



# Rethinking the Everydayness of Dutch 20th-century Malls

Analysis of the impacts of design intentions and everyday behaviours  
on the heritage values

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# ABSTRACT

The research examines the concept of everydayness and its implication for daily practices in shopping malls based on design intentions and everyday uses. By focusing on the notion of "organized passivity" proposed by Lefebvre, the study chose De Bogaard as the research case, explored the relationship between mall developers and consumers in designing and using the spaces through archive research and observation, And then used the heritage values assessment tools to visualize the interaction between different stakeholders. This research argued that developers had imposed specific heritage values and attributes on spaces where consumers passively meet their economic and social demands. However, consumers also reinterpreted some economic spaces to meet their needs, asking for enriched public functions of shopping malls. The analysis provides insight into the redesign decisions and delivers user-friendly aspects toward the everydayness of future shopping malls.

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# 01

## INTRODUCTION

According to Collins Dictionary, everydayness refers to "the quality of being every day; ordinariness; commonness." It points to the things happening regularly and experiences shared by people. Architectures that shape our daily lives, such as offices, houses and malls, are defined as everyday architecture (Grossman & Miguel, 2022). They serve as the background for various events and relationships in urban lives. Meanwhile, everyday heritages and the relationship between values and attributes are dynamic (Veldpaus & Roders, 2014), emphasizing the different impacts on various stakeholders through history.

The research on everydayness and its implication are concentrated on the interaction between various stakeholders and the full range of cultural significance. Many researchers are exploring daily practices to criticize the modern unhumanized environment created by developers (Gehl & Svarre, 2013; Lopez & Puigjaner, 2022; Whyte, 1980). And architects are also looking to the ordinary to rethink the cultural value of architecture in the social context (Cox & Federici, 1976; Kaufmann-Buhler, 2021). Spaces that were once neglected due to the dominance of industry and modernity are now being reconsidered with an emphasis on user-friendly interfaces.

SESC Pompéia in São Paulo and Statistik House in Berlin exemplify the core value of everydayness and highlight the importance of researching everydayness in the context of heritage. They have built a flexible relationship between users, heritage and governments or developers, showing the core values of everydayness in the joint participation of all stakeholders, which Lefevre&Levich (1987, p. 9) proposed as the sum of existing systems that "connect and join together systems that might appear to be distinct.". In heritage architecture and renovation projects, different stakeholders with specific focuses may create different heritage values with distinct attributes in the design and use of spaces, and

the everydayness research could help to reveal the invisible connection in our daily routines (Cox & Federici, 1976; Kaufmann-Buhler, 2021; Saval, 2014). Therefore, examining values and attributes of cultural heritage through design intentions and everyday uses before making redesign decisions can inform the invisible aspects of everyday life and offer a more inclusive perspective for fostering future heritage.

Shopping malls undoubtedly constitute an integral part of everyday life in modern times. They serve as a playground for children, a real-world training field for teenagers, an event space for adults, a walking track for seniors, and even a resting place for animals (Lange, 2022). However, the imposition of consumption in malls overshadows these daily scenarios (Lefebvre & Levich, 1987). It is because consumers' choices are primarily based on market studies and retail considerations, which Lefebvre (1987, p. 10) refers to as "organized passivity". Lange (2022, pp. 15–16) also recognized that the freedom in malls shows the conflicts between "private ownership" for developers and "comfort experiences" for consumers. Although several studies highlight this complex relationship between stakeholders (Cupers, 2013; Lange, 2022), few have analyzed it from the perspective of heritage values, which are also created differently by consumers and developers in different ways.

### **Problem Statement**

This research is a compulsory target for the graduation studio "The modern mall, Adapting 20th Century Heritage" in the Heritage&Architecture section. It discussed the everydayness of shopping malls from experts' and users' perspectives. On the one hand, as previously noted, shopping malls can be viewed as social hubs where people experience the city and interact with others (Lange, 2022). However, the experiences offered within these spaces are under sophisticated marketing research, including retail arrangements, advertising and routines, etc., showing the situation of "organized passivity". On the other hand, consumers have resisted marketing strategies by engaging in free, public activities rather than consuming goods and services, which is far beyond the ideal arrangement by developers. These two aspects reveal different viewpoints regarding everydayness and also express different cultural significance, which serves as the starting points for this study:

***"How can heritage values and attributes from the design intention***

***and everyday uses in Dutch post-war malls inform redesign decisions?"***

This paper seeks to identify the cultural value of the mall from the perspective of mall developers and consumers and visualize their relationship. From open-air shopping to enclosed malls, developers express their different economic ambitions through design ideas, and people also create their specific memories in these spaces. Shopping malls have shown various cultural significance to stakeholders, and different groups may "attach different weight to the cultural values" (Silva & Roders, 2012, p. 4). Thus, through the heritage values assessment Silva and Roders have introduced (2012, p. 7), the impact of different stakeholders on cultural values and their connection could be demonstrated. Upon analyzing the similarities and differences of heritage values and attributes between design intentions and everyday uses, the redesign decisions could be made with inclusive consideration for larger groups.

