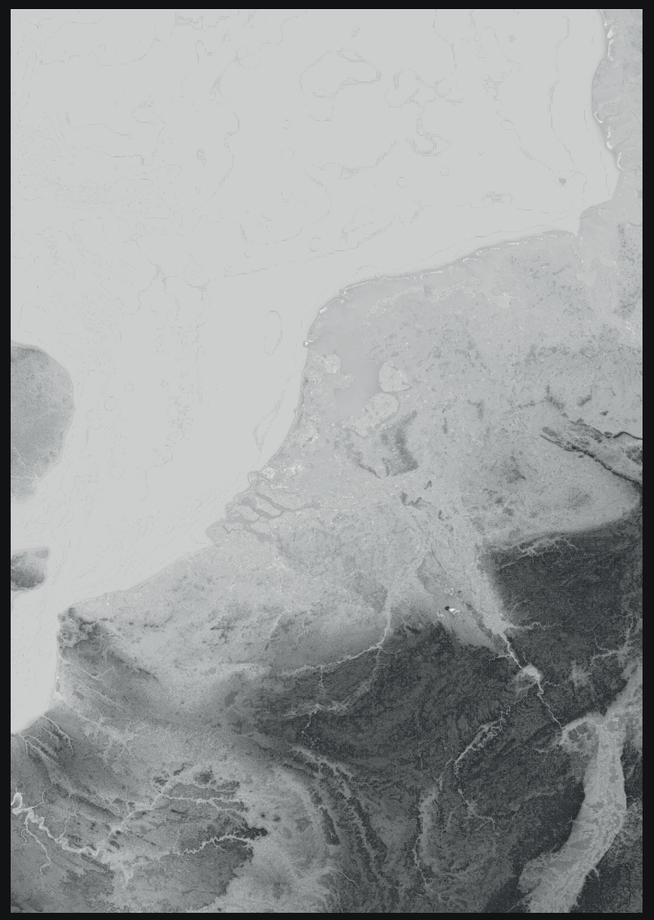
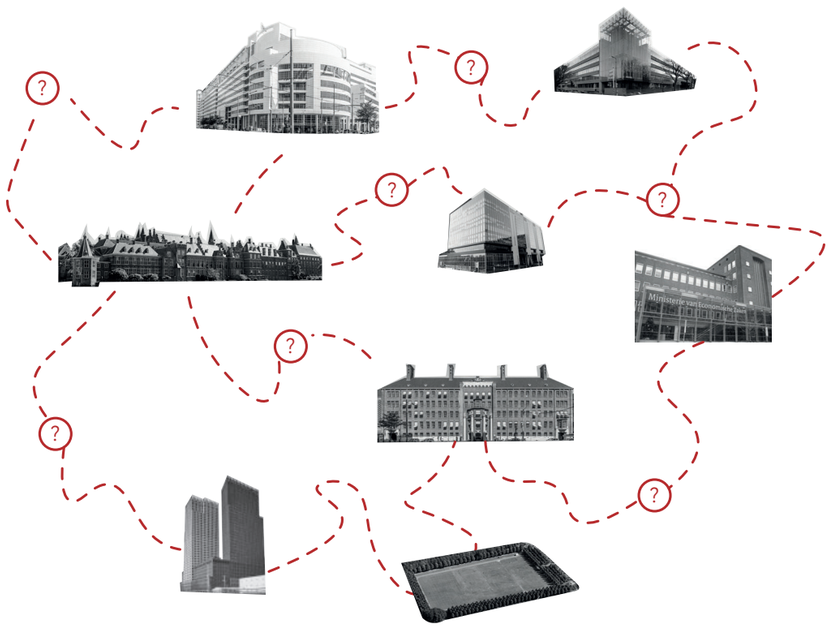


SPACES FOR DEMOCRACY

Spaces for a radical, pluralist democracy



COLOFON

SPACES FOR DEMOCRACY

MSc Graduation Thesis Plan - P5 Report
Master of Science Urbanism
Faculty of Architecture, Urbansim and Building Sciences, University of Technology Delft

Author: Marieke Russchen

Graduation Studio: Transitional Territories
Graduation Mentors: Irene Luque Martín (first mentor, Urban Design)
and Caroline Newton (second mentor, Spatial Planning and Strategy)

16-06-2025

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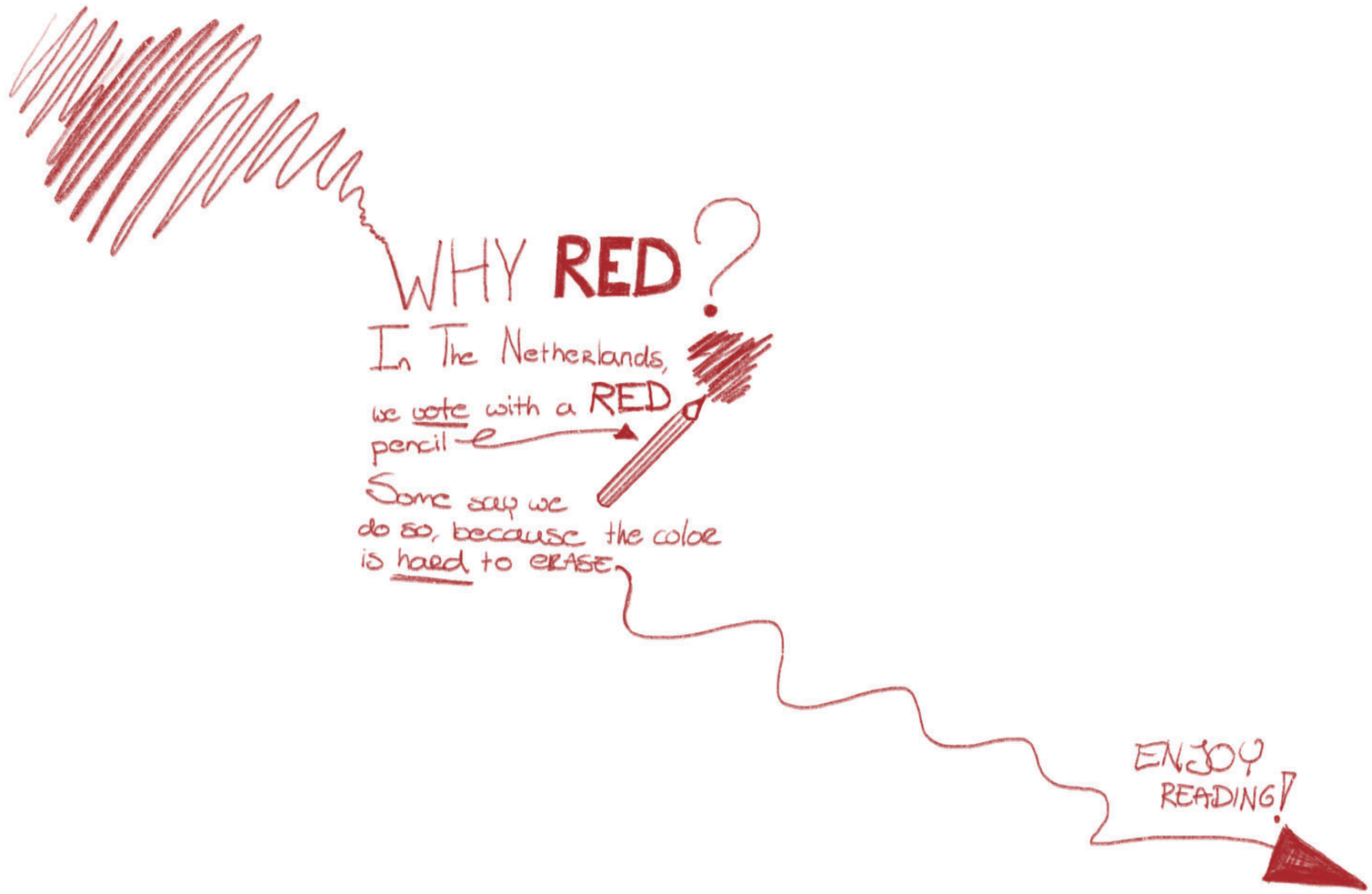
Climate justice protest - A12 - The Hague

00.01. **ABSTRACT**

Currently, the world is in a state of radical uncertainty, pressing the importance for strong democracies more than ever, in order to make sure decisions are made in a socially and environmentally just manner. However, in the past years, a global trend of democratic erosion has been identified. This trend is threatening even the older, well-established democracies. In the Netherlands, a growing distrust towards politicians has been identified as well. Solutions to restore this distrust and to bring citizens and government together, have a hard time addressing all different groups in society and are causing even more frustration among citizens. The main question this research focuses on is the following:

'How can spaces for a radical pluralist democracy be identified, designed and used, in the context of The Hague'

In order to tackle the issue of democratic erosion, and to offer solutions to prevent the continuation of this phenomenon, this research proposes an exploration of the concept of the radical pluralist democracy, through a spatial lens based on Critical Urban Theory, by focussing on the role of the designer and by implementing a research by design method through Radical Spatial Imaginaries, resulting in a list of 10 critical reflections.


WHY RED?
In The Netherlands, we vote with a RED pencil
Some say we do so, because the color is hard to ERASE
ENJOY READING!

00.02. **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank a number of people for their contribution to my graduation project. First of all, my two mentors, Irene Luque Martín and Caroline Newton, for supervising this project, for all the inspiring and informative conversations, and for all their trust. I would also like to thank my other teachers from the master's programme.

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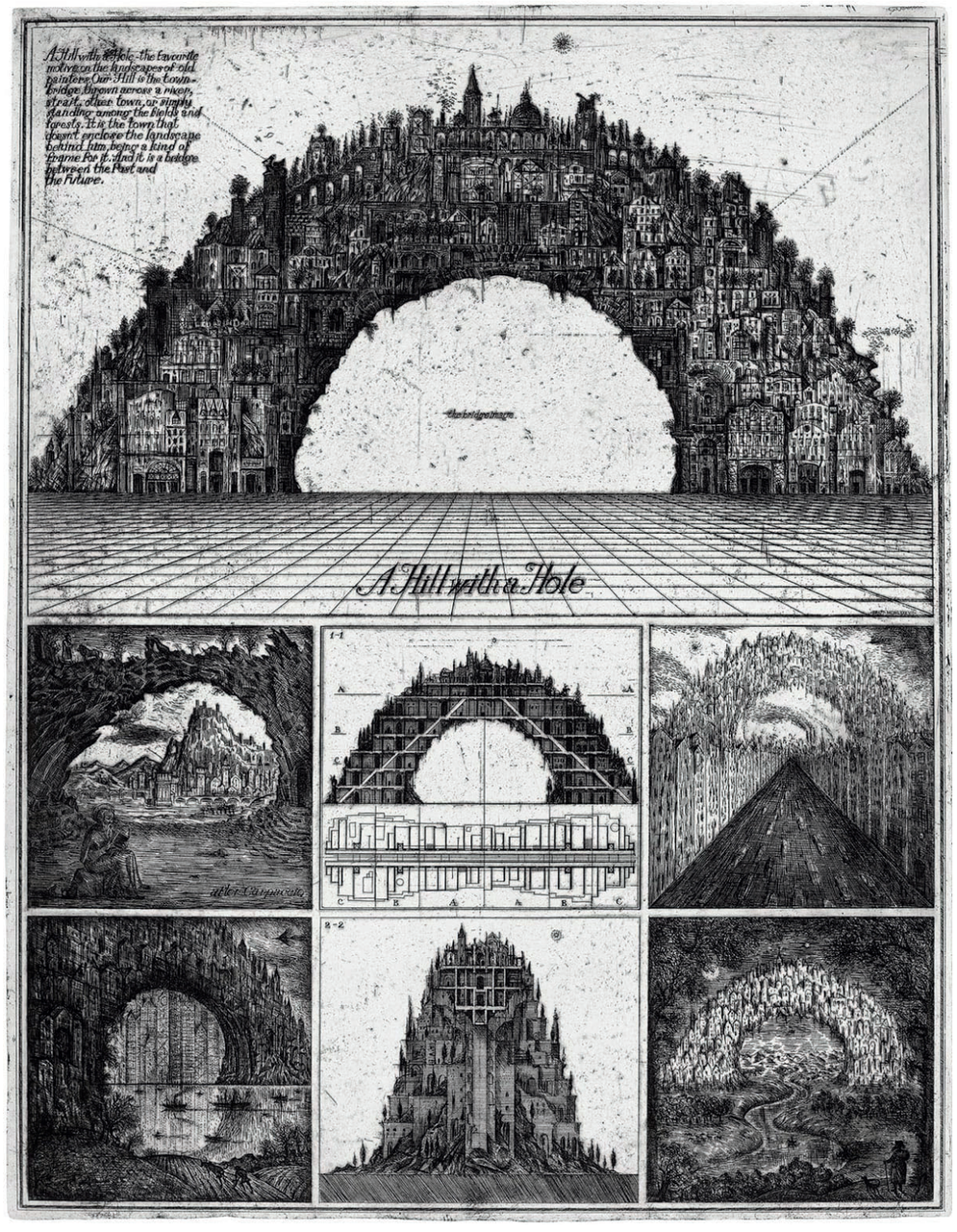
Special thanks to my oma, Adri, who was not allowed to study herself but was incredibly proud that I had the opportunity to do so. This piece is for her.

01.

POSING A QUESTION: LINKING DEMOCRACY AND URBAN DESIGN



Jobson, C. (2024, 28 augustus). Constrained by the Limitations of Soviet-Era Architecture, Brodsky & Utkin Imagined Fantastical Structures on Paper. Colossal. https://www.thisiscolossal.com/2015/09/paper-architecture-brodsky-utkin/

'Bridge ' of Utkin and Brodsky : Hill with a Hole, 1987/90 . Courtesy of Ronald Feldman Fine Arts Inc

01.01. MOTIVATION BEHIND THIS RESEARCH: THE FIRST STEP OF REFLECTION

Motivation
Ever since I was a kid, political discussions were at the table in my family. While my parents align in their values, they interpret them differently politically. This created an inspiration to listen and think about these political problems from a young age and was one of the reasons why I started the master Urbanism. Urbanism, to me, is a research field where a lot of issues, also addressed in political debate, are present, such as the climate crisis and questions around diversity. Urbanism is the practice of bridging conflicting interests, by thinking about alternatives to the status-quo.

In the first year of my master's degree, my teacher introduced me to a book by Alexander Brodsky and Ilya Utkin, both 'paper architects', explaining that in a time of Soviet utilitarianism Brodsky and Utkin were limited in expressing their ideas, only on paper. Their goal was to create a more emotional and humane form of architecture (Viva, 2022). One of the drawings contained a bridge, made out of a city. I interpreted this drawing as a conceptualisation of the importance of the city to bridge different people together. These drawings brought me back to conversations I had with my grandmother about her experiences as a child, during the Second World War and how, through her stories, she passed on a piece of the feeling of the absence of freedom and the presence of violence.These experiences shaped her, she always stressed the importance of having an open attitude to people of all different identities and backgrounds, not to let anger win. To try not to judge, but to care for one another. Her stories shaped me. They made me aware of the fragility of a democratic system and to cherish it.

In deciding on a topic for my master thesis, I started reflecting on present-day developments. In the first year of my masters, I saw pictures of protests in The Hague and started participating in the climate justice protests that took place on the A12 highway. I also started noticing stickers on the streetlights representing a wide range of opinions and the upside-down flags of farmers along the highways. I thought back to the paper architects and the conversations I had with my grandmother and wondered what urban design means in a democracy. The A12 highway was bridging all kinds of people, from bystanders, to activists, to policemen, but also all kinds of worldviews, similar to the drawing of Brodsky and Utkin.

This made me want to explore the role of the urban designer in relation to democracy and protest. It made me wonder why something like a highway is now being used for protest, when it was never designed for this purpose. What does this usage of space mean for making designs for the city? I was keen to research the city of The Hague, because to me it was the centre of democracy in the Netherlands. In particular, I was curious about where else democracy was, besides the protests and government buildings.

All these thoughts led me to this research. I hope as a reader you will also take a moment to ask these questions to yourself, and hope you enjoy reading it.



The body

As a first excersise for this graduation, I was asked to define ‘the body’ of this research. I concluded that the passport or lack thereoff now is often the perception governments have of citizens: a set of numbers and other data.

01.02. **POSITIONALITY STATEMENT**

Context
This graduation thesis is written as part of the second year of the Master of Science of Urbanism at The University of Technology Delft. This thesis takes one year and is guided by two mentors, Irene Luque Martín and Caroline Newton.

Positionality Statement
I am currently 25 years old. I am a woman, born and raised in the Netherlands. I am white. My parents both have masters degrees, my father in business economics and my mother in psychiatry, my brother is becoming a mechanical engineer. They are both Dutch. I was not raised with any religion, but have influences of the catholic church from one side. I grew up in Rotterdam, where I went to a 'gymnasium', this is part of the Dutch education system where you only go to school with people that are also being prepared to go to University, including lessons in Latin and Greek. My mother is from the southern part of the Netherlands, my father from the northern side. The differences in both families and my upbringing in Rotterdam made me aware that 'dutch' identity is one of many.

I am a member of the political party GroenLinks (though I am not an active member), while sometimes I vote for the Partij voor de Dieren. In being raised in the Netherlands, I was raised in a democratic system that is considered to be high functioning. Generally, I would say I was raised with a lot of privilege.

02.

DEMOCRACY & URBAN DESIGN: EXPLORING THE URGENCY

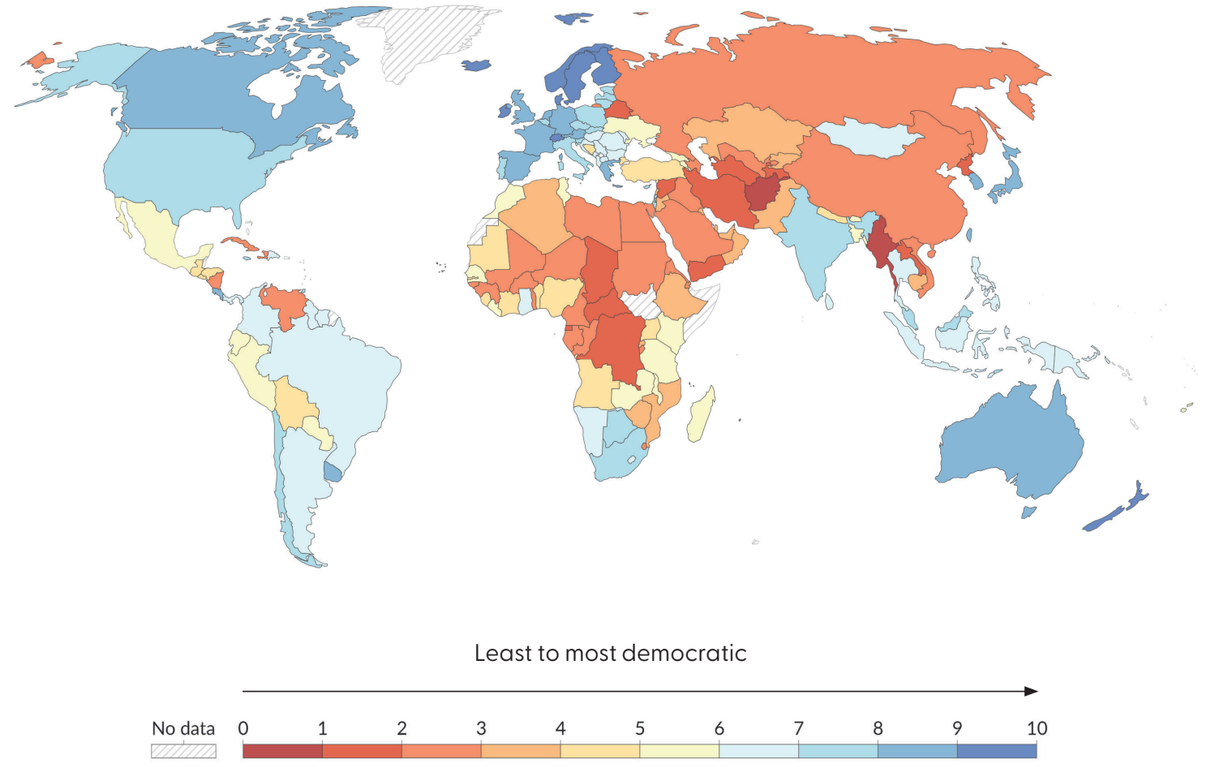
02.01. **PROBLEMATIZATION**

Global trend of democratic erosion
The planet is currently in a state of radical uncertainty (Executive Summary – The Global State Of Democracy 2024, n.d.). This stresses the need for socially and environmentally just decision making processes, thus for strong democratic systems. However, in recent years, democracies all over the world are in decline, including high-performing democracies in Europe and the Americas (Executive Summary – The Global State Of Democracy 2024, n.d.).

While the Democracy Index of Economist Intelligence Unit might not evoke the thought of urgency in the European context, in the recent years, a growing distrust towards national governments has been identified (Trust in Crisis: Europe's Social Contract Under Threat | European Foundation For The Improvement Of Living And Working Conditions, n.d.).

The cause of this decline of distrust is declared a result of a cost-of-living crisis, among others (Trust in Crisis: Europe's Social Contract Under Threat | European Foundation For The Improvement Of Living And Working Conditions, n.d.).. More and more people, mainly groups living in rural areas and marginalized groups, feel a lack of trust and feel unrecognized by politicians and policy makers. Furthermore, social media platforms have an increasing devise role, exploiting and amplifying discontent of citizens. These trends could possibly influence the strength of the democratic systems in the European Union and destabilise society (Trust in Crisis: Europe's Social Contract Under Threat | European Foundation For The Improvement Of Living And Working Conditions, n.d.).

It becomes clear these strong democracies cannot be considered a given fact, but have to be carefully monitored and researched, in order for these societies to include all voices. The question whether the present-day systems of liberal democratic capitalism can be considered 'the end of history', already posed in 1992 by Chantal Mouffe, becomes ever so relevant in 2025 (Mouffe, 1992).

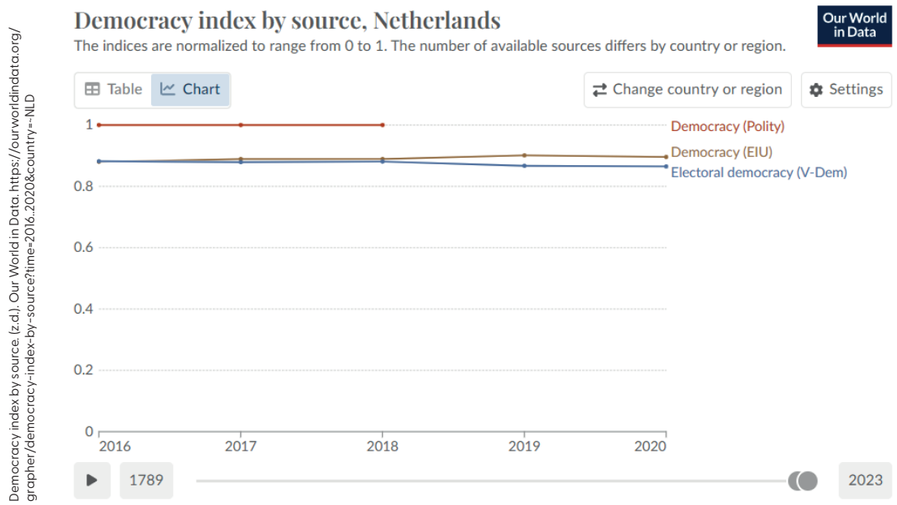


Democracy index, (2022, 10 februari). Our World in Data. https://ourworldindata.org/graphei/democracy-index-eiu

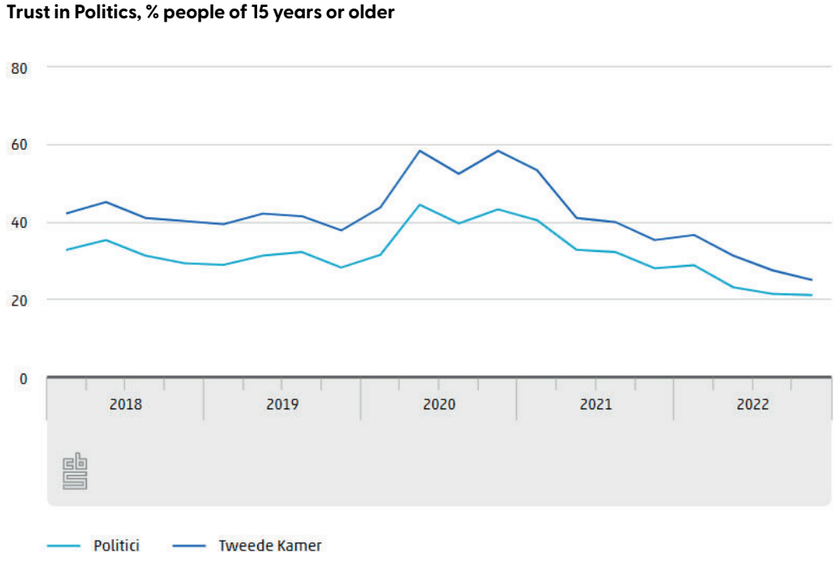
Democratic erosion in the Netherlands

While The Netherlands has been considered a stable democracy for decenia now, as can be seen in the graphic on the right, a similar pattern of distrust towards politicians and the presence of anti-pluralist parties, is present, among other symptoms that could indicate democratic erosion (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2023) (Honingh et al., 2023). People feel the next generations will have less opportunities than themselves. This makes them feel insecure and powerless (De Ree, 2024). People desire politicians who are in close contact with the people (Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport, 2024).

Since the covid pandemic, the level of trust people indicate having in De Tweede Kamer (The House of Representatives) and politicians is declining. In 2023, the Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek (the Dutch Central Statistics Office) measured the lowest level of trust for these two in the past 10 years (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2023).



Democracy index by source. (z.d.). Our World in Data. https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/democracy-index-by-source?time=2016..2020&country=~NLD



Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. (2023, 8 mei). Minste vertrouwen in Tweede Kamer in 10 jaar tijd. Centraal Bureau Voor de Statistiek. https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2023/19/minste-vertrouwen-in-tweede-kamer-in-10-jaar-tijd

Attempt of institutions in strengthening democracy and frustration in participation processes
In this area of a trend of democratic decline, governmental institutions attempt to restore the relationship with their citizens, among other things, by focusing on the integration of participation processes in decision-making. The United Nations, for example, have included participation as part of their Sustainable Development Goals,namely in goal 16 (peace, justice and strong institutions) (SDG 16 - Verenigde Naties - Nederlands, 2020). They are committed to strengthening people's social capitals and state that participation as part of decision-making is essential for a just and secure society.

In the context of the EU, the statement of Massimiliano Mascherini, Head of the Social Policies unit at Eurofound, shows the awareness of the limitations of present day democracies. He stresses the need for rebuilding institutional trust, by concentrating on several key areas, namely on effective and transparent dialogue, delivering on promises, combating disinformation and manipulation and investing in social cohesion (Trust in Crisis: Europe's Social Contract Under Threat | European Foundation For The Improvement Of Living And Working Conditions, n.d.).

Similar ambitions are set in The Netherlands. The Dutch government wants to involve citizens more actively in decisions through participation processes (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2024). However, research shows that the current form of participation often turns out to have a low democratic content. Citizens find it frustrating that there is little opportunity for 'political conversations'. Moreover, certain groups are underrepresented in these processes, and it appears that mainly highly educated people participate (Burgerparticipatie Zonder een Politiek Gesprek Leidt Alleen Tot Frustraties, n.d.).

Solutions offered by governmental institutions do not yet address the root-cause of the distrust
However, even though all kinds of institutions, from the EU, to the UN, to the Dutch government, seem to acknowledge the limitations of the existing frameworks of present-day democracies, they struggle to not only treat the symptoms of these limitations, but the root-cause of the distrust and struggle, caused by the individualistic, universalistic and rationalist nature of liberal democracies (Mouffe, 1999). Applying this conclusion to the Dutch context, this quote of the director of the socio-cultural planning office (Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau), Karen van Oudenhoven, is relevant:

'Structural inequality in the Netherlands is on the rise, accompanied by a sense of unease and distrust in politics. This is a focus for the future. We need to look for connections, otherwise polarisation could take flight .'(De Ree, 2024)

Spatial dimension in strengthening democracies
Addressing and resolving the struggles of present-day democracies, like fostering social connections, is, apart from being a social problem, a spatial problem.

Relating the struggles of present day democracies back to the context of the city, Lefebvre's stand in 'the right to the city', is relevant to bring forward. In his writings, he demands not to consider the urban fabric solely as a neutral morphological condition. He considers the way that the urban fabric shapes, more or less intensely, a way of life. This is called 'the urban society' (Lefebvre, 1996).



*"We see **big differences** in **trust in politics** between people who can get on well in society and those who are left behind. This is cause for concern because it makes trust **a potential divisive factor** in society."*



*"Citizen participation often has the ambition of making decision-making more democratic and convincing opponents. However, research shows that **the level of democracy is often low.**"*



*"Over **40 per cent of Dutch people** think the government **does not listen** to residents **enough**. And **almost 60** per cent believe that **politicians do not sufficiently stand up** for people like them."*

This conceptualisation of the impact of the configuration of the city on social structures and vice versa, is the base of the hypothesis that the problems emerging in democracy have a spatial dimension. The conclusion is that the city can be considered as a condition that brings together and shapes virtual bodies, democracies for example, physically (Beveridge & Koch, 2023). If cities are the places where different kinds of people, with different ideas come together, then places to discuss and confront these ideas are essential (Jenlink, 2007).

Therefore, to ensure that everyone has a voice in decision making for the future, a new way has to be found to bring different groups of people into contact and provoke dialogue. The places existing for the purpose of facilitating conversation between different groups, are pressed by a pattern of the replacement of mixed-spaces, spaces bringing all kinds of groups together, by homogenised districts (Sennett & Sendra, 2022). This effect is caused by a process of sorting and segregating. Richard Sennet states: 'Flexible capitalism unfolds now in a rigid city. The city has become an iron cage - one that imprisons disoriented, labouring animalis.' (Sennett & Sendra, 2022).

Reconceptualising the current democratic system: Introducing the radical pluralist democracy
Concluding the crisis of the present-day liberal democracy, including the Dutch democracy, a broad reconceptualisation of the status-quo by many different thinkers is needed (Beveridge & Koch, 2023). Nevertheless, in order to keep this research concise, the focus of reconceptualising the current democratic system, will be on implementing the concept of the radical pluralist democracy. The goal is to address the root-cause of the current struggle, stressing the importance of taking into account the pluralist nature of democracies.

In order to give a brief understanding of the later further defined concept of the radical pluralist democracy, the definition of these terms is:

Radical democracy is an understanding of the democratic system extending 'beyond the formal procedures of democratic governance (e.g., voting, elections) to encompass broader dimensions of participation, inclusion, and empowerment in all areas of social life.'(Rocco, Gonçalves, & Lopez, 2024, p. 110)

The focus of this research will be on not only a radical democracy, but a radical pluralist democracy. The aim of this focus of this form of democracy is to address the political demands of all members of society, all with different ways of viewing the world, connecting the social and political dimension, as proposed by Chantal Mouffe, among others (Mouffe, 1992).

The radical pluralist democracy in spatial context: the case of the city of The Hague
In order to examine the spatial dimension and the role of the urban designer in a radical pluralist democracy, the concept will be explored in the context of the city of The Hague. This city is the administrative capital of The Netherlands, thus having an important symbolic, both from an historical perspective, as a present day symbolic and practical relevance for the democratic system of the country. The city has this relevance on multiple scales, hosting the national government, the province of Zuid-Holland and the municipality of The Hague. The city also has an international relevance, seating embassies from all over the world in the Netherlands and being the host for the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court.
Furthermore, the city is considered the most segregated of the 4 big other cities in the Netherlands (Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Utrecht) (Segregatiemonitor - 5. Werk en Inkomen - Den Haag, n.d.).

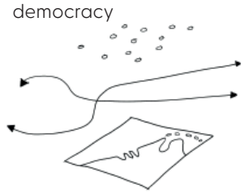
Problem statement: conclusion
In conclusion, in order to strengthen the democratic systems, it is important to take into account the spatial dimension. This research will attempt to find spatial opportunities for the implementation of the concept of the radical, pluralist democracy, in the context of the city of The Hague, administrative capital of the Netherlands, by focusing on the main question:

'How can spaces for a radical pluralist democracy be identified, designed and used, in the context of The Hague?'

This thesis will explore ways to discover ways to further deepen democracy, by proposing the implementation of spaces for a radical pluralist democracy. In order to answer the main question, spaces for a radical democracy will be defined. Also, the role of the urban designer in radical pluralist democracies will be investigated. Furthermore, the limitations of mapping for pluralist democracies will be identified, by focusing on personal biases, among other issues. The research will focus on the urban fabric of The Hague, by analysing the Central Train Station area of The Hague, through a methodology, based on the Critical Urban Theory of Peter Marcuse. A historical analysis of the role of urban design in The Hague will be conducted, as well as a series of street interviews and a sequence of subjective mappings. Furthermore, a workshop for Urbanism students was organised on the topic of 'democracy as a daily life practice'. Also, a literature review will be conducted and a set of reference projects will be explored. Conclusions of this phase will be translated into radical spatial imaginaries. Those are the base for 'a' design proposal, where the aim is to come up with 'a' design, rather than 'the' design.

Problems:

Limitations of Territorial democracy



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Democratic erosion



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Distrust towards politicians



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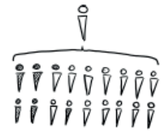
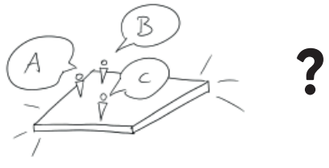
Limitations of representative democracy



Hypothesis:



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02.02. **A GROWING URGENCY**





NOS News •
Thursday, December 12, 3:25 PM •
Amended Thursday, December 12, 5:08 PM

NATO chief Rutte: 'Time to prepare ourselves mentally for war'

"We are not ready for what is coming our way in the next four or five years." Mark Rutte said this in his first major speech as



nieuwsuur

Sunday January 19, 07:00

Trump is president again, these Americans are bracing themselves: 'He demands loyalty'

While convicted Capitol [illegible] their freedom , Donald Trump's political opponents fear revenge. "When this





NEW CABINET

nieuwsuur

Tuesday, July 2, 2024, 1:03 PM

Tonight on TV: Schoof cabinet sworn in



NOS News •
Saturday, November 16, 2024, 00:05

Prime Minister Schoof: 'There is no racism in the factions and cabinet'

After hours of consultation with the party leaders of the coalition parties, Prime Minister Schoof gave a press conference in which he emphasized that there is no racism in the cabinet or in the party groups.

NOS News •
Tuesday, November 28, 2023, 10:44 AM •
Amended Tuesday, November 28, 2023, 9:44 PM

Gatherings and actions after PVV victory 'could encourage polarization'

Following the PVV's major election victory last week, meetings were held in several cities,





From Biden to Trump

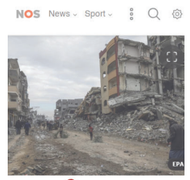
In collaboration with Broadcasting Brabant

NOS News • Thursday, January 16, 03:11

Biden in farewell speech: tech billionaires a threat to democracy

NOS News •
Monday, February 3, 1:49 PM

Efteling bans demonstrations in the park



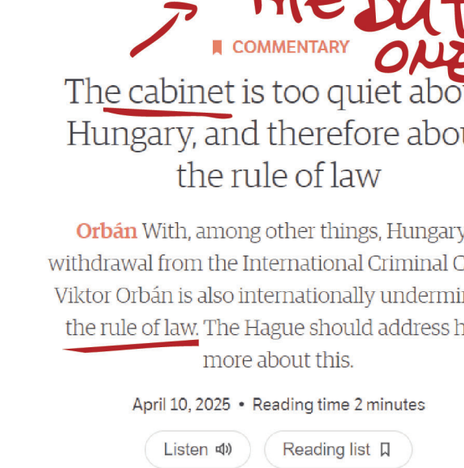
NOS News •
Thursday, December 5, 2024, 1:19 PM

'Reports like Amnesty's point out states' responsibility'

The Amnesty report accusing Israel of genocide against the Palestinians







An important note before going further into the study is the fact that in terms of the functioning of democracies around the world, including the Dutch democracy, much has changed in the period from Sept 2024 to May 2025. Conclusions from this study may possibly be outdated or no longer fully reflect the current situation. Above you can see how that affected the research, on a personal level.

The articles above are from the websites nos.nl and nrc.nl and have been translated from Dutch using Google Translate.

INTERVIEW

Political scientist Amitav Acharya: 'Europe can take the lead in creating a more equal world order'

Amitav Acharya | political scientist The US distancing itself from Europe need not be bad news, argues Indian political scientist Amitav Achary. "There are opportunities for new connections."

Saskia Konniger from Jakarta
April 17, 2025 • Reading time 6 minutes

INTERVIEW EUROPE

What if Russia wins? Professor Carlo Masala investigated this scenario. 'In Europe we think that democracy will always remain'

Carlo Masala | professor "Europeans seem to think that their democracy will last forever. That is not the case," says Carlo Masala. The German professor warns of undermining from outside, by Russia, but also from within.

Michel Krielaars en Eva Cukier
April 18, 2025 • Reading time 6 minutes



NOS News •
Friday April 4, 22:16

Scientists meet to raise concerns about academic freedom in the Netherlands and the US

Sven Schaap
Climate Editor

How do you maintain your academic freedom as a scientist when one of your most important research partners on the other side of the ocean questions your motives



NOS News •
Wednesday, April 16, 11:46

Citizenship education is lacking in many schools, inspectorate finds

Schools are struggling with citizenship education, the Education Inspectorate concludes from a sample. Half of the schools surveyed do not meet this



NOS News • Tuesday, April 8, 3:58 PM

At least two universities go to court over higher education cuts



NOS News •
Thursday, March 20, 6:55 PM

Mega fine Greenpeace represents worrying trend, NGOs see

Dutch non-governmental organisations (NGOs) see the mega fine that Greenpeace received yesterday as part of a worrying development. According to the organisations, the ruling cannot be seen separately from the growing power of companies and the increasingly smaller space in which social organisations can operate.



NOS News • Friday, 10:2
AmendedFriday, 12:52

German intelligence: Afd extremist and threat to democracy

The German intelligence service has labelled Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) as right-wing extremist, saying the party poses a threat to democracy.



NOS News •
Wednesday, April 16, 5:49 PM •
AmendedWednesday, April 16, 7:57 PM

European Parliament: European values and laws violated in Hungary

NOS News • Today, 20:09

Judges see that politicians are increasingly using them as a scapegoat

Dutch judges call on politicians to protect the judiciary. Judges are increasingly being used as scapegoats when political solutions to social problems fail to materialise, the Judicial Council writes in its latest annual report .

"The judge does not rule on what is desirable, but on what is legally permitted, and that is a fundamental difference," says the chairman.

NOS News • Thursday April 17, 12:00

Council of State: democracy in the Netherlands is under pressure

Dutch democracy is under pressure and needs maintenance, the Council of State (RvS) warns in its 2024 annual report. The system is being eroded "if forces inside and outside the political domain" only use democracy as a means to help the majority into power.

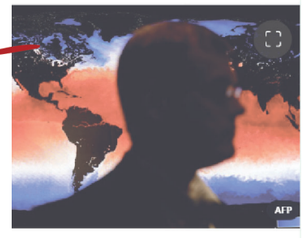
"Democracy is so much more than half plus one," writes the important cabinet advisor. For example, the Council of State points to the importance of science, educational institutions, independent media, advisory bodies and social organizations for the functioning of democracy.



NOS News •
Wednesday, March 26, 1:47 PM

Cabinet cannot remove XR tax benefit, despite House of Representatives' wishes

The government cannot revoke the so-called ANBI status of climate action group Extinction Rebellion (XR). This is what State Secretary



NOS News •
Tuesday, February 25, 5:11 PM

Trump's shadow hangs ominously over IPCC climate panel

After the US withdrawal from the Paris climate agreement and the restraining movements in US climate science, the Trump administration

Newsletter
Mighty Times

A quarter century of political saviors: how the Netherlands became a fearful democracy

BACKGROUND

'Roasting' the President - American Media No Longer Dares

Media Freedom At the annual journalist gala in Washington it became painfully clear how much Trump succeeds in intimidating the media. No one dared to openly attack the president.

Bas Blokker
April 27, 2025 • Reading time 3 minutes



nieuwsuur

Tuesday, March 25, 20:57

Ombudsman launches investigation into police visits to demonstrators

Uyghur and Tibetan protesters demonstrated on January 23 against the reception of the Chinese Vice Prime Minister by Prime Minister Schoof in the Catshuis. *Photo Olivier Middendorp*

RECONSTRUCTION

How critical protesters disappeared from view during Chinese visit to The Hague

Right to Demonstrate During a visit to the Catshuis in January, Chinese Vice Premier Ding Xuexiang was warmly welcomed by a group of Chinese students. Critical demonstrators were positioned out of sight by the municipality of The Hague. How did this come about?

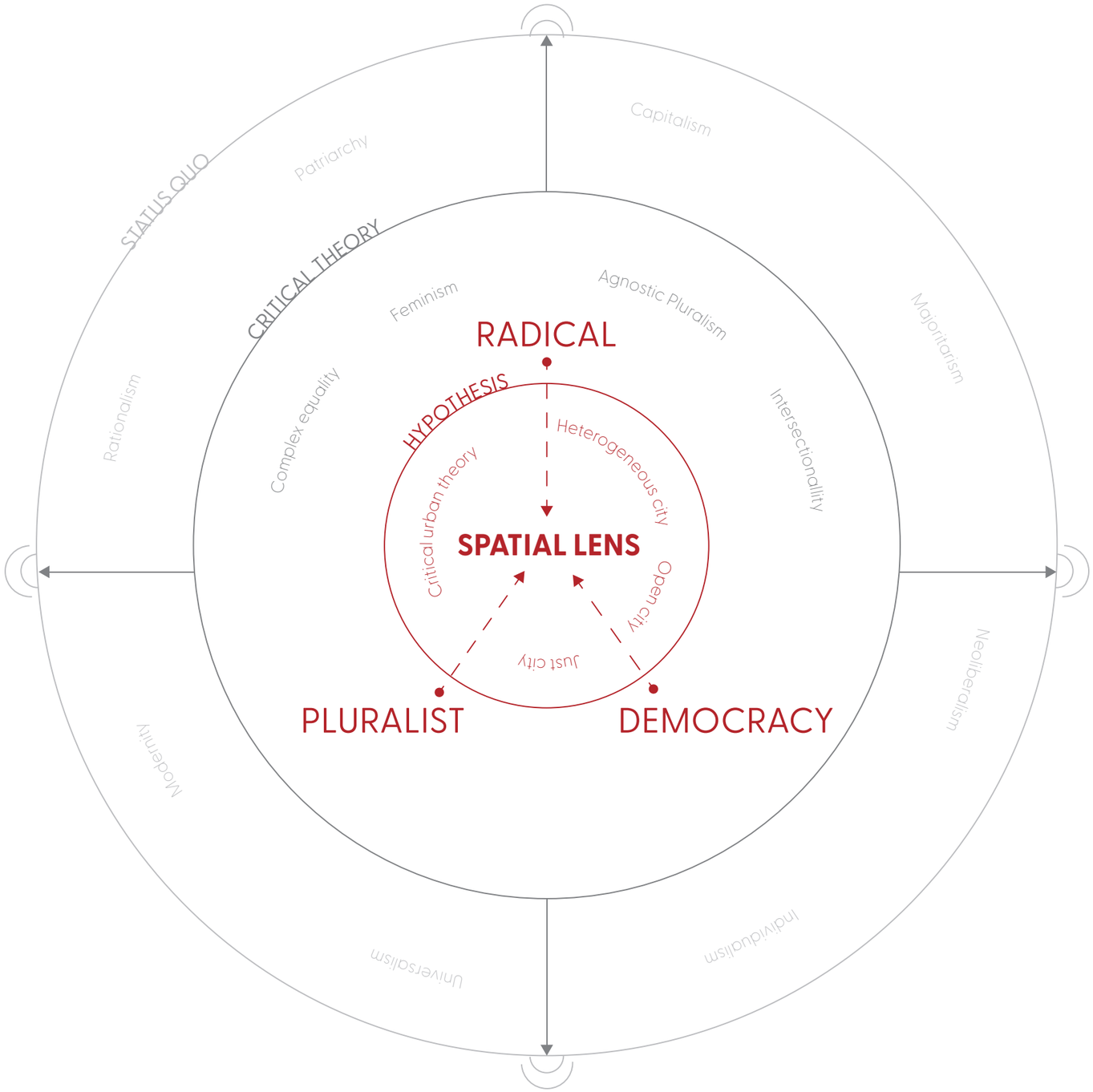
Hanneke Chin-A-Fo en Wilmer Heck
April 29, 2025 • Reading time 16 minutes

03. METHODOLOGY FOR DESIGNING IN A RADICAL PLURALIST DEMOCRACY

03.01. **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

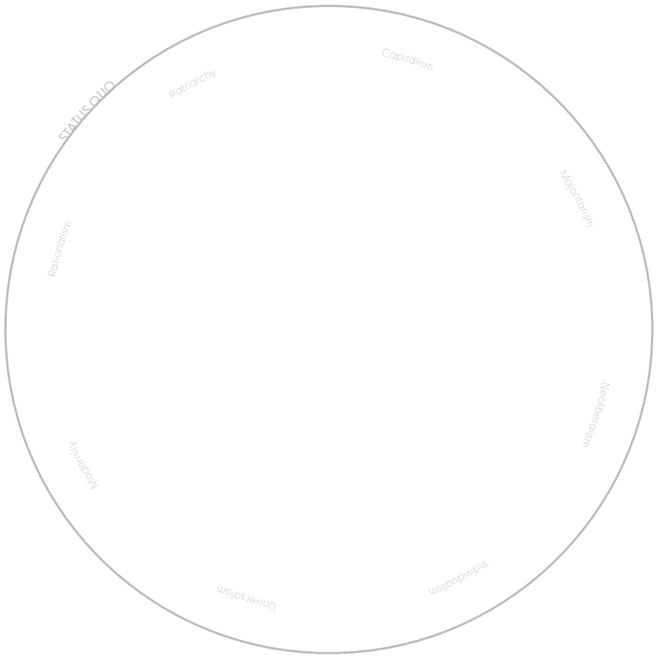
In order to address the struggles of today's democratic system, this research will examine the possibility of addressing the existing problems at their root, focusing on the opportunity of addressing in exploring the pluralist nature of the democratic system, proposing an examination of the opportunity of the radical pluralist democracy to strengthen today's system, through a spatial lens. In this approach, the concepts that shape the existing status quo are examined, and limitations are identified by implementing critical theory, related to the three core concepts of this research (Radical, Pluralist, Democracy), in a spatial manner.

As can be seen in the drawing from the conceptual framework, the hypothesis is that exploring the issue of democratic erosion through a spatial lens, in a critical manner, could possibly reveal some solutions for strengthening the present-day democratic system. This conceptual framework is open-ended, meaning that the goal is to add on to the framework throughout the entire research process. It would also be interesting to see the framework used in other research in the future, to compare the conclusions on what concepts are part of the 'status quo' and what concepts could deepen the critical understanding of this status. The goal of the framework is to be able to explore the concept of the radical pluralist democracy in this research, but also to provide a tool for others to change the framework, adding their own world view and experience into what 'critical theory' entails. It can serve as the basis for a broader discussion, rather than being a conclusion.



