

INTIMACY IN ARCHITECTURE

EXPLORING THE CONCEPT OF INTIMACY IN PUBLIC SPACES

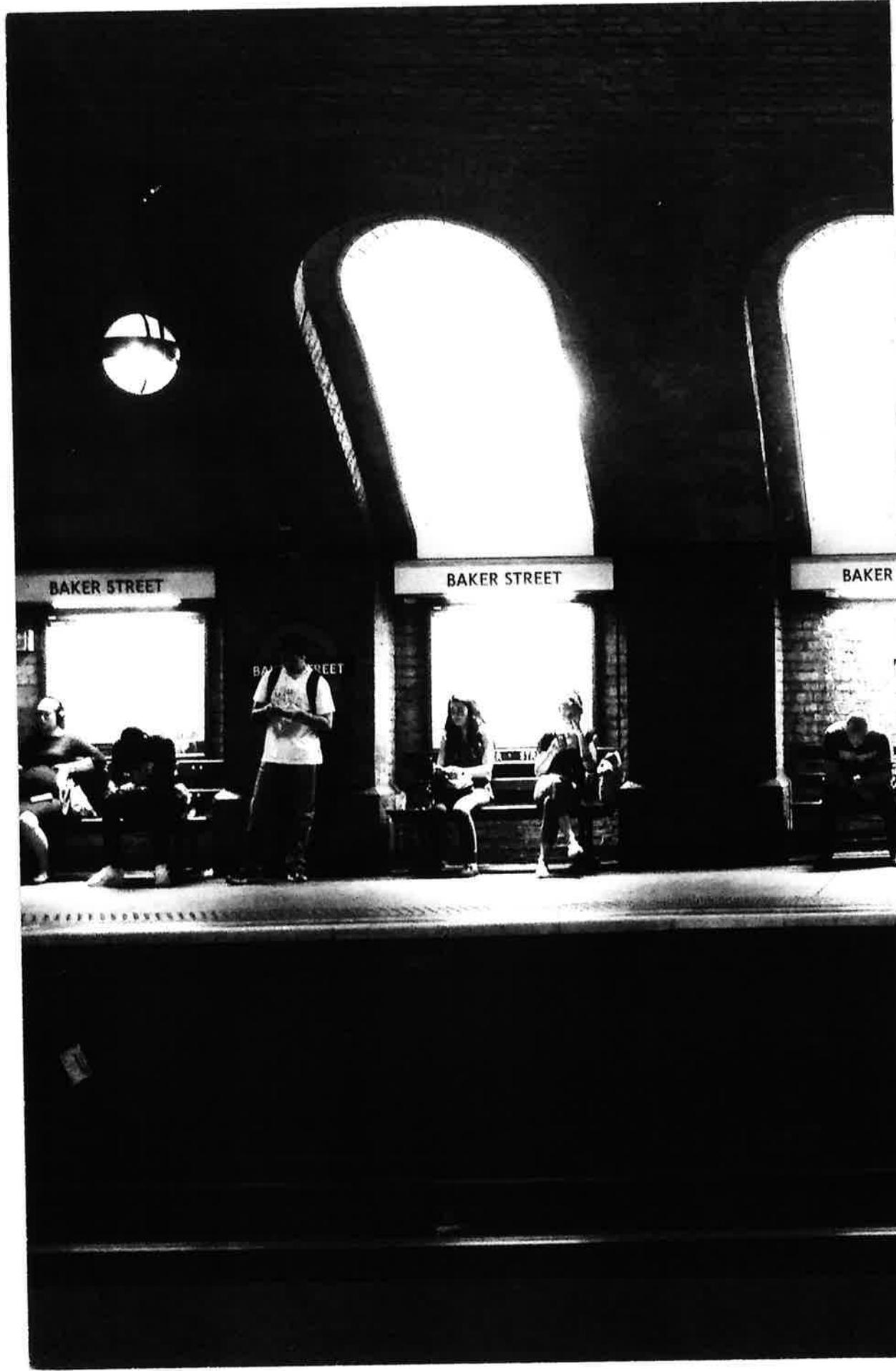
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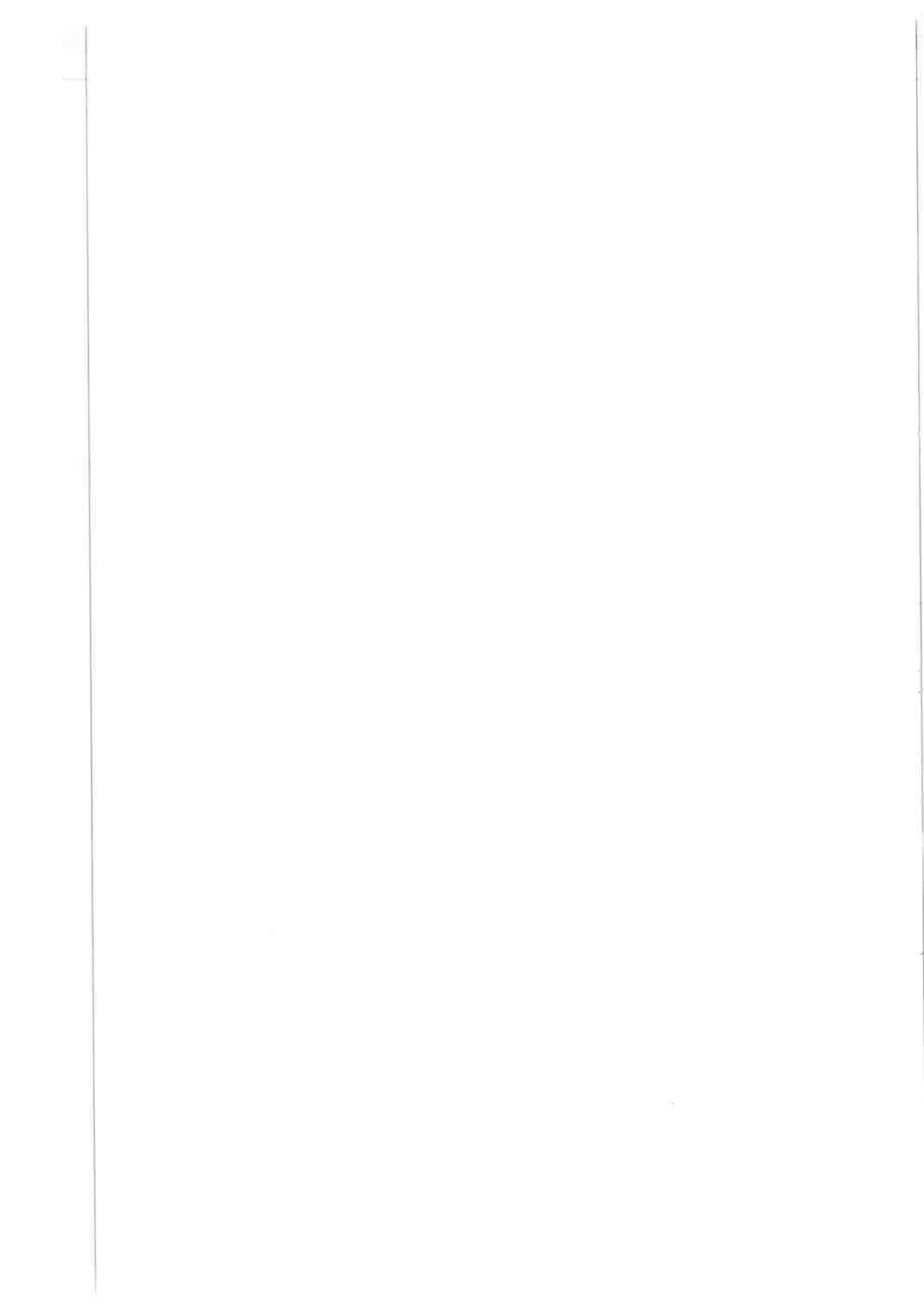


What is this intriguing concept of intimacy? What does it initiate? Who does it affect? Choosing the topic of this dissertation was difficult, I had a particular sense or feeling in which direction to go, but I could not identify or specifically term my feeling. It took me a long time to understand that intimacy was the concept I wanted to explore - it keeps surprising me.



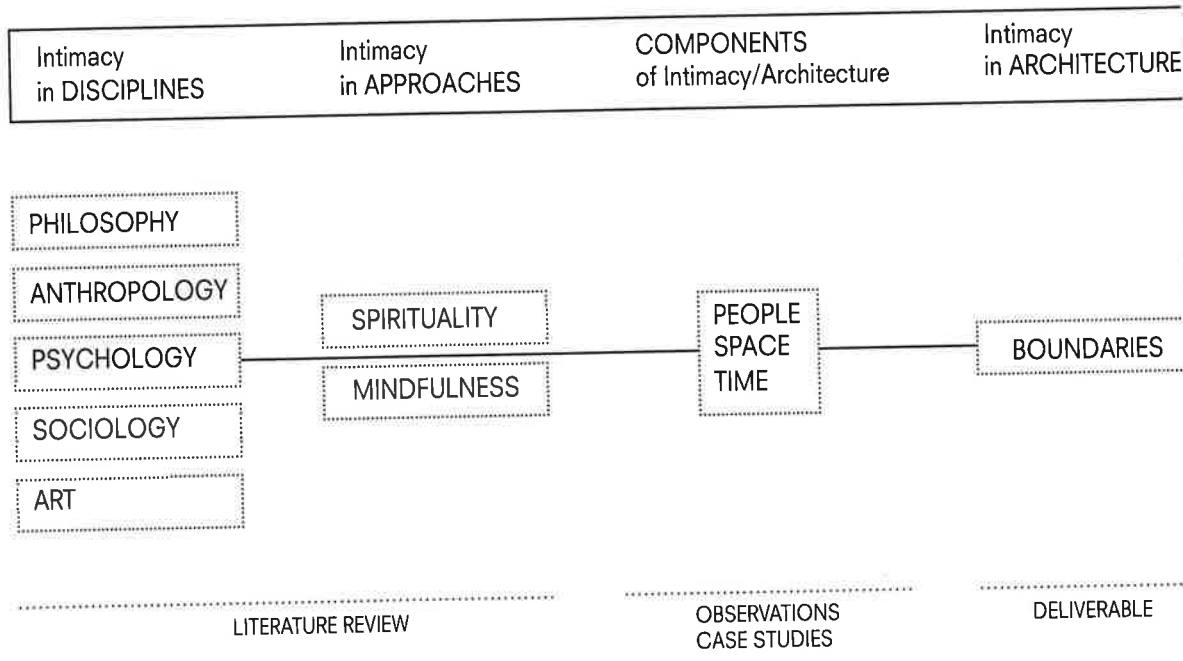


^ Fig. 1: Baker Street Station - London, UK



*"Cities are growing,
They are getting denser,
People live closer together,
Time to open up to others,
Time to invest in social architecture,
Time to invest in intimacy."*

Carmen Martens (2016)



^ Fig. 2: Overview conducted research

ABSTRACT

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This study is an initial attempt to investigate a possible influence of our built environment on people's feeling of intimacy. It includes two sections; the master thesis, which presents the initial research, and the master project, the architectural translation. In the first part, theoretical review supports a better understanding of the ambiguous concept of intimacy. It senses the importance of particular spatial and temporal characteristics; influential boundaries that may include or exclude people; and argues that intimacy is not relational, but rather situational. By implementing the concept into our society, the importance of this feature becomes clear. Intimate matters that make their way into the public sphere, reveal a need for understanding and acknowledging the diversity in contemporary society, and a first correlation with Inclusive Design is therefore suggested. Results of environmental behaviour observations in churches and underground stations, conducted within a two months stay in London, supports the initial conceptualization of intimacy and indicate an initial sense of the influence of visible and non-visible boundaries. Further literature review on boundaries, suggest a classification of both the boundary experience - physical, socio-cultural and psychological boundaries; and the boundary-perception - inhibiting and facilitating. In addition, three case studies exemplify these categorizations; a study on Japanese house organizations, and two examples within the centre of London, The Hole Trinity Church and Broadgate. Results of both literature review, observations and case studies suggest that our built environment, due to the effect of diverse boundaries, has an influence on people's feeling.

Keywords: Architecture · Intimacy · Public Spaces · Universal Design

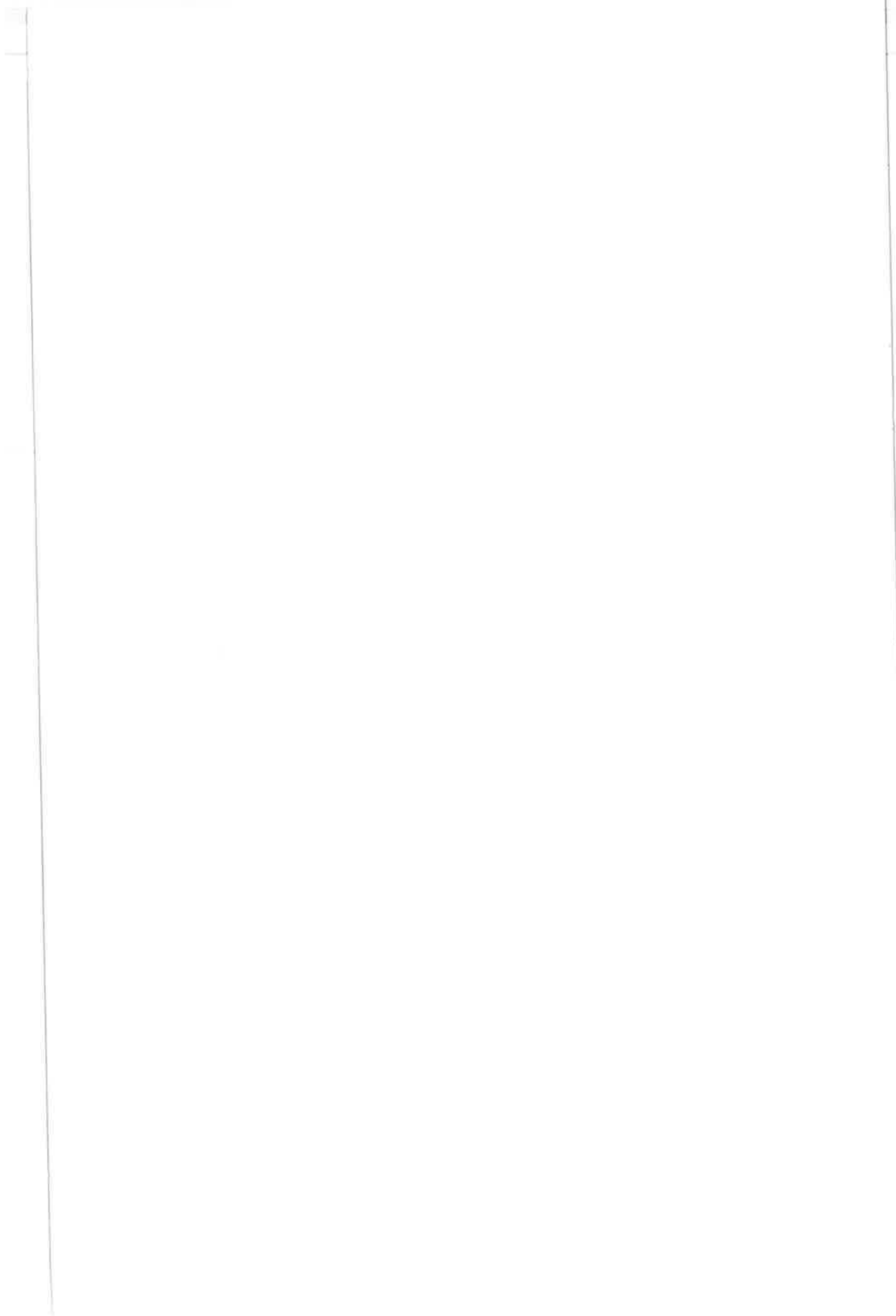


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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my supervisor dr. arch. Jasmien Herssens. The door to her office was always open whenever I ran into a trouble spot or had a question about my research or writing. She consistently allowed this paper to be my own work, but steered me in the right direction whenever she thought I needed it.

A very special gratitude goes out to my co-supervisor dr. Farnaz Nickpour for helping me with the initial research, conducted in London, UK. It was a great opportunity for me to work under her supervision for two months at the Brunel University in London.

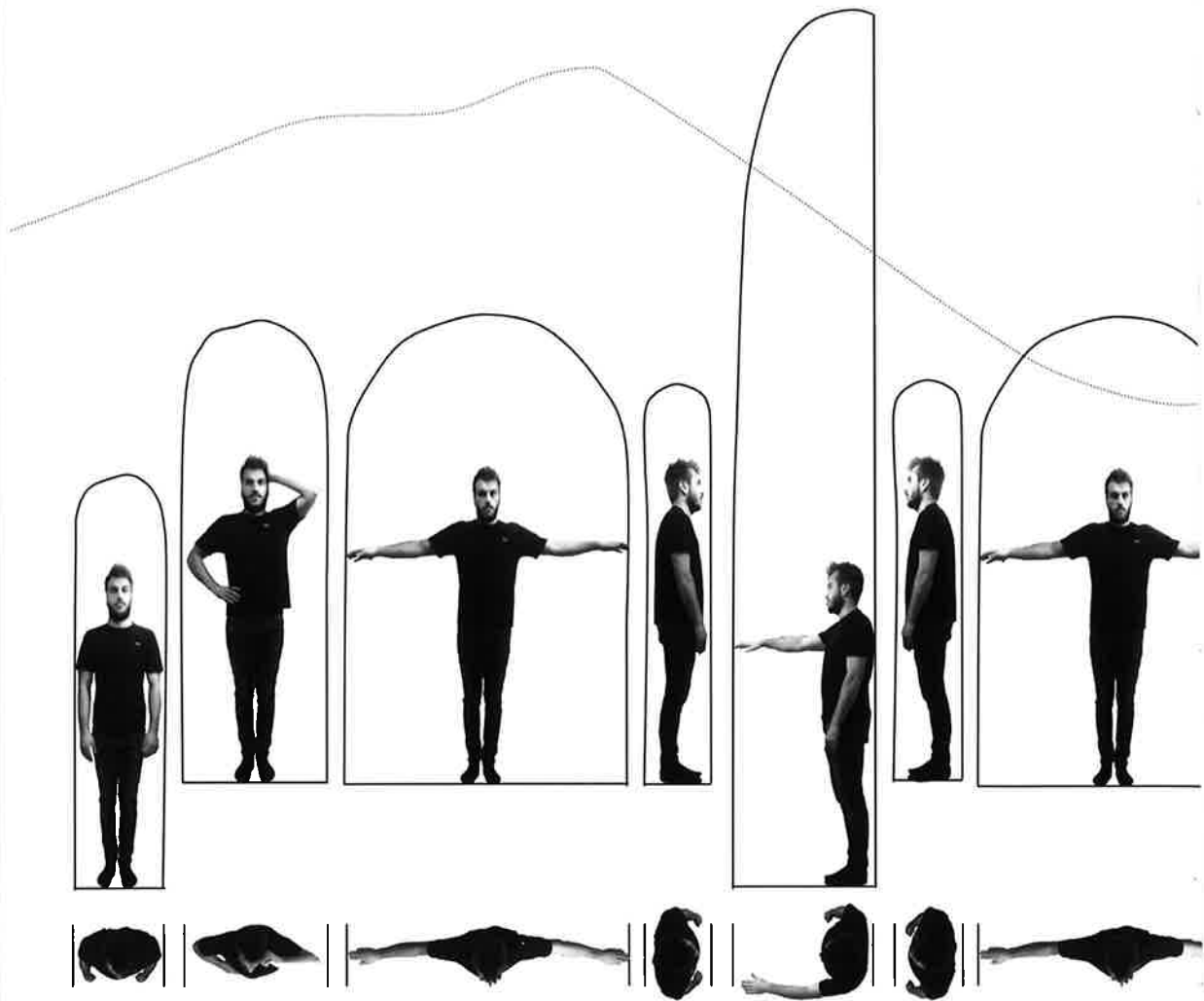
I would also like to thank my mother, father and brother, who have provided me through all support in my life and supported me along the way.

Finally, last but by no means least, to my life-coach and grandmother Maria Stulens, who was the person that never doubted me. I still miss you every day.