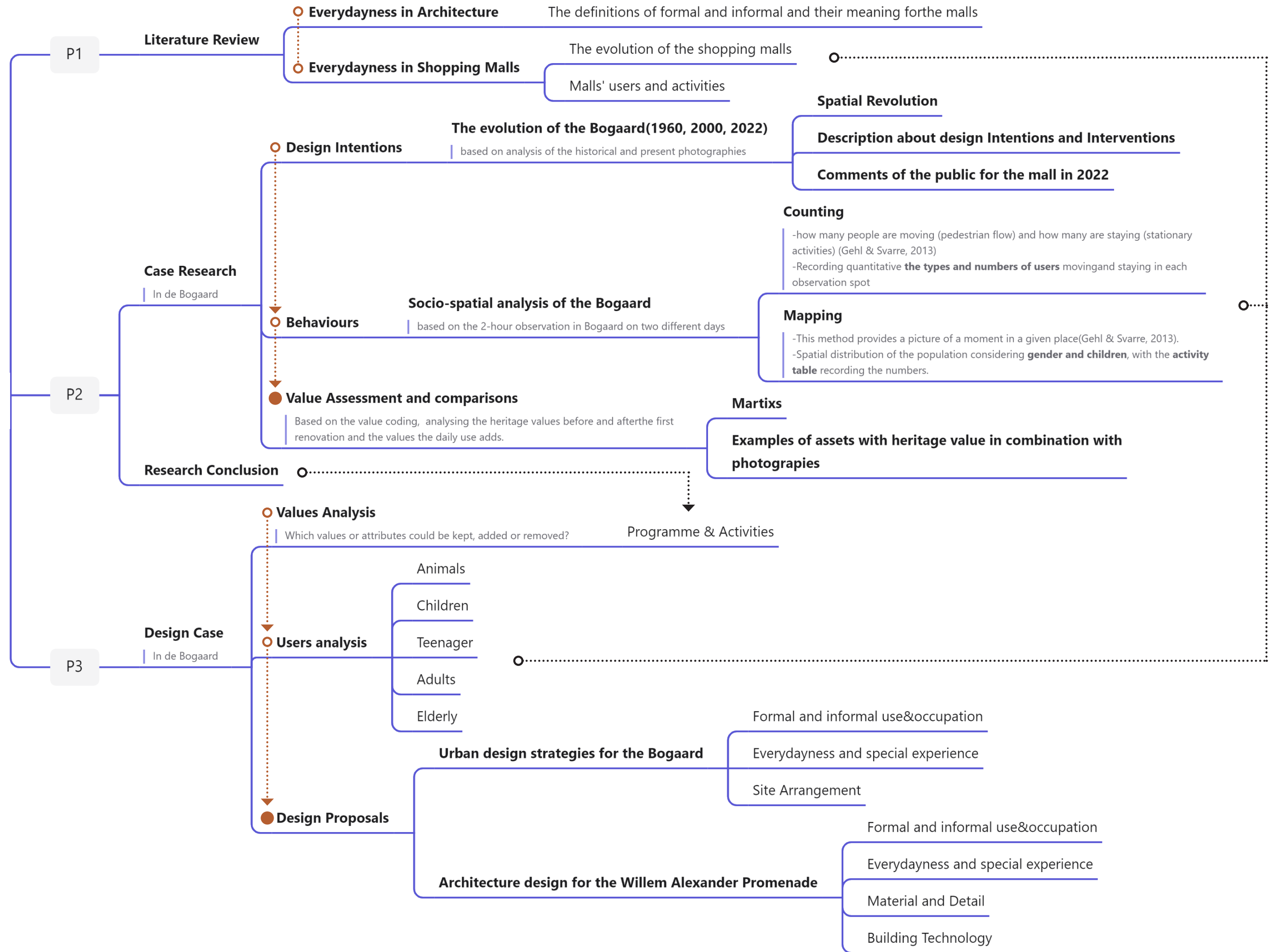
De Bogaard in the Rijswijk has been selected as the research and design case. It was the first modern shopping mall influenced by American retailing logic ('Tien Jaar Bouw Aan Rijswijk', 1962). Designed by J.A.B. Lucas and H.E. Niemeyer, it was built in 1962 and underwent renovation in 1992 with the expansion of retailing area (Doesburg et al., n.d.). In 2019, the zoning plan proposed cutting almost half of the shopping area and changing it into a city centre with residential towers and offices (Rijswijk Gemeente, 2019). The design intentions for the mall are various in each phase due to the changing social context, and the daily scenarios are actively presented in De Bogaard, serving as an appropriate example for the research.

The literature review was first conducted to establish a theoretical foundation for everydayness, while archive documents and fieldwork were used to collect data and information about De Bogaard. After that, the heritage value assessment tools and mapping were integrated to identify the similarities and differences in the cultural values and attributes of the site. It helped evaluate the cultural significance of shopping malls in terms of the values matrix and visualizes the interaction between spaces, target groups and values. Finally, the conclusions and reflection of the overall study were presented to provide an overview of the essential findings and discuss the implications of the research for urban planning and redesign decisions.(Figure 1)



# RESEARCH

# DESIGN



(Figure 1. Research Scheme)

## 02 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In response to the changing urban environment and the invisible social ties between different interest groups, architects have tried to reimagine the role of urban architecture in everyday practices (Blau, 2013; Hertzberger, 2005; Lopez & Puigjaner, 2022). People argued that the concept of everydayness could reveal the invisible essence of the existing system (Lefebvre & Levich, 1987; Ross, 2016). For instance, Marxist feminist scholars Nicole Cox and Silvia Federici utilized the kitchen space as a lens through which to reconsider the relationship between the female body and domestic activity (1976). Similarly, Robert Propst's design of the Action Office reimagines the working scenarios for body movement and spatial hierarchy (Kaufmann-Buhler, 2021). They show the spatial revolution based on considering everyday life and the social significance of breaking the unhumanized classes hidden behind the spaces.

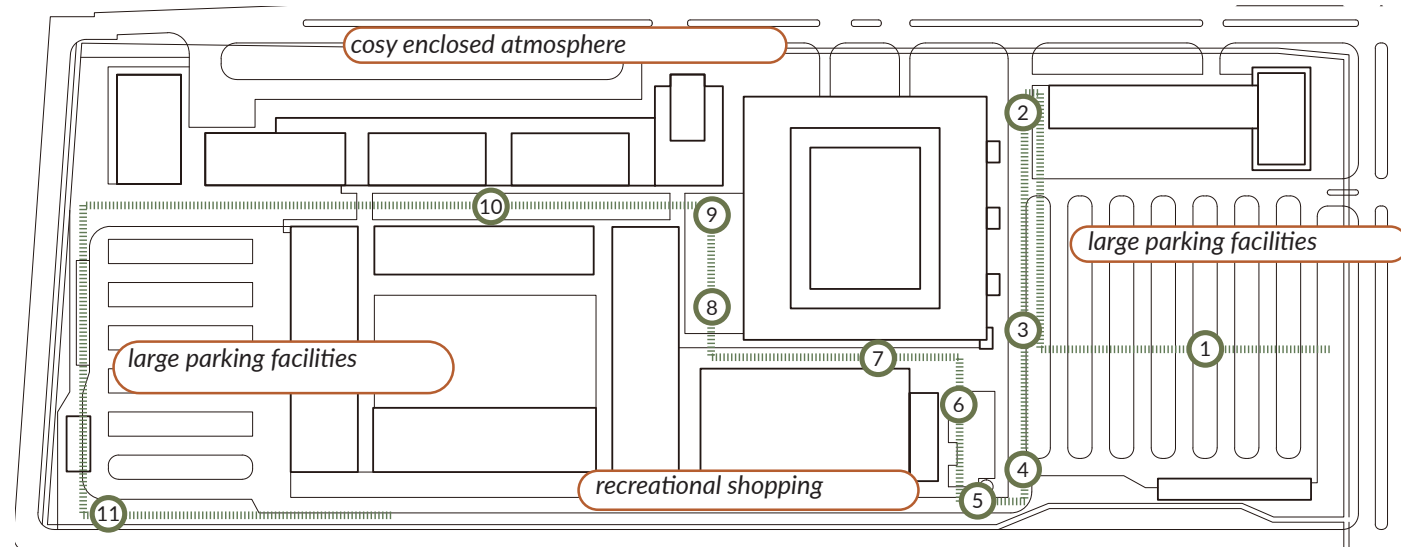
What's more, the daily management and maintenance of the building with the collaboration of the public are also crucial (Heringer, 2022), pointing to the cultural identity and diversity of heritage. It asks for local management practices and the cooperation of different stakeholders to address the multiple dimensions of cultural identity and diversity in heritage (Veldpaus & Roders, 2014). An example of this is the leisure centre SESC Pompéia redesign project in São Paulo. Architect Lina Bo Bardi recognized the old metal barrel factory already functioned well from its neighbourhood's spontaneous occupation at weekends. So she decided to facilitate the current activities, reduce the space for sports facilities, and allocate them to a small corner. Similarly, Statistik House in Berlin, which underwent renovation from municipal buildings to multi-function centres in 2018, exemplified an innovative co-development model that incorporates art, culture, education, affordable housing and the new city hall into a single project. The two projects highlight the inclusive consideration of spatial strategies and different users for everyday behaviours and