03.02. **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Status-Quo



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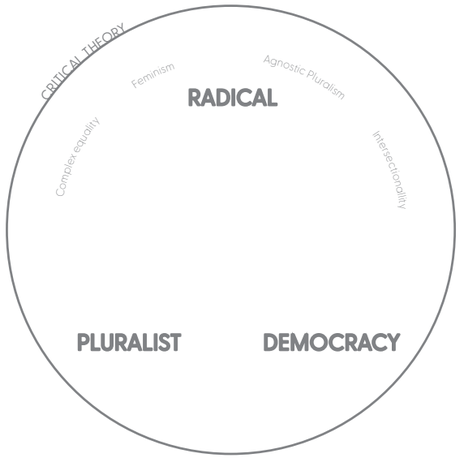
Critical Theory



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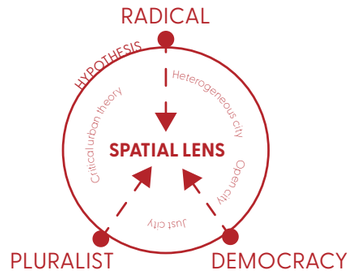
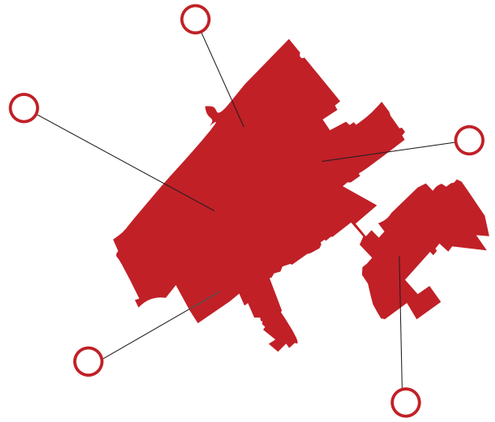
Critical Urban Theory



- Verkenning en verdieping democratische erosie en respons in Nederland - Marlies Honingh en Carolien van Ham, in colleboration with Carmen van Alebeek, Joep van Lit, Steven Bruintjes, Sanne Kruikemeier, Jorieke Manenschijn, Tom van der Meer, Maurits Meijers, Bastiaan Rijpkema en Rens Vliegenthart
- The 'Regimes of the World' data: how do researchers measure democracy? - Our World in Data - Bastian Herre
- What is a 'good' democracy? - Leonardo Morlino
- Powercube - The Participation, Power and Social Change team at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.
- De mensen in het land: Wat burgerschap eigenlijk (nog) is - Marlies Honingh, Henk den Uijl, Teun Toonen & Jessie Samwel (2025)
- Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics - Kimberle Crenshaw
- The Concept of Representation in Contemporary Democratic Theory - Nadia Urbinati and Mark E. Warren
- Democratic Politics and Conflict: An Agonistic Approach - Chantal Mouffe
- Waarheid en democratie - Luca Consoli and Ronald Tinnevelt
- Deliberative democracy or agonistic pluralism?- Chantal Mouffe
- Dimensions of radical democracy : pluralism, citizenship, community - Chantal Mouffe
- Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism? The Relevance
- of the Habermas-Mouffe Debate for Third World Politics- Ilan Kapoor
- What is democracy? A reconceptualization of the quality of democracy- Gerardo L. Munck
- The Paradox of Democracy - Chantal Mouffe
- Representative Democracy Remains a Popular Ideal, but People Around the World Are Critical of How It's Working- PEW research centre -
- Richard Wike, Janell Fetterolf, Maria Smerkovich, Sarah Austin, Sneha Gubbala and Jordan Lippert
- The Right to the City - Henri Lefebvre
- The City is not a Tree - Christopher Alexander
- Art and Democracy - Chantal Mouffe
- From critical urban theory to the right to the city - Peter Marcuse
- Democracy and Urban Form - Richard Sennet
- Designing Disorder - Richard Sennet and Pablo Sendra
- What Do Cities Have to Do with Democracy? - Clive Barnett
- Seeing democracy like a City - Ross Beveridge and Philippe Koch
- An introduction to radical participatory design: decolonising participatory design processes - Victor Udoewa
- Actors, arenas and aims: A conceptual framework for public participation - Katrin Hofer and David Kaufmann
- Creating Public Spaces and Practiced Places for Democracy, Discourse, and the Emergence of Civil Society - Patrick M. Jenlink
- The Phenomenology of Change: How Conflict Drives Urban Transformation - Nanke Verloo and Diane Davis
- Conflict Mediations - Aleksandar Staničić, Marc Schoonderbeek and Heidi Sohn
- Processes for just products: the capability space of participatory design - Apsan A. Frediani en Camillo Boano
- The Spatial Justice Handbook - R. Rocco, J.E. Gonçalves and H. Lopez
- Designs for the Pluriverse - Arturo Escobar
- The Agency of Mapping - James Corner
- A Ladder of Citizen Participation - Sherry R. Arnstein
- Forms of Activism as Democracy in the City - Gideon Boie & Lieven De Cauter (2021)
- Urban Politics Now: Re-Imagining Democracy in the Neoliberal City - 2007
- Design beyond the Object - Jeremy Till (Lecture at UCL, found on YouTube, sept. 25 2018)
- De Scheiding van Markt en Overheid - Wouter Vanstiphout (26-03-'13, Lecture for Stimuleringfonds Creative Industrie)
- Designs for the Pluriverse: Radical Interdependence, Autonomy, and the Making of Worlds - Arturo Escobar (2018)
- Reclaiming Public Space - Judit Bodnar (Urban Studies Journal, 2015)
- The Political Economy of Public Space - David Harvey
- The abstract space and the alienation of political public space in the Middle East- Farzad Zamani, Asma Mehan (Archnet-IJAR journal, oct. 21 2019)
- The empty place: Democracy and Public Space - Teresa Hoskyns (2014)

03.03. **MAIN QUESTION**

Main question: *'How can spaces for a radical pluralist democracy be identified, designed and used, in the context of The Hague?'*



03.04. **SUB-QUESTIONS AND RESEARCH AIMS**

REFLECT AND DISCLOSE: · What context, motivation and personal assumptions have to be acknowledged before the research process? · What are the limitations of this research?	To reflect on the context, motivation and personal assumptions involved in this research. To disclose the limitations of this research.
ANALYSE: · What is democracy? *Literature review* · What are the limitations of present-day democracies? *Literature review* · What is a radical pluralist democracy? *Literature review*	To define the definitions of 'democracy' and 'radical pluralist democracy'. Furthermore, the aim is to explain the struggle of present day democracies and explain why the implementation of a radical pluralist democracy could possibly serve solutions.
· How does the democratic system The Netherlands currently function? *Literature review* · How can the implementation of the radical pluralist democracy benefit the current system of The Netherlands? *Literature review + Expert interviews*	To explore the possible struggles of the democratic system of The Netherlands and to explore the possibilities of strengthening this system through the approach of the radical pluralist democracy.
EXPOSE: · What are other works in relation to urban design and democracy? *Literature review + Expert interviews*	To examine related works in order to gain a broader perspective on the matter. To create a pattern language.
REFLECT: · What is the role of the designer in a radical pluralist democracy? *Literature review + Expert interviews*	To examine the role of the Urban Designer in designing spaces for a radical pluralist democracy, especially in mapping, to identify design methods that can be translated into the part of a pattern language.
EXPOSE: · How can spaces for a radical pluralist democracy be identified? *Literature review + Expert interviews*	To identify spaces for a radical pluralist democracy, looking at best practice examples and literature. Furthermore, interviews with experts and street interviews will be conducted. The goal is to translate these spaces into a pattern language, functioning as the base for the 'propose' phase.
· What spaces for a radical pluralist democracy can be identified in The Hague by exploring the historical, spatial and social context? *Literature review + Spatial analysis, Socio-spatial analysis, Subjective mapping techniques, Soft Mapping + Street Interviews + Field trip + Historical analysis + Panels*	To examine the context of the city of The Hague, identifying important areas of focus for the implementation of spaces for a radical pluralist democracy, by exploring the social, historical and spatial context of the city. Furthermore, the goal is to research if, and what kind of spaces for a radical pluralist democracy already exists. To translate conclusions into a pattern language.
PROPOSE: · How can spaces for a radical pluralist democracy can be designed in The Hague? *Research by Design throug RSI* · How can spaces for democracy be implemented by actors in The Hague? *Literature review, stakeholder analysis*	To create a spatial design, exploring the possibilities for implementing the concept of spaces for a radical democracy. To examine the roles of different actors involved in implementing the proposed design.
POLITICIZE: · What are the social and political consequences of the implementation of the design proposal, when implemented into reality? *Literature review, historical analysis*	To examine the social and political consequences of the design proposal.
REFLECT · How did the context, motivation and personal assumptions influence this research?	To reflect back on the context, motivation and personal assumptions involved in this research.

03.05. **METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK**

In order to be able to translate Henri Lefebvre's right to the city into action, thus to apply critical theory in a spatial manner, the critical urban theory of Peter Marcuse will be used as the base of this methodological framework. The methodology of this research is structured around the idea to use six different main concepts, identified by Marcuse, in an iterative way.

Not only will this iterative process be part of the research process, the proposal is also to apply these concepts to test the design outcome, thus in the product of the research and design outcome itself. The six concepts implemented are analyse, expose, propose, politize, reflect and disclose (Marcuse, 2009).

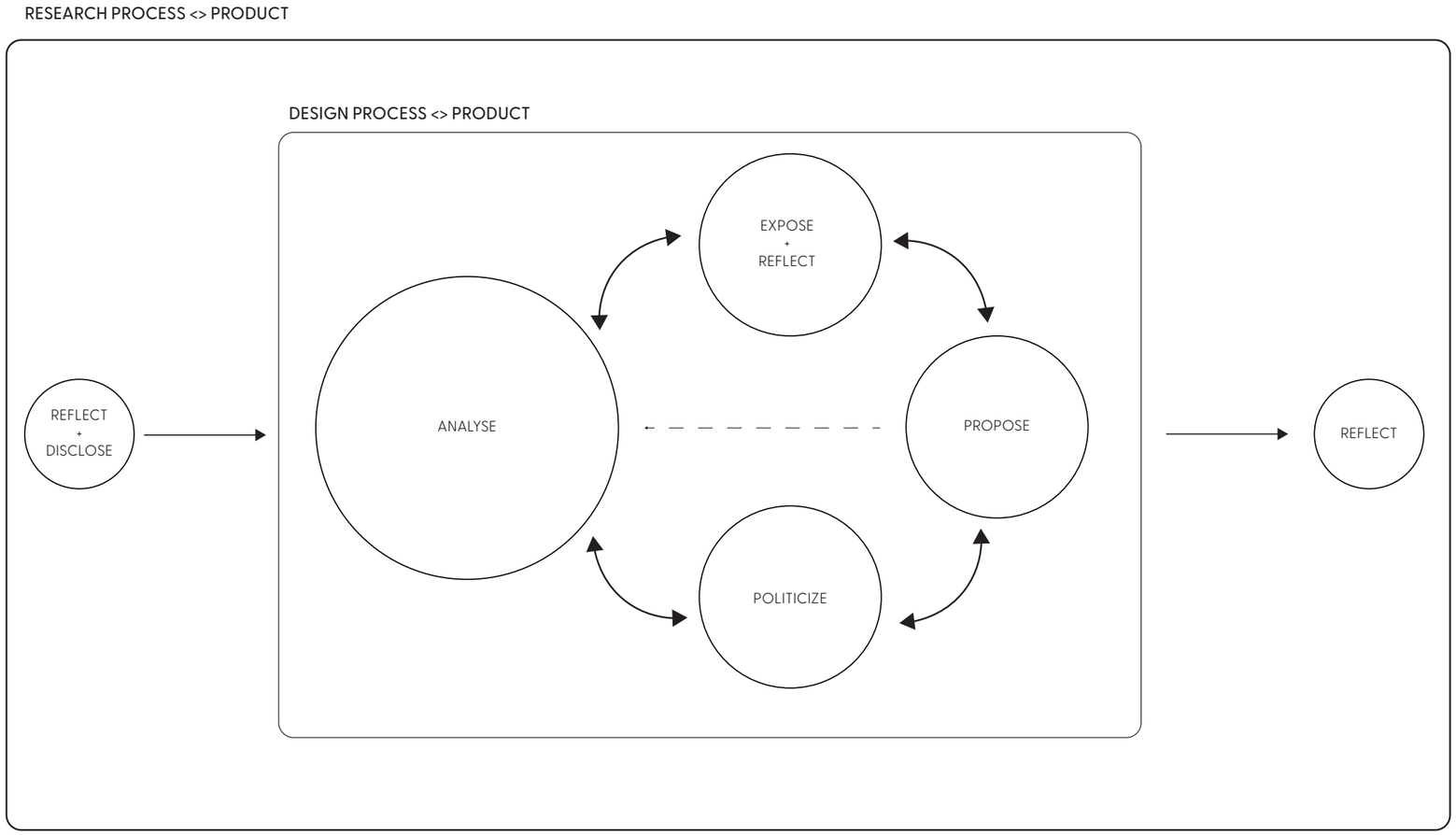
First, the role of the designer will be reflected upon, being aware of the influence that my own world view, upbringing and identity has in this research, taking into account the non-rational aspect of research and design. Also, assumptions involved and the limitations of this thesis will be disclosed.

Secondly, the root-cause of existing problems will be analysed, by analysing the 'status quo' and critical remarks that have been made upon this.

Thirdly, the possible role of the designer and mapping in a broader context will be reflected upon. The role of urban design in present-day struggles will be exposed, identifying the roots of the problem in the current practice and a proposal for a new conceptualisation of the practice will be made.

Then, it is proposed to work with those affected by the present-day system and concrete actions will be explored. In the politicize phase, the political nature of the actions exposed and proposed, will be examined and it will be investigated how these proposals could be implemented.

Finally, the research will be reflected upon, to see if the initial reflection of the possible influence of personal values and the role of the urban designer in general, have influenced the process and project in the way that it was expected.



03.06. **RESEARCH METHODS**

In order to answer the research questions in the previous paragraph, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods will be used, in an iterative manner.

Literature review:
The literature review will be conducted to explore the core definitions of this thesis, to examine the current status of democracies in general and in the dutch context. It will also be used to explore best practice examples and to examine the historical context of The Hague. Furthermore, it is used to define and further understand the concept of the radical pluralist democracy. It is used to read find and understand reference projects, that show a similair way of thinking related to the attitude in the Critical Urban Theory.

Interviews with experts:
In order to get a better understanding of the core concepts of the thesis, radical, pluralist and democracy, through a spatial lens, interviews with experts will be implemented. Experts are people that work with these concepts in their daily life. These experts can have a spatial background or a background in other fields, related to the previously mentioned concepts.

Spatial analysis:
Spatial analysis will be used to get an understanding of the morphological conditions of The Hague, throughout different relevant scales.

Socio-spatial analysis:
Socio-spatial analysis will be implemented to get a general understanding of the social-spatial condition of the city of The Hague, taking into account the limitations, due to the quantitative nature of this practice.

Experimental street interviews:
In order to get a more qualitative understanding of the city of The Hague, a sequence of experimental street interviews will be conducted, with the attempt of finding multiple options to interact with the citizens and visitors of the city of The Hague. The goal is to experiment with the way these interviews are approached, in order to reach out to different types of people. During these interviews, a notebook of observations of personal biases and the emotions of the researcher will be tracked, in order to get a better understanding of the limitations that biases and personal experience create in this research.

Historical analysis
With the aim to gain a broader understanding of the role of the urban designer, in relation to other stakeholders, an historical analysis will be conducted.

Field trips:
The field trip will be implemented as a way to explore the spatial layout of The Hague, by sketching, walking, photography and interviewing.

Subjective mapping techniques:
Since this thesis has a spatial base, the field trip, street interviews, the literature review and the expert interviews, will be translated into a sequence of 'soft maps', showing the different experiences and worldviews through a spatial lens. Think of drift maps, Jan Rothuizen maps, layering techniques, rhizome drawings, palmbout drawings. This type of mapping is based on and inspired by the critiques of James Corner, in his paper Agency of Mapping (Corner, 1999).

'Wall of Crime' Panels:
In this research, a set of biases and personal preferences will influence the process and decision-making. To better understand the role of the designer and the role of these constraints, the process of interviews, fieldtrips, historical analysis and the workshop will be mapped onto a panel. The aim is to use this method to show the iterative and subjective nature of a design and research project. Furthermore, it is a means of physically marking the 'scope' of the research and serves as a presentation tool. In conceptual underpinning, the idea is similar to the conclusions of James Corner (The Agency of Mapping, 1999), on the fact that map-making (and design) always has a subjective side and that it is interesting to show that proactively. Further, it serves as a basis of discussion on design thinking, in which thinking in connections, links and interconnections is key. This fits within the aim of the Critical Urban Theory of Peter Marcuse (2009) to critique ideology and to critique power, inequality, injustice and exploitation, in order to create more democratic and just cities (Brenner, 2010).

Research by design through Radical Spatial Imaginaries (RSI):
In order to translate the research findings to a spatial plan, research by design is used as a method to explore the different spatial configurations of spaces for a radical pluralist democracy. Due to the philosophical character of this research, the aim of the research step is to paint a picture of thinking differently about the status quo, through the lens of critical urban theory, as proposed in the conceptual framework. The aim is not to come up with a 'solution' through the design, but to be able to critically assess the current situation, by creating images of both an improvement, and a deterioration of the situation. The design serves as a critical response to the status quo of the place and will serve as a means of reflection.

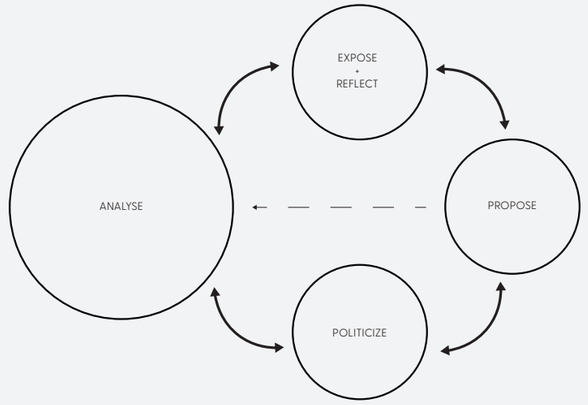
03.07. **OPERATIONALIZATION OF METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK**

In order to show the operationalization of the previously shown methodological framework in relation to the different methods used in this research, this section will attempt to explain the concept of using the Critical Urban Theory as a methodology, in an iterative manner.

During this research we defined mulitiple 'acts' to apply the Critical Urban Theory of Marcuse (2009). The acts are:

- The act of reading
- The act of exploring
- The act of observing
- The act of questioning

READING

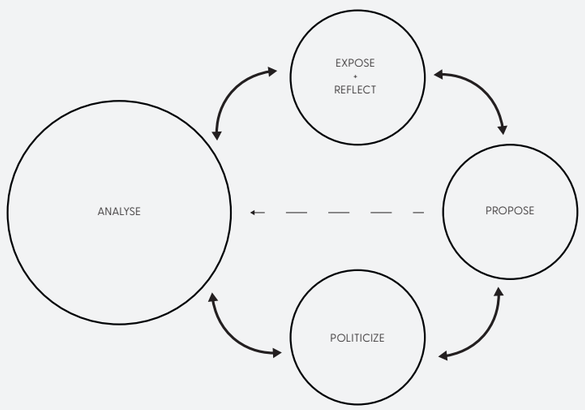


TO READ
{READING}

1.*To read is to look into literature and analyse the key concepts,* **2.***To read literature and expose limitations of the status-quo,* **3.** *To read is to reflect on what you have read,* **4.***To read is to propose new ways of thinking by linking different concepts,* **5.***To read is to politicize by choosing who you read texts from and of whom you do not o define priorities and meaning*

research methods: literary review - text for socio-spatial analysis - historical analysis - subjective mapping

EXPLORING

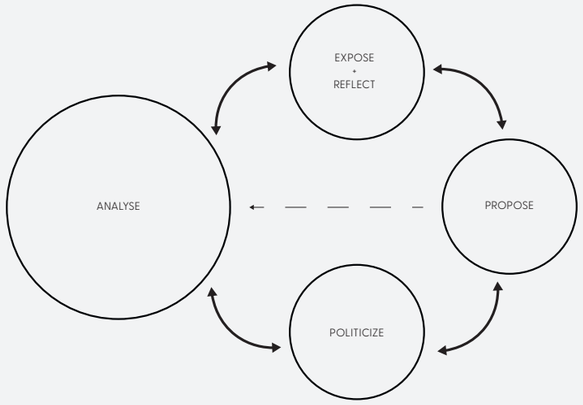


TO EXPLORE
{EXPLORING}

1.*To explore by analysing new places, to learn new things,* **2.***To explore is to expose underresearched limitations, and biases, in your writing and drawing,* **3.** *To explore is to reflect on your work, to be conscious, to re-draw, to iterate the proces,* **4.***To explore is to propose new ideas and concepts,* **5.***To explore is to politicize, by exploring new perspectives on your personal and academic opinions, to empathize*

research methods: literary review - interviews - historical analysis - subjective mapping - field trips - panels - rsi - research by design

OBSERVING



TO OBSERVE
{OBSERVING}

1.*To observe by analysing a place, through walking, photographing, listening, smelling, feeling, seeing, talking, dreaming, to notice, to draw,* **2.***To observe is to expose limitations, and biases of the status-quo ,* **3.** *To observe is to reflect on previous work, to take a step back, to reconsider,* **4.***To observe is to propose research not as an indivual act, but an open path,* **5.***To observe is to politicize, by stating a clear positionality*

research methods: literary review - interviews - subjective mapping - panels - field trips - rsi

QUESTIONING

TO QUESTION
{QUESTIONING}

1.*To question is to analyse the present day and wonder if a more just scenario is possible, to ask why things are the way they are, to discuss with others,* **2.***To question is to expose doubts ,* **3.** *To question is to propose options, not as a sollution but as an alternative,* **4.***To question is to reflect on positionality,* **5.***To question is to critique your individual positionality*

research methods: literary review - interviews - subjective mapping - panels - field trips - rsi - historical analysis

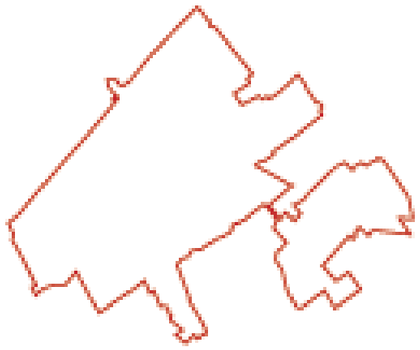
03.08. **ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**



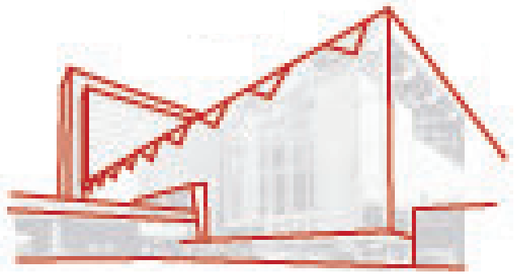
Global scale:
Limitations of present-day democracies will be explored on the global scale. Theories regarding democracy will be explored from researchers, internationally



National scale: The Netherlands
The focus will be on The Netherlands, because this is the area where the researcher is from, and lives and studies currently. Specific limitations of present-day democracy of The Netherlands will be examined on the national scale. Policies and visions of the national government, regarding deepening the democracy, will be examined. It has to be noted that this section will focus on the country of The Netherlands. Acknowledging that on most maps the 3 'special' municipalities are not drawn, namely the municipalities in the Caribbean Netherlands: Bonaire, Sint-Eustatius and Saba (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2024b).



City-scale: The Hague
On the city scale, the social and spatial context will be researched, focussing on mapping and stakeholder analysis. The focus will be on The Hague, since this is the administrative capital of The Netherlands, housing the National Parliament, The International Court of Justice, embassies from countries all across the globe and is the centre of a lot of protests in The Netherlands. This city has a symbolic significance in relation to Dutch democracy and is therefore considered an interesting case. On this scale, a socio-spatial analysis will be conducted and an historical analysis will be done.



Neighbourhood scale:
The focus of the research will be on the area around The Hague Central Station and the route from the station to the Malieveld, the Headoffice of the Municipality/Libary building and the Binnenhof area. This is a crowded area where a lot of people have to be, they live there, work in the government, or come to The Hague via the train station to protest, for example. The focus will be both on public space, on semi-public and on public buildings in the area. It will be the main focus for subjective mapping, field work, street interviews and research by design.

03.09. **DISCLOSE**

Research limitations

This section will adress the research limitations of this thesis. The first limitation of this research is my own identity and experience. While I also consider it an opportunity, since it is one of the reasons to initiate this research, I think that in designing for a radical, pluralist democracy, it would be beneficial to have a much larger group of researchers, with a multitude of experiences and identities involved. I have to acknowledge that a certain level of bias will be limiting this research, this consideration also has to be applied to the literature and data that will be used for this thesis. Furthermore, the fact that I only speak Dutch and English will limit my ability to interview certain people in their mother tongue.

Also, I have little to no budget for the thesis. Additionally, the research will take a year, so there will be limited time to engage in a comprehensive iterative process. Also, due to ethical considerations, I will have a limited ability to engage with stakeholders. Another limitation of this research is the renovation of the buildings of the national government, 'Het Binnenhof', since this creates limited to no ability to see and interact with the space, in the way that it would if it was in function. However, there is now another building used for the same purpose.

In addition, the research is limited due to the fact that this is an urban design project, therefore there is not a lot of experience in engaging with certain types of knowledge, such as knowledge political and social science, for example.

Lastly, it is important to not that my own identity, biases and political opinions will influence this research, as well as the identity, biases and political opinions of my mentors and others that I ask feedback of during this research. I will try to my best ability to be clear and explicit on this limitation, but also have to stress that it is not possible to comprehend these en to communicate these fully, due to a lack of time, as well as unconcious processes.

04.

THE SPATIAL DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY: A LITERATURE REVIEW

04.01. **ANALYSING DEMOCRACY: CORE CONCEPTS**

Defining democracy
As a first step in defining the word Democracy, we examine the etymological history of the word, since this reveals the essence of this concept;

The word Democracy comes originally from the Greek word dēmokratia, meaning 'popular government'. The first part of the word is 'Demos', meaning public or people (Democracy | Etymology Of Democracy By Etymonline, n.d.). The second part, 'Kratia', means power or rule. Combing the two, the word Democracy refers to the following: '*Government by the people, system of government in which the sovereign power is vested in the people as a whole exercising power directly or by elected officials; a state so governed*' (Democracy | Etymology Of Democracy By Etymonline, n.d.)' Thus, democracy can refer both to people exercising sovereign power directly or indirectly. It reveals that democracy has something to do with 'people' (demos) and 'power' (kratia).

However, the previous definition does not discuss the fact that democracy as the word itself can refer to a construct or ideal (Munck, 2014), for a system that considers all human beings are free and equal (Mouffe, 1992). However, it does not reveal the definition of what power is referred to or what people are included (Ober, 2007). It does also not explain what a state governed by the people entails. These questions are at the base of an extensive debate.

Furthermore, in deepening the understanding of a possible definition of democracy, the question whether democracy is a construct, and not a quality or an objective itself, is fundamental. However, no matter if democracy is considered an object or a construct, addressing the ideal or the actual democracy, still the qualities that are related to the term are key in gaining a full understanding (Munck, 2016) (Morlino, 2004). The question on what these qualities are and how these can be translated to an actual system, are again part of an extensive debate, resulting in all kinds of different proposals for models to structure and consider democracy (Munck, 2016).

In the next paragraph, what the base of democracy is and what qualities relate to this basic understanding, will be put forward. For this section, we conclude the generally accepted conclusion is that freedom and equality form the basis of what qualities are essential in a democracy (Morlino, 2007) (Munck, 2016).

In this thesis, it will be concluded that democracy is a construct. It is the idea that power is in the hands of the people and that all people are free and equal in such a system. In order to actualise democracy into a governmental system that can be implemented, certain qualities are defined. In this definition, it is accepted that the core qualities of a democracy are freedom and equality. It is acknowledged that the attempt to define what democracy is, examining what other qualities are part of democracy, is crucial. However it should also be acknowledged that in what way these qualities, in procedure, content and result, should be translated into action is inherently a political question and will therefore be considered open-ended to a certain level, taking into account the paradoxes related to the ideal democracy (Munck, 2016). In order to deepen the understanding of democracy, in the next chapter it will be examined in what way 'the people' and 'the power' have been interpreted and defined. The qualities of these different systems will be summarized and limitations related to these qualities will be explored.

'Demos': Public or People

DEMO-CRACY

'Kratia', means power or rule.

Defining power

In order to explain different interpretations of power in democracies, first a general understanding on the definition of power is necessary. Therefore, in this research the definition of The Participation, Power and Social Change team of the University of Sussex is accepted. The team has concluded that there are many ways to define power, concluding that the term cannot be described as one fixed term, but has to be seen as a spectrum, containing certain factors.

Therefore, their proposal is to differentiate between 'power over', 'power to', 'power within' and 'power with' (Understanding power for social change, powercube.net, IDS at Sussex University, 2011):

Power over: *'Refers to the ability of relatively powerful actors' action to affect the actions and thoughts of the relatively powerless '*(Understanding power for social change, powercube.net, IDS at Sussex University, 2011).

Power to: '*Refers to the capacity to act – to exercise agency and to realise the potential of rights, citizenship or voice*' (Understanding power for social change, powercube.net, IDS at Sussex University, 2011).

Power within: '*Refers to gaining the sense of self-identity, confidence and awareness that is a precondition for action*' (Understanding power for social change, powercube.net, IDS at Sussex University, 2011).

Power with: '*Refers to the synergy which can emerge through partnerships and collaboration with others, or through processes of collective action and alliance building*' (Understanding power for social change, powercube.net, IDS at Sussex University, 2011).

In the next section, it will be explored in what way this spectrum has been applied and relates to certain qualities of democratic systems.

04.02. **STATUS QUO OF DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS**

Limitations of present day democracy
Present-day democracy: The question on 'demos'
In determining what a democracy is, it was concluded that it is a form of government, structured around the ideal that the power is in the people's hands and that all people in such a system are considered free and equal. The previous section revealed that the term 'power', can be considered a spectrum of certain factors. This section will examine in what way power is structured in democracies, by exploring what qualities are linked to the concept of 'power', according to researchers. Many have attempted to classify political systems, in order to determine if this ideal of having a political system where the power is in the hands of the people is actualised, and if this actualisation results into a 'good democracy'.

In order to classify political systems, researchers determine what qualities have to be present in order for a governmental system to be considered a democracy. This segment will examine what those qualities are, focusing on the status-quo of today's governmental systems.

As a first step in examining what qualities are present in democracies, the conclusion of Bastian Herre on how democracies are measured, is explored. He concludes the following : '*We see that the approaches share a basic principle of democracy: a democracy is an electoral political system in which citizens get to participate in free and fair elections. The approaches also mostly agree that democracies are liberal political systems, in which citizens have additional civil rights and are protected from the state by constraining it.*' (Herre, 2022b)

'Some approaches stop there, and stick to these narrower conceptions of democracy. Others characterize democracy in broader terms, and also see it as a participatory and deliberative (citizens engage in elections, civil society, and public discourse) as well as an effective (governments can act on citizens' behalf) political system.'(Herre, 2022b). Two of the systems he examined are the V-Dem's Electoral Democracy index and the Regimes of the World classification:

V-Dem's Electoral Democracy Index, is examined. This index states that there can be no democracy without elections, their focus is on electoral democracies. Their focus is also on limiting the analysis, by focusing on democracy as a system that is bounded by territorial borders. The definition they propose for an electoral democracy, is the following: *'Political system in which political leaders are elected under comprehensive voting rights in free and fair elections, and freedoms of association and expression are guaranteed.'(Herre, 2022c). They explain these qualities of democracy as follows*' (Herre, 2022c):

- Elected political leaders: *'Broad elections choose the chief executive and legislature*' (Herre, 2022c)
- Comprehensive voting rights: *'All adult citizens have the legal right to vote in national elections*' *(Herre, 2022c)*
- Free and fair elections: '*No election violence, government intimidation, fraud, large irregularities, and vote buying' (Herre, 2022c)*
- Freedom of association: *'Parties and civil society organizations can form and operate freely'* (Herre, 2022c)
- Freedom of expression: '*People can voice their views and the media can present different political perspectives*' (Herre, 2022c)

The Regimes of the World (RoW) classification, differentiates their classification, in the electoral and the liberal democracy, among others. They frame the research, by focusing on the boundaries of nation states (Herre, 2021). They define these two as follows:

'In electoral democracies, citizens have the right to participate in meaningful, free and fair, multi-party elections. Liberal democracies go further: citizens have individual and minority rights, equality before the law, and the actions of the executive are constrained by the legislature and the courts.' (Herre, 2022a)'

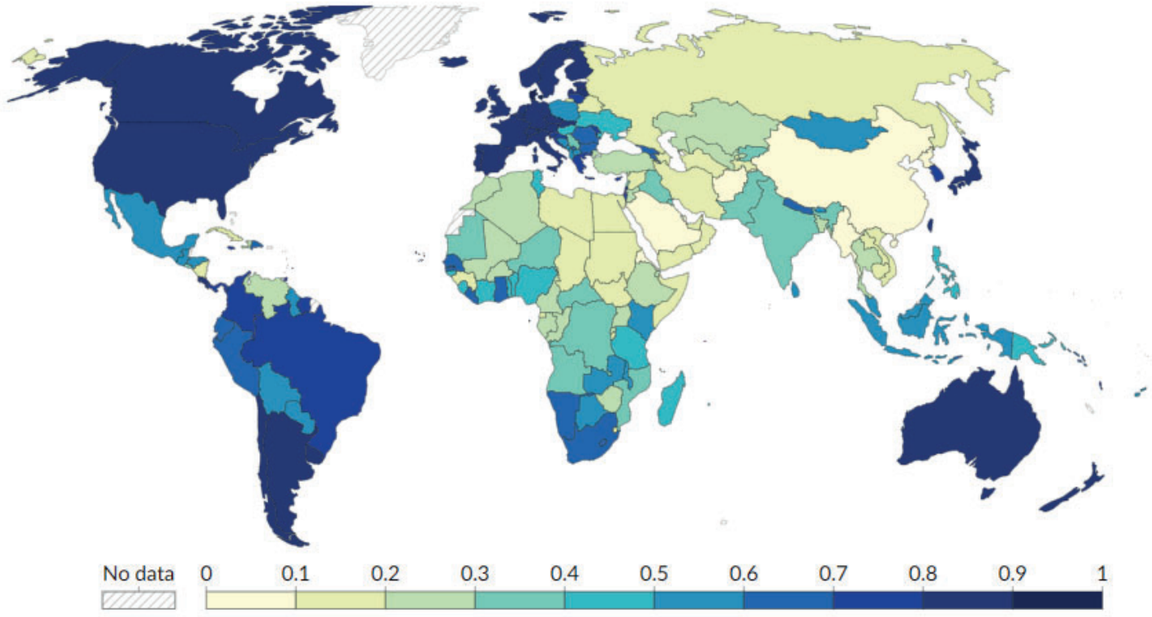
RoW differentiates regimes in the following categories: closed autocracies, electoral autocracies, electoral democracies, and liberal democracies. Closed autocracies are the least democratic according to them, liberal democracy is the most democratic (Herre, 2021).

- Closed autocracy: '*Citizens do not have the right to choose either the chief executive of the government or the legislature through multi-party elections*' (Herre, 2021)
- Electoral autocracy: '*Citizens have the right to choose the chief executive and the legislature through multi-party elections; but they lack some freedoms, such as the freedoms of association or expression that make the elections meaningful, free, and fair*' (Herre, 2021)
- Electoral democracy: '*Citizens have the right to choose the chief executive and the legislature in meaningful, free and fair, and multi-party elections*' (Herre, 2021)
- Liberal democracy: '*Electoral democracy and citizens enjoy individual and minority rights, are equal before the law, and the actions of the executive are constrained by the legislative and the courts*' (Herre, 2021)

Next, Leonardo Morlino's definition of a good democracy is put forward. He considers democracy: *'A stable institutional structure that realizes the liberty and equality of citizens through the legitimate and correct functioning of its institutions and mechanisms'.* Again, he views democracies as systems of a country (Morlino, 2004). In order to deepen this understanding, he describes what a 'good' democracy is, by differentiating into main qualities:

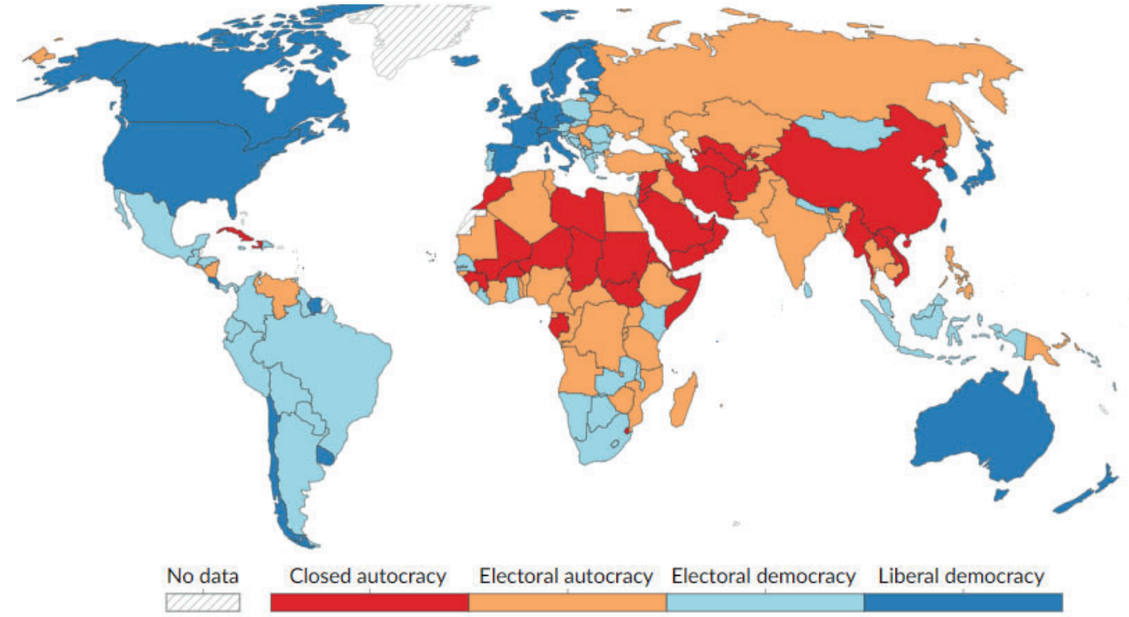
- Quality in terms of result: *'A good democracy is thus first and foremost a broadly legitimated regime that completely satisfies its citizens'*(Morlino, 2004)
- Quality in terms of content: '*A good democracy is one in which the citizens, associations and communities of which it is composed enjoy at least a moderate level of liberty and equality'*(Morlino, 2004)
- Quality in terms of procedure: *'A good democracy, there are the citizens themselves who have the power to check and evaluate whether the government pursues the objectives of liberty and equality according to the rule of law. They monitor the efficiency of the application of the laws in force, the efficacy of the decisions made by government, and the political responsibility and accountability of elected officials in relation to the demands expressed by civil society'*(Morlino, 2004)

In conclusion, present-day democracies are confined by territorial borders. The status quo of present day democracies is the understanding that they are mostly indirect, thus they are electoral or representative democracies. Furthermore, in the actualisation of the democratic idea, into a form of government, the general conception on what a good democracy is, is that a good democracy oftentimes is conceived as one that actualises not only the democratic ideal by qualities, shaped by the liberal ideal. Thus, democracy as an ideal itself is influenced by other ideals, in its actualisation.



Herre, B., Rodés-Guirao, L., & Ortiz-Ospina, E. (2013, March 15). Democracy. Our World in Data. https://ourworldindata.org/democracy

Electoral democracy index, 2023. Based on the expert estimates and index by V-Dem. It captures to which extent political leaders are elected under comprehensive voting rights in free and fair elections, and freedoms of association and expression are guaranteed. It ranges from 0 to 1 (most democratic).



Herre, B., Rodés-Guirao, L., & Ortiz-Ospina, E. (2013, March 15). Democracy. Our World in Data. https://ourworldindata.org/democracy

Regimes of the World index, 2023: Based on the classification by Lührmann et al. (2018) and the estimates by V-Dem's experts. Democracy not as a spectrum, but determined over 4 categories.

04.03. **LIMITATIONS OF THE STATUS QUO**

Limitations of present day democracy
Present-day democracy: The question on 'demos'
In the previous section it was concluded that present-day democracies are generally characterized by territorial borders, having mostly an indirect governmental system, where elections are an important measure to give the power to the people. The present-day democracies are oftentimes influenced by the liberal ideal. This next section will explore the limitations regarding these actualisations of the democratic idea. Later on, the implication of this actualisation in the context of urban design will be examined.

General introduction on inclusion and democracy
Ever since the democratic governmental system was introduced in ancient Greece, democracies have had an exclusive nature. The amount of people included in taking part in public life and decision making processes through voting in ancient Athens, was limited. A definition that could be used for the ancient democracy reads as follows: 'The capacity of a public, consisting of all native adult males, to accomplish things of value in the public realm' (Ober, 2007). Through this definition, it becomes clear that slaves, non-native people and women were not included in the 'demos', at least not directly. Throughout history, this exclusive nature of democracies has been criticized, resulting in the conclusion that if in democracies all people should be free and equal, more people should be included, in an attempt to further 'democratize' existing democracies (Urbinati & Warren, 2008).

Territorial borders
In this section we will examine the consequences of territorial borders for governing present day democracies. It has to be acknowledged that present-day governments, both democratic and non-democratic, are shaped by the idea of territorial sovereignty and the construct of the nation-state (Jenlink, 2007). If we ask the question on who is and who is not part of a governmental system, and the question on whether the democratic ideal of power for all, we have to be aware that in the present day, nation-states shape our understanding of inclusion and exclusion.

Considering the fact that nation-states are confined by the idea of the 'border', it can be concluded that this confinement resulted in the *'institutionalization of the state of exception'* (Salter, 2008). A clear result of the institutionalization of the state of exception, is the assignment of passports and visas (Salter, 2008). The opportunity to be included in democracy is not solely determined by your place of inhabitants (Urbinati & Warren, 2008). This results in the question of *'whether there is a meaningful future for the democracy of the states that does not address democracy beyond the states'* (Jenlink, 2007). Concluding that in present day democracies, bounded by territorial borders, it is difficult to actualise the idea that all people should be free and equal, due to the institutionalization of exception.

This exclusive nature of the state is critiqued as being based on fear, rather than reason and deliberation (Salter, 2008). Furthermore, it has been concluded that the territorial border does not at all provide rights for all, rather it renounces the rights of all other citizens, not part of said state.

Furthermore, in present-day democracies certain interests and opinions do not only affect the situation within the territorial borders of the nation states. Issues addressed in present-day democracies can be transnational, crime and the management of cross-border waterbodies for instance, extraterritorial, migration and climate change for example, and nonterritorial, issues around identity (Urbinati & Warren, 2008).

In conclusion, if the ideal of democracy is that all people have power in the governmental system, the present-day nature of exclusion through the construct of territorial borders and the nation-state, has to be criticized.

Electoral democracy
Secondly, the limitations of electoral democracy will be investigated. The core question in this section is the question if democratic elections fairly distribute the equal change for each citizen to have their voice heard, called the issue of *isegoria* (Urbinati & Warren, 2008). In short: does representation create a meaningful presence of all?

The general understanding of electoral systems is that they revolve around a principal-agent relationship, in which territorial constituencies (principals) elect representatives (agents) to represent their interests and opinions (Urbinati & Warren, 2008). This means that the legitimate power is separated from those who exercise it. Responsiveness of representatives and political equality is ensured through universal suffrage.

The attention of this section should therefore explore the capacity of representatives to accurately grasp the interests and opinions of the principles and if these representatives accurately cover all the different principles, that are part of the territorial constituency. In exploring these two questions, the fact that in present-day democracies all issues are kept within the territorial borders of democracies, has to be considered, as explained in the previous section on territorial democracy. If the democratic ideal is to include all affected by decisions, we have to conclude that a democracy bounded by territorial borders cannot comply with this ideal (Urbinati & Warren, 2008).

In determining up to what capacity present-day electoral democracies manage to reach the goal to equally and fairly represent all, it is important to look into data that investigated the question of if people feel like they are represented in their own democratic system. Recent research on 24 different countries in the world has concluded the following on representation: A median of just over four-in-ten say there is no political party in their country that represents their views, and very few feel elected officials care what people like them think (Wike et al., 2024).

It is concluded that in present-day democracies, the goal to accurately represent all voices, generally is not yet complied. Therefore, we bring the understanding of the idea that *'Democracy is about more than elections'* to the table (Munck, 2014).

This quote from research on the concept of representation in democracy, is important to consider: *'The opposite of representation is not participation. The opposite of representation is exclusion. And the opposite of participation is abstention.... Representation is not an unfortunate compromise between an ideal of direct democracy and messy modern realities. Representation is crucial in constituting democratic practices.'*(Urbinati & Warren, 2008).

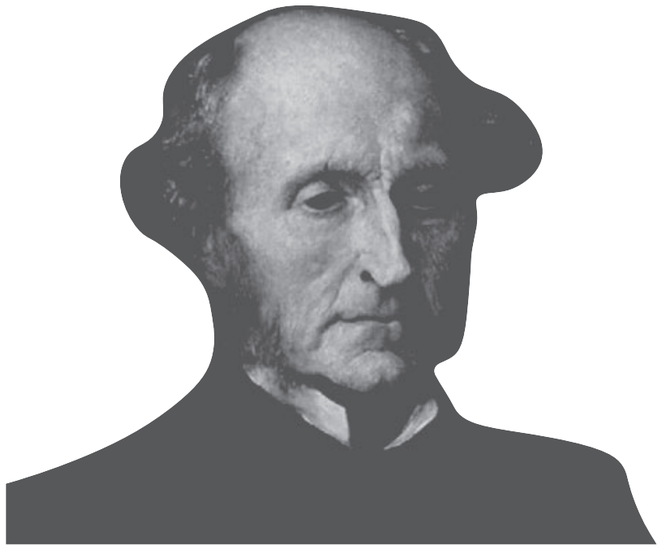
In short: present-day electoral democracies generally do not fully actualise the democratic ideal, through means of representation. Therefore, other means of power, apart from representation, should be included in order for a system to be democratic. This is an important conclusion in relation to urban design practice.



Alfredo Jaar: One Million German Passports - Announcements - e-flux. (n.d.). https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/531130/alfredo-jaarone-million-german-passports/

Alfredo Jaar - One Million German Passports behind a Securty Wall : '*The installation questions citizenship and identity, in the face of an increasing refugee crisis due to climate change and ongoing conflicts as well as the unequal treatment of refugees depending on their origin.*'
Pinakothek der Moderne, Munich, 2023.

‘*The less others interfere in our lives, the freer we are. The less politics, the more freedom*’



John Stuart Mill

‘All of us have critical remarks on that ideal!’



Jürgen Habermas

Hannah Arendt

Chantal Mouffe

Liberal democracy

Thirdly, the general conceptions of a liberal democracy will be explored. In the previous chapter it became clear that liberal democracies are considered democracies that have free, fair and meaningful elections and on top of that, in liberal democracies everyone is viewed as equal, protecting individuals, minorities especially, by legislative and courts, from the executive power (Herre, 2022a). However, this definition does not cover certain fundamental beliefs of the system. Namely, rationalist belief in the availability of a universal consensus and the tendency of the liberal system to have an individualist and rationalist approach (Mouffe, 2007). The liberal ideal, as described by John Stuart Mill, reveals the individualist nature of this ideal: '*The less others interfere in our lives, the freer we are. The less politics, the more freedom*' (Consoli & Tinnevelt, 2011).

His definition argues that freedom is a right for a private person. Furthermore, the reasoning in liberalism on the difficulties to address the pluralist nature of society and on the goal to include all, is explained by empirical limitations. Also, this ideal implies that if all these worldviews do become empirically understood, they will together form a harmonious ensemble. This understanding reveals the rationalist nature of the liberal ideal (Mouffe, 2007).

The present-day liberal ideal is broadly criticized. In order to keep this section concise, only a few critiques will be examined, namely the critical remarks of Hanna Arendt, Jürgen Habermas, Chantall Mouffe and Sheldon Wolin.

Hanna Arendt, critiques the individualist nature of the liberal ideal. Instead, she considers freedom in the following manner: *'Freedom is not owned by the private individual, but is enjoyed thanks to the political community where legal safeguards apply. Freedom lies in the experience of public actions, in a political community freed from dominance*'. (Consoli & Tinnevelt, 2011, p. 9). She argues that individual sovereignty could result in an individual free will that rejects others. She also explains that since no one is independent of their fellow citizens, the idea of self-provision and autonomy is conflicting with the puralist nature of democracy (Consoli & Tinnevelt, 2011).

Sheldon Wolin critiques that liberal focus on the rights of the individual, has led to the devaluation of civic activity (Mouffe, 1992). The belief is that social responsibility limits individual freedom.

Jürgen Habermas and Chantalle Mouffe both conclude that the liberal democracy is in crisis, but present different solutions. Both concluded that democratic quality and inclusion should be part of all spheres of social life and public institutions (Kapoor, 2002). They consider the problems of nationalism, religious resurgence, and popular protest, the product of the exclusive nature of present-day democracies (Kapoor, 2002).

In order to reach legitimacy and justice, that present-day liberal democracies not fully offer according to him, Jürgen Habermas proposes a 'deliberative democracy', this can be summarized as follows: *'[the deliberative democracy] relies on reasoned and inclusive public deliberation that is geared to reaching consensual decisions'* (Kapoor, 2002, p. 460).

Chantal Mouffe citiques the rationalist and individualist nature of the liberal democracy. She argues that the tendency of rational liberalism to consider 'the social', as a logical base-condition, without acknowledging the fact that identity implies the formation of difference and the fact that this difference is often the base of certain hierarchical social orders, is problematic, since it does not accurately reflect reality (Mouffe, 2016).

She also explains that this rationalist understanding limits the opportunity to see the political dimension of social order, which inherently has some sort of hegemonic nature (Mouffe, 2007).

Furthermore, Mouffe states that the neoliberal understanding of the idea that all political questions can be solved, like a technical question, as long as certain experts are capable of understanding and overcoming them, denies the conceptualisation of political questions that sees them as making a choice between conflicting interests (Mouffe, 2007). She critiques Habermas on still considering the opportunity for consensus and rationality and notes his lack of attention to the hegemonic nature in social order (Kapoor, 2002).

Also, Mouffe states that in criticizing the liberal ideal, the capitalist ideal also has to be acknowledged as a dominant part of our present-day democratic system. The focus of justice is often on economic inequality. However, the dominant idea is that the capitalist system will provide harmonious social order eventually (Mouffe, 2007).

In conclusion, there are limitations of the liberal ideal. It does not acknowledge the pluralist nature of democracy, resulting in a lack of attention for the hegemony in present-day social order and to provide a more equal system. Furthermore, the attention to the freedom of the individual, has devalued community and civil activity. This conclusion will later on be related to the effect of liberalism on urban design.

04.04. **DEEPENING DEMOCRACY: RADICAL PLURALIST DEMOCRACY**

In the previous chapters, limitations of the present-day democracies, with territorial borders, the electoral and liberal ideal, were examined. It has been concluded that present-day democracies do not fully connect with the ideal of democracy, namely the ideal to have a governmental system where the people have the power. These limitations are recognized by scholars like Jürgen Habermas and Chantal Mouffe, among others. Both theorists propose to deepen and extend the present-day democratic system, by extending the democratic quality of inclusiveness to social life and public institutions (Kapoor, 2002). The next section will explore their proposals.

