part of everyday life for me that it doesn't ring a bell any more."
Dam Square: Active regular users: Users who actively use the space and engage in various activities taking place there			
sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
	Dam Square C 6: Female from Amsterdam in her 20s who spends time in the Bar 'Dam Plaza' on Dam Square	"I live here so I spend a lot of time over here"	"It's just there for me"
	Dam Square C 17: Indonesian man in his 30s living in Amsterdam	"I spend some time here at the Majestic [Bar]"	"Always [at the Majestic], it's my favourite place to see people walking around, hanging around"
	Dam Square C30: Male in his 20s living in Amsterdam	"Sometimes I spend time on the square... in the seats, I can sit..."	"I like it because of the birds, the pigeons."

	Dam Square C 40: Female in her 20s who worked as a 'monument' on the square	"Normally in summer I am spending some time here"	"I used to work on Dam Square like a 'monument' last summer, so I know Dam Square very well. So I think many people who live in *Centrum* they come here with children. Especially when there's many monuments."
	Dam Square C 19: Male in his 20s working on Dam Square	"I work in the *De Bijenkorf* and I always go this way from work"	"It's a very laid back space because there's never any trouble here. Everybody's just chilling at a restaurant having a cold beer, so its always really relaxed... Its kind of also a meeting point. Everybody knows where it is, it's in the centre of the city..."
	Dam Square C 27: Male in his 20s working near Dam Square	"Sometimes [I come to the square] to eat a sandwich or otherwise just to cross it"	"Sometimes if there's a festival I visit the square on my lunch-break; I just visit here, the square. I just [go] over there to have a drink on the terrace."
Personal attachment or memories	Dam Square C 49: Male in his 70s living in Amsterdam	"This is the symbol of the freedom" (Respondent points to National Monument)	"We had the freedom from the Germans in 1945... and the marriages of the Queen. When Beatrix got Queen it was terrible situation. People are not very respectful I think; they don't have any idea of what it is."
	Dam Square C 26: Female in her 60s living in Amsterdam	"I'm walking the square"	"I did spend a lot of time on the square in the past... I'm from Amsterdam, I'm born in Amsterdam and in the '60s we were sleeping on Dam Square."
	Dam Square C 41: Male in his 50s living in Amsterdam		"What I particularly like about the atmosphere is that I feel the history. This place is as old as say 1100, I feel it. I dream about walking in Amsterdam in 1200. I know what it looked like. I still feel it. However it's unrecognisably changed over the centuries, but I still know what it looked like."

	Dam Square C 50: Male in his 70s living in Amsterdam		"I think it's a very nice place. For me, it's the heart of Amsterdam."

Dam Square: Active Avoidance: Users who use the space yet perceive it to be dominated by a particular social group or consider particular visual attributes to be symbolic of a particular type of social space in a manner that may lead to a certain amount of *distanciation.*

sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Distanciation	Dam Square C 69: Spanish woman in her 20s living beside Dam Square	"I live here, right behind Dam Square. I just walk through..."	"I never spend time here. I think only tourists do, and pigeons." (Laughs)
	Dam Square C 13: Female British student in her 20s living in Amsterdam	"There's nothing for me to do in this square really"	"It's too touristy, there's nothing for me to do there"
	Dam Square C 43: Male in his 30s from Amsterdam	"Probably it's more a tourist thing than it is for Dutch people I would say."	"Of all the spaces in Amsterdam I think it's not one of the nicest... [I prefer] smaller areas where they have some cafés and bars that are not focused too much mass public and tourists."
	Dam Square C 4: Female in her 30s living in Amsterdam	"Walking through"	"It's too crowdy, too touristic"
Preferences of other areas of the city:	Dam Square C 53: Female in her 40s from Amsterdam	"I pass here only when I have something to do [here]"	"I've got a beautiful home and a park just opposite, so if I want to sit in the sun I wouldn't come here."