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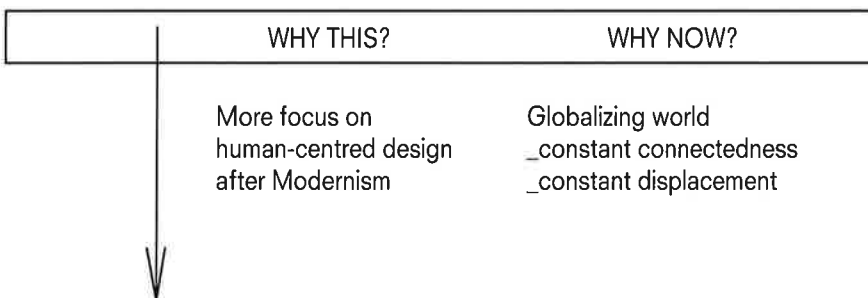
^ Fig. 3: Does architecture neglect the human mind and body?

INTRODUCTION

Why Intimacy?

“What is ‘good’ architecture? Let us be objective, and dare to say this without conservatism: modernity has never been modern. Did the Modern Movement, which promised a profound improvement of architecture, produce more happiness for mankind than vernacular architecture? The conclusion we can draw today, half a century after the imposed model of the tabula rasa, denying all historical continuity, is tragic. (...) To this day, architecture in its dominant form and mode of production never allows for appropriation by the people who inhabit it. Individual expression is stifled, and with it the possibility of the existence of each individual’s culture. (...) It seems to me that good architecture, whatever its function, is architecture that is close to its inhabitants. This requires calling into question several of the norms that stifle the act of building.” (Bouchain, 2013, p. 10)

The modern movement has been criticized by many. Critics argue that modern architects reduced buildings into cold machines, by eliminating the human body from design. Questions raise: Is this true? Is there a need for more human-centred design? Does architecture neglect the concept of intimacy?



^ Fig. 4: Why intimacy and why now?

Why Intimacy now?

"The increasing size of our metropolitan areas and the speed with which we traverse them raise many new problems for perception. The metropolitan region is now the functional unit of our environment, and it is desirable that this functional unit should be identified and structured by its inhabitants. The new means of communication which allow us to live and work in such a large interdependent region, could also allow us to make our images commensurate with our experiences. Such jumps to new levels of attention have occurred in the past, as jumps were made in the functional organization of life. (...) The principal quality would be sequential continuity in which each part flows from the next—a sense of interconnectedness at any level or in any direction. There would be particular zones that for any one individual might be more intensely felt or organized, but the region would be continuous, mentally traversable in any order" (Lynch, 1960, p. 113-115).

Do not pause, do not reflect. You win or you lose. You will fall behind and fail if you stop moving. This is success in our society. Progress equals fast, which equals success, a recipe for addiction. Technological advances were supposed to free up creative thinking, but the mass of incoming information has actually eroded our attention and our creativity. People have less time to reflect on anything as they become dominated by a need to act and a need to be online. This feeling of constant connectedness, enforced by a constant displacement, triggered by our globalizing world, does not allow us a pause, a moment of reflection, or a moment of intimacy.

These latter two questions represent an attempt to understand a certain issue; (some) people seem to lack something in life. Life is going so fast; we forget to enjoy. Life is demanding so much; or is it ourselves? Is architecture really neglecting us? Does society allow us a break? What is the significance of intimacy within our public space?



MASTER THESIS

1

A Theoretical Approach on Intimacy ²⁴

1.1 Introduction

The Oxford Dictionary defines intimacy as a 'close familiarity or friendship', giving four explanations – a cosy and private or relaxed atmosphere; sexual intercourse; an intimate remark; and closeness of observation or knowledge of a subject. (Oxford University Press, 2017)

This shared closeness and special atmosphere between people is explained by Monika Grochalska (2014) in her paper *Discursive shaping of intimate relationships as a research field*. She argues that it is very important to acknowledge that intimacy is a social construct, which is variable in time, and created by social actors in relation to their environment. Both 'atmosphere' and 'space and time', are two important parameters within the Oxford Dictionary and Grochalska's statement, which suggest that context, as part of architecture, can have an impact on intimate feelings of people.

Like many sociologists, her understanding of intimacy is generally related to the idea of the 'intimate relationship', assumed as the close, although institutionalised relationships, established within families, and between friends and lovers. Grochalska (2014) uses intimacy as a value-parameter for an interaction between two or more people, but seems to neglect a possible intimacy within the self, or between two or more strangers.

Jessica Mjöberg (2009) marks a trend in sociology, in which the concept of intimacy switches from indicating a particular societal field, like the private life and family, to discussing a certain kind of interaction, often but not always found within close relationships. This implies that intimacy can also exist outside family-boundaries, and can address phenomena in a broader context, like our public spaces.

This feature is not just a quality of interpersonal relationships, but can be found in a wider range of social relationships in our society. In order to use this quality in 'Inclusive Design' proposals, we should hence further explore this concept and understand its effect on the inclusion and exclusion of people.

1.2 Intimacy as a Social Concept

Although Mjöberg (2009) marks that the scientific curiosity in intimacy has expanded and converted it into a specific area of analysis, this does not signify that what is being researched is absolutely established. Now, this is not only the case for intimacy. 'Society' for instance, is also an ambiguous term. We all know what it means when referred to, but still, social researchers cannot acknowledge on what society precisely means.

Mjöberg (2009) claims that neither the differences between love, friendship and family, nor their mutual characteristics are intensely examined. The signification of intimacy is taken for granted as being familial or close, and has been shipped into the terminology of sociology.

1.3 The Development of a Scientific Field of Intimacy

Mjöberg (2009) explains how changing family models paved the way for intimacy to enter the research field. Followed by the modern era and the quest for clear classifications and institutionalized relationships in a time when diversity reigns (Mjöberg, 2009).

For a long time, 'family' was perceived as a main and unproblematic notion. From the 1960's on, Western societies have noticed a shift away from traditional ways of organizing a family. New forms of close relations like 'living apart together' (LAT) and 'unmarried cohabitation' raised. Research shifted from feminism and Marxism, to non-heterosexual relationships in the late 80's, and marks now a shift away from the family unit in general. Divorce has been accepted and people more easily stay or return single (Grochalska, 2014).

The family no longer represents the basis for close relationships, but shares its duty with friends and lovers. The domain of close relationships so evolved into being the domain of intimacy. Lynn Jamieson (1988) argues however, that in this way intimacy is to be perceived as equal to intimate relationships, which guides the concept of intimacy into the private sphere.

In the 90's the concept of 'intimacy to be negotiated' arose, and people started perceiving intimacy as a political feature. While many sociologists have hypothesized, and examined intimacy for a long time, Anthony Giddens (1992) was one of the pioneers who challenged the concept in a context of 'late modern societies'.

Giddens (1992) claimed that intimacy is experienced as a shared moment that is undisturbed by any external factors. In this way, it takes a sort of symbolic position in relationships as the most immediate experience of the other. Associated with someone's personal experience of closeness, intimacy forgoes traditional collective rules. Intimacy for example, suggests that we have no authority or tradition to rely on if our partners prefer to break up.

If intimacy really surpasses particular kinds of relationships or rules and institutions, its relevance as a particular quality in public spaces increases enormously. We can use this concept of intimacy for example, to explore open-ended interactions between people in public spaces. Open-endedness in this context signifies that people are unsure about the kind of relationship this interaction supports, or whether they support any at all. However, the experience of an encounter itself is in general considered as very important (Giddens, 1992; Mjöberg, 2011) and makes it worth examining how and where the built environment can contribute or intervene.

1.4 A Socio-Psychological Perspective on Intimacy

To achieve intimacy, it is important to frame this and to look at it from a socio-psychological perspective as well. People's lives are defined by sociality – we have the impulse or habit to connect with other people. Every particular subject that a human being forms is always in real or imaginary connection with other particular subjects (Mjöberg, 2009). From the perspective of social psychology, the subject becomes aware of itself only by perceiving itself as an object to other subjects. Mjöberg (2009) argues that intimacy is intersubjective - it extends from the subject to something or someone else, and back to the subject again.

"We cannot be ourselves unless we are also members in whom there is a community of attitudes (...) That which we have acquired as self-conscious persons make us such members of society and gives us selves. Selves can only exist in definite relationships to other selves. No hard-and-fast line can be drawn between our own selves and the selves of others, since our own selves exist and enter as such into our experience only in so far as the selves of others exist and enter as such into our experience also."

The individual possesses a self only in relation to the selves of the other members of his social group; and the structure of his self, expresses or reflects the general behaviour pattern of this social group to which he belongs, just as does the structure of the self of every other individual belonging to this social group.” (Mead, 1974, p.164)

Both Mjöberg’s (2009) and Mead’s (1974) statement, suggest that people need other objects or persons, in order to become aware of themselves, and public spaces offers both of them. Artist Antony Gormley (2000; 2002) explores this idea through his art works. He sees sculptures as an honest technique of allowing mind to dwell in matter. *“It is a means of becoming aware of the connections between matter, space and time”* (Gormley, 2000; 2002). Using his sculptures, he wants to convert the old way of the subject who looks at an object, which is looked at; into, us looking at ourselves (Salecl, 2011).

Fig. 6 shows Gormley’s entire series of MEMES. He presents a group of miniature iron sculptures, that allows the completeness of the body to be perceived altogether. The pieces were positioned on the ground, widely divided in the Anna Schwartz Gallery in Melbourne. It triggered an active interplay between the bodies and the exhibition space, reminding people of their inequality of scale as they move amid the small sculptures.



^ Fig. 6: Antony Gormley - MEMES

If Gormley's art can make people reflect on particular feelings, or provoke certain emotions, it might be interesting to question whether architecture can do the same.

In further developing the concept of intimacy, Henriksson (2014) and Mjöberg (2009) argue that we should use phenomenology. This school of thought has come up with fundamental characterisations of the immediacy of intimacy and its relational ambiguity.

1.5 Schutz on Imagining Intimate Relationships

Alfred Schutz (1964) is one of the most influential phenomenological sociologists, and like various other early thinkers of the discipline, he examined the significance of intimacy. According to him, intimacy is perceived in proximity to another person, while occupying the same space and time, and the same intentional focus.

Similar to Grochalska (2014), Schutz (1964) also highlights space and time in his argument, which indicates again the importance of a particular context, as part of architecture. Experiencing a situation together and, at the same time, focus on something similar, allows people a better understanding of each other.

In analogy with Gormley (2000; 2002), who wants to explore the internal space of one's body, Schutz (1964) wants to gain access to people's mind. To do so, both need to break through different kind of personal boundaries.

We generally believe that our relationships are continuous, that they maintain their intimate role, even if we are not in each other's presence. Schutz (1964) claims though that relations are never anything more than a sequence of situations:

"Closer scrutiny resolves the pretended unity of a marriage or a friendship into a manifold sequence of situations. In some of these situations, "marriage" or "friendship" was a face-to-face social relation, in others it was a social relation among mere contemporaries [Schutz' word for actors when we relate to them without interacting with them face-to-face]. Taking the terms in their precise sense, these social relations are indeed not continuous – but they are recurrent." (Schutz, 1976, p. 39)

This statement implies that intimacy is situational. Intimate occupancy can of course not last for ever, and relationships may therefore be understood as a series of situations, of which only some of them may involve intimacy (Henriksson, 2014).

"[The other] was present in person, with a maximum of symptoms by which I could apprehend his conscious life. In the community of space and time we were attuned to one another; his self-reflected mine; his experiences and my experiences formed a common stream, our experience; we grew old together. As soon as my fellow man leaves, however, my experience of him undergoes a transformation. I know that he is in some Here and Now of his own." (Schutz, 1964)

Mjöberg's (2009) amplifies the importance of the temporal facet of intimacy, found in both Schutz (1964) and Grochalska (2014) argumentation, by underlining the correlation between intimacy and the 'Continuous Present'.

She argues that as long as we are totally directed towards each other, we are in a continuous present. To be in the present means not to be considering the past or the future. From the moment we start thinking about something else, we lose our focus on the present, and on the intimate aspect of that moment.

This raises the question: How long can people actually be oriented towards each other? If intimacy is really that difficult to uphold for a long time, it makes it complicated to understand institutionalised relationships in our societies, as always being intimate. It rather exposes intimacy as a quality that can happen in moments of total direction towards each other (Mjöberg, 2009).

This means that intimacy is not relational, but situational (Schutz, 1964). An intimate feeling can be involved in a series of situations that collectively are named a relationship. But no relation is ever only intimate, and no intimate situation is on its own a relationship.

Schutz (1964), in addition, argues that human beings generally believe their relationship to be more intimate, than they actually are. He comes here to a similar conclusion as Carol Smart (2007), who claims that relationships often have an imaginary factor. As long as people think that their relationship is maintained and defined by something, that can in fact only be situational, they must forget Schutz' (1964)

sequence of situations and characterize the relation as more cohesive than it truly is. This means that when intimacy occurs as an experience through which someone evaluates a relationship, actually this person makes use of a norm for relationships that is not relational.

Schutz' (1964) understanding of intimacy, can be seen as a more refined interpretation of the concept, than Giddens' (1992) one. According to Giddens (1992), intimacy means getting access to something hidden in the other, by talking and exchanging information about oneself (Jamieson, 1988). Schutz (1964) on the other hand, understands intimacy as gaining access to the other's mind, by using the shared experience and not the shared information, as its most fundamental structure.

Intimacy has long been understood as a particular quality, only to be found in institutionalised relationships. However, more and more writers recognize Schutz's (1964) notion of intimacy, as something situational (Henriksson, 2014). If intimacy is indeed, rather situational than relational, architects and urban planners may need to become screen-writer, providing an array of possible situations, different in space and time, and suitable for a diversity of users and functions.

1.6 Intimate Experiences

The other person, is in fact only a conglomerate of our impressions, as an outcome of shared situations. They appear to us only through our shared experiences (Goffman, 1990; Schutz, 1964). This raises questions about a possible categorisation between intimate moments in institutionalised relationships and accidental encounters between strangers in a public place. If intimacy is experience, in what capacity does it allow the other to appear (Henriksson, 2014)? Henriksson (2014) assumes that the situation in which we find the other, and not the other's mind (Schutz, 1964), is also what determines how he or she appears to us.

Erving Goffman (1990) argues that we continuously try to impact what impression we give to others, not least through the kind of situation we allow ourselves to be encountered in. This again indicates the importance towards a particular context, depending on a certain situation. We need to further examine how experiences are induced in people and how a particular context, as part of architecture, can influence or intervene.

To explore the core features of the concept intimacy, Mjöberg (2009) examines the relationship between a new-born child and its mother, which is in general described as the most intimate one.

The baby, in the first stadium of its life, has not yet recognized itself as a singular subject, and is not aware of any boundary between itself and its mother or the world. Mjöberg (2009) refers to this state as experiencing an 'oceanic feeling' as Freud (1983) described it as "*It is a feeling which he would call a sensation of eternity, a feeling of something limitless, unbounded, something oceanic.*"

What establishes intimacy as an oceanic feeling, is the fact that the child cannot see itself as 'I', but only as 'we'. It recognizes intimacy as an organic relation, which Cooley (1902) describes as being part of a greater entity, where both components and the totality are characterized by their relation. A feeling of unison and harmony stretches the boundary between the subject and the world further than the subject's own body (Mjöberg, 2009). Intimacy is understood as a 'we-ness', but from the moment the child becomes conscious of itself, that oceanic feeling will end. In trying to maintain that intimate relationship, children then use transitional objects, which will make them feel intimate, even at a distance from their parents (Mjöberg, 2009).

This implies, that intimacy is indeed a contemporary state, which underlines Mjöberg's (2009) correlation between intimacy and the 'Continuous Present' again. Once we lose the totally directedness towards each other, intimacy can be destroyed and will be turned into singularity and individuality (Mjöberg, 2009).

This feeling of 'we-ness' is a quality needed in all societies, where differentiations challenge everyday practices. We need to explore whether this concept of intimacy can support a better implication of, or commitment towards more inclusive environments.

We can notice a contrast here, between Mjöberg's (2011) analysis and Schutz' (1964) view on intimacy. Mjöberg's (2011) does not only rely on a cognitive model of intimacy. She believes an intimate experience is not inevitably about gaining access to the other's mind, but more about sharing a specific experience.

Mjöberg (2011) characterizes intimacy as an unrehearsed interaction between human beings, that allows them to feel joined and thus extended beyond their own boundaries. One's action results in a direct, spontaneous reaction by the other, and this is the reason why we must have each other in constant focus. It is not about being in control of the other, but more about performing in harmony.

Mjöberg (2011) underlines the relevance of the present, the importance of being undisturbed, and accentuates spontaneity. She argues that to share an intimate moment, people need to bracket any role or imago they have outside that particular situation, in order to instead respond unconditionally to the other. Intimacy happens outside the rehearsed social positions of our societies (Henriksson, 2014; Mjöberg, 2011).

1.7 Uniqueness as Intimacy

Intimacy does not necessarily represent positive feelings. Staci Newmahr (2011) suggests in her book *Playing on the Edge*, that violence can also generate an intimate feeling. Intimacy to her, is about sharing an experience with another person, that feels unique to a particular situation. During this intimate moment, some actual, imaginary, or symbolic boundaries are broken down, which gives us the feeling that we have gained access to something not experienced by others (Henriksson, 2014).

Similar to Schutz (1964) and Mjöberg (2009;2011), Newmahr's (2011) understanding of intimacy is rather focused on the situational. She argues that intimacy *"lies not necessarily in marriage, disclosure, or sex, but anywhere that people experience each other differently enough than other people experience them."*

When we experience such a moment together, the uniqueness lies in the fact that boundaries prevent others from joining. Intimacy implies that we receive a perception of the other that one does not share with others. It is a moment that does not belong (yet) to our personal lives, something that only we share, like a sort of secret.

Mjöberg (2009;2011) and Newmahr's (2011) here both argue that an intimate moment is simultaneously including, exclusive and excluding. In one hand inclusion suggests exclusiveness and, in the other hand, exclusion.

Sharing a smile, for instance, with a waiter at a bar, over another customer who is acting strange, can be experienced as an intimate moment. It feels like we have broken through the waiter's formal role, and reached something that other customers do not see, in this case, a similar impression of another. This moment exclusive to us - or so we hope - is excluding other customers. Intimacy in society may even become a question of power (Henriksson, 2014), where close relationships are expected to happen between individuals, rather than between social roles.

We may question the imaginary part of intimacy in Newmahr's (2011) statement, by using Eva Illouz' (1997) study on the link between images and intimate experience.

A situation that corresponds to the idea of intimate imagery may be more likely to tempt intimate experiences in people (Henriksson, 2014). Illouz (1997) uses the example of a couple, travelling to Paris and having a romantic kiss under the Eiffel Tower. Although many people believe this is a momentum of intimacy, copying imagery does not always support feelings of uniqueness, as imagery is by definition not unique.

So describing intimacy as a unique notion of the other, involves intriguing tensions that can occur between imagery, our imagination, and real experiences. These tensions underline that uniqueness is necessarily situationally determined and depends on differences between situations and persons (Henriksson, 2014).

1.8 Discussion

We have explored definitions proposed by Monika Grochalska (2014) Anthony Giddens (1992), Alfred Schutz (1964), Jessica Mjöberg (2009;2011), and Staci Newmahr (2011).

The first important point is that intimacy is not relational, but rather situational (Schutz, 1964). Relationships can therefore be understood as a series of situations of which some of them may be intimate. This implies that intimacy can exist beyond the institutionalized roles within our private lives, and opens a discussion about its importance within the public sphere. Architects and urban planners may need to become screenwriter, providing an array of possible situations, different in space and time, and suitable for a diversity of users and functions.

Intimate situations occur when someone has a unique experience of another, which that other does not share widely (Newmahr, 2011). Some boundaries may therefore shift in order to include the unique ones, and exclude the others.

Intimate situations may have particular spatial and temporal characteristics, and these can be organized. Henriksson (2014) believes both temporal and spatial isolation, may work to make people less likely to draw on official roles and rehearsed reactions, and instead focus exclusively on the other and the specifics of the situation.

This theoretic overview of intimacy allows us to transfer the concept beyond the boundaries of our households, into the public sphere. It challenges new situations, explores to what extend boundaries can be shifted – who is in and who is out, and notices a sensibility towards spatial and temporal characteristics, as part of a context. In order to understand intimate problems within contemporary society, it would be helpful to look at the diversity of public users, with their own tensions and concerns.



^ Fig. 7: Mercado Central - Valencia, Spain

2

Intimacy into the Public Sphere ³⁵

2.1 Introduction

In his book *Intimate Citizenship: Private Decisions and Public Dialogues*, Ken Plummer (2003) raises an array of relevant questions about intimacies, politics and changes occurring in our society. A lot of the discussed subjects have been examined quite widely, but what is interesting in Plummer's (2001; 2003) work, is the fact that he relates the 'private' world of intimacies and the 'public' world of politics.