flexible use.

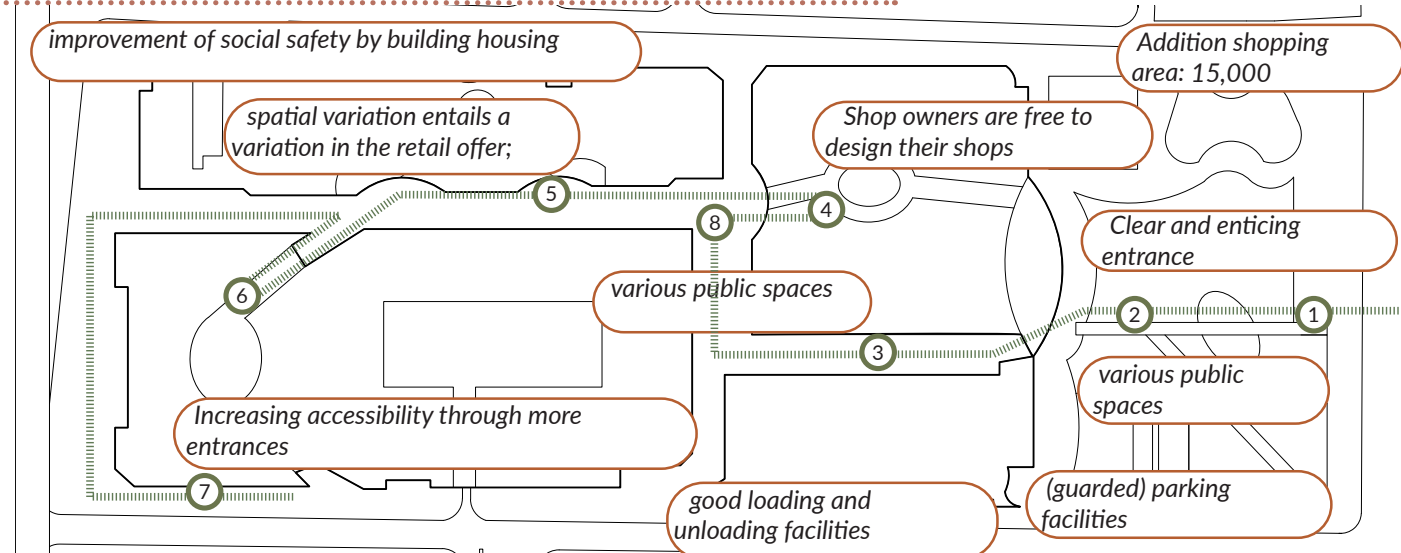
Researchers have also developed different methods to research everydayness within scientific fieldwork and statistical documentation. These approaches try to critique top-down, expert-centred professional practices (Sachs, 2013). Environment-behaviour studies (EBS) is one such practice that highlights the intimate relationship between individuals and their surroundings (Avigail, 2013). The methods they proposed involve interviews, questionnaires, and observations. For instance, Researchers (Lynch, 1964; Rapoport, 1990; Whyte, 1980) have used observations, a non-verbal model, to examine the relationship between environment and perceptions. Furthermore, behaviour mappings (Gehl & Svarre, 2013) visualize the general patterns of stay activities. These approaches address the importance of users and are used as part of architectural practices for "evidence-based design." (Avigail, 2013)

Despite the importance of everydayness in heritage and architecture, few studies have discussed the impacts of the varying opinions of different stakeholders on cultural significance. Visualizing and assessing the invisible relationships between different groups can also be challenging. However, heritage assessments tools give insights into documenting the impact of design intentions and daily behaviours on values and heritage attributes and justify the significance of cultural heritage with multiple dimensions (Silva & Roders, 2012), In conclusion, research on everydayness in architecture could facilitate social and spatial transformations with local heritage management. However, it still needs further investigation by introducing heritage assessment tools.

In conclusion, attention to the everydayness in architecture has the potential to facilitate social and spatial transformations and enhance sustainable heritage management. However, it still



In De Bogaard in 1960



In De Bogaard in 1992



(Figure 2. Archive mapping)

## 03 METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Archive analysis

The archive analysis examined the "Metamorphosis of a shopping centre"(Doesburg et al., n.d.) design report published by the Rijswijk government. The report documented the redevelopment process and included interviews with architects for redesign ideas and strategies. Moreover, the online postcards and official photographs from each phase were also analyzed to understand the design intentions and stories imposed by the experts on public memories.

The archive mappings (Figure 2) established the connection between the photographs and keywords extracted from the report. It revealed that in 1962, De Bogaard was a car-oriented shopping centre designed to attract people outside Rijswijk with two parking facilities on both sides. At that time, the south parking lot was also used for events such as racing showcases, which had economic and social values. Moreover, the open-air shopping gallery created a cosy atmosphere with continuous façades and the inner streets.