Jürgen Habermas proposes a focus on communicative action and rational discourse in the public sphere in deepening or radicalising democracy (Rocco, Gonçalves, & Lopez, 2024). Mouffe critiques his stand in the opportunity to seek a rational consensus. She considers every act of closure in decision-making, limiting in creating an inclusive democracy: *'antagonism is constitutive and irreducible'* (Kapoor, 2002, p. 465).

Therefore, she proposes not only the model of the radical democracy, where these ideals are practiced in social life, she adds the notion of agonistic pluralism to the conceptualisation of the radical democracy. She stresses the importance of viewing social order not as a factual base condition of society, but sees the plural nature of the social, with diverse values and identities crucial to 'symbolic ordering of social relation' (Kapoor, 2002, p. 465). Due to hegemony in every kind of social order, she says, a full, finite consensus should not be the focus in democratic decision making. Since a dinal consensus would never align with the democratic ideal, where everyone is considered free and equal (Kapoor, 2002). Mouffe considers pluralist not as a 'fact' of democracy, but as the base condition, she therefore concludes that difference cannot be 'solved' (Mouffe, 2000).

In coming to a closer understanding of what pluralism entails for Mouffe, she explains that in the attempt to grasp the essence of the therm, the liberal tendency to come up with a rational definition can be criticized, due to its lack of accurately representing pluralism; it is more than a few checkboxes (Mouffe, 1992). It should address identity related to race, class, ethnicity and sexuality, but has to be acknowledged that this definition is not about these separately, but about the combination and complexity of all of the layers of identity in relation to others. She therefore critiques the act of identification in the understanding of pluralism and considers it 'the discursively constructed ensemble of social relations.' (Mouffe, 1992, p.3)

In order to broaden the understanding of what a radical democracy entails, we explore John Dewey's model. He considers radical democracy, a version of democracy where citizens have an active role (Rocco, Gonçalves, & Lopez, 2024). This is a conceptualisation of democracy that Mouffe also adheres to: *'A radical, democratic citizen must be an active citizen, somebody who acts as a citizen, who conceives of herself as a participant in a collective undertaking. The citizen, as Sheldon Wolin rightly emphasizes, requires that we think from a perspective of commonality: this is incompatible with an individualistic framework.'* (Mouffe, 1992, p. 7)

Dewey thinks that the active role of citizenship means that citizens actively play a role in shaping their communities, through open communication and collaboration (Rocco, Gonçalves, & Lopez, 2024). His model considers democracy as forever evolving. He demands the attention of democracy on discussion, diversity and dynamism. These discussions should be through open communication and the diverse perspectives of society should be present. He also states the importance of not considering solutions or policies finite (Rocco, Gonçalves, & Lopez, 2024). In this conception of the radical democracy we conclude however that Mouffe's argumentation on the hegemony in social order, that she poses as critique against Habermas' deliberative democracy model, should again be considered.

In conclusion, the radical pluralist ideal considers democracy as a daily practice in all sorts of social spheres and public institutions. Active citizenship is at the core of the democratic system. There is a focus on commonality, rather than on the individual. In the radical pluralist democracy, addressing pluralism is not considered as a simple act of identification, but as 'the discursively constructed ensemble of social relations. (Mouffe, 1992, p.3)'

In continuing this research, Mouffe's conceptualisation of the radical pluralist democracy will be accepted. However, in defining opportunities for spatialising the radical democracy, the opportunities for engaging the social sphere in order to reach the ideal of the radical democracy, as explained by Habermas and Dewey, will be taken into account, while being critical on the possible lack of attention for the pluralist nature of social order and the possible hegemonies, also present in space. This next section will explore examples of scholars, with a spatial design focus, that have researched the opportunity to strengthen democracy through the process and act of design.

'A radical, democratic citizen must be an active citizen, somebody who acts as a citizen, who conceives of herself as a participant in a collective undertaking. The citizen, as Sheldon Wolin rightly emphasizes, requires that we think from a perspective of commonality: this is incompatible with an individualistic framework.'

- Chantal Mouffe

04.05. **PARADOXES OF DEMOCRACY**

Before continuing this thesis a few paradoxes of democracy, the electoral democracy and the western democracy have to be acknowledged. It also has to be acknowledged that other paradoxes can be added onto this list.

First, we address the paradox of democracy itself. This is the risk in democracy, that it could be democratically concluded that people can no longer be equal or free. Samuel Rachlin therefore concludes on this paradox: *'Democracy can be used to abolish democracy.'*(Rachlin, 2020). Furthermore, we have to address the conclusion that representative democracy inherently puts citizens into a passive role (Urbinati & Warren, 2008).

Michael Walzer explains the paradox of active citizenship. He states that in only thinking about creating a more active role for citizens, we would neglect thinking about the conclusion that in present-day democracies the state is not fully in the hands of the citizens. Furthermore, he argues, citizenship is not the only role that members of a democratic state have. They also are part of other means of association, both formal, like families e.g., and informal, companies and churches for example. These different types of associations also depend on the state (Mouffe, 1992, p. 104).

Also, it has been acknowledged that western democracies have a tendency of hegemony, for example by language, meaning that in order to participate in the democracy, one has to express herself in another tongue than their native one. Therefore, it can be concluded that western democracies struggle to actualise the democratic ideal, since they do not comply to the pluralistic nature of society, in their systems (Kapoor, 2002).

In designing for democracy, these paradoxes should be aknowledged and carefully considered. It should also be noted that there are more paradoxes to democracy, that might be added later on in the research.

04.06. **STATUS QUO AND LIMITATIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF THE NETHERLANDS**

Status-quo of the democratic system of The Netherlands: Scales of voting

This section will briefly explain the Dutch voting sytem. If you are 18 years or older, you are allowed to vote in The Netherlands.

Also, this section will explain who is allowed to vote in which election and it will roughly explain the responsibilities of each 'scale'.



International scale: European Union
All people living in The Netherlands, who have an EU-passport, can vote for the EU elections.

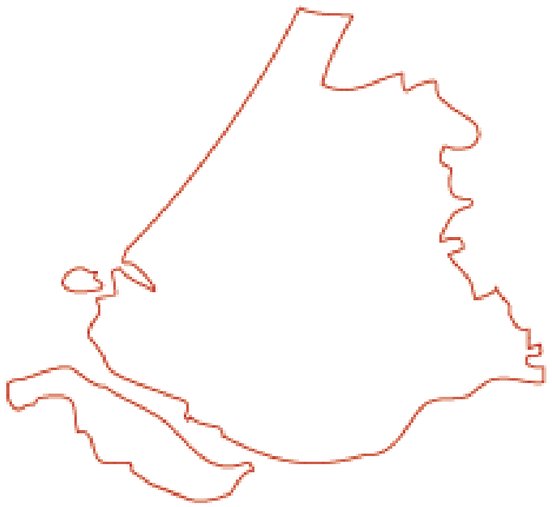
The policy of the EU is focused on a broad range of issues, among which are: agriculture, fisheries, free trade among EU member states, trade policy, development policy, environment, natural disaster relief. (Over Stemmen en het Kiesrecht - ProDemos, z.d.)

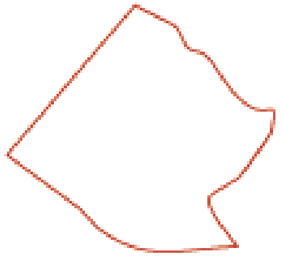
Furthermore, the EU has a range of committees, focusing on EU-wide topics. (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2024c)



National scale: The Netherlands
Only people with Dutch citizenship can vote for the National Elections: De Tweede Kamer verkiezingen or House of Represenatives. (Over Stemmen en het Kiesrecht - ProDemos, z.d.)

The House of Representatives has two main responsibilities: They have to control the government and make laws in collaboration with the government. The House consists of 150 representatives, from al kinds of parties. (Wat Doet de Tweede Kamer?, 2023)







Provincial scale: South-Holland
Only people with Dutch citizenship can vote for the Provincial Elections: De Provinciale Staten verkiezingen. The parties, elected for the Provincial States, can vote for De Eerste Kamer or Senate. (Over Stemmen en het Kiesrecht - ProDemos, z.d.).

Provinces control Water Authories and Municipalities. The focus of their job is on infrastructure projects, building roads for example, and managing nature reserves. They make structural visions for these purposes. (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2024b)

Water Authory scale: Delfland
Three groups can vote within their Water Authory Territory:
First, People who are living in the Netherlands legally, that have been resigned in the Dutch Water authory territory, Non-EU, for 5 years or more can vote. Second, all people with EU citizenship can vote immediately. Third, all Dutch citizens can vote. (Over Stemmen en het Kiesrecht - ProDemos, z.d.)

Water boards ensure the availability of clean, enough and sufficient water. They also manage water-related infrastructure, such as dykes and waterways. (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2024b)

Municipality scale: The Hague
Three groups can vote within their own municipality: First, People who are living in the Netherlands legally, that have been resigned in the Dutch Water authory territory, Non-EU, for 5 years or more can vote. Second, all people with EU citizenship can vote immediately. Third, all Dutch citizens can vote. (Over Stemmen en het Kiesrecht - ProDemos, z.d.)

Municipalities are in charge of matters that directly affect citizens. For example, they give subsidies to swimming pools and libraries. They also manage roads and cycle paths. They in addition draw up zoning plans and spatial visions. (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2024a)

04.06. **STATUS QUO AND LIMITATIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF THE NETHERLANDS**

This section will introduce the case for this research, namely the city of The Hague, the administrative capital of The Netherlands. First, the history, status-quo of the Dutch democracy will be examined, taking into account the limitations of the present-day democracies. Finally, it will be explained why this research will focus on the context of The Hague.

Status-quo and limitations of the democratic system of The Netherlands

History of the Dutch democracy

The Dutch democracy did not come to be in one specific moment, but was rather a result of a sequence of events, as can be seen in the chart underneath. The most important events in the development of the democratic system of the Netherlands, can be seen in the timeline .

Derde Kamer. (2023, 30 maart). Geschiedenis van de democratie - De Derde Kamer. De Derde Kamer. https://derdekamer.nl/meer-over-de-politiek/geschiedenis-van-de-democratie/



1568: Revolt against the Spanish: 7 of the Gewesten appointed Willem van Oranje as their leader. These 7 gewesten together shaped a Republic without landsheer



Kaart van de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden. In-4.). Rijksmuseum.nl. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/object/Kaart-van-de-Republiek-der-Zev en-Verenigde-Nederlanden--c3148d375abcd4f9f93df4d2026d16b3

1726
1750

First elections: r
participate:
decided on a
'Nationale
(=first parliam
precursor of t
tweede kamer)



1648: Peace between the successor of Fillips II and the Republic of the 7 gewesten

1792-1795: French Ar
attacked: first 'Nationa
Vergadering'(National Meetir

1464

Staten-Generaal was introduced by Hertog van Bourgondië, Filips de Goede: First meeting of all 'Staten', in 1464. These were not one country yet.



1555

1555: Spanish Fillips II became 'Landsheer' of 'De Nederlanden' (=The Lowlands): Did not listen to the Gewesten, but appointed his own 'raadslieden' (counselors)



Decorative objects for sale in online auctions - Catawiki. (n.d.). Catawiki. https://www.catawiki.com/en/s/67-decorative-objects

1555

1568

1588: Start of the 'Spaanse Oorlog' or 'Tachtig jarige oorlog' (War against the Spanish/80 year long war)



Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.). File:Struys, Ian Belgicus, 1648 - Comeli - CUL PAM 191 (Elips) - Wikipedia. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Struys,_Ian_Belgicus_1648_-_Comeli_-_CUL_PAM_191_(Elips).jpg

1648

1648-1795: Republiek der 7 verenigde Nederlanden: No King, 7 Gewesten meet up in the 'Staten-Generaal': All had one vote: Holland was the richest

Stadhouders ruled one or more gewesten: appointed majors and leaders of the military.

1795

Protest of Rich citizens: thought Willem V (Stadhouder) was to powerful: wanted more political influence (they were called 'patriotten')

The French just deposed their king;

French helped to get rid of Willem V in 1795: Start of the Bataafse Republiek



Wikipedia-bijdragers. (n.d.). Bestand:Kaart van de Bataafse Republiek, 1798 De Bataafsche Republiek in 1798.jpg - Wikipedia, de vrije encyclopedie. Wikipedia, de Vrije Encyclopedie. https://nl.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bestand:Kaart_van_de_Bataafse_Republiek,_1798_De_Bataafsche_Republiek_in_1798_1280px(...)_op_object%29_RP-P-OB-86.650.jpg

1792

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Vergadering'
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ng)

1815: End of French Rule, Start of Koninkrijk der Nederlanden: The Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg joined into one and created a consitution.

Constitution: power in the hands of both the King and the Staten-Generaal.

Statengeneraal split up into eerste en tweede kamer

Eerste Kamer: Chosen by the king, for the rest of your life

Tweede Kamer: Chosen by members of the Provinciale Staten: Usually not part of nobility, only few men could vote



Gerdien, S. (n.d.). Cholerae Asiaticae iter per Belgium septentrionale. Ao 1832. een antieke kaart van Nederland door Alexander Koel Willem Sueremon ut 1835. Kruidenhuis.org. 2006. https://www.atlasantiekekaart.nl/toonkaart.php?kaart=4201

1830: Revolution of Belgium in Brussels: Belgium separated from the Northern provinces

1830

1917: General voting right for men
And for women?
In 1917, there is a first success: women are allowed to be elected as members of the Lower House.
In 1918, the first woman enters the Lower House; her name is Suze Groeneweg.
In 1920, the first woman entered the Upper House: Carry Pothuis-Smit.
In 1919, women were also given the right to vote. They then still had to wait until the 1922 elections to actually vote for the first time.



1958

1806 1813 1815 1830 1848 1917 1919 1940 1945 1949 1951 1958 2025

1806: Napoleon attacks, end of Bataafse Republiek.

Napoleon (king of France) made his younger brother 'King of Holland'

1815

In 1810 Napoleon took over the power and made Holland part of his French Kingdom



Gerdien, S. (n.d.). Het Koningryk Der Nederlanden 1815, an antique map of Netherlands by De Erven Thierry en Messing from 1858. Kruidenhuis.org, 2006. https://www.atlasantiekemaps.com/shownmaps.php?map=4704



Johan Thorbecke: Wanted to change the law in order to give less power to the king and more to the provinciale staten, Willem II did not agree: But agry citizens througout all of Europe: changed The Netherlands into a democracy in 1848: Grondwet (Constitution) was written by Thorbecke. What has been in the Constitution since 1848
Thorbecke's Constitution contained some important changes:
The members of the Lower House were no longer elected indirectly by the Provincial Councils, but directly by the people. The Upper House was no longer appointed by the king. Henceforth, its members were elected indirectly, by the Provincial Councils.

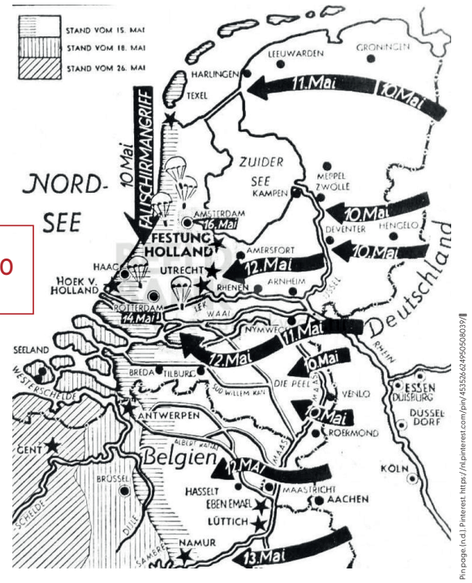
The Lower House was given the right of amendment

A proposal by one or more members of parliament to change a part of a bill.
, the right of interpellation

A debate in the Upper or Lower House in which questions are put to a minister or state secretary on a subject that was not yet on the House's agenda.
and the right of inquiry.

1940-1945 Second World War: The Netherlands were occupied by the Germans

1940



Pinpage (n.d.) Pinterest. https://nl.pinterest.com/pin/453526624950508019/

1949: Start of NAVO, The Netherlands joined

1951: Europese Gemeenschap voor Kolen en Staal

1958: Start of European Parliament

04.06. STATUS QUO AND LIMITATIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF THE NETHERLANDS

Dutch democracy

Previously in this chapter, general limitations of present-day democracies were examined. It was concluded that democracies bounded by territorial borders, the electoral and the liberal democracies all struggled to actualise the democratic ideal. This section will explore which of these limitations can also be found in the Netherlands and what measures have already been put in place to address these limitations by the national government.

First of all, considering the fact that The Netherlands is confined by a territorial border, we conclude that this leads to a state of exclusion. One example of this is that during the last elections for the House of Representatives, de Tweede Kamer in Dutch, only 75% of people living in the Netherlands were allowed to vote. This is 93% of all people above 18 years old (CBS, 2020).

Second of all, regarding the limitations of representative democracy in the Netherlands, research shows that in 2023, only 34% of people considered representative democracy a very good way to govern their country. In this research, which examined 24 different countries, it was asked what could help improve the system. They found: *'Respondents also emphasize that citizens have an important role to play in making democracy work better. They argue that citizens need to be more informed, engaged, tolerant and respectful of one another.'* (Wike et al., 2024a) This is an interesting insight, since this active role of citizenship relates back to the conclusion of the opportunity of strengthening democracies, through the ideal of the radical pluralist democracy.

Furthermore, research shows that the trust Dutch people have in their politicians is currently the lowest it has been in ten years, this could also lead to democratic erosion (Trust in Crisis: Europe's Social Contract Under Threat | European Foundation For The Improvement Of Living And Working Conditions, n.d.). One cause of the decline in distrust towards politicians, is considered to be the increase of structural inequality. The director of the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), said the following: *'In this regard, we see big differences in trust between people who can get along well in society and those who are left behind. This is cause for concern because it makes trust a potential divisive factor in society.*' (De Ree, 2024)

In order to strengthen democracies, acknowledging the limitations of representative democracy, citizen participation is often offered as a solution, also in The Netherlands (Burgerparticipatie Zonder een Politiek Gesprek Leidt Alleen Tot Frustraties, n.d.). Furthermore, deepening democracy by participation is on the list of the national government. For example, in 2024, 'de wet Versterking participatie op decentraal niveau' (Law Strengthening participation at decentralised level), passed (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2024). This law on 'versterking participatie' (strengthening participation), requires co-governments to develop 'participation acts' with clear frameworks for participation (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2024).

However, research on Dutch participation processes recently showed limitations as well. Some of these problems could be relating back to the previously discussed limitations of the liberal democracy. One conclusion of this research, for example, was that participatory processes stay at a very technical level, where professional experts keep the power and state officials' knowledge is seen as the only correct view (Burgerparticipatie Zonder een Politiek Gesprek Leidt Alleen Tot Frustraties, n.d.). Furthermore, citizens find the processes not transparent enough and indicate they find it frustrating that there is no political discussion in the participation processes (Burgerparticipatie Zonder een Politiek Gesprek Leidt Alleen Tot Frustraties, n.d.). Researchers suggest that in participatory processes, experiential knowledge should be seen as equivalent to technical knowledge, considering the experience and measurement of noise pollution for example (Burgerparticipatie Zonder een Politiek Gesprek Leidt Alleen Tot Frustraties, n.d.). Also, this research discovered that the 'fun' activities of participation could hinder the political and substantive conversation. The use of jargon or difficult words also appears to be a hurdle (Trust in Crisis: Europe's Social Contract Under Threat | European Foundation For The Improvement Of Living And Working Conditions, n.d.).

Limitations of participation were also mentioned in the debate regarding the law Strengthening participation at decentralised level, for example: *'[The GRIP-raport] warns that a shift from a representative democracy to a more participatory democracy 'is likely to mean less control for people who do not have enough time or the right competences to participate'* (Wet Versterking Participatie 'Geen Symboolwetgeving', n.d.). This is called the 'participation paradox'. In the Netherlands, issues related to this paradox can also be identified. Higher educated people play a more active role in politics in general (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2017). Lower educated people are under-represented in citizen initiatives, not only due to a lack of money, social capital, time and knowledge, also because they feel like they are not good enough or because they feel resentment towards the government (Visser, 2019).

The national Dutch government acknowledges the world-wide trend of democratic erosion. Therefore, Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties (Ministry of the Internal Affairs and The Kingdom Relations) has asked researchers to examine this trend in the Dutch context. The most important conclusion of this report is that research on democratic erosion should not be considered finished, but must remain monitored, since democratic erosion can develop gradually (Honingh et al., 2023).

Generally, the democratic norms are well-established among citizens in The Netherlands. However, this is not always the case for political parties and politicians, some of them have anti-pluralistic stands. The report also concludes that the electoral democracy cannot be without the 'maatschappelijke democratie' (societal democracy) (Honingh et al., 2023). Two quotes of the research are important in this regard:

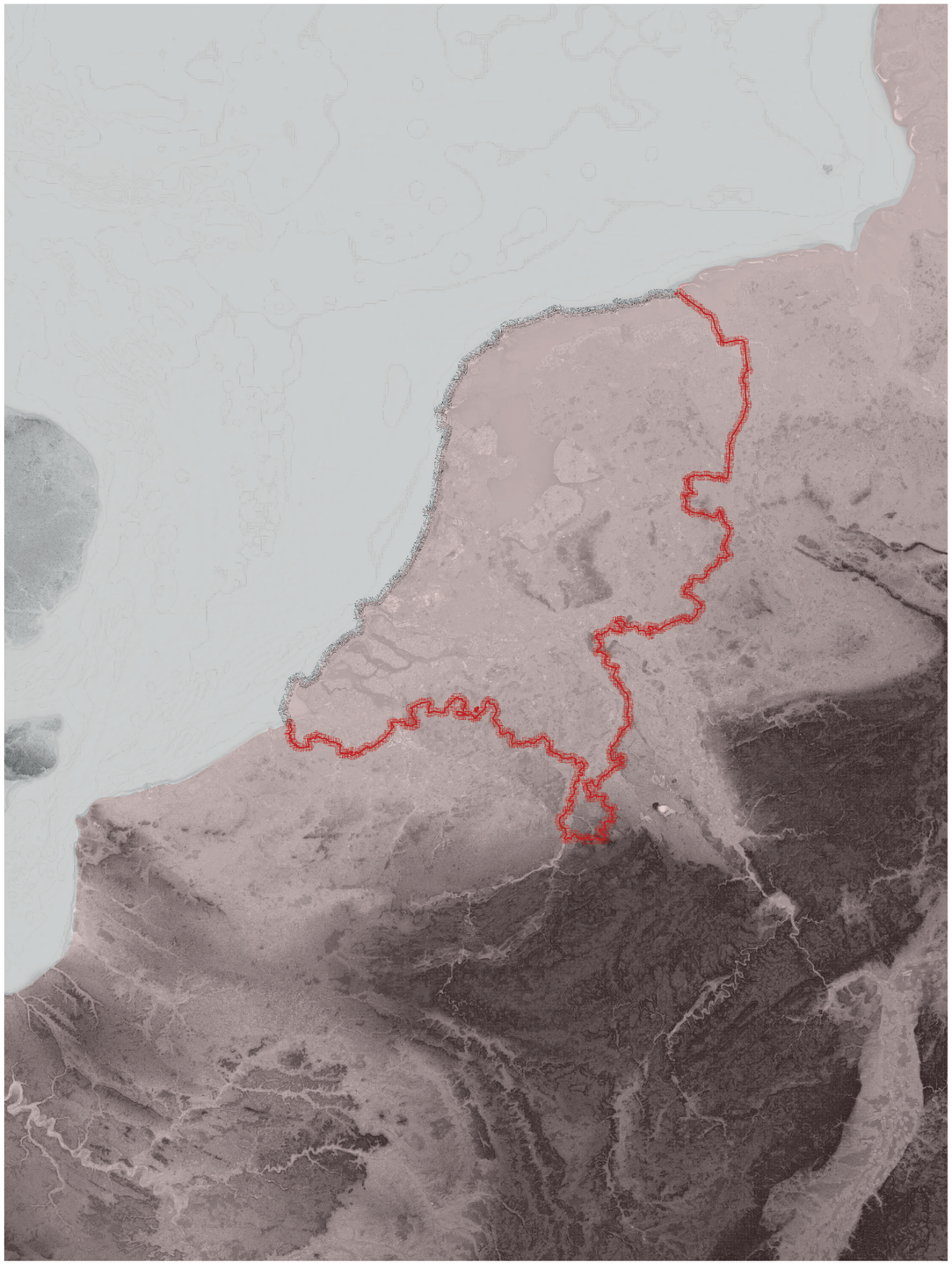
On societal democracy: *'More specifically, this concerns the quality of the connection between citizens and the public administration through a diverse collection of (semi)-public organisations and organisations that perform statutory tasks.'*(Honingh et al., 2023, p. 11))

On Dutch democracy in general: '*There is a systematic reduction in the democratic space for citizens as a result of decentralization, privatization, technocratization and the associated depoliticization of choices in the implementation of numerous semi-public tasks and services.'*(Honingh et al., 2023, p11) This participation paradox has been identified in the Netherlands

In addressing 'the societal democracy', they stress that realising this democracy cannot solely be considered the role of educational institutions. They stress the importance of non-elected public institutions, like legislative power, central banks, among others, in being aware of their democratic responsibility in decision-making, since their decisions influence citizens as well (Honingh et al., 2023). The research stresses a need for organisations that gap this bridge between institutions and citizens (Honingh et al., 2023).

In conclusion, while the Dutch democracy is considered to be performing well and the fact that democratic erosion is not (yet) at risk among citizens, it should not be considered perfect or finished. In The Netherlands, there is a gap in realising 'societal democracy', research concludes (Honingh et al., 2023) . In the global north, including in the Netherlands, democracy is oftentimes strongly associated with the state (Beveridge & Koch, 2023). However, limitations of the present-day system show the importance of focussing on other scales.

In this regard, we conclude the opportunity of urban design to bridge this gap, since it has the nature of bridging different disciplines, institutions and people, through process, through physical interventions and in research methods. Also, there is an opportunity to explore the role of the active citizen and to spatialise this concept. We also conclude that there is an opportunity in bridging present-day limitations of democracy by implementing concepts related to the ideal of the radical, pluralist democracy. The next section will explore related work of other spatial researchers, related to spatializing democratic ideals.



Landscape: Territorial Borders and Morphological conditions of The Netherlands

04.07. **RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE**

This section will explore related works that explore the role of urban design and the urban designer in relation to democracy.

Creating Public Spaces and Practiced Places for Democracy, Discourse, and the Emergence of Civil Society - Patrick M. Jenlink (Jenlink, 2007)
This section will summarize the article of Patrick M. Jenlink on creating spaces for democracy. To start, the following statement of Jenlink, is important : *'Geography is a defining feature of social life just as social relations is a defining feature of geographical space.'*(Jenlink, 2007). Therefore, since urban design practice focuses on the interrelations of the spatial and social dimensions, it can possibly play a role in the re-conceptualisation of present-day democracies and help to address the limitations of the status-quo. Jenlink concludes that in order to give the democratic ideal a spatial dimension, the attention should be on 'public spaces' and 'practiced spaces'.

In his attempt to define the public spaces, he refers to the conceptualisation of space by Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre argues that space is not just physical, but should be understanded in a more complex manner, joining the physical, mental and social layers of space, into 3 different perspectives into the conceived, practiced and lived space (Jenlink, 2007). Jenlink argues that in creating public spaces, one should be aware of these 3 conceptions of space, as explained by Lefebvre. Jenlink says the following on practiced spaces: *'Creating practiced places for democracy and civil society, understood more broadly as spatial practices that encompass how spaces are perceived, is crucial to an understanding of the production of democratically practiced places as social instruments.'*
He stresses the importance of conceiving both 'space' and 'place', by acknowledging the influence of 'proper rules' and other rules in place, rules that are at the base of the hierarchical nature of relationships. He brings the opinion of both Lefebrvre and Mouffe to the table in this regard: they both stress that in spatial practice, it is important to acknowledge how space is conceptualized and by whom. His conclusion on the matter: Creating public spaces and practiced places for democracy and civil society requires an understanding of the power-geometry of social relations and a sensitivity to the spatial flows that define and redefine the social and geographical spaces of society.

Spaces of Democracy - Richard Sennet (Lucy et al., n.d.)
In exploring the relation of spatial design and democracy, we explore Spaces of Democracy by Richard Sennett. In Richard Sennet's essay 'The Spaces of Democracy', he explains that ever since democracy started in ancient Athens, democracy had a spatial component, mainly in the form of the Pnyx and the Agora. The Pnyx was a theater, where debates and decision-making took place. On the Agora, a large open space, surrounded by colonnades and important buildings, like the court and bank, all sorts of commerce, rituals and informal gatherings took place, people from all sorts interacted on the agora. He states that the visual qualities of the agora provide interactions that are more fragmentary. The visual qualities of the Pnyx, such as the fact that the men did not experience physical compartmentalization, resulted in debate.

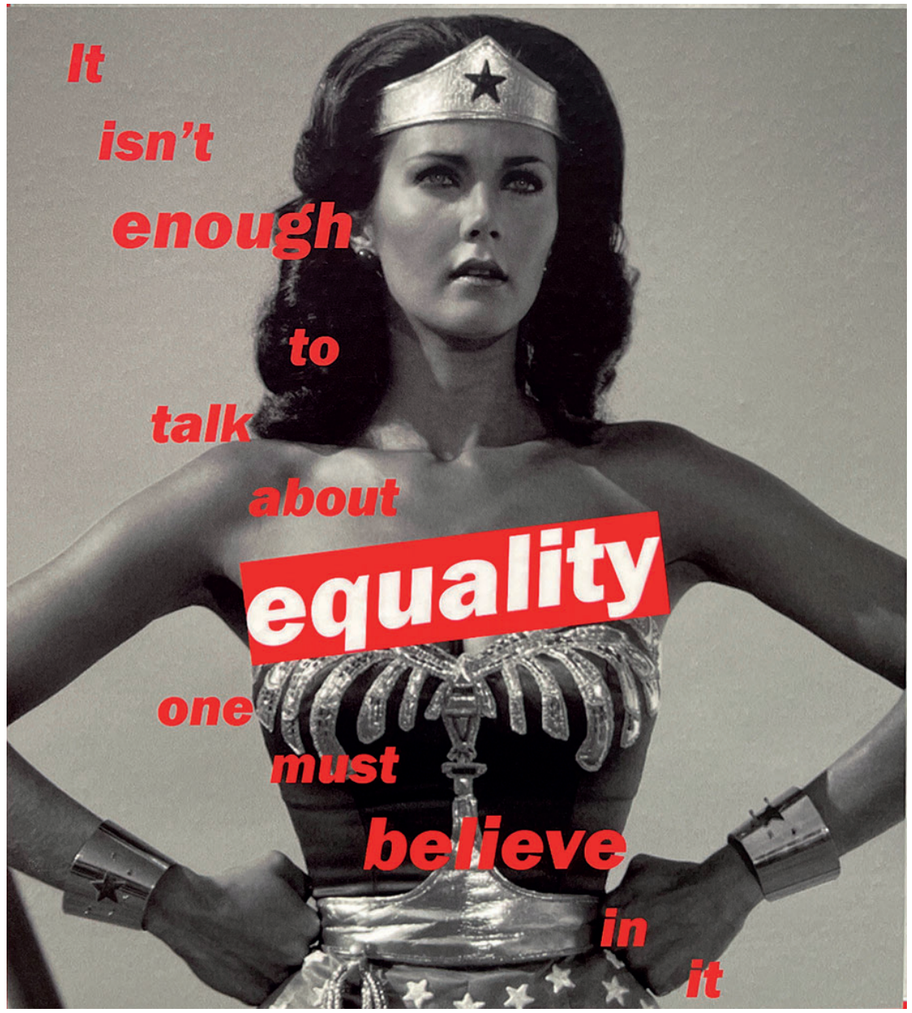
Sennet, relating these concepts back to present-day, concludes the following: *'Nearly all modern urban planners subscribe to this Aristotelian principle. Diversity loses its force, however, if in the same space different persons or activities are merely concentrated but each remains isolated and segregated. Differences have to interact.'* (Lucy et al., n.d., p.3))

Sennet believes that in a democratic system, people need to be challenged by others and that they need to experience painful and confronting interactions, to grow physiologically and ethically. In designing for democracy, he argues, facilitating these interactions are crucial. These interactions can be designed for, he says, by disordering the city. He demands a city that does not have homogenized communities.

*'Diversity loses its force, however, if in the same space different persons or activities are merely concentrated but each remains isolated and segregated. Differences **have** to interact.'*

- Richard Sennet

Art and Democracy - Chantal Mouffe (Mouffe, 2007)
In order to actualise the radical, pluralist ideal, Mouffe proposes the implementation of critical artistic practices as part of public space, in order to undermine the dominant hegemony. While she critiques artistic practices as an element of capitalistic productivity, she still considers art as an important means to challenge the status-quo, and as a way to explore and discuss different values and perspectives in society. She proposes art in democracy as a way to comply with her proposal of 'agonistic pluralism', meaning a form of democracy, in which consensus is never considered finite. Art in public space adheres to this idea, since it could have the opportunity to create agonistic spaces, by interrupting an otherwise conceived smooth image, as long as the artwork challenges the existing consensus.



Barbara Kruger. Element. David Zwirner Gallery. Manhattan, NYC.

On Kurgers' work, Mouffe says the following: '*There is the kind of work that more or less directly engages critically with political realty, such as that of Barbara Kruger, Hans Haacke or Santiago Sierra.*'

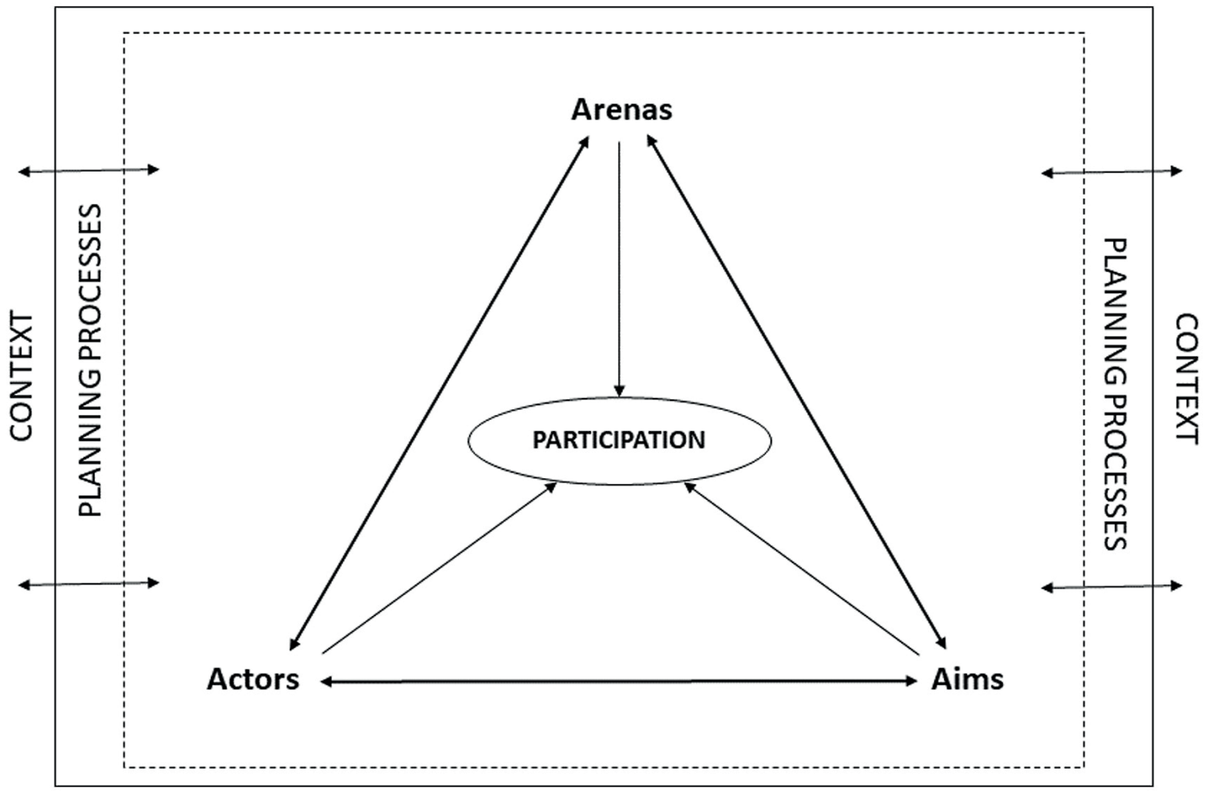
Squitieri, D. & Squitieri, D. (2022, August 17). Barbara Kruger brings the Battleground to NYC this summer | Archelle Art. Archelle Art | The Best Elegant Artwork. https://archelleart.com/barbara-kruger-brings-the-battleground-to-nyc-this-summer.html

04.07. **RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE**

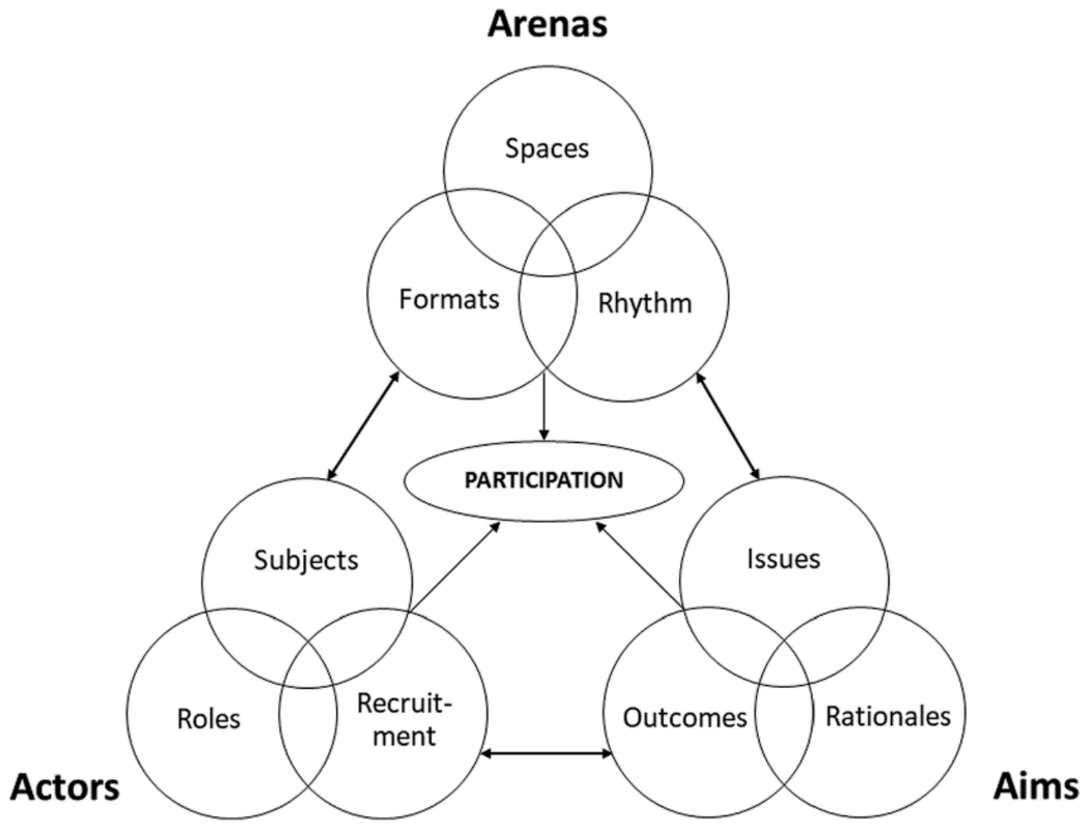
3A model (Hofer & Kaufmann, 2022)
The 3A model is a framework to gain further comprehension of the layers of participation. It distinguishes between 3 A's: Arena ('how'), Actors ('who') and Aims ('why'). It explores not only the reason for participation, but focuses on the phenomenon of the concept.

An interesting conclusion of this research is: '*Only few scholars have engaged with "perhaps the most elemental consideration in designing participatory processes: how to create physical environments for productive interaction and conversation*'.

The research considers participation a fluid and emergent concept, in which different elements interact. It concludes that participation can be a top-down, institutionalised practice, but can also have a bottom-up character, where the design and development of space is initiated through grassroot networks.



The 3A3 -framework of participation.
(Hofer & Kaufmann, 2022)



The dimensions of participation and their elements.
(Hofer & Kaufmann, 2022)

Processes for just products: The capability space of participatory design (Frediani & Boano, 2012)
In processes for just products, the link between design processes and design products is established. The research argues that in designing for the democratic ideal, both the process and the product of design should correspond to this ideal. In designing there should therefore be freedom in the process, in the deliberation, engagement and participation, and in the product, in the appropriation and production. The scholars stress the importance of the fact that designers should be aware of their own perspectives and values. They also state that designers should be critical of exploitative relations that can be part of the design process within and among communities. They mention the conception of participatory design as follows: *'Participatory design as an attitude about a force for change in the creation and management of environments for people'* (Frediani & Boano, 2012, p. 4) and connect this to the following insight: *'Environments work better if citizens are active and involved in its creation and management instead of being treated as passive consumers'(*Frediani & Boano, 2012, p.4). It can be concluded that the designer should consider the dimension of management, when coming up with a proposal.

The scholars conceptualise opportunities in participation, as components of freedom. In participatory processes, they argue, 3 components can help actualise freedom: choice, ability and opportunity. Choice meaning the option to choose between alternatives. Ability in the sense of the ability to be part of the deliberation, but also to appropriate the new design interventions. Opportunity in regards to the social, economical and political in deliberation and appropriation.

They propose the role of the architect to transfer into the rational artisan, where its responsibility is not to create form, but to create possible options. They stress the importance of dissensus in participation and ask the architect not to seek a homogeneous unity in its design. They conceive the role of the designers as 'citizen activists' and 'professional experts'

In order to actualise their ideals, they propose 4 roles of design: design as anti-design (refusal), design as research (evidence/dissensus), design as critique (demonstration and precedence) and design as resistance.

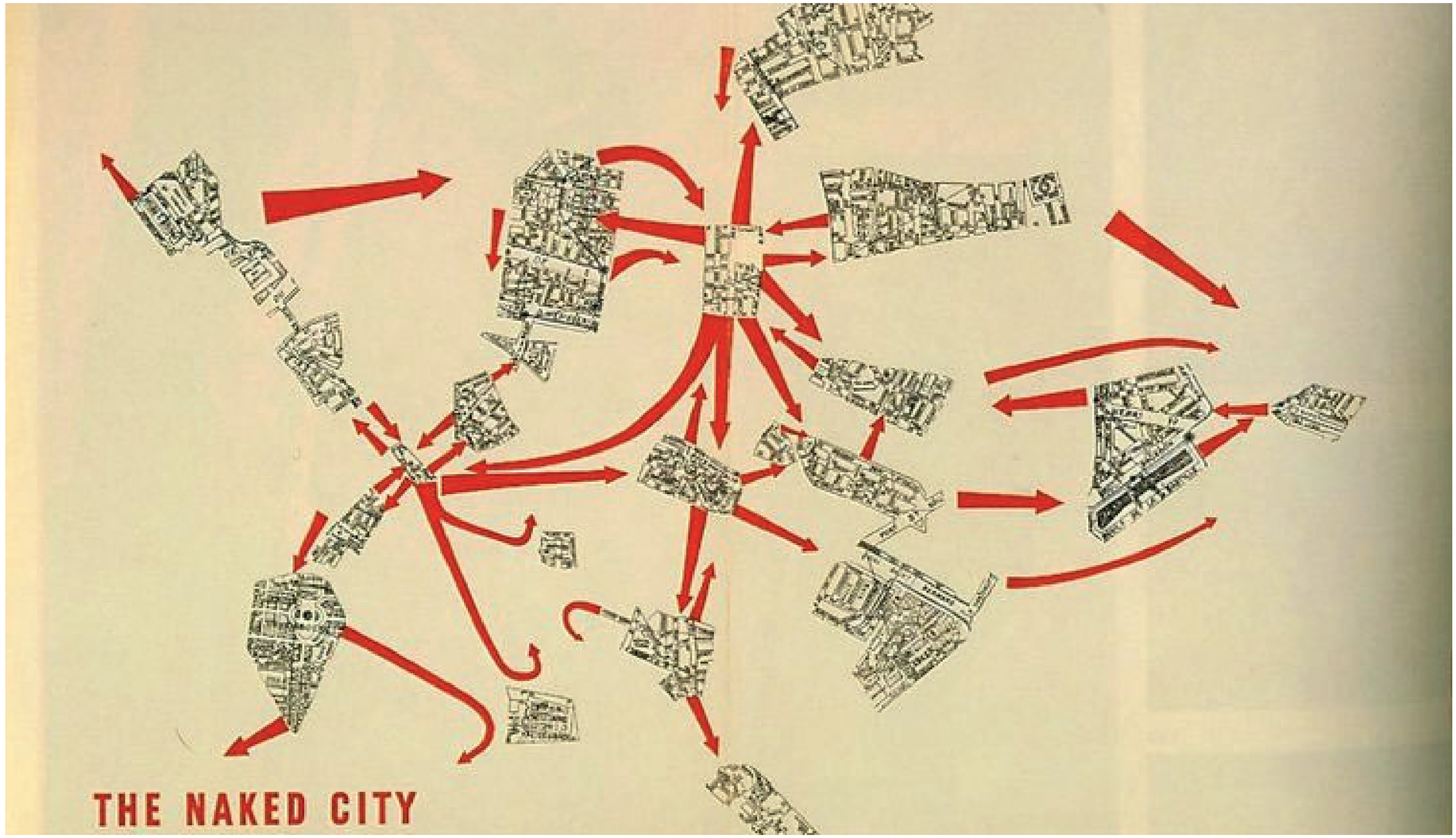
*'Environments work better **if citizens are active** and involved in its creation and management instead of being treated as passive consumers'*

-Apsan Frediani & Camillo Boano

04.07. **RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE**

The agency of mapping - James Corner (Corner, 1999)
In the agency of mapping, James Corner stresses the emancipatory potential in the practice. He proposes to see mapping not only as a means to project power knowledge, but as a means of deliberation and production. He sees mapping as a way to not only show the conscious, but the unconscious. One example he provides is hegemony in mapping: the effect that certain countries are at the 'centre of the world', due to the projection type used in the map.

Furthermore, he notes that in mapping with the aim to use the map as a way to assert certain conclusions on the social-spatial status of the city, one should be critical in whether the map represents the plurality of a space accurately enough. He proposes the drift, the layering, the game-board and the rhizome mapping techniques in order to map the subjective conceptions of spaces and to grasp the pluralistic experiences of spaces.

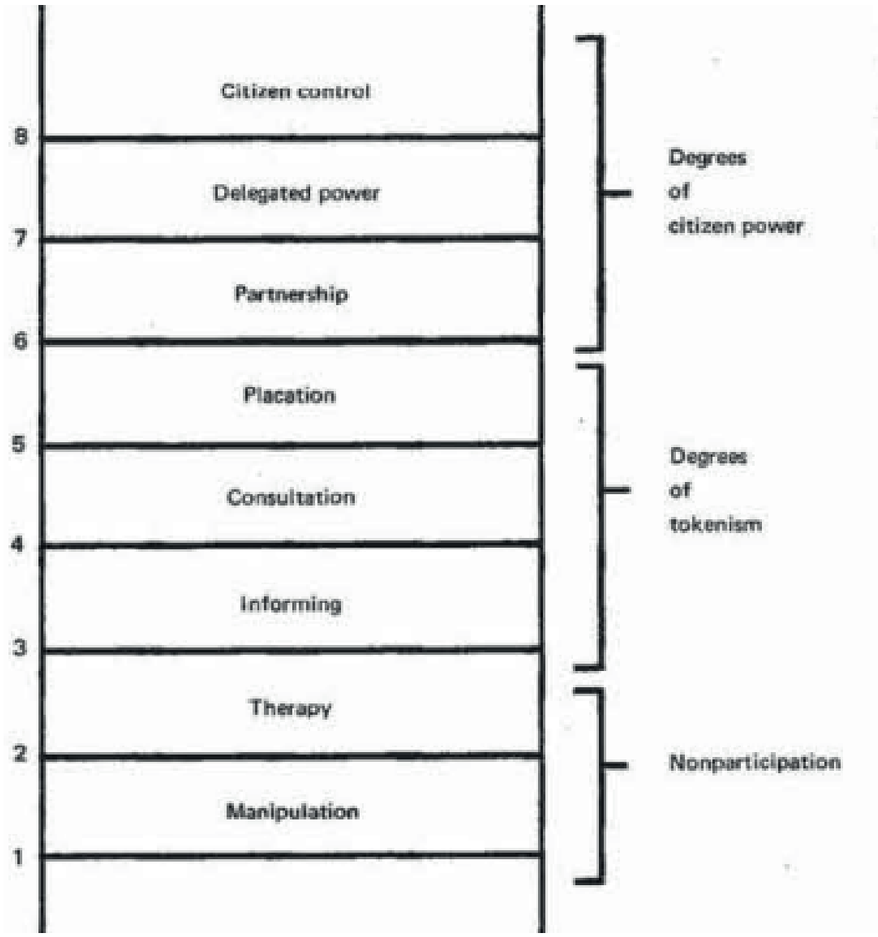


Psychogéographie. (n.d.). https://laboratoireurbanismeinsurrectionnel.blogspot.com/2011/05/psychogeographie.html

NAKED CITY, Guy Debord

One example of Drift that Corner shows, is the map of Guy Debord, called '*Discours sur les Passions de l'amour*'. The Naked City is drawn in the same style.

