



SCHEVENINGEN

FROM A FISHING VILLAGE TO THE SEASIDE RESORT

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ABSTRACT

This history thesis aims to answer the question of how the development of modern tourism has affected the identity of Scheveningen at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The study is based on the analysis of predefined components of the identity of a place, based on research in the field of sociology, modern tourism and identity, as well as archival materials on Scheveningen. These sources include photo albums, illustrations, texts, newspapers and maps.

Based on the theories and definitions from the field of sociology and environmental psychology, in particular on the triadic interpretation based on J.G. Bennet's systematics in the context of place, place identity and phenomenology by David Seamon (2012), the components of place identity are determined at the first place. Thus, the analysis of the Scheveningen identity is focused on three main areas, defined in the main theoretical and methodological axis of the thesis. Firstly, the identity of Scheveningen is explored at the level of community life. This section covers topics such as notion of community, the clash of local customs and European lifestyle, as well as focal points of social interactions. Secondly, the thesis explores the physical environment of Scheveningen. The issues of both the urban layout and transitions in the architecture are presented. At the end, the aspect of hidden meanings and contexts in Scheveningen environment, considered as a factor between the physical and social layers, is thoroughly examined.

The conclusion of the thesis explains exactly what changes took place on the three main levels of the Scheveningen identity, caused by the development of modern tourism at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

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INTRODUCTION

[Place identity] is the cognitive representation and emotional evaluation of the part of the environment that individuals incorporate into their concept of themselves and see it as part of themselves. Referring it to social communities, it is the identity of a group that perceives a specific section of space as a component of the sense of collective belonging - functional for group cohesion and becoming an element of the ideological representation of the concept of "we" (Weichhart, 1990; as cited in Lukowski, 2002: 82-83).

This sense of belonging in the pre-modern period was most often shaped by the way small communities functioned – their everyday life, common needs and values that took root in space over time (Dymnicka, 2017). This relationship is explicitly visible in fishing villages, where fishing – a common point of designation of the life rhythm of the entire settlement – used to become the main factor creating their environment not only on the physical, but also social and cultural level (Khazkad and Griffith, 2016). In other words, a certain unique character identical with a given group was gradually developed. However, as Zygmunt Bauman (2004) claims, modern times have caused some “problems with identities”, which began to lose its social and local roots. Moreover, Bauman considers the ability to move from one place to another as one of the main reasons for this phenomenon. Notwithstanding, this supposedly insignificant change became the impulse for the birth of modern tourism (Zuelow, 2011) – a large-scale process which contributed to blurring the differences between individual places and instead of this, creating one unified world (Johnson, 2014).

An example of a place that for a long time was forming its identity as a fishing village, but then gained a completely new image as a result of the development of modern tourism, is Scheveningen – a district in the northern part of The Hague in the Netherlands. From the 13th to the 18th century, Scheveningen was functioning as an independent, isolated fishing village, with relatively small, but strongly connected community (Vermaas, 1926). Over time, the inhabitants developed their own culture, traditions and customs that infiltrated the physical and non-physical environment of the settlement. However, the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries brought major changes to Scheveningen. The seaside location of Scheveningen began to attract not only seekers of health and beautiful views from other cities (Walton, 2011), but as a result of the development of modern tourism, the village suddenly turned into a popular seaside tourist resort at the international level. Small fishermen’s houses were replaced by modern hotels and restaurants, while large groups of tourists turned the indigenous people of Scheveningen into a minority (Vermaas, 1926).

The main purpose of this thesis is to explore and analyze this issue by answering the question of **how the development of modern tourism has affected the identity of Scheveningen at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries**. The whole work would be contained in four chapters. In the first chapter, the history of Scheveningen would be presented, showing how Scheveningen has developed over the years and how it has become a popular tourist destination. Then, the second chapter would introduce the theoretical framework in which the concepts of identity, as well as identity of a place would be described. Based on the theory and definitions from the field of sociology and environmental psychology, in particular on the triadic interpretation based on J.G. Bennet’s systematics in the context of place, place identity and phenomenology by David Seamon (2012), the components of place identity would be determined. Thus, the main theoretical and methodological axis for the next parts of thesis would be defined.

The following chapters will analyze all of presented components of the identity of a place. Consequently, in third chapter, based on the research on sociology, history of Scheveningen, as well as archival materials in the form of photo albums, drawings, pictures and descriptions, the aspect of changes in community life in Scheveningen would be presented. Subject, such as notion of community, the clash of local customs and European lifestyle, as well as the aspect of focal points of social interactions would be analyzed. At the end, in chapter four, based on archival photographs, maps, as well as own diagrams created on their basis, the aspect of the physical environment and the meaning of a place would be explored. Changes at the level the urban layout of the district and its architecture would be discussed. The issue of hidden meanings and contexts in Scheveningen environment, considered as a factor between the physical and social layers, would be analyzed as well.

1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

How has Scheveningen developed over the years? What made it a popular seaside resort?

At the beginning, before introducing the complex theories of identity and place identity, it is crucial to present the context of the subject of analysis. Thus, this chapter will give a chronological development of Scheveningen. The first part will show what Scheveningen looked like and functioned between the 13th and 18th centuries, while the second part of the chapter would present how the development of modern tourism at the turn of the 19th and 20th century influenced the character of the village.

1.1. FISHING VILLAGE

Scheveningen is one of the most popular district of The Hague, situated in the northern part of the city. It is well known for its beautiful beaches full of tourists, plenty of restaurants and clubs, as well as the impressive and distinctive pier, built at the beginning of the 20th century, which is considered to be the showcase of the district. However, looking at the history of this place, it could be found out that 300 years ago Scheveningen was an independent fishing village, isolated from the city of The Hague, completely different from its present form.

Vermaas (1926), while speaking about the origins of the village of Scheveningen, points out that there is not enough source material to state when exactly the first inhabitants appeared in this area. However he mentions that due to the close relations between the West Holland and East England, as well as the names of nearby villages derived from Old English, people who were most likely the founders of Scheveningen were Anglo-Saxons. In turn, the first documented records of the village



Fig. 1.1 Elandts, C. (1668). *Gezicht op Scheveningen vanaf zee Schevelinck* [Drawing]. Wikimedia Commons. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gezicht_op_Scheveningen_vanaf_zee_Schevelinck_\(titel_op_object\),_RP-P-1909-1597.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gezicht_op_Scheveningen_vanaf_zee_Schevelinck_(titel_op_object),_RP-P-1909-1597.jpg)



Fig. 1.2 *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*. (1970). NRC Handelsblad [Newspaper]. Delpher. <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten>



Fig. 1.3 van Giessen, G. (1730). *Gezicht op Scheveningen vóór de Allerheiligenvloed van 1570* [Illustration]. Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gezicht_op_Scheveningen_v%C3%B3%C3%B3r_de_Allerheiligenvloed_van_1570,_RP-P-1944-2322.jpg

come from the 13th century (Vermaas, 1926). Janson (1974) agrees with this statement, by introducing the oldest physical source associated with the village – a document from 1280, which is a confirmation of a loan by Count Floris V to the Van Wassenaer family from Terra de Sceveninghe¹. Janson also mentions a document from 1307, in which Willem III van Holland, Count of the Netherlands and Zeeland, when establishing the city council in The Hague, orders that it should consist of 7 councilors, one of whom must have come from Scheveningen. These sources not only confirm the existence of the village, but also indicate that it must have been of fairly high importance.

Due to its coastal location, Scheveningen's life revolved around fishing. As Vermaas (1926) explains, a few centuries ago the sea was much richer than it is today and even the use of small, simple boats resulted in extremely fruitful catches for fishermen. This, in turn, made fishing the basis of the village's economy for many centuries and resulted in its constant development. Moreover, fishing was not only a significant aspect of the economy of the village, but also became the basis of its culture, traditions and the everyday life of the community (Vermaas, 1926). In other words, it was the focal point around which village life revolved. As Khazkad and Griffith (2016) claim, fishermen and their material culture – tools, boats, everyday objects – contribute to the creation of a characteristic, fishing cultural landscape. **Fig. 1.1** presents an engraving by Cornelis Elandts from 1668, showing Scheveningen at the end of the 16th century. In the foreground, there are several fishing boats, as well as the community of Scheveningen during their daily activities. In the central part there is the Oude Kerk church surrounded by residential buildings, while in the background the straight road leading to The Hague could be seen.

However, being bordered by the water meant plenty of challenges as well. Scheveningen during its existence has been ravaged by storms many times. The most devastating one was the All Saints' Flood in 1570. As Janson (1974) describes, the flood destroyed 128 houses, which made up about half of the entire village. However, despite serious damage, Scheveningen was gradually rebuilding itself.