In 1992, De Bogaard underwent its first renovation to enhance leisure experiences to escape from the decay influenced by the emergence of new shopping malls in Rotterdam and Den Haag. The primary focus for this renovation was to enlarge the retail spaces, resulting in the construction of 15,000 shopping areas on the north parking lot. Additionally, parts of the complexes were transformed into enclosed malls, and parts of the south parking lot were converted into a leisure park with greenery and a pool. Architectural strategies were also implemented to create impressive entrances, enhancing the mall's attractiveness and accessibility. Safety is also the topic for renovation targets. Four high-rise residential towers were added at the corner of De Bogaard for diverse users.



The keywords and photographs mappings illustrated that the design intentions in 1962 and 1992 differed significantly due to changing social focuses and technological advancements. The 1962 design of De Bogaard aimed to emphasize its significance as the first modern shopping mall in the Netherlands and cater to people outside of Rijswijk with car-friendly facilities. However, by 1992, De Bogaard expanded its retail spaces and introduced public spaces in response to social demands as strategies to improve the decay. The focus on user-friendly and the integration of public facilities and landscapes with economic activities began to emerge.

### 3.2 Observation

For this sector, the counting and mapping proposed by Gehl in *How to Study Public Life* (2013) were employed to document various aspects of activities, such as activity types, the number of people staying or walking, and the clustering patterns. Additionally, interviews were conducted as secondary sources to gain a deeper understanding of the everyday uses of De Bogaard. The previous analysis of design intentions informed the selection of observation spots.

Activities from 12.00 to 16.00 on Thursday (01.12.2022) and Saturday (03.12.2022) were documented. The observation locations were divided into four spots, A (park), B (open-air shopping), C (open-air shopping, partially under construction), and D (enclosed mall). Mappings were created to illustrate the distribution of males, females, and children (Figure 3). Additionally, the numbers and types of users moving and staying in the different areas were recorded separately (Appendix 1).

Based on the statistics and mapping, It was evident that on both Thursdays and Saturdays, the inner street near the entrances for open-air shopping had the highest number of people staying and moving. Additionally, people preferred walking in the park and staying in the enclosed mall, while the north inner street attracted fewer people. Regarding the target groups, adults and the elderly were more likely to use De Bogaard. Furthermore, puppies were frequently seen with their owners across all spaces, while birds appeared more in open spaces in the south. Moreover, it was observed that people tended to visit De Bogaard in clusters on Thursdays and Saturdays, while on Saturdays, there were more children.

During the interviews with two elderly, both mentioned their regular routines when using De Bogaard. For instance, one lady mentioned that she would visit the mall each Thursday to meet her friends and walk around the site. Thursdays were her free day as her husband would go to the clinic.

This sector provided a vivid view of everyday life at De Bogaard. On the one hand, people utilized the mall not only for necessities but also as a meeting place for social interactions, which was facilitated by the relaxing amenities provided by mall developers. On the other hand, the observation and interviews illustrated the minimal or no consumption activities, such as exercises by "mall walkers", suggesting that De Bogaard serves as the personal space for individuals beyond commercial activities, indicating diverse needs beyond the current functions of malls.

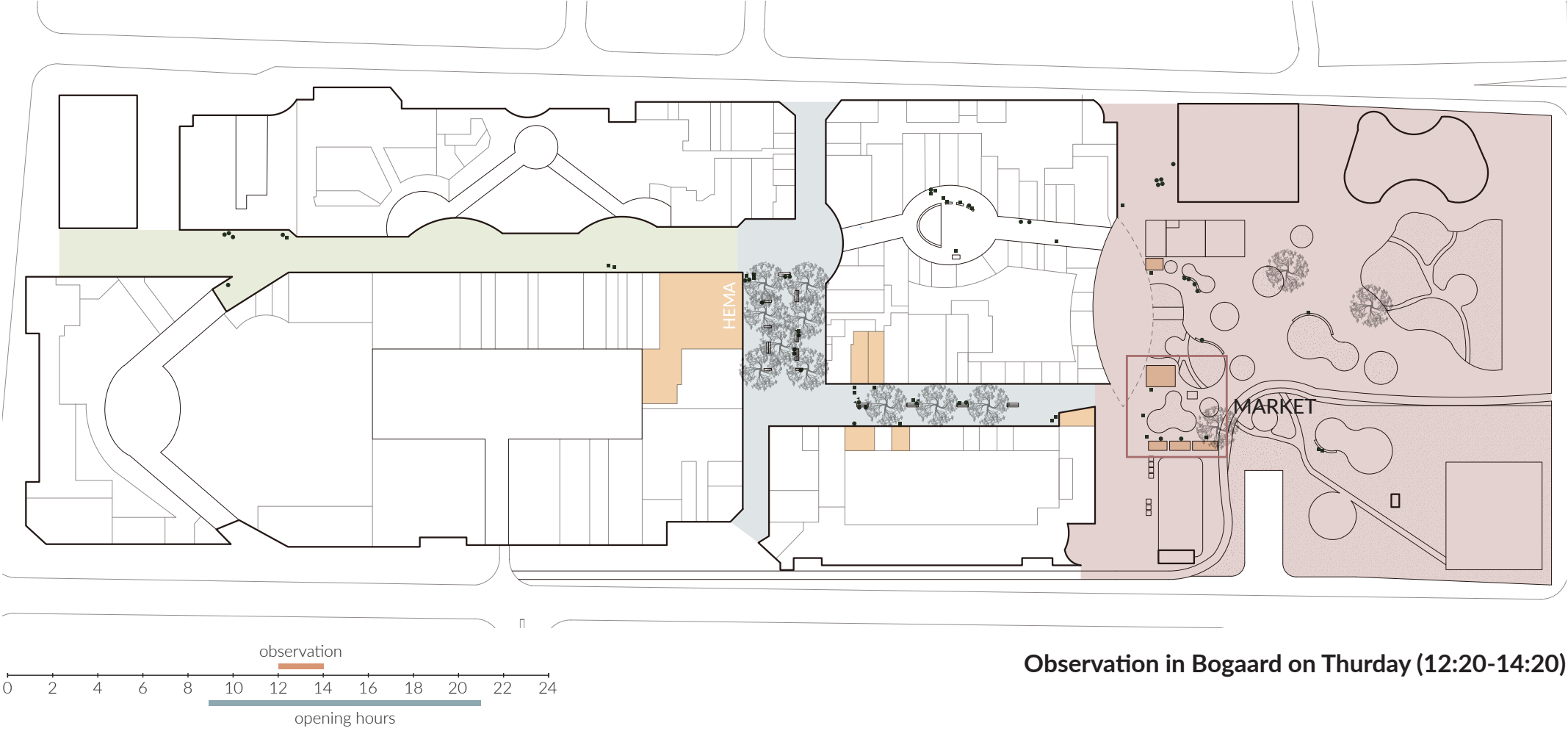
### 3.3 Value comparisons:

In this phase, value comparisons were conducted by coding the postcards and photographs. Silva&Rodgers (2012) reviewed and summarized the value-based approaches in cultural heritage management, addressing the impact of different groups and individuals on the cultural significance and heritage attributes. This research took the eight primary values (Appendix 2) Rodgers proposed in 2007 (Silva & Rodgers, 2012) as the foundation for clarifying the values and attributes in design intention and everyday use.