A Ladder Of Citizen Participation - Sherry R. Arnstein (Arnstein, 1969)
Sherry R. Arnstein has created a ladder in order to show the different levels of citizen-power that can be identified. This ladder can be used to critically examine the actual level of power that can be executed in participation processes. Arnstein notes that, while these blocks are not homogeneous, and while in a project, different boxes can be part of a participation process, it is important to acknowledge the level of participation and thus, citizen-power. This is a means to critically examine a participation process to determine if actual participation is happening, or if it is a euphemism.



Eight rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation
(Arnstein, 1969)

04.07. **RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE**

The Empty Place: Democracy and Public Space - Teresa Hoskyns (2014)

Hoskyns structures her book in the following chapters:
- Theorising democracy as a spatial practice
- Participatory spatial practices: architectural, feminist and participatory democracy

Her research combines different theories on democracy, focusing on the civil society model of Jürgen Habermas and the Agonistic model of Chantal Mouffe.

In her research, she has identified three main forms of the participatory democracy:
-'Open spaces'
-Democratic identity in the construction of space, she has explores this concept through a feminist lens
-Social forums from global, European to city level
Her main conclusion is that participatory democracy requires a conceptualisation of public space as 'the empty place': 'A place where different modes of democracy can coexist'. She notes that democratic relations shape public space, and that public space produces democratic structures and models of democracy. She concludes that the relation of public space and democracy is under researched and therefore vulnerable, for privatization and de-politicization.Furthermore, she explains that different models of democracy have different levels of democraticness in relation to public space. She critiques the participatory production of space due to its risk of the maintenance of the dominant power structures in the process. She says that the interconnection of both the participatory democracy, as well as the representative democracy is key and that 'the empty place', is a place where both these types coexist, as well as the concept of the liberal, the agonistic model and the civil society model. She concludes that the general conclusion in all of these different models can come together in the theory of 'the empty place',but that in order to have democracy, the public space needs to be a site of power that is 'empty'. With empty, she refers to the idea that a space shouldn't be identified with anybody specifically. It is the space of no one and of everyone.The empty place doesn't have specific meaning or unity and is negotiated.The empty place is the place where constant friction of the different forces that try to occupy it. The empty place is political, open, plural and composed of different activities.The empty place can be a void, but it can also be a space for cultural practices.

Also, she reflects on the role of the architectural designer. She says that the architect is limited and has a bottom-up approach, due to the neoliberal character of many systems, where there already is one particular outcome in mind. She argues that the architect should not pick the side of the client, but always move in between the bottom-up approach, and the interest of the client. She explains that the architect should be aware of the limitations in participatory practice.

She says that in creating democratic public spaces, there are a few options, to focus on equality to representation, as well as in equality in the option to take space, in the form of appropriation, through performance, are essential. She also notes that in creating more democratic spaces, it is important to think beyond the neo-liberal, in which public space becomes the space for the consumer, rather than the citizen.

If this is the aim, she stresses the importance of a multiplicity of new spaces that can only be achieved by restructuring and rethinking present-day representative structures. According to her, this stresses the need for new representative institutions.

ON THE NEXT PAGES, A DIFFERENT STRUCTURE FOR THE RELATED WORK SECTION IS PROPOSED. THE AIM IS TO EXPOSE THE LEVEL OF CURATION AND CHAOS IN LITERATURE REVIEWS AND TO SHOW EXPLICITLY THE QUOTE'S THAT WERE FOUND TO BE RELEVANT FOR THIS RESEARCH.

04.07. **RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE**

Designing disorder - Richard Sennet & Pablo Sendra

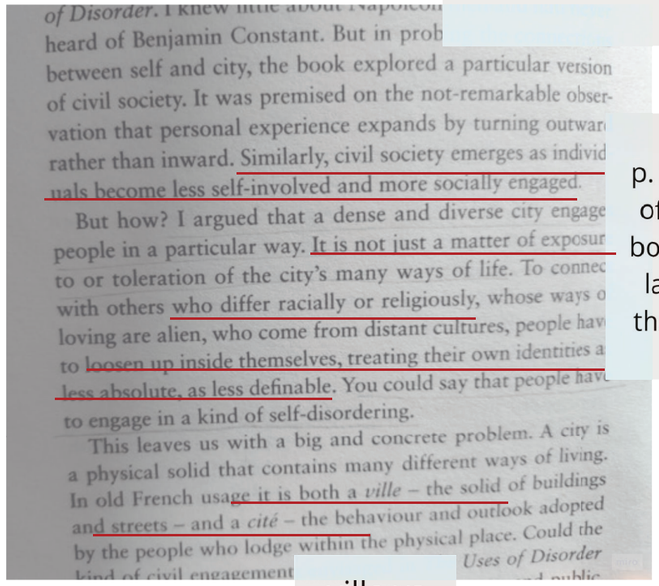
Designing disorder describes a set of conclusions on designing more democratic and inclusive cities. On this page, quotes that these conclusions are drawn from, can be read. The main conclusions are summarized in the following list:

- To create the opportunity to share things
- For people open up inside to others' perspectives
- To be confronted with different political identities
- To prevent segregation and homogenised districts
- To improve existing buildings, rather than 'renewing' or demolishing
- Think of a different system, in which bureaucratic rules of the Neoliberal system about the city are replaced, since this system is closing down the city and keeping it for the elite. To open-up the hierarchical systems into institutions that involve citizens into the decision-making processes
- To create spaces that don't have a finished form or function to create liberating spaces for a diverse group.
- To think of 'borders' between different neighbourhoods: porous, breathable area's where differences meet.
- To connect different, local initiatives to create a network of democratic spaces, in order to create solidarity.
- To focus on experiment and to imagine forms for indifference. To focus on artistic practices.

Sendra also concludes these findings into 3 main forms for designing disorder:
- passage territories ('the border')
- Incomplete form
-Non-linear narratives

p. 19 'flexible capitalism unfolds now in a rigid city. the city has become an iron cage - one that imprisons disoriented, labouring animalis. there are several reasons for this paradox. the first is the withering of mixed spaces and their replacement with more homogenised districts. the process of sorting and segregating went on throughout the last century but has sped up since the early '80s.'

p. 23 'the cities everyone wants to live in should be clean and safe, possess efficient public services, be supported by a dynamic economy, provide cultural simulation and also do their best to heal society's divisions of race, class and ethinicity. These are NOT the cities we live in.' 'we need to loosen up the city; we need to imagine an open city in which experimentation is possible, one which is friendly to informality , on which is open.'


of Disorder. I knew little about Napoleon
heard of Benjamin Constant. But in prob
between self and city, the book explored a particular version
of civil society. It was premised on the not-remarkable obser-
vation that personal experience expands by turning outwar
rather than inward. Similarly, civil society emerges as individ
uals become less self-involved and more socially engaged.

But how? I argued that a dense and diverse city engage
people in a particular way. It is not just a matter of exposur
to or toleration of the city's many ways of life. To connec
with others who differ racially or religiously, whose ways o
loving are alien, who come from distant cultures, people hav
to loosen up inside themselves, treating their own identities a
less absolute, as less definable. You could say that people hav
to engage in a kind of self-disordering.

This leaves us with a big and concrete problem. A city is
a physical solid that contains many different ways of living.
In old French usage it is both a *ville* – the solid of buildings
and streets – and a *cité* – the behaviour and outlook adopted
by the people who lodge within the physical place. Could the
kind of civil engagement *Uses of Disorder* public

p. 21 'the history of zoning law is boring, but it has largely shaped the modern city'

ville vs cité - Lefebvre

p. 24 ' the result of over determination is what could be called "the brittle city". (plan voisin) "buildings are now destroyed rather than adapted"

"renewing" the inner city means displacing the people who have lived there before."

'growth in an urban environment is a more complicated pheonomenon than simple replacement of what excisted before: growth requires a dialogue between past and present; its a matter of evolution rather than erasure.' this principle is as true socially as it is architecturally the bonds of community cannot be conjured in an instant, with a stroke of the planner's pen: they too require time to develop.'

p. 26 ' the cunning of neoliberalism speaks the language of freedom while manipulating closed bureaucratic systems for elites' private gain. The true counterbalance of the closed system involves a different kind of social system'

p. 16 'in the long term, power depends on voluntary obedience by those who obey.'

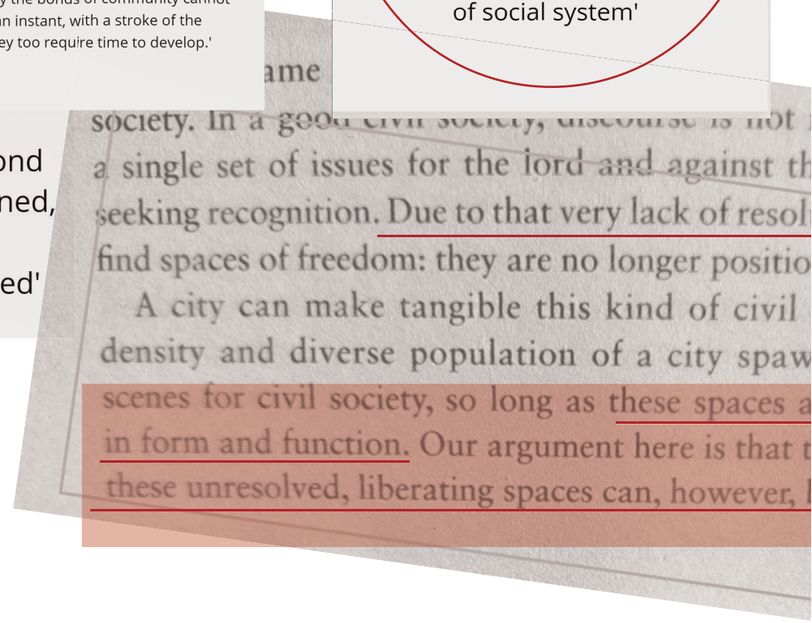
p.3 'the author also warned that abundance was erasing this vitality from city life, both by creating boundaries and by eleminating the needs to share resources with people around you.' 'it epitomises New York's transformation into a real-estate driven city.'

p.3 vital and open city does not occur naturally

p.7: 'constant argued for an ordinary life in which social experience expanded beyond the values of like-minded 'in groups'; in which political certainties are confronted.' about paris: 'it was a city of indifferences.'

!!!> benjamin constant

'life beyond the ordained, the prescribed'


society. In a good civil society, discourse is not
a single set of issues for the lord and against th
seeking recognition. Due to that very lack of resol
find spaces of freedom: they are no longer positio
A city can make tangible this kind of civil
density and diverse population of a city spaw
scenes for civil society, so long as these spaces a
in form and function. Our argument here is that t
these unresolved, liberating spaces can, however,

!!! > ethics for the city

p. 17 Immanuel Kant had promoted the notion of becoming 'cosmopolitan', which meant engaging with strangers in discussions of reasoning and rational action. This practicing of intimate distancing allowed a level of engagement without submission. Hegel doubted this version of cosmopolitan life for good historical reasons. It was not possible to come together without some collective identity emerging.'

p. 18 'but uneasy with an emphasis on practical activity in the everyday world, hegel himself would, as he aged and his thought hardend, put increasing emphasis on a rational, all-comprehending, all-inclusive state to resolve the problems of lords and bondsman ' 'can a city create a chemical bond between people outside of the unequal struggle for recognition?'

'white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. white institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it'

nce discovery, the innovation. Her view is reflected
mot of William Empson that 'the arts result from
ing'.
ought to define particular strategies for urban develop-
a city is freed of the constraints of either equilibrium
ion. These include encouraging quirky, jerry-built
s or additions to existing buildings; encouraging uses
paces which don't fit neatly together, such as putting
ospice square in the middle of a shopping street. In
ig capitalism and powerful developers tend to favour
ity: determinate, predictable and balanced in form;
f the radical planner is therefore to champion disso-
her famous declaration, 'if density and diversity give
e they breed is disorderly'.

anarchism', where people learn to accept disorder in their lives as beneficial. He saw that this acceptance of disorder should happen in diverse and crowded cities and advocated for turning 'the urban-based large-scale bureaucracies' into 'better communal lives'.[8] The new anarchism not only rejected the current system, but it also offered a viable alternative which reconstituted metropolitan bureaucratic power.

This new system combines decentralisation and localism – devolving power and providing economic resources to communities – with limited centralised power that consists of distributing goods and managing certain services. With this decentralisation, he proposed involving many more people in the planning of cities.

An example of this new anarchism in the 1970s can be found in the squatters' movement in London. As Alexander Vasudevan explains in his book *The Autonomous City*, a new wave of squatting emerged in London in 1968.[9] Vasudevan explains how the success of certain squats led to the emergence of countless local occupations in many different parts of London, with some initiatives coordinated London-wide. He also explains that these squats were not only about housing struggles – they also proposed new ways of living in community, as Richard advocated in this book. [illegible] s the links between [illegible]er movements such [illegible]ts and other leftist [illegible]es.[10]
[illegible]eneous group that

p. 46 brings grassroots of organizations into the urban planning of the city> also creating alliances between communities> solidarity

creative tension between those inside and outside of local institutions. munipalist governments like Barcelona and Comu see pressure from social movements as something positive and necessary, since it counterbalances pressures that may come from other interests

p. 47 'activists' presence in municipal politics allows for the transformation of bureaucratic city structures into a more open forms of governance.' 'widening the number of citizens involved in planning> new city insitutions (richard)

'feminization of politics> hierarchal structures are subsituted for more collaborative approach that includes neighbourhood assemblies and committees in decision-making processes

grassroot networks<> municipalism (Laura Roth and Kate Shea)

26 '
city>
ne
obs'

passage territories:
walls, both porous and resistent, breachable and not ambiguous

borders: borders instead of boundaries. borders are the places where organisms become more inter-active, due to the meeting of different species or physical conditions. (shoreline of a lake)

'our prioritisation of the centre proved isolating: their understanding of the value of the edge and broder has proved integrating''

p.45 'But how can we learn to scale up these alternative forms of communal life from community initiatives to citywide level?'

p.46: networks and municipalism

networks: connect local initiatives
municipalism: how to transform exsisting structures into more open and democratic structures

westway: self built playground between st marks road and ladbroke grove

'however, if north kensington was a good example of the 60s and 70s revolutionary milieu, we must note that it also illustrates well the paradoxical development of the neoliberal city today. it exemplifies how the hypercapitalist city has managed to appropriate and commodify many of the things that were seen as revolutionary in the 70s

7 ' time
eeds
chment
place'

incomplete form: place of building irl to the street

nonlinear narratives

p 43; decentralizati on and new anarchism

p. 56: 'when infrastructure becomes an open system, into which additions can be incorporated, it can be collectively shared and managed, and it empowers people to take action to change their environment. Infrastructure becomes a place for 'political action', from which imposed orders can be contested and other forms of conviviality can be proposed.

'infrastructure is an assemblage'> first introduced by Jean Dubuffet to describe an [a]rt form in which natural and manufactured, traditionally nonartistic, materials and objets trouvés are assembled into three-dimensional structures

p57: gilles deleuze and félix guattari in A thousand Plateaus: urbanists have to look at the relationships between different actors in the urban space: people, material objects, forms of governance.

actural & possible
existing power relations and explore the possiblity of new connections and relationships to challenge them
interaction between the material and thesocial actors
imaginary of cosmopolitanism - how difference is encounterd, managed or negotiated.

resolved into
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ution, people
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ns multiple
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he DNA for
be designed.

If we want urban development to be open, we cannot counter these forces simply by saying 'slow down' or 'wait'. Jacobs's Burkian sense of time, accompanied by her championing of small businesses, hasn't much traction in the face of today's political economy. Instead, resistance to the closing of the city makes countervailing designs all the more important.

In my own thinking, I've wondered what kinds of physical forms might resist the closed city and empower the open. The plans presented by Pablo Sendra in this book explore the physical infrastructure which might do so. Above ground, there are three kinds of 'urban DNA' configurations that can be deployed in a situation of rapid, massive urban development. These three forms in an open city are 1. passage territories; 2. incomplete objects; and 3. nonlinear narratives.

p. 25 ' emphasis on integration requires experiment'

FROM THE PAPER TO THE PLAN

movement and in the subsequent activist and political initiatives that have emerged from it.

The 2008 financial crisis caught Spain by surprise. The economic crisis, high levels of unemployment, the fact that many families were being evicted from their homes because they could not pay their mortgages and the discontent toward a system that privileged the powerful led to a widespread social unrest that resulted in the occupation of a central square in every city in Spain on 15 May 2011.

The 15-M movement started in Madrid and rapidly spread to every city in the country, with people protesting and imagining alternative futures during the day and camping at night. A generation that had comfortably lived with the status quo awakened on 15 May 2011 contesting an unjust system that, in a moment of crisis, had privileged the bankers and economic powers. The 15-M movement crossed generations. Although the people of my generation comprised a high percentage of the protesters, it received widespread support.

The regular assemblies that started taking place once people stopped camping on the squares aimed to imagine alternative futures away from capitalism. Three years after the 15-M, the political party that emerged from the ideals of the movement, Podemos, used the expression 'asaltar los cielos' (storming heaven), which Marx had previously used to describe the Paris Commune of 1871.[6] The party called for the unity of the social movements and transmitted the idea that we were in a unique moment to challenge the system and elect a government that had emerged from the grassroots.

Íñigo Errejón, one of the founders of the party, in his conversation with Belgian political philosopher Chantal Mouffe, explained that the system's failure opens a window of opportunity that will soon be closed once again by the powerful.[7]

This feeling of being in a moment of opportunity to propose changes to the system was also present in the intellectual sphere. I was spending a few months at the University of Cambridge

41

04.07. **RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE**

Designs for the Pluriverse - Arturo Escobar

The main conclusions that followed after reading 'Designs for the Pluriverse', where that in designing for the pluriverse, it is important to shift the attention for the commercial layer of design to the essence of the practice itself, to form, material, structure, ideas. In doing so, it is important to acknowledge design not solely as a practice of rational thinking, but also as a process where feelings, intuition and emotions of the designer, and others, are involved.

Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge difference in the process of designing for the pluriverse, in being explicit on the fact that in a pluriverse, multiple perspectives exist and that in concluding this, a deep attention to social justice is needed.

In designing for the pluriverse, communities have to be enabled to opportunity the appropriate or reappropriate space creatively.

These are the main themes of the book, then: cultural, civilizational, and ecological transitions; an ontological approach to design and design for transitions; and the relations among autonomy, design, and the political activation of relational and communal logics at the center of the transitions. Can design's modernist tradition be reoriented from its dependence on the life-stifling dualist ontology of patriarchal capitalist modernity toward relational modes of knowing, being, and doing? Can it be creatively reappropriated by subaltern communities in support of their struggles to strengthen their autonomy and perform their life projects? Can ontologically oriented design play a constructive role in transforming entrenched ways of being and doing toward philosophies of well-being that finally equip humans to live in mutually enhancing ways with each other and with the Earth? Such are the overall questions explored in this book.

can anything be totally disconnected from the hegemony?

Embracing difference; how can it be nourished

To conclude, I can say, in retrospect, that my overriding concern is with difference, and how difference is effaced or normalized—and, conversely, how it can be nourished. This concern embraces difference in the biological realm (hence, my interest in biodiversity), epistemic difference (coloniality), cultural difference, and—as one might say today—ontological difference, or the pluriverse. Today, difference is embodied for me most powerfully in the

Types of differences

how it can be nourished. This concern embraces difference in the biological realm (hence, my interest in biodiversity), epistemic difference (coloniality), cultural difference, and—as one might say today—ontological difference, or the pluriverse. Today, difference is embodied for me most powerfully in the

To nourish design's potential for the transitions, however, requires a significant reorientation of design from the functionalist, rationalistic, and industrial traditions from which it emerged, and within which it still functions with ease, toward a type of rationality and set of practices attuned to the *relational* dimension of life. This is why the approach taken is ontological. Design is ontological in that all design-led objects, tools, and even services bring about particular ways of being, knowing, and doing. This ontological dimension of design will be discussed at length in the book. Major sources for the reorientation of the rationalistic tradition lie within the nondualist and relational forms of life effectively present among many of the peoples en-

Feelings + logical thinking

does not mean that it is not complex. I find more compelling the description of how design works than, say, that of how Cartesian models explain scientific thinking as allegedly based on logical reasoning, induction and deduction, and so forth. This doesn't mean that logical reasoning is not important—it is—but that intuition, feelings, and emotions are often as important. Above all, the "abstract reasoning" account of knowledge leaves out of the picture a hugely important feature of knowledge production that design thinking does not: the fact that creation is always emergent, in the two registers of emergence: self-organized and other-organized, the latter qualifier meaning that the scholar/designer also lays down elements and makes decisions that enable the self-organizing dynamic to take off and do its thing. As I hope the previous account of my multiple locations shows, my scholarly and political work has evolved in great part through self-organizing emergence over the years, much more than as a result of any conscious research plan.

scholar Brenda Laurel: "*When one steps back from the marketplace, things can be seen in a different light. While time passes on the surface, we may dive down to a calmer, more fundamental place. There, the urgency of commerce is swept away by the rapture of the deep. Designers working at that depth choose to delve into the essence of design itself. Form, structure, ideas and materials become the object of study*" (2003, 13; my emphasis). This "acquired disposition" of the designer is poetically described by Australian design theorist Susan Stewart as "the deep pleasure experienced by the designer, in the blossoming or unfolding of felicitous material conjunctions and effects; in the embodied recognition of what is both transformative and fitting within the material context in question" (2015, 275).

Effect of the marketplace on the ability of the designer

We restate the question: can design be reoriented from its dependence on the marketplace toward creative experimentation with forms, concepts, territories, and materials, especially when appropriated by subaltern communities struggling to redefine their life projects in a mutually enhancing manner with the Earth?

role of designer - reflective practicioner?

ioning sets off emergent logics that end up in, say, a good book.[6] The process evolves through *composition*, in Jacques Attali's (1985) sense of this term—even more, this book has been designed or composed in this way. To put it differently, all creation is collective, emergent, and relational; it involves historically and epistemically situated persons (never autonomous individuals), and this ineluctable relationality is acknowledged now by designers in the age of "design, when everybody designs," in Ezio Manzini's (2015) skillful title. I suspect that many scholars would agree with the view just sketched of how intellectual making takes place.

Composition in design and research

In short, as Tim Brown—a design guru from the famed San Francisco firm IDEO—puts it, design "has become too important to be left to designers" (2009, 8). All of the above is seen as requiring new methods, approaches, and ways of thinking—a novel "design thinking" (T. Brown 2009; Cross 2011), a manner of approaching not only the task at hand but the world that is more ethnographic and relational. Designers discuss the changing status of "the object" (Lukic and Katz 2010) and "things" (Ehn, Nilsson, and Topgaard 2014), echoing current debates in science and technology studies, anthropology, and geography. Finally, as exemplified by Anne Balsamo (2011) for the case of technological innovation, there is an important focus on the relation between design and culture: the fact that design is about creating cultural meanings and practices, about designing culture, experience, and particular ways of living (see also Manzini 2015; Julier 2014; see Laurel 2001; Suchman 2007; and Sparke 2004 for important precedents on this relation). Whether all of this

The role of the designer and its relation to culture

The pluriverse: 'A world where many worlds fit'

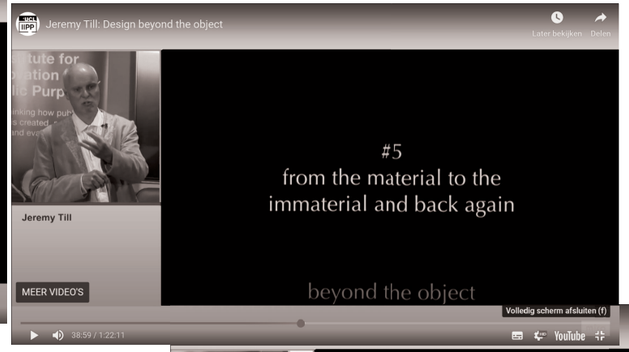
the pluriverse. Today, difference is embodied for me most powerfully in the concept of the pluriverse, *a world where many worlds fit,* as the Zapatista put it with stunning clarity. This has been the central problem that, largely intuitively, has reverberated throughout my intellectual life. It has also been about "living fearlessly with and within difference," as feminists from the Global South often put it (e.g., Trinh 1989; Milczarek-Desai 2002), that is, about an ethical and political practice of alterity that involves a deep concern for social justice, the radical equality of all beings, and nonhierarchy. It's about the difference that all marginalized and subaltern groups have to live with day in and day out, and that only privileged groups can afford to overlook as they act as if the entire world were, or should be, as they see it.

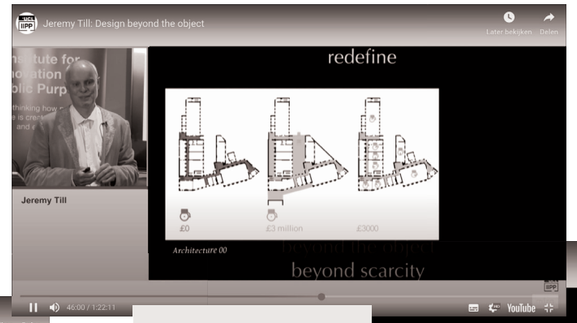
changing the timetable in stead of enlarging the hallway

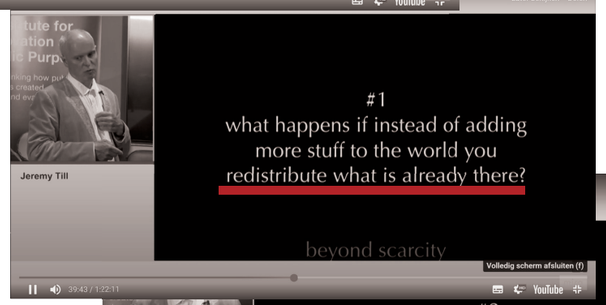
Design beyond the Object - Jeremy Till, UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose (sept. 25 2018), found on YouTube

The main conclusion of Till is that we as designers should rethink the concept of scarcity, and aknowledge that this is a construct and reconsider our desires. He stresses the importance of redistribution of the sources we already have. In order to design for a more just society, the role of the designer should be redefined.Furthermore, the focus of design should shift beyond the object to temporal, relational and social aspects of design.

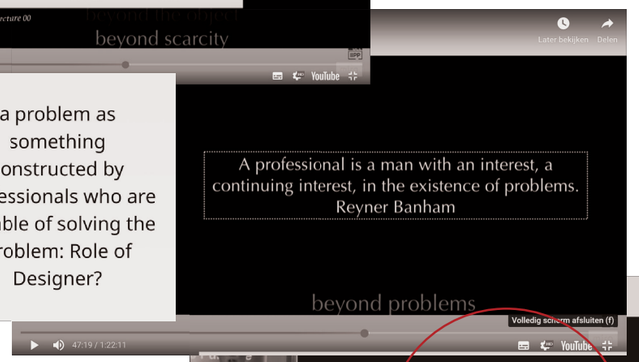


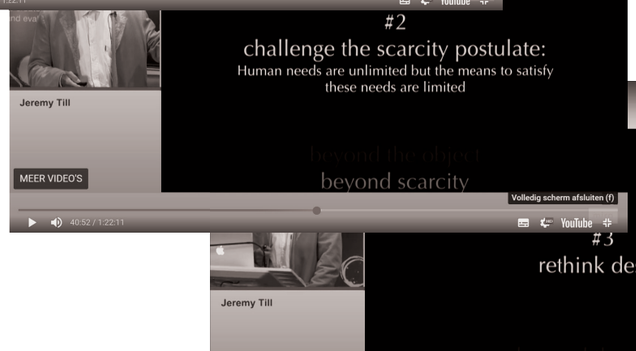


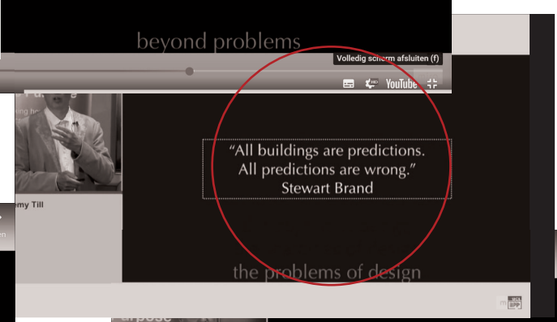


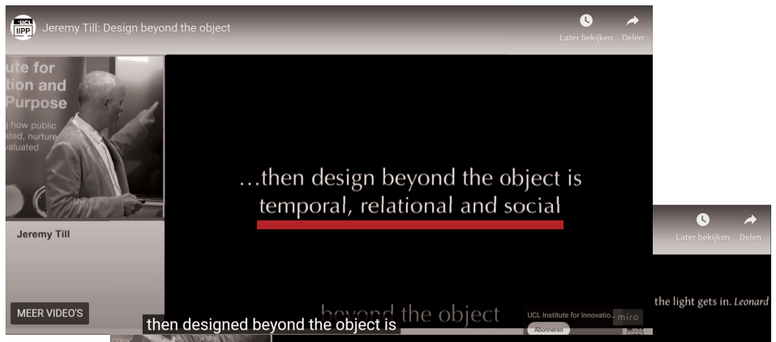


a problem as something constructed by professionals who are capable of solving the problem: Role of Designer?

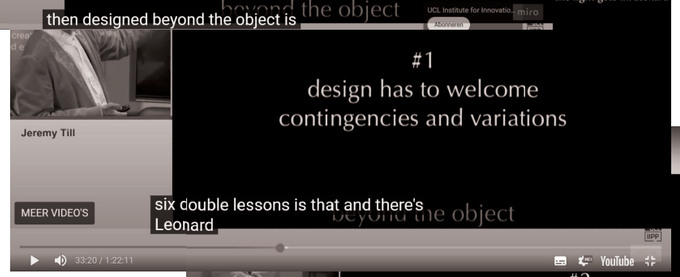




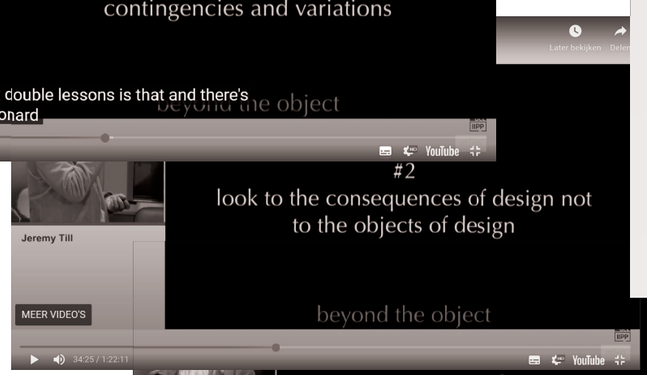


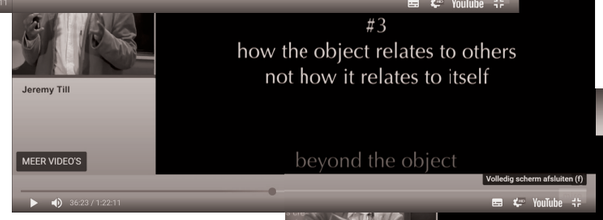




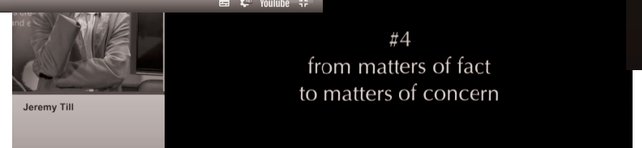


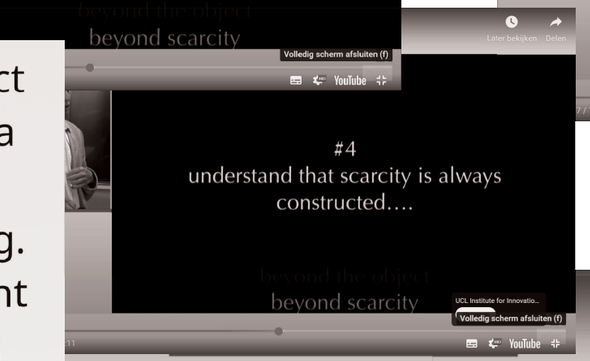
Forget your perfect offering, there is a crack, there is a crack in everything. That's how the light gets in - Leonard Cohen





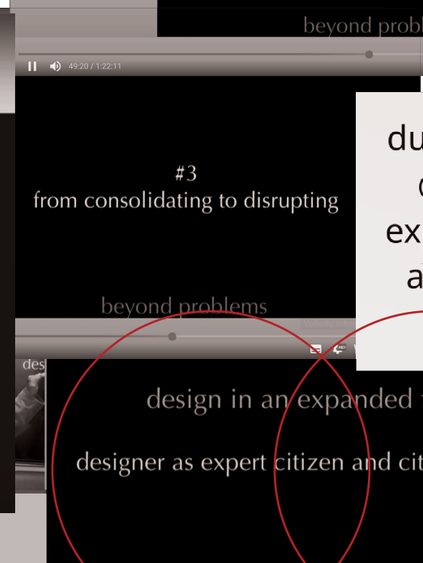
quote of bruno latour





"A house may be large or small; as long as the surrounding houses are equally small it satisfies all social demands for a dwelling. But let a palace arise beside the little house, and it shrinks from a little house to a hut. The little house shows now that its owner has only very slight or no demands to make; and however high it may shoot up in the course of civilization, if the neighbouring palace grows to an equal or even greater extend, the occupant of the relatively small house will feel more and more uncomfortable, dissatisfied and cramped within its four walls."
Karl Marx





duality of the designer: expert citizen and citizen expert

04.07. **RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE**

The Political Economy of Public Space - David Harvey

Harvey explains that the relation of the public sphere as arena of political deliberation and participation fundamental to democratic governance, is a long standing concept. Public space shapes identity and association and public space determines if a democracy functions properly or not.
In the age of virtual communities, the physical space matters even more, Harvey states. Furthermore, he explains the limitation of democratic participation in public space due to the presence of video-cameras at every corner, the growing presence of privatized spaces, segregated suburbs and gated communities.

The city is not a blank space, but influences our stance in the world and our political thinking and acting. Our social-geographical perceptions influence politics in the public sphere.
In the text, Harvey unpacked the example of second empire paris, where changes in the public space had deep implications for society.

He shares a poem, where a wealthy woman sits outside of a café. Outside of the café, she sees a man and his son, both in rags, looking 'poor'. Then, she complains and asks the waiter to send them away. They are destroying her view and care-free moment on the terrace.
Harvey uses this example to explain the unclear boundaries of public and private space: The private interest of the café influences the behaviour that is allowed on the public streets of Paris.
He explains that hierarchical relations, those of class and gender in particular, shape the political economy of everyday life. That the poem of the woman at the café can still be applied to our modern-day cities.

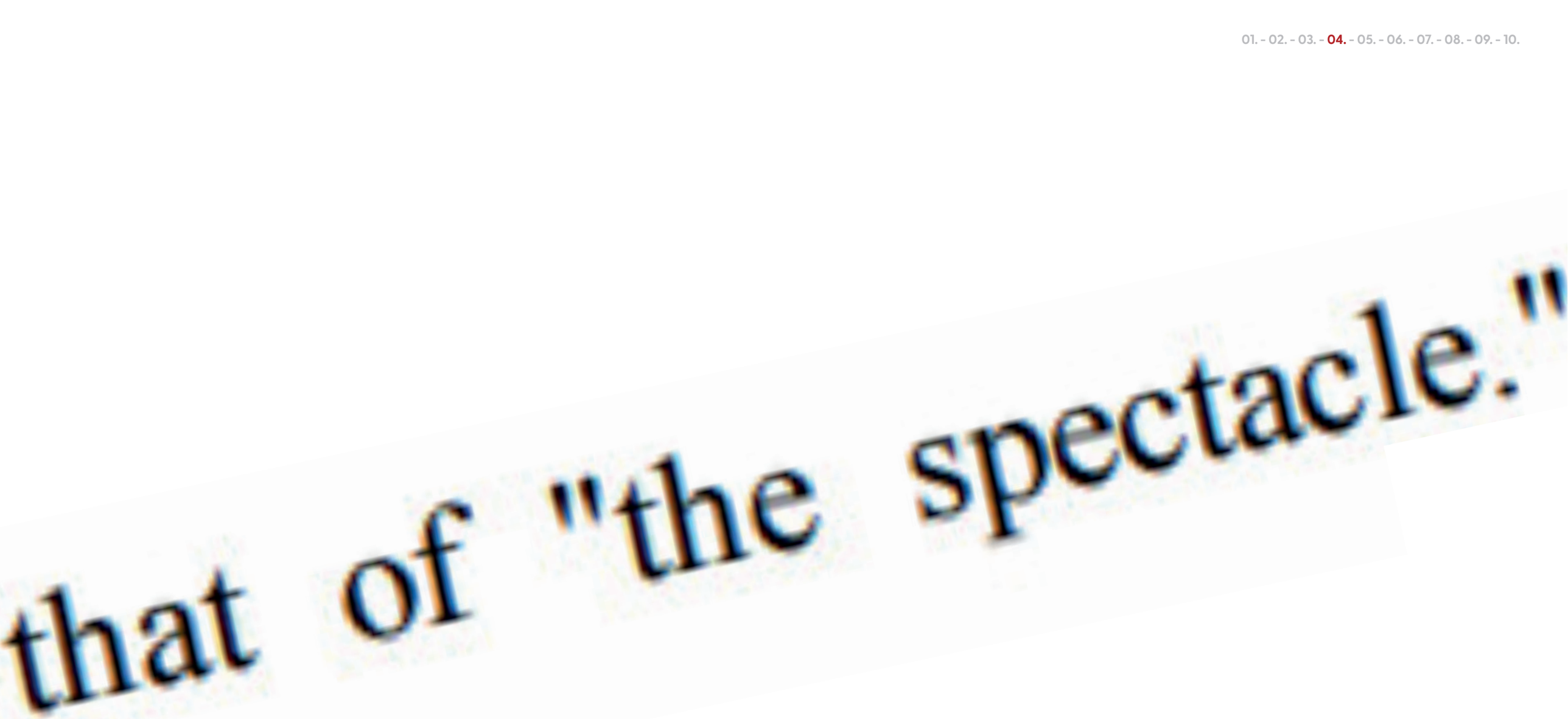
He explains that in Paris, the Boulevards are an example of the state protecting the private property of the bourgeois, by shaping the public space for their benefit. The Boulevards became the area of flaneur for the rich, not by military presence, but by investing in the public space. By these public investments along the lines of property of the Bourgeois, public investments would benefit private interest.

Also, by changing the housing type in Paris from a situation where the lower floors were for the rich and the top floors for the less-wealthy, into segregated and homogeneous districts, the limited interaction between different classes was purposefully designed out of the city.
In doing so, the city became an image for passive consumerism, rather than a place for active engagement. Harvey calls this 'the spectacle'. 'The sociality of the boulevards was now as much controlled indirectly by the commercial activity around it as by police power'.

In the spectacle, women had a prominent role as sellers and buyers. This image was highly related to sexual desires. The public became the place to express oneself, by what one bought, rather than by expressing what one thinks. This was kept in private. The levels of anxiety of the bourgeois grew: the poor were everywhere in Paris. The spectacle was an attempt to de-politicize the public spaces. However, Harvey explains, the spectacle is inherently about competition and difference. The Boulevards were a form of colonization of the public space, he concludes.

Harvey concludes that public space in itself is not necessarily political, but that the relation of public space with (semi-)private space and the connection with the institutional are a crucial part of the political dimension of public space: The question of who owns the right to the city, is key.




that of "the spectacle."

04.07. RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE

The Political Economy of Public Space - David Harvey

with the construction of virtual communities the physicality of spatial organization seems scarcely to matter any more

The idea of the "public sphere" as an arena of political deliberation and participation, and therefore as fundamental to democratic governance, has a long and distinguished history. The imagery of the Athenian *agora* as the physical space wherein that democratic ideal might be attained has also had a powerful hold upon the political imagination. As a result some kind of association or even identity has been forged between the proper shaping of urban public space and the proper functioning of democratic governance in the public sphere. The status of this association is, perhaps for good reason, often left extremely vague. For some it seems to function merely as a convenient metaphor and with the arrival of the internet and the construction of "virtual communities" the physicality of spatial organization seems scarcely to matter any more. Others will ask more pointedly how it might be possible to encourage political participation in an urban world constructed out of segregated suburbs, gated communities, privatized spaces and tightly surveilled shopping malls and downtown streets monitored (thanks, these days, to some shadowy form of governance called a "business partnership") with a video-camera at every corner.

Struggles to engage politically due to segregation and video-camera's everywhere

linkage between them. We do not, after all, experience the city blankly and much of what we do absorb from that daily experience (be it the long drag of the commute, the jostle of subway crowds, the blandness of the shopping mall, the elegance or grandeur of certain forms of urban architecture, the panhandlers on the sidewalk or the peace and beauty of an urban park) surely has some kind of influence upon how we are situated in the world and think and act politically accordingly. Conversely, firmly held political about. If, for example, suburbanites are consumed by mortal fear of some place called "the inner city" and therefore avoid it like the plague, then not only do they fail ever to situate themselves in that space but in so doing diminish the prospects for any kind of political alliance between city and suburban interests. If inner city residents view suburban life as flat, dull, homogenizing and boring, then they too will be less likely to warm to the political agendas of their suburban counterparts. There is therefore, an intriguing mix

likely to warm to the political agendas of their suburban counterparts. There is therefore, an intriguing mix

of socio-geographical perceptions, expectations and material conditions at work which need to be unpacked if we are to think more cogently about how urban design in general and the shaping of urban public space in particular might influence politics in the public sphere.

socio-geographicpercepti ons, expectations and material condations that need to be unpacked

case study: radical reorganization of public space in Second Empire Paris that caused political implications, directly or indirectly

A case study or two on this topic might in this regard be helpful. So I here take up a particular example of how the radical reorganization of public space in Second Empire Paris might have had, directly or indirectly, political implications. I choose this case in part because I am reasonably familiar with it and have often reflected, inspired by a wide range of penetrating commentators such as Walter Benjamin, Richard Sennett, Marshall Berman and T.J.Clark, upon the political effects and meanings of Haussmann's works. But the case also has the advantage of being in some ways emblematic. Robert Moses, after all,

What is so remarkable about this prose poem is not only the way in which it depicts the contested character of public space and the inherent porosity of the boundary between the public and the private (the latter even including a lover's thoughts provoking a lover's quarrel), but how it generates a sense of space where ambiguities of proprietorship, of aesthetics, of social relations (class and gender in particular) and the political economy of everyday life collide. It is also, incidentally, remarkable to think how easy it might be to transpose the incident and the diverse emotions expressed from 1860s Paris to, say, any up-scale street cafe in 1990s New York, ("history and all mythology pandering to gluttony" often seems a very apt expression for the decor), though it would then have been the mayor, Guiliani, who would be appealed to as "proprietor" to send the poor family away (as indeed he did with many of the homeless).

complexity of space (both public and private)

The cafe is not exactly a private space either; it is a space within which a selective public is allowed for commercial and consumption purposes. The poor family sees it as an exclusionary space, internalizing the gold that has been appropriated from them. The cafe projects an illuminated image outwards onto the public space just as it spills outwards onto the sidewalk. The poor can neither evade nor ignore it. They are forced to confront it in exactly the same way that the occupants of the cafe cannot avoid seeing them. The porosity of the boundary forms a zone of surprising and potentially conflictual contact.

taken control of the boulevards. The new boulevards were construed as public spaces to facilitate the state's protection of bourgeois private property. They should not be open, therefore, to those who might challenge (or even appear to challenge by virtue of their rags) the bourgeois social order.

taken control of the boulevards. The new boulevards were construed as public spaces to facilitate the state's protection of bourgeois private property. They should not be open, therefore, to those who might challenge (or even appear to challenge by virtue of their rags) the bourgeois social order.

Military domination was, however, but a minor aspect of what the new boulevards were about. To begin with, they were public investments designed to prime the pump of private profit in the wake of the seriou economic recession of 1847-9. Deficit financed, they were a manifestation of what we later came to know a

economic recession of 1847-9. Deficit financed, they were a manifestation of what we later came to know as

some mix of civilian and military Keynesianism. As such, they did much to revive the economy and enhance the values of private property both directly and indirectly. Land and property owners, some of whom early on resisted expropriation, came more and more to favor it as the Second Empire progressed (in part because they managed to inflate land and property prices to their own advantage). Clearly, the meaning of the new public spaces depended in large measure upon the private interests (such as landowneres, developers, construction interests and workers, commerce of all kinds) they supported.

public investments to pump the private profit

land and property owners came more and more to favor as the Second Empire progressed (due to the opportunity to inflate land and property prices to their own advantage)

Boulevards as constructed public spaces to facilitate the state's protection of bourgeois private property

political revolt) from the center of the city. He strictly mandated design criteria and aesthetic forms for both the public and the private construction on and around the boulevards (with a lasting effect on Parisian architecture and aesthetics). Private activity was forced to support the political goal, which was to shape a certain kind of public space reflective of imperial splendor, military security and bourgeois affluence.

splendor, reflecting back the brilliance of the cafe's illumination. The cafe (an exclusive commercial space) and the boulevard (the public space) form a symbiotic whole in which each validates the other. But this presumes the public space can be properly controlled. The poor, no matter how "worthy," must be excluded from it just as they are from the cafe.

"in the remaking of the city by Haussmann in the 1850s and 1860s the intermixing of classes within districts was reduced by design. Whatever heterogeneity occurred spontaneously in the division of private houses into apartments in the first half of the century was now opposed by an effort to make neighborhoods homogeneous economic units: investors in new construction and renovation found this homogeneity rational in that they knew exactly what kind of area they were putting their capital into. An ecology of *quartiers* as an ecology of classes: this was the new wall Haussmann erected between the citizens of the city as well as around the city itself.....(This) changed the very terms of localism and cosmopolitanism...."

sennet in 'the fall of the public man'

tranformation of the citizen into a mere spectator and consumer

Baudelaire's lover expresses sentiments consistent with these changed terms. She expects class homogeneity within the public space. This is what the new boulevard represents. Her deceived expectations lie behind the violence of her response. Baudelaire, on the other hand, is still in the old Paris, so brilliantly described by Balzac and most famously represented by the iconography of the apartment building layered from a ground floor of tradespeople and artisans, through a first floor of affluent bourgeois or even aristocracy, a third floor of respectable clerks and government bureaucrats, a fourth floor of working class families and finally to upper floors of starving artists, students and the impoverished. Not only are cross-class encounters expected: they are also valued as part of the urban experience. The segregation that set in during the Second Empire was felt by many to have a deleterious political effect because the bourgeoisie no longer had contact and therefore lost its sense of obligation to and moral influence over the lower classes (Baudelaire's decanter and glasses "too big for our thirst" r poor see all their gold upon the walls of the cafe). In co

iconography of apartment buildings

The new image was that of "the spectacle."

which is why the presence of the poor family on the boulevard comes as such a shock. The spectacle "was not a neutral form in which capitalism incidentally happened; it was a form of capital itself, and one of the most effective." Haussmannization was an attempt to put an image "in place of a city which had lost its old means of representation." What had been lost was the idea of the city as a form of sociality, as a potential site for the construction of utopian dreams of a nurturing social order. "The modes of political, economic and ideological representation in which the city had once been constructed, as a contingent unit in and through other social practices" had been dissolved in part by the repressions of 1848 but then further eviscerated under the transfixing power of spectacle. Once the city is imaged by capital solely as spectacle, it can then only be consumed passively, rather than actively created by the populace at large through politicial participation. In the previous social order, the city had been "a horizon of possible collective action and understanding." But, concludes Clark, "all such horizons must be made invisible in societies organized under the aegis of the commodity."

exploitation of woman in the spectacle

It would be wrong, I think, to
the "bourgeois" revolution of
the Boulevard des Capucines (
everyone who was someone t
after midnight). So the boule
and bourgeois (as opposed to
their new cafes to create a mor
(nurtured on the various utopia

The spectacle c
This strongly
conscious plan
civilization in
imperial Rome
slogan of "brea
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department stores and
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commercial activity arc

The increasing power
department stores. T

Women in this had a much more pro
noted in retrospect, particularly targ
Mouret, the proprietor of a pioneer
"techniques of modern big business"
importance," says Mouret:

"was the exploitation of Wo
system of piling up goods,
them. It was Woman the
continually snaring with the
new desire in her weak flesh
succumbing in the first plac
consumed by desire. By
becoming a terrible agency
latest extravagances in fashio
queen, adulated and humour
an amorous queen, whose su
own blood.....(Mouret) was

argue for a complete and radical break in political imagery after 1848. With 1830, the social emphasis shifted from Court to boulevard, but it was solely (North Side) outside of the celebrated cafe Tortoni's that became the place for o be seen between four and seven of an evening (and then within Tortoni's evard was not a Second Empire invention. But the habits of social display aristocratic) power spread rapidly outwards along the new boulevards with e dispersed pattern of social and political proprietorship. The revolutionaries an currents that circulated so strongly in France during the 1830s and 1840s) of the Second Empire had, of course, a purely political aspect (which Clark largely ignores). focussed on the populism of the Napoleonic legend and the idea of imperial power. The for Paris to assume the mantle of imperial Rome and become the head and heart of Europe and beyond was central to Haussmann's efforts. The mobilization of spectacle, as in , became a crucial weapon in the struggle to maintain imperial power (recalling the famous d and circuses"). Court ceremonies, imperial marriages, burials and royal visits, military ularly to celebrate grand victories abroad with the Emperor riding in the vanguard), even ings, were turned into spectacular celebrations in which an adoring public was expected to ore imperial grace, munificence and power. Popular support for the Emperor was often the proliferation of cafes (of the sort that Baudelaire describes), cabarets and theaters at the sociality of the boulevards was now as much controlled indirectly by the ound it as by police power.

of the commodity itself as spectacle was nowhere better expressed than in the new he Bon Marche was the pioneer and it opened in 1852. Such high turnover stores right. The boundary between public and private space was rendered porous; the passage between them became easy, though an army of ushers and salespeople (particularly salesgirls) patrolled behavior in that interior space (much as they continue to do to this day, though now armed with surveillance cameras and more prominent security guards). The effect, however, was to transform the citizen into a mere spectator and consumer. From this standpoint the passivity of politics was tentatively and at least momentarily secured.

ominent role, both as sellers and buyers. The department stores, Zola geted women as consumers. In his novel *Au Bonheur des Dames*, ing department store (modelled on the Bon Marche) explains his to a Baron (modelled, rather obviously, on Haussmann). Of "supreme

man. Everything else led up to it, the ceaseless renewal of capital, the the low prices that attracted people, the marked prices that reassured shops were competing for so fiercely, it was Woman they were ir bargains, after dazzling her with their displays. They had awoken , they were an immense temptation to which she inevitably yielded, e to purchases for the house, then seduced by coquetry and, finally increasing sales tenfold, by making luxury democratic, shops were for spending, ravaging households, working hand in hand with the n, growing ever more expensive. And if, in the shops, Woman was ed in her weaknesses, surrounded with attentions, she reigned there as ubjects trade on her, and who pays for every whim with a drop of her s building a temple to Woman, making a legion of shop assistants

burn incense before her, creating the rites of a new cult; he thought only of her, ceaselessly trying to imagine ever greater enticements; and behind her back, when he had emptied her purse and wrecked her nerves, he was full of the secret scorn of a man to whom a mistress has been stupid enough to yield. 'Get the women,' he said the Baron, laughing impudently as he did so, ' and you'll sell the world.'"