¹ the former name of Scheveningen.

Janson (1974) mentions that according to the census of 1680, there were already over 200 houses in the village. The confirmation of this information can also be found in the newspaper *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1973). **Fig. 1.2** shows the article on the newspaper, it writes:

The Great Flood of Schevelinge (Scheveningen) occurred on All Saints 'Day in 1570. Not only were a number of houses demolished during the storm, but the entire beach in 't Dorp became a completely different place; the houses that originally stood on the seashore and between the sea and the church, [...] were either flooded or destroyed; as a result, the church that was built behind these houses stood on the edge of the sea where it stands until today. In 1680 there were already 222 houses in Scheveningen;

Scheveningen, through an economy based on fishery that was bringing an increasing profits, grew even faster over next centuries (Vermaas, 1926). **Fig. 1.3** shows the panorama of Scheveningen from the mid-18th century by Gerrit van Giessen. Comparing it with the figure from **Fig. 1.1**, it could be noticed that the village has grown almost fourfold. However, it could be agreed that the distinctive fishing character of Scheveningen was still present. Looking more closely at the drawing by Gerrit van Giessen, it can be noticed that the life of the community is indeed concentrated around the sea. There are many fishing boats, fishermen, fish traders, as well as other inhabitants for whom the sea is an integral part of life.

The history of Scheveningen from its inception until the end of the 18th century shows the image of an isolated village strongly connected to the sea, whose life revolved around fishing. However, the 19th and 20th centuries brought Scheveningen a number of significant changes that redefined its character and the way it functioned. One of the factors that had one of the most significant role in this process was the development of modern tourism.

1.2. SEASIDE RESORT

According to Zuelow (2011), contemporary tourism began to take shape in the beginning of 18th century as a "Grand Tour" of young English gentlemen who traveled to various parts of Europe to learn languages, establish new relationships or work on their aesthetic sensitivity. A hundred years later recreational traveling became an activity not only intended for the upper classes, but also possible for the middle and even working class. Zuelow (2011) explains that it was caused by the extremely rapid technological progress and the development of transport, which made traveling not only faster, but also cheaper and more accessible to the entire cross-section of society. On the other hand, the coasts and seaside towns have become one of the most popular tourist destinations. According to Walton (2011), they have become a meeting point for "health seekers" from all over Europe, as well as a center of fashion and wealth.

Scheveningen was one of the example of such a place. According to Walton (2011), the local elite fell in love with the beaches of Scheveningen since the mid-17th century. Subsequently members of the upper classes from other Dutch cities began to come here as well. Moreover, with the expansion of modern tourism from domestic to international markets in the early 19th century, Scheveningen became a popular destination for travelers from all over Europe. In this way, as Janson (1974) points out, Scheveningen suddenly began to lose its importance as a fishing village, and aroused more and more interest as a popular seaside resort.

The turning point, which could be considered as the beginning of the Scheveningen tourist era, was - according to Janson (1974) – the day of November 30, 1813. It was the moment when the King of the Netherlands, Willem VI², came to Scheveningen. As Janson (1974) recalls, the boat that

² the first king of the Netherlands of the Orange-Nassau family, from 1815 known as Willem I der Nederlanden.



Fig. 1.4 Penning, N. L. (1813). *Landing Willem Frederik Scheveningen* [Painting]. Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Landing_Willem_Fredrik_Scheveningen_1813.png

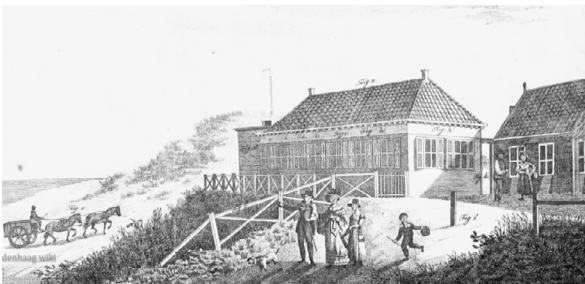


Fig. 1.5 Dietz, B. W., & van Cuylenburg, C. (1824). *Badhuis van Pronk* [Illustration]. Nationaal Archief. <https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/beleven/nieuws/tweehonderd-jaar-bad-plaats-scheveningen>



Fig. 1.6 *Het strand en het Kurhaus*. (1890). [Photograph]. Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Scheveningen_-_Het_strand_en_het_Kurhaus_1900.jpg



Fig. 1.7 *Scheveningen, Pier en Strand*. (1912). [Photograph]. Rijksmuseum. https://www.europeana.eu/pl/item/90402/RP_F_F19139?utm_source=api&utm_medium=api&utm_campaign=api2demo

reached the shore belonged to the local fisherman and shipowner Jacob Pronk, who, that reached the shore belonged to the local fisherman and shipowner Jacob Pronk, who as proof of his patriotism by transporting the king, received official permission to establish the first bathing house in Scheveningen – called Badhuis. **Fig. 1.4** shows a painting by Nicolaas Lodewijk Penning commemorating the arrival of the king, while **Fig. 1.5** presents the original appearance of the Jacob Pronk bathing house. Since this moment Scheveningen has officially become a seaside resort.

The municipality of The Hague have quickly begun to see the financial benefits of the new image of Scheveningen. On July 8, 1814, the city authorities issued an official statement in which they clearly emphasized the health benefits of sea bathing, obliging themselves to build more bathing houses (Vermaas, 1926). This contributed to the even faster development of modern tourism in the district. Moreover, in order to accommodate more and more tourists, many hotels such as the Oranjehotel or Hotel des Gallerie, were built at that time. **Fig. 1.6** shows a photograph of the beach in front of the Kurhaus hotel - the former Badhuis bathing house. In the foreground there are children playing in the sea, behind whom there are many other tourists sitting in a distinctive wicker beach seats. The enormous and impressive building of the Hotel Kurhaus rises in the background.

The arrival of tourists in Scheveningen has also contributed to the creation of places intended for modern forms of spending time and entertainment, especially for middle and upper-class groups. In consequence, plenty of fashionable venues, such as a horse racing track or exclusive restaurants and cafes have appeared in the district (Janson, 1974). In 1901, the Scheveningse Pier, which is considered to be the Scheveningen's showcase even today, was built as well. **Fig. 1.7** presents a photograph of this pier. As in the previous illustration, the foreground is full of tourists sitting in wicker beach seats. In the background, on the other hand, there is the Scheveningse Pier – a long bridge based on a metal structure, at the end of which there is a circular building. Presented illustrations proof that Scheveningen gained a

completely new image of a modern waterfront and upper middle class holiday town.

This is how Scheveningen transformed from a small, isolated from the rest of the world, fishing village, into a large and popular seaside resort. Van der Zee and Klomp (2020), while speaking of the changes in Scheveningen, state that “while the tides determined the rhythm of the coastal village during its fishing past, [...] the fishing fleet has largely given way to umbrellas and sunbeds” (p. 1) .

CONCLUSION

To sum up, Scheveningen at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries experienced significant changes caused by the development of modern tourism. It evolved from a small fishing village with its own rhythm into a popular tourist destination of European importance. Small fishing houses have been replaced by hotels, restaurants and a completely new, modern infrastructure. At the same time, large groups of tourists gave turned the indigenous people of Scheveningen into a minority. How did people living in Scheveningen perceived this transformations? What did it mean for their everyday practice of self? Moreover, how did the identity of Scheveningen changed?

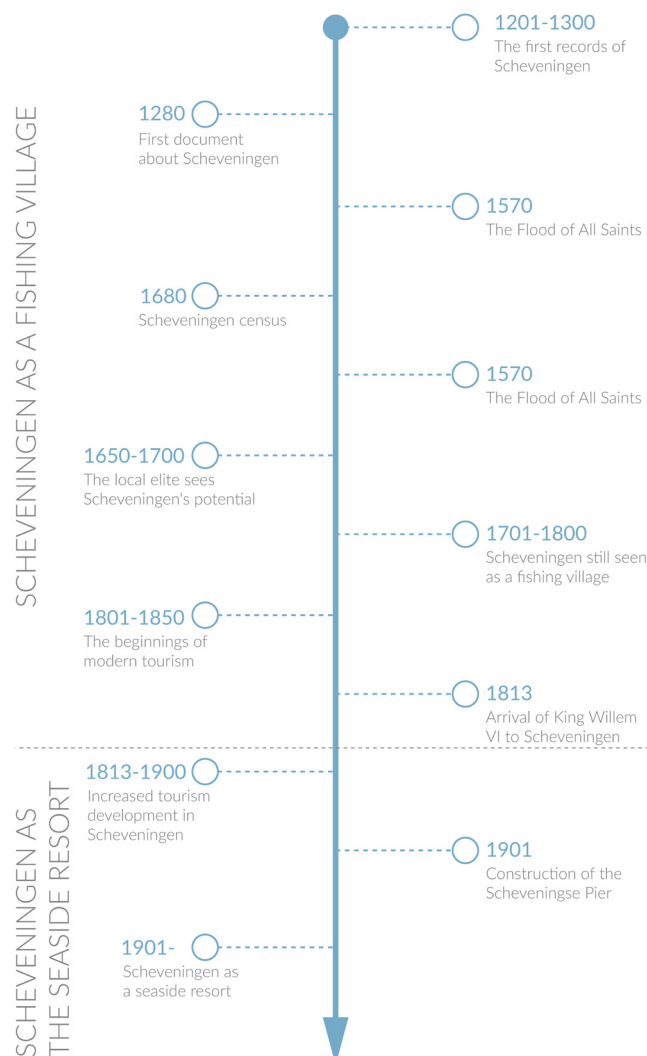


Fig. 1.8 History of Scheveningen - timeline (own illustration).