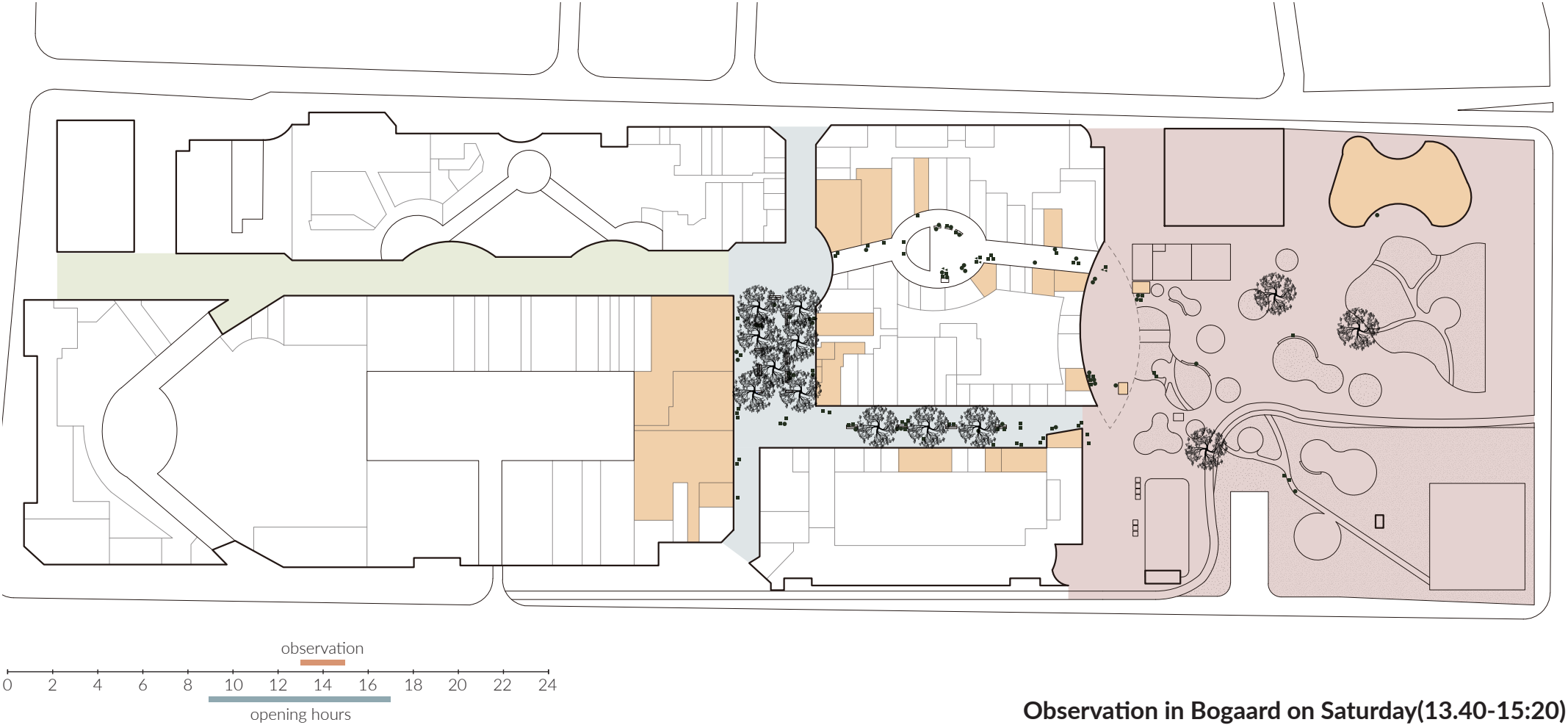
Moreover, the value coding (Figure 4) followed the general understanding of spatial logic, especially for the economy and efficiency consideration (Lange, 2022; Whyte, 1980). The design intentions documented in the official reports and the observation results were also considered apart from the definition. For instance, in the A1 area(park), the design intentions of the parking lot primarily focused on economic values, and then it enlarged to incorporate ecological, aesthetical, and social values. At the same time, residents used the park as a meeting place, highlighting economic and social values. For spaces like A2 and C, the design intentions significantly impacted values and assets for the different targets, such as economic viability or functional efficiency. On the other hand, everyday uses showed ecologic values only in B2 through the interaction with birds.

The value matrix (Figure 5) visually represented the connection

	ACTIVITIES	NUMBERS
THURSDAY	watch	1
	chatting	6
	window shopping	9
	eating	10
	walk the dog	1
	play with kids	1
	running	2
	hang out with the baby	2
	waiting in the line	11
	play the phone	7
SATURDAY	watching	2
	chatting	6
	window shopping	29
	eating	8
	walking the dog	3
	play with kids	4
	running	1
	hang out with the baby	2
	waiting in the line	13
	play the phone	8



(Figure 3. Mapping)



Observation in Bogaard on Saturday(13.40-15:20)