But note something very important here: it was the symbiotic relation between the public and commercial spaces that became crucial. The spectacle of the commodity came to dominate across the private/public divide giving a unity to the two. And while the role of bourgeois women was, in certain respects, much enhanced by this shift in emphasis from the arcades and many small shops as centers of commodity exchange to the department stores and larger scale specialized commercial establishments, it was still their lot to be exploited, though this time as consumers rather than as managers of households. It became both necessary and fashionable for bourgeois women to stroll the boulevards, window-shop, buy and display their acquisitions in public space. They, too, became part of the spectacle (now heavily infused with overtones of sexual desire) that fed upon itself to create an entirely new sense of public space, but one that was defined in commercial and commodity terms overlain with the intangibles of sexual desire. The direct encounter with femininity and fashion on the boulevard brought bourgeois men into these public spaces in droves.

world where one could express onself directly as one was touched by another person; private meant a world where interaction reigned, but it must be in secret.....In the spectacle few men play an active role."

commodity as a spectacle

The mixing that went on in the exterior spaces - the boulevards and the public gardens (such as the Tuilleries) - was also not easy to control, despite the attempts to homogenize neighborhoods and to forge clearly demarcated public spaces. Fournel's 1858 account of what one was likely to encounter on the streets of Paris indicates an incredible mixing of types and genres that must have been a nightmare for the authorities. Policing the public spaces became a problem. The boundary between respectable women and women of easy virtue called for stricter surveillance and the politics of street life - the activities of itinerant musicians and pamphleteers - was a focus of considerable police activity. From this there always arose a sense of insecurity and vulnerability, of bourgeois anxiety behind the turbulent mask of spectacle and commodification. To be effective in the public space, therefore, the network of informers and secret police agents had to penetrate deep into private spaces - concierges were activated as spies, informers were everywhere, "even the walls," advised Proudhon, "have ears." The spectacle might conceal class relations (indeed, that was its primary purpose) but what else might hide within its complex folds? The informal

In Baudelaire's prose poem, bourgeois anxiety (coupled with guilt) is palpable. It is almost as if the the rising power of commodity spectacle to command the public and commercial spaces of the city produces deeper and deeper levels of anxiety and insecurity in the bourgeois personality. Reassurance then depends upon "sending them away." Any continued sign of "their" presence produces a fear of that other who is otherwise concealed.

production of space producing deeper and deeper levels of anxiety and insecurity in the bourgeois personality

"The capitalist order had the power to throw the materials of appearance into a permanently problematical, permanently "mystifying" state....In "public," one observed, one expressed oneself, in terms of what one wanted to buy, to think, to approve of, not as a result of continuous interaction, but after a period of passive, silent, focused attention. By contrast, "private" meant a

But here we encounter the greatest difficulty of all for total bourgeois control over public spaces and the public sphere. The drive, spearheaded by Haussmann, to make the right to the city their exclusive prerogative could not help but create its "other" primarily in the form of an increasingly homogeneous working class city where a quite different symbiotic relationship was set up between private, public and commercial spaces. The division of Paris into a respectable west and a less fortunate and largely neglected east was broadly consolidated by Haussmann's policies (particularly in the field of social provision which Haussmann re-organized on neo-Malthusian lines, thus ending the right to sustenance and welfare as the poor had previously known it).

many commentators at the time are to be believed). The dingy private and commercial spaces in these areas cast a shadow rather than a luster upon the public spaces of the street while the roiling turbulence and animation of street life in working class Paris, where the eyes of the poor were everywhere, could do little to reassure anyone with bourgeois pretensions that this was a secure world. Such spaces were to be feared and most bourgeois steadfastly avoided them apart, that is, from the shopkeepers and small employers who dwelt within their midst.

In a way, this is an all too familiar and dismal story of the ghettoization and segregation of a city, in this instance almost entirely according to class interests and sentiments. But in this case the rambunctiousness of working class Paris provided a seedbed for the growth and expression of a wide range of oppositional political sentiments that later underpinned the complex politics of the Paris Commune of 1871. It was a radically different kind of spectacle that held sway here: a complex mix of what Marx termed "animal spirits" and street theater where intensity of local contacts and confusions masked all manner of plots, including those with political and revolutionary aims. As the dance halls and cabarets became the loci of public meetings on political topics after the liberalization of Empire in 1868 and as political meetings proliferated throughout working class Paris, so bourgeois hegemony over the right to the rest of the city was challenged. Seeping outwards from their own symbiotic fashioning of public, commmercial and private spaces, popular forces more and more asserted a public and collective presence on the boulevards of the bourgeois Paris. The image of hoards of workers descending from Belleville and pouring out onto the public spaces of the city, even, on one occasion in 1869 getting as far as the new Opera house, struck

division of Paris into a respectable west and a less fortunate and largely neglegted east

Political pacification through consumption and arousal of erotic desire has long been a ruse to ensure capitalism's own survival (we live with it every day in our tv commercials). The successive targeting of vulnerable groups, such as bourgeois women in the Second Empire (now, of course, the slogan is "get the children (at the earliest possible age) and you'll sell the world") has long been a critical tactic of commerce. But behind all this, there always lies the symbiotic organization of public/private spaces under the aegis of commodification and spectacle. The hoped for effect is de-politicization. Sennett concludes:

after the revolution

political fear into the bourgeoisie. The boulevards became spaces of political expression, albeit ephemerally, for those whom they were supposed to exclude or control. To this climate of insecurity was added the powerful counter-spectacle of public funerals of noted oppositional figures or even for that matter anyone who had participated in the events of 1848. The authorities had a difficult time repressing them or preventing graveside elegies veering off into political statements. The cemeteries, particularly Pere Lachaise, opened up as public spaces where political memory of a different sort could be exhumed along with future hopes for the city as a body politic. Here was a crucial mobilizing occasion (much as we have seen more recently in Northern Ireland and among Palestinians) that allowed private grief to be parlayed into a public statement. The public spaces of Paris were transformed towards the end of Empire into sites of geopolitical struggles between waring factions in ways that were intensely symbolic of clashing ideologies in the public sphere of politics. The eyes of the poor would not be averted. Nor could they be sent away. The anxiety of the bourgeoisie was justified. The spectacle of the commodity may mask but it can never erase the raw facts of class relations.

public space in connection with the political

So what conclusions can be drawn from this particular case? **Most important, I think, is this: the character of public space counts for little or nothing politically unless it connects symbiotically with the organization of institutional (in this case commercial though in other cases it may be religious or educational institutions that need to be placed in the forefront of consideration) and private spaces.** It is the relational connectivity between public, quasi-public and private spaces which counts when it comes to politics in the public sphere. It was Haussmann's genius to orchestrate this symbiosis on the ground while fortuitously facilitating the stronger presence of the commodity as spectacle in the new Paris that his works helped create. The bourgeois could thereby assert their hegemony in politics as well as in economy at the same time as they claimed privileged access to and control over the public spaces of their city. To back this claim they needed legitimate force and this is what Empire provided in Paris (in much the same way as

focus on relgious and private spaces

Contestation over the construction, meaning and organization of public space only takes effect, therefore, when it succeeds in exercising a transformative influence over private and commercial spaces. Action on only one of these dimensions will have little meaning in and of itself. Attempts to change one dimension may prove worthless or even counterproductive in the absence of connectivity to the others. It is, in the end, the symbiosis between the three that matters. To take a contemporary example, no amount of "new urbanism" understood as urban design, can promote a greater sense of civic responsibility and participation if the intensity of private property arrangements and the organization of commodity as spectacle (of which Disneyfication is the prime example) remains untouched. Empty gestures of this sort with respect to the organization of public space abound. But what the Second Empire case illustrates, is that when connections are made, then the political consequences can be both intense and far-reaching (I believe a parallel argument could be constructed with respect to the Civil Rights movement in the United States inthe 1960s). Both sides of the class divide in Second empire Paris achieved some level of that symbiosis but they did so in such a segregated way as to create a dual city with only a demi-monde and a complex zone of mixing to separate them. The intensity of politics that flowed therefrom had immense consequences for the transformation of Paris as a city. But it also brought the potentiality of the city as a body politic into a violent confrontation with that conception of it as a tabula rasa for the accumulation of capital and the bourgeois pursuit of wealth and power. That was what the Paris Commune was all about

no amount of 'new urbanism' can promote a greater sense of civic responsibility and participation if the intensity of private property arrangements and the organization of commondity as a spectacle remains untouched

04.07. **RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE**

Reclaiming Public Space - Judit Bodnar

In Reclaiming Public Space Judit Bodnar critiques the present-day perception of public space. She argues that present-day perception of public space overlooks the concept as the core of democracy. Commercialization of public space is limiting the ideal of democracy, because it leads to segregation and sterilization of public space. Furthermore, commercialisation has led to the de-politicization of public space, she says and that the effect of commercialisation of public space results in a city, where certain groups can withdraw from public space, resulting in a lack of interaction with civil society. She stresses the importance of public space not being 'neat', 'not only because it is democratic, but because we think it is something good'. Public space cannot only be conceived as a vital concept, but that it has to be considered a physical concept as well. In a time of growing online movements, she says, the body on the street during a demonstration is ever so important.

She stresses the importance of the experience of public space with all its uncomfortable sensations. While in present-day cities, we tend to conceive certain types of behaviour as 'incivil', resulting in the extensive safeguarding of the public space. However, due to insensitivity in controlling the public space, this results in the oppression of certain groups, because their behaviour is perceived as incivil. This should be carefully examined, because the tendency of safeguarding this extensively holds oppressive social norms, she says. She says we have to learn people to deal with the uncomfortable emotions that are a result of being confronted with 'otherness'.

once made cities lively and political; 'there
no demonstrations in Disneyland' (1992:

city was becoming a theme park.

there are no demonstrations in Disneyland

2006). Primarily middle-class citizens became concerned with the apparent spread of behaviour in public that they experienced as disrupting the conduct of everyday life and that they profoundly disapproved of. The broken window thesis seemed to capture and fortify their worries; it suggested that even a bi window that is left unfixed can give s signals about the lack of informal orde community, invite other more serious c and can push neighbourhoods dowr

The simplistic policy talk of incivilities devoid of the sensitivity to make distinctions or see incivilities against the backdrop of oppressive social norms prompted a debate on the virtuous aspect of civility in an extended sense as not merely safeguarding against incivility but making it possible to live with diversity and difference. The terms

Safeguarding or oppressive social norms?

live with diversity and difference. The terms of the debate importantly shifted from a criminological perspective on incivility to a substantive meaning of civility and tolerance

Sorkin described how, along with non-place urban sprawls, the new urbanity was consciously and programmatically preserving and recreating the bare minimum of urban form devoid of the formal and social mix that had once made cities lively and political; 'there are no demonstrations in Disneyland' (1992: xv) he famously remarked. Traditional public space was being co-opted in the process of

Public space is gritty

viour in a historical perspective. People had to be reminded once again that public space is gritty as Richard Sennett (1974) argued long before. Encountering strangers, which

Size, density and heterogeneity laid the conditions for the urban as a way of life for Louis Wirth (1938) – a 'relativistic perspective' and a sense of 'toleration of differences'. Georg Simmel (1971) saw this lead to a typical urban mentality – a fundamental indifference to distinctions, to instances of unfamiliarity or difference which he calls blasé attitude. Erving Goffman (1963)

Urban design and policy on the reduction of encounters with difference

Unknown and unassimilated otherness can produce cognitive and emotional shocks resulting often in avoidance of public space (agoraphobia), intolerant behaviour in public space (Bannister and Kearns, this issue) or incivilities (Boyd, this issue). Why would one want to experience anxiety and fear anyway?

scrutinised. But public space has not quite disappeared either: its pronounced end became the beginning of an extended debate on the topic just as the proclamation of the end of modernity (or, the advent of postmodernity) prompted a serious examination of modern times passed and categories still was Sorkin's volume that

streets also has that effect. Social segregation works against mixing, often aided by urban design which operates on conscious policies of reducing encounters with difference (e.g. Ellin, 2001; Smithsimon, 2010). These attempts became most explicit

means a new form or not. A general understanding came to prevail that public space is not a given, it is changing and the fact that it is in principle accessible to all, and thus profoundly democratic, does not absolve it from political analysis – an awareness that gave a new momentum to the study of the politics of

Public space: co-presence or co-mingling?

in the minds of Scottish moral philosophers' and have kept that association ever since (Boyd, this issue: 868). It is, however, only modern urban conditions with 'the constant and intense proximity of difference' that 'make civility a pressing moral and sociological requirement' (Boyd, this issue: 871). It

The broken window thesis

blasé attitude. Erving Goffman (1963) emphasised a more virtuous aspect of the same mentality by referring to it as civil inattention – a low-profile superficial sociality of co-presence rather than co-mingling.

2010). These attempts became most explicit in the idea of garden cities when planners tried to segregate urban functions and limit frictions along class, ethic and racial lines.

Garden city and limiting friction along class, ethnic and racial lines

encounters with difference as an inherent part of a democratic society

Second, some of these frictions can lead to personal growth. The modern city can turn people outward, 'in the presence of difference people have at least the possibility to step outside themselves' (Sennett, 1990: 123) testing the limits of their personality, skills and creative powers.

Third, experiencing the diversity of the public is part of democratic practice and the foundation of democratic politics with nominal equality among strangers being the maxim of democratic politics. The scale and dimension of difference one can or has to

this issue) bearing mixed outcomes. While many live amidst and engage with diversity, this intensification has also brought a tendency towards segregation and withdrawal from public space. Parallel to the withdrawal of social groups that can afford to, public space has become wildly politicised and contested. Where it was possible the middle class opted out of public presence; where it was not feasible, they tried to reestablish their grip over public space that was 'stolen' from them and had to be reclaimed in the revanchist city (Raco, this issue; Smith, 1996; Uitermark and Duyvendak, 2008). Urban design that promoted gated commu-

Urban design that promoted gated communities or defensible architecture went hand in hand with urban policies of cleansing and policing public space to make it fit for a more select clientele.

ertain groups can afford to withdrawal from public space

Fourth, we want to experience public space with all its fear and grittiness not only because it is democratic but because we think it is something good (Amin, this issue). The urban habit of living with diversity can condition a habit of solidarity with others, which can make societies better: 'The good city might be thought of as the challenge to fashion a progressive politics of well-being and emancipation out of multiplicity and difference and from the particularities of the urban experience' (Amin, this issue: 1012).

Urban design and gated communities

and clearly globalisation and neoliberalisation with the ensuing polarisation and diversification of societies and especially of global cities have only intensified these debates (Bannister and Kearns, this issue). The urban predicament is the same today as it

Rebel city sites (squares such as Tahrir, Taksim, the Maidan or Zuccotti Park/Wall Street) may tell us about the limitations of the shift from a physical to virtual public sphere. 'What Tahrir Square showed to the world was an obvious truth: that it is bodies on the street and in the squares, not the babble of sentiments on Twitter or Facebook, that really matter' concludes David Harvey in his *Rebel Cities* (Harvey, 2012: 162). Is

Rebel cities: bodies on the street matter

empty space

in Tahrir Square, Taksim, the Maidan or on Wall Street: the majority came to concerted action and exercised its power in public space. That public space suddenly became 'more public' was evident, ironical and liberating. Wall Street, which oscillates between an abstract idea of finance it had come to signify and being a concrete physical space, abruptly shifted the balance: 'The "street" in

tion of public sphere. Public space is a provisional political community; its versatility and spontaneity carries the possibility of its own transgression. Public space is inherently political and potentially subversive; it is seen as both the manifestation of reigning political power but also as that of a more inclusive power that can reclaim it temporarily by occupying it for political purposes. Public space is not only instrumental in the social (diversity) education of citizens, it is potentially the place of political expression. The regular Sunday gathering of Filipino domes-

While public life is becoming ever more virtual and even the quintessential urban pastime, flâneurie is moving to virtual space (Featherstone, this issue), there are historical moments which punctuate this general trend, and bring urban public space and the public sphere together once more. This discussion

Public space not only as instrumental, but as potential of political expression

of a steep data mobility tax. A Facebook support group formed in defense of the economic freedom (affordability) of the internet with an unheard number of supporters – 200,000 – but culminated in a traditional demonstration – with around 10,000 participants – occupying prime public space. The Facebook group itself may be an impressive fact, but going to the streets is the 'real thing' even in the case of the Facebook generation. They seem to be aware of the political importance of physical space compared

Public space obeys the general order of cities but its own logic entails uncertainty. Uncertainty, while it can be seen as threatening or disorienting (Bannister and Kearns, this issue) also means possibility; one can transgress the thin sociability of public space, engage with others, care for them, as vendors keep track of their often marginalised regulars at the market place (Watson, this issue), and become part of a concerted political action (Allegra et al., this issue).

The balance between diversity and vibrant use is not easy to find. The proximity of so many different people does not always work seamlessly. Historically, one

04.07. **RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE**

Forms of Activism as Democracy in the City - Gideon Boie & Lieven De Cauter (2021)

Boie and De Cauter explain that the architect as an activist can be considered an oxymoron, due to the fact that the architect always moves in the sphere of power and money, and the activist in contrary to money and power. Therefore, the architect-activist is an interesting link, since architecture is inherently political. The design of buildings and spaces influence the public spaces and therefore the 'publicness' of cities.

In the cities, they say, protest is a long standing ritual performed in public space. It shares important characteristics with events like carnivals or the gay pride parade—festive, collective, emotionally charged, and profoundly political. These are events that shape public life, not just by what they say but by the way they reclaim space through embodied presence.

Politics, in this view, begins the moment bodies enter the street. Public space is not only a product of material conditions—urban planning, architecture, and infrastructure—but also of the actions and interactions that occur within it. Demonstrations and protests are not just events that happen in the city; the city itself becomes the object of political struggle. The question of who owns and shapes the city is fundamentally a question of power, according to Boie and De Cauter (2021).

Importantly, protest is only legitimate when it transcends individual struggle and speaks for those whose voices are otherwise neglected or overlooked. The urban struggle reflects deeper tensions, particularly in how commercial developments—such as the demolition of buildings, the transformation of parks into transit corridors, or the redesign of streets to prioritize cars—systematically strip public space from the general public. In this context, self-governance and collective action become essential tools for resisting the privatization and commodification of the city.

profession of architect and/or the urban disciplines. The oxymoron of architectural activism is, in a sense, the holy grail this text is most interested in as it is the core of our business.[6] It is a difficult one, as architecture is by nature in the service of money and power, while activism is mostly in opposition to money and power. By expanding the concept of architecture and redefining the role of the architect, some practices of architectural activism point in promising directions. Before we start the search for the holy grail of architectural activism, we will have to pass through the city as the ur-scene of political activism.

miro

architecture is by nature in the service of money and power

Demonstrations have existed since the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, even if their origins, as so often, are rather obscure. They might date back to medieval processions. Or even carnival marches. The origins might be also religious: Protestantism seems to point to the origin of the modern meaning of 'protest'. In any case, demonstrations are part of a genealogy of collective rituals in public space. Besides historical lineages, there are indeed undeniable similarities between, say, carnival and the Gay Pride *parade*.

miro

Demonstrations are part of genealogy of collective rituals in public space

The performative logic could be used to distinguish urban activism from politics proper: citizen movements not only use the city as a platform for statements and declarations, they immediately turn the city into the primary object of the struggle through their bodily presence and by taking power – call it authorship, if you want – into their own hands.

The performative logic of politics means that urban activism is an essentially locally based practice evolving around specific conflicts and

citizen movements not only use the city as a platform for statements and declarations, they immediately turn the city into the primary object of the struggle through their bodily presence and by taking power into their own hands

public or private space/property.[37] It is equally important to see how the process of urban commoning opens up a third sphere of action between the individual and the state – common action going beyond public interest and private desires.[38]

A special feature of urban activism is the seemingly apolitical nature, most often explicitly part of the action, even though it is a form of activism that is derived from political activism and tickles political emotions in friend and foe. However, the political neutrality of urban activism is strategic, in the first place as an attempt to steer clear of party politics. The point is that ideology – like

The demonstration is often an archetypal political event with considerable emotional impact. One could write an entire aesthetic of the demonstration, between the extremes of *eros* and *thanatos*, between love and fear. Historian Eric Hobsbawn wrote about demonstrations:

Next to sex, the activity combining bodily experience and intense emotion to the highest degree is the participation in a mass demonstration at a time of great public exaltation. Unlike sex, which is essentially individual, it is by its nature collective ... like sex it implies some physical action – marching, chanting

12 As we saw in Russia during the

aesthetics of the demonstrations are between the extremes of love and fear

Another characteristic of urban activism is the shift of agency from the subject to the object. The change of one building or street will not solve the

urban activism: turning agency from the subject to the object

religion and morality – is not helpful in uniting a community around a certain cause and certainly not helpful in reaching out to people with different interests and desires. On the contrary, ideology, religion and morality are the perfect tool to divide people into ever smaller subgroups by zooming in on differences. Political neutrality is also a necessity as urban activism will have to deal with city authorities and public institutions that are staffed with people who adhere to different moral principles and ideological beliefs – also considering that after each election, political representatives change position between executive power and opposition. This means that the very same action can be profoundly political in the meaning of raising an issue around urban developments that would otherwise pass unnoticed and profoundly apolitical in its relation to specific ideological, religious or moral differences.

Many of the methods of urban activism are derived from its political twin. The most evident is perhaps the

slogans, singing – through which the merger of the individual in the mass, which is the essence of the collective experience, finds expression.[13]

This might be a humorous overstatement or a fit of Marxist exuberance, but it points to the existential nature that participation in a demonstration can have. Alain Badiou also links love and politics in his book on love: the intensity of politics can lead to love, and vice versa.[14] Maybe we should see this as political romanticism, even if some films attest to this mixture of love and politics, such as Bernardo Bertolucci's film *Dreamers*. In any case,

love and politics

their future environment.[33] This definition allows us to answer the typical critique that urban activism is often the hobby horse of the educated white middle class, who want to fashion their neighbourhood 'to their hearts' liking' (safe, cosy and green) and who, in doing so, instigate gentrification. If democracy means anything, local residents are not just defending their own interests but ideally integrate the voices of other excluded voices, i.e. people that are usually left out of public consultation or are less likely to take a prominent role in community building.

urban activism as the hobby horse of the educated white middle class

turned into a self-governed space fully equipped with all the services the people needed to sustain their presence at the roundabout, i.e. kitchens, toilets, first-aid units, sleeping tents, prayer corners, etc. Butler claims as a result that public space is not an intrinsic quality of the material conditions of the square but only comes into being during the action. Part of the argument is that politics is not only about statements and declarations, but also performative: politics happens in the moment that bodies gather on the street.

protest spaces turn into fully self-governed areas

the redistribution of public space was put on the agenda, making streets less car-oriented and creating space for everyday activities in local neighbourhoods. Today the reclaiming is also about resisting the demolition of buildings for the purpose of real-estate speculation, the razing of woods for urban development, the use of parks as thoroughfares, etc. In all these cases, the commoning is not only about going against dubious government decisions, most often it is also about forcing the authorities to respect their own laws, treaties and agreements, thus functioning as an ethical call. Usually the urban commons are presented as the opening of a third 'common' sphere between the set demarcations of public and private domains, even going beyond the difference: the temporary urban commons can be organized on either

warehouse) in Amsterdam. The squatting movement became world famous under the name 'Provo', a movement that claimed the right of squatting to use abandoned buildings as a cheap solution for alternative housing and (creative) working. Squatting is the ur-scene of urban activism, in itself often not activist but bare necessity. Through its fun, apolitical activities, it functions as a lever for the reanimation of neighbourhoods, especially when there is a crossover with art and culture. The link between squatting and urban revitalization has been theorized by Edward Soja in terms of third spaces in the city. He referred to the Provos in downtown Amsterdam.[41] Richard Florida's theory of the creative class and how it changes the city was particularly successful as a blueprint for new urban development, a rather cynical fact considering that squatting is rooted in the need for housing.[42] There are

04.07. RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE

The Reflective Practitioner - Donald A. Schön (1983)
Schön critiques the Technical Rationalist framework of science, concluding that the framwork makes it impossible to comprehend the complexity and 'messiness' of present day questions. He proposes a new model: Reflection- in -action. By aknowledging the intuitive aspect of science, Schön explains, we can gain a more comprehensive understanding of the methods and descisions that are made during research. This understanding is relevant, since it influences the conclusions of research. The method of reflection-in-action can broaden our understanding of the world.

than to open up inquiry. It is as though the practitioner says to his academic colleague, "While I do not accept *your* view of knowledge, I cannot describe my own." Sometimes, indeed, the practitioner appears to say, "My kind of knowledge is indescribable," or even, "I will not attempt to describe it lest I paralyze myself." These attitudes have contributed to a widening rift between the universities and the professions, research and practice, thought and action. They feed into the university's familiar dichotomy between the "hard" knowledge of science and scholarship and the "soft" knowledge of artistry and unvarnished opinion. There is nothing here to guide practitioners who wish to gain a better understanding of the practical uses and limits of research-based knowledge, or to help scholars who wish to take a new view of professional action.

We are in need of inquiry into the epistemology of practice. What is the kind of knowing in which competent practitioners engage? How is professional knowing like and unlike the kinds of knowledge presented in academic textbooks, scientific papers, and learned journals? In what sense, if any, is there intellectual rigor in professional practice?

of these cases, I begin with the assumption that competent practitioners usually know more than they can say. They exhibit a kind of knowing-in-practice, most of which is tacit. Nevertheless, starting with protocols of actual performance, it is possible to construct and test models of knowing. Indeed, practitioners themselves often reveal a capacity for reflection on their intuitive knowing in the midst of action and sometimes

The heart of this study is an analysis of the distinctive structure of reflection-in-action. I shall argue that it is susceptible to a kind of rigor that is both like and unlike the rigor of scholarly research and controlled experiment. I shall also consider the question of its limits, some of which derive from myths about the relation of thought to action, while others are grounded in powerful features of the interpersonal and institutional contexts that we create for ourselves.

As one author asked, are we seeing the professionalization of nearly everyone?[2]

But although we are wholly dependent on them, there are increasing signs of a crisis of confidence in the professions.

The nation had been enmeshed in a disastrous war which had caused it to seem at war with itself. The professional representatives of science, technology, and public policy had done very little to prevent or stop that war or to heal the rifts it produced. On the contrary, professionals seemed to have a vested interest in prolonging the conflict.

A series of announced national crises—the deteriorating cities, poverty, the pollution of the environment, the shortage of energy—seemed to have roots in the very practices of science, technology, and public policy that were being called upon to alleviate them.

Government-sponsored "wars" against such crises seemed not to produce the expected results; indeed, they often seemed to exacerbate the crises. The success of the space program seemed not to be replicable when the problems to be solved were the tangled socio-techno-politico-economic predicaments

of public life. The concept of the "technological fix" came into bad odor. Indeed, some of the solutions advocated by professional experts were seen as having created problems as bad as or worse than those they had been designed to solve. Just as urban renewal had emerged in the early sixties as a destroyer of neighborhoods, its unexpected consequences attributed by critics like William Alonso to the weakness of its underlying theory, so in fields as diverse as housing, criminal justice, social services, welfare, and transportation, the most promising solutions, painstakingly worked out and advocated by the experts, came to be seen as problematic.[22] They were ineffective, they created new problems, they were derived from theories which had been shown to be fragile and incomplete. To some critics, the public predicaments of the society began to seem less like problems to be solved through expertise than like dilemmas whose resolutions could come about only through moral and political choice.[23]

Advocates for peace and for the civil rights of minorities joined forces and turned against the experts whom they saw as instruments of an all-powerful establishment. Around such issues as environmental pollution, consumer exploitation, the inequity and high cost of medical care, the perpetuation of social injustice, scientists and scientifically trained professionals found themselves in the unfamiliar role of villain.

the professionals themselves, the long-standing professional claim to a monopoly of knowledge and social control is challenged—first, because professionals do not live up to the values and norms which they espouse, and second, because they are ineffective.

Professionals claim to contribute to social well-being, put their clients' needs ahead of their own, and hold themselves accountable to standards of competence and morality. But both popular and scholarly critics accuse the professions of their obligations to public service, and failing to police themselves effectively.[24] As one observer put it, "the more powerful the professions, the more serious the dangers of laxness in concern for public service and zealousness in promoting the practitioners' interests."[25] Surveys of client populations reveal a widespread belief that professionals overcharge for their services, discriminate against the poor and powerless in favor of the rich and powerful, and refuse to make themselves accountable to the public.[26] Among younger professionals

The crisis of confidence in the professions, and perhaps also the decline in professional self-image, seems to be rooted in a growing skepticism about professional effectiveness in the larger sense, a skeptical reassessment of the professions' actual contribution to society's well-being through the delivery of competent services based on special knowledge. Clearly, this skepticism is bound up with the questions of professional self-interest, bureaucratization, and subordination to the interests of business or government. But it also hinges centrally on the question of professional knowledge. Is professional knowledge adequate to fulfill the espoused purposes of the professions? Is it sufficient to meet the societal demands which the professions have helped to create?

The crisis of confidence in the professions may not depend solely on the question of professional knowledge. On the other

hand, even the muckrakers and radical critics, who emphasize professional self-interest and subordination to class-interest, envisage a purification and restructuring of the professions so that society may gain a fuller, more justly distributed access to the benefits of their special knowledge.[32] There remains,

ter of the situations of practice—the complexity, uncertainty, instability, uniqueness, and value conflicts which are increasingly perceived as central to the world of professional practice.

In such fields as medicine, management, and engineering, for example, leading professionals speak of a new awareness of a complexity which resists the skills and techniques of traditional expertise. As physicians have turned their attention from

labor has become obsolete. Professionals are called upon to perform tasks for which they have not been educated, and "the

niche no longer fits the education, or the education no longer fits the niche."[35]

managers are not confronted with problems that are independent of each other, but with dynamic situations that consist of complex systems of changing problems that interact with each other. I call such situations *messes*. Problems are abstractions extracted from messes by analysis; they are to messes as atoms are to tables and charts . . . Managers do not solve problems: they manage messes.[40]

Ackoff argues that operations research has allowed itself to become identified with techniques, mathematical models, and algorithms, rather than with "the ability to formulate management problems, solve them, and implement and maintain their solutions in turbulent environments."[41] Problems are interconnected, environments are turbulent, and the future is indeterminate just in so far as managers can shape it by their actions. What is called for, under these conditions, is not only the analytic techniques which have been traditional in operations research, but the active, synthetic skill of "designing a desirable future and inventing ways of bringing it about."[42]

In some professions, awareness of uncertainty, complexity, instability, uniqueness, and value conflict has led to the emergence of professional pluralism. Competing views of professional practice—competing images of the professional role, the central values of the profession, the relevant knowledge and skills—have come into good currency. Leston Havens has written about the "babble of voices" which confuses practitioners in the field of psychotherapy.[47] Social workers have produced multiple, shifting images of the nature of their practice, as have architects and town planners.[48] Each view of professional practice represents a way of functioning in situations of indeterminacy and value conflict, but the multiplicity of conflicting views poses a predicament for the practitioner who must choose among multiple approaches to practice or devise his own way of combining them.

If it is true that professional practice has at least as much to do with finding the problem as with solving the problem found, it is also true that problem setting is a recognized professional activity. Some physicians reveal skills in finding the prob-

with the indeterminacies and value conflicts of practice. It seems, rather, that they are disturbed because they have no satisfactory way of describing or accounting for the artful competence which practitioners sometimes reveal in what they do. They find it unsettling to be unable to make sense of these processes in terms of the model of professional knowledge which they have largely taken for granted. Complexity, instability, and uncertainty are not removed or resolved by applying specialized knowledge to well-defined tasks. If anything, the effective use of specialized knowledge depends on a prior restructuring of situations that are complex and uncertain. An artful

lished techniques to recurrent events. Problem setting has no place in a body of professional knowledge concerned exclusively with problem solving. The task of choosing among competing paradigms of practice is not amenable to professional expertise.

The events which led from the "triumphant professions" of

of systematic, scientific professional knowledge. For Glazer, the development of a scientific knowledge base depends on fixed, unambiguous ends because professional practice is an instrumental activity. If applied science consists in cumulative, empirical knowledge about the means best suited to chosen ends, how can a profession ground itself in science when its ends are confused or unstable?

In the evolution of every profession there emerges the researcher-theoretician whose role is that of scientific investigation and theoretical systematization. In technological professions, a division of labor thereby evolves between the theory-oriented and the practice-oriented person. Witness the physician who prefers to attach himself to a medical research center rather than to enter private prac

The answer to this question lies in the last three hundred years of the history of Western ideas and institutions. Technical Rationality is the heritage of Positivism, the powerful philosophical doctrine that grew up in the nineteenth century as an account of the rise of science and technology and as a social movement aimed at applying the achievements of science and technology to the well-being of mankind. Technical Rationality is the Positivist epistemology of practice. It became institutionalized in the modern university, founded in the late nineteenth century when Positivism was at its height, and in the professional schools which secured their place in the university in the early decades of the twentieth century.

increasingly powerful scientific world-view. As the scientific world-view gained dominance, so did the idea that human progress would be achieved by harnessing science to create technology for the achievement of human ends. This Techno-

triumphs of science and technology and to purge mankind of the residues of religion, mysticism, and metaphysics which still prevented scientific thought and technological practice from wholly ruling over the affairs of men. It was in this spirit that, in the first half of the nineteenth century, Auguste Comte first expressed the three principal doctrines of Positivism. First, there was the conviction that empirical science was not just a form of knowledge but the only source of positive knowledge of the world. Second, there was the intention to cleanse men's minds of mysticism, superstition, and other forms of pseudo-knowledge. And finally, there was the program of extending scientific knowledge and technical control to human society, to make technology, as Comte said, "no longer exclusively geometrical, mechanical or chemical, but also and primarily political and moral."[32]

From the perspective of Technical Rationality, professional practice is a process of problem *solving*. Problems of choice

or decision are solved through the selection, from available means, of the one best suited to established ends. But with this emphasis on problem solving, we ignore problem *setting*, the process by which we define the decision to be made, the ends to be achieved, the means which may be chosen. In real-world practice, problems do not present themselves to the practitioner as givens. They must be constructed from the materials

tioner as givens. They must be constructed from the materials of problematic situations which are puzzling, troubling, and uncertain. In order to convert a problematic situation to a problem, a practitioner must do a certain kind of work. He must make sense of an uncertain situation that initially makes no sense. When professionals consider what road to build, for example, they deal usually with a complex and ill-defined situation in which geographic, topological, financial, economic, and political issues are all mixed up together. Once they have somehow decided what road to build and go on to consider how best to build it, they may have a problem they can solve by the application of available techniques; but when the road they have built leads unexpectedly to the destruction of a neighborhood, they may find themselves again in a situation of uncertainty.

the situation needs to be changed. Problem setting is a process in which, interactively, we *name* the things to which we will attend and *frame* the context in which we will attend to them.

present itself as an instrumental problem. But when ends are confused and conflicting, there is as yet no "problem" to solve.

There are those who choose the swampy lowlands. They deliberately involve themselves in messy but crucially important problems and, when asked to describe their methods of inquiry, they speak of experience, trial and error, intuition, and muddling through.

Other professionals opt for the high ground. Hungry for technical rigor, devoted to an image of solid professional competence, or fearful of entering a world in which they feel they do not know what they are doing, they choose to confine themselves to a narrowly technical practice.

To Schein, the gap lies in the fact that basic and applied sciences are "convergent," whereas practice is "divergent." He believes that some professions have already achieved, and that others will eventually achieve, "a high degree of consensus on the paradigms to be used in the analysis of phenomena and . . . what constitutes the relevant knowledge base for practice."[42] Nevertheless, Schein also believes that the prob-

They may ask themselves, for example, "What features do I notice when I recognize this thing? What are the criteria by which I make this judgment? What procedures am I enacting when I perform this skill? How am I framing the problem that I am trying to solve?" Usually reflection on knowing-in-action goes together with reflection on the stuff at hand. There is some puzzling, or troubling, or interesting phenomenon with which the individual is trying to deal. As he tries to make sense of it, he also reflects on the understandings which have been implicit in his action, understandings which he surfaces, criticizes, restructures, and embodies in further action.

It is this entire process of reflection-in-action which is central to the "art" by which practitioners sometimes deal well with situations of uncertainty, instability, uniqueness, and value conflict.

proved successful," you are noticing, at the very least, that you have been doing something right, and your "feeling" allows you to do that something again. When you "study those win-

stable, the practitioner may surface and criticize his initial understanding of the phenomenon, construct a new description of it, and test the new description by an on-the-spot experiment. Sometimes he arrives at a new theory of the phenomenon by articulating a feeling he has about it.

ous in its own right, and links the art of practice in uncertainty and uniqueness to the scientist's art of research. We may

discoveries. And if they are good designers, they will reflect-in-action on the situation's back-talk, shifting stance as they do so from "what if?" to recognition of implications, from involvement in the unit to consideration of the total, and from exploration to commitment.

04.07. **RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE**

What is the radical imagination? - Max Haiven & Alex Khasnabish

The essence of radical imagination is to adress the root causes of certain issues. Radical Imagination has been used for all kinds of causes, amond which to imagine the concept of the radical democracy, by the group Socialisme ou Barbarie for example. One member, Cornelius Castoriadis, thought of imagination as something that was neither good nor bad.

The text also explains that the with privitization of the social life in present-day neoliberal system has resulted in a lack of shared social imaginaries and imaginaries on the public sphere.

We conclude that radical imaginary could be an interesting method to explore within this thesis on radical pluralist democracy.

Crisis has always accompanied capitalism – indeed it is internal to it and infinitely productive of it. Today, the social crises of neoliberal capitalism, so evident and provocative throughout the rest of the world, have finally come "home" to the global North in the form of a cataclysmic financial crisis wreaking havoc on the lives of people, workers and communities, intensifying already intolerable injustices and inequalities and serving as a pretense for the acceleration of surveillance, policing and militarization. Amidst the current financial crisis we are catching a glimpse of the compounded nature of our global predicament: the social crisis of societies in shock after decades of neoliberal abuse; the ecological crisis born of 150 years of rapacious industrial expansion, colonialism, and "development"; the crisis of subjectivity as we lonely, atomized consumers seek out meaning and personal worth in a world of artifice, isolation, and relentless commodification.

delusion which perpetuate the status-quo. On the other, the ability to imagine the world, social institutions and human (and non-human) relationships *otherwise* is vital to any radical project. Indeed, as numerous commentators and theorists point out, we can't do *without* the radical imagination, both on the level of our movements and on the level of our everyday lives – the ability to believe that things can be better -- is a key part of our social, psychological and spiritual lives (for better or for worse). But even if we acknowledge that we can't do without the radical imagination that still doesn't tell us what *it* is or what we might be able to do with it. These are the kinds of provocations we take up in this issue of *Affinities*, but without suggesting we or our contributors have anything approaching definitive answers (indeed, definitive answers may not be possible). We do, however, have an abundance of questions.

In general, however, this collection takes up the radical imagination in terms of *horizons of socio-political possibility*, the possibility of dynamic and shared visions animating and animated by individuals and collectives as they struggle. These visions guide their movements toward new social worlds. Exploring these horizons and their significance, the following questions guide us:

- In this vein, what do we make of "radical" imagination on the right and of the recent success in reactionary, xenophobic, bigoted and fascistic tendencies? Are the ways they pose their alternatives examples of a "radical" imagination?
- In a moment when elites have turned to hollow invocations of hope, imagination, and possibility, how is the (radical) imagination being colonized by the cultural and everyday matrixes of power relations? By the media? By racism? By patriarchy? By colonialism? By capitalism? How can this colonization be fought?

In the remainder of this editorial we, as editors, have provided a brief overview of the politics of the imagination and a cursory survey of some notable theories of the radical imagination. We have chosen to interlace radical theory and

What is Radial Imagination?

radical practices to highlight the dialogic relationship at the heart of the radical imagination. We do not strive here for any sort of comprehensive history. Instead, we are trying to delineate a "genealogy" which tells one story of how our present moment came to be. As such, we beg the indulgence and forgiveness of all those who have struggled and thought whom we have omitted.

The term radical stems from the Latin word for "root" and bespeaks a concern for the origins and "root causes" of things. It implies looking beyond surface or imagination really originated. David Graeber, for one, has suggested that the European fascination with culture, creativity and imagination was spurred by Europeans' often violent encounters with radically "other" cultures through colonialism; cultures that, in many cases, posed an egalitarian model of social organization against the rigid hierarchies of feudal and mercantilist Europe.[5] Similarly, as Debbie Lee has argued, the notion of the Romantic Imagination was fundamentally inspired by the forms of anti-slavery and anti-colonial resistance of the day.[6] It is notable too that many of the early theorists of the imagination, including Descartes, Hume, Spinoza and Kant were aware of and responding to massive social upheaval within Europe where commoners were demanding radically new forms of governance and radical Protestant movements were pronouncing egalitarian and anarchistic approaches to scripture and social

This approach came under two levels of critique. Critics like Karl Marx argued that social institutions were far from "merely imaginary" but were, instead, based in the material power relations and the institutionalization of power throughout society.[11] These structures may have an imaginary dimension to them, but they were backed both by the repressive power of the state as well as the whole economic system of which they were a part. Simply imagining away the problem was no solution and art, in and of itself, was not a revolution. Conversely, Marx and others were to point out that the imagination is never a pure, unmediated effusion of the human soul but is always shaped, conditioned and guided by one's socialization. In other words, we can never fully imagine

and imperial regimes justified their domination. On the one hand, non-European cultures were seen as *too* imaginative: ascribing supernatural powe to non-human actors, inanimate objects, "fetishes" and "false" gods.[15] On the other hand, they were seen as *not imaginative enough* and incapable of *real* creativity or social evolution, locked in the benighted past and in need of Western "guidance" and "tutelage." Similarly, women were seen as both too imaginative and not imaginative enough. On the one hand, women were

imaginative and not imaginative enough. On the one hand, women were

Max Haiven and Alex Khasnabish

"scientifically" proven to be prone to a dangerous imaginative surplus, manifesting in "hysteria" and other maladies that skewed their sense of reality. Women were thought to be incapable of reason and proportion, thus justifying their exclusion from social power.[16] On the other hand, women were seen as inherently banal and obsessed with the mundane and the petty, incapable of great creative acts of the imagination, and so their artistic, technological, intellectual and social labours were consistently stolen and/or degraded.[17]

insurance, social security, pensions, social housing, etc.).[33] What grew up around this "compromise" was an imaginary of white, patriarchal middle-class normativity which prized nationalism, consumerism, conformity, hierarchy and an extremely narrow notion of civics. It was predicated, however, on the subjugation of women, the second-class citizenship of "minorities" (who had only extremely limited access to "middle-class" lifestyles) and heteronormative terrorism and fundamentally relied on the development of neocolonialism and American-led imperialism. Its stresses on industrial manufacturing, the massification of agricultural production, competitive and conspicuous consumption and individualist notions of freedom (emblematized in the fetish of the car and the suburban domicile) also paved the way for the ecological crisis of today.

ethnicity and culture.[36] What is too often forgotten by those eag feminism is that these critiques were launched by feminist activist feminist movements have proven themselves to be among the m and responsive to these criticisms.

In response to the illusion of prosperity and peace the "compromise" trumpeted, many New Left movements, on both sides of the Atlantic, were to make imagination a key theme of struggle, arguing not only that the reigning economic and social system was unjust, but that it also fundamentally stifled political, social, sexual and creative expression. The imagination was frequently held up again as a wellspring of resistance, the expression of antagonism and the prize to be won from struggle. At its best, this led to new forms of organizing that stressed democratic process and the cultivation of a holistic political ethos, rather than obedience to radical party dogma (although there was still plenty of that).[34] At its worst, this championing of the imagination gave way to individualistic movements of hedonism and cultural cliquishness which imagined that the gestural rejection of social norms and the valorization of a lifestyle politics oriented by drug use, sexual experimentation, alternative music and isolated acts of communal living would suffice to create a revolution.

toppled the government. On the one hand, the Situationists, a group, developed a theory of "the Society of the Spectacle," capitalism had transformed everyday life into a world of artifici mediated by commodities, money and unquestioned routines. Debord and Raoul Vaneigem, two leading figures in this tende

Similarly, for the group *Socialisme ou Barbarie*, and especially its leadin Cornelius Castoriadis, the imagination was the very substance of reality institutions were the solidification of the collective imagination.[38] For C the "radical imagination" was not a good or bad thing but the tectoni ever-shifting substance of our social reality that both hardened into soc institutions and swept those institutions away. The imagination was that elemental substance not only of our minds but of our social reality. Rad politics, then, was about developing new, radically democratic mode organizing the imagination, ones that stressed autonomy, responsibility compassion and ecology.

values. With the neoliberal privatization of social life and the liquidati public sphere the *space and time* necessary for the cultivation of a s social imagination has been almost totally foreclosed. Where capita

such as the airwaves, schools and universities, and the civil service.[41] Lik symptom of a disease rendering one unfit for social engagement, the r imagination has, from the perspective of power, become pathological relation to the world capital is in the process of remaking.

struggle against South African Apartheid. These new forms of activism tended to be far more modest in scope and claims (reliant as they often were and are on government and private foundation funding) but also advanced new imaginaries of global interconnectedness, albeit often with tacit or explicit undercurrents of Western supremacism.[42]

- so much so that 'imagination' was to become a key theme in the social sciences over the past 30 years as researchers sought to describe the creativity and agency of social actors in ways that didn't, on the one hand, reduce people's behaviour to their social conditioning or biological bases and, on the other, didn't naively assume that people acted entirely on the basis of their own free will without any societal influence.

These conceptualizations of the imagination as a shared, collective, and political practice have arisen at the same time as critical theorists have sought to destabilize the individualist concept of the imagination. Russian literary critic

These sorts of approaches go a long way to destabilizing the legacy of the patriarchal, Western, Enlightenment conceptualizations of the imagination and the triumphant individualism that it both depends on and reinforces. Understanding imagination as always *embodied* and *relational*, and recognizing that the radical imagination is a space of encounter, learning and disruption takes us beyond vague calls for more "political consciousness" and allows us to critically explore the radical imagination – to take it and its possibilities and limitations seriously.

Indeed, the power of Zapatismo, and the reason it has enjoyed such global success as an inspiration and provocation to the radical imagination against the capitalist "end of history" is that it authentically embodied an effort to reclaim both the stolen past and the foreclosed future, to imagine both locally and

and "professional recognition." Neoliberal ideology holds that the market is the best system for harnessing the power of the imagination for social good: only under the free market will "useful" imagination be encouraged and rewarded.

what does this mean in the context this graduation??????????????????

Is this only meaningfull because it can be seen as productive?