	Dam Square C 57: Teenage girl living in Amsterdam	"I live in the Netherlands, so it's just walking by."	"I always go to the Kalverstraat. Because what are you going to do here? Most of the time tourists are taking pictures.
	Dam Square C 48: Male in his 20s from Amsterdam	"I'm just walking through. I came from *De Bijenkorf* [department store]"	"On Friday the 4th was remembrance day, so I was here. That's a special occasion. Otherwise I don't come. I don't stay on the square, it's really a tourist thing. So when I want to get a drink or, I go to the more local, more outside the tourist centre [areas]."
	Dam Square C 21: British female living in Amsterdam in her 50s	"Just walking across"	"I think it's awful... hate all those people there doing whatever they do ['Monuments']. I think it's a real... No, I don't like it at all..."

Dam Square: Tourist/Visitor: Sight Seeing

sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Surroundings: Aesthetic Judgement	Dam Square C 2: Female South African tourist in her 20s	"Just walking, just exploring. First time here"	"I like the monument and all the buildings, the extraordinary buildings"
	Dam Square C 8: Female Spanish tourist in her 30s		"It's beautiful because you can find a lot of buildings, big and beautiful buildings."
	Dam Square C 7: Two female American tourists in their late 20s and early 30s	"It's beautiful, very inviting"	"The openness, the open air cafés, the history, the monument."

	Dam Square C 44: Indian male in his 40s	"It's a good square. It's something like Notre dame in Paris where you start feeding the birds, it's good"	"[I'll] spend a few more minutes because I just want to see what's there to see. Otherwise I've taken a few pictures..."
	Dam Square C 33: French female in her 20s in Amsterdam for a few weeks	"Sometimes I come and I just stay here"	"I like the square. I like the view. Everything is nice and I like it because most of the time there are things here. For example, last week there was *Kermis*."
	Dam Square C 18: Male Kenyan student in his 20s studying in Amsterdam	"I'm walking around and seeing what Amsterdam has to offer." (Student in Amsterdam 4 weeks)	"I've been coming here every now and again, because they seem to have a lot of parties like queens day..."
Land-use expectations	Dam Square C 5: American male in his 30s	"It's not the grandest square I've seen"	"There's not a lot of outdoor cafés, which surprised me. I thought there'd be more outdoor cafés"
	Dam Square C9: Male and female British couple in their 60s	"We didn't spend any time. We walked through... to get the train."	"You can't sit down. Well there's a few café's, but usually if you're in Belgium or anything there's cafés all round [and] you sit down."
	Dam Square C 3: Male and female British couple in their 20s	"Just food really, just come here for food."	"Just wander through. It's not a place I'd deliberately go to be honest."
	Dam Square C 23: German male in his 20s	"I just walked through"	"I'm only in Amsterdam cos I'm attending a concert."
	Dam Square C 24: Turkish male in his 30s who visits Amsterdam on Business	"My hotel's here"	"I came here for business, so I don't have enough time. I have only one hour remaining so I am just making it through now to buy some gifts or something."

	Dam Square C 36: British female in her 30s visiting Amsterdam on Business	"I'm just walking around, I'm just killing time."	"I'm here on business, so I don't often get time to walk around. I just fly in and fly out again."
	Dam Square C 58: British females in their 20s	"Walking through, not to see it."	"It's only because it's on the guide map that we thought we'd see it."
	Dam Square C 68: Two American females in their 30s and 40s	"We've kind of used it as... We know that Dam Square will take us to this part of the town, so we know that."	"Other than that we probably wouldn't even come over here."

Appendix 13: Mercatorplein User Summary

Mercatorplein: Passive regular users: Passively use the space, yet displayed certain attachments to the square as a place			
sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
	Mercatorplein C 1: Female in her 20s living in de Baarsjes area	"It's not a place where I hang out. I use the square quite a lot, not for sitting."	"I think it's an important square. A lot of people use it. When it's nice weather you see a lot of people sitting around, so I think it's a good square."
	Mercatorplein C 17: Male in his 20s living in de Baarsjes	"I do all my groceries over there, get money out of the bank there."	"I sometimes go when there's a festival or something. Not all that often, but it's a nice clean space and that's something here." "It has a function but it's more for the not native Dutch people, this square, sot it's more like a multi-cultural kind of square."
	Mercatorplein C 19: Male in his 30s living in de Baarsjes	"Nice architecture and I like it."	"It's an important part of the place here but it's not really for young people I think. It may be more for the Turks and the Moroccans. It could change but happening slowly I guess."
	Mercatorplein C 36: Male in his 30s living in de Baarsjes	"If there was more terraces I would sit there if the weather's O.K."	"Very pretty. I like this 'Amsterdam School". I appreciate that, I live here..."