2.2 Intimate Citizenship

In the late twentieth century, Giddens (1991;1992) and Simon (1996) already discussed the "post-modernization of intimacies", which looked at changes in different research fields. By referring to millennium affairs like solo parenting, in-vitro fertilization, surrogate mothers, gay and lesbian families, online dating services, and virtual sex, Plummer (2001) continues the debate around the most intimate spheres of life, and claims that these shifts in our intimate lives have gradually linked private choices to public dialogues.

Plummer (2001), recognizes an array of new moral and political dilemmas that people have to deal with in our times. He coins the term 'Intimate Citizenship', which suggests looking at the recognition of emerging 'intimacy groups'—and their rights and responsibilities—in emerging zones of conflict. Many new kinds of 'citizens' may be in the making. Amongst these may be the 'cybercitizen', the 'new reproductive citizens', 'new family citizens', as well as the 'transgendered citizen', etc. (Plummer, 2001). This ongoing list, senses already the problematic of a wide diversity, causing inclusion and exclusion of particular people.

Inclusive Design, meaning design that considers this full range of human diversity with respect to ability, language, culture, gender, age and other forms of human difference (IDRC, 2017), may therefore be the first step in looking for solutions. Every design decision has the

potential to include or exclude particular citizens. Inclusive Design emphasizes the contribution of understanding 'user diversity', in order to include as many people as possible. It goes beyond older and disabled people and focusses also on other excluded groups, in order to deliver mainstream solutions.

Plummer (2001) does not give us clear answers, but raises a series of relevant problematics in our public spheres, which gives us a notion of how important an ambiguous concept like intimacy can be.

2.2.1 *Intimate Debates in Public Spheres*

Citizenship debates are immersed within the public sphere. This sphere and its constant metamorphosis have been examined by various critics but it was the documentation of Jurgen Habermas's (1962) *The Transformation of the Public Sphere*, that has been most discussed. Habermas (1962) sees the modern public sphere as arising out of a feudal era which ignored public, open discussions on dilemmas of universal importance. A crucial public space emerges in the coffee houses and salons in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where private citizens came together and engaged in political conversations, outside government control.

However, according to feminist academics, Habermas's (1962) idea of the public - 'bourgeois, masculinist, and white supremacist' - was deficient from the beginning. Nancy Fraser (1997) argued that together with Habermas's bourgeois public, a lot of other competing counter-publics also arose. Examples are, "the black public sphere" (Black Public Sphere Collective, 1995), the "gay public sphere" (Clarke, 2000), the "sex worker's public sphere" (Kempadoo & Doeze-ma, 1998), an "Evangelical Christian public sphere", etc.

Similar to the approach of Inclusive Design, Plummer (2001) recognizes the diversity and uniqueness of each individual or group. Different from previous interpretations of citizenship, which often stranded by excluding particular groups, intimate citizenship does not only involve one model or one voice. The term labels a collection of perspectives and a variety of voices in which new politics, new societies and new lives exist.



^ Fig. 8: Felix and his Friend - Valencia, Spain

2.2.2 *The Need for Dialogue*

As individuals spread out from the hypothetical average, the needs of individuals that are outliers, become ever more diverse. Most individuals stray from the average in some facet of their needs or goals, which indicates that a mass solution does not work well.

We must therefore understand and acknowledge the divisions in our society, instead of giving priority to a comforting but fictional confidence in the elementary 'sameness' of human beings (Hunter, 1994).

In his book *The Difference*, Scott Page (2007) has empirically shown, that a group which includes these diverse perspectives, especially perspectives from the margins, defeats the "best and brightest," in decision-making, accurate prediction and innovation.

Hunter raises the main political question of our time: how might we find a working agreement on the common good in a culture as fractured and contentious as ours? He explains that the only manner beyond the contemporary culture war, is by way of the hard, usually annoying task of discussing substantively our profounded dissimilarities (Hunter, 1994).

The function of the public philosopher and academic needs therefor to be revised (Plummer, 2001). It may be time to bring different disciplines together and start the debate about these issues in our societies. Inclusive design teams should be as diverse as possible, and include individuals who have a lived experience as 'extreme users'.

Ruth Lister's (1997) book *Citizenship - Feminist Perspectives* coins the term 'Differentiated Universalism'. She points out how women's exclusion from citizenship is influenced by other social cleavages as well, such as class, race, disability, sexuality and age. She understands, just like Plummer's (2001; 2003) 'Intimate Citizenship' the necessity for a conception of citizenship which contains all social divisions at the same time, and claims that this is the direction citizenship theory has to take. Inclusive Design approaches take on the same direction and support this perspective. This is where architecture and society come together and where the right decisions need to be made.

2.2.3 *Grounded Moralities of Everyday Life*

In all corners of society, from bars, schools, press, television, underground stations, churches, etc., there is a clear presence of human debate around ethics and values.

"Virtue is much more complex than even moral philosophy has imagined ... it is not so much a product of reason and rational thought as it is a construction in everyday life. Morality may be a subject for moral philosophy, but moral philosophers are not needed for people to be moral..."
(Noblitt & Dempsey, 1996, p. 185)

According to Plummer (2001), philosophers' narratives are often lacking human experience. Therefore, we need to revise the everyday anecdotes, in order to understand how people really challenge ethical issues (Plummer, 2001).

A 'grounded everyday moralities'-approach can look at the grounded processes happening in people's everyday life – this can show us to what extent people really need to deal with the concept of intimacy; it can look at the situational aspect of intimacy – this may indicate a certain relevance toward the earlier revised parameters of time and space, and gives us information about a particular context; it can revise the awareness of 'the others' – which helps us understand people's eager towards solidarity or 'we-ness'; and it can explore embodied emotions – which shows us how feelings and emotions may manifest in public spheres.

Moral discussions are too valuable to be left to the philosophers (Plummer, 2001), the media, and to an even greater extend the internet and the virtual world. An intensive and 'real' revise of people's everyday life is needed in order to understand how a correct approach of intimacy can contribute to everyday moralities.

2.2.4 *The Globalisation of Intimacies*

We can mark a great deal of transformations that have been occurring in our comprehension of intimacy, influenced by social and cultural tendencies of globalisation. Examples include changes in the sphere of 'sexualities'- through sex tourism, global sex media and consumption, etc.; in our bodies - through the international traffic in body organs, the transgender movement, the new reproductive technologies, etc.; in our 'identities' – through for example gendered identities like the 'new man' and the 'radical woman'; and in our families; - through global care chains, migration patterns and global intimate friendships (Altman, 1997; Eisenstein, 1998; Hochschild, 2000;

Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998; Plummer, 2001).

Plummer (2003) speaks of a 'globalisation and glocalisation of intimacies', which indicates the tendency of local cultures to take over particular characteristics that circulate around the globe, and simultaneously adapt them to their own needs.

These big transformations obviously have their impact upon the personal life lived across the globe. The globalisation and glocalisation of intimacies is again a reason, why we need to acknowledge the diversity in our societies. It highlights the importance of concepts like 'Intimate Citizenship' and 'Differentiated Universalism', and demands an Inclusive Design approach.

2.3 Discussion

Plummer (2001; 2003) has sensed an emerging world of public debate, around our most intimate and personal lives. It challenges, many of our wide accepted and traditional notions about our bodies, our families, our genders, etc. Therefore, he coins the term 'Intimate Citizenship', which suggest a language of recognition, rights, responsibilities and care, for these diverse groups.

Plummer's (2001;2003) 'Intimate Citizenship' will not be similar to the former understandings of citizenship. It dares to acknowledge the issues of inclusion and exclusion, the multicultural diversities, the need for dialogues, and the necessity to establish an awareness of a 'Differentiated Universalism', because life in the future worlds of intimacy will not get any easier (Plummer, 2001).

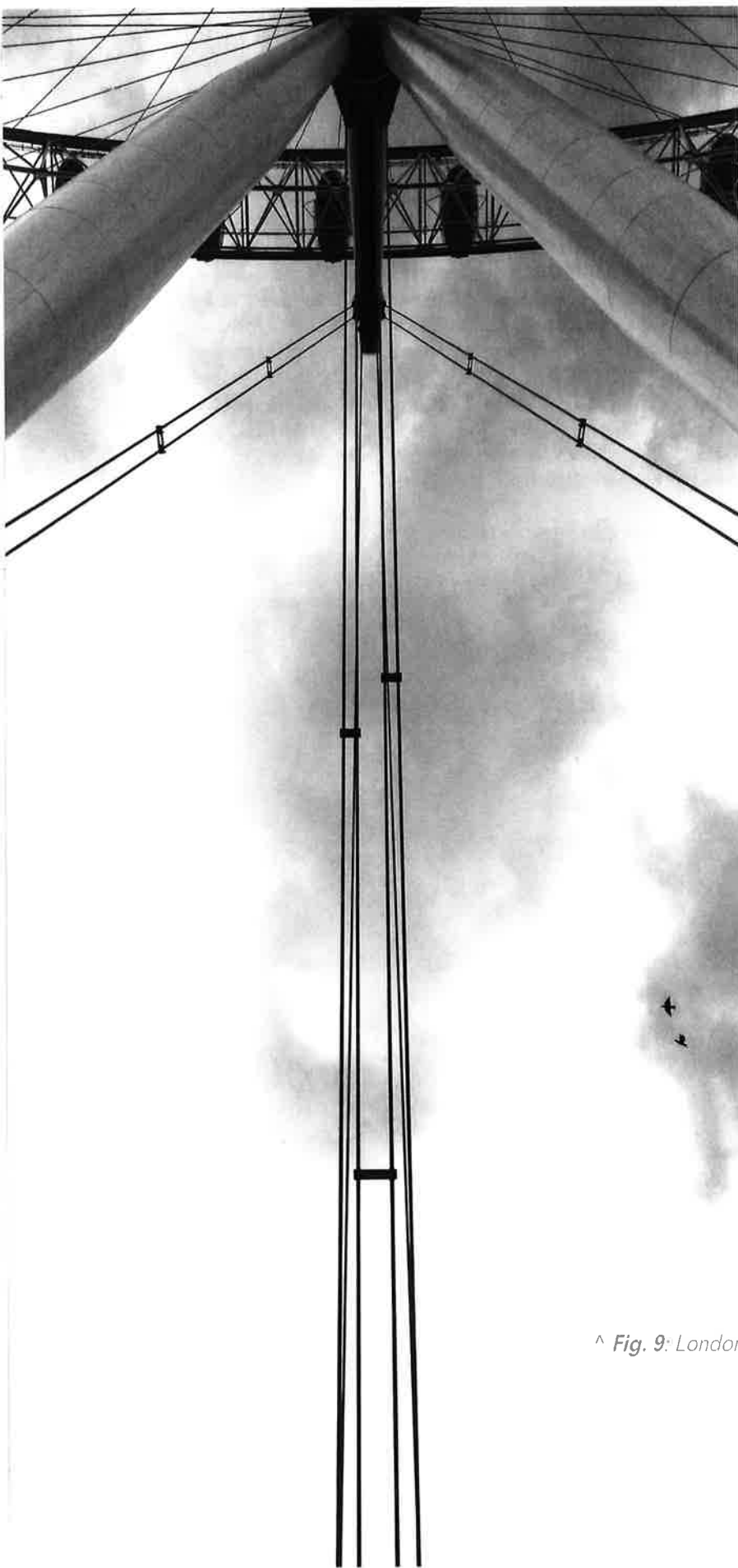
Intimate Citizenship senses a sort of unity among diversity. The term, in an identical way as Inclusive Design, serves as a continuing attempt to remove inequalities in the world, by recognizing the diversity and uniqueness of all people. A mass solution does not work here. Optimal inclusive approaches are best achieved through one-size-fit-one configurations. The inclusive design research centre of the OCAD University (2017), suggest that flexible or adaptable systems are needed to achieve diversity-supportive design.

We must *"listen to other's stories of how to make our way through the moral tangles of today"* because it is there that virtue is reconstructed, morality is debated, ethical dilemmas are resolved and the *"common values that hold humanity together"* are rediscovered (Plummer, 2001; 2003). Urban design teams should therefore be as diverse as possible and include individuals who have a lived experience of the 'extreme users' the designs are intended for.

This is where architecture and society come together and where the right decisions need to be made. It is their responsibility to be aware of a particular public context and its broader impact. We should strive to a beneficial impact that goes beyond the intended beneficiary of the design. 'Intimate Citizenship' and 'Inclusive Design' trigger a virtuous cycle of inclusion and recognize the interconnectedness of users and systems.

To realize this broader positive impact in our public spaces, it requires the integration of inclusive design into design in general, supported by Wilkinson and Pickett arguments on 'why greater equality makes societies stronger'. (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010)

In order to get a better understanding of the correlation between our built environment and the concept of intimacy, empirical research is necessary. We will discuss this in the next chapter.



^ Fig. 9: London Eye - London, UK

3

Observations ⁴³

3.1 Introduction

Observing environmental behaviour, allows us to experience the situational intimacy-concept by ourselves, and raises relevant questions for a better understanding. Does a physical environment support or interfere with intimate behaviours taking place within it? Which side effects do particular settings have on intimate moments within the self, between familiar people; and between strangers?

During a two months stay at Brunel University in London, I had the opportunity to explore and experience this intriguing city at different levels. Its diversity in cultures, languages, nationalities, functions, districts, etc. forms a fruitful base for exploring the concept of intimacy in different public spaces.

The method of observing was extremely relevant at the beginning of this research. Simultaneously with the deducted literature review, observing supported generating hunches, to get a notion of the importance of intimacy, and an impression of possible architectural influences.

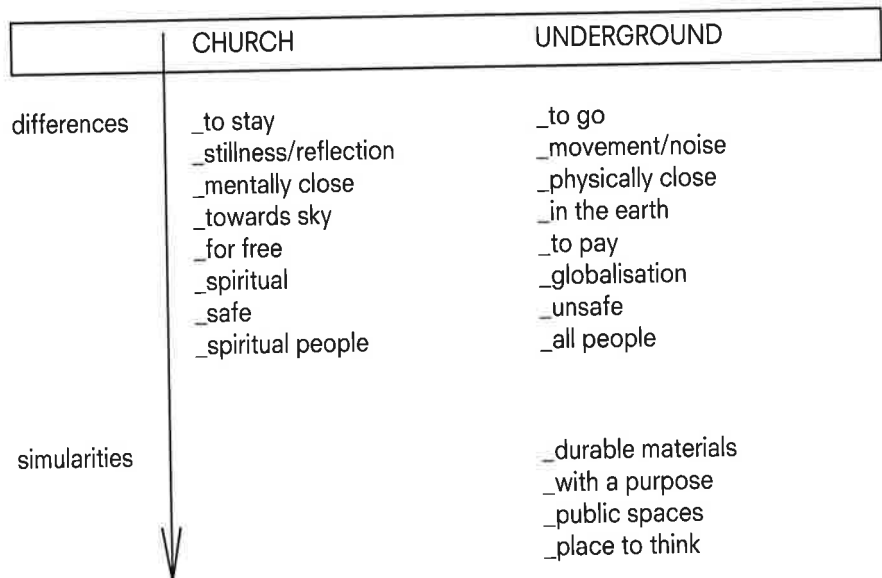
A church and an underground station, seemingly two very contrasting public spaces, share though a lot of similarities, and are therefore the two chosen categories in public space. **Fig. 10** illustrates those differences and similarities.

The church and the underground are both public spaces made from durable materials, allowing them to be used often and to stand the test of time. Visitors of the church will find a place that allows them to have a (spiritual) moment of stillness and reflection, a moment of rest. Arriving at a church feels like having reached a destination, a huge place oriented towards the sky, where people are rather mentally close to each other, sharing the same moment of serenity. As where the underground is experienced as a place of constant movement, where people are physically close to each other.

Actually, both public spaces are a place of destination, although the difference in length of time, makes the stay in the underground feel more fluid or transitional. Both locations differ in their function and environmental context, but the church as well as the underground present

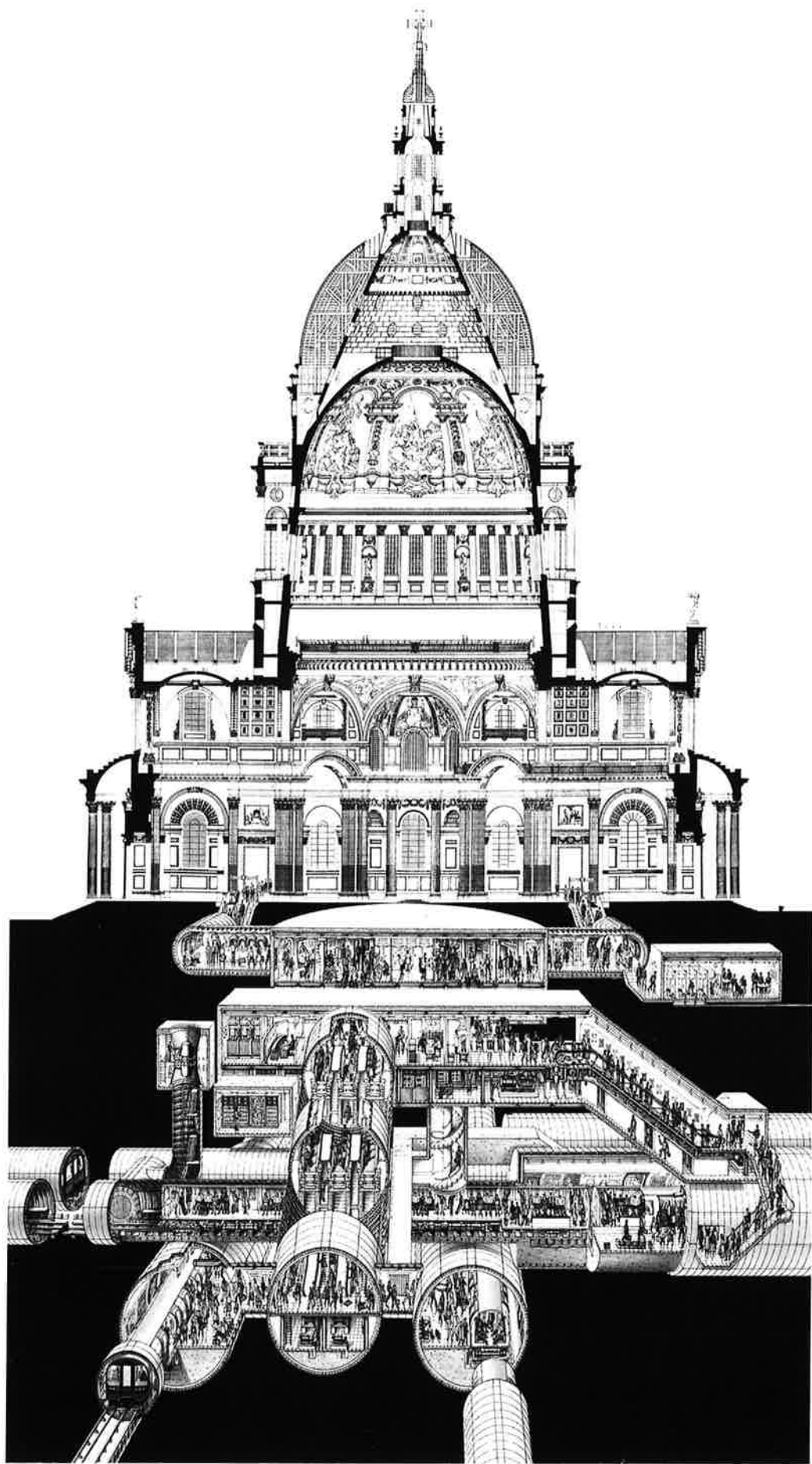
people a place to think, a context providing different encounters, and situations to experience intimacy.

Because intimacy asks for a feeling of privacy, due to its exclusiveness, I participated as just another visitor of the church, or traveller in the underground. Operating as a - like Zeisel names it - 'marginal participant observer' requires the least amount of research preparation, but precisely for this reason it required me to be introspective and self-aware (Zeisel, 1984). Living for two months in London, provided me with a little touch of familiarity with the city, but allowed me to get surprised by an amount of things regarding the meaning of intimacy.