For instance, in their contribution to this Special Issue, Phanuel Antwi and Amber Dean illustrate the way this neoliberal notion of the imagination is employed to "transform" the post-industrial landscape of Hamilton, Ontario, Canada towards an individualized (and middle-class) notion of a "creative" city. They highlight the stakes and players in "imagining" a city and how to "fix" its problems, and the way the urban imaginary is a site of struggle over class and belonging.

by the iconic "Dove [soap] campaign for real beauty" over the past decade. She makes clear that Unilever's (Dove's parent transnational corporation) minimal efforts to ameliorate the misogyny of the beauty industry is not only hypocritical (they also sell other products that do use highly sexist advertising, as well as an infamous yet extremely popular skin-whitening cream in Asia) it also fails to challenge the broader systemic realities of gendered inequality under capitalism and diminish real radical feminist efforts to do so.

together. Under this new moment of capitalism we are taught to understand ourselves as self-contained economic units, going about our daily lives like mini-corporations, maximizing our personal gains and ignoring any calls to social responsibility or solidarity. Under global "cognitive capitalism" or what luminary Autonomists Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri call Empire (not to be mistaken for an older moment of imperialism), the free market must be allowed to organize the cooperation and the possibilities of this "multitude" of fragmented human actors.[71]

Yes, reimagining the imagination is a radical act, but like all radical acts, especially the more cerebral and theoretical, it is not enough. We, the editors, are of the belief that the radical imagination is no one thing, that it doesn't exist "out there" for us to find, identify, categorize, sort, and enumerate its qualities, features, causes or effects. We cannot trap it in a shadowbox and dissect it to divine its inner workings. The radical imagination emerges out of radical practices, ways of *living otherwise*, of cooperating differently, that reject, strain against, or seek to escape from the capitalist, racist, patriarchal, heteronormative, colonial, imperial, militaristic, and fundamentalist forms of oppression that undergird our lives. These radical practices are happening everywhere, all the time, in small ways and big ways, as our love, our hope, our solidarity, our critical thinking, our optimism, our skepticism, our anger and our communities fight against the powers that be. Reading and thinking can be such an act, so can teaching and protest marches and spiritual awakenings and family and squats and communes. But none alone will ever be enough to overcome the problems we now face as the earth bleeds from the hole we cut in the ocean floor, as the warming atmosphere releases new and more

04.07. **RELATED WORK: DEMOCRACY AND SPACE**

De mensen in het land: Wat burgerschap eigenlijk (nog) is - Marlies Honingh, Henk den Uijl, Teun Toonen & Jessie Samwel

Neoliberal thinking has turned the citizens into customers, due to this Public services no longer treat people like citizens, but as 'clients'. Also, the verticalization of many governmental systems leads to less influence for citizens. The high levels of control over citizens makes it hard to have forms of self-government, direct influence or space for initiatives. The space that is left is highly formalized and constrained by rules and protocols. Sectors where co-governance was common, now are highly professionalized, which limits the opportunity of co-governance. However, decisions made by these parties are still highly influencing people's lives. This is undesirable, because these organisations do not only deal with technocratic or expert questions, but also with questions that have to do with values, morals and ethics. De-politicization of this decision-making space is now conceived as given, as self-explanatory. This technocratic view on decision-making is limiting the democratic space for citizens and makes them less involved, more passive. Furthermore, the displacement of people from their community, into a more individual togetherness, restricts people from taking action when they are disadvantaged. Also, the rise of identity politics creates more polarisation at the governance level. Furthermore, the power of corporations is increasing, by allowing certain tasks to the market.

Are we really freer because of neoliberalism, is the question.

Moreover, places where people from different backgrounds meet are decreasing. The debate has moved to the market or private places. People feel excluded, with increasing inequality in the Netherlands playing a role. As a result, people have dropped out of politics.It is concluded that in the Netherlands there is often no co-governance and certainly no ownership in the public space. Politicians use citizens to achieve their own policy goals, making citizens part of a technocratic solution.

It is proposed to work towards enhanced citizenship. Here, it is argued that the Schoof government's view of citizenship is too instrumental and questions whether a citizenship ideal still exists in the Netherlands. There is too little focus on classic fundamental rights and thus the right to demonstrate, reducing protest to little more than "disorder" and dismissing groups like extincition rebelion as "troublemakers". There is an emphasis on the importance of dissent in a democracy and that strengthening citizenship does not necessarily advance policy or reinforce dominant morality. 'Even citizenship that resists, deviates, and gets in the way is a citizenship that needs strengthening.'

There are four attitudes on which citizenship can be seen by the government, namely making room, plurality, inciting and pedagogy. In the Netherlands, the focus is mainly on excitement and pedagogy. The citizen is mainly seen as passive and instrumental.

To come closer to a more active form of citizenship, the research shows the "table" of citizenship, where there are two axes. The axis of acting and deliberating, and the axis of near surroundings and society as a whole. This creates four subjects. is shown that citizenship has many sides.

The four boxes:
1. Near environment - Deliberating :
Local media, Local citizens' councils, coffee houses, community centres, cafes, municipal politics and meetings outside the bubble

2. Near environment - Acting
Cooperatives, NL takes care of each other, sports associations, food banks, vigilantes and informal care

3.Society as a whole - Deliberate
Elections, voting, national media, culture, citizenship education, political party membership, protests

4. Society as a whole - Act
Corporate social responsibility, Volunteering for NGO, being active in politics, paying taxes.

This classification is more fluid in relativity. It has been concluded with this research that citizenship cannot be captured in one way, nor can it be strengthened with a generic solution, but rather needs to be strengthened through a range of planes.

It is suggested that the organisations in which more "public space" can exist to strengthen citizenship should be explored.

04.08. CONCLUDING: SPACES AND PROCESSES FOR DESIGNING THE RADICAL, PLURALIST DEMOCRACY

The previous chapters identified the potential for urban designers and to strengthen present-day democracy, by envisioning ways to implement concepts related to the radical, pluralist ideal, mainly focussing on actualising 'active citizenship'. From the readings, it can be concluded that in designing for the radical pluralist democracy, creating opportunities to participate is key. However, it is important to be aware of the limitations and the euphemisms in some participation processes that do not actually create citizen-power (Arnstein, 1969).

In order to make sure that a designer actually creates opportunity for citizen-power, and in designing for the radical pluralist ideal, the focus should be both on the process and the product of design (Frediani & Boano, 2012). This section will explain what this entails in terms of the design process for creating spaces for the radical, pluralist democracy and then explain what the qualities of spaces for the radical pluralist democracy are.

The process
In the design and research process, it should be considered that the experience of all people is different. Therefore, in determining what types of spaces should be part of the radical pluralist democracy, different experiences should be considered and mapped. Furthermore, the possible tendency of socio-spatial maps of showing only a hegemony in a specific area, should be acknowledged. It should also be considered in this regard that mapping is a subjective practice. The conclusions of the mapping should therefore be considered the start of a conversation, rather than a finite product, inspired by conclusions of Corner (1999). The product of the design should create the possibility to actualise freedom, as described by Frediani and Boano, focussing on the 3 components choice, ability and opportunity (Frediani & Boano, 2012). This research will explore all 3, but focus on the concept of the oppotunity to ownership of the public space, as has been concluded in 'De mensen in het land: Wat burgerschap eigenlijk (nog) is', the question of the amount of influence people have outside of the institutionalized oranisations, is a very relevant question in the Dutch context (Honingh et al., 2025). In the process of designing for the radical pluralist democracy, the Ladder Of Citizen Participation of Arnestein (1969), should be considered. The highest level of citizen participation, is citizen control. The research should focus on how this relates to a spatial dimension. This brings us to the other focus of design: the product.

The product
The aim of this design research is to actualise the radical, pluralist democratic ideal in the form of spatial imaginaries, based on the conclusion of Till (2018) and Escobar (2021). Both state the importance of the role of design as a creative practice, to explore new alternatives and to focus on design beyond the object: Design as a tool of reflection could be an interesting direction, we conclude.

The spaces will be radical, in the sense of creating the opportunity for citizens to create and manage their environment; therefore considering active citizenship as a part of living in democracy. The spaces will be pluralist in the regard of acknowledging the differences of people, by creating not one specific space, but rather a sequence of spaces, that all create different opportunities in regard to active citizenship. It will be democratic, in the regard that these spaces should create the opportunity for all to be an active citizen. Therefore, the spaces should consider different needs and preferences in that regard. It is also important to concluded that a finite design will always be a consequence of decision-making processes, that balance these different interests. In this regard, the biases and personal opinions of the designer are an inevitable restriction, we conclude. Therefore, it would be an important conclusion that it is not a project of one, but that it should be a project that can be replicated by others, in order to broaden the perspectives on designing for the radical pluralist democracy. The attempt of this research is to open-up tools for others to start designing, through a framework of 'radical imaginaries'.

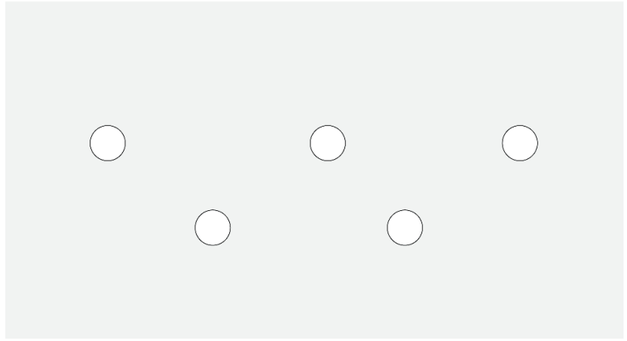
The proposal is to create a network of spaces, in different forms and functions, in order to create the opportunity to actualise the ideal of the radical pluralist democracy. These spaces should have a dynamic character, as proposed by John Dewey (Rocco, Gonçalves, & Lopez, 2024), this can be in short-time or long-term: spaces should be able to be changed to the needs of the ever changing society. In order to reach the goal of equality, we propose to implement the idea of 'complex equality', as proposed by Michael Walzer: *'This means that different social goods should be distributed in accordance with a variety of criteria reflecting the diversity of those goods and their social meanings' (Mouffe, 1992, p.7).* The spaces should not only strive to consensus, but focus on ways to invite difference and conflict, as proposed by Sennet and Sendra (2022) and to seek ways to normalize difference, as explained by Escobar (2021).

The spaces and space-making should create freedom, as decribed in terms of 'ability', by Frediani and Boano: *'Ability relates not only to individual characteristics, but also collective capacities, such as the ability to generate collective action initiatives, such as meetings and protests, as well collectively appropriating, changing, maintaining or improving the existing built environment. It is crucial therefore to accept and reveal the multiple.* (Frediani & Boano, 2012)'.

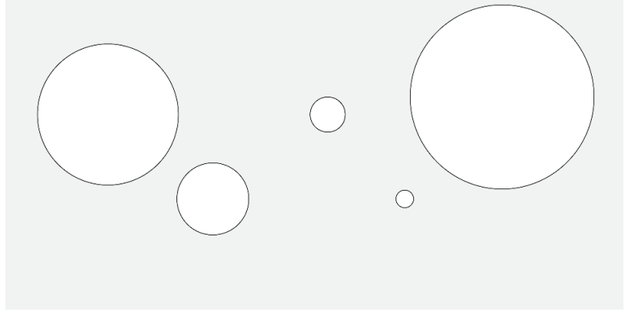
As Bodnar and Harvey (n.d.) both explain, the effect of Neoliberalism has pushed out the presence of indifference in the present-day city design. Furthermore, we have to acknowledge that the level of safeguarding and control in public space is limiting citizen expression and indifference, especially of groups that are already a minority in society (Harvey, n.d. ; Bodnar, 2015). Artistic practices could possibly be an interesting form of bringing conflict to the public space, as Mouffe proposes in her work 'Art and Democracy' (2007). However, it should be examined how these practices could be implemented, without the constraints and effects of capitalism and neoliberalism on the public space (Mouffe, 2007; Bodnar,2015; Harvey, n.d.), due to the risk of emphasizing the dominant structures of today. We also conclude that indifference in space is not necessarily a consequence of spatial form, but rather of the opportunity there is to have agency in a space, as explained by Boie and De Cauter (2022). Protest, for example, often self-organizes conditions and are about claiming space, rather than using a physical structure. This relates back to the conclusions of Till, that design should focus on welcoming contingencies and variations (2018), to open up space to different perspectives.
However, not only spaces of indifference are relevant, but spaces for community and deliberation are also relevant, as concluded by Honigh et al (2025). Furthermore, we have to acknowledge that deliberation and indifference are not to be seen as separate: We conclude that they are two sides of the same coin.

In this regard, we have to acknowledge the homogenized and segregated status of present-day cities, as a limitation to meet indifferences. We also have to acknowledge that segregation is a consequence of design (Sennet and Sendra, 2022; Harvey, n.d.), oftentimes based on discriminatory and oppressive motives (Sennet and Sendra, 2022; Bodnar, 2015).
Also, we have to understand that the present-day public space is physically and virtually not 'empty', but full of meaning and symbolism, a space where certain groups identify with and others do less so (Hoskyns, 2014).

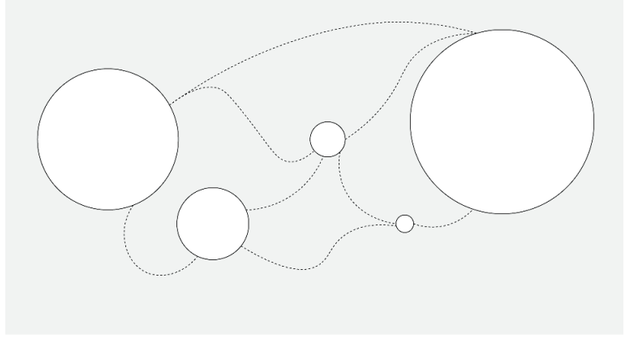
A MULTITUDE OF SPACES



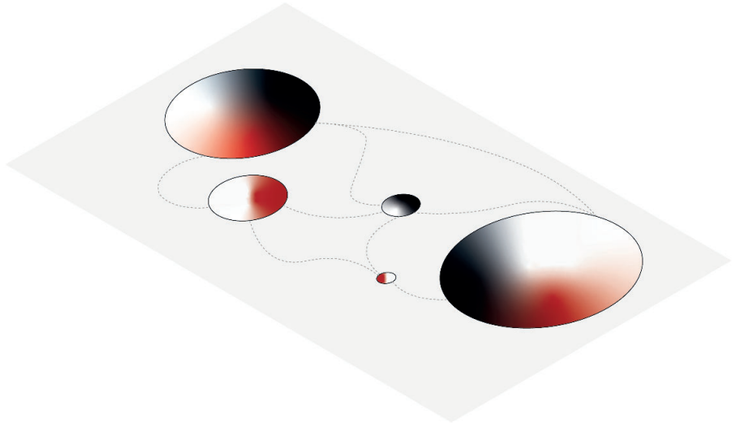
DIFFERENT TYPES AND SCALES



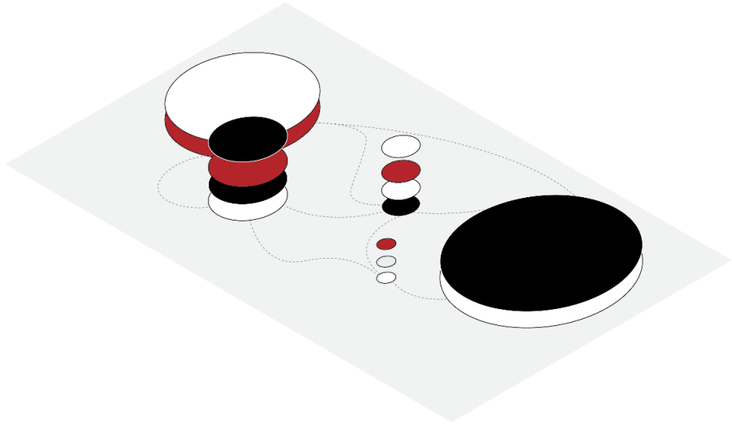
FOCUS ON COMMUNITY, CREATING NETWORKS



MIXED IN FUNCTION



DYNAMIC: ADJUSTABLE IN TIME



04.09. CONCLUDING: THE ROLE OF THE URBAN DESIGNER IN A RADICAL PLURALIST DEMOCRACY

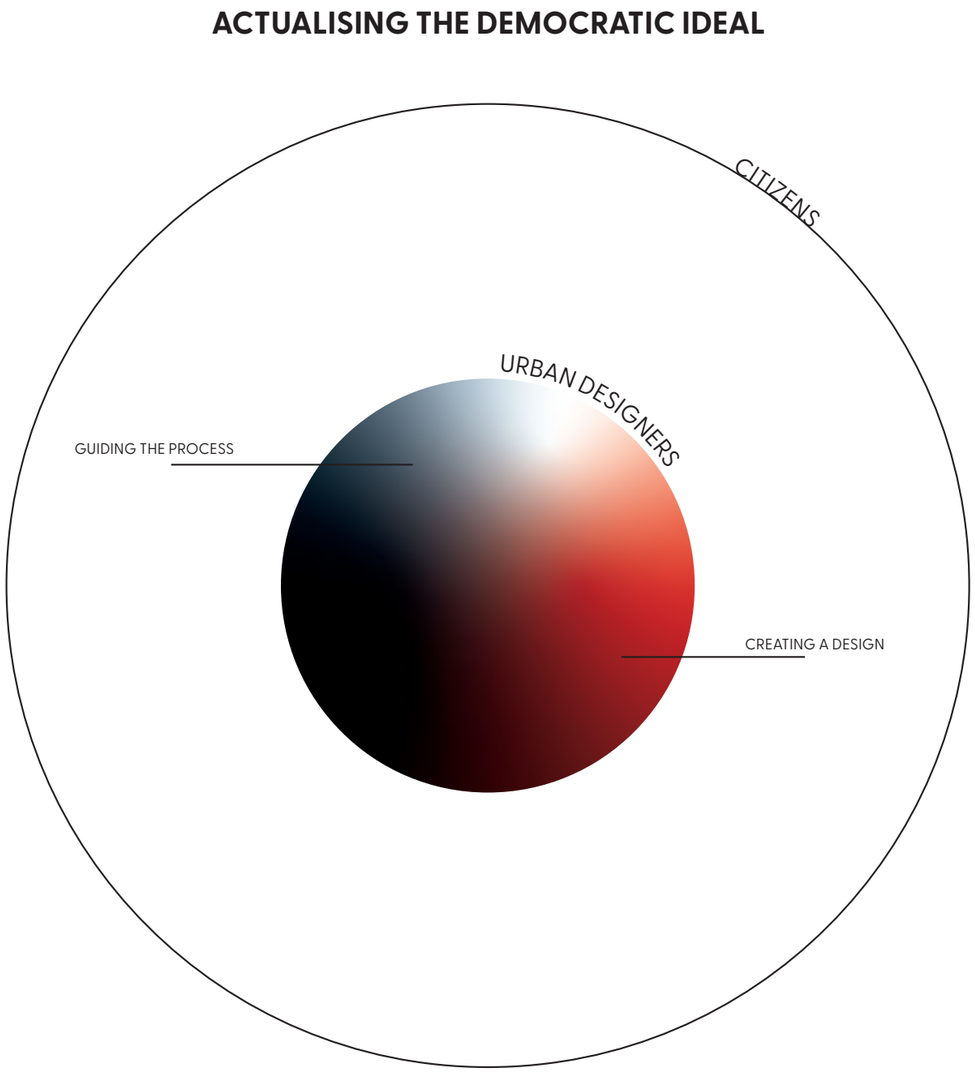
An important theme that was found in the related work, is the reconceptualization of the role of the designer. In 'Forms of Activism as Democracy in the City' Boie and De Cauter (2021) explain that the architect-activist is an interesting link, due to the fact that the architect, we conclude the urban designer as well, moves in the spheres of money and power. Therefore, the urban designer has the tools to address injustice on an influential level, to comply with the democratic ideal. Hoskyns (2014) also stresses the fact that an architect often times works for a client, and therefore often times represents but one perspective. She emphasizes the importance of the participatory democracy in that regard and sees potential for the role of the designer between both the client and the citizen. In doing so, she says, the designer should be very much aware of the limitations in participatory design and bottum-up processes, due to the neoliberalist status of our systems, among other limitations (Hoskyns, 2014).

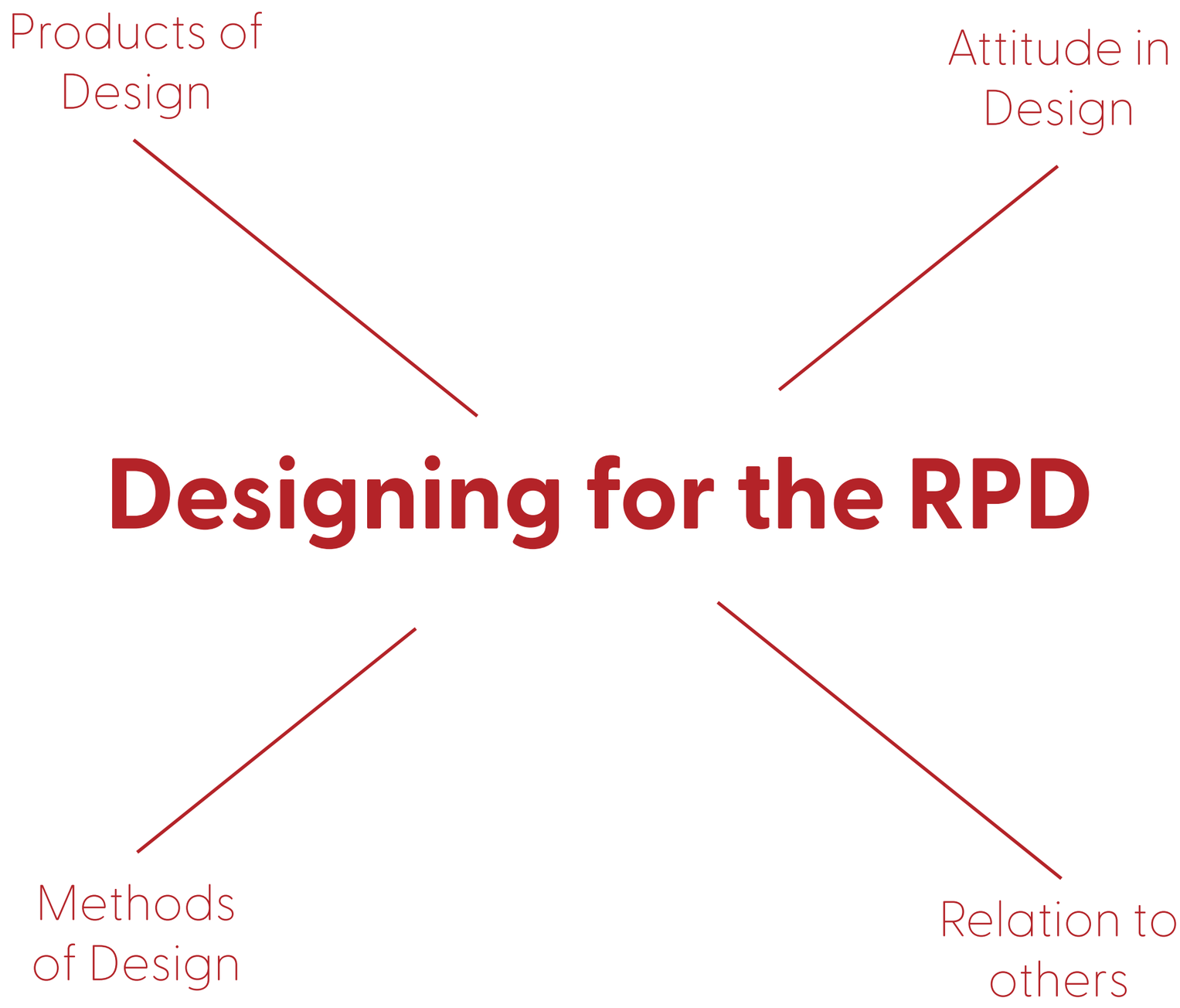
However, in this regard it is important to address the conclusions of Escobar (2018). In his 'designs for the pluriverse' (noting that this thesis focuses on the concept of the radical PLURALIST democracy), he explains that if the aim is to design for the pluriverse, the designer cannot only see design as a rational process. He stresses that while logical thinking is important in design, it is also important to acknowledge design as an act of intuition, feelings and emotions. This relates to the conclusions Schön poses in The Reflective Practitioner (1983). Escobar proposes to focus on relational dimensions of life, rather than the rational, functional and industrial orientation of today. This aligns with the conclusion of Till (2018) to focus on design beyond the object, by focussing on temporal, relational and social aspects of design and on the immaterial, rather than the material aspects of design.

In the literature review, it was also found that the marketplace and neoliberal society of today limit the opportunity to create more democratic (public) spaces and that already existing public spaces are highly vulnerable to de-politicization and privatization (Escobar, 2018; Sennet & Sendra, 2021, Honigh et al., 2025, Harvey, n.d.; Hoskyns, 2014; Bodnar, 2015).

This limitation demands a reconceptualisation of the role of the designer. In Designs for the Pluriverse, Escobar (2018), proposes to shift the orientation on the market to creative experimentations. In this regard, the quote of Stewart Brand that Till brings forward in Design Beyond the Object, is relevant, namely 'all buildings are predictions, all predictions are wrong.' It brings the role of designer to the one that explores alternatives, rather than the role of the designer as the 'problem-solver'. We conclude that the role of the designer in designing for the radical pluralist democracy, is not about creating one finalized design, but rather a sequence of alternatives that can be the base of a discussion.

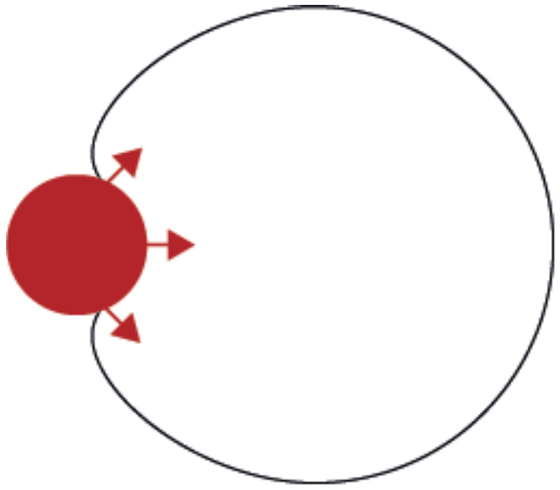
We conclude that in designing for the radical pluralist democracy, we propose to focus on exposing the intuition, emotions and feelings of the designer in order to create a comprehensive insight on the limitations and influence of biases in design. The focus will be on designing creative alternatives, rather than solutions. Furthermore, we found four theme's to focus on in further research: the products of design, the methods of design, the attitude in design and the relation of the designer to others.




Products of Design
Attitude in Design
Designing for the RPD
Methods of Design
Relation to others

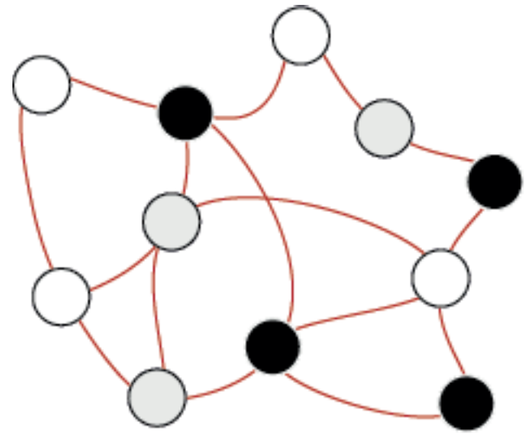
04.10. **CONCLUDING: SPACES FOR THE RADICAL PLURALIST DEMOCRACY**

In order to structure the design phase of this process, the hypothesis is that the present-day democratic system of the Netherlands can be strenghtend, by designing spaces that create the possibility to be an active citizen. Thus; citizen-empowerment will become part of the urban fabric. In order to structure what type of power, we use the 4 different types that where identified by the University of Sussex (Understanding power for social change, powercube.net, IDS at Sussex University, 2011). The goal of structuring the research in this manner, is to facilitate empowerment in an complete and diverse way, in oder to create 'complex equality'; thus, creating all kinds of opportunities for active citizenship, to reach a broad group. In aiming towards a design where citizens have more agency, we should consider the different types of 'power' and thus agency, we conclude.



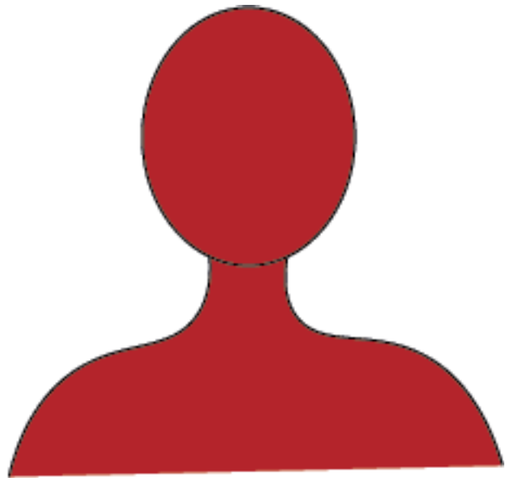
OVER POWER : **THE HEGEMONY**

In the framwork of Sussex, they explain one of the 4 powers as 'Power Over', refering to the ability of relatively powerful actors' action to affect the actions and thoughts of the relatively powerless (Understanding power for social change, powercube.net, IDS at Sussex University, 2011). However, in this thesis we propose the 'complex equality' ideal. We therefore propose to seek opportunities to distrubt dominance in space, by art, for example (as described by Mouffe, in Art and Democracy, 2007): thus in stead of *power over*, the opportunity to *over power*.



POWER WITH : **OTHERS**

Refers to the synergy which can emerge through partnerships and collaboration with others, or through processes of collective action and alliance building (Understanding power for social change, powercube.net, IDS at Sussex University, 2011)





POWER WITHIN: **ONESELF**

Refers to gaining the sense of self-identity, confidence and awareness that is a precondition for action (Understanding power for social change, powercube.net, IDS at Sussex University, 2011

POWER TO: **ACT**

Refers to the capacity to act – to exercise agency and to realise the potential of rights, citizenship or voice (Understanding power for social change, powercube.net, IDS at Sussex University, 2011)

04.11. **INTRODUCING THE CASE: THE HAGUE**

As previously explained, this research will focus on the city of The Hague, which is currently the administrative capital of The Netherlands and is considered 'the centre of Dutch Democracy'. It houses the municipality of The Hague, the province house of South-Holland and is therefore a centre of many scales of democracy. Also, it houses some internationally relevant institutes, such as the International Court of Justice in the Peace Palace and the International Criminal Court. It also is home of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons and Iran–United States Claims Tribunal. It is therefore an important city on a global level and the UN. Also, it is an important site for protests.

Also, out of the four big cities in the Netherlands, it is the city with the highest level of segregation. The main segregation is focused around the separation of different age groups, ethnicity and social-economic status (Segregatiemonitor - 2. Leeftijd, Achtergrond en Sociaal-economische Status - Den Haag, n.d.).

In this thesis, the main question is 'How can spaces for a radical pluralist democracy be identified, designed and used, in the context of The Hague?' and therefore tries to look beyond the institutional buildings as the base of democracy. The aim is to discover the concept of democracy as a daily life city within this context. After the socio-spatial analysis, a location on the neighbourhood scale will be proposed.





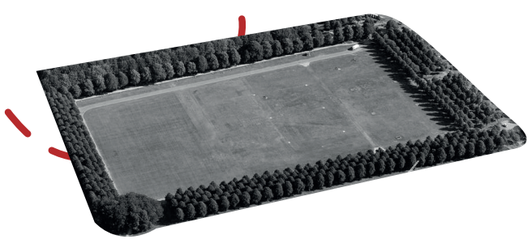




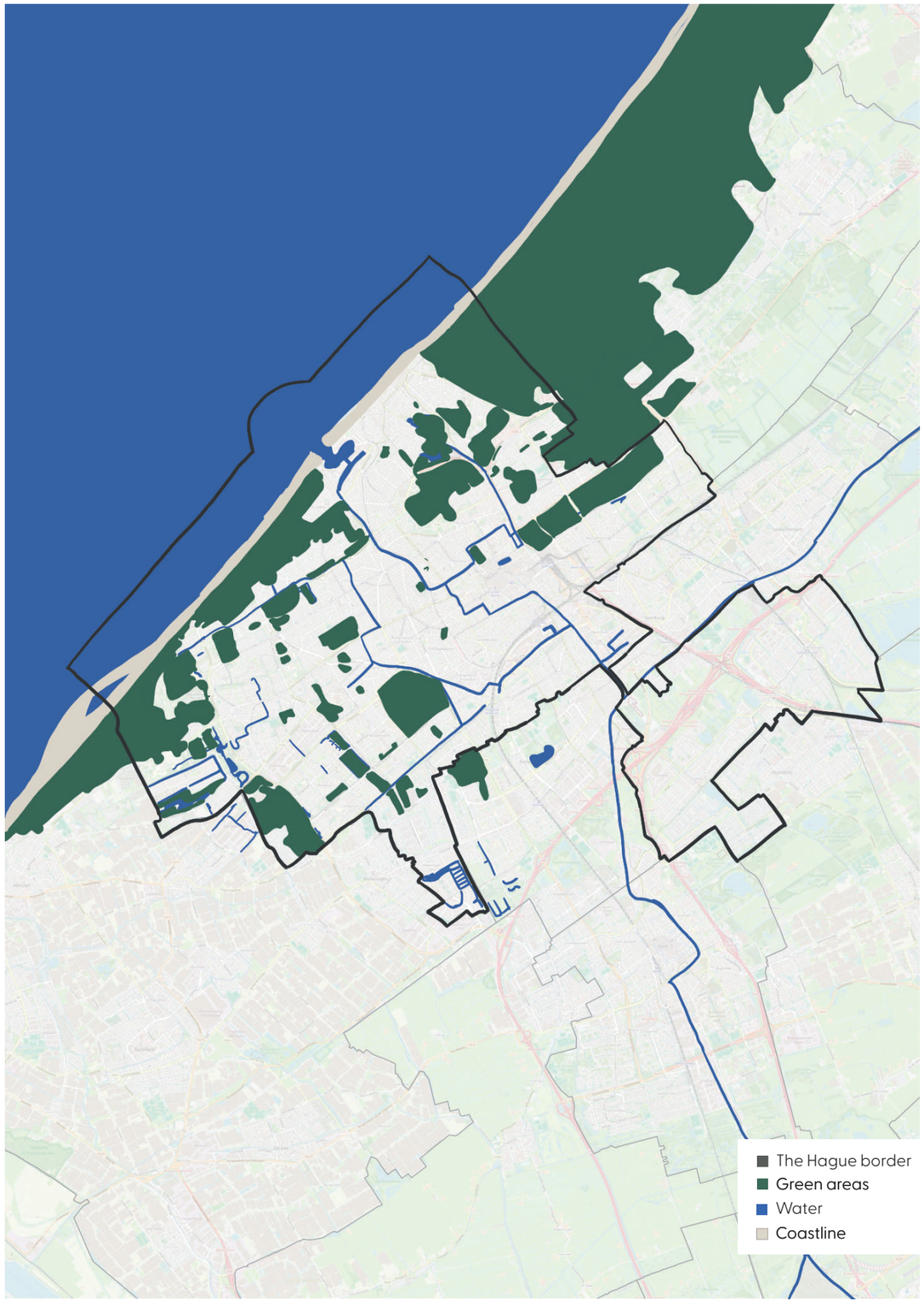

Ministerie van Economische Zaken







04.12. **SOCIO-SPATIAL ANALYSIS**



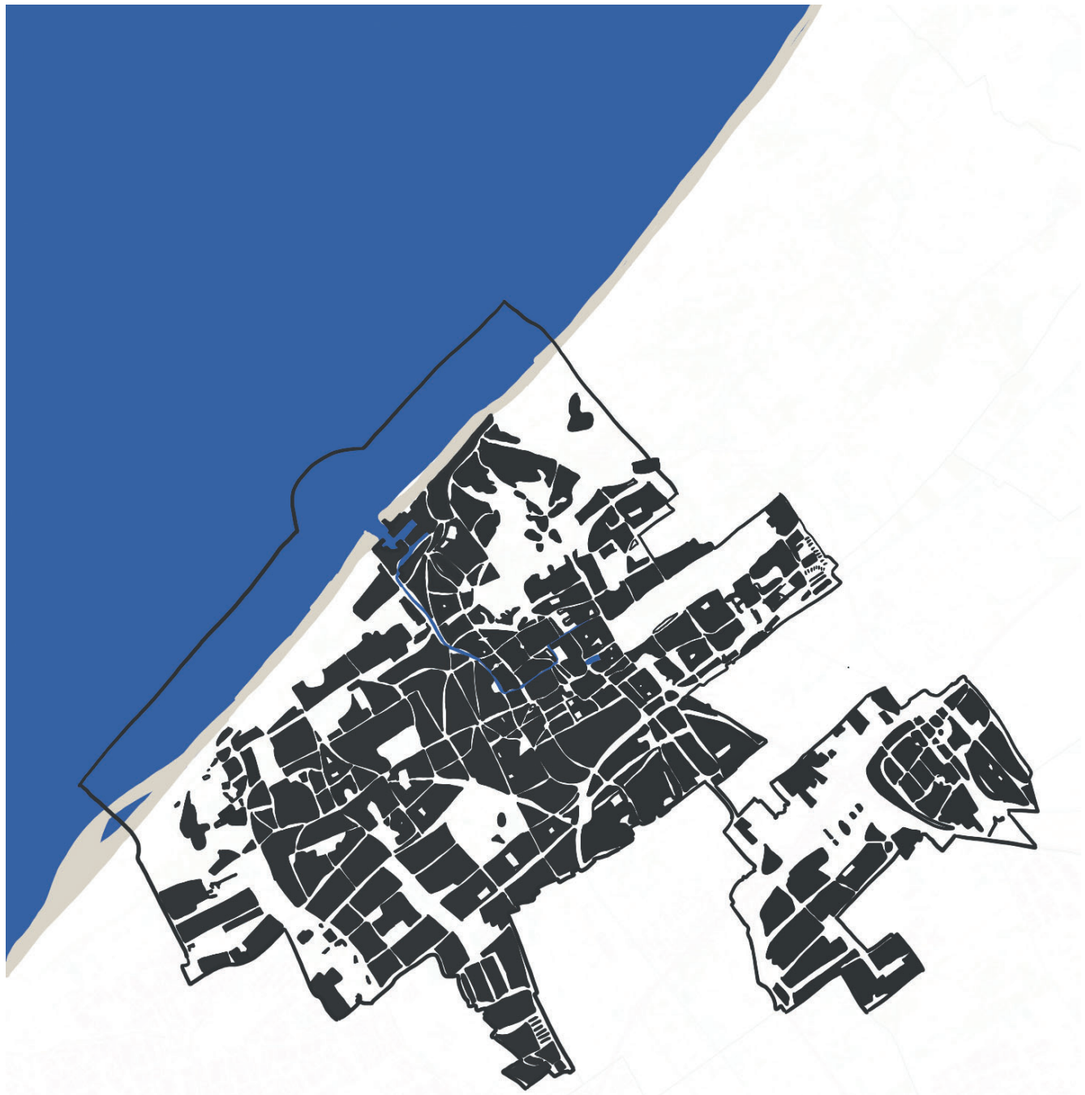
Green-Blue structure



Road and train network

N

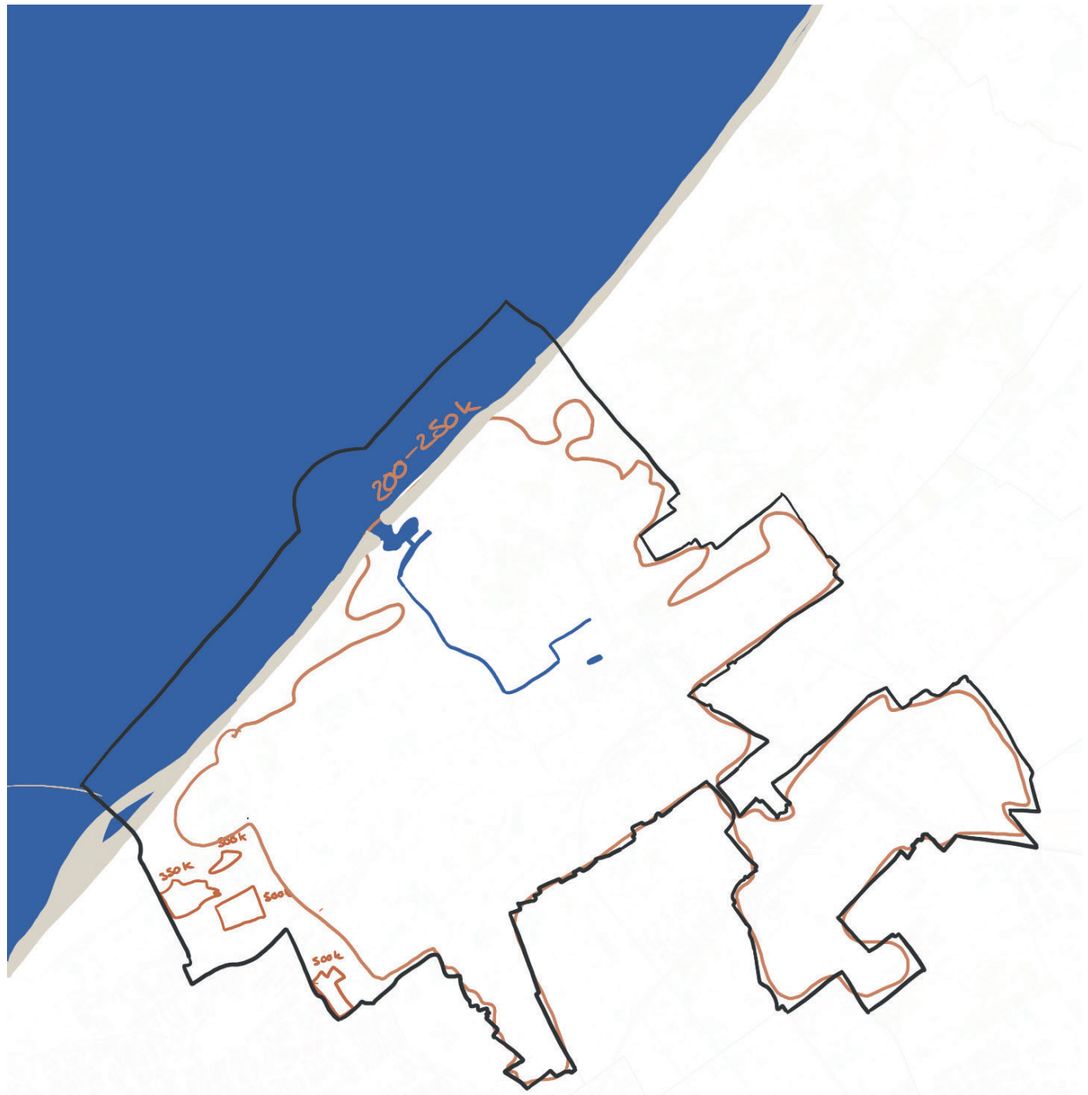
0 5 km



Urbanization

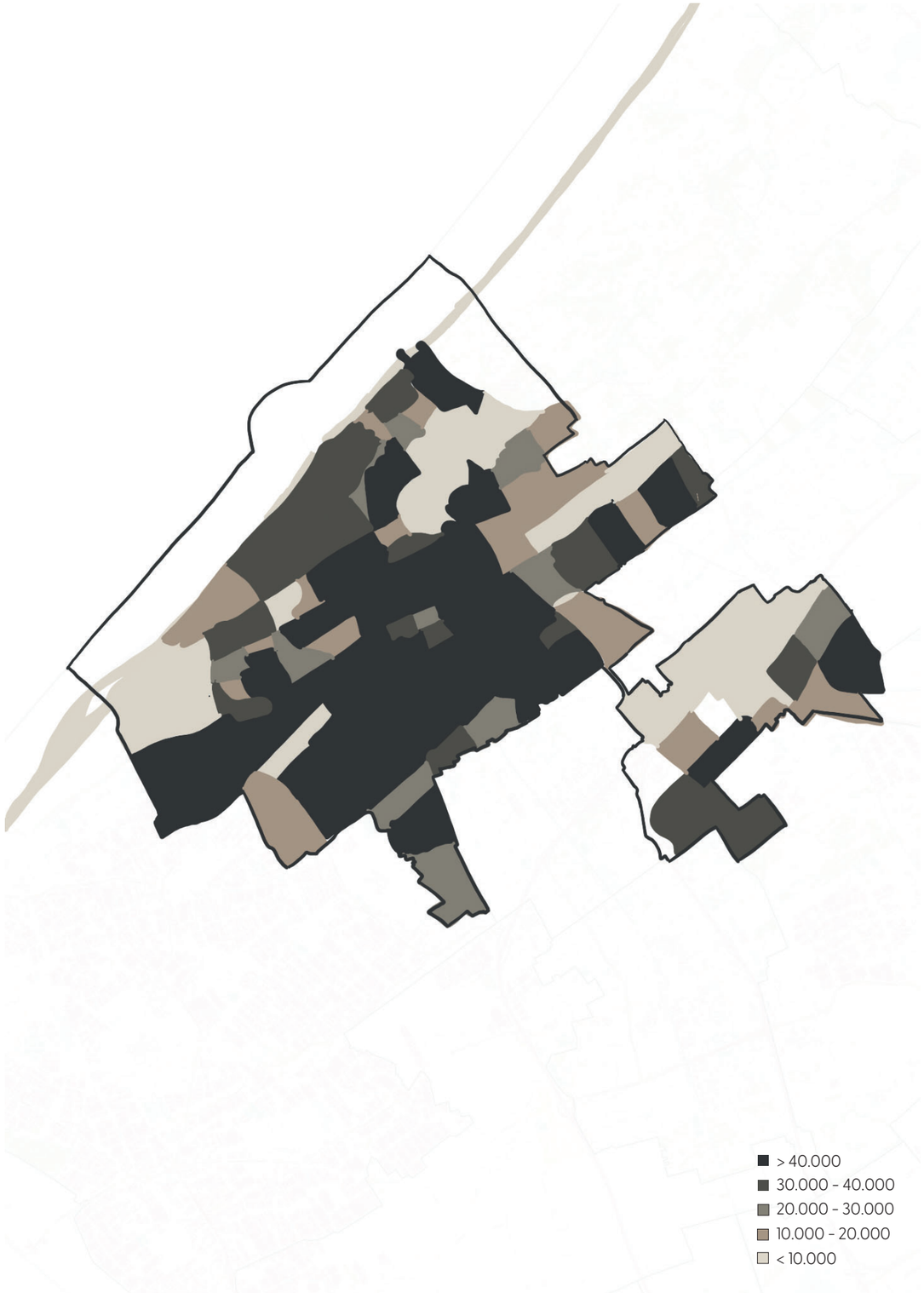
0 5 km

N

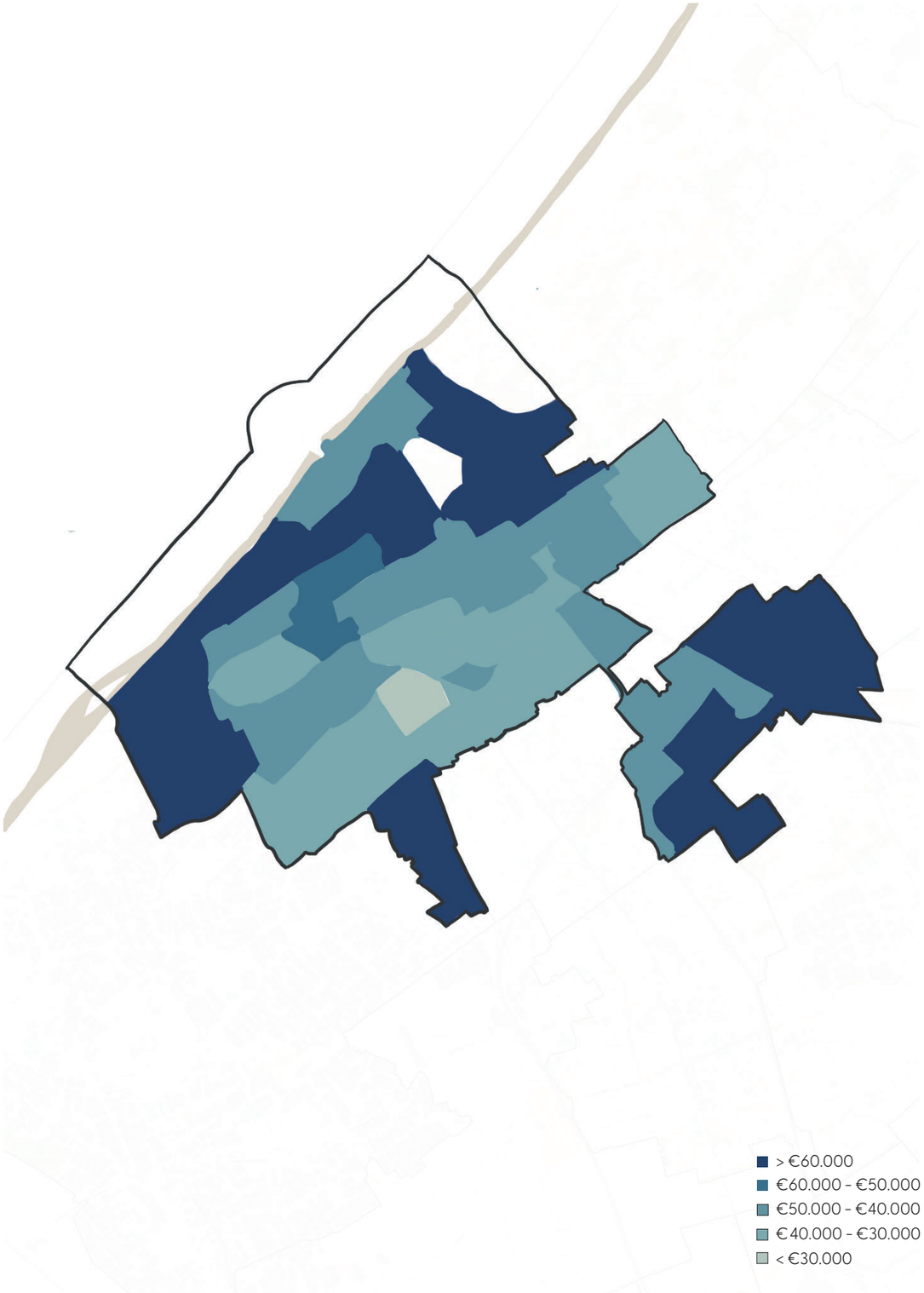


WOZ-value

04.12. **SOCIO-SPATIAL ANALYSIS**



Density



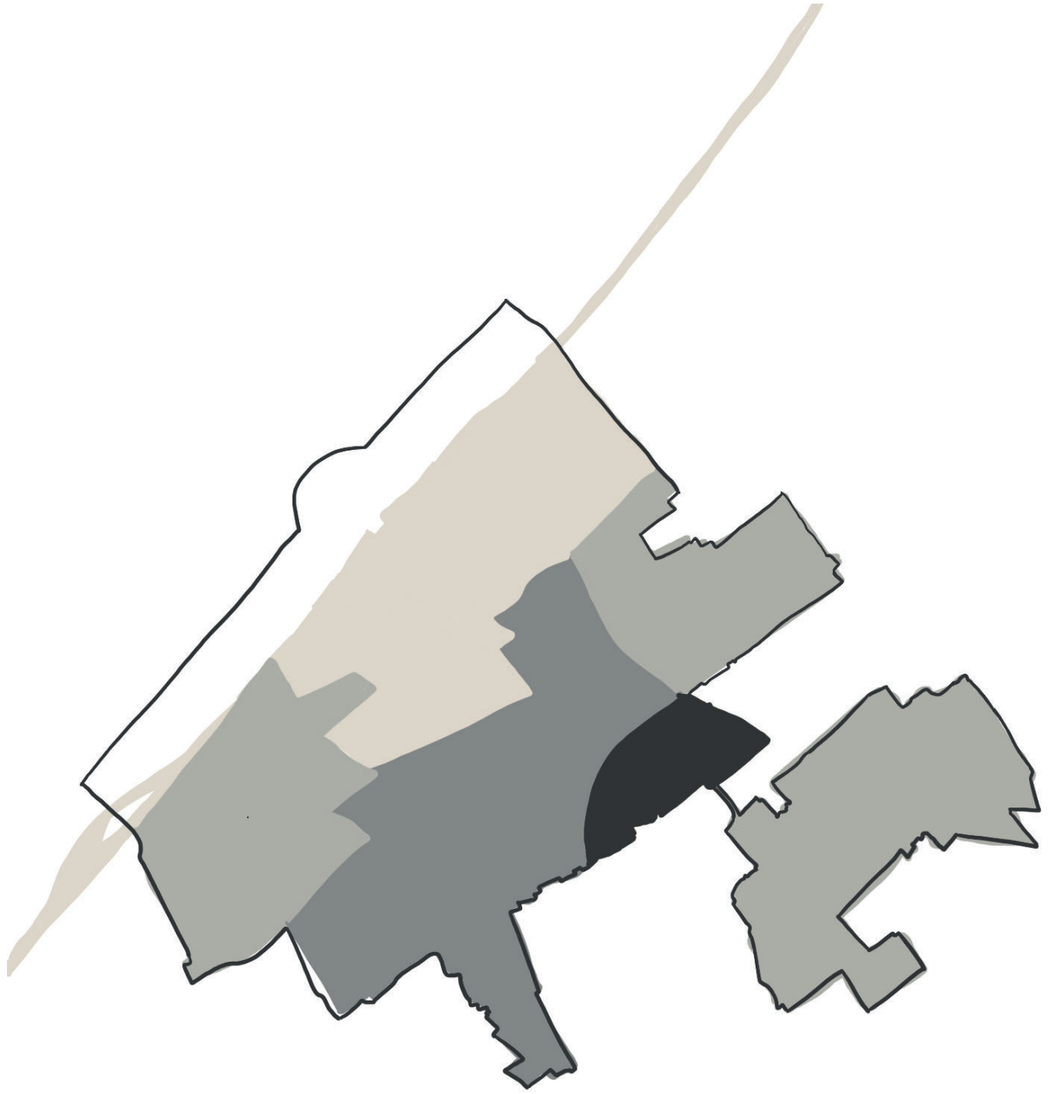
Average disposable income



Segregation index

0 5 km

N



Low literacy

04.13. **CONCLUSION ON SOCIO-SPATIAL ANALYSIS: A FOCUS AREA**

The city of The Hague is the most populated are in The Netherlands (Nergens Zo Dicht op Elkaar Als in Den Haag, 2024) and one of the most population dense area's in Europe, with almost 6,900 citizens per square kilometre.