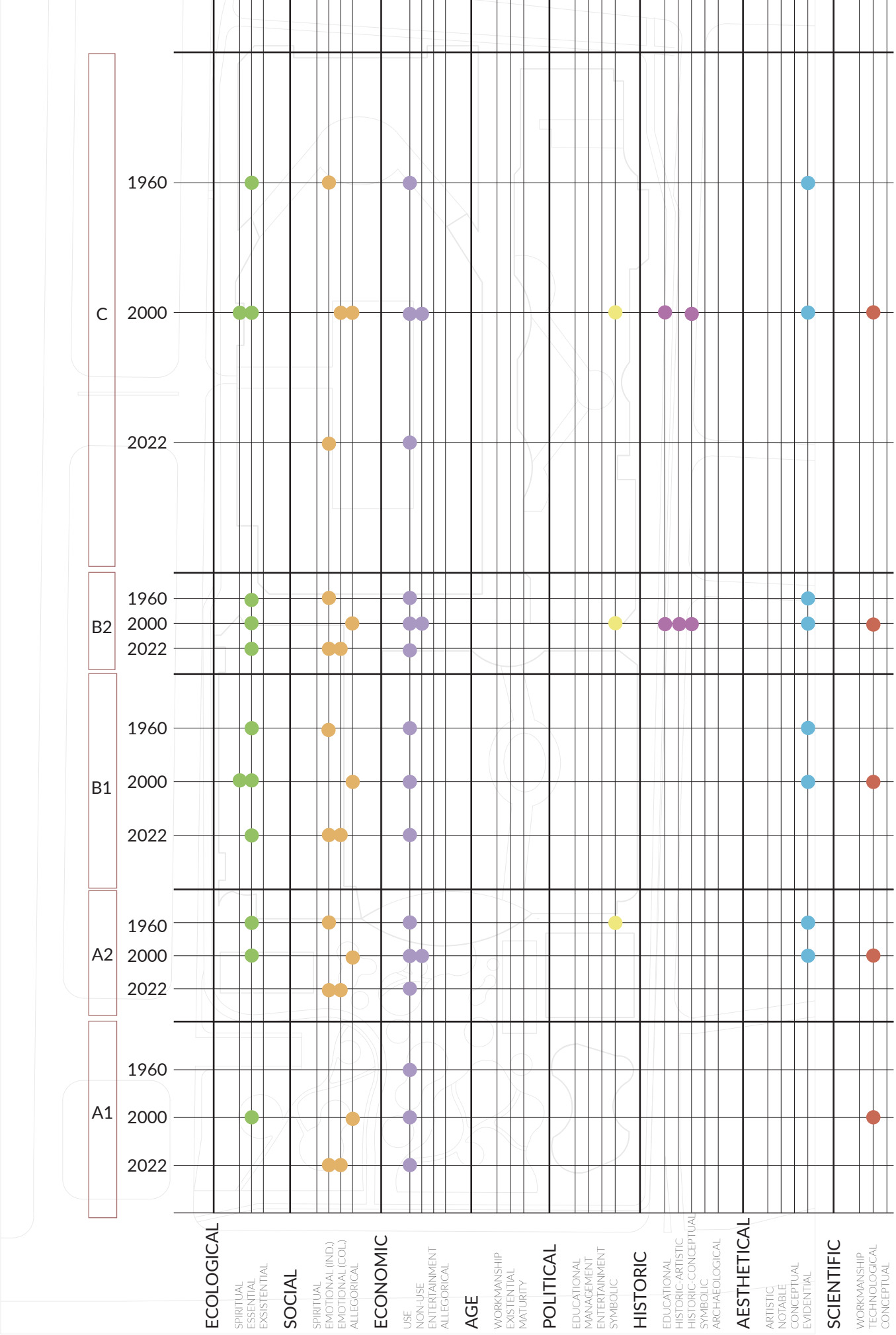
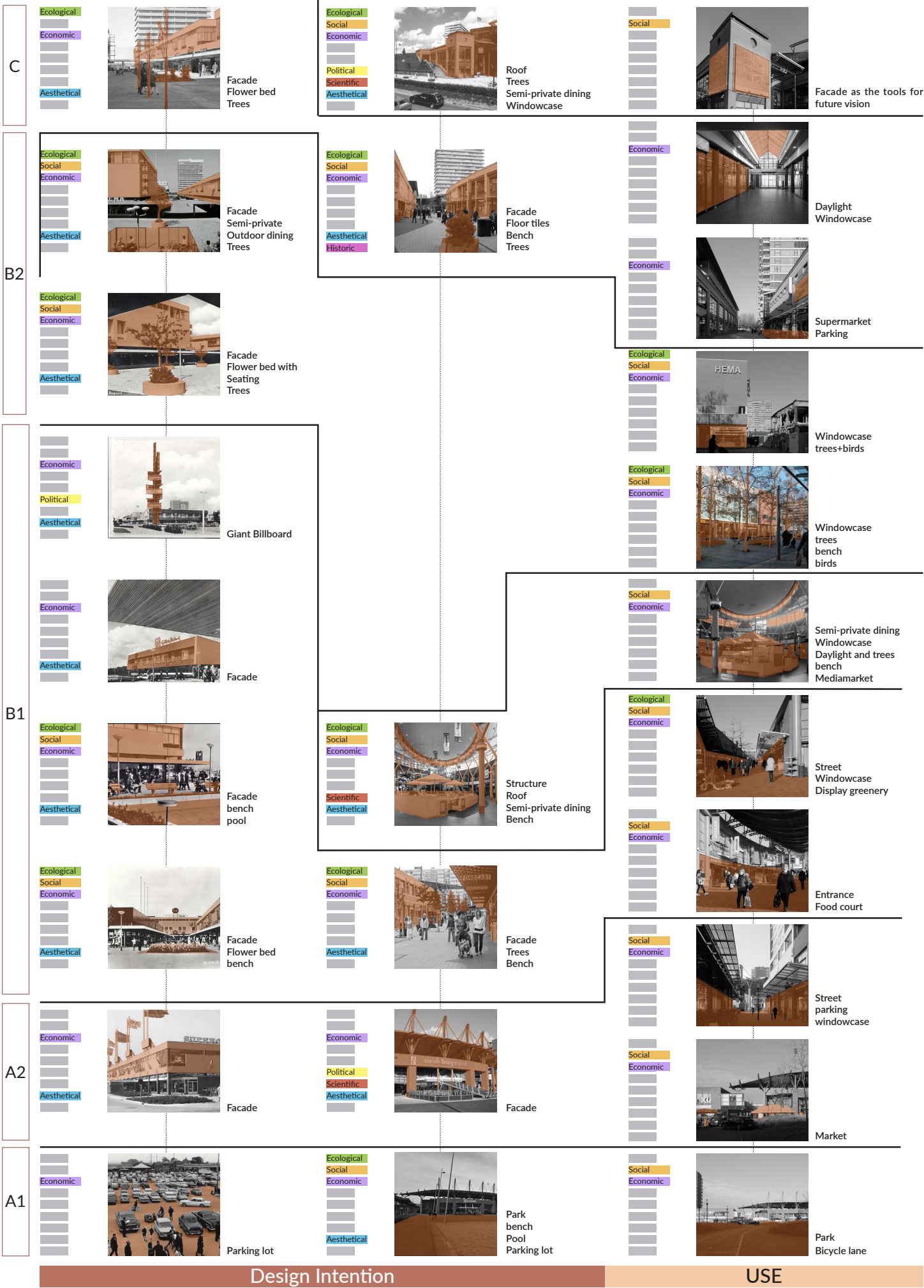
between spaces, values, times and stakeholders with De Bogaard. Horizontally, it showed the impact between values and spaces, vertically for values and stakeholders. In general, social, economic, ecological and aesthetic values were the primary focal points in the site both for design intentions and everyday acts. However, the age value appeared less prominent in De Bogaard, and part of the historical value was evident on the northern side with the 1962 façade pieces.