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

How is the identity and place identity defined according to sociologists? What does the place identity consist of? How the identity of Scheveningen would be analyzed?

This chapter would introduce the theoretical framework for the analysis of Scheveningen's identity. Selected theories of identity and place identity would be presented. Following that, the chapter would also introduce the main components of the place identity and define how changes in Scheveningen's identity would be analysed. Consequently, the main theoretical and methodological axis for the analytical part of this work would be defined.

2.1. COMPLEX DEFINITIONS: IDENTITY CLASH PLACE IDENTITY

Identity is one of the fundamental metaphysical categories, which in the world of social sciences is recognized as an extremely complex aspect that could be considered from many different perspectives (Dymnicka, 2017). According to Bokszanski (2008), identity in the simplest terms could be understood as "a set of features that make up the features of a social actor in his own view" (p. 16). Moreover, a social actor could be not only defined as a single entity, but also as a group. The creator of the theory of psychosocial development, Erik Erikson (1982), while talking about identity, distinguishes two types of it - ego identity (individual) and social (collective) identity. He also claims that the set of identity-making features is extremely extensive and is gradually being formed and revised as an actor tries to define who he is as a person or a group during his life (Erikson, 1982). It should be noted that this identity formation often depends on the immediate environment - the place in which the person or group is located and which interacts with it. This relationship between space and people is defined by the concept of place identity (Proshansky, 1978), which is a subject as broad and interesting as identity itself.

The concept of place identity was first introduced into the discourse of sociology by Harold M. Proshansky (1978), who defined it as "those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment. By means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, feelings, values, goals, preferences, skills, and behavioural tendencies relevant to a specific environment" (p. 155). In turn, Peter Weiher, speaking of the place identity, describes it as:

The cognitive representation and emotional evaluation of the part of the environment that individuals incorporate into their concept of themselves and see it as part of themselves. Referring it to social communities, it is the identity of a group that perceives a specific section of space as a component of the sense of collective belonging - functional for group cohesion and becoming an element of the ideological representation of the concept of "we" (Weichhart, 1990; as cited in Lukowski, 2002: 82-83).

The identity of a place can therefore be defined as a phenomenon of the influence of the space or environment in which a given entity is located on its sense of who or what it is a part of. As Dymnicka (2017) believes, the main aspect of the place identity is the way we function in space and who we are for ourselves and for others as users of this space.

2.2. COMPONENTS OF PLACE IDENTITY

In order to better understand how the relationship between space and its users works, it is necessary to present the levels on which this interaction occurs. One of the most reliable analyses in this subject is presented by David Seamon (2012), who use the triadic interpretation of place identity, based on J.G. Bennett's systematics. He believes that in order to obtain a more complete picture of the interactions and processes that take place between space and people, the place identity should be perceived as one integral dimension composed of three relatively independent elements. According to the theory of Bennett (1993, as cited in Seamon, 2012), for the study of relatedness, it is necessary to distinguish three impulses - affirming, receptive and reconciling, and then to examine their interactions. As a result of using this theory, Seamon creates the people-place triad (**Fig. 2.1**), which includes geographical ensemble, people-in-place and genius loci. **Fig. 2.2** shows how, according to Seamon (2012), these components interact in the context of place identity.

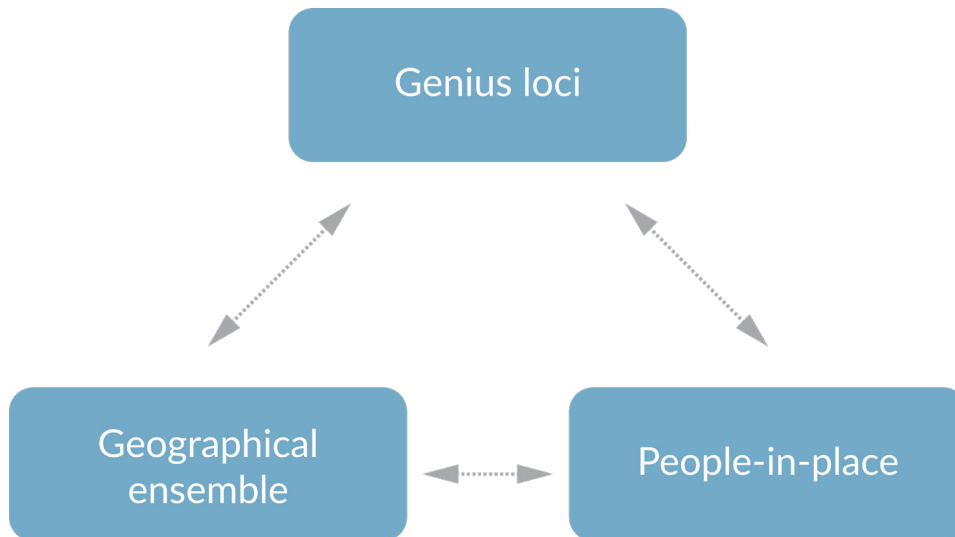


Fig. 2.1 The people-place triad by David Seamon (own illustration).

A similar standpoint in the context of the place identity has Hanna Libury (1990, as cited in Bierwiazzonek&Nawrocki, 2017), who mentions the constant physical environment, human activity and meanings among its main components. Bierwiazzonek and Nawrocki (2017) also agrees with this categorization, by explaining that a place is a sum of mutually influencing physical locations, activities undertaken in it, and meanings assigned to it.

Although the physical location and activities of people seem to be obvious, it is worth explaining what the meaning of a place is. Norberg-Schulz (1980, as cited in Bierwiazzonek&Nawrocki, 2017) believes, for instance, that a person gives meaning to a specific reality through buildings, while a group of buildings gives the opportunity to represent and symbolize life and its whole. He also points out that the genius loci is created by the meanings of buildings, which begin to collect the features of a place and make them close to the people. In turn, according to Dymnicka (2017), genius loci is a special type of bond that we feel towards places, conditioned by the intense relationship of people with space. She also believes that these are often unconscious and hidden dimensions of culture.

TRAIID'S IMPULSES

1. Affirming impulse (active or initiating)
2. Receptive impulse (passive, receiving, resisting or denying)
3. Reconciling impulse

TRIAD OF IDENTITY (2-3-1)

The process whereby an individual or group becomes who they are, typically through repeating and action, skill or situation.



TRIAD OF PLACE IDENTITY

- The way that people of place associate themselves with that place.
- Place as an integral part of personal and group identity.

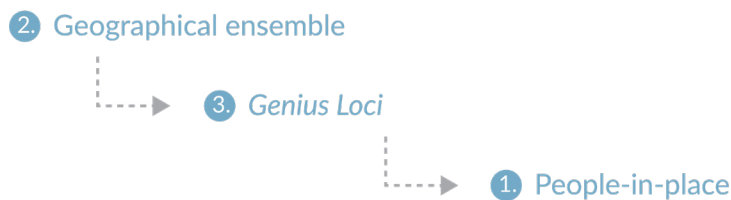


Fig. 2.2 *Triad's impulses, triad identity and triad of place identity by David Seamon (own illustration).*