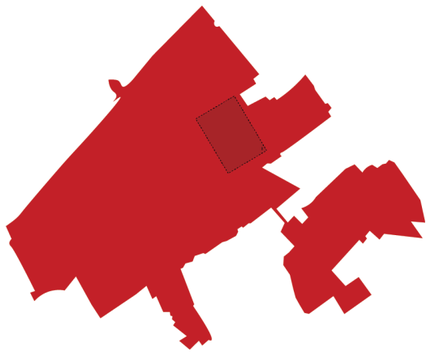
Also, The Hague, out of the 4 biggest municipalities in The Netherlands, is the most spatially segregated of them all (Segregatiemonitor - 5. Werk en Inkomen - Den Haag, z.d.).

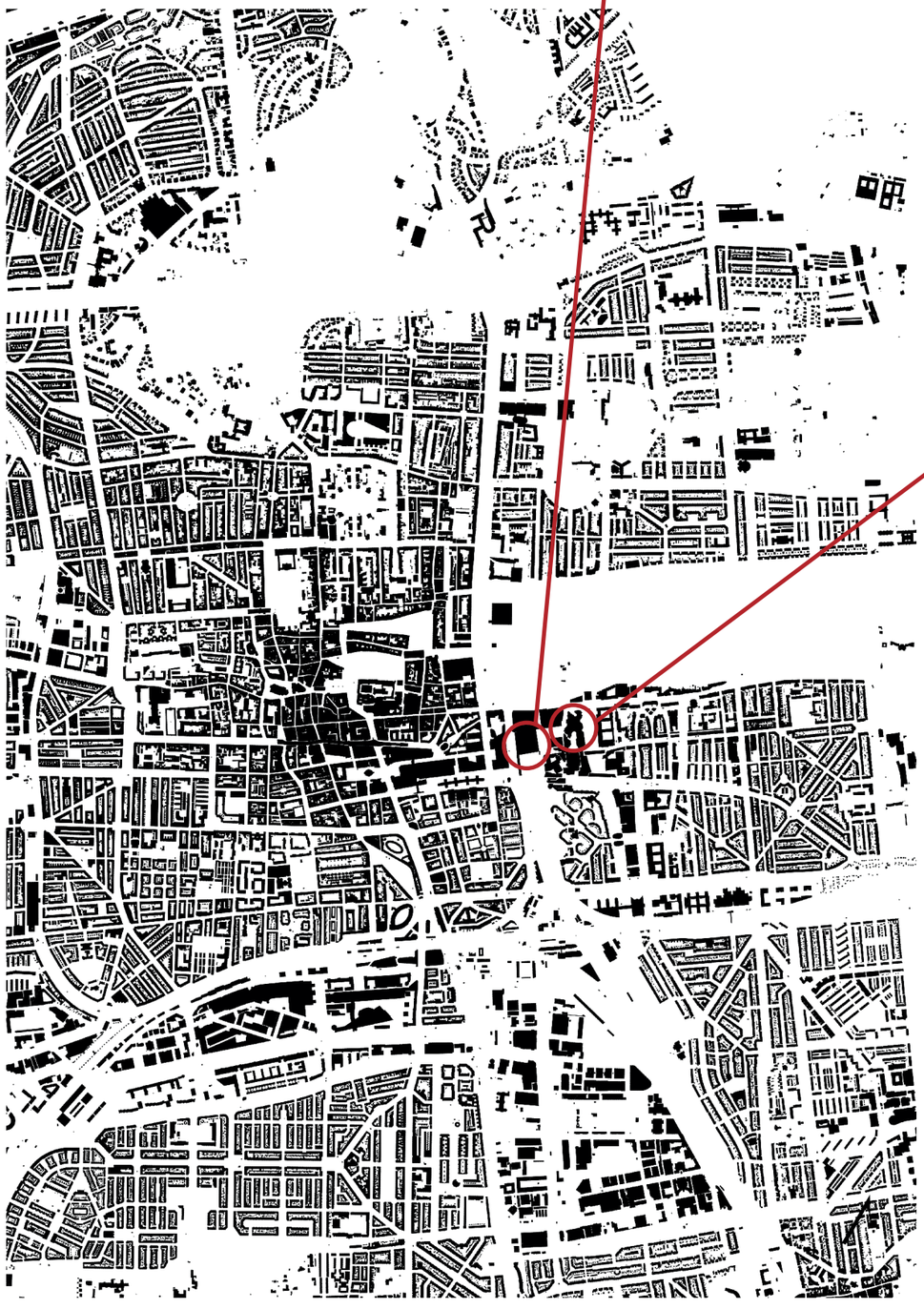
In mapping certain socio-spatial data, a pattern becomes visible: People living on the seaside (dark orange) of the city often have a higher disposable income, while people living in the inland part (light orange), live in the most population dense area, have the lowest literacy rates of the city and participate less in elections, than people living along the seacoast.

An interesting conclusion is that around the Central Station Area, a lot of the different socio-spatial qualities of the city meet. Therefore, it is assumed in this study that many different types of people will also congregate around the station as a result. Furthermore, the temporary Tweede Kamer building moved next to The Hague Central railway station recently. This may lead to interesting effects on space in this area.

It is also easily and affordably accessible to the researcher, an argument that also was considered.





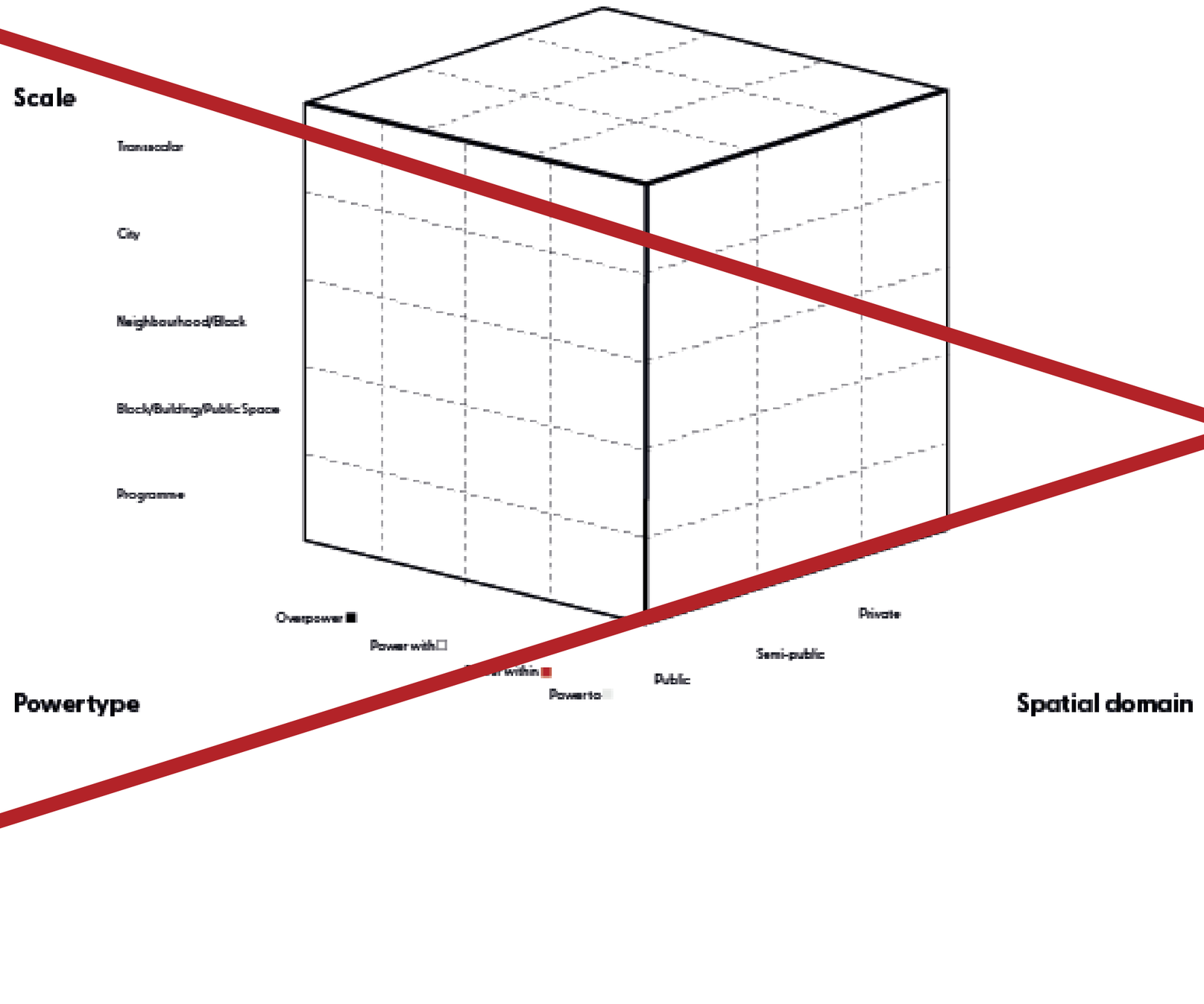

THE HAGUE CENTRAL STATION
TEMPORARY TWEEDE KAMER BUILDING

04.14. **PATTERN LANGUAGE FRAMEWORK**

In order to structure the design phase of this process, the hypothesis is that the present-day democratic system of the Netherlands can be strenghtend, by designing spaces that create the possibility to be an active citizen. Thus; citizen-empowerment will become part of the urban fabric. In order to structure what type of power, we use the 4 different types that where identified by the University of Sussex (Understanding power for social change, powercube.net, IDS at Sussex University, 2011). The goal of structuring the research in this manner, is to facilitate empowerment in an complete and diverse way, in oder to create 'complex equality'; thus, creating all kinds of opportunities for active citizenship, to reach a broad group. The framework allows for a multi-scalar approach, that focusses on both policy and spatial interventions.

The goal of the pattern language is to create an example of spatial interventions that could help to actualise the radical pluralist democracy, by other designers and policy makers. Ideally, others would add onto the language, in order to get a broad understanding of the possibilities.

The way the pattern is structured, is inspired by the scales and the card layout by Foundries Hill, Adrian V (ed.). (2020) Foundries of the Future. The power axes are a consequence of the Powercube research of the University of Sussex.



04.15. **PATTERN CARDS**

SCALE.CARDNUMBER

IMAGE

TITLE

Hypothesis:

Powertypes:

Relation to other patterns:

Scale:

Domain:

T.1



ROOM FOR PROTEST

Hypothesis: Transparent and open policy on where and when people can protest, engage in demonstrations and manifestations, are an important measure in democracy to make sure everyone can have their voice heard and to have angency in society

Powertypes:

Relation to other patterns:

Scale: Translocator

Domain: Public

B.1



GRAFFITY WALL

Hypothesis: A wall where everyone is allowed to spraypaint on and to show their art in the public domain, can be a way for people to express their opinion and to spark discussion. It can be a way for people to appropriate their surroundings

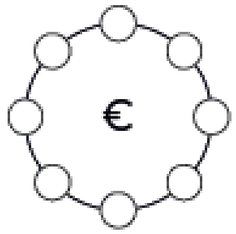
Powertypes:

Relation to other patterns: P.1

Scale: Block/Building/Public Space

Domain: Public

P.1



PATICIPATORY BUDGETTING

Hypothesis: Paticipatory budgetting can create empower a community activating citizens to think about what they want their surroundings to be and by giving citizens the responsibility to devide money on all the proposals themselves.

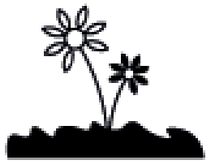
Powertypes:

Relation to other patterns: B.1 + N.1

Scale: Neighbourhood/Block

Domain: Public

N.1



COMMUNITY GARDEN

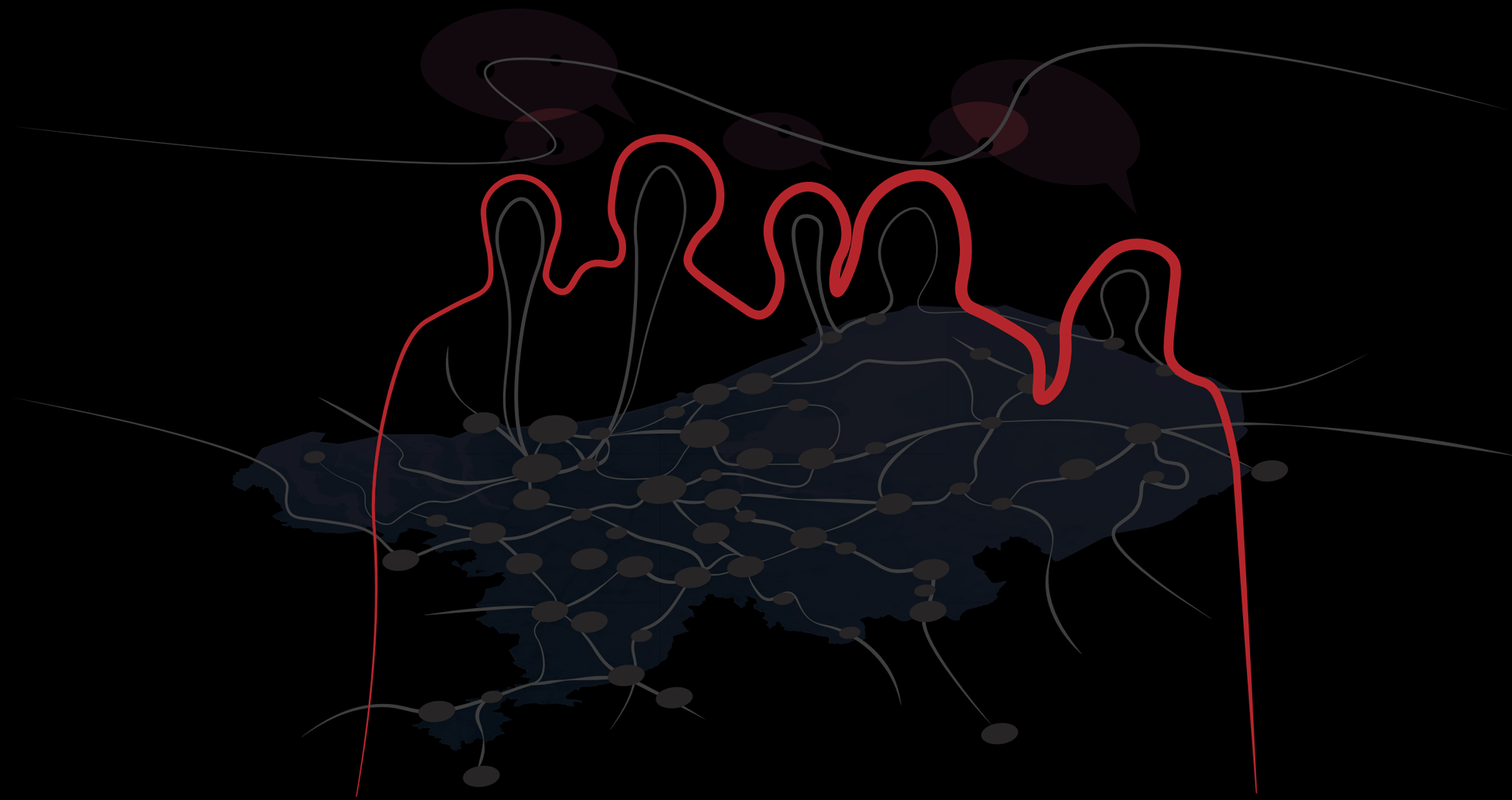
Hypothesis: A community garden can be a way to bring different people in a neighbourhood togheter and give them the agency over a public space

Powertypes:

Relation to other patterns: P.1

Scale: Block/Building/Public Space

Domain: Public



Rhizome drawing of the Radical Pluralist Democracy

An attempt by the author to visualise the concept of democracy:
An interplay between Borders, Bodies, Places, Perspectives.

04.16. REFLECTING ON INITIAL PLAN: PROPOSING THE PANEL STRATEGY

As previously explained in the methods section, in this research, a set of biases and personal preferences inevitably influence the decision-making process. To gain a deeper understanding of how these factors shape the design research, the various forms of analysis – including interviews, fieldtrips, historical studies, and the workshop – will be mapped onto a physical panel. This method serves both as a way to make the iterative and subjective nature of the design and research process more open and transparent, and as a means of physically delineating the scope of the project. At the same time, the panel functions as a presentation tool and a platform for discussion.

The conceptual underpinning aligns with James Corner's conclusions in The Agency of Mapping (1999), in which he argues that map-making (and design) is always a subjective act. Corner emphasizes the importance of making this subjective layer in urban research explicit. This approach fits within the broader aim of Critical Urban Theory, as articulated by Peter Marcuse (2009), which seeks to critique ideology, power, inequality, injustice, and exploitation in order to create more democratic and just cities (Marcuse, 2009; Brenner, 2010). This critical perspective is embedded in both the research and design methodologies applied in the project and are informed by perspectives of the work of Hoskyns, Till, and Escobar.

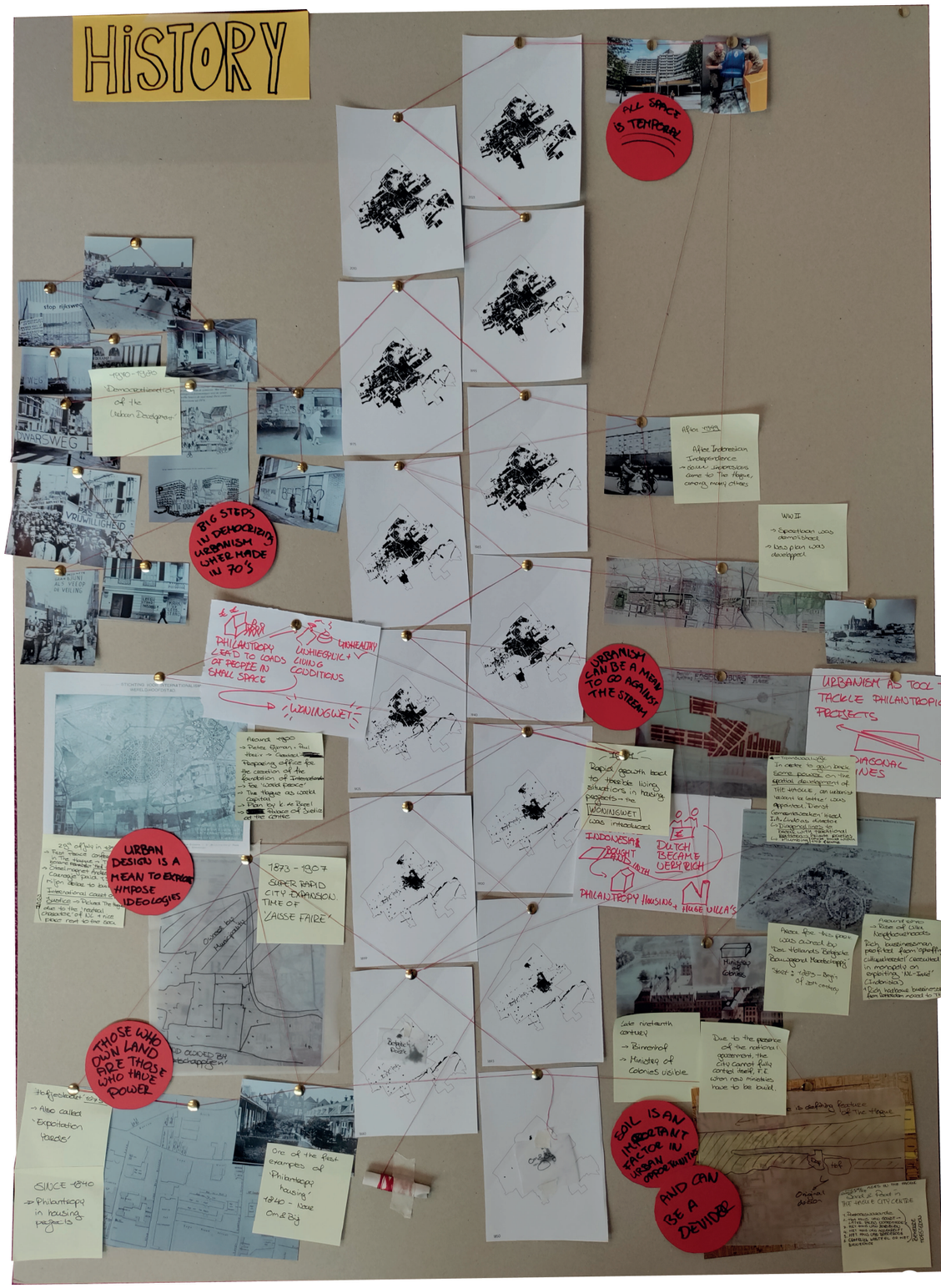
Following P2, an initial conclusion was to develop a pattern language of spaces that could be implemented. However, upon further reflection on what a pattern language entails – namely, a series of hypotheses situated outside of specific spatial contexts – it became clear that this direction did not align with the place-based nature of the analysis phase. The insights from street interviews and fieldtrips are deeply rooted in context, and thus require a more situated approach to properly communicate their meaning, we concluded.

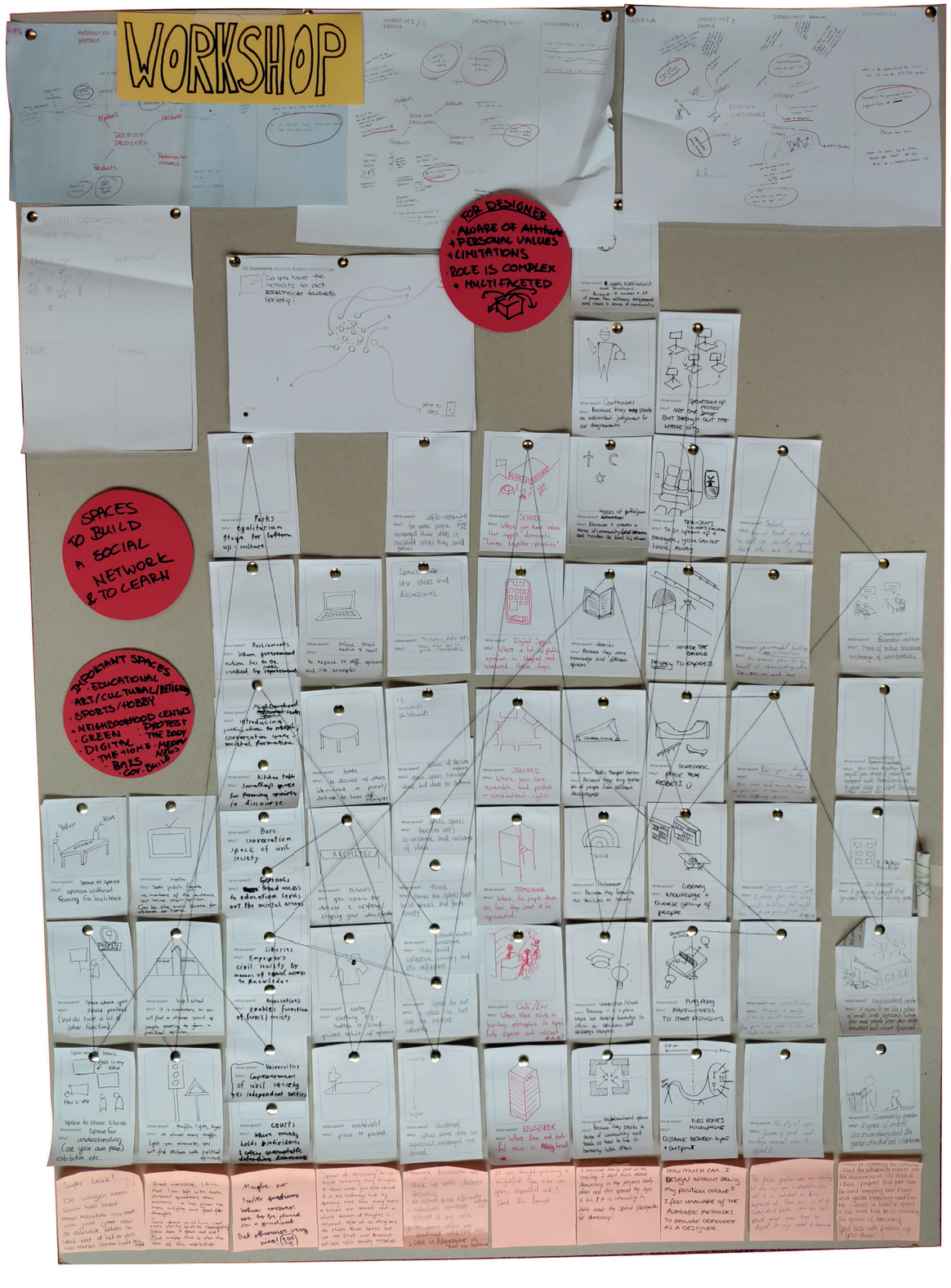
While a pattern language might offer a fruitful direction for future research, it did not feel appropriate for this particular project. Instead, the decision was made to continue with a place-based method.

Another part of the analysis will be based on the notion of radical spatial imaginaries. This approach not only foregrounds spatial context but also acknowledges the ideological and power structures embedded within it. The aim of using radical spatial imaginaries, is to use design not as a final outcome, but as a method of reflection, we argue that this connects to the different steps that Marcuse describes , analyse, expose, propose and politize.

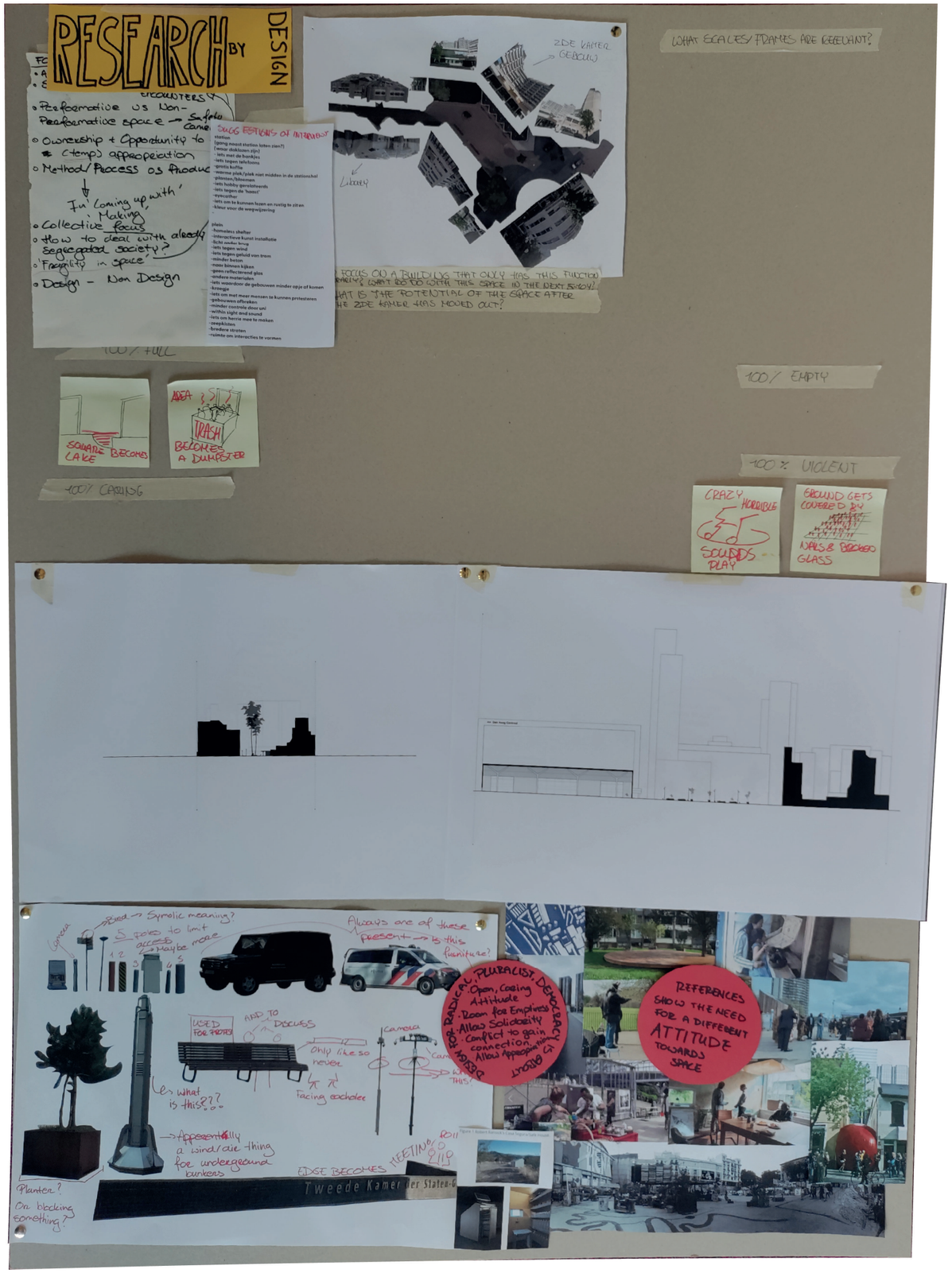
05. METHODS OF ANALYSIS FOR THE URBAN DESIGNER IN DEMOCRACY

05.01. ‘WALL OF CRIME’ PANELS: GENERAL OVERVIEW






FIELDWORK
DESIGNERS & DOCKS MAKERS BEHAVE LIKE 'HELICOPTER PARENTS'
FIELD TRIP 3
FIELD TRIP 1
FIELD TRIP 2
FIELD TRIP 5
DHC
Den Haag Centraal
Beter leren participeren
Met nieuwe regels wil de gemeente burgers meer en beter betrekken bij beleid. "Dit moet de kloof dichten tussen stad en stadhuis."
Kom zingen bij Archicapella!
FURNITURE IS 'HUFTERPROOF' + INFLEXIBLE
PEOPLE MISS LIVING ROOM + FREE COFFEE
PIANO + BOOKSWAP CONNECTS
MAIN INCENTIVE IS TO MAKE MONEY
PHOTOBE DISCONNECTS


RESEARCH BY DESIGN
Performative vs Non-Performative space
Ownership + Opportunity to (temp) appropriation
Method/Process as Produc
In 'Coming up with' Making
Collective focus
How to deal with already segregated society?
'Fragility in space'
Design - Non Design
WHAT SCALES/FRAMES ARE RELEVANT?
100% FULL
100% EMPTY
100% VIOLENT
100% CARING
SQUARE BECOMES LAKE
AREA TRASH BECOMES A DUMPSTER
CRAZY HORRIBLE SOUNDS PLAY
GROUND GETS COVERED BY NAILS & BROKEN GLASS
Tweede Kamer der Staten-G
REFERENCES SHOW THE NEED FOR A DIFFERENT ATTITUDE TOWARDS SPACE
DESIGN FOR RADICAL, PLURALIST, DEMOCRACY IS ABOUT
Open, Caring Attitude
Room for Emptiness
Allow Solidarity
Conflict to gain connection
Allow Appropriation
Always one of these present → is this furniture?
Only like so never
Facing eachother
What is this???
Apparently a wind/air thing for underground bunkers
Planter? Or blocking something?

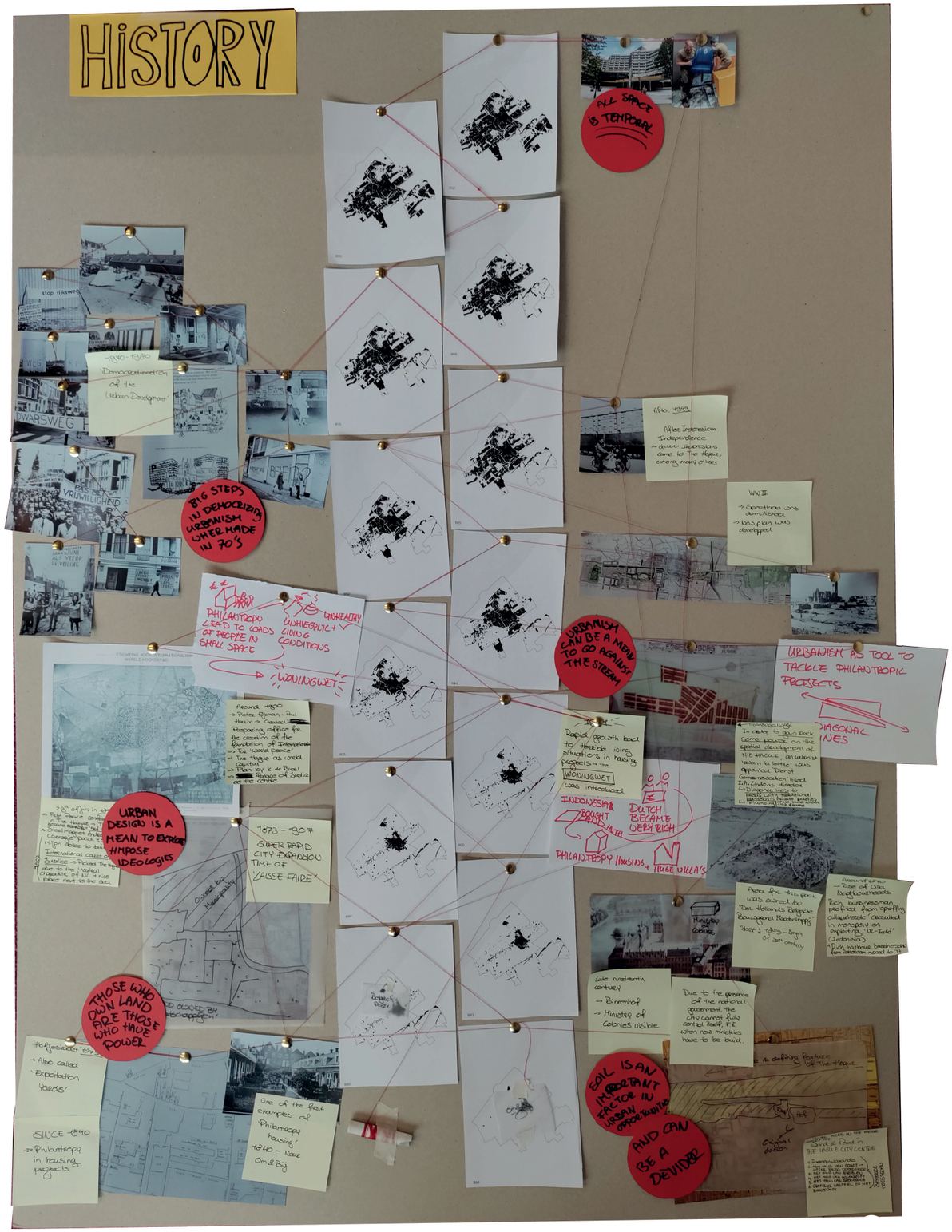
05.02. **HISTORICAL ANALYSIS: GENERAL OVERVIEW**

In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the role of the urban designer in general, the development of urban planning in the history of The Hague was examined. A morphological analysis was done, using maps from Topotijdreis, literature research, using the Atlas van de verstedelijking in Nederland, written by Reinout Rutte and Jaap Evert Abrahamse and the Historische Atlas Van Den Haag, written by Steven van Schuppen and the booklet Den Haag op z'n smalst (Haagse Courant, 1979). Photos and maps, shown on the panel on the right, are mainly from these last two sources.

On the right you can see a timeline with a general overview and some important developments of The Hague's history. These developments are linked by a red thread. In making the timeline, the aim was not to focus on details, but mainly to find general themes, important in the city's development and also important in relation to the role of the designer. While making the timeline, it became apparent that the city of The Hague is shaped by a sum of different dualities, a set of priorities that are in constant friction with one another, and that these dualities can also be seen in the historical development of the city's urban fabric. In this chapter, we will look at six different themes that emerge from the idea of The Hague as a city of dualities. The most prominent themes found are:

Hof - Dorp
Top down - Bottom Up
Neutral - Political
Rich - Poor
Municipality - Private interest
Local - Supra local
Yesterday - Today

In the following pages, conclusions around these themes will be explained.

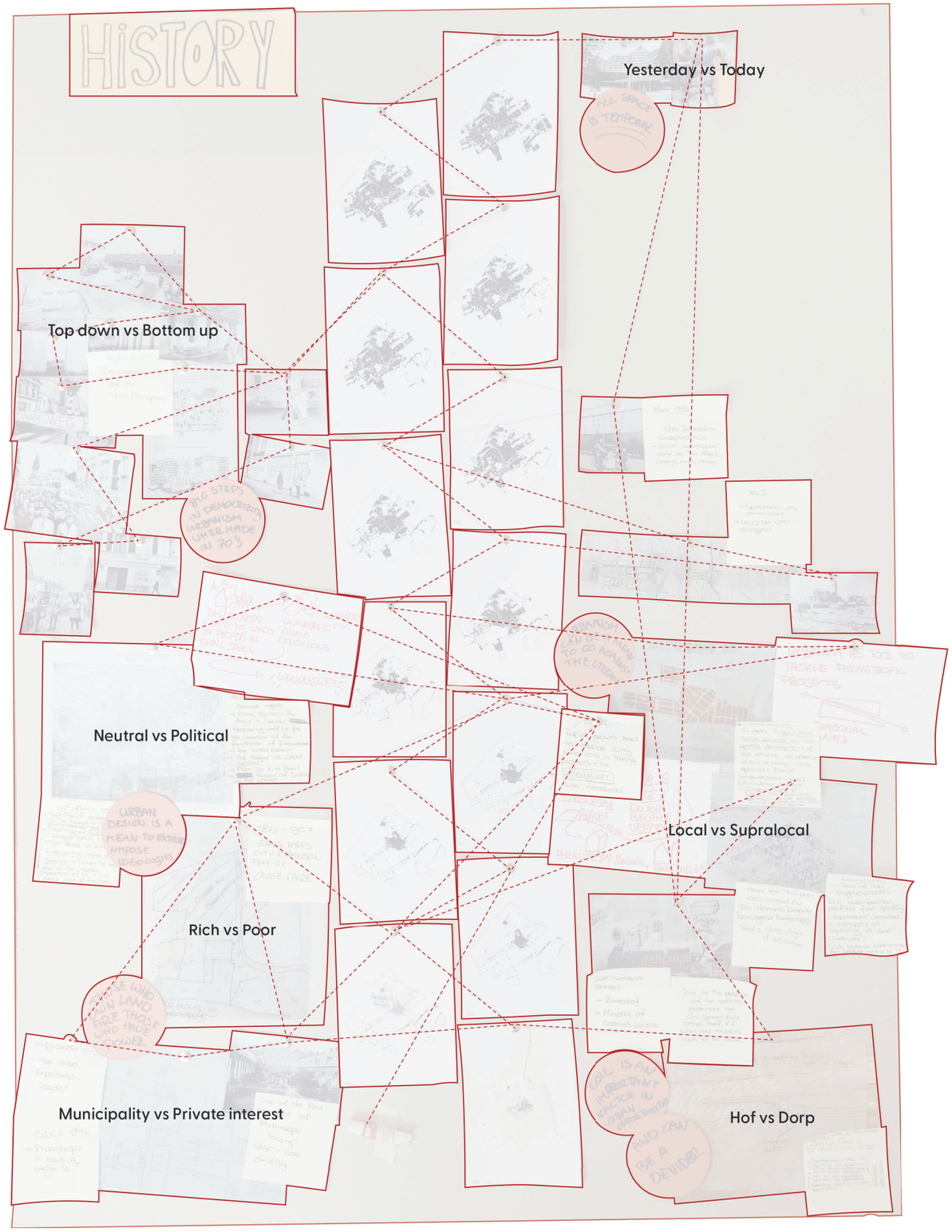


Historical Analysis

Picture of the historical analysis panel

05.03. **PANEL OVERVIEW**





Historical Analysis

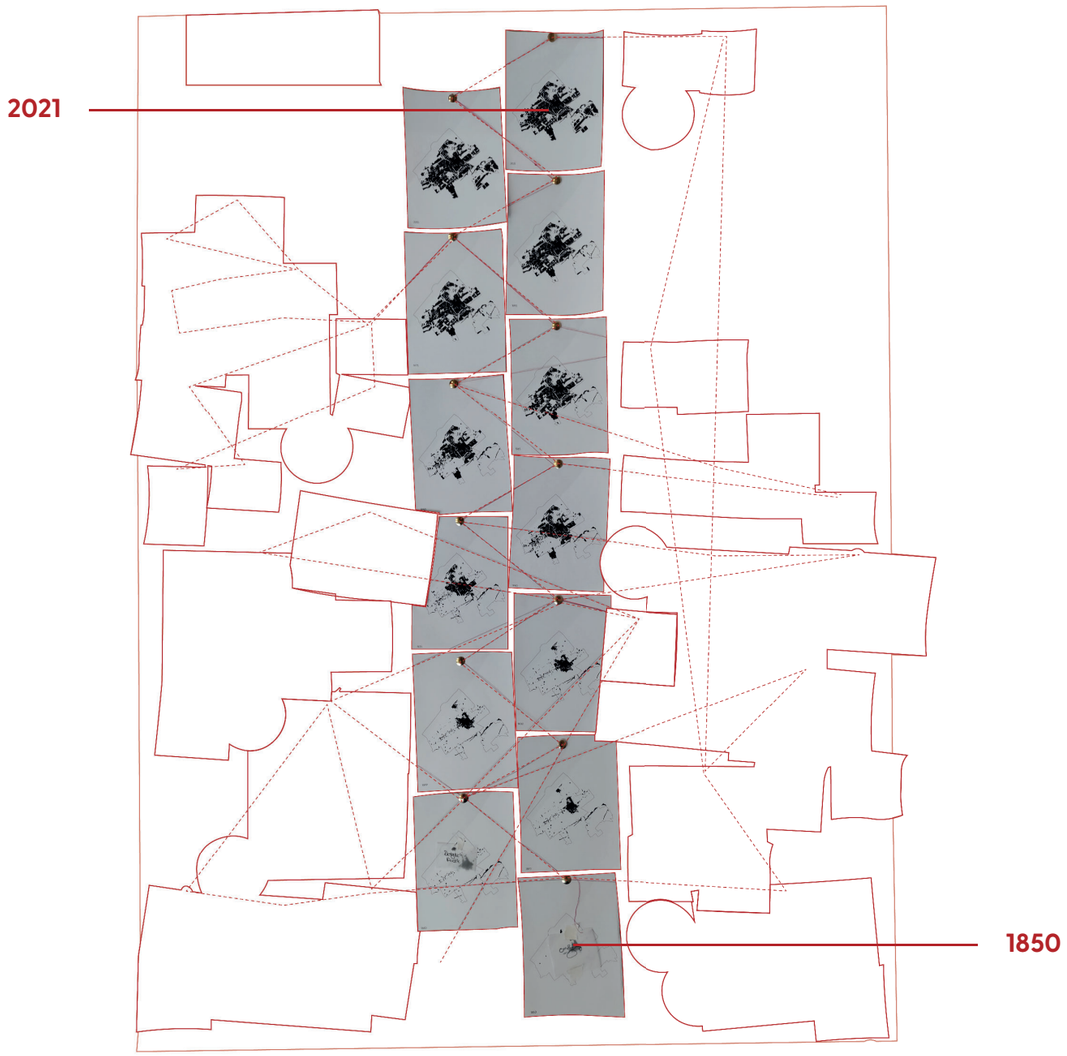
Abstract representation of the historical analysis panel

05.04. **HISTORICAL ANALYSIS: MORPHOLOGY OF THE HAGUE**

As a first step in the Historical Analysis, a morphological analysis of The Hague, of the period from 1850-present, was made.

A main structure of lines running parallel to the coastline can be seen in The Hague. These are due to the sand dunes and peat reclamations(Rutte & Abrahamse, n.d.). We can also see that the railway line draws a sharp boundary in the urban fabric. These railway lines, which connected Scheveningen and the centre of The Hague with Rotterdam, among others, are also one of the reasons for the growth of the city of The Hague around 1900 ((Rutte & Abrahamse, n.d.).

Furthermore, the city has continued to expand outwards from a historic centre, with both the centre of The Hague, near the Binnenhof and the core of Scheveningen counting as the oldest of the city. It is notable that there has been tremendous growth especially in the period around 1900 and in the period just after the war. The coming paragraphs will discuss the reasons behind this expansion in relation to the previously mentioned dualities.