Mercatorplein: Active regular users

sub-grouping	*User Summary*	*Comment/general perspective*	*Qualifying comment*
	Mercatorplein C 5: American Female in her 20s living in de Baarsjes	"Sitting down. [I was] just at the market"	"I come here nearly every day. I enjoy seeing the children play. I enjoy that it's for the most part clean."
	Mercatorplein C 7: Male in his 60s living in de Baarsjes	"I'm always coming to the Mercatorplein because I do my shopping here and if I have time I'm sitting on the benches there and look at the people and wondering how many nations there are."	"They told me that there's 75 different nations in this area."
	Mercatorplein C 40: Female in her 30s living in de Baarsjes	"I like it because a few years ago it was really messy, but now it looks very clean and nice and all those trees and I think it's a nice square."	"I like it, because I like it also for the children, and also I see a lot of men sitting there and discussing things with each other, so it's nice."
	Mercatorplein C 8: Male in his 20s living in de Baarsjes	"They did a renovation a couple of years ago. That was good because before it wasn't a very nice neighbourhood."	"I think [the cannabis ban is] a very good idea because people with a lot of spare time they do weird things when they drink and they do drugs, so I think it's a good idea."
	Mercatorplein C 13: Female in her 30s with two young children	"Just to walk through and go to the shops."	"It's nice, it's O.K., it's better than before. And also the children can play a little bit and people are sitting here."
	"Mercatorplein C 26: Female teenager living in de Baarsjes	"I used to [sit] before the smoking sign, because I smoke."	"[I come here now] just to play with my little brother."
	"Mercatorplein C 35: Female in her 30s living in	"sort of every day."	"Only for the shops and the change of year ... not an [official] celebration, but everyone is going to the square and there's

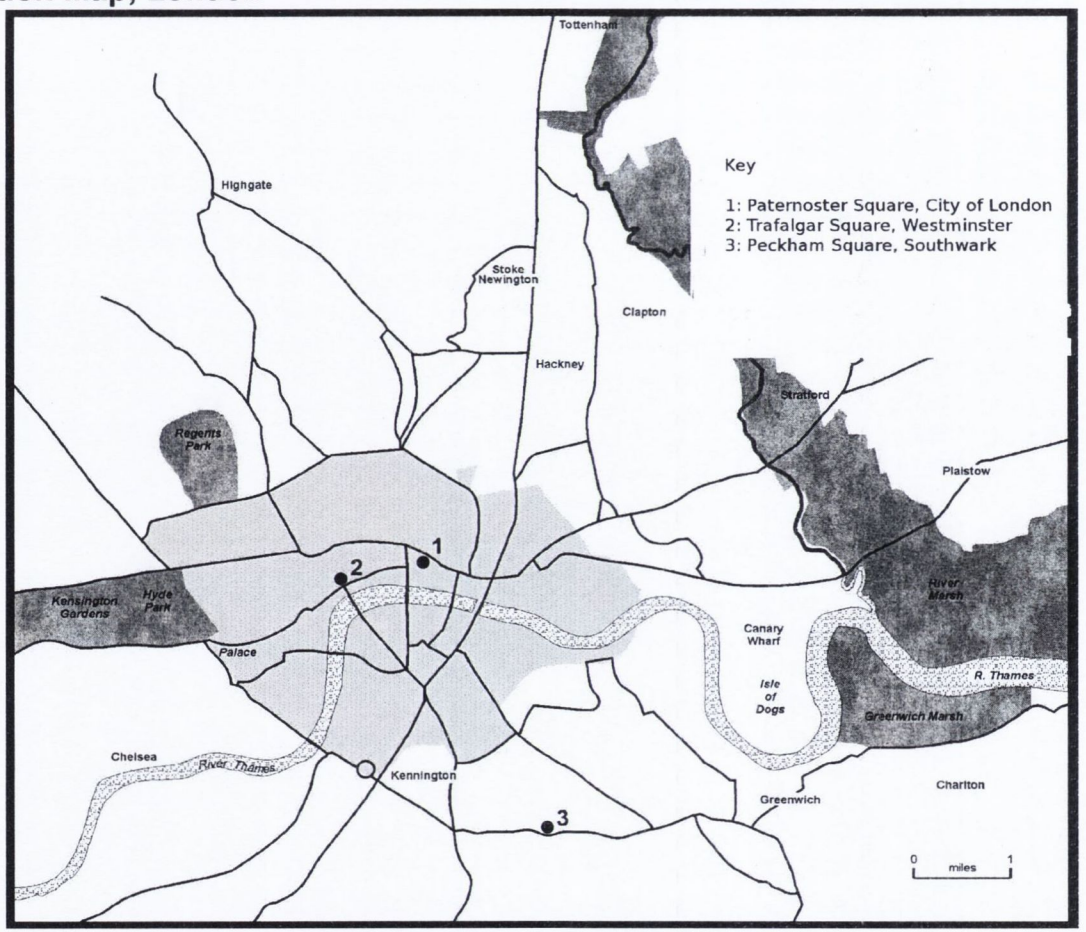
	de Baarsjes		fireworks and the feeling of a neighbourhood."