However, It needs to be aware that value coding is subjective. Although the definitions of the eight heritage values provide a general framework for categorizing and understanding, individual interpretations may vary. Moreover, the design intention was based on the information from the official reports, which may not capture the full range of perspectives or include direct dialogues with the architects. Furthermore, it is essential to recognize that the observation data were collected during a limited period, and hard to represent the patterns of

## 04 RESULTS

De Bogaard has transformed from the first modern Dutch shopping centre into a community gathering place, particularly for the elderly and families. It reflects the trend in the spatial design for shopping malls, which prioritize not only shopping experiences but also social demands. De Bogaard is one essential daily element in Rijswijk, connecting various stakeholders, including the government, mall developers, and consumers. Each group influences its cultural significance in distinct ways.

While the value matrix demonstrated that the cultural values influenced by design intentions and everyday uses are similar, it is essential to note that the secondary values and attributes may differ. Based on observations and interviews, the elderly, for example, repurpose the mall's long corridors as informal exercise paths. Additionally, some consumers are seen to engage with public amenities and spaces with less or no consumption. These behaviours can be seen as resistance to economic spaces and reflect the desire for everyday uses, which may go far beyond "organized passivity". It demonstrates the active role of consumers in shaping their daily experiences in shopping malls, which transforms "organized passivity" into positive engagement.



decisions to rethink the visible spaces, like the passages and atriums that shape the daily experiences, and the hidden spaces, such as the delivery routines and service corridors that ensure the smooth functioning of malls.

## 05 DISCUSSION

The design of shopping centres was often driven by market studies, economic considerations, and functional efficiency (Lin et al., 2012). It may result in unhumanized environments characterized by giant billboards, long routines, and uncomfortable seats to avoid staying in one space (Lange, 2022; Whyte, 1980). Enclosed malls, for instance, tended to centralize seating areas and leisure facilities in the atrium, while other passages were narrow to encourage movement. The spatial logic behind these designs reflected the "imposition of consumption", serving capitalist interests rather than human needs.

Although shopping malls have always mentioned their consumer-friendliness in their website and business culture, public spaces for recreation were often limited. However, users have shown resistance to economic spaces and designs. They reinterpret the functions of mall spaces, creating their cultural values for specific needs in the organized world of consumption. These resistances highlight the importance of social demand in shaping the everydayness of shopping malls and provide insights into the possibility of improving "organized passivity". Furthermore, they emphasize the need for more inclusive approaches that address the social dimensions in the economic spaces. The relationship between developers and consumers could be reimaged through the cooperation between design intentions and informal behaviours focusing on both the social aspects and economic benefits.

In an urban context, malls are seen as isolated islands separated from the living environment (Lange, 2022), while everyday life has forged invisible connections between shopping centres and urban complexes such as homes and offices. Individuals have established these connections through their daily routines and ask for a humanized environment redefining the consuming landscape. The renewed spatial vision informs the redesign

## 06 CONCLUSION

The concept of everydayness, which explores the connection between human beings and the built environment, is a key focus of this research. Through the literature review, the situation of "organized passivity" (Lefebvre & Levich, 1987) in the shopping malls and the resistance through informal behaviours emerged as primary research interests. In De Bogaard, the first modern shopping mall in the Netherlands was chosen to gain a deeper understanding of everyday experiences in this context.

The research approach employed archival research from the experts' perspective on design intentions and observational research from the consumers' perspective. This comprehensive approach allowed a deep understanding of the everydayness in De Bogaard. Based on the description and photographs, the values coding process was a neutral tool to visualize the relationship between developers and consumers. At the end of the study, I argue that the value influenced by design intentions and everyday acts are similar, but the attributes associated are different. It shows not only the imposed consumption in spaces where consumers passively fulfil part of social and economic demand, but also the positive reproducing of space through informal behaviour with no or less consumption. The public desire for enriched public life and the creation of values with the full range of stakeholders inform the redesign decisions, addressing the implementation of user-friendly interfaces and flexibility upon the economic activity and enhancing the inclusive relationship between developers and consumers.



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## <Archive>

1. Design proposals in 1962 and 1992: Doesburg, R., Gabriëlse, M., & Roes, S. (Eds.). (n.d.). *Metamorfose van een winkelcentrum* (Gemeentearchief gemeente Rijswijk). Pevry Press. <https://www.sylviaroescommunicatie.nl/ambtelijketekst/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Metamorfose-van-een-winkelcentrum.pdf>

[sylviaroescommunicatie.nl/ambtelijketekst/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Metamorfose-van-een-winkelcentrum.pdf](https://www.sylviaroescommunicatie.nl/ambtelijketekst/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Metamorfose-van-een-winkelcentrum.pdf)