^ Fig. 10: Comparison church and underground station

> Fig. 11: Church and underground station - observations





^ Fig. 12: Regent's Park Station - London, UK

3.2 When and What to Observe

The observations always took place on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 1 p.m. until 4 p.m. Four churches – *St. Paul's Cathedral*, *St. Ethelburga-the-Virgin Bishopsgate*, *All Hallows-by-the-Tower*, and *St. Paul's Haringay*, and four underground stations – *Waterloo Underground Station*, *Regent's Park (Bakerloo Line & Jubilee Line)*, *Baker Street (Metropolitan & Circle Line)*, and *Canary Wharf*, were selected, always containing: one large-scale and one small-scale church or station; an elderly and a more modern one.

3.2.1 Recording Devices

Three recording devices were simultaneously used in all observations: notes, plan annotations and photographs.

Recording behaviour in verbal and diagrammatic notes demanded me to decide what to describe and what to overlook on the spot (Zeisel, 1984). Small intimacies may be induced by diverse and dynamic external factors. Diagrams and plan annotations are therefor particularly useful to observe various people in one general area (Zeisel, 1984). Photographs helps capturing subtleties that other methods may not record (Zeisel, 1984). This was especially useful in the case of detecting intimacy, which senses a notion of mystery and exclusiveness.

3.2.2 Who with Whom

The subject(s) in these behavioural observations, the "actor(s)" (Zeisel, 1984) do not necessarily be described in terms of a person's social position or status. The observations focus rather on three different intimate moments in public space: intimacy between people familiar to each other; intimacy between strangers; and intimacy within the self.





^ Fig. 13: St. Ethelburga-the-Virgin, Bishopsgate - London, UK

3.2.3 *Doing what – Relationship*

The observations were conducted simultaneously with the theoretical research, and served therefore more for exploring particular hunches, than investigating real findings.

Although a further research on this topic requires also other research methods, these observations provided me important clues; the way people react when other people talk to them, touch them, etc. (Zeisel, 1984).

By using the physiological senses and a symbolic perceptual dimension: seeing (visual), hearing (aural), touching (tactile), smelling (olfactory), tasting, and perceiving (symbolic) (Hall, 1966), a list of possible contributing parameters was deduced. I decoded and abstracted both 'intimacy' (**Fig. 16**) and the possible contributing 'architectural parameters' (**Fig. 17**), by working in three stages:

- Before the observational research, I listed different components of intimacy and possible factors that may contribute to an intimate feeling. Intimacy is divided in three categories – intimacy with the self, intimacy with familiar people, and intimacy between strangers.

Conducted from the theoretical overview of intimacy, intimacy is not relational, but rather situational (Schutz, 1964), it occurs when someone has a unique experience of another, which that other does



^ **Fig. 14:** St. Paul's Cathedral - London, UK

not share widely (Newmahr, 2011) and some boundaries may therefore shift in order to include the unique ones, and exclude the others.

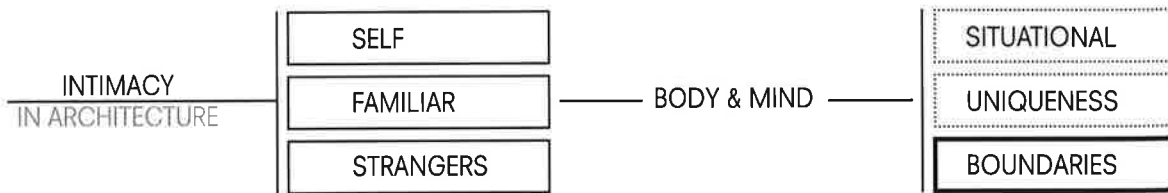
Architecture is looked at from a relative and definitive perspective. The dining hub Broadgate Circle (**Fig. 30**), part of the large office and retail estate Broadgate Business Centre in London, exemplifies this relative perspective perfectly. Entering this round small-scale area, located in a dense high-rise building region, feels like the perfect place to take a break, to meet other people and to relax in this fast-living part of London. The contrast and heterogeneity between those two areas highlights this even more. The list in **Fig. 17** represents the first hunches made about possible contributing architectural factors, it functioned as a starting point, which could later be adapted.

- Operating as a participant observer, allowed me to easily switch between a passive observer and an active stimulus and adjust some hunches on the spot. From the first observation on, I recognized the importance of boundaries, scale and proportion;

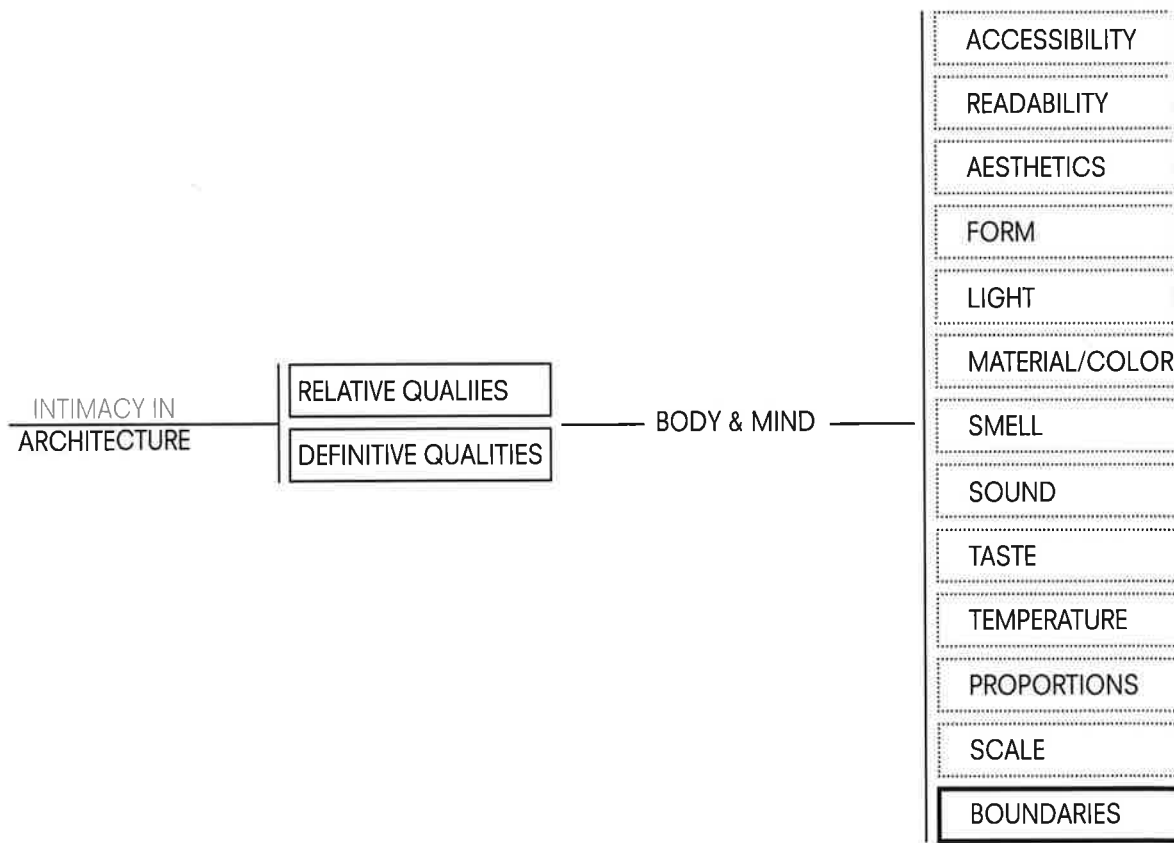
- These new research focusses were hence implemented into the research and explored within the following observations. What all these different factors have in common, is that they create certain boundaries that will inhibit or facilitate people on different levels. In the next chapter, boundaries as the parameter both intimacy and the architecture share, will further be investigated.



^ *Fig. 15: Canary Wharf Station - London, UK*



^ Fig. 16: List of possible contributing factors



^ Fig. 17: List of possible contributing factors

3.2.4 Culture

People's reactions change according to different situations and within different cultures (Zeisel, 1984). People may react or interpret things differently and therefore extra research is necessary.

The empirical research, conducted in London, serves as an initial observation that will be repeated in a later phase, in the area of Brussels. Comparisons between both will provide us more insight into possible variables.

3.3 Findings

Within these eight observations, there are three examples that indicates intimacy within the public space.

Four benches located in different locations through the observations, all generated a feeling of intimacy in a particular way, due to its different design and environment.

In addition, a particular ratio of people and dimensions of space, seems to influence whether a moment of intimacy is experienced as comfortable or uncomfortable.

The last example indicates a particular effect due to the demarcation's porosity to enclose an inner cordon.



[^] Fig. 18: Baker Street (Metropolitan Line) - London, UK

3.3.1 Bench Demarcations

Observation Remark 1

Fig. 18 pictures a bench, located on a wide platform at Baker Street Station (Metropolitan Line). For doing the observations, I positioned myself unconsciously at the end of the empty bench. In a time-frame of 20 minutes, alternately five people sat at the same bench, always on the other end. From the moment I shared the bench with someone – sitting both at one end, no one sat in between us. In the next 20 minutes, I moved to the middle; now three people came and sit alternately at one end of the bench. One man joined us meanwhile at the other end.

Personal Feeling

The key words that summarize this observation are proximity, appropriation, and intimate bubble or personal boundaries. Putting myself in the same situation; joining two people sitting on both ends of the bench, did not make me feel comfortable. Putting myself in the middle made me feel like intruding those other's personal space, both appropriating half of the bench. An uncomfortable moment of intimacy. While joining two persons – one in the middle and one on the side, felt easier because the open end of the bench allowed me a possible escape.



^ **Fig. 19:** Area St. Paul's Cathedral - London, UK

Observation Remark 2

The benches located at Baker Street (Circle Line), are enclosed at the back and both sides, forming a range of compartments as showed in **Fig. 1**. Although the benches were smaller and shorter than the Metropolitan ones, in 20 minutes' time, more people sat next to me. One child came even closer to look at my notes.

Personal Feeling

The enclosed walls supported my moment of intimacy with the child. It felt like an enclosed safe place, private from the public around us. Without really saying anything, a short moment of mutual interest was shared.

Observation Remark 3

The bench in Regent's park (**Fig. 20**) is a design to be found in a variety of London's underground.

The five arm railings define four territories of equal space. It does not compartmentalize different benches like in **Fig. 1**, but within the bench itself. Although it had the same length as the bench in Baker Street (Metropolitan Line) (**Fig. 18**), people were more likely to sit close to each other.

Personal Feeling

People may have different interpretations of personal space. Using physical demarcations like the railing, define boundaries, which comforts people, knowing others will not enter your area.

Observation Remark 4

A lot of tourist and businessmen come together in the direct area of St. Paul's Cathedral during lunchtime. The benches pictured in **Fig. 19** have also demarcations, though less visible. The silver dots define the same amount of space as the latter one, though people more tended to sit further from each other and more chaotic.

Personal Feeling

In contrast to the previous example, the demarcations here are confusing and not really obvious, which makes peoples less likely to sit next to each other.





^ Fig. 20: Regent's Park - London, UK

3.3.2 Ratio People/Space

Observation Remark 1

All Hallows-by-the-Tower, did not particularly provided me an intimate moment, except for the visit at its crypt (**Fig. 21**). The scale of the stone chambers under the church was in contrast to the church itself, made of cosy rooms with low ceiling and narrow stairs.

Personal Feeling

Much more quiet and calm than outside, the church felt as an escape from the busy world, but it did not particularly give me an intimate feeling. The crypts on the other hand, felt save and small. Although sometimes a bit awkward, its environment created a shared moment with a person who entered the room. A particular ratio of people and dimensions of space, seem to influence whether a moment of intimacy is experienced comfortable or uncomfortable.

3.3.3 Perforating a Zone

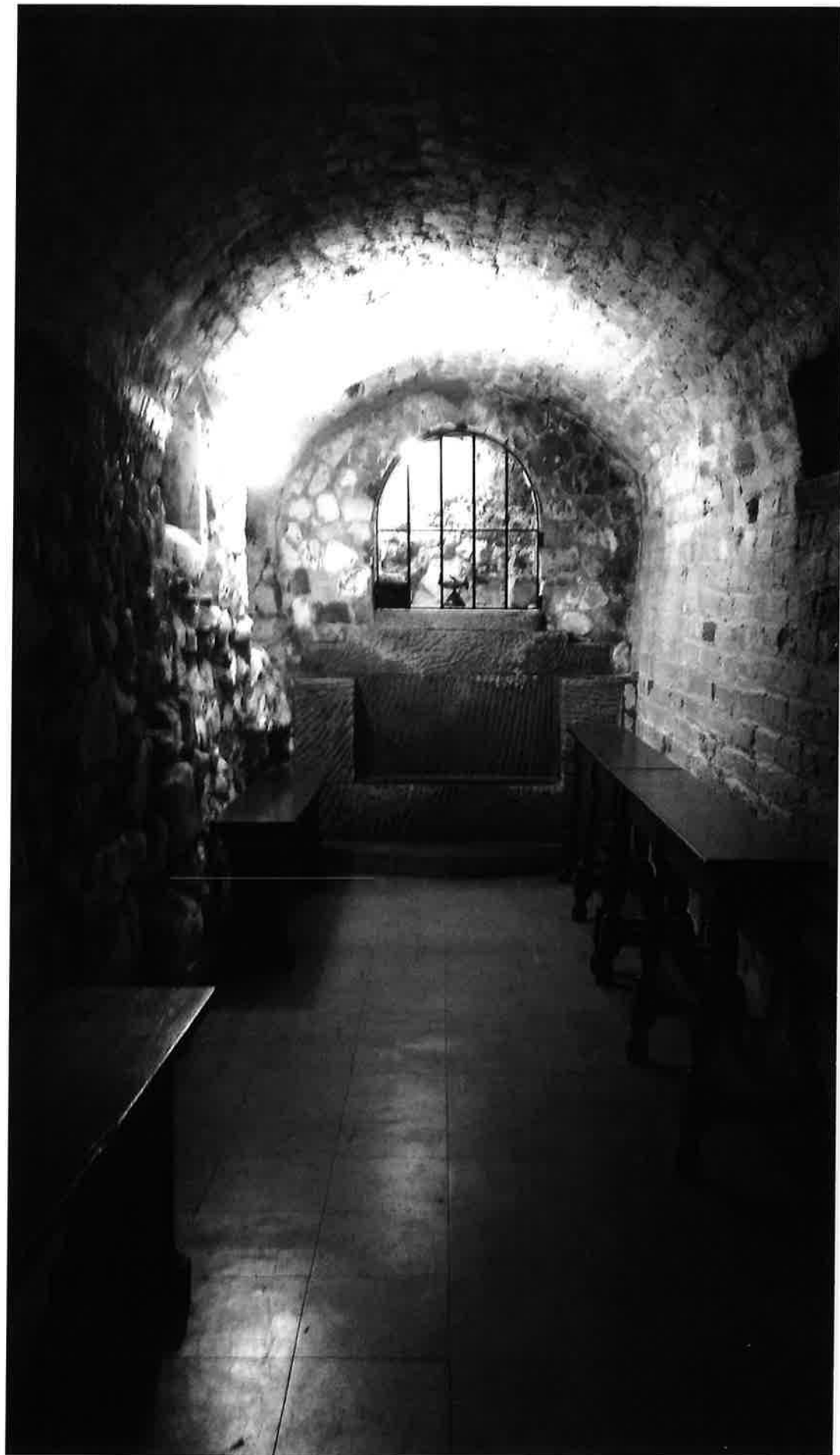
Observation Remark 1

St. Paul's Cathedral is divided in different zones as illustrated in **Fig. 23**. The Eucharist is held under the beautiful Dome defined by eight arches (**Fig. 22**). Tourist though make it very hard to concentrate on the ceremony itself, by entering the Dome-zone and talking quit loudly, they distract both the priest and listeners.

Personal Feeling

Although the remarkable dome and its arches define a beautiful space within the church, it was very hard to follow the ceremony. Due to constant distractions, a possible shared focus within the group was impossible. The Dome's round form allowed people the same perspective towards the priest but the perforations of the zone felt too large to enclose its inner cordon. In contrary, the Quire' rectangular form (**Fig. 24**), enclosed on both long sides in wooden delicate carvings, forms a sort of micro-retreat within the Cathedral. An intimate small-scale zone secluded from the rest. This indicates an effect of the demarcation's porosity, facilitation or inhibiting particular happenings.

> *Fig. 21: Crypt All Hallows-by-the-Tower - London, UK*



3.3.4 Discussion

Zeisel's (1984) four 'qualities of the method' indicate why observing environmental behaviour is a relevant choice of research. Observing behaviour is both:

- empathetic – it allowed me to 'get into' the setting and provided me with essential initial research insights. The fact that I only lived in London for two months, gave me a sense of familiarity, but allowed me at the same time to discover these churches and underground station on many levels;
- direct – being on the spot allowed me to adjust my observations to a particular setting, to sense the differences and similarities between a church and an underground station, or within their own category;
- dynamic - it gave me a glimpse of the role of time in those two public spaces and allowed me to understand what Barker (1968) calls "standing patterns of behaviour". This dynamic quality supported at the same time the ability to test my theoretical hunches and provided me instant feedback;
- variably intrusive – it gave me the ability to easily switch between a passive observer and an active stimulus for human action, allowing instant response and insight.

These four qualities made the method extremely relevant at the beginning of this research to generate hunches, to get a notion of the importance of intimacy, and an impression of architectural influences.

Schutz (1964) argument that intimacy is not relational, but rather situational is strengthened by the possibilities of being intimate with all kind of strangers in public spaces.

The three different reflections on the observations all indicated the importance of a particular demarcation or separation towards others. People tend to appropriate a personal territory in public space, but when others enter, boundaries may shift in order to include or exclude people, and intimacy may occur.

The arm railings in the example of Regent Street (**Fig. 20**) functions as a boundary that facilitates an intimate moment, because this demarcation convinces people sooner to sit next to each other.

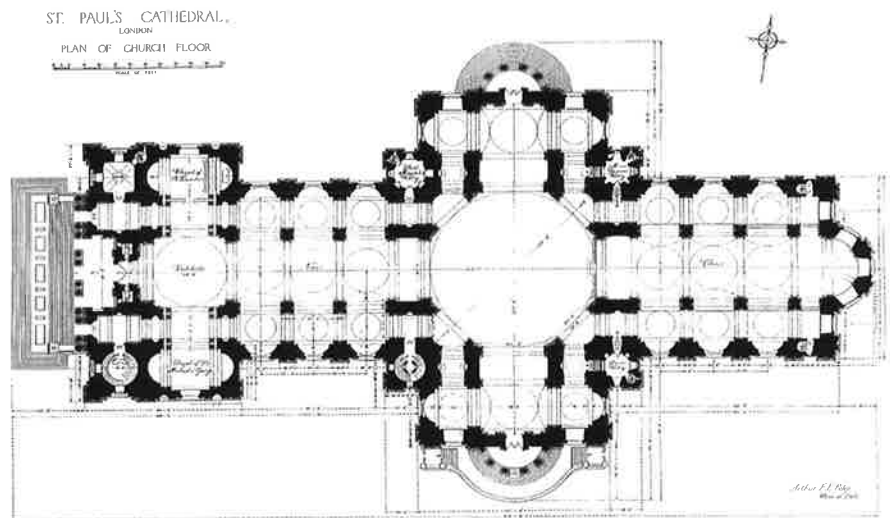
The intimate moment shared with the man in the All Hallows-by-the-Tower's crypt (**Fig. 21**), is generated or supported by the enclosure of its architecture. The boundary that facilitates intimacy here lays beyond both our bodies, while the railing functions as a facilitating boundary in between both people.

A particular ratio of people and dimensions of space, seems to influence whether a moment of intimacy is experienced comfortable or uncomfortable. The underground, with its narrow corridors and huge numbers of people contrasts with the church's large dimensions and small amount of visitors, causing it more likely to experience intimacy within the underground.

These observations trigger us to further look in the direction of boundaries, to generate intimacy. In public space, the significance of boundaries on different levels, becomes even more clear. As a busy, active area, the public space requires us to use all kind of boundaries to include or exclude the right people.



^ Fig. 22: St. Paul's Cathedral - London, UK



^ Fig. 23: Floorplan St. Paul's Cathedral - London, UK

> Fig. 24: St. Paul's Cathedral - London, UK



4 Intimacy in Architecture

4.1 Components of our Landscapes and Built Environment

According to Cadenasso et al. (2003), who conducted research on boundaries in an ecological context, landscapes consist of two kind of structures – ‘patches’ and ‘boundaries’. Though frequently depicted on maps as two-dimensional, patches and boundaries are three-dimensional, extending above and below surface (Cadenasso, Jones, Pickett, & Weathers, 2003).