Mercatorplein: Active Avoidance: Users who use the space yet perceive it to be dominated by a particular social group or consider particular visual attributes to be symbolic of a particular type of social space in a manner that may lead to a certain amount of *distanciation* from that space

sub-grouping	***User Summary***	***Comment/general perspective***	***Qualifying comment***
Perception of domination by social group	Mercatorplein C 12: German female in their 60s living beside Mercatorplein	"I like it, but we cannot use it."	"To many foreigner; you see the projection for inter-cultural living is 50/50 but if the balance is that only 20% is Dutch then we have to talk 'Allah achbar', but it's nice to live in."
	Mercatorplein C 20: Two females aged in their 30s and 60s living on Mercatorplein	"We don't like it ... it's not how it was before. We live here now 32 years and we've seen the change. A lot of people don't like it, that square."	"I think, I'm an older generation. For the Dutch people there's nothing here. For the Turks and the Moroccans there are all kind of things here."
	Mercatorplein C 21: Male in his 80s living near Mercatorplein	"Very nice, yeah, yeah. In spring all the trees are with flowers, very nice."	"I am the only what man if I sit there, only Morocco. Nice people but [I] never [sit]"
	Mercatorplein C 30	"The square before was not good but then they make a better situation."	"The *plein* get really bad name before. People afraid to to sit. Now it's more beauty, more clean, but people are afraid ... Three years ago it had a bad name, but people are still afraid of it."
Preference for other places	Mercatorplein C 32: Female in her 20s living in de Baarsjes	"It's not cosy, I go to the Centrum."	"You don't have a lot of terrace and I think also the people ... it's mostly men who are sitting and younger boys, so it's not like I'm going to join them."
	Mercatorplein C 2: Male in his 30s living in de Baarsjes	"It's very nice, it's been well developed lately."	"Well I don't see the terraces as a very... [not] my kind of environment to sit. I live here in the area, so if I want to sit outside I'd go and sit on my balcony."

Mercatorplein C 3: Male in his 30s living near Mercatorplein	"Not to sit down, not to sit down. Only for the shops and to do the necessary things..."	"Too busy I think. My house is over there so why should I sit here."