2.3. PLACE IDENTITY THEORY AND SCHEVENINGEN

Once the place identity and its components is defined, the way how exactly it would be analysed in the context of Scheveningen, should be presented. Looking at the history of this district, we can say that it for a most of its existence – in particular from 10th to 18th century – it was functioning as a small fishing village (Janson, 1974). In turn, according to Khazkad and Griffith (2016), elements such as fishing boats, houses, shipyards, as well as all traditions derived from fishing, have established a strong identity and attachment to place in the context of fishing settlements and their inhabitants. Common activity - in this case fishing – is associated with certain behaviours and adaptations, which contribute to the development of certain cultural features (McGoodwin, 2001, as cited in Khazkad and Griffith, 2016). These, in turn – as mentioned earlier – are related to the concept of place identity. As Dymnicka (2017) believes, identity in the past was shaped according to the principle of *cuius regio, eius natio* (whose country, that religion). In other words, there was a formation of certain explicit, original identities derived from the way small communities and their culture functioned. However, throughout 19th and 20th centuries the significant changes in the structure, both at physical and non-physical level, of Scheveningen could be observed (Janson, 1974). One of the major reasons of this transition was the development of modern tourism, which turned Scheveningen into a seaside resort. As Zygmunt Bauman (2004) claims, the ability to move from place to place is a fundamental factor causing social stratification. According to him, this causes the loss of social rooting of identity, which is one of the most

crucial causes of problems with identity in the modern world. It can therefore be concluded that the development of modern tourism in Scheveningen in the 19th and 20th centuries could have significantly influenced its identity.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the identity and identity of a place are extensive issues in the field of sociology (Dymnicka, 2017). On the basis of the theories presented earlier, the identity could be defined as a set of factors that define ourselves. In turn, its derivative - the identity of a place is a relationship between space and its users, where a person or a group perceives a fragment of space as part of themselves or a sense of collective belonging. Moreover, as a result of various types of social changes, the identity of a place may change or evolve (Bauman, 2004). In the following chapters, an analysis of changes in the identity of Scheveningen related to the development of modern tourism in the turn of 19th and 20th centuries would be presented. To define the basic theoretical and methodological axis, it is assumed – on the basis of the presented theories – that place identity in this thesis would be understood as an ontological³ narrative describing the relationship between space and its users in the social dimension, consisting of three components: community life, physical environment (architecture and urban layout) and the meaning of the place.

² the branch of philosophy that studies concepts such as existence, being, becoming, and reality.

3. COMMUNITY LIFE

How has the understanding of community changed? Have new international trends replaced local customs? How has the location of the focal points of social interaction changed?

As Doreen Massey (1991, as cited in Bierwiazzonek, 2017) claims, it can be assumed that a place is a definition of “moments” in networks of social relations and the ways in which these moments are interpreted. In other words, places - both the physical environment and the meaning given to them – are constructed by people. Norberg-Schulz (1980, as cited in Bierwiazzonek, 2017) emphasizes that it is the community of a given space that gives it a shape, which in turn corresponds to the current needs of that community. For this reason, the first segment of a place’s identity of Scheveningen that would be analysed would reveal the aspects of community life. The following chapter would present an analysis of the notion of community, the clash of local customs and European lifestyle, as well as focal points of social interactions in the context of changes in Scheveningen’s identity caused by the development of modern tourism at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

3.1. NOTION OF COMMUNITY

Ubiquitous human concern is creating and establishing relationships with other people (Kohut, 2014) - also understood as a sense of belonging. Hagerty et al. (1996) define this phenomenon as “the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment” (p. 173). Moreover, this sense of belonging – as Cohen (1985) emphasizes – is a fundamental factor related to the ability of a given group to create the notion of community.

In Scheveningen, in the period between the 13th and 18th centuries, communal ties had probably quite significant role. As Ross (2015) claims, common daily routines and practices, as well as shared feelings and empathy related to the fishing profession, result in the development of strong ties among fishing communities. Ross also points out that fishing not only creates close relationships between the people working in the industry, but also sets the rhythm of the entire fishing village. In other words, it creates widespread economic and social dependence on the fishing industry. As mentioned in chapter one, the life of Scheveningen has been focused on fishing for a long period of time. According to the census of 1680, among the 917 inhabitants of Scheveningen there were 250 fishermen (Vermaas, 1926). Moreover, as Vermaas (1926) points out, Scheveningen’s entire life in this period was focused on the sea and fishing, which strengthened the ties between its inhabitants.

It can therefore be concluded that before the transformation into a seaside resort, the inhabitants of Scheveningen lived as a close, strongly connected community. Fishing was not only the main source of income, but also a kind of binder that held all the citizens of Scheveningen together. However, the development of modern tourism in at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries significantly influenced the perception of the community and its importance.

As Dymnicka (2017) notes, a few hundred years ago interpersonal relations were limited to small communities. “Words, faces, gestures and possibilities were relatively consistent, coherent, and changed slowly” (Gergen 2009: 93-94, as cited in Marody, 2014: 196). However, globalization, of which tourism is an crucial part, leads to significant transformations on the local, as well as personal contexts of social experience (Dymnicka, 2017). According to Dymnicka (2017), it is accompanied by the decreasing importance of a solid and consistent community, which is being

replaced by the individualism.

The increased influx of tourists from all over Europe to Scheveningen, which took place at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, made it difficult to look for the one consistent community. The presence of such a large number of people who are not permanent residents of a given area makes it impossible to develop a homogeneous community. This variability in social structures, as Bauman (2004) claims, makes identity lose its social rooting. Thus, issues such as a common goal, origin or other hereditary abilities to belong to society are becoming forgotten. Of course, Scheveningen was still inhabited by its indigenous peoples who were able to form and function in a certain community (Vermaas, 1926). However, because of the fact that they have become a minority, in the context of the whole district - and therefore the identity of the place – it could be said that the sense of community has gradually been forced out of its structure.

Another issue was the diminishing share of fishing in Scheveningen's economy, in favour of a more profitable tourism sector. As mentioned in the first chapter, the increased influx of tourists has contributed to the rise of many new places, not only ensuring a comfortable stay, but also creating space for new forms of spending time and recreation. Thus, At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, a large number of hotels, restaurants, cafes and places providing entertainment for tourists were built in Scheveningen (Vermaas, 1926). At the same time a lot of new workplaces, such as hotel employees, waiters and cooks in restaurants and cafes, or service during horse racings or cultural events, were created. This, in turn, influenced the daily life of the inhabitants, and in consequence, the life of the entire district. It could be concluded that along with the declining share of fishery in the Scheveningen structure, there was a simultaneous disappearance of the former binder that connected the Scheveningen community.

Based on the arguments provided, it can be concluded that the transformations in Scheveningen caused by the development of modern tourism at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries could have contributed to a change in the perception of the community. Common routines and practices played less and less important role. The rhythm imposed by fishing – the point around which Scheveningen's life revolved – has also faded. Its position was taken by tourism.

3.2. CLASH OF LOCAL CUSTOMS AND EUROPEAN LIFESTYLE

As mentioned earlier, between the 13th and 18th centuries Scheveningen functioned as a close, consistent community. In turn, as stated by Giddens and Sutton (2021), along with the development of such a community, a certain common context, in which the life of social individuals takes place, is formed. It could be also understood as a collection of both tangible and intangible elements, thanks to which communities can cooperate and communicate with each other. Moreover, local practices and customs are considered as an essential part of this collection.

One of the aspects, which made Scheveningen distinct is its dialect. Berns (2002, as cited in Spaans, 2005) notes that the Scheveningen dialect is a kind of museum for the Dutch language. The local language of the village has retained all the colloquial forms that were once present in most of the Netherlands. According to Spaans (2005), this testifies to the great independence and strength of social relations in the village which, despite the pressure of the Hague with which it neighboured, was able to keep its own language.

Another significant part of Scheveningen's customs is its characteristic, traditional outfit. As described by Spaans (2005), everyday women's clothing consisted of a skirt, an apron, a jacket, a petticoat, a shawl and a cape. On a daily basis, women also wore a characteristic headgear called ijzer (iron) - a wide silver buckle with a white cap on it. The men's outfit, in turn, included a black cap called zeepnapje (soap dish), black pants and black outerwear in the form of a linen coat,



Fig. 3.1 *Inwoners van Scheveningen - 7. (1918). [Photograph]. Haags Gemeentearchief. <https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl/bronnen-en-collecties/fotoalbums/book/14a52d13-827b-195b-e39a-c7d4345f11dd/27?q=scheveningen>*



Fig. 3.2 *Besoet, I. (1755). Gezicht op de Oude Kerk te Scheveningen [Illustration]. Rijksmuseum. <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-1894-A-18391>*



Fig. 3.3 *van Dijk, J. (1920). Scheveningen 1920 - 17 [Photograph]. Haags Gemeentearchief. <https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl/bronnen-en-collecties/fotoalbums/book/d0d970c9-f36f-6c55-060a-7029e10ebf8d/18?q=scheveningen&page=3>*

a jacket with a velvet collar or a sweater. **Fig. 3.1** shows a photograph from the beginning of 20th century of a woman and a man wearing traditional Scheveningen clothes.