## <Postcards>

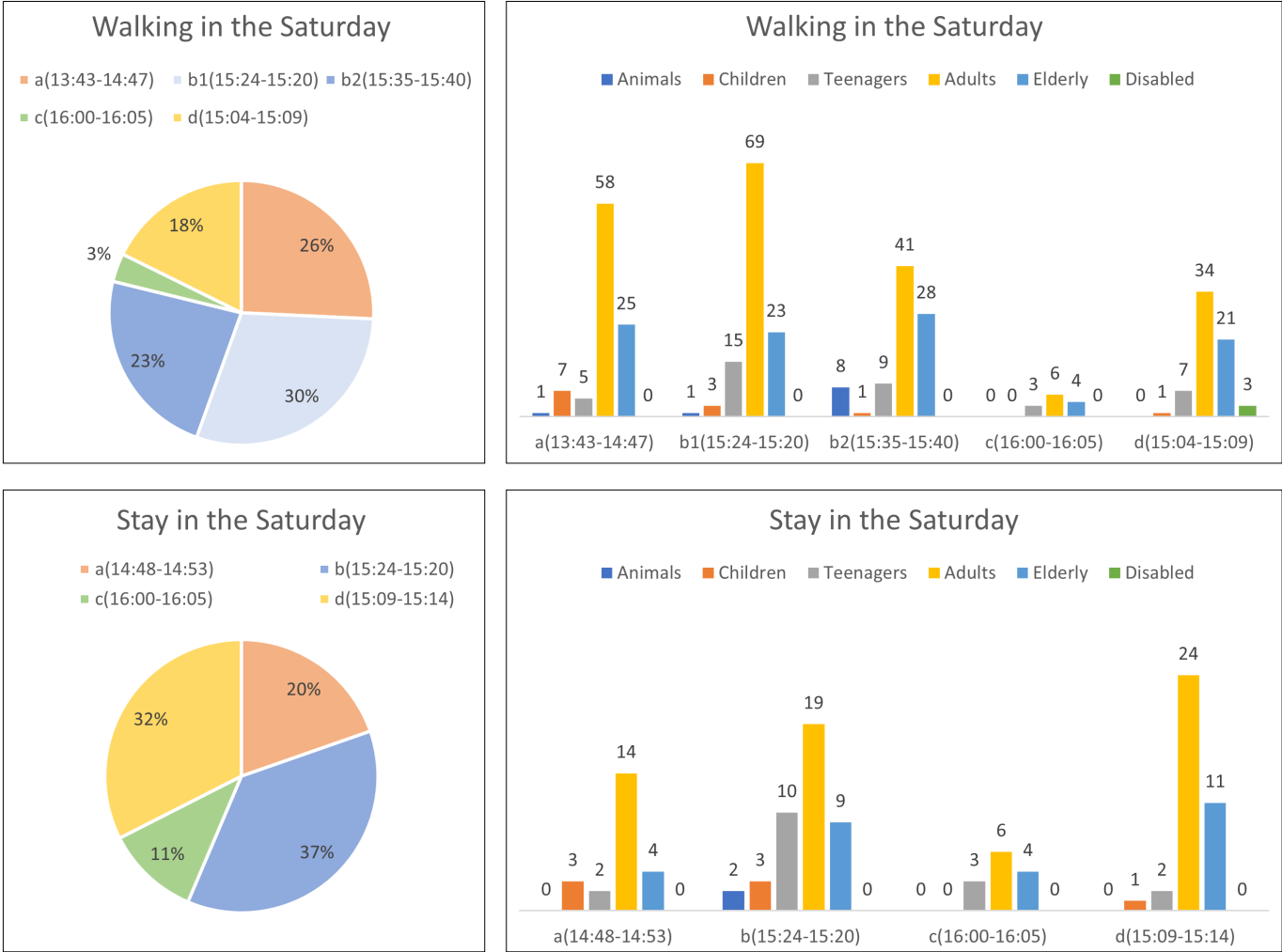
1. Koopcentrum in de bogaard. From “*Rijswijks Dagblad*,” (<https://rijswijksdagblad.nl/algemeen/oude-rijswijk-winkelcentrum-in-de-bogaard->)

## <Images>

1. Opening of shopping centre In de Bogaard, Rijswijk. Car park. From “*Nationaal archief*”. By Meijer, Jacques; 1963. (<https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/fotocollectie/ae156542-d0b4-102d-bcf8-003048976d84>)
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3. Regionaal winkelcentrum "In de Bogaard" te Rijswijk. From “*Nationaal archief*”. By Doorne, Ridder van; 1963 ( <https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/en/research/photo-collection/af4cddaa-d0b4-102d-bcf8-003048976d84?searchKey=da1e46d1f73389cc23b21361050e64a8>)
4. In De Bogaard. From “*Pinterest*,” by Erik van der Veer, 1960 (<https://nl.pinterest.com/pin/331436853825780371/>)
5. In De Bogaard. From “*Pinterest*,” by dezedus. (<https://nl.pinterest.com/pin/51017408267638326/>)
6. Shopping centre "in de Bogaard". From *SUM Architecten* ( <https://sumarchitecten.nl/projecten/winkelcentra/de-terp/>)
7. Spetterende Koningsdag in De Bogaard. From “*Archief Nieuws*”; 2019(<https://rijswijk.tv/spetterende-koningsdag-in-de-bogaard/>)



APPENDIX 1



APPENDIX 2

From Silva, A. T., & Roders, A. P. (2012). *CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AND HERITAGE (IMPACT) ASSESSMENTS*. 11.

	Secondary Values	References
	Spiritual	beliefs, myths, religions (organized or not), legends, stories, testimonial of past generations;
Social	Emotional, individual	memory and personal life experiences;
	Emotional, collective	notions related with cultural identity, motivation and pride, sense of “place attachment” and communal value.
	Allegorical	objects/places representative of some social hierarchy/status;
	Use	the function and utility of the asset, original or attributed;
Economic	Non-use	the asset’s expired function, which has it value on the past, and should be remained by its existence (of materials), option (to make some use of it or not) and bequest value (for future generations);
	Entertainment	the role that might be have for contemporaneous market, mainly for tourism industry;
	Allegorical	oriented to publicizing financially property;
	Educational	the education role that heritage assets may play, using it for political targets (e. g. birth-nations myths, glorification of political leaders, etc.);
Political	Management	made part of strategies and policies (past or present);
	Entertainment	it is part of strategies for dissemination of cultural awareness, explored for political targets;
	Symbolic	emblematic, power, authority and prosperous perceptions stem from the heritage asset;
	Educational	heritage asset as a potential to gain knowledge about the past in the future through;
Historic	Historic-artistic	quality of an object to be part of a few or unique testimonial of historic stylistic or artistic movements, which are now part of the history;
	Historic-conceptual	quality of an object to be part of a few or unique testimonial that retains conceptual signs (architectural, urban planning, etc.), which are now part of history;
	Symbolic	fact that the object has been part/related with an important event in the past;
	Archaeological	connected with Ancient civilizations;
Aesthetical	Artistic	original product of creativity and imagination;
	Notable	product of a creator, holding his signature;
	Conceptual	integral materialization of conceptual intentions (imply a conceptual background);
	Evidential	authentic exemplar of a decade, part of the History of Art or Architecture;
Scientific	Workmanship	original result of human labour, craftsmanship;
	Technological	skillfulness on techniques and materials, representing an outstanding quality of work;
	Conceptual	integral materialization of conceptual intentions (imply a conceptual background);
	Workmanship	craftsmanship value oriented towards the production period;
Age	Maturity	piece of memory, reflecting the passage/lives of past generations;
	Existential	marks of the time passage (patine) presents on the forms, components and materials;
Ecological	Spiritual	harmony between the building and its environment (natural and artificial);
	Essential	identification of ecological ideologies on its design and construction;
	Existential	manufactured resources which can either be reused, reprocessed or recycled;