Zeisel (1984) and Lynch (1960) looked at the same structures, but in an architectural environment. Where Zeisel (1984) uses the terms ‘field’ and ‘boundary’ to discuss a particular setting, Lynch (1960) speaks of ‘districts’ and ‘edges’ in his well-known book *The Image of the City*.

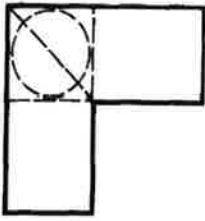
4.1.1 Field¹

Different parameters in an environment may affect people’s ability to connect or to share an intentional focus. Fields do this, not by occupying the space between people, like boundaries, but by altering the physical context within which visual, aural, tactile, olfactory, and perceptual relationships take place. Field parameters include shape, orientation, size, and environmental condition (Zeisel, 1984).

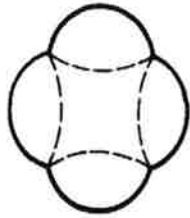
These parameters are not only visual; acoustic. Social connotations, for example, can be significant as well. The street-interviews Lynch (1960) carried out, demonstrated that a lot of persons associate class overtones and ethical differences with different districts.

What forms a field depends on the research question and on parameters supposed to be relevant to the answer. Because field delimitation is guided by questions, different questions result in different field options, even for the same physical space (Cadenasso et al., 2003).

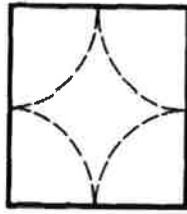
¹ From now on we will use the terms ‘field’ (substitute for patch or district) and ‘boundary’ (substitute for edge)



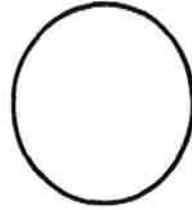
L-shape separates space visually and symbolically



Shape suggests perceptual separations

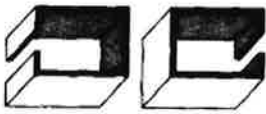


Corners suggest potential symbolic separators

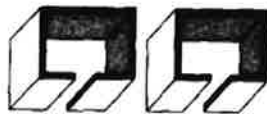


Round shape connects parts

^ Fig. 25: Effects of shape



Functionally distant



Functionally nearer

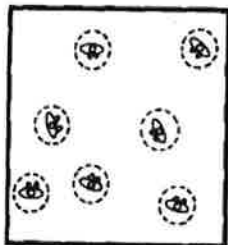


Functionally close

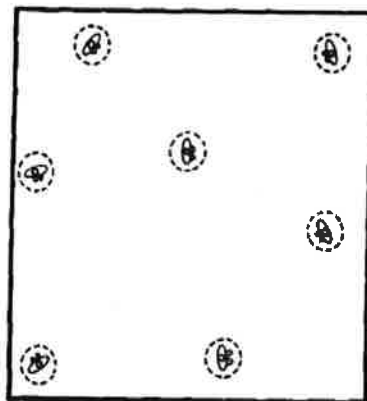
^ Fig. 26: Degrees of functional distance



Option only being together



Limited possibility for separation



Possibility for separation

^ Fig. 27: Degrees of setting size

4.1.2 *Boundary*

Boundaries are important structural features in a landscape, as well as in the city and our daily lives. Boundaries are complex and multidimensional, they mark the limits of fields and are the zones between two neighbouring ones. Lynch (1960) explains this as the thresholds between two phases, linear breaks in continuity.

Similar to fields, what constitutes a boundary is determined by the research question and is based on characteristics perceived or postulated to be relevant to the answer (Cadenasso et al., 2003).

Boundaries can be experienced at three diverse, yet correlated levels - physical, sociocultural and psychological (Ozaki & Lewis, 2006). How boundaries may function depends on people's perceiving - as inhibiting boundaries, which stop or reduce actions from happening, or as facilitating boundaries, allowing and supporting particular actions.

4.2 **Boundary Experience**

4.2.1 *Physical, Sociocultural and Psychological Boundaries*

Boundaries are to be found anywhere. They exist throughout our social environment, including our public spaces. It is known that the use of space, reveals fundamental sociocultural values and correlated psychological necessities. Architecture is not just a physical space creating shelter, but supports at the same time social interactions (Mumford, 1970; Saunders, 1990). As cultural norms and values differ, so do psychological needs (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), resulting in a diversity of architectural organisations.

The notion of cultural boundaries entails that different cultures form more or less distinct entities with more or less clear criteria for identity. Those criteria are supposed to make different cultures unique and capable of being differentiated from each other (Elder-Vass, 2012). The meaning of social space is part of this cultural system, but they form not just a simple causal relation, in which culture can generate architecture. A lot of other cultural elements are involved too, such as ecological and environmental contexts, social structures, ontological visions, and notions of personhood. Defining cultural boundaries is not like doing mathematics, where there is only one correct answer,

but cultural boundaries are interest- and perspective-dependent, and even arbitrary to some extent. (Elder-Vass, 2012) Cultural influences, although working differently in diverse cultures, are preserved just because they work for people. The main boundaries in architecture are therefore characteristic of cultural norms which coordinate human behaviour.

“European culture is marked by its diversity: diversity of climate, countryside, architecture, language, beliefs, taste and artistic style. Such diversity must be protected, not diluted. It presents one of the chief sources of the wealth of our continent.” (Morley & Robins, 1995)

The concept of psychological boundaries, originally developed by Hartmann (1998) can be defined as the level of connection between the mind’s different functions, processes and structures. Thin boundaries are associated with open-mindedness, sensitivity, vulnerability, creativity, and artistic ability. People with thin boundaries may tend to confuse fantasy and reality and tend to have a fluid sense of identity, so that they tend to merge or lose themselves in their relations with others. People with thick boundaries differentiate clearly between reality and fantasy and between self and other, and tend to prefer well-defined social structures (Hartmann, Rosen, & Rand, 1998)

A bar can serve as an example of a place with operating boundaries at these three diverse yet associated levels. The entrance is a physical boundary which indicates the zone ‘bar’. Due to the comprehension of people of the meaning of this threshold, it is also a socio-cultural boundary, and the importance of this threshold, meaning the physical boundary, exists in its association with social classifications. In this example, people under a certain age may not enter a bar and purchase alcohol. The boundary of adulthood is comprehended by adults and children, and this sociocultural threshold outlines the exact social classification. Children are aware of passing this boundary, because they know the bar is a prohibited place for them, and related cognitive and affective encounters such as excitement, nervousness, sweating etc. indicate that the boundary, therefore, also happens at the psychological, phenomenological level (Ozaki & Lewis, 2006).

4.3 Boundary Perception

4.3.1 *Inhibiting and Facilitating Boundaries*

People react or interpret things differently according to different situations and within different cultures (Zeisel, 1984). The way in which boundaries are regarded, understood, or interpreted may therefore vary.

Cadenasso et al. (2003) formulated a model template, which categorised boundaries in nature as: inhibiting and facilitating. Facilitating boundaries are the energetic zones in a habitat where organisms become more interactive, due to the meeting of different species or physical conditions. By contrast, the inhibiting boundary is a static space and time, a limit, a territory beyond which a particular species does not stray (Sennett, 2015).

Sennett² (2015), who studied the effects of urban living on individuals in the modern world, argues to acknowledge this important categorisation and compares it with the boundaries of a cell.

“It is the difference between a cell wall and cell membrane. A cell wall serves as a container holding things in, while the membrane is at once porous and resistant, letting matter flow in and out of the cell, but selectively, so that the cell can retain what it needs for nourishment.” (Sennett, 2015)

The difference, between a wall and a membrane is important for our understanding of what nature might tell us about making cities. The natural distinction between inhibiting and facilitating boundaries applies to human communities, and matters particularly for the practice of urban design (Sennett, 2015). Inhibiting boundaries, stop or reduce actions from happening, and are experienced on a physical, sociocultural and psychological level. Facilitating boundaries – perceived on the same three levels -, allow and support particular actions.

In the twentieth century, planning tended to define and enshrine inhibiting boundaries; it created static territories in cities, which diminished exchange between social, economic, religious and ethnic groups. The articulation of vertical buildings, technologies of transport, and gated communities, all tended to seal off and isolate differences.

² In order not to introduce other concepts into this dissertation, we will substitute Sennett's term 'border' by 'facilitating boundary' and the word 'boundary' by 'inhibiting boundary' where applicable.

Unfortunately, urban planners did not know how to bring boundaries to life by combining porosity and resistance (Sennett, 2015).

Sennett was participating some years ago, in the construction for building a market for the Hispanic community in New York. This community, one of the poorest in the region, houses next to one of the richest one's in the world. The street in between both communities, could either work as an inhibiting boundary or as a facilitating boundary. The urban planners chose to position La Marqueta in the centre of the community, in the middle of Spanish Harlem, converting the in-between-street into an inhibiting boundary instead of a facilitating one. Regarding the decisions made, Sennett is disappointed not putting La Marqueta on that particular street. It could have opened the doors between both groups, joining diversity, and triggering activities that could have brought the rich and the poor into some shared, social and commercial contact.

This highlights again the importance of Intimate Citizenship (Plummer, 2001; 2003) and Inclusive Design. A continuing attempt to remove inequalities in the world, by recognizing the diversity and uniqueness of all people. We need to rethink the morphological elements that mark an urban boundary, and the most important of these elements is according to Sennett, the wall (Sennett, 2015).

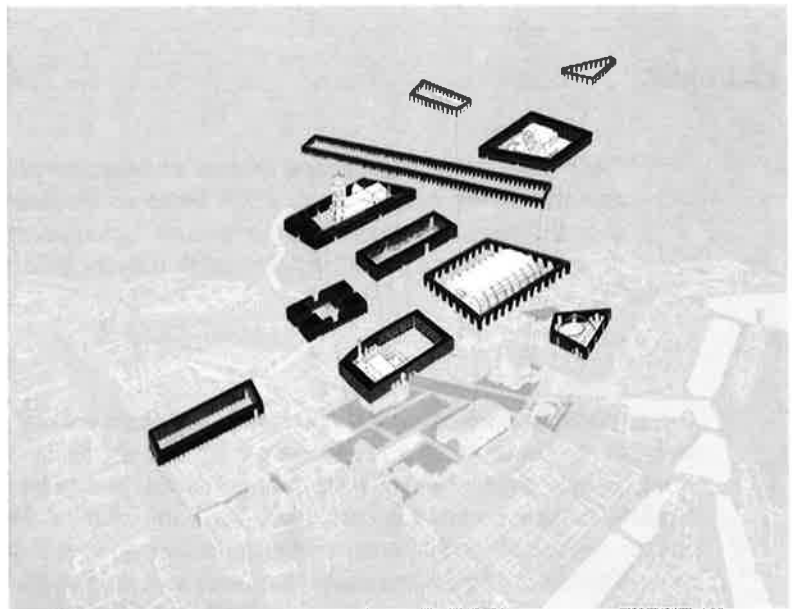
4.3.1.1 Wall

“Any wall built in a landscape creates at least two places—one sunny, one shady. (...) If it forms an enclosure, then it divides an ‘inside’ from the ‘outside’; giving something to and taking something from both. (Unwin, 2003, p. 38)

Walls, according to this statement, may seem unlikely to serve as facilitating boundaries, but nothing is ever as it seems. In traditional cities, people shelter behind walls during attacks, and gates serve to regulate commerce coming into cities. On both sides of these walls, houses were built and informal markets nestled against them. Such walls functioned as membranes, both porous and resistant. In modern cities, these solid walls are replaced by voids, which seem to

function much more as an inhibiting boundary. An obvious example are motorways that cut through cities. These invisible walls have been used to mark off territories, separating rich from poor, or race from race. Porosity is lacking (Sennett, 2015).

Studio Donna van Milligen Bielke, exemplifies this in an architectural proposal that won the Prix de Rome Architecture in 2014. With the project *Cabinets of Curiosities*, she explores a collection of objects whose categorical boundaries are “yet to be defined” (Studio Donna van Miligen Bielke, 2014). It proposes a radical and sensitive re-ordering of the centre of Rotterdam, which is characterized by emptiness. It structures places where there is a lack of clarity in spatial experience and where solitary buildings stand in the way of a coherent urban fabric. The introduction of clear boundaries both addresses and differentiates Rotterdam’s public space, while new physical connections in the form of squares, streets and lanes create a coherent network. It allows the centre of Rotterdam to boast more varied spatial experiences, thanks to urbanistic boundary structures placed around the solitary buildings, which vary in depth and porosity, so as to be able to accommodate a range of functions.



^ Fig. 28: Studio Donna van Miligen Bielke – “Cabinet of Curiosities”

Although pedestrianization might work as a solution, Sennett (2015) suggests a more promising way, which makes use of sophisticated technology. One example of how technology could be used in the future to convert inhibiting boundaries into facilitating boundaries within the city, are computerised bollards, that remain down when service and commuter traffic needs to flow, but go up around lunchtime and at night, when pedestrian use makes more sense (Sennett, 2015). The whole point about a porous-resistant membrane is that it allows mutual stimulation in exchange. We want smart cities in which the technology encourages flexibility and innovation, just as our medieval ancestors discovered that a solid object — the massive stone wall — could be adapted in time, without mechanical predetermination, to become an active scene of exchange within the city (Sennett, 2015).

4.3.1.2 View and Centre

According to Juhani Pallasmaa (2007), the modernist reductionism has reduced vision to a particular kind of seeing when it comes to architecture and architectural theory. For him, this architecture is to a large extent concerned with sharp, focused vision, neglecting for instance peripheral vision. The intellectual ambition of modernist architecture has been translated into a clear and distancing kind of vision, one that allows the spectator to remain uninvolved in a bodily way. The peripheral part of vision—which, according to Pallasmaa (2007), places us inside our environment—is omitted in the modernist relationship to the body.

Similar to Pallasmaa (2007), Sennett (2015) argues that, to make facilitating boundaries in our cities, we need to change our habits of seeing, and revise critically the way we compose the city as a visual landscape. According to him, we concentrate too much on visual legibility, through imaging public spaces without 'unsightly' obstructions. The planner should counter the logic, by looking in another way. What need to be put on display are scenes of social mixture, in all their messiness and vitality (Sennett, 2015)

Planners also have to review the influence of city centres as inhibiting boundaries. When we imagine where the life of a community is to be found, we usually look for it in the centre of a community. So finding or establishing the centre becomes a recipe for creating social cohesion. Emphasis on the centre, however, may lead the designer to neglect the edge condition, treating it as an inert version of the inhibiting boundary, dismissing exchange and excluding different racial, ethnic, or class communities (Sennett, 2015).

“Cultural boundaries have often been considered to be like walls that cannot be broken or crossed easily, because such crossing or breaking would require “intercultural learning” or “cultural acclimatization” in a kind of interim space (frontier or “brackish water”) between cultures.” (Lehtonen, 2015, p.47)

Boundaries can open the gates between communities (Sennet, 2015). Placing public functions on the boundary of, for example a rich and a poor community, instead of in the two centres of these groups, might encourage activity, that may bring the rich and the poor into some daily, commercial contact.

Societies’ aim should be no more and no less than the stimulation and acknowledgment of diversity (Sennet, 2015) (Plummer, 2001; 2003) (Lister, 1997). Diversity provides uniqueness and challenges personal boundaries, while public spaces can provide a particular setting; this is where intimacy might arise.

4.4 Case Studies

Following case studies will further exemplify the categorization of boundaries – on which levels they might be experienced - physical, sociocultural and psychological - and people’s perception to it as an inhibiting or facilitating boundary.

We start with a small-scale example of Japanese house organizations. Ritualised practices, particularly routines in the house, organise the social system, indicating and articulating culture (Bourdieu, 1977). Both physical, sociocultural, and psychological boundaries, are established and preserved by these rituals, which are the main systems of social structure (Pellow, 1996) (Ozaki & Lewis, 2006). They influence the way people relate and accordingly organize their houses.

The next two cases, located in London, take us into the public space where the same correlation between the three boundary-experiences is noticed and how they may inhibit or facilitate particular actions.

In the first case, we look at the Holy Trinity Church, located in Holborn, London. It is however not its impressive front, but the wooden structure that surrounded the church in 1991, that functions as an impressive boundary. The three-meter-high blockade excluded

passengers from the building. Borden states: *“particularly the homeless are excluded. They have constructed a boundary of exclusion (...) It is the Architecture of separation”* (Borden, 2001). A clear statement from such a simple bit of wood, which illustrates the power of strong and infrangible boundaries.

The second one guides us through Broadgate Business Centre, which further demonstrates that social hierarchies and boundaries prefer no circumstance. *“Broadgate is an area which strives to define its social ethos, and the dominant temper of well-salaried (...) office workers is reinforced by many different measures”* (Borden, 2001). Social diversity is much established and however this diversity is catered to, it is of minimal tolerance and fits only within a class, gender, and racial structure stated by the *“middle class Oxbridge-educated businessman”* (Borden, 2001). Visitors are asked to consider themselves and question their very rights for being there with *“more material and mental suggestion than brute physicality”* (Borden, 2001), and expects them to play a role within that space.

4.4.1 Empirical Study of Japanese Houses

The process of boundary-making is a cultural action and boundaries itself are created by, and mirror a certain way of understanding the world (Ozaki & Lewis, 2006). As Pellow (1996) argued, boundaries and boundary-maintaining systems are socially structured, and expressions of cultural codes are the most basic forms of social structure.

This example, situates on a smaller scale in comparison to the next two case studies, but shows us clearly how the Japanese culture affects its architecture. We will look into the organization of Japanese houses and explore why social classifications that differentiate the inside from outside, clean from dirty, and intimate from dangerous, create certain physical, sociocultural, and psychological boundaries as expressions of cultural codes.

4.4.1.1 The Socially Constructed Meaning of Space

Dittmar (1992) argues that people understand the world the way they do, because they connect with it by participation in shared practices, and this transmits, reproduces, and transforms meaning systems through direct and symbolic social interchanges (Dittmar, 1992).

Because of this, people's look at the world alters across different times and cultures. They agree upon a certain conceptualization of the world, not because it is empirically valid but because it appears to work (Gergen, 1985).

Human beings classify themselves, others, objects, spaces and periods of time, based on cultural norms in a particular society, at a particular time. We use boundaries to construe our daily activities, and define and manage the use of spaces and interactions between people. This way social rules and conventions indicate physical meaning (Lawrence, 1984; 1996), and reviewing these helps us comprehend the way people use social space.

Ritualised practices, particularly routines in the home, organise the social system, indicating and articulating culture (Bourdieu, 1977). Both physical, sociocultural, and psychological boundaries, are established and preserved by these rituals, which are the main systems of social structure (Pellow, 1996) (Ozaki & Lewis, 2006).

"The boundary is not a physical fact with sociological consequences, but a sociological fact that forms itself physically." (Simmel, 1997, p. 143)

4.4.1.2 The Inside-Outside Classification

Boundaries that preserve certain values (Douglas, 1966), are particularly noticeable in the Japanese culture, where the differentiation between the inside and the outside is associated to both physical spaces, and sociocultural and psychological values. The inside is related to purity, cleanliness, safety, and intimacy, both inside the family as inside a physical space, whereas the outside is linked to impurity, dirt, danger, and strangeness (Hendry, 1992; 1995; Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984). The distinction between the inside and outside is the base of social and psychological boundaries which organizes Japanese behaviour and social interplays (Ozaki & Lewis, 2006).

Different physical demarcations in Japanese houses, have an impacts on social, and psychological level, constructing boundaries which have an influence on human behaviour and the architectural program.

A vestibule, for example, is created both to keep the inside of the house clean, and to make a defined distinction between inside and

outside. It clearly separates insiders and outsiders, and objects which belong outside, such as shoes. Outsiders are not invited into this intimate space inside, which demonstrates Lawrence's (1996) state that physical demarcation indicates social differentiation, reflecting distinctions between individuals and groups. The absence of a vestibule in Western houses is a big issue for the Japanese, because the lack of physical boundaries means a lack of psychosocial boundaries, and makes them feel ill at ease (Ozaki & Lewis, 2006).

4.4.1.3 Clean versus Dirty

Japanese people consider the outside as to be dirty, spiritual impure and dangerous, so multiple daily hygiene rituals take place to keep the inside of the house clean. They take off their shoes, wash their hands, and gargle when they come home (Hendry, 1984; Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984). They clean the gate, the vestibule, and the area in between those two every day, because it is a critical space where the inside convenes with the outside (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984). It is a transitional area between physical boundaries, frequently providing people with a feeling of anxiety, as it is a vague zone, not being outside nor inside, where rituals manage the access of people (Lawrence, 1984).