Speaking of customs and local practices of Scheveningen, one should also mention the role of religion in the life of the village. As Vermaas (1926) describes, it is unknown whether people lived in the Scheveningen area when Willebrord – an Anglo-Saxon missionary preached the gospel in that area. It is known, however, that the first chapel was built here in the mid-fourteenth century and was the focal point of the village. However, as Vermaas continues, when Scheveningen gained the name of an independent parish in the mid-15th century, the Roman Catholic church – Oude Kerk (**Fig. 3.2**) was built in its place. Afterwards, during the Reformation it became a Protestant church. The church, and consequently religion, accompanied Scheveningen probably from its inception. It was also, in addition to fishing, one of the key aspects of community life. For it is well known that in Christian cities and settlements, churches played a supreme role, not only religiously but also socially. As Birk (2019) points out, in European cities from the medieval period Christianity dominated practically all spheres of social and cultural life.

However, from the 19th century onwards, traditional practices started to perish away, while being replaced by modern, international values (Vermaas, 1926). As Dymnicka (2017) states, the modern times have abolished the existing layout and structure of places, disintegrating previously existing social forms, which traditional practices and customs are part of. Moreover, one of the main causes of these stratifications is the ability to move from one place to another (Bauman, 2004). In turn, as Johnson (2014) claims, this movement hidden under the concept of tourism is a dynamic factor in a series of changes that contributes to the creation a new, unified world. In other words, it could be observed that local practices are being replaced by new global trends.

The influx of tourists to Scheveningen brought new habits, trends and needs with them. Moreover, as the numbers of arriving tourists were so large and the profitability of the tourism

sector was so high, Scheveningen had to adapt to the new reality (Vermaas, 1926). As a consequence, not only was an extensive tourist infrastructure compliant with international standards established, but a significant transition on the social level was also observed. As shown in **Fig. 3.3** and **Fig. 3.4**, Scheveningen from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was full of tourists from all over the world, dressed in elegant, fashionable clothes. They walk along the promenade, spend time in new trendy cafes or rest on the beach. In turn, **Fig. 3.5** shows the beach in front of the Kurhaus hotel. There are also groups of tourists and the shoreline that was once full of fishing boats has become a collection of beach wicker seats. In the background there is a spectacular, representative building of a hotel.

In other words, Scheveningen began to take on the character of a typical European holiday resort, attracted by crowds of tourists. However, it is worth emphasizing at this point that tradition and local customs have not completely disappeared from Scheveningen. As stated by Beaufils (2015), it is true that the local tradition of Scheveningen became relatively limited, but still existed in the structure of the district, albeit as a separate aspect, completely detached from tourism. Nevertheless, tourism and the tourists themselves became such an influential and strong factor that they became the new determinant of the functioning of the district (Vermaas, 1926), thus influencing the identity of Scheveningen.

To sum up, Scheveningen is a place that has developed its own traditions, customs and common practices over the years. However, with the development of modern tourism, Scheveningen adapted new trends and international values, which was reflected in the district's functioning. Even though the indigenous peoples still practiced the old customs, it can be said that tourists became the new determinant for social life of a district.

3.3. FOCAL POINTS OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

An extremely important aspect from the point of view of the identity of a place is the the relationship of people with the space in which they live and in which interactions take place between them (Dymnicka, 2017). Taking into account the changes at the social level, approximated in the previous sections, it is now necessary to present how they influenced the placement of the main points of social interaction in Scheveningen.

As has been mentioned earlier, Scheveningen has been closely associated with fishing for a long time of its existence. This common activity was a determinant for the functioning of the entire



Fig. 3.4 van Dijk, J. (1920). Scheveningen 1920 - 13 [Photograph]. Haags Gemeentearchief. <https://haags-gemeentearchief.nl/bronnen-en-collecties/fotoalbums/book/d0d970c9-f36f-6c55-060a-7029e10ebf8d/18?q=scheveningen&page=3>



Fig. 3.5 van Dijk, J. (1920). Scheveningen 1920 - 7 [Photograph]. Haags Gemeentearchief. <https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl/bronnen-en-collecties/fotoalbums/book/d0d970c9-f36f-6c55-060a-7029e10ebf8d/18?q=scheveningen&page=3>



Fig. 3.6 de Vlieger, S. (1650). *Scheveningen* [Illustration]. Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Simon_de_Vlieger_-_Scheveningen.jpg



Fig. 3.7 van Goyen, J. (1645). *Seashore at Scheveningen* [Illustration]. Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Goyen_1645_Seashore_at_Scheveningen.jpg



Fig. 3.8 ten Kate, J. M. (1896). *Fishermen on the Beach* [Illustration]. Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Johannes_Marius_ten_Kate_-_Fishermen_on_the_Beach.jpg



Fig. 3.9 van Giessen, G. (1730). *Gezicht op Scheveningen vóór de Allerheiligenvloed van 1570* [Illustration]. Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gezicht_op_Scheveningen_v%C3%B3%C3%B3r_de_Allerheiligenvloed_van_1570,_RP-P-1944-2322.jpg

village. Consequently, one of the main points of most social interaction, was the coast (Vermaas, 1926). **Fig. 3.6** and **Fig. 3.7** show paintings by Simon de Vlieger and Jan van Goyen. Both show Scheveningen from the mid-17th century. The landscape of the village presented in the pictures is dominated by fishing boats, while the foreground is full of fishermen and other residents who also actively participate in the fishing life of Scheveningen. A similar space of social interaction is shown in **Fig. 3.8**, which presents the work of Johannes Marius ten Kate. In the foreground of this picture there is a family trading fish, while behind them is a group of people watching the fresh catch with a real commitment.

The next place which could be considered as a focal point of social interactions that developed before the tourist era of Scheveningen was the church and the adjacent square. As mentioned earlier, religion played an important role in the everyday life of the villagers, just next to fishing. Moreover, like most European cities from the Middle Ages, churches were not only the physical centre of cities and settlements, but also the centre of social and cultural life (Birk, 2019). **Fig. 3.9** presents the illustration by Gerrit van Giessen showing the landscape of Scheveningen. It is easy to see that the church is not only situated in the heart of the village – right on the main commercial street known as Keizerstraat, but is more than twice the size of the rest of the building. In other words it was presented just as an extremely important, representative building of high rank for the whole village.

However, as a result of the transformation of Scheveningen into a centre gathering tourists from all over Europe at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries a completely new, extensive tourist infrastructure was created, which significantly influenced the relationships of people in space. Interestingly, the waterfront was still the dominant gathering point. However, tourists have adapted this space not in the context of fishing, but as a fashionable space for recreation and healthy sea bathing (Vermaas, 1926). The scale of interest in Scheveningen beach is shown in **Fig 3.10**. In this photograph from the beginning of the 20th century, in the foreground, there is an unusually large group of tourists who bath in



Fig. 3.10 van Dijk, J. (1920). Scheveningen 1920 - 1 [Photograph]. Haags Gemeentearchief. <https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl/bronnen-en-collecties/fotoalbums/book/d0d970c9-f36f-6c55-060a-7029e10ebf-8d/18?q=scheveningen&page=3>



Fig. 3.11 Inwoners van Scheveningen - 35. (1918). [Photograph]. Haags Gemeentearchief. <https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl/bronnen-en-collecties/fotoalbums/book/14a52d13-827b-195b-e39a-c7d4345f11d-d/27?q=scheveningen>



Fig. 3.12 Inwoners van Scheveningen - 29. (1918). [Photograph]. Haags Gemeentearchief. <https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl/bronnen-en-collecties/fotoalbums/book/14a52d13-827b-195b-e39a-c7d4345f11d-d/27?q=scheveningen>

the sea, sunbathe or sit in characteristic wicker beach seats. In the distance there is a frontage of hotels along the main promenade.

It is also worth mentioning that in addition to its recreational function, the beach was still an important part of the life of the indigenous people of Scheveningen as part of their fishing culture. **Fig. 3.11** shows a photo from the 20th century showing a group of fishermen sitting on a bench. The place shown in the photo is on the promenade right next to the beach. Fishermen are wearing the distinctive traditional costumes of Scheveningen and they all are looking towards the sea. **Fig. 3.12** also shows the Scheveningen community in their daily activities. Residents are gathered in groups and talk to each other. Some of them are probably looking for the remaining boats leaving or returning to the marina.

The arrival of a large number of tourists in Scheveningen contributed to the creation of many places associated with fashionable, new forms of spending time and entertainment. The most characteristic and lively point was the coastal promenade stretching along the west – east axis. Along it, the most famous hotels, as well as elegant cafes and restaurants were located. Almost all of these places were full of guests practically from morning to evening (Vermaas, 1926).