Appendix 6: Indicative Location Map, London



Source: Courtesy of Stephen Hannon, GPEP, UCD

Appendix 7: Indicative Location Map, Dublin

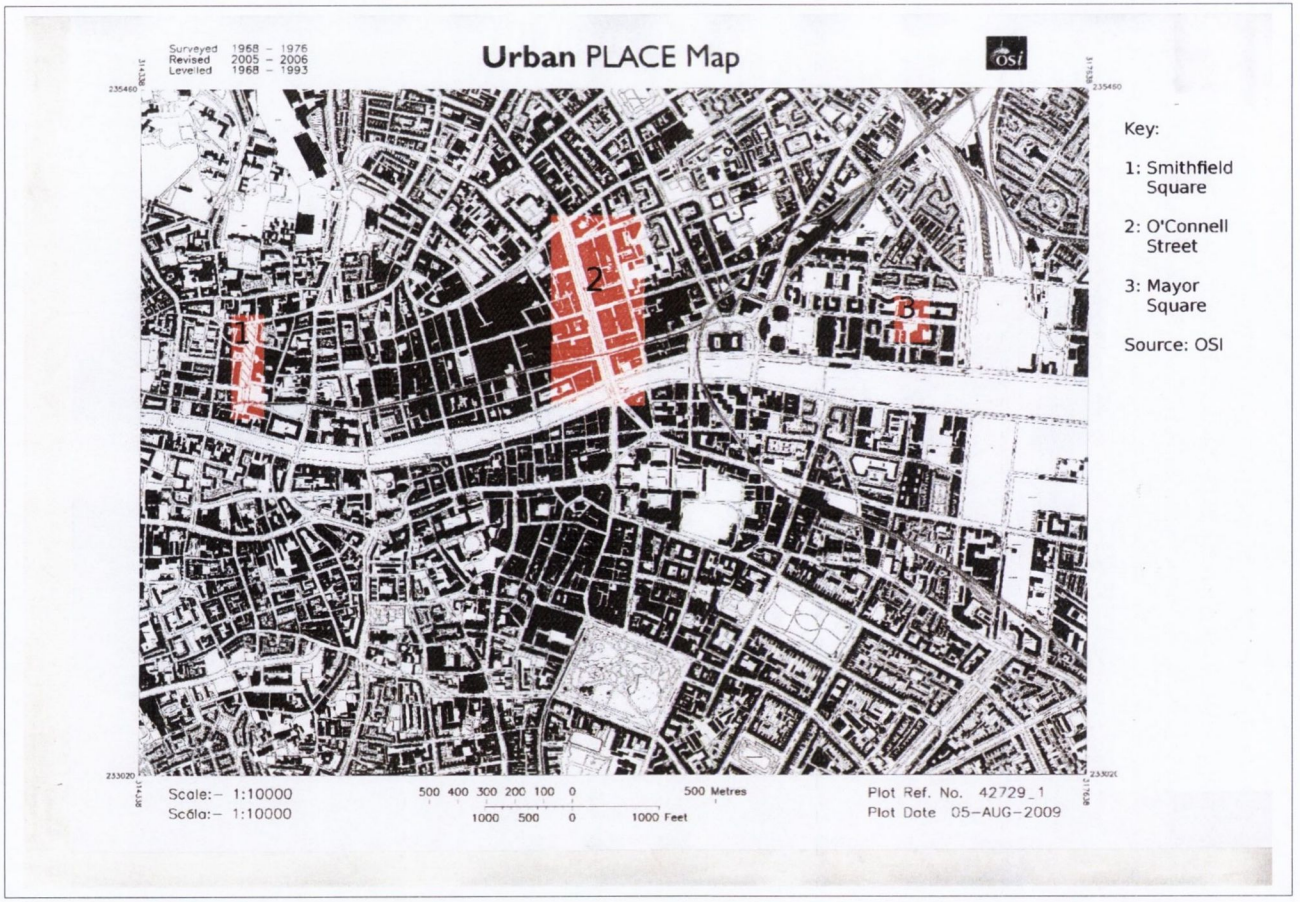
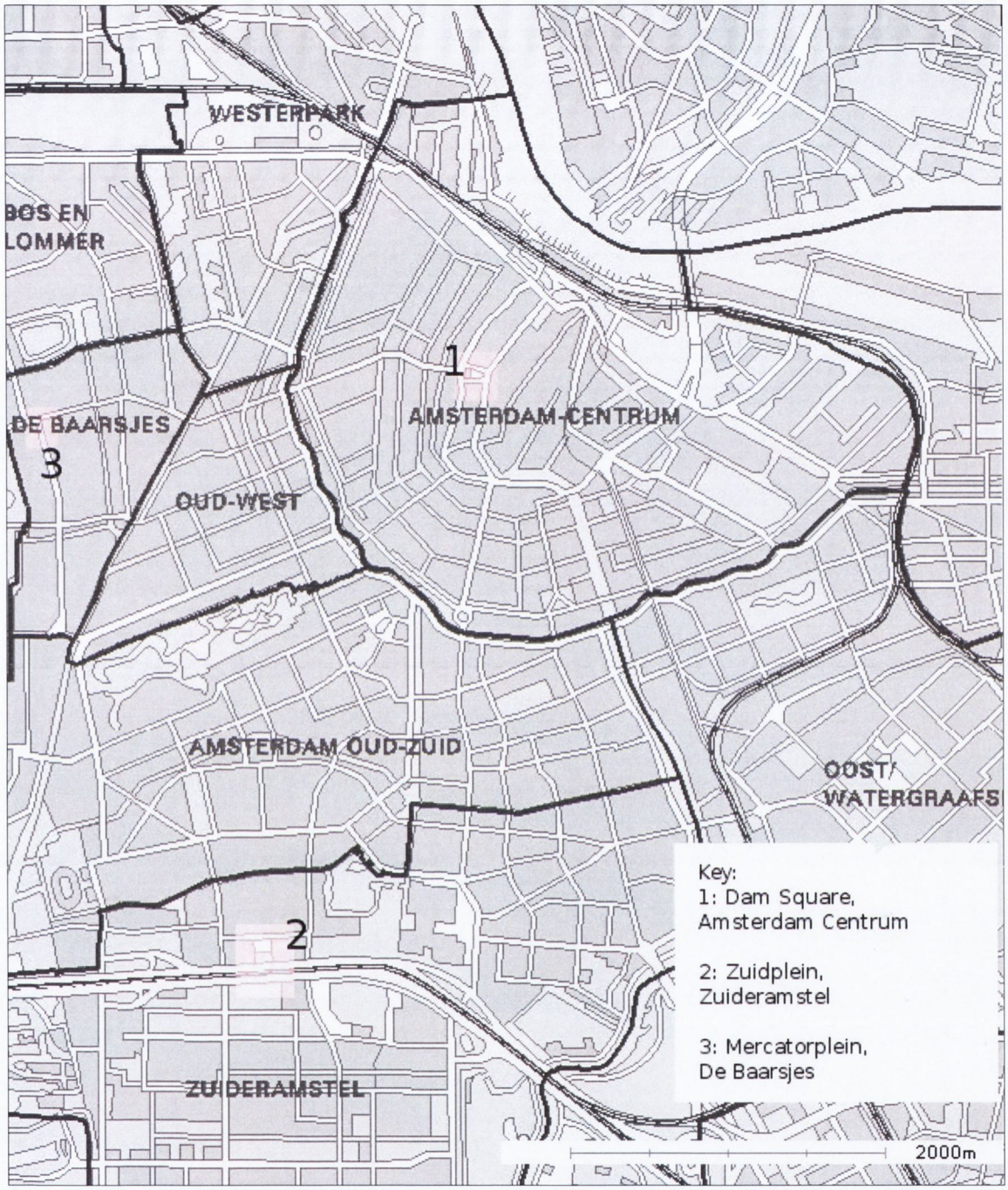


Figure 3.2: Indicative Location Map, Dublin, Source: OSI, Permit Number APL0001409

Appendix 8: Indicative Location Map, Amsterdam



Source, Geo en Vastgoedinformatie, Amsterdam: www.atlas.amsterdam.nl