The Japan's indigenous religion, Shinto, is concerned about purity and pollution (Hendry, 1992). Death, illness, childbirth, killing, and handling corpses are all understood as transmitting impurity, and after contact, one must be purified by salt and water (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1987). For this reason, Japanese purify themselves and their homes after they washed the body of a died family member or when they come back from a funeral (Inouye, 1910; Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984).

Bathing, in the Japanese tradition, has the function of symbolic purification, so the most defiled place, the toilet, cannot be located in the bathroom, the place assigned for this purification. The boundary between those two is another mark for preserving the demarcation between pure and impure spaces. Similarly, houses with a washing machine in the kitchen, which are generally to be found in Western countries, do not sell well in Japan, because people do not like to combine 'clean' food and 'dirty' clothes in the kitchen. For Japanese, dirt is associated with illness and death which has to be managed by correct ritualised practices (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984).

In Japan, dirt concerns not just the physical dirt but also the, culturally constructed, conceptual dirt, and because the house portrays the cleanliness of the family, it must be kept very clean (Ozaki & Lewis,

(2006). Both the separation of the toilet, and the lack of a vestibule, demonstrate that to the Japanese people, shoes inside the house and a toilet in the bathroom exemplify exactly what Douglas (1966) named "matter out of place". These are examples of dirty, outside matters in supposedly clean, inside spaces. Douglas argues that dirt is a spatial problem, not a question of what things are, but where they are. It is a definition that is an outcome of spatial constructivism, of how we organise our environment. "*Dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements.*" (Douglas, 1966, p. 44)

Dirt is only dirty in certain places, when it is out of its correct position. Just as faeces, for example, is considered dirty when it is in our kitchens but not when it is in our bodies, so it is that our classification of waste depends on the location of objects. (Douglas, 1966).

What we understand as dirt is so indeed an indicator of our social classification systems, otherwise, the Western people, would insist too, on a vestibule, a separate toilet, and a washing machine away from the kitchen.

4.4.1.4 Intimate versus Dangerous

Japanese perceive the house as a safe and intimate space. As a punishment, parents lock their children out, in contrast to Western mothers and fathers, who lock them in (Hendry, 1992). The family has been, and still is, the fundamental, Japanese social unit (Hofstede, 1991; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and individual members are supposed to subdue their individual longings for the good of the family. (Fukutake, 1989). An example is a new-born baby, who is regarded as a new member of the family, rather than as a new individual. He or she is included in the family registration documents, instead of having an individual birth certificate (Dore, 1978; Hendry, 1992; Ozaki & Lewis, 2006).

Sleeping together in the same room is felt more intimate and safe than being alone in separate rooms (Barnlund, 1975; Dore, 1958). It was normal for the parents to sleep in the largest room together with their young children (Inouye, 1910). Walls separating the bedrooms were made of paper and easily removable. This physical closeness cultivates interdependence among family members and boost a feeling of safety, different from the separate sleeping in Western countries, which promote independence.

At the same time, the family room is the space where people eat,

communicate, and watch television together. This multifunctional room has been, and still remains, the centre of the house and is a symbol of family intimacy in the Japanese culture (Miyawaki, 1991).

This physical proximity of both the bedroom and sharing of the family room, symbolises a happy intimacy and comforting security within the family (Barnlund, 1975).

Family intimacy is conveyed in the traditional Japanese sense of privacy. The English word 'privacy' has an association with individual space, which is separate, and thus protected from others in the outside world (Insel & Lindgren, 1978). The private sphere is the space into which people are able to pull back from society (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 1986). Nevertheless, 'uchi', which is the closest Japanese word to the English 'privacy', indicates the inside of the group to which one belongs and not the individual privacy. In Japan, the notion of private spheres that are independent from the group have not traditionally been accepted (Doi, 1971). Their understanding of privacy was familial (Roland, 1988) rather than individual.

However, the Japanese people gradually got to understand personal privacy, originated out of the new Civil Code of 1947, which assured individual rights. The idea of personal privacy, even within the family, has now become normal and so a new psychological boundary has been created around individuals in a family. Family members are now even more likely to sleep individually in their own rooms. This new notion of the family as an accumulation of equal individuals was brought in (Roland, 1988), and emotional dependence on, and identification with, the family has recently been reduced (Matsumoto, Kudoh, & Takeuchi, 1996).

To summarize, Japanese values concerning intimacy and privacy have been changing. The differentiation between the inside of the group and the outside world remains, but people have become aware of their individuality and privacy inside their group or family (Ozaki & Lewis, 2006). Where formerly parents and children slept together, in present days, family members are more likely to have their individual bedroom.

4.4.2 Metropolis London

4.4.2.1 Holy Trinity Church

The Church's inwardly-curved façade, as pictured in **Fig. 29**, enfolds a more intimate semi-circular public micro-retreat, away from all the movement on Kingsway. The Holy Trinity provided as a church, a warm hospitality to its visitors, deriving them from Kingsway onto the ambiguous stage established by its façade, into the doorway of its portico. (Borden, 2001).

Forsaken as a place of worship in 1991, the church soon became an interesting spot for many homeless people in Holborn. A semi-permanent location for sitting and sleeping, distanced from the more open area around the corner. It was now an appropriated part of urban space, accessible to the public, and private to those pursuing their own sort of illegal real estate (Borden, 2001).



^ Fig. 29: Holy Trinity Church, Holborn

Until the new owners of the church, the Post Office, installed a wooden, three-metres-high wall, coloured in vibrant blue. It spanned the full length of the Holy Trinity front, so that the semi-public stage became excluded from street and passers-by. Although, it is not really that the building is shut off from people, but that people, and particularly the homeless, are shut off from the building. For preserving their new investment, the new proprietors have constructed a boundary of exclusion, which physically holds off the undesired from their property (Borden, 2001).

To the former, temporary inhabitants of the Holy Trinity portico, this was an absolute boundary of separation, defining the now impassable gap between public and private, ownership and use, and recent history and instant future (Borden, 2001). This physical inhibiting boundary has undeniable restricted social and psychological impacts.

Following suggestions from urban geographers such as Edward Soja and David Harvey, anthropologist Marc Augé, historian Michel Foucault, and in specific, philosopher Henri Lefebvre, architectural academics are reconceptualising architecture as a space of flows and not as an object in space, but as the product of, and interaction between objects, spaces, individuals and ideas (Borden, Rendell, & Thomas, 1998). Bernard Tschumi (1990) is one of the most determined architectural theorist following this view is:

“Can one attempt to make a contribution to architectural discourse by relentlessly stating that there is no space without event, no architecture without program? (...) Our work argued that architecture – its social relevance and formal invention – could not be dissociated from the events that “happened” in it.” (Tschumi, 1990,p. 142)

Architecture is both designed and experienced, it is produced and reproduced, and social, physical and temporal at the same time (Forty, 1996). Georg Simmel (1997) remarked, almost 70 years ahead of Lefebvre’s work, that social and physical boundaries make social orders more concrete, more intensely experienced, and clarify conflictual relations. The Holy Trinity-screen illustrates this piercingly. Although the screen is focussed on being an inhibiting, physical boundary, we need to acknowledge the social and psychological impact as well. It is an effort by an institution to dominate the relation between people and property.

In this case, the Post Office is negotiating the relation between itself and the undesirables, by constructing a physical screen which covers off its own affairs. The evident function of the blue screen here is empowered by its height and texture. This corresponds with its duty as an obstacle to the movement of the human body, precluding the vertical and, particularly, the horizontal passage. Its inhibiting character is able to keep the homeless away. Besides this, the screen presents another, more penetrating domination over the space and time of the would-be-invasive body. In front of the stage is a low wall, with perfect depth and height to sit and sleep on, but the screen makes an abrupt 45 degrees deviation, leaving only 150 mm of wall clear in front. In this way, the wall is not wide or protected enough for a human being to sleep on, neither enjoyable for anyone else to sit (Borden, 2001).

Apart from eliminating a temporal pausing area, the clear blue surface of the screen is a smooth space devoid of exactly that detail interest and tactility that Merleau-Ponty (1962) and Pallasmaa (2007) searched to reassert against the domination of vision. The blue screen reveals the seemingly ordinary boundary as a zone of negotiation, in which vision is just one of a series of body-centric architectural devices and cultural signs. It is not just a screen, but an inhibiting boundary, a zone in which physical, social and psychological effects are tested, dominated and shaped through architecture (Borden, 2001).

4.4.2.2 Broadgate Business District

Broadgate office district, constructed for the post 'Big Bang'³ (Jacobs, 1996; King, 1990; Sassen, 1991) deregulated financial centre in London, is a leading example of those new urban spaces, that have simultaneously a public and private character. The Broadgate site provides four million square feet of high quality office space in combination with three internalised urban squares, large floor plates of over 30,000 square feet, generous atria and a high technical servicing capacity that serve the needs of modern office and trading activities (Hannay, 1985; 1988; Rabenek, 1990; Swenarton, 1988).

This particular aesthetic district within the City, accommodates Americanised "fashion effect" architecture constructed by Arup Associates and Skidmore, Owings and Merrill Architects, showcasing a sphere of prestige and wealth (Harvey, 1989; Rabenek, 1990). Broadgate tries very hard to establish its social character by the dominance of well-suited office workers, including their high salaries and frequent pay rises (Thrift, 1994). Lefebvre (1996) labelled this the model

³ *The Big Bang refers to the day of deregulation for the securities market in London on Oct. 27, 1986, in which the London Stock Exchange (LSE) became a private limited company. The event revitalized the LSE because outside corporations were allowed to enter its member firms, and automated price quotation was established.*

of the "New Athens", where new centres of decision-making incorporate the managerial "New Masters" who enact control over all those who work there.

"Coercion and persuasion converge with the power of decision-making and the capacity to consume. Strongly occupied and inhabited by these new Masters, this centre is held by them. Without necessarily owning it all, they possess this privileged space, axis of a strict spatial policy... Around them, distributed in space according to formalized principles, there are human groups which can longer bear the name of slaves, serfs, vassals or even proletarians... Subjugated, they provide a multiplicity of services for the Masters of this State solidly established on the city." (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 161)

Lefebvre's statement here is about the role of the State in the 1960's. Broadgate, was established in circumstances of diminishing State power, and had to assume the role of the State itself, directing, apart from the built environment, also the social relations, behavioural patterns and conflicts, and inhibiting and facilitating boundaries. Clearly defined shops, health clubs, Japanese restaurants and champagne bars take care of the businessman, while hanging signs keeping people not in "smart" dress out. As Zeisel (1984) argues, symbols may be boundaries to, depending how people interpret symbols, they may change their behaviour. There is an obvious diversification here, but it is a diversity based only on image and appearance, where the logic of vision is used to stand for historical truth (Borden, 2001).

"The predominance of visualization serves to conceal competitiveness. People look, and take sight, take seeing, for life itself. We build on the basis of papers and plans. We buy on the basis of images. Sight and seeing, which in the Western tradition once epitomized intelligibility, have turned into a trap: the means whereby, in social space, diversity may be stimulated and a travesty of enlightenment and intelligibility ensconced under the sign of transparency." (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 75-76)





^ Fig. 30: Broadgate Circle

In addition, Lefebvre remarks that the "New Masters" here have the exceptional privilege to obtain and dominate time (Lefebvre, 1996). Time in nature is experienced in terms of seasons, daily changes and generations, while in capitalism time is measured only on clocks, experienced only as correctly defined periods of work and leisure (Lefebvre, 1991). The, for example, 'public' toilets at Exchange Square are only accessible at lunch-time for the office people who need some fresh air. Time is to be controlled and dominated, just like space (Borden, 2001).

Different sorts of hidden flows exist here, some of them are literally underground, while others are socially and temporally unseen, left secretly by the firmly positivist architecture. In turn, as Lefebvre (1991) mentions, we render our own bodies and lived experience into abstractions, and have no critical thoughts - because the space is classified, we tend to accept it at face value (Lefebvre, 1991).

The IRA bombs of 1992 and 1993, both in a radiation of 400 metres of Broadgate, and the attack on the Docklands and Canary Wharf in 1996 were the sorts of threat even the City of London has been unable to avoid. It resulted in a lot of injuries, deaths, widespread devastation and, probably even more important, a complete shock in the financial sector, which made them taking a range of measures to strengthen the outer walls of its enclave. Individual buildings have adopted a series of measures to control access both from outside and internally, with departmental 'Chinese Walls'⁴. The police has successfully redirected both robbery and terrorism to other parts of London, but in terms of the project's overall boundaries Broadgate's managers are happy to trust on their own system of private security guards (Borden, 2001).

Discrete but still distinctive indications mark this inner social cordon. The southern entrance is signaled by Richard Serra's massive public art sculpture *Fulcrum* (**Fig. 31**), while other different art pieces indicate the edge of the property line. Numerous 'gates' accomplish analogous boundary-creating and culture-boosting roles, to designate the transition from public to private realms, together with surveillance cameras that record the area's limits (Borden, 2001).

The *Go-Between Screens* (**Fig. 32**), a design by Alan Evans, is located north of the Broadgate Arena, edging the first phases near to 1 Appold Street. They seem to present a normal boundary control, but these gates are not so common as they look. When 'closed' it is still possible to walk around their sides thanks to a two metre gap being left for this purpose. The inhibiting boundary here is not closed to the moving body as it was in the Holy Trinity case, it functions other than just as a physical exclusion. This sense is strengthened by the artful materiality of the *Go-Between Screens*. The highly-machined hard granite surfaces of the surrounding buildings stand in contrast with the screens, made of 24 forged mild steel panels, with line forging used to create a soft

⁴ 'Chinese wall' is a business term describing an information barrier within an organization that was erected to prevent exchanges or communication that could lead to conflicts of interest.



^ Fig. 31: Richard Serra – "Fulcrum"; south entrance Broadgate



^ Fig. 32: Alan Evans – “Go-Between Screens”

visibly-hammered surface (Borden, 2001).

The Broadgate gates block less the horizontal movement of the body but question the self-perception of the visitor, as to whether they are permitted on to this territory or not, at the moment they infiltrate and pass through the gates. The boundary here is experienced, not only physically but even more on a sociocultural and psychological level.

Broadgate actually has no inhabitants as privatised urban space under corporate control, so everyone who walks into the site is or a worker, a visitor or trespasser. Like Foucault remarks of heterotopias:

“Anyone can enter one of these heterotopian locations, but, in reality, they are nothing more than an illusion: one thinks one has entered and, by the sole fact of entering, one is excluded.” (Foucault, 1993, p. 335)

These boundaries are establishing a particular sense of uniqueness towards Broadgate's workers, but exclude all the others by erecting inhibiting boundaries that people perceive on a physical, as well as on a sociocultural and psychological level.

Different from the blue screen of the Holy Trinity Church, the mixture of soft gates and hard architecture, does not work primarily to physically exclude the undesired, but it wants to challenge the mind, at the moment they pass through the boundary, by asking questions like: Should you be here? Should you be here now? Do you have the right of passage (Borden, 2001)? Since the nineteenth century self-regulation has been intensified through social themes like sex, morality, work and family (Lefebvre, 1984). There is a growing physical accompanying to that process of self-regulation, wherein architecture asks us to regulate ourselves. In this situation, the temporality and psychologically of the passing through the gates is also essential, as it presents the brief, nevertheless, urgent actuality of this interrogation process. The gates are not just the space but the lived period through which the visitors look at themselves in relation to Broadgate. Resulting in space, temporality, body and identity that are together confronted and constructed, in a form of Marc Augé's (1995) "non-place as a turning back on the self" and an inspection of the connection between the individual and that non-place. With more mental implications than brute physicality, this is the ultimate expansion of the Benthamite Project⁵ of surveillance, wherein each citizen evaluates and disciplines themselves (Foucault, 1979).

What is the architectural device by which this process happens? Borden (2001) argues that the answer lies in understanding the building surface as a mirror. If architectural monumentality formerly allowed each member of society an image of that membership, a "recognition effect" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 220) produced by "*experiencing a total being in a total space*" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 221) and allowing "*a continual back-and-forth between private speech of ordinary conversations, and the public speech of discourses, lectures, sermons, and all theatrical forms of utterance*" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 224), then in abstract space, such social processes have all but disappeared.

These glass walls, used now almost universally in office construction, act as an inhibiting boundary, rather than a facilitating one. On the ground plane you see what's inside the building, but you can't touch, smell or hear anything within (Sennett, 2015). Curiosity is triggered, entrance not allowed.

The city questions the citizen, its architecture is a cut-back of the "real" to "*the flatness of a mirror, of an image, of pure spectacle under an absolutely cold gaze.*" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 287). Humans today are no longer supposed to be individuals, but are expected

⁵ *The Panopticon is a type of institutional building designed by the English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham in the late 18th century. The concept of the design is to allow all (pan-) inmates of an institution to be observed (-opticon) by a single watchman without the inmates being able to tell whether or not they are being watched.*

to play a role in society (Lefebvre, 1991). The visitors reconfigure themselves here in the normative character of Broadgate, everyone transforms into a 'cast-member' and inhere they verify whether the scenery suits them and contrariwise (Borden, 2001). The inhibiting boundary is so confirmed by the ritual of passing through, not by physically stopping them, but by asking visitors: do you have the right of passage?

Similar to the bar-example, the visitors are experiencing this boundary at the three different levels. The gates indicate physically where the boundary is, the allure of the district and its workers indicate a different sort of social environment, and ultimately, the visitor takes the architecture into themselves and allow it to grow inside and dominate them (Borden, 2001).

4.4.3 Discussion

Except for being functional, physical boundaries also represent social classifications which construct and are preserved by social and psychological boundaries.

A comprehension of sociocultural and psychological boundaries and the underlying classification structure allows us to analyse physical space and its particular organisation. A certain physical organisation has reasons for its existence, because people need particular arrangements to accommodate their ritual practices, which helps them to maintain certain boundaries, and accordingly, social classifications.

In the Japanese example, the social classifications that differentiate the inside from outside, clean from dirty, intimate and safe from alien and dangerous, create certain physical boundaries, which demonstrate the importance of the vestibule, the separation of toilet and bathroom. These boundaries have stayed constant over the last century, whereas shifted boundaries, related to the increasing acceptance of individual privacy, resulted in individual, separated bedrooms (Ozaki & Lewis, 2006).

Forsaken as a place of worship in 1991, the Holy Trinity church soon became an appropriated part of urban space, accessible to the public, and private to those pursuing their own sort of illegal real estate (Borden, 2001). Until the new owners installed a three-metres-high wall, for preserving their new investment. The semi-public stage became excluded from street and passers-by. People, and particularly the homeless, were shut off from the building. Architectural academics are reconceptualising architecture as a space of flows and not as an object in space. As the product of, and interaction between objects,

spaces, individuals and ideas (Borden, Rendell, & Thomas, 1998). In this case, the Post Office is negotiating the relation between itself and the undesirables, by constructing a physical screen which covers off its own affairs (Borden, 2001). What first served as an intimate space, now transformed into a boundary of separation; an inhibiting boundary in which physical, social and psychological effects are tested, dominated and shaped through its architecture.

Discreet but still distinctive indications mark the inner social cordon of Broadgate. Numerous 'gates' accomplish analogous boundary-creating and culture-boosting roles, to designate the transition from public to private realms, together with surveillance cameras that record the area's limits (Borden, 2001). There is an obvious diversification here, but it is a diversity based on image and appearance. These boundaries are establishing a particular sense of uniqueness towards Broadgate's workers, but exclude all the others by erecting inhibiting boundaries that people perceive on a physical, as well as on a sociocultural and psychological level. Different from the blue screen of the Holy Trinity Church, the mixture of soft gates and hard architecture, does not work primarily to physically exclude the undesired, but questions the self-perception of the visitor, at the moment they pass through the boundary, by asking questions like: Should you be here? Should you be here now? Do you have the right of passage (Borden, 2001)? There is a growing physical accompanying to the process of self-regulation, wherein architecture asks us to regulate ourselves. The gates are not just the space but the lived period through which the visitors look at themselves in relation to Broadgate.