In addition to the main promenade, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, other cultural and entertainment facilities were created. They aroused people's interest and became new places of social interactions. One of such places was the horse racing track, shown in **Fig. 3.13**. In the middle of the picture there is a track on which horses are running, while in the foreground and background there are people watching the entertainment with commitment. In the central part there are stands for people from the upper classes, while in the background there is the tower of the Oude Kerk church. In turn, **Fig 3.14** shows the Circustheater, which initially functioned as a circus, and with time was transformed into a theatre staging popular performances and operas (Janson, 1974).

In conclusion, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, along with the development of modern tourism and the influx of tourists from



Fig. 3.13 van Lier, C. (1846). *Wedren te Scheveningen den 3e Augustus 1846* [Illustration]. Wikimedia Commons. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wedren_te_Scheveningen_den_3e_Augustus_1846_\(titel_op_object\),_RP-P-OB-88.774.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wedren_te_Scheveningen_den_3e_Augustus_1846_(titel_op_object),_RP-P-OB-88.774.jpg)



Fig. 3.14 Tangel, L. (1974). *Overzicht vanaf circustheater - Scheveningen* [Photograph]. Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Overzicht_vanaf_circustheater_-_Scheveningen_-_20196095_-_RCE.jpg

all over Europe, Scheveningen, adapting to new, international values and lifestyle, developed new forms of spaces of social interactions. The beach was not only a part of the fishing culture, but have become a popular place for relaxation and recreation, while the church, once the focal point of the village, has been overshadowed by the frontage of new large hotels and restaurants.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the development of modern tourism at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in Scheveningen brought about many changes in community life. Not only the understanding of the community has changed, but also local customs and traditions have been replaced by new, international values and new forms of social activity. The places which were the focal points of social interactions have also changed. In addition, many new places have been created, such as cafes, restaurants, hotels, a theater that have become the new daily life of Scheveningen and have supplanted the fishing – a former central point and a binder of the life of entire fishing village.

4. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE MEANING OF A PLACE

How did the urban layout adjust to the development of the tourism sector? Have new architectural trends infiltrated the district? What hidden meanings and context has Scheveningen retained in itself?

In the previous chapter, the aspect of community life in the context of the changes in Scheveningen's identity at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries has been analyzed. In turn, as Dymnicka (2017) claims, the beginning of the process of taking root in social meanings is the emergence of a specific material form. This form – understood as the physical place in which a given community functions – is therefore a reflection of the needs, lifestyle and values of the group existing in it (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, as cited in Bierwiazzonek, 2017). In other words, it is both a physical environment and a space of meanings and symbols, creating a special bond between space and people (Dymnicka, 2017). Therefore, this chapter will present both the analysis of the physical environment - from the point of view of the urban layout and architecture - and the analysis of the meaning of a place in the context of changes in Scheveningen's identity caused by the development of modern tourism at the turn of the 20th century.

4.1. URBAN LAYOUT

The urban development of Scheveningen will be presented first. In this section the layout of the district from the beginning of the 18th century – that is, before the tourist era – and at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, will be therefore compared. The points and spaces of high importance in the context of the structure of Scheveningen will also be indicated.

Fig. 4.1 shows the urban layout from the beginning of the 18th century. There is a long road from the southeast connected to the city of The Hague and turned into the main street of Scheveningen called Keizerstraat. At its edge there is the Oude Kerk church, which is the dominant of the village in terms of height and volume. The square surrounding it and Keizerstraat is one of the main points of social and cultural life (Vermaas, 1926). There are residential buildings on both sides of the main street. In turn, to the north of the church there is a path perpendicular to the Keizerstraat, and right behind it there is a vast beach where fishing boats are moored. Due to the overriding role of fishing in the life of the village, the coast is, next to the church square, the main living space of the entire Scheveningen. To the southeast of the beach there is also a lighthouse overlooking the rest of the village.

As discussed in Chapter 3, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, due to the great interest in Scheveningen as a tourist seaside resort, the district began to expand very quickly. In addition to new residential quarters, an extensive tourist infrastructure has been created. Fig 4.2 shows the urban layout of Scheveningen from this period. Along the street leading to The Hague, a series of new residential buildings was created. A residential section has also developed around the former shape of the village. It has been therefore extended to both the southwest and northeast. There are also two large new residential areas to the northeast of the center. In turn, the entire northern part of Scheveningen along the beach line has been adapted to the tourism sector. The path perpendicular to the Keizerstraat was paved and transformed into a wide promenade – nowadays known as Strandweg – becoming the main axis along which most of the social life took place (Vermaas, 1926). Along its eastern border, a series of large, representative hotels, restaurants and cafes has been created. To the east of the Kurhaus Hotel, which was the oldest and largest of them, the Circustheater was built. In turn, to the west of the hotel, the equally representative Scheveningse Pier was built. It became a kind of closing of the tourist route. The Keizerstraat itself still held a high

SHEVENINGEN - FROM A FISHING VILLAGE TO THE SEASIDE RESORT



Fig. 4.1 Urban layout of Scheveningen in 18th century (own illustration based on archival maps).



Fig. 4.2 Urban layout of Scheveningen at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries (own illustration based on archival maps).

reputation in the context of the district (Vermaas, 1926). However, as a continuation of the street leading to the center of The Hague, it has become a kind of “tunnel” connecting with the new, attractive, seaside part of the district. Due to the low residential buildings concentrated around it, crowned with the tower of the Oude Kerk church visible from far away, this area reminded more of the image of Scheveningen as a fishing village, constituting a vestibule to the new tourist part.

As the presented illustrations show, Scheveningen has almost quadrupled in over two centuries. The residential part was expanded, while the northern part of the district was practically entirely taken over by the tourist sector. The main center of the village life – the vicinity of the church with the Keizerstraat – although still important in the context of the district, has become more of a vestibule for the new series of large-scale hotels and tourist infrastructure buildings that dominated the landscape of Scheveningen.

4.2. NEW FORMS OF ARCHITECTURE

In addition to changes in the urban scale, the transformation of Scheveningen into a tourist resort influenced the physical space of the district from an architectural perspective as well. In fact, it happens very often that places considered as tourist destination at the international level are often a subject of the implication of architecture that fits the European style and trends (Scerri et al., 2019).

In Scheveningen in the pre-tourist era, buildings in the form of small residential houses were the most common in the space of the village. **Fig. 4.3** and **Fig. 4.4** show traditional houses inhabited by the local community, preserved until the 19th century. They were usually one, and sometimes two-storey buildings with a rectangular plan, with a gable roof and two chimneys at both ends of the main structure. As can be seen in the pictures, the elevations were made of wood or brick, while ceramic tiles were used for the roofing. **Fig. 4.5** shows a simplified drawing of the facade of a typical fisherman’s house.

The architecture of the residential houses was therefore relatively simple. The form of these building was supposed to be functional, durable and provide sufficient living conditions (Vermaas, 1926). In turn, the building that stood out in the village landscape was the Oude Kerk church built in the 15th century (**Fig. 4.6**). The style of the church was in line with the standards of Gothic architecture. The building had a three-nave pseudo-basilica layout. The naves were lit by gothic windows with traceries, which were separated from the outside by buttresses. In the eastern part there was an apse, while on the west side there was a high tower visible from the Keizerstraat.



Fig. 4.3 Bosboom, J. (1873). *Visserswoningen in Scheveningen* [Illustration]. Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Visserswoningen_in_Scheveningen,_RP-T-1892-A-2551.jpg



Fig. 4.4 Bloomers, B. J. (1870). *View of Scheveningen* [Illustration]. Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:View_of_Scheveningen_by_Bernardus_Johannes_Blommers_Centraal_Museum_10134_b.jpg

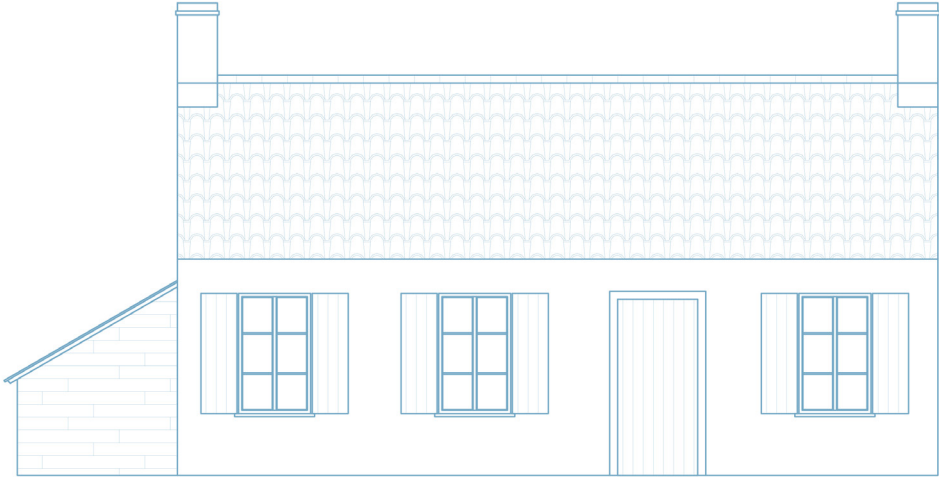


Fig. 4.5 Traditional fisherman's house - facade (own illustration).

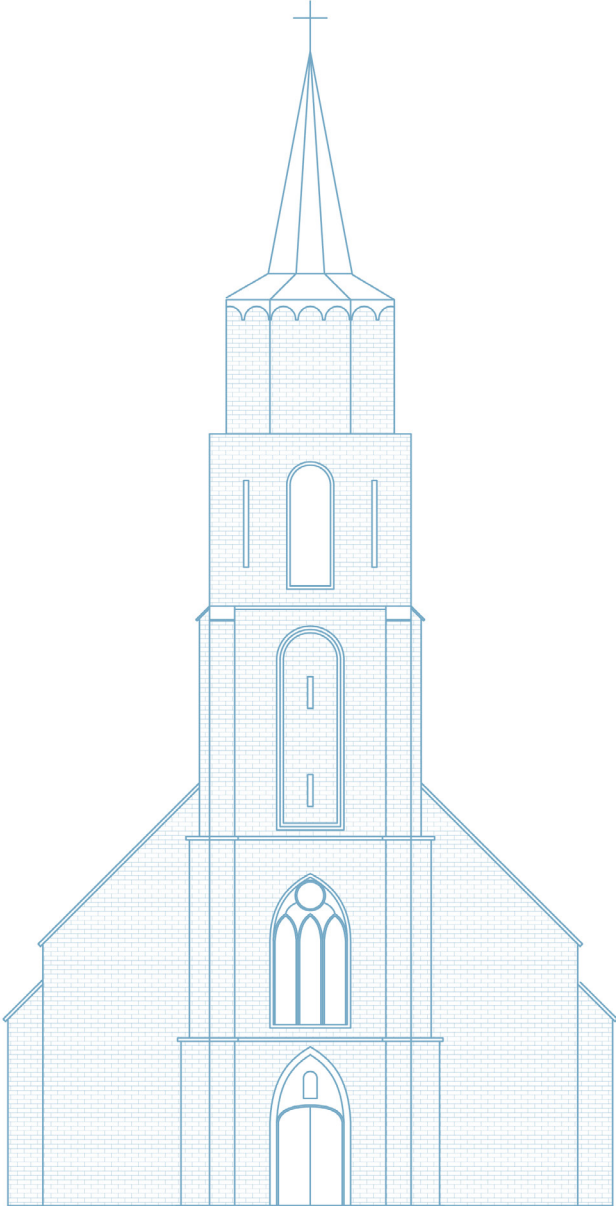


Fig. 4.6 Oude Kerk - facade (own illustration).



Fig. 4.7 Hotel des Galeries in april 1933. (1933). [Photograph]. In *Scheveningen: Uit de Geschiedenis van een Vissersdorp* (p. 78).



Fig. 4.8 Het paviljoen de Witte op 17 augustus 1972. (1972). [Photograph]. In *Scheveningen: Uit de Geschiedenis van een Vissersdorp* (p. 78).



Fig. 4.9 van Dijk, J. (1920). *Scheveningen 1920 - 8* [Photograph]. Haags Gemeentearchief. <https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl/bronnen-en-collecties/fotoalbums/book/d0d970c9-f36f-6c55-060a-7029e10ebf-8d/18?q=scheveningen&page=3>



Fig. 4.10 Villa Nieuw Plantlust. (1860). [Illustration]. Catawiki. <https://www.catawiki.com/nl/1/2399887-scheveningen-villa-nieuw-plantlust-ca-1860>

However, the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries brought Scheveningen a completely new architecture. As Scheveningen became a tourist center on an international level, the newly erected buildings adapted the historicism style, which was at time one of the most popular style in whole Europe. Examples of such objects include the Hotel des Galeries (**Fig. 4.7**), which with its rhythmic, arcaded façade was in line with the Neo-Renaissance rules, or the Pavilion de Witte (**Fig. 4.8**) – a royal residence in the hallmarks of Neo-Classicism. In other words, the former simplicity and functionalism of Scheveningen's architecture has been replaced by objects full of aesthetic value with a carefully designed form. Equally high attention was paid to the interior design. **Fig. 4.9** shows a photograph from inside one of the restaurants on Strandweg. Stylish decor and carefully selected details immediately draw attention. The tables are covered with elegant white tablecloths, while on the left side there are large windows showing the aforementioned seaside promenade.

In addition to hotels and restaurants, a lot of new new private residential buildings with equally impressive architecture were built in Scheveningen. People visiting the seaside resort, delighted with the beauty of the local beaches and the sea, decided to permanently live in this district (Vermaas, 1926). **Fig. 4.10** shows an example of one such object – the Neo-Classical Villa Nieuw Plantlust on Scheveningseweg. The building was erected in 1854 at the request of Dr. J.F.d 'Aumerie, who was a physician researching the beneficial effects of bathing in Scheveningen (Hopman, n.d.).

As outlined above, the architectural changes in Scheveningen were significant. The turn of the 19th and 20th centuries brought new trends, popularized all over Europe. Historicism became the most popular style at that time and a lot of well-known buildings in the district were raised in accordance to its rules. It can be said that the development of tourism contributed to the fact that vernacular architecture was largely replaced by elegant, Neo-Renaissance or Neo-Classical buildings of elegant, high aesthetic value.

4.3. CONTEXTS HIDDEN IN A SPACE

Mijn DORP SCHEVENINGEN

*Altêd benne d'r nog die smalle straete
waer vrouwe in klêderdracht stinge te praete.
Altêd benne d'r nog die klêne 'ûze
waer om'êén je de Noordzé 'oort rûse.
Altêd weer lôp ik te geniete langs de waeterkant
en bewonder op 't strang de tallôze schillepe in 't zand.
Altêd mot ik mên dorst naer vrooger laeve
deur effe te kuiere naer de-âeve.
Altêd zel 't binne in me zinge
als ik denk an mên durrep Scheveninge.
Non en altêd.*

(E.S.L. Moen-Knoester)

My VILLAGE SCHEVENINGEN

*There are always those narrow streets
where women in traditional costumes stood talking
There are always those little houses
Where and around you hear the North Sea rustle
I always enjoy walking along the water knot
and admire the countless shells in the sand on the beach
I always have to walk to the past laven
by walking to the harbor
It will always sing inside of me
When I think of my village Scheveningen
Now and always.*

(E.S.L. Moen-Knoester)

A poem about Scheveningen by E.S.L. Moen-Knoester, seen on one of the buildings in Scheveningen

The thesis has already discussed the two components of Scheveningen's identity – the aspect of community life and the physical environment. At this point the last of them, defined as the meaning of the place, would be presented. As discussed in the Chapter 2, the meaning of a place is part of the identity of a place, which is something between the social and physical aspect of a place. In other words, it is an expression of certain features of a community in space (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, as cited in Bierwiczzonek, 2017), which over time create a unique bond between people and a given place (Dymnicka, 2017). In this section, the aspect of this bond will be analyzed in