4.5 Reflections on Intimacy in Architecture

These latter three examples all illustrate a sense of intimacy by excluding particular people or groups. It strengthens the inclusiveness and uniqueness of others by using boundaries to establish important demarcations. These boundaries may be experienced on three different, yet correlated levels – physical, sociocultural, and psychological, and can inhibit or facilitate intimate actions. Where the Japanese culture uses boundaries to facilitate their rituals and create an intimate home, the Holy Trinity church and Broadgate use them to inhibit homeless and visitors from inhabiting and entering.

Intimate situations may have particular spatial and temporal characteristics, and these can be organized. (Henriksson, 2014). The inwardly-curved façade of the Holy Trinity church, that first served as

an intimate space, soon transformed into a boundary of separation; an inhibiting boundary in which physical, social and psychological effects are tested, dominated and shaped through a three-meters-high wall, excluding both the undesired and passers-by. In the Japanese example, the distinction between the inside and outside is the base of social and psychological boundaries which organizes Japanese behaviour and social interplays (Ozaki & Lewis, 2006). It clearly separates insiders and outsiders, where outsiders are not invited into this intimate family space. Broadgate uses both temporal and spatial isolation, to make businessmen focus exclusively on their work, causing Broadgate's visitors to feel excluded. As Henriksson (2014) argues, these are two things that may create intimacy. Broadgate's capitalism-time is experienced only as correctly defined periods of work and leisure (Lefebvre, 1991). It is to be controlled and dominated, just like space, allowing minimal confrontation of the other, and so minimal distraction from the business at hand (Borden, 2001). On the other hand, its architecture and other discreet but still distinctive indications mark the inner social cordon of Broadgate. Numerous 'gates' designate the transition from public to private realms, which questions the self-perception of the visitor.

These three case studies demonstrate that intimacy is not always relational, but rather situational (Schutz, 1964). Relationships can be understood as a series of situations of which some of them may be intimate, as in the example of the Japanese houses, but both the Holy Trinity church and Broadgate illustrate that intimacy can exist beyond the institutionalized roles within our private lives, which opens the discussion about its importance within the public sphere.

CONCLUSION

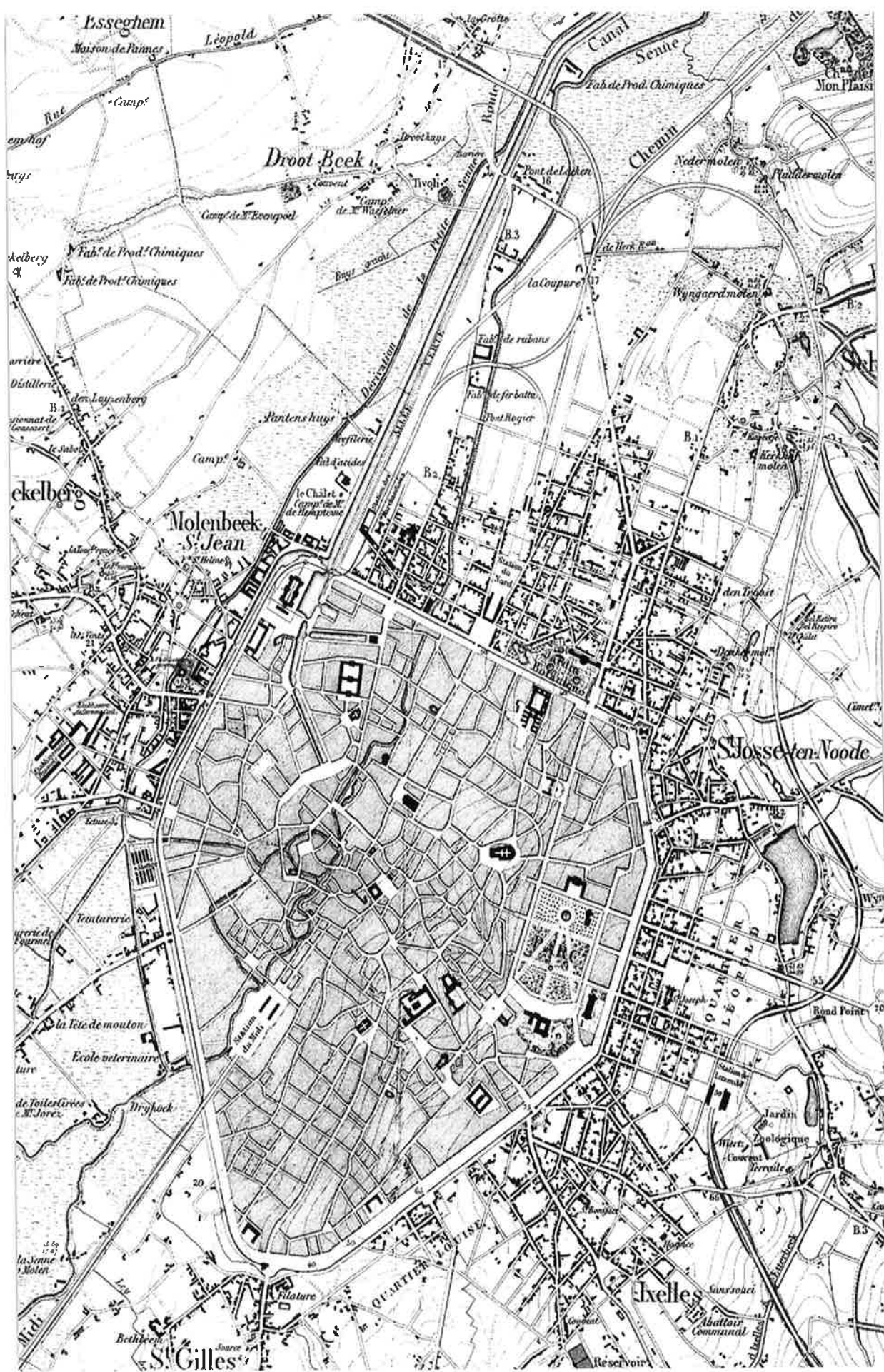
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The investigation on whether architecture may have an influence on people's feeling of intimacy, is triggered by two relevant questions; Is there a need for more human-centred design in architecture after Modernism? and; Does a constant connectedness and constant displacement, due to our globalizing world, still allow us to experience an intimate moment within public space? Conducted theoretical review senses the importance of particular spatial and temporal characteristics; influential boundaries that may include or exclude people; and argues that intimacy is not relational, but rather situational. This allows us to transfer the concept beyond the boundaries of our households, into the public sphere, noticing different issues and conflicts. The term 'Intimate Citizenship' (Plummer, 2001; 2003) - in an identical way as Inclusive Design -, serves as a continuing attempt to remove inequalities in the world, by recognizing the diversity and uniqueness of all people. This illustrates the implications a better awareness of intimacy may have in order to solve conflicts within society and public space. Results of environmental behaviour observations conducted in four churches and four underground stations, in London, support the initial conceptualization of intimacy and indicate an influence of visible and non-visible boundaries; the public space, as a busy, active area, which demands us to use all kind of boundaries to include or exclude the right people. Further theoretical review and three case studies on boundaries, suggest a classification of both the boundary experience, which explains how boundaries can be experienced on three divers, yet correlated levels - physical, sociocultural and psychological; and the boundary-perception, which suggest how boundaries may inhibit or facilitate intimate moments. Results of both literature review, observations and case studies suggest that our public space, due to the effect of diverse boundaries, has an influence on people's feeling. Designers may not underestimate the importance of intimacy, as it is a fundamental parameter within everyday life. Further research on this topic, may imply precisely how boundaries in public space can generate intimacy, and which architectural parameters may contribute.

The next chapter explores a practical translation of this theoretical research on intimacy. The master project INTIMAC(IT)Y, explores the synergy between intimacy and water and how public bathing can contribute to a better living quality in Brussels.



MASTER PROJECT



Essegem

Leopold

Maison de Pannes

Canal Senne

Fab. de Prod. Chimiques

Mon Plaisir

Droot Beek

Chemin

Fab. de Prod. Chimiques
Fab. de Prod. Chimiques

Molenbeek
S. Jean

S. Josse-ten-Noode

Ixelles

S. Gilles

Abbatior
Communal

1

The Public Sphere of Brussels

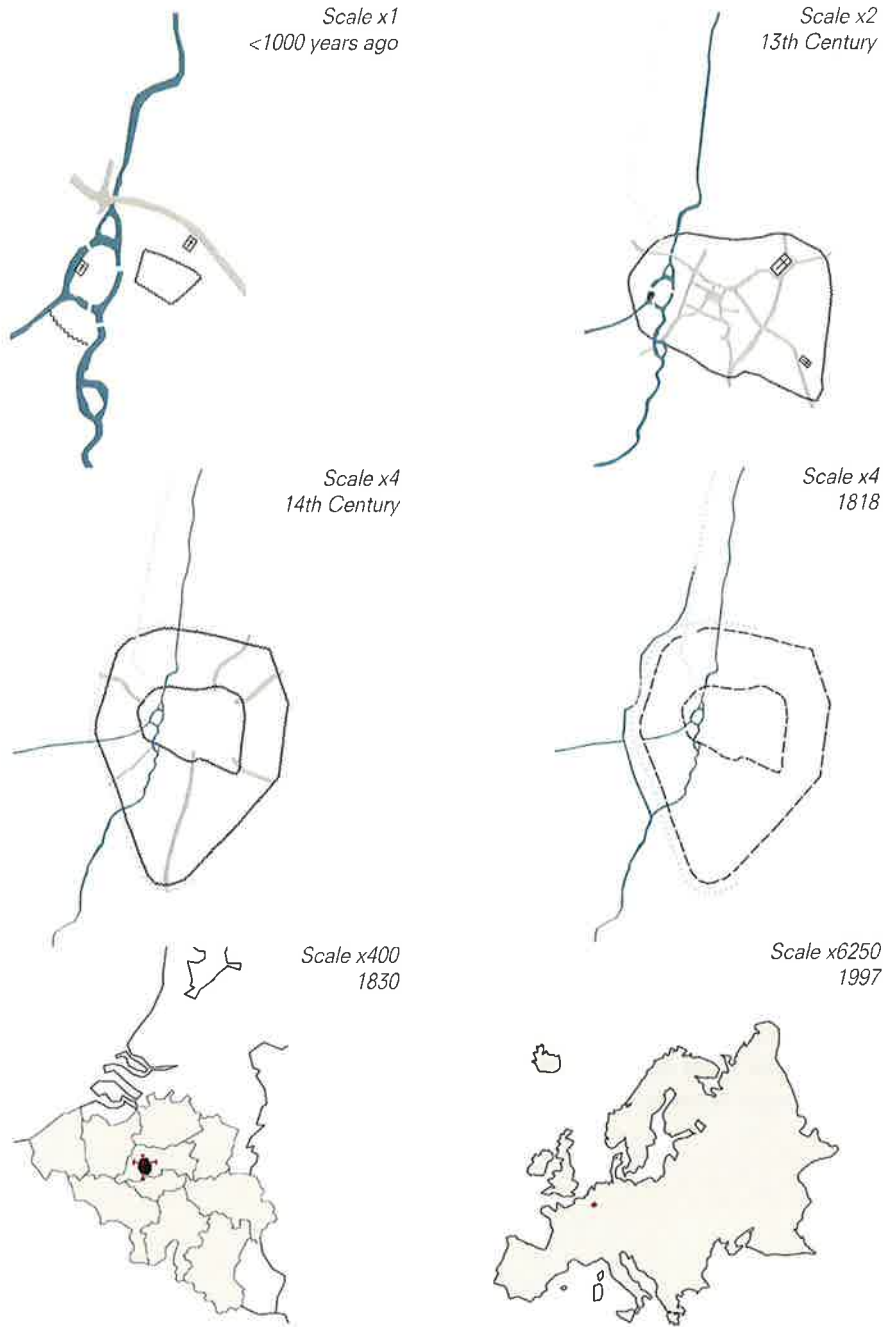
1.1 Introduction

In its long history, the city of Brussels always greatly influenced Belgium on a social, economic and political level. In the evolution of the city, the water played a pivotal role, whereby the original marshlands affected the morphology of the city. Developing an artificial waterway made it possible to connect to other economic powers and by covering parts of the natural waterways (the Zenne and smaller streams) new typologies and industrial activities were brought into the urban fabric.

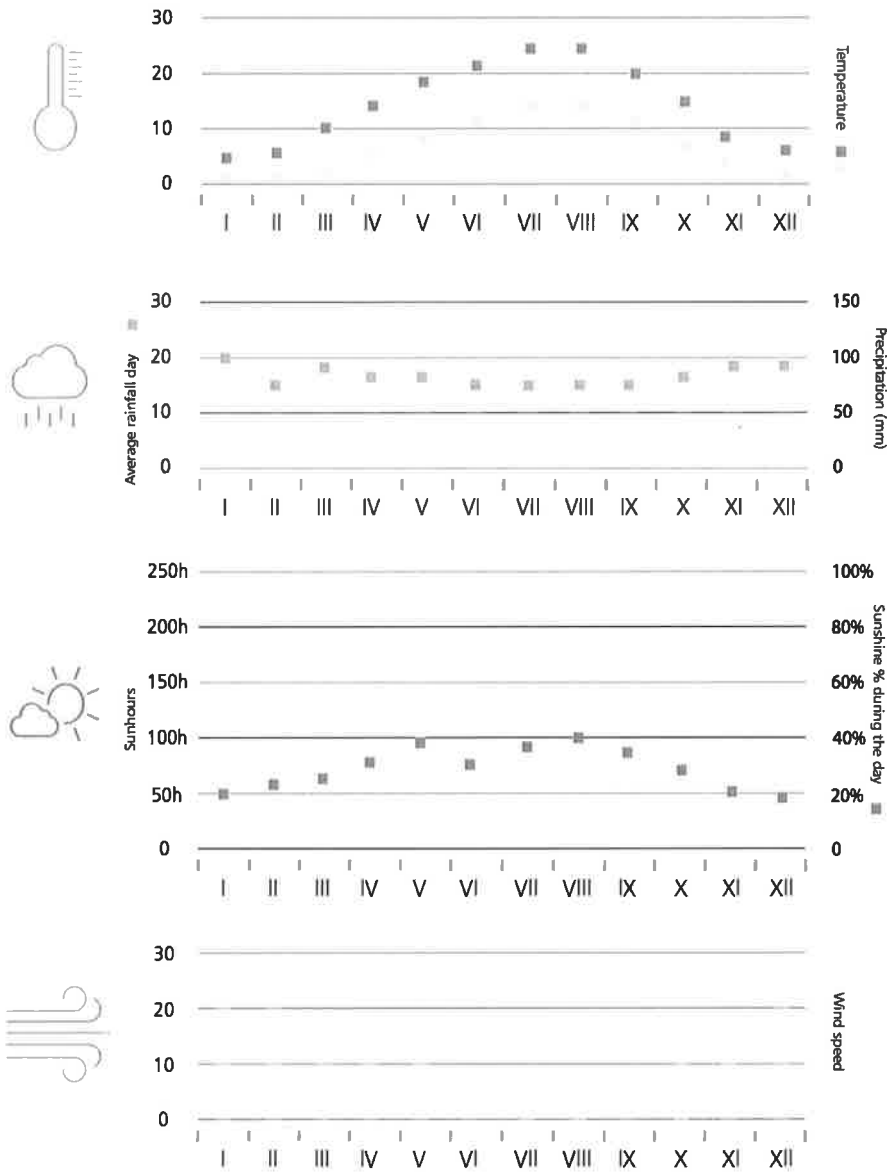
1.2 Climate

The climate of Belgium is a Cfb climate, a temperate climate with mild winters and cool summers. In Belgium we can distinguish mesoclimates, where the differences are caused by the distance to the water, topography and soil type, largely corresponding to the different types of landscape.

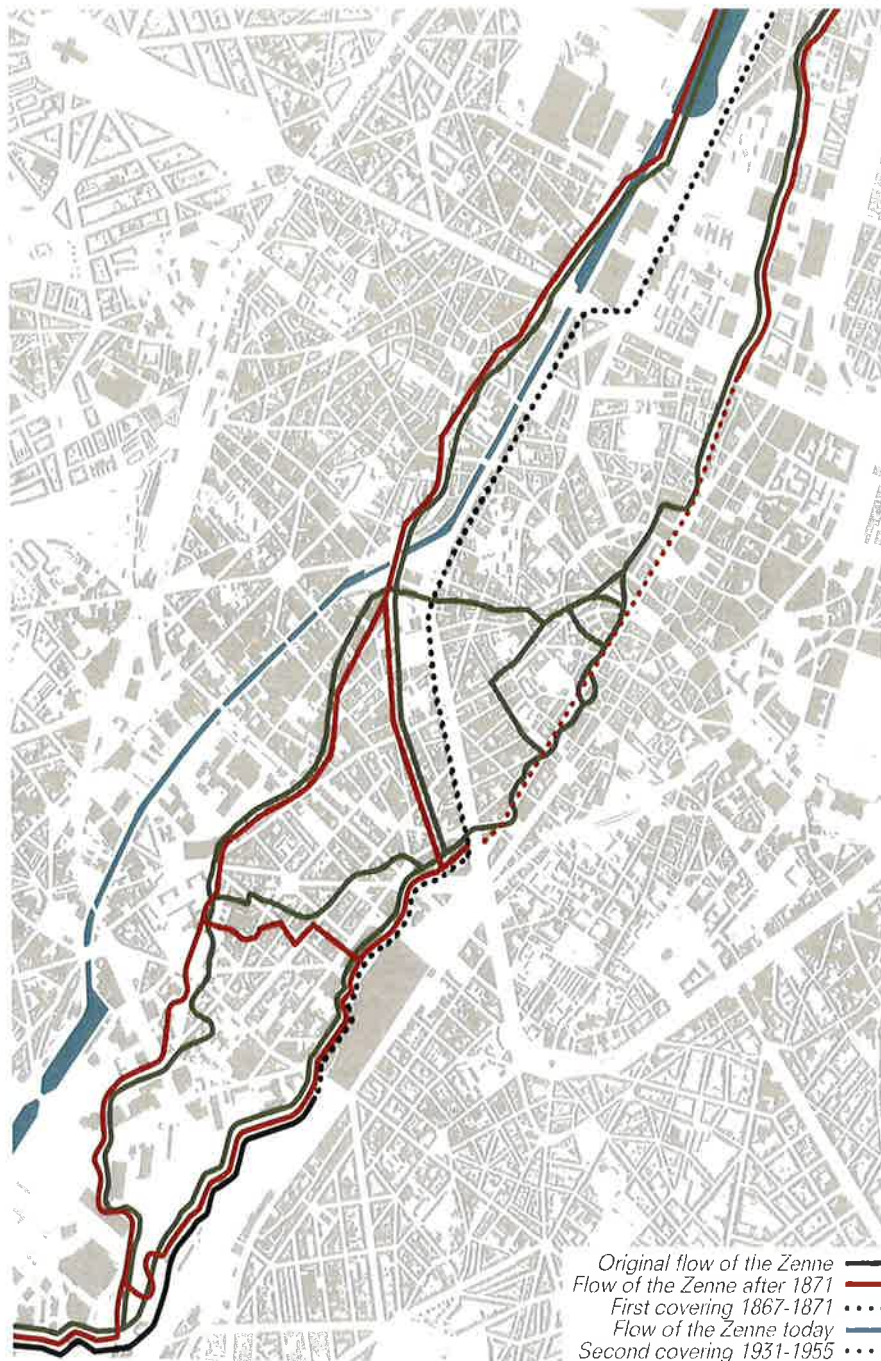
The climate is influenced by the North Sea which moderates the temperature throughout the year. The average coldest month is January, the warmest is July. In recent years the average temperature increased, due to an enhanced greenhouse effect. Despite having the image of a rainy country, it only rains an average of 7% in Belgium.



^ Fig. 34: Evolution of physical boundaries



^ Fig. 35: Overview climate



Original flow of the Zenne —
Flow of the Zenne after 1871 —
First covering 1867-1871
Flow of the Zenne today —
Second covering 1931-1955

^ Fig. 36: Evolution of the Zenne

1.3 Water

The water of the Senne, used for hygienic and domestic purposes throughout the years, functioned also as an important source for food, until the river was too polluted as it was used to get rid of waste. Meanwhile the pollution is under control and the water is used for transport and recreation.