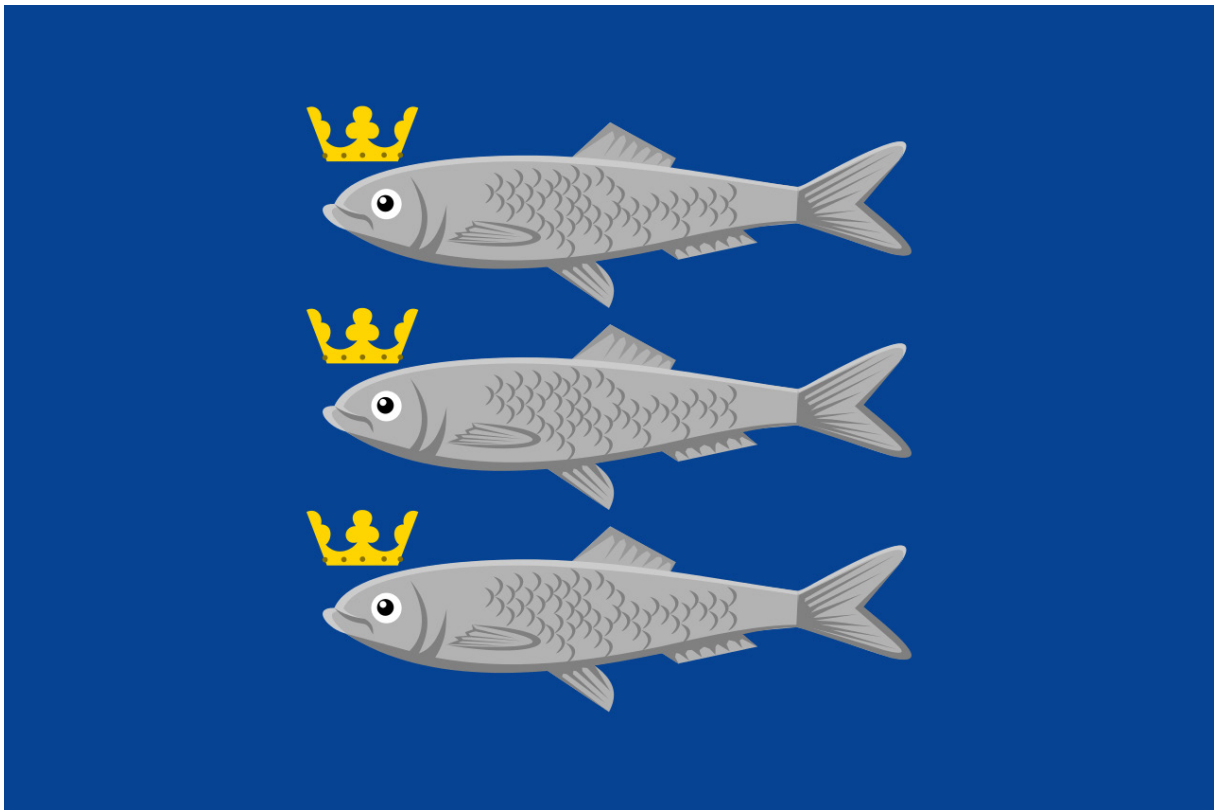


Fig. 4.11 Hypergio. (2014). Flag of Scheveningen [Illustration]. Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_Scheveningen.svg



Fig. 4.12 *Het Vissersmonument in Scheveningen - statue made by Gerard Bakker (own photograph).*



Fig. 4.13 *De Scheveninger - bas-relief on one of the houses on Keizerstraat (own photograph).*

the perspective of the development of modern tourism in Scheveningen at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

As Norberg-Schulz (1980) claims, humanity have always felt a certain dependence between the character of a given place and the social interactions taking place there. This dependence, in turn, built a sense of belonging to that space, which became a reflection of the values and way of life of given individuals and groups. As Kabakov (2010) argues, the aura of a place is not only specific objects or historical events, but numerous cultural layers concentrated in a given place that are compacted within them.

In the case of Scheveningen, whose life and culture were built on fishing, it is not surprising that the fishing became the most significant creating aspect of the meaning of the village. This was reflected both in the traditions and local practices, as well as in the urban and architectural aspect – which was presented in the previous chapters. This relationship also had a less meaningful dimension, taking more the form of hidden meanings. An example of this could be the 17th-century coat of arms of the local noble family of De Huybert (**Fig. 4.11**). The painting depicting three silver herring in crowns became not only a symbol of the family over time, but was later adapted by the entire community, becoming the official coat of arms of the district in the 20th century. The consolidation of fishery and the sea in the atmosphere of Scheveningen is also shown in the statue (**Fig. 4.12**) made by Gerard Bakker at the intersection of the Keizerstraat and the Strandweg. It depicts a nostalgic image of a fisherwoman in traditional Scheveningen outfit, who gazes hopefully towards the sea, fearing that her husband will manage to return safely from the catch. Moreover, a similar reference to fishing could be found on the bas-relief on one of the houses on Keizerstraat (**Fig. 4.13**), which presents the fisherman and the straightforward signature “de Scheveninger” (resident of Scheveningen) underneath him, directly associating this profession with belonging to this place.

The atmosphere of Scheveningen as a fishing village was somewhat disturbed by the development of modern tourism at the turn



Fig. 4.14 Scheveningen - Boulevard en Pier. (1929). [Postcard]. Own collection.
Scheveningen, Strand en Kurhaus. (1907). [Postcard]. Own collection

of the 19th and 20th centuries. The influx of tourists who saw the high recreational and entertainment potential, gave Scheveningen a second meaning. As Rewers (2010) claims, “Genius loci produced within the framework of global flows of images detached from the context and created by popular culture is less and less connected not only with the spirit of the past, but also with a specific place in the city space” (p. 101). Thus, looking at postcards from the 20th century (Fig. 4.14), it can be noticed that Scheveningen is presented there as an elegant tourist resort at a high European level. A similar atmosphere is presented in a poster from 1929 (Fig. 4.15). It also introduces and promotes Scheveningen as a luxury seaside tourist destination. The illustration shows groups of people in fashionable clothes, sitting in cafes, swimming in the sea or practicing sports associated with high-class entertainment, such as golf, tennis or horse riding.

The presented examples show the change in the meaning of the place that took place in Scheveningen at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. It is worth mentioning, however, that despite the new image the district gained because of the tourism, the fishing atmosphere of Scheveningen still existed just next to it. Perhaps the local community’s attachment to the cultural heritage allowed it to be kept in the Scheveningen space, despite the ubiquitous promotion of the district in the context of the tourist resort (Beaufils, 2015). Consequently, Scheveningen has the hallmarks of a modern, popular resort, as well as old, quiet, isolated village (Beaufils, 2015).

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the physical environment has changed significantly throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Initially a small village, with buildings concentrated along Keizerstraat with a dominant church, has grown almost fourfold. Small, simple fishermen’s huts were dominated by large, impressive hotels and new form of historicizing architecture. Scheveningen has also gained a new meaning as a tourist resort. Nevertheless, the cultural heritage and the former aura of Scheveningen are still preserved in the structure of the district in the form of meanings contained in space. It can therefore be concluded that in the context of the meaning of the place, Scheveningen was of a dualistic character.



Fig. 4.15 Louis, C. & Mouton & Co. (1929). Scheveningen The Hague on Sea. Holland [Poster]. Haags Gemeentearchief. https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl/mediabank/beeldcollectie/detail/ded5b135-1ee9-459f-bbbb-d31e6dd50b12/media/92f037e6-d98c-1988-7589-bde759ca5c57?mode=detail&view=horizontal&q=scheveningen&rows=1&page=116&fq%5B%5D=search_s_entity_name:%22Affiches%22&filterAction

CONCLUSION

This history thesis analyzes the impact of modern tourism development on the identity of Scheveningen at the turn of the 19th and 20th century. On the basis of the adopted main theoretical and methodological axis, with the use of works in the field of sociology, environmental psychology and tourism, as well as archival materials on Scheveningen, the differences at the level of the community file, physical environment, and the meaning of the space were examined.

Community life analysis showed some noticeable changes in the context of identity. Firstly, there was a change in understanding and perception of the community. The common routines and practices that once held the villagers together and gave them the feeling of being part of a group began to gradually disappear from the Scheveningen structures. Instead, the trend of individualism and changeability was more and more noticeable. Secondly, local customs and traditions, which had a very large share in the life of the settlement, began to be replaced by international values and lifestyle brought by tourists from all over Europe. Although the local community still tried to follow the old customs and did not abandon its cultural heritage, European trends, activities and entertainment came to the fore in the overall context of Scheveningen. The focal points of social interactions have also changed to some extent. Consequently, almost all the activity from Keizerstraat and the square around the church has moved to the new promenade, full of hotels, cafes and restaurants. Nevertheless, the coast, which was already one of the most significant places in terms of social interaction, has become an even more vibrant center. However, the way it was used has changed. It was not as much associated with fishing as previously, but was adapted by tourists as a place of recreation and health baths.

The physical environment of the neighborhood has changed in a similar way. Once a small settlement, concentrated along Keizerstraat, as a result of changes at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, it expanded significantly. Several new residential areas were created, while the northern part of the district was almost entirely adapted to the tourism sector. Thus, once the main urban axis of the settlement has become a "vestibule" to the modern part – the promenade full of large, impressive hotels and other objects of modern, tourist infrastructure. Significant changes also took place in terms of architecture. Small, simple residential houses have been replaced by new, elegant, Neo-Renaissance or Neo-Classical buildings of high aesthetic value. In turn, the analysis of the meaning of a place revealed a certain duality in the atmosphere and hidden meanings contained in the Scheveningen space. The former relationship with fishing and the cultural heritage of the village built on it was still felt in it, despite significant changes caused by the development of modern tourism. However, in addition to this, Scheveningen gained the aura of a fashionable seaside resort, tempting tourists with a beautiful beach, health baths or modern, fashionable entertainment.

In conclusion, after analyzing all three areas defined in the theoretical part of the work as components of the identity of a place, noticeable transitions at each of these levels were indicated. All of them have been carefully and reliably listed and discussed. Thus, the thesis thoroughly presented how the development of modern tourism has affected the identity of Scheveningen at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

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