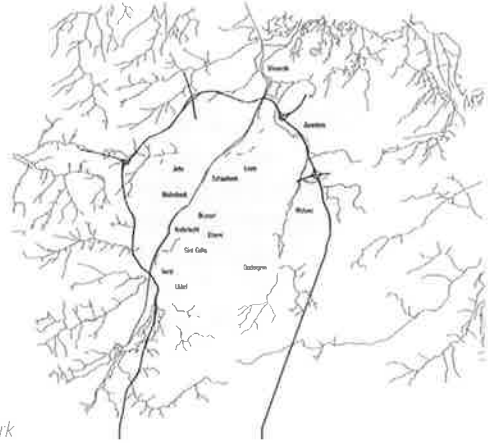
On the aerial picture (**Fig. 37**) a first physical boundary between the built and unbuilt area shows up. A very dense centre and a few green structures penetrating the asphalted area. A large piece of infrastructure, the bigger ring of Brussels, seem to embrace the built area. The cities and regions around the ring have clearly a more rural character than the center but are still very dense.

Combining the map of the human impact with the hydrographical system shows a very remarkable phenomenon. The network of waterways and streams stops almost directly where the built areas are positioned. There is no collaboration or overlap of the two systems what makes the urbanized area a strong physical boundary. The only waterway that is crossing the built area is the Zenne, a man made canal.

The hydrographical system is also related to the green spaces in the area. In the south of Brussels we can find the Zoniën Forest, which is the biggest green-structure in the environment. In the centre and the built area several green places provide people with public places, parks, small playgrounds, etc.

Out of the urbanized area the structures become bigger and are more consistent. Although this is a more rural area, a lot of villages and small cities are located here and spread out the green facilities.

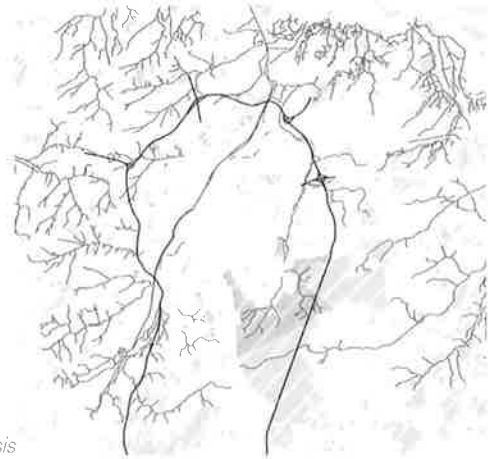
The term 'facilitating boundary' is for the outer-ring-area more correct than a 'inhibiting' one, because the natural structures can actually penetrate the boundary. This is the reason why there is a lot of potential in this location.



Hydro-graphical network



Green structures



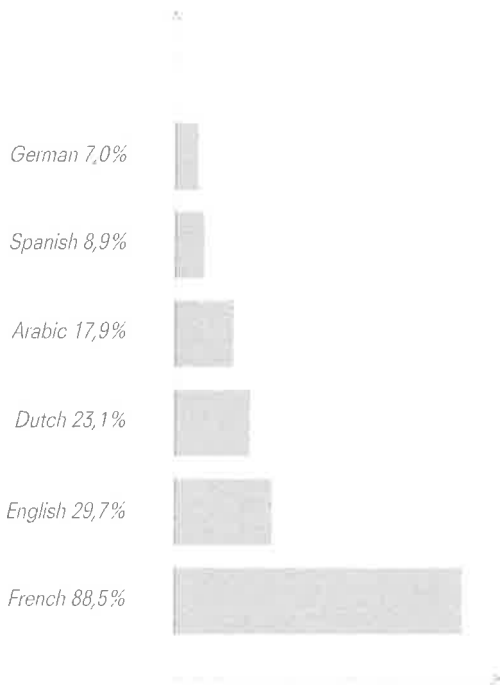
Synthesis

^ Fig. 37: Green area and hydro-geography

1.4 Citizenship

Brussels is historically a Dutch-speaking city, but there has been a shift to French in the past century. Although the capital region is officially bilingual, the majority of citizens speak French due to the increasing number of migrants. There are a lot of other languages spoken as well, by a large parts of the population of Brussels. The different languages, sociocultural boundaries that may operate as an inhibiting ones, are illustrated in **Fig. 38**. All these different influences form the base for the complicated social fabric of the area today, which makes Brussels the largest metropolitan city of Belgium. This comes with a lot of social challenges such as high density, unemployment and cultural diversity.

Though there are bridges and visual connections, the canal is now functioning as a 'inhibiting boundary' between central Brussels and Molenbeek. It would be more interesting to change this into a 'facilitating boundary', which turns the canal into a potential structure to add value to the city and its inhabitants.



[^] **Fig. 38:** Knowledge of languages in Brussels

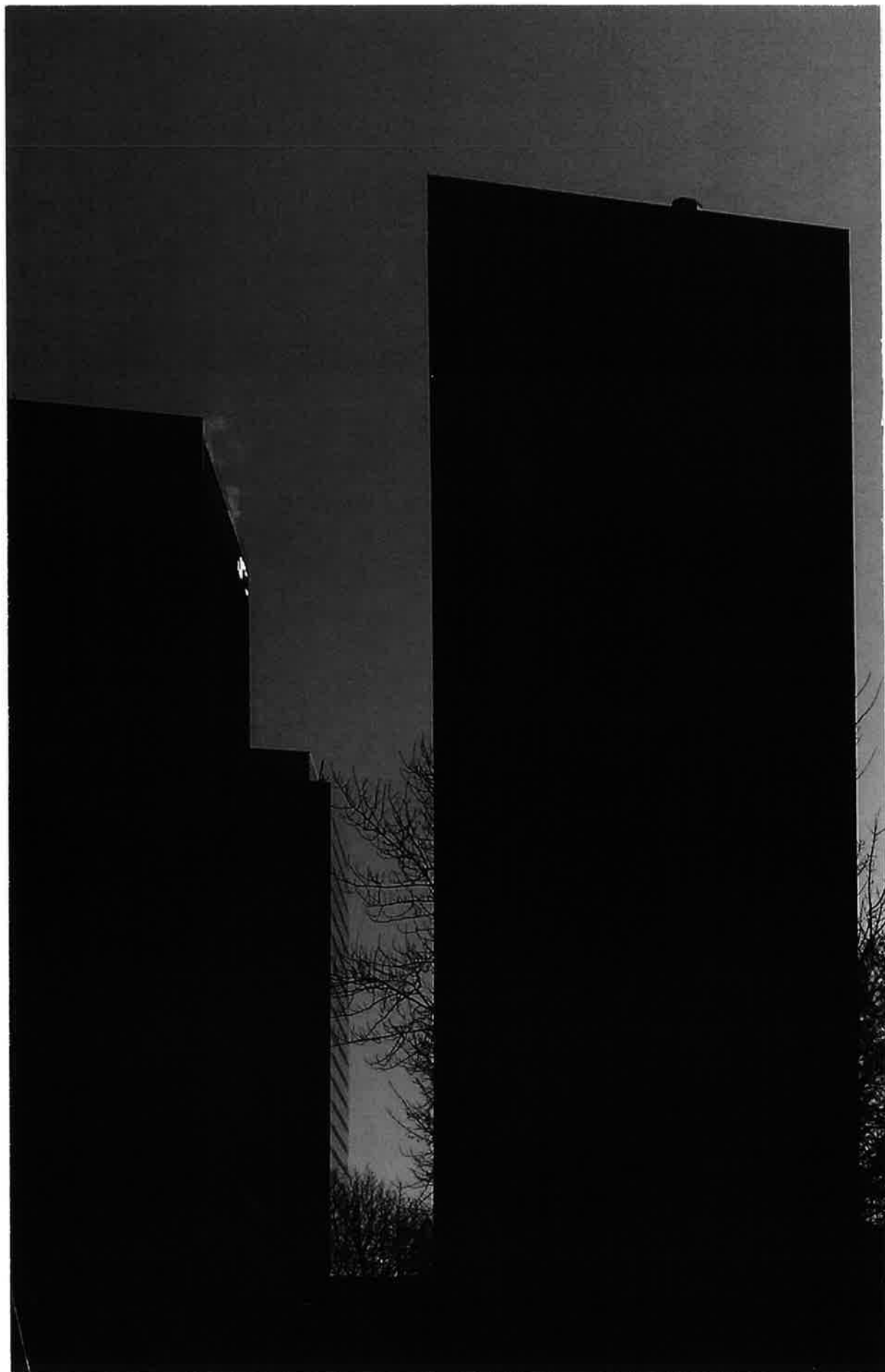
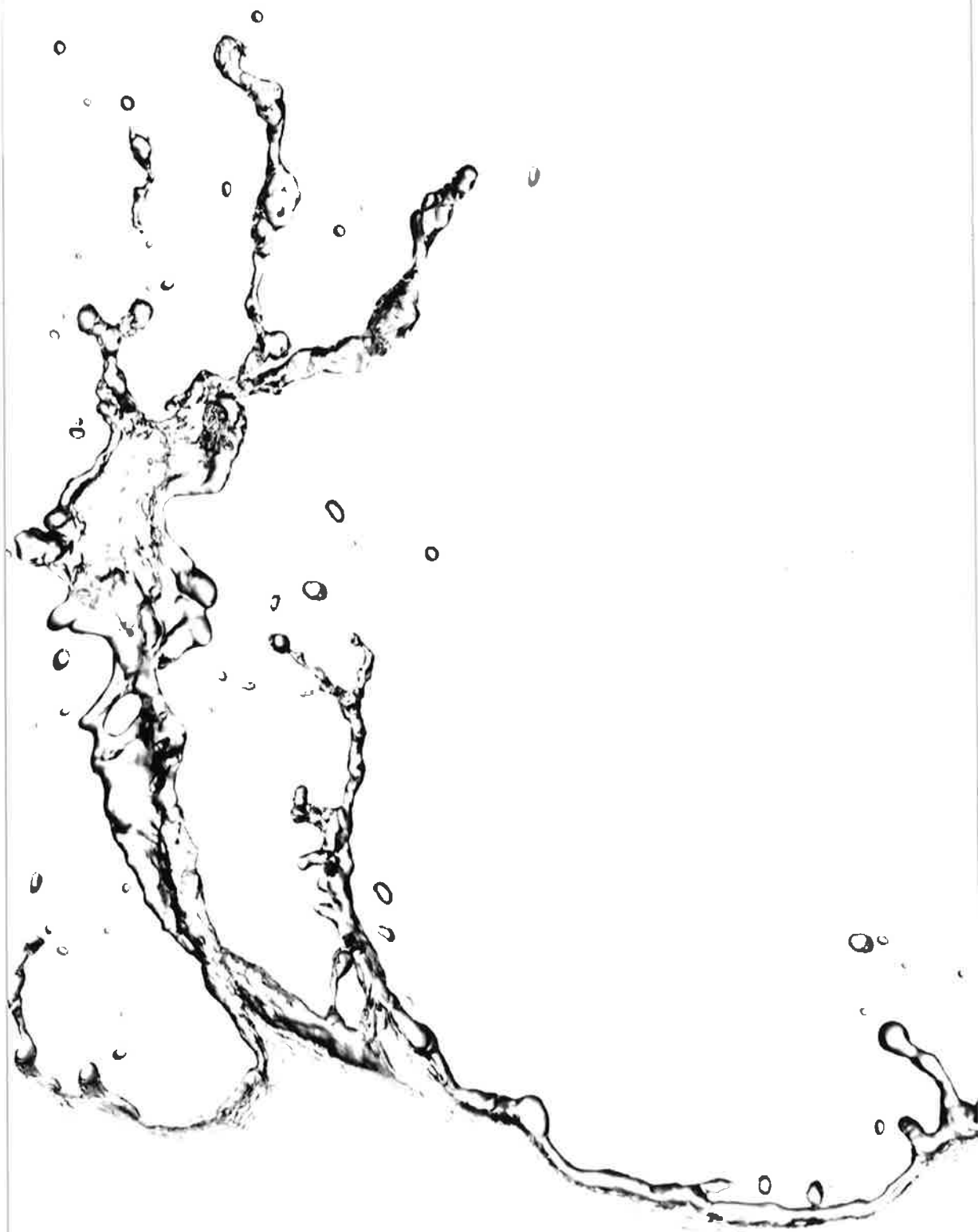




Figure 19 - Northern Quarter - Brussels, Belgium



2 INTIMAC(IT)Y: A Practical Approach on Intimacy

2.1 Interweaving Water and Intimacy

2.1.1 *Where?*

The project 'INTIMAC(IT)Y' finds itself within the canal zone of Brussels, in the middle of the 'Vergotedok'. The capital of Belgium and Europe is the perfect place to make a statement and to start a discussion about the importance of intimacy within our public spaces. The project, seemingly unconnected to anything else, creates a city within the city. It follows the existing building line and touches three sides underwater - a tunnel connected to the project 'The Reproductive City', another one is linked to the new park, and the main entrance to the building is positioned towards the city centre.

2.1.2 *What?*

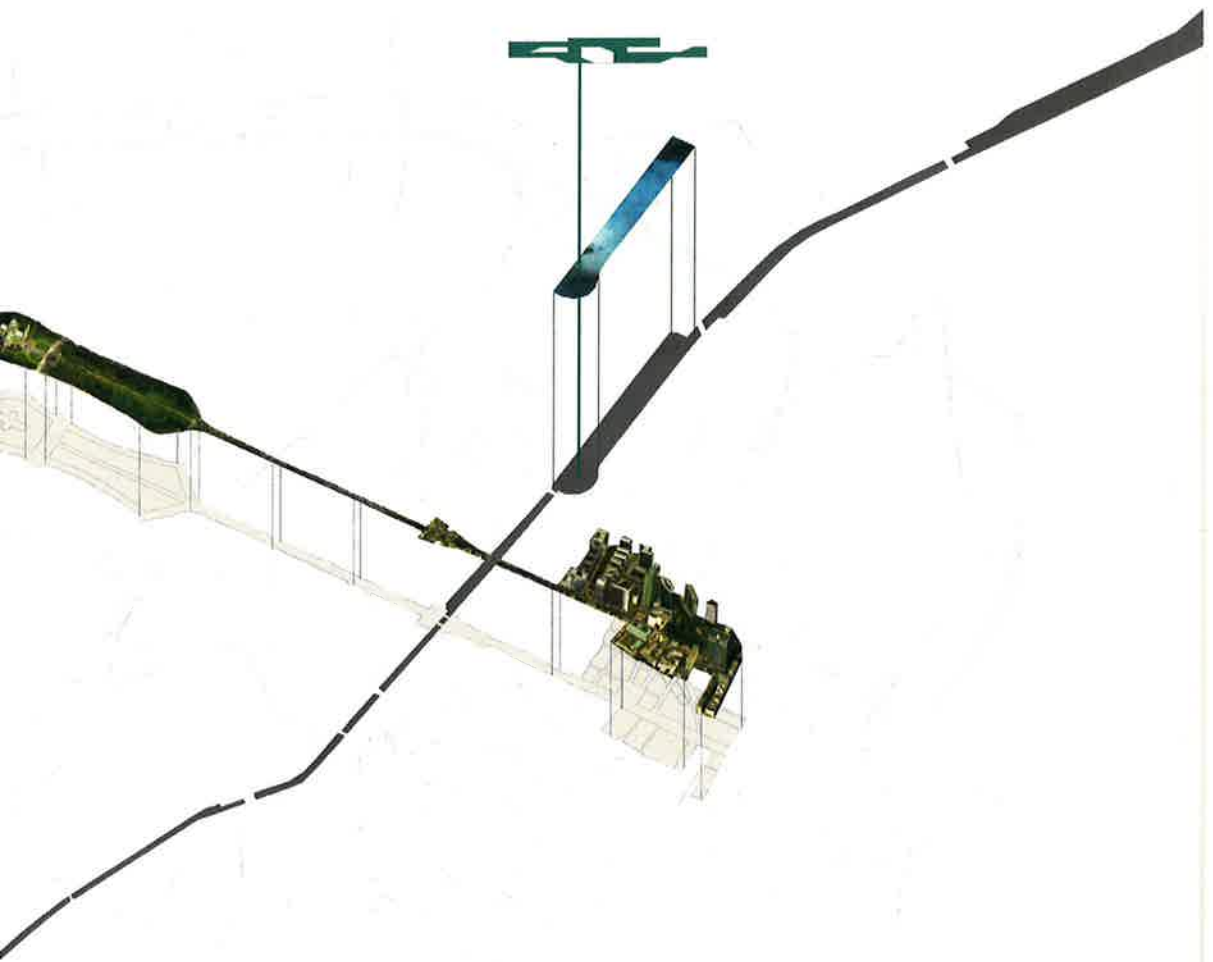
The project explores how we can create a public building, using the water of Brussels as a concept, to provide an array of different intimate encounters.

This large-scale sculpture houses water-recreation facilities on the lower level, entailing a rowing club, a large area to store all the equipment, a gym, a mooring area for boats and shared shower and toilet facilities.

The side, positioned towards the city center, stores the first open air swimming pool of Brussels, accompanied by two solar decks, changing rooms, a bath attendants' office and a yoga room. The club which is overlooking the water by night, can be transformed into a meeting or exhibition space during the day.

The side, overlooking the large 'Vergotedok' hides a more enclosed area of wellness and thermal baths. This piece is designed to trigger all human senses and experience ourselves and others in

> Fig. 40: INTIMAC(IT)Y context



different ways.

On top both a bar and restaurant fill in the space, provide a resting space before, while and after enjoying the different water-adventures.

2.1.3 Why?

Every major city in Europe has one or more public open air pools, but the capital of Europe has none. POOL IS COOL, a Brussel-based organisation who wants to re-introduce open air swimming, believes strongly in the contribution of outdoor swimming to the living quality of a city.

As Erving Goffman (1990) argued, we continuously try to impact what impression we give to others, not least through the kind of situation we allow ourselves to be encountered in. Experimenting with public bathing allow us to put ourselves in a position in which we cannot hide ourselves - going naked touches on these different boundaries on a physical, sociocultural and psychological level.

By using underwater hidden entrances, people will have the possibility to escape from the hectic daily life in Brussels. The tunnel functions as a period of time, enclosed from everything else, in order to change our mindset, to close off from Brussels and to get in the mood for something new.

The large-scale project functions as a new landmark. It represents our metropolitan region, which now, as Lynch argues, has become the functional unit in our environment (Lynch, 1960, p. 113-115). This building provides a lot of different settings, which allows us as an architect to work as a screenwriter and to provide a range of possible situations; situations that can become intimate.

INTIMAC(IT)Y, a totally isolated closed off building, only overlooks the endless canal on both short ends of the building. It creates a feeling of something limitless, as Freud (1983) described the most intimate relationship between a new-born child and its mother as something 'oceanic'.

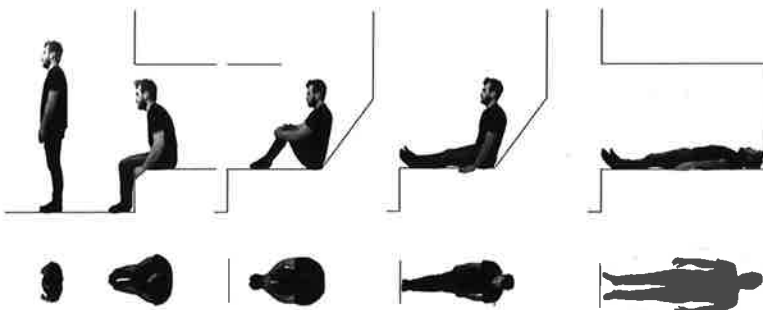
The big perforations in the solid concrete project allow the sculpture to function like Sennett labels it, 'a porous resistant membrane', *"The whole point about a porous-resistant membrane is that it allows mutual stimulation in exchange"* (Sennett, 2015). In the middle of the water, it can be looked at from 360 degrees, and provides a visual connection between 'The Reproductive City'-project and the new public park on the other side of the canal.

2.1.4 Who?

As intimacy is situational rather than relational, it can also exist outside family-boundaries, and can address phenomena in a broader context, like our public spaces. INTIMAC(IT)Y would like to invite everyone, because people's lives are defined by sociality. Like 'Intimate Citizenship' (Plummer, 2001, 2003), this project senses a sort of unity among diversity. In an identical way as Inclusive Design, the project serves as a continuing attempt to remove inequalities in the world, by recognizing the diversity and uniqueness of all people. The project tackles both intimate moments in institutionalized relationships and accidental encounters between strangers in a public place.

2.1.5 Whereafter?

This project will reinvent the canal zone of Brussel, both socially and economically, and highlights the importance of intimacy in a multicultural, globalizing capital. It provides the citizens of Brussel with a new relaxed space within the busy city, both in the building itself as well as in the park, overlooking the project.



[^] Fig. 41: Analysis bodyforms thermal baths



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