Morphology of The Hague

Spatial analysis as a base for the historical analysis





2021
1970
1940
1900
Before 1870

N

0 5 km

Morphology of The Hague

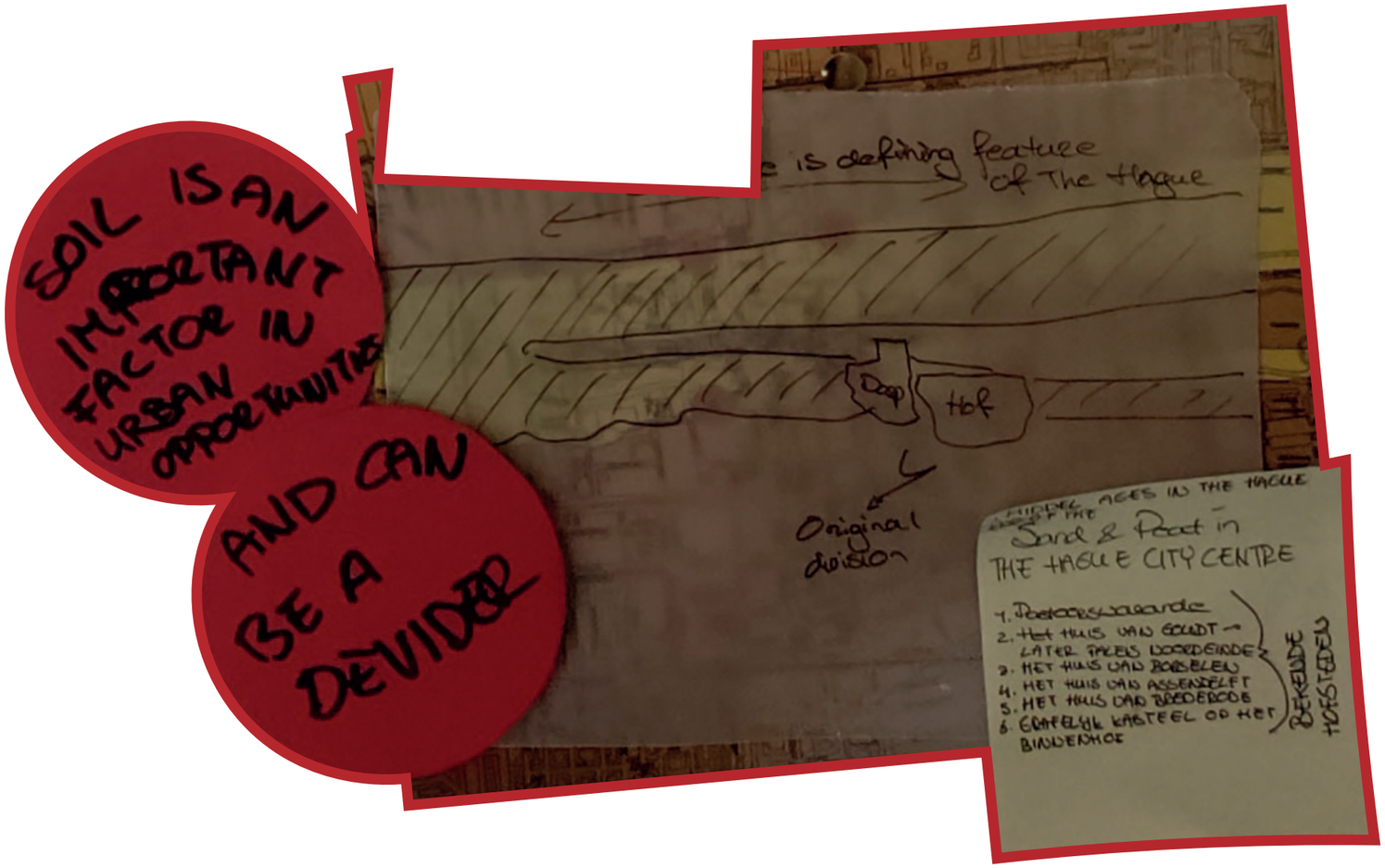
Based on Topotijdreis

05.05. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS: THE HAGUE, A CITY OF DUALITIES

1. Hof vs Dorp: the origins of the city
The dualities in The Hague arose at the birth of the city itself, namely the friction between The Hague as a Dorp (village) vs The Hague as a Hof (court) and also the contrast between the rich (the court) and poor (the village). The court, consisting of a series of palaces, including the principles of the Binnenhof, was built on the sand walls from the very beginning (Van Schuppen, 2006, p 13). While the village of “Die Hage” originally originated on the sand, it continued to develop mainly on the peat, especially in the fourteenth century (Van Schuppen, 2006, p13).

The Vijverberg was the main devision between these two. At one point, there was even a fence build around the ‘Hof’ area in order to keep the ‘rabble’ from the ‘Dorp’ out of the ‘fancy’ neighbourhood (Van Schuppen, 2006, p13). This was around 1400.
After the french, regulations were made to keep pigs of the poor of of De Voorhout to continue the idea that this area should have an ‘clean’ image.

This examples shows how soil can be the base of social division. It also shows the power of the wealthy to adapt and enclose space.





2 1

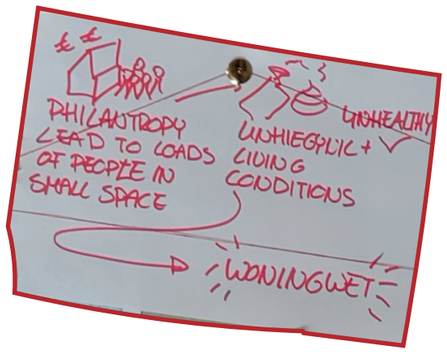
2. Municipality vs Private Interest

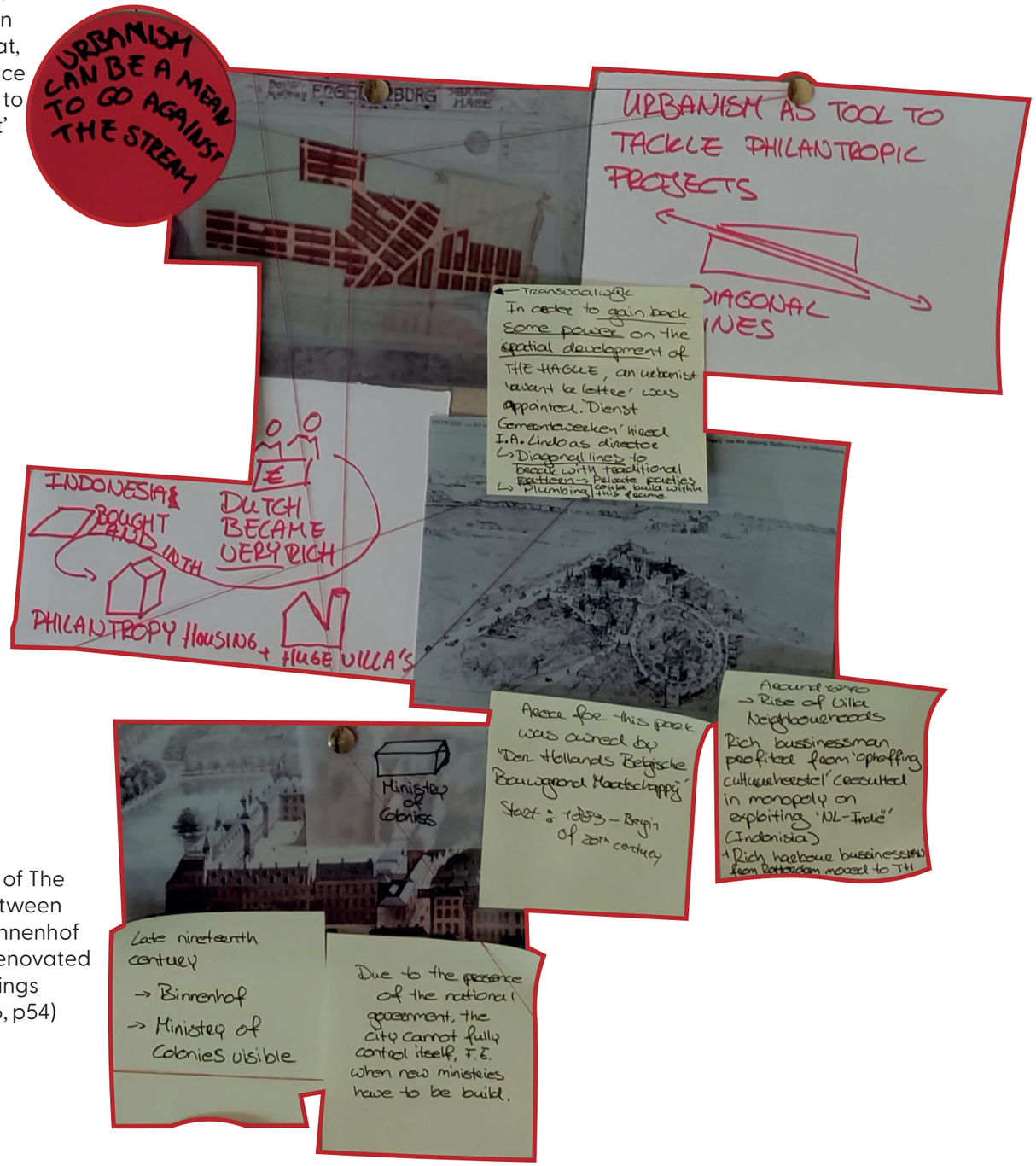
This division between the rich and the poor developed through time. Around the beginning of 1800 the city doubled in size (37.000 to 70.000) (Van Schuppen, 2006, p 42). This rapid growth made it difficult to build proper housing for all. Slums arose in the centre behind fancy facades. This became a health hazard, resulting in cholera-epidemics. Around 1830 the wealthy class in The Hague started to 'care' about the faith of the workers. They called this 'Sociale Quaestie', or the societal issue (Van Schuppen, 2006, p 42). This was the start of philanthropic housing projects. While this might seem like a good cause, the housing projects that came out of this, were called 'exploitatie hofjes': exploitation housing (Van Schuppen, 2006, p 42). Until 1850, city expansion still contained mixed classes, after 1870, every new neighbourhood was divided by class (Van Schuppen, 2006, p 42). However, in this time period about half of the municipality had interests in the real estate sector.

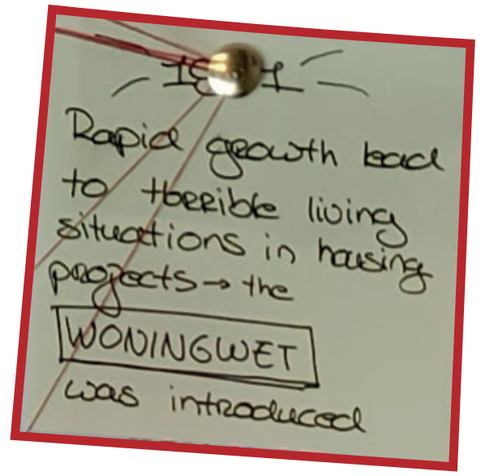
The fact that the wealthy were now building for their own private gain, resulted in a lot of private land ownership (Van Schuppen, 2006, p 42). This was an issue for the municipality, since they lost a lot of power on the way the city was shaped. Also, the effect of privatized city or 'Laisse Faire' expansion resulted in an incoherent and chaotic urban fabric and poor quality (Van Schuppen, 2006, p 42).

05.05. **HISTORICAL ANALYSIS: THE HAGUE, A CITY OF DUALITIES**

3. Municipality vs Private Interest
As a first attempt to gain back power, an urbanist 'avant la letter', was appointed. I.A. Lindo designed a plan with diagonals that investors had to follow (Van Schuppen, 2006, p 49). However, in the area's on peat, this still didn't result in proper housing conditions, since investors still tried to build as dense as possible and to ask the highest rent possible. Due to the 'woningwet' (housing law) of 1901, poor people became more protected for the philanthropists' interest (Van Schuppen, 2006, p. 49).







4. Local - Supralocal

Around 1870, the villa neighbourhoods started to arise. In The Hague, these villa neighbourhoods were inhabited by business people that profited from the monopoly the Netherlands gained in the 'Dutch East Indies' (Indonesia) and businesspeople that made a fortune in the harbor of Rotterdam (Van Schuppen, 2006, p 46).

5. Local - Supra local
The Hague is the centre of the national government of The Netherlands. This has caused quite some friction between local and national interest. Around 1880-1920, the Binnenhof area (the centre of the national government), was renovated and expanded. For this expansion, quite some buildings were changed or demolished. (Van Schuppen, 2006, p54)

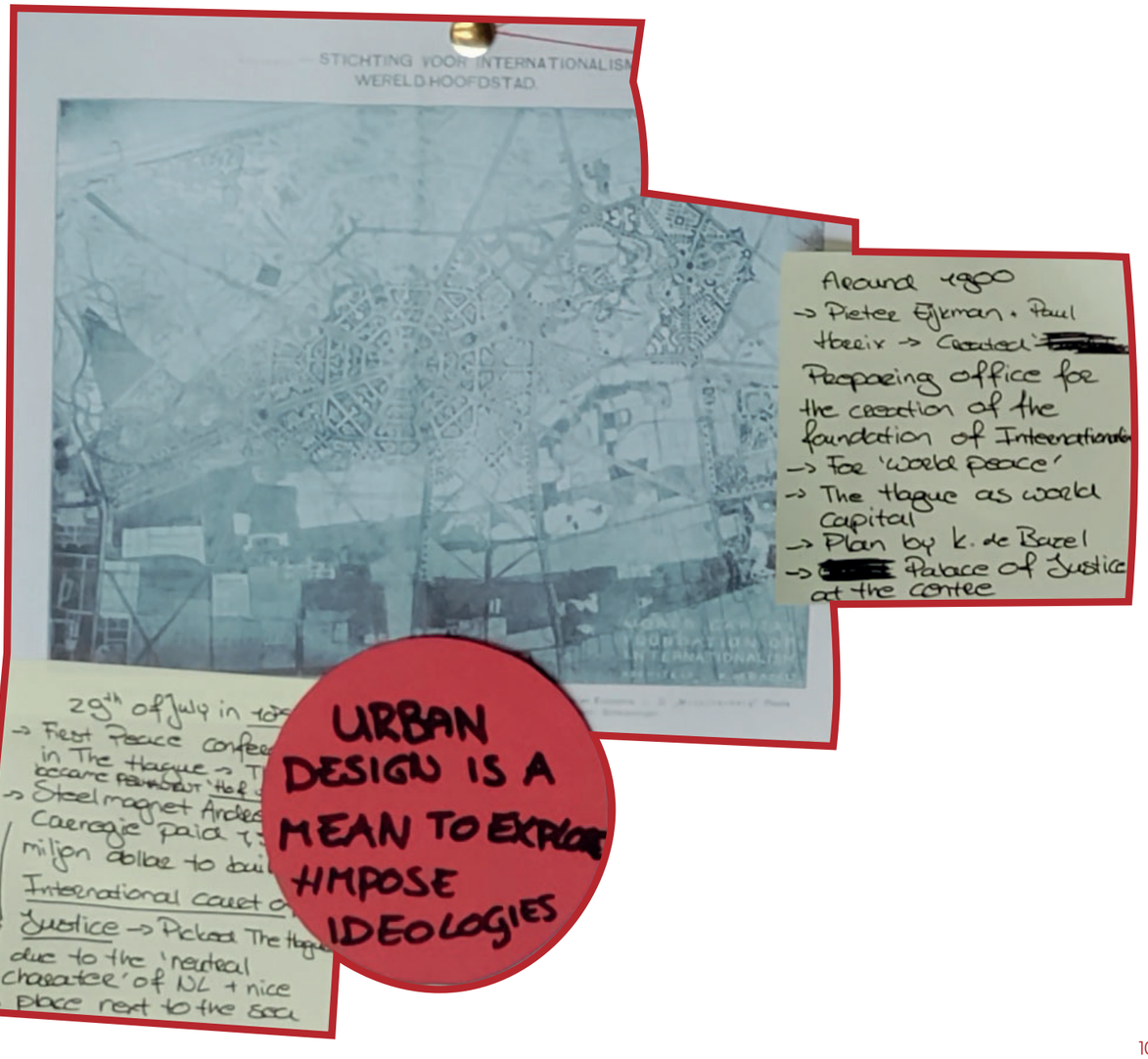


6. Neutral - Political

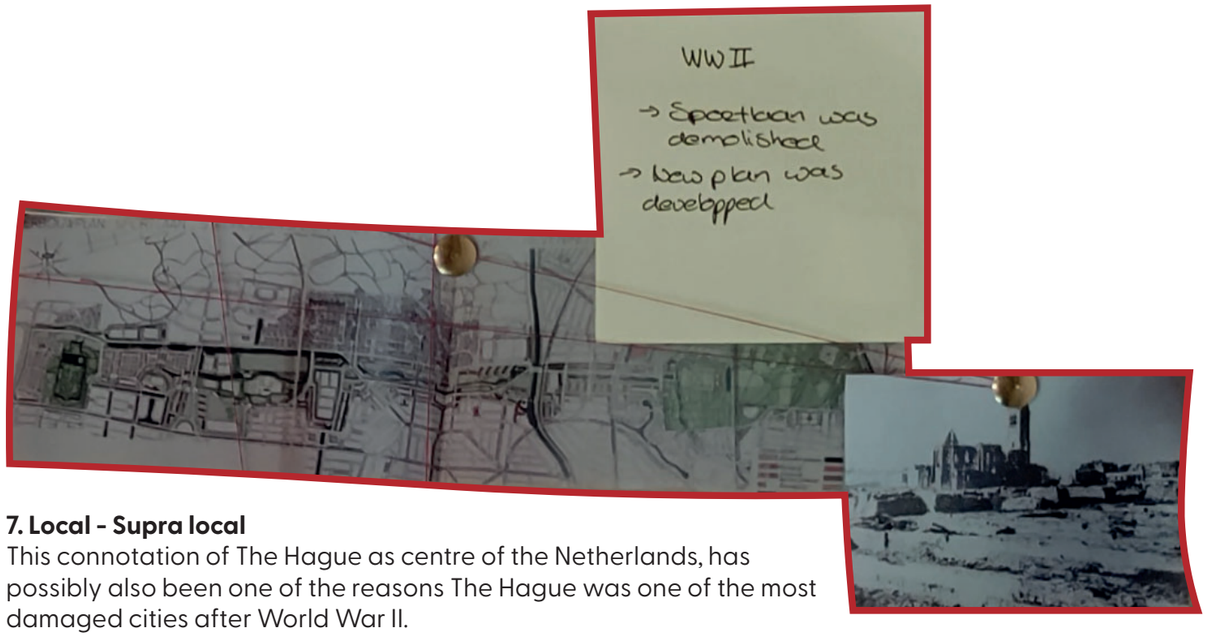
In 1899 the international peace conference was organized in The Hague due to the fact that The Netherlands were conceived as ‘neutral ground’; this made the country survive between Great Britain, France and Germany (Van Schuppen, 2006, p56). The Hague was chosen as the centre for this conference, in which the beautiful seaside location played a major role.

The urbanist of the city of the time, K.P.C. Bazel designed a plan for ‘the World Capital of Internationalism’. Eventually, American steel magnate Andrew Carnegie invested into the project, which led to the construction of the Peace Palace: the centre of this new future world capital. This international perception of The Hague as ‘neutral ground’ (Van Schuppen, 2006, p56), has made the city to be internationally relevant as ‘centre of peace’ and has attracted many other institutes afterwards, such as the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, the International Court of Justice, the International Criminal Court, Europol and the Atom institute of the UN. Due to safety reasons, the area around these buildings are highly surveillance and difficult to access; The supralocal interest is put above the local interest (Van Schuppen, 2006, p56).





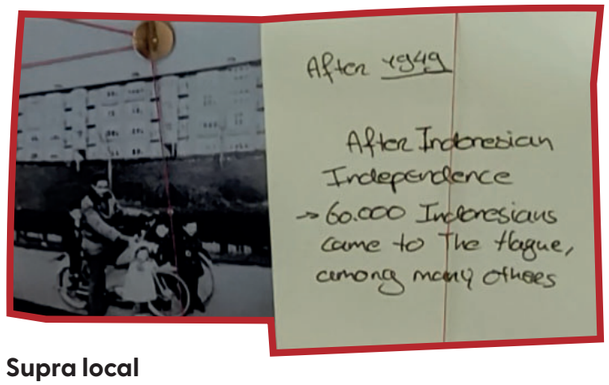
05.05. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS: THE HAGUE, A CITY OF DUALI-



7. Local - Supra local
This connotation of The Hague as centre of the Netherlands, has possibly also been one of the reasons The Hague was one of the most damaged cities after World War II.

During the war, the AtlantikWall, part of the defence line of the germans along the entire European coastline, was constructed in The Hague (Van Schuppen, 2006, p 64). In the war, The Hague was also the centre of the launch base for one of Hitlers weapons, in an attempt to bomb this base, a few neighbourhoods were hit.

After the War, Dudok made a plan to reconstruct and improve the city, by adding a lot of green and space for cars (Van Schuppen, 2006, p 64), as can be seen on the image underneath.



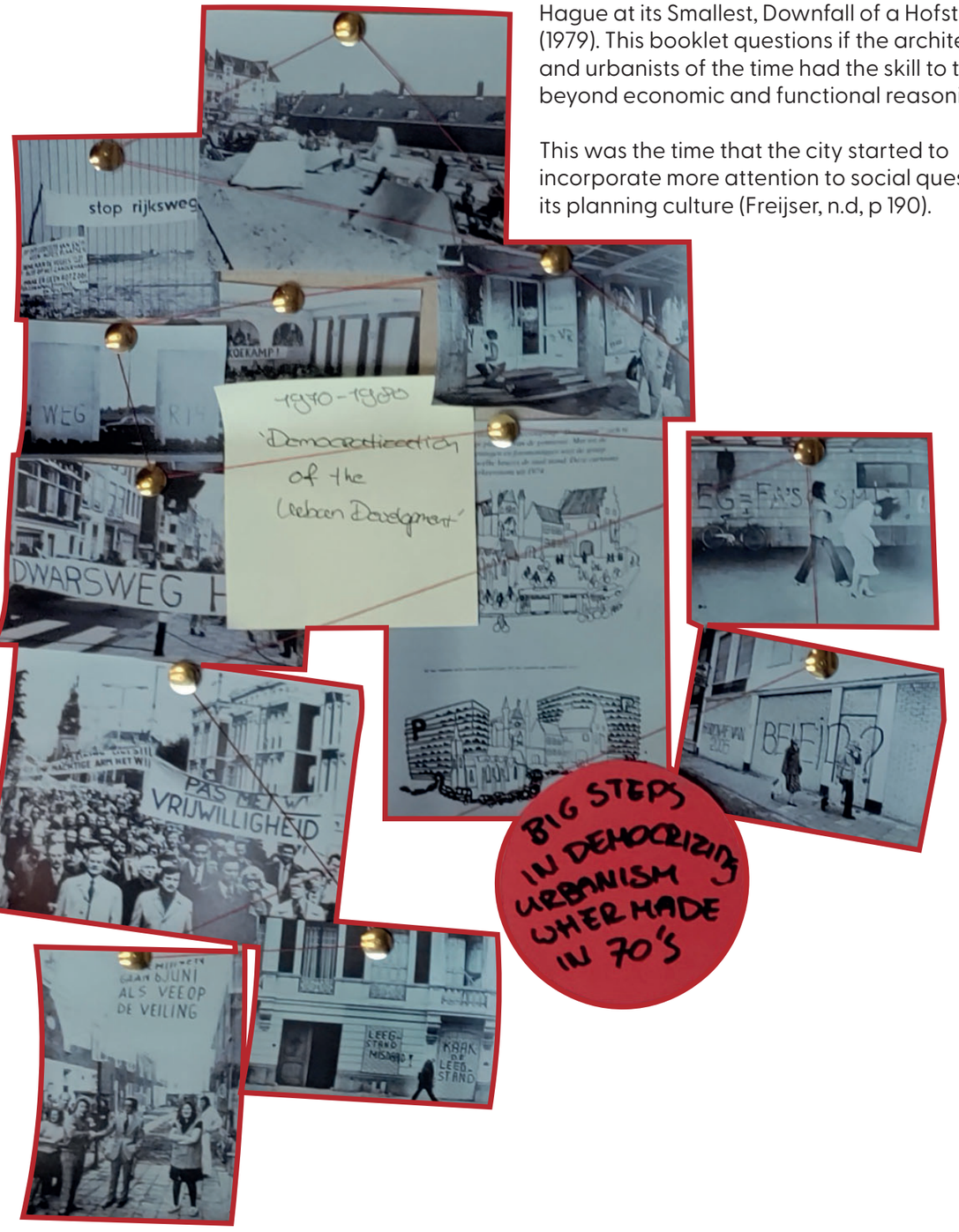
8. Local - Supra local

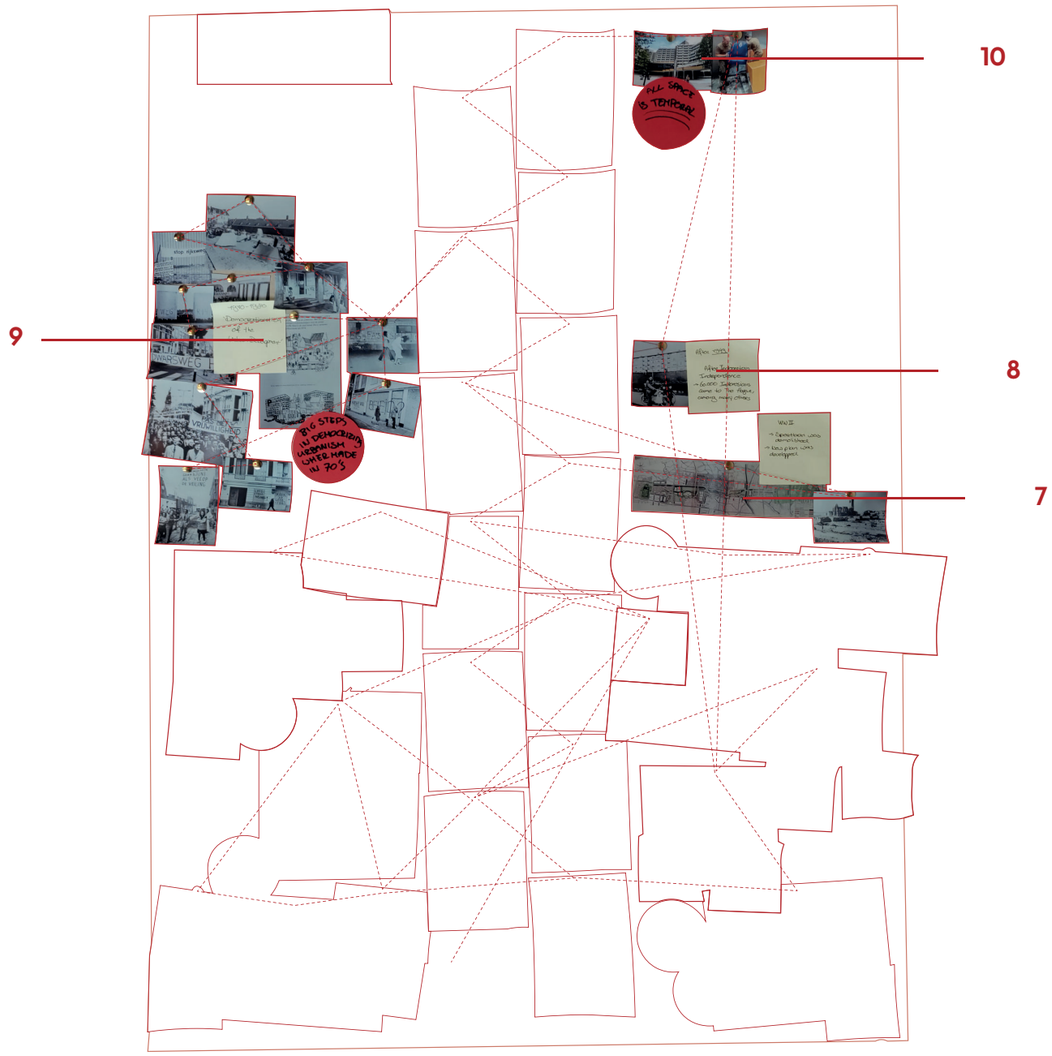
After World War 2, Indonesia was no longer under Dutch rule. In the time between 1949-1960s' 60.000 Indonesians moved to The Hague (Van Schuppen, 2006, p51).

9. Top down - Bottom up
The 70s and 80s were the time of the democratization of Dutch urbanism. In the beginning of the 70's, the city experienced a big shift to the left. An energy crisis, a cost of living crisis, a housing crisis and environmental pollution lead to the rise of dissatisfied citizens. This resulted in an explosion of protests, against the policy of the day. New ways to involve citizens were considered. Political clarity, public decision-making and participation was demanded by the public (Freijser, n.d, p 189).

One example of this critique in the late 70's, was written by De Haagse Courant, in 'Den Haag op z'n Smalst, Teloorgang van een Hofstad' (The Hague at its Smallest, Downfall of a Hofstad) (1979). This booklet questions if the architects and urbanists of the time had the skill to think beyond economic and functional reasoning.

This was the time that the city started to incorporate more attention to social questions in its planning culture (Freijser, n.d, p 190).





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10. Yesterday -Today

In conclusion, the role of the urbanist has had many forms and functions, from representing the most wealthy of society, to pushing their interests away for a general public idea (I.A. Lindo as a first). In 2025, the question of democracy and urban planning becomes ever so relevant. Issues that were already present in the 70's, are again at the core of present-day discussion. We are in a moment of renovation expansion of the Binnenhof area again, resulting in a back and forward of local and supralocal interests and, where the Tweede Kamer is even housed in a Brutalist office building, with a 'transparent' facade stuck to it, to make sure people feel the 'open character' of our present-day system. The historical analysis made clear how urban interventions, such as the fence to 'keep the poor' out, to highways built in the 70's that caused a lot of protest, bring back the conclusion that exploring the role of the urban designer in a democracy, is a complicated question. The role always moves between a load of interests, power and money-related questions.

05.06. **WORKSHOP ON DEMOCRACY AS A DAILY LIFE PRACTICE**

Aiming to deepen the understanding of designing for radical pluralist democracy, we organised a workshop for fellow students. Here, the goal was to bring together perspectives from different urbanism and architecture students on the topic of design for democracy as a daily life practice. The aim was to reflect on the previously found conclusions of the research from the perspective of urban planners and architects of the future.

Furthermore, the aim was to identify which spaces matter in the radical pluralist democracy. Also, the aim was to expose the role of the designer in this issue to these students and the aim was to work together towards a proposal of the designer's role, where the aim was also to explore how the perspective on interpretation of the designer's role may differ from one person to another.

To invite and draw people's attention to the workshop, posters were put up in the architecture building and people walked around the faculty to ask if they wanted to participate. People knew in advance what the workshop was about. Some of those present had also attended previous presentations of this graduation project, so already knew more.

The workshop was divided into five parts:

-A short presentation on the definition of democracy used in this research, as reflected in the chapter on defining democracy. Furthermore, the concept of "democracy as a daily life practice" was introduced. It was explained that the main focus of this research is to find out which spaces have relevance in a democracy besides spaces for protest and government buildings.

-A series of statements, with on three of the four focal points: the attitude in design, the product of design, methods of design and on the designer in relation to others, as found through the bibliography, in which the students discussed their different perspectives on the theme "democracy as a daily life practice".

-A brainstorm, by making a mind map on paper in a group of 4-5 students around the four themes mentioned above

-An individual assignment, asking people after the statements and brainstorming which spaces are relevant in the radical pluralist democracy and why.

-After the workshop, everyone was asked to write a short reflection on the workshop about what they thought of it and what could possibly be done better next time and about what they learned.

The questioning around the topic was kept as open as possible, with the aim of minimising researcher bias and position. However, in the interpretation of the discussion and brainstorming, it cannot be ruled out that in this, the personal bias and position of the researcher does have an influence. It should also be mentioned that the focus on radical pluralist democracy and democracy as a daily life practice is not a neutral position.

Due to ethical considerations, the workshop was not recorded and no photographs were taken and the product of the workshop is thus:

-A series of notes during the discussion around the statements
-3 mind maps around the four main themes
-A set of cards with spaces, found relevant in radical pluralist democracy with a brief explanation of why.
-Short reflections on the workshop.

The following pages will discuss the conclusions of the workshop. The conclusions are brought together through a panel, shown on the next page.

The presentation of the workshop can be found in the appendix, as well as the poster used to recruit people for the workshop.

05.07. **DEMOCRACY AS A DAILY LIFE PRACTICE:**



John Dewey's model of democracy (Dewey, 1927) emphasises an inclusive and participatory approach to governance. Democracy should be viewed as a continuous, deliberative process where citizens actively engage in public discourse and decision-making to address societal challenges and promote justice. John

John Dewey

(Spatial Justice Handbook DRAFT, 2024)

On the eve of the twenty-first century, amid the upheavals the world is witnessing, the task of rethinking democratic politics is more urgent than ever. For those who refuse to see 'really existing' liberal democratic capitalism at the 'end of history', radical democracy is the only alternative. If the Left is to learn from the tragic experiences of totalitarianism it has to adopt a different attitude towards liberal democracy, and recognize its strengths as well as reveal its shortcomings. In other words, the objective of the Left should be the extension and deepening of the democratic revolution initiated two hundred years ago.

miro

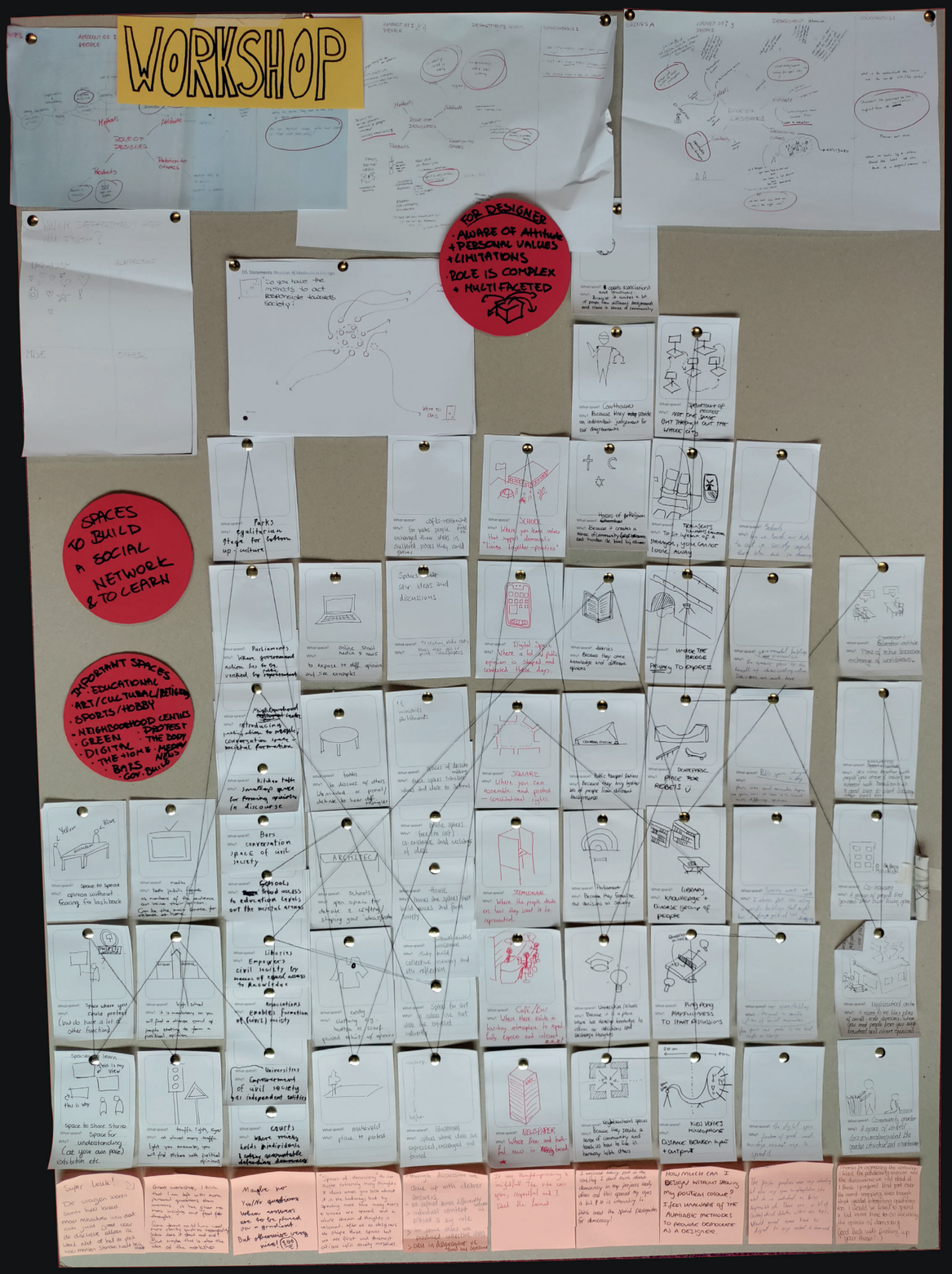
Chantal Mouffe

(Mouffe, 1992)

Quotes used in the workshop

05.08. **WORKSHOP ON DEMOCRACY AS A DAILY LIFE PRACTICE**

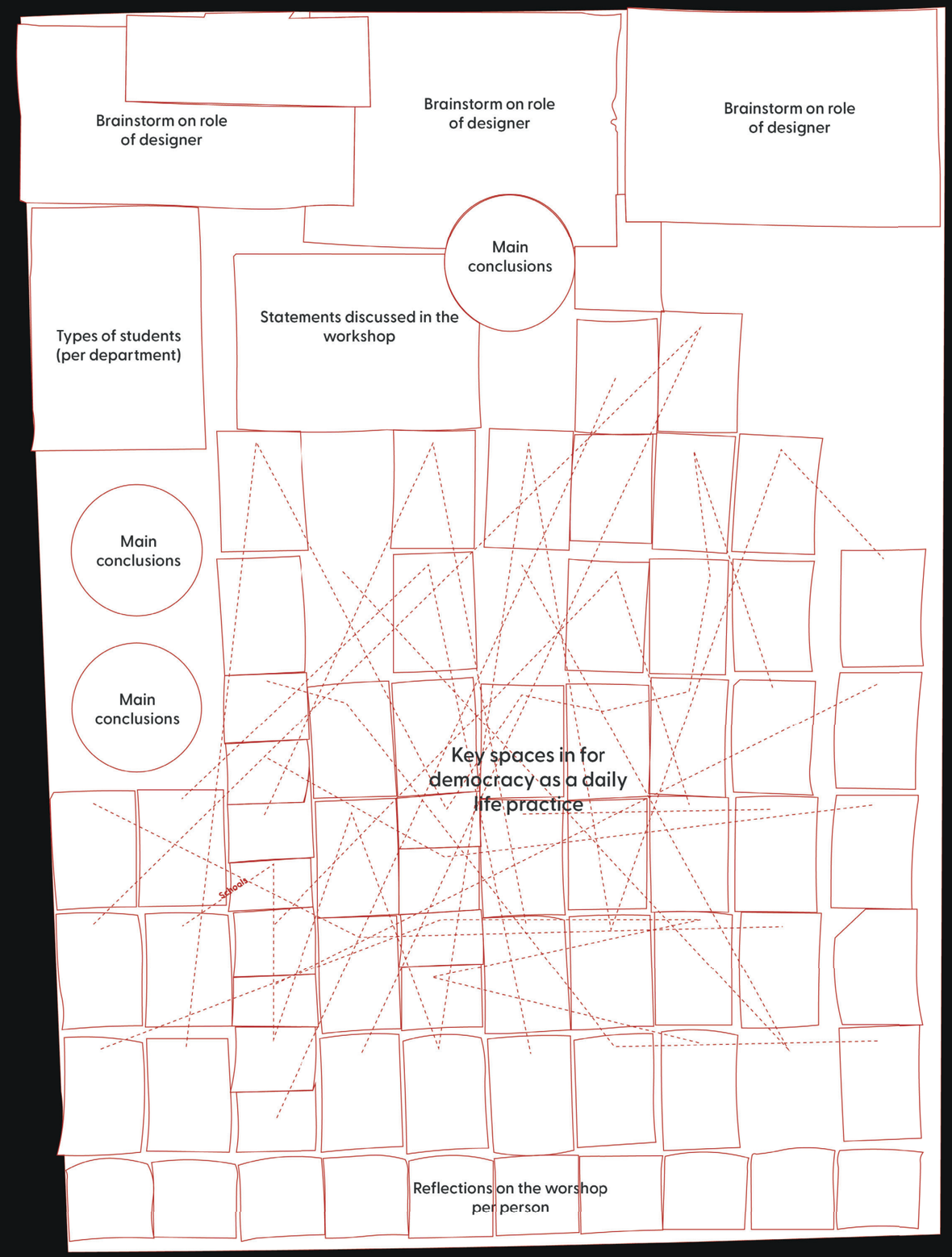
On the right is the panel created as a result of the workshop. The conclusions for each component are discussed on the following pages.



Workshop

Picture of the historical analysis panel

05.09. **PANEL OVERVIEW**



Workshop

Overview of the workshop panel

05.10. **STATEMENTS**

This part of the workshop consisted of a series of statements, asking people whether they agreed (yes) or disagreed (no). In a diagonal line in square space, one corner was a full yes, the other a full no. People were asked to choose the position that best suited their opinion, where not choosing an extreme was also possible, as can be seen in the sketches of the positioning of the different participants.

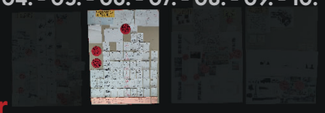
During this activity, participants were asked why they were selecting a particular position and it was mapped where they were standing. In this exercise, the aim is not so much to find one conclusion, but rather to look for nuance within these statements.

On the next pages, questions posed by the participants during the discussion of the statements, can be explored. The text shows all the different questions and statements posed by the group during the workshop. On the 'maps' one sees the position of the different participants during the discussion. The dots show how many people where there, the lines show where they went after hearing the statement.

Product of Design | **Is public space important in democracy?**

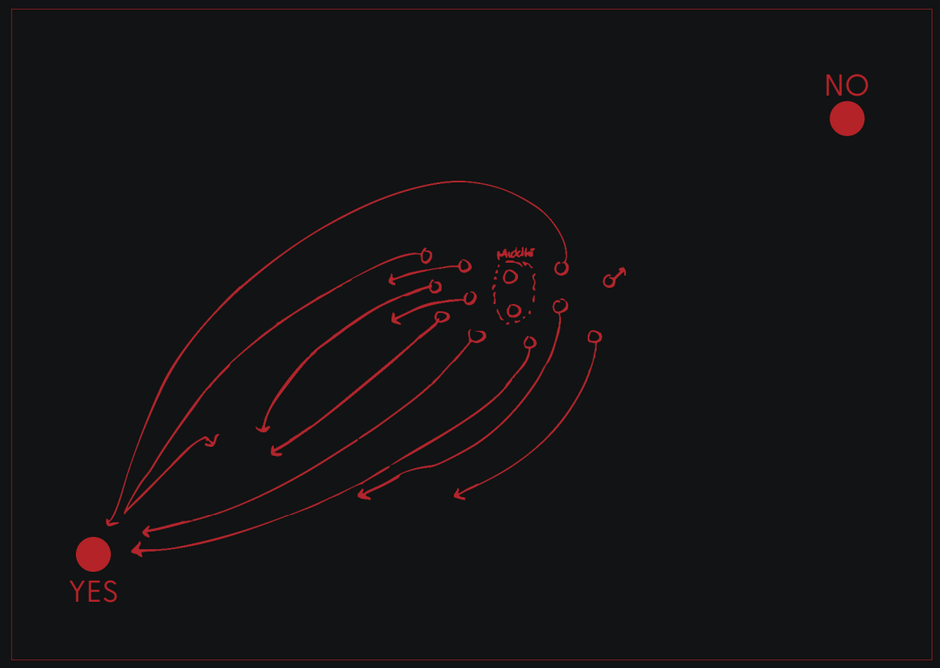


Democracy started in public space, but does it still work today to think of it as something that happens in public space? People don't meet with people that think differently anymore in public space. Is this even a design question? The freedom to assemble is important but does not only apply to public space. It is hard to design for everyone, but do we even try to do so? The question on public space is not only about access but also about the question of ownership, those who own public space, decide. Do citizens still own public space? Is there a public space without democracy?



There are experts for a reason, they are here because it is impossible to have all voices included. But, who chooses what knowledge the experts have? And what is a decision? I don't think an individual can understand the complexity of a space. This question is not only about knowledge on use, but also about technical knowledge. However, use determines what technical knowledge we need. What is citizen input? Maybe it is not about knowledge but about a more general approach? No, because democracy is not about solving technical issues, right?

Attitude in Design | **Are you responsible for the influence that your (future) work has on society?**



Designer in relation to others | **Are experts knowledgable enough to make decisions on public space without citizen input?**



This question brings the issue of the design intent vs the actual use to the table? Are we responsible for the actual use of our designs? When I get the responsibility, I am responsible. But am I responsible for social dynamics that change? What about the future? Responsible does not mean you can know everything that comes out? I think we are responsible, but not solely, it is a shared responsibility.

Methods in Design | **Do you have the methods to act responsible towards society?**



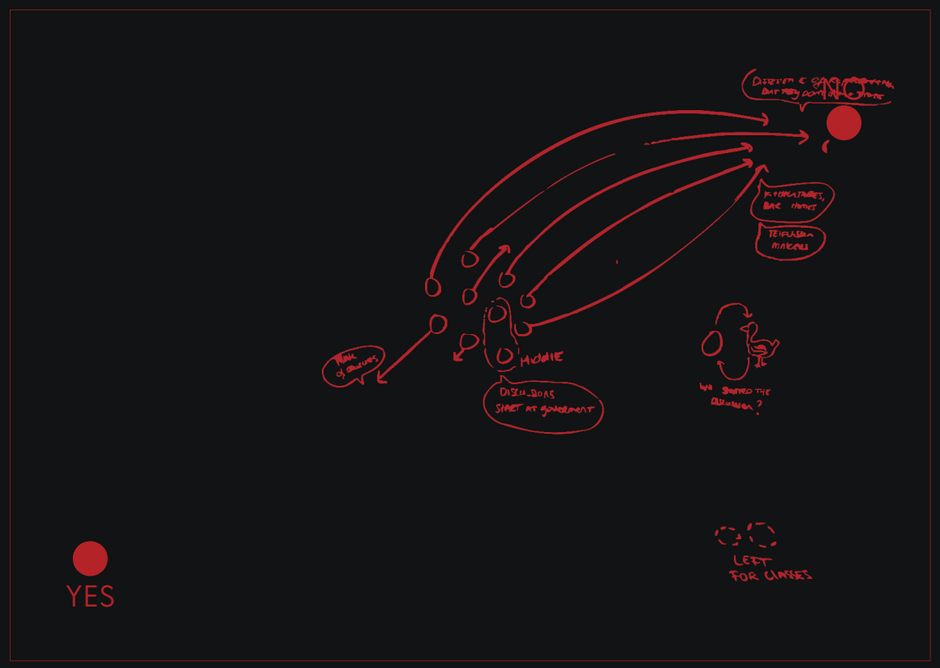
I think if people protest a mistake has happened before in democracy. It is like a warning sign. Protest seems to be the most accessible part of democratic systems to me now. But is it most effective? What even is protest?

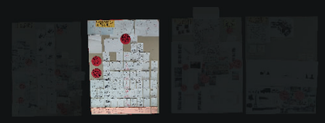
I don't know enough to answer. What is responsible? Are you a god? I act responsible to the best of my ability. You cannot make a perfect space? But does it have to be? We have methods but that doesn't mean we have access. What if the office I work in doesn't share my view? Maybe I am cynical due to my internship, but I think financial borders limit the ability to act responsible. We operate in a specific paradigm. Aren't our present day methods part or our present-day paradigm? Maybe we don't have the methods, yet? In my subjective position I can act responsible. Of course there will always be a clash of values. What to do with far-right values?

Product of Design |**Are places to protest the most important places for democracy?**



Product of Design |**Are govermental buildings the most important places for democracy?**

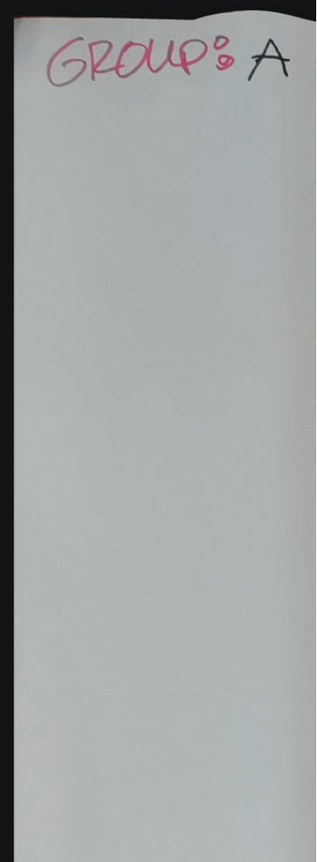




Governmental buildings have a symbolic importance, but this is not about the tangible building, but about what a building represents, similar to churches. The common values we have in a democracy need to be represented in the buildings. Are they a symbol or are they the places where it [democracy] happens? Democracy doesn't start in a governmental building. Power is based on representation. But democracy happens at a bar or at the kitchen tables mostly. Where do these discussions start? Society? Chicken or the egg? Are the decisions made in the governmental buildings or not? Are decisions made elsewhere? How about the TV for example? Do they eventually happen at the table? Who owns the news? I think democracy happens mainly at the kitchen table. But aren't there mainly like-minded people? Is going out of a group happening in the governmental building? I think the governmental building is not about power everyone is speaking about. What is it about? This is why these buildings should have public space next to them. So you can protest there. Isn't this prescribed by law?

05.11. **BRAINSTORM**

To conclude on the statements, the participants were asked to create a mindmap together, focussing on the 4 main topics: the attitude in design, the products of design, the methods of design and the relation designers have to others. This mindmap can be seen on the right. It is interesting to see that the main conclusions group A came up with are a list of questions.



AMOUNT OF PEOPLE: 3

DEPARTMENT: Urbanism.

you can flip it and see how much the government should be involved in citizen decisionmaking

but government should be the highest form of citizen decision-making so why would you need that?

highest level ladder of citizen participation

Participation Experts.

Participation session

feedback session

Methods

CO-CREATION

Bottom up approach

nature should also be valued equal to humans

we never truly do that in our decisions even though we put it as a value

also nature will survive anyhow, the question is whether humans will "survive" + so we focus more on designing for humans

value every human being the same way

responsible

Attitude

curious

open minded.

knowledgable about societal flows.

open to adaption

ROLE OF DESIGNERS:

Products

equitable plans/designs

adaptive design

Relation to Others

ADVISORY

as a designer

you never have a last say

BUT

you have a lot of power

BUT

you are dependent

" opinions are more based

BUT

we can never say that our way is the right way "

CONCLUSIONS:

What is the relationship of the human with the rest of earth / the context?

Shouldn't the government be the highest form of ~~participation~~ co-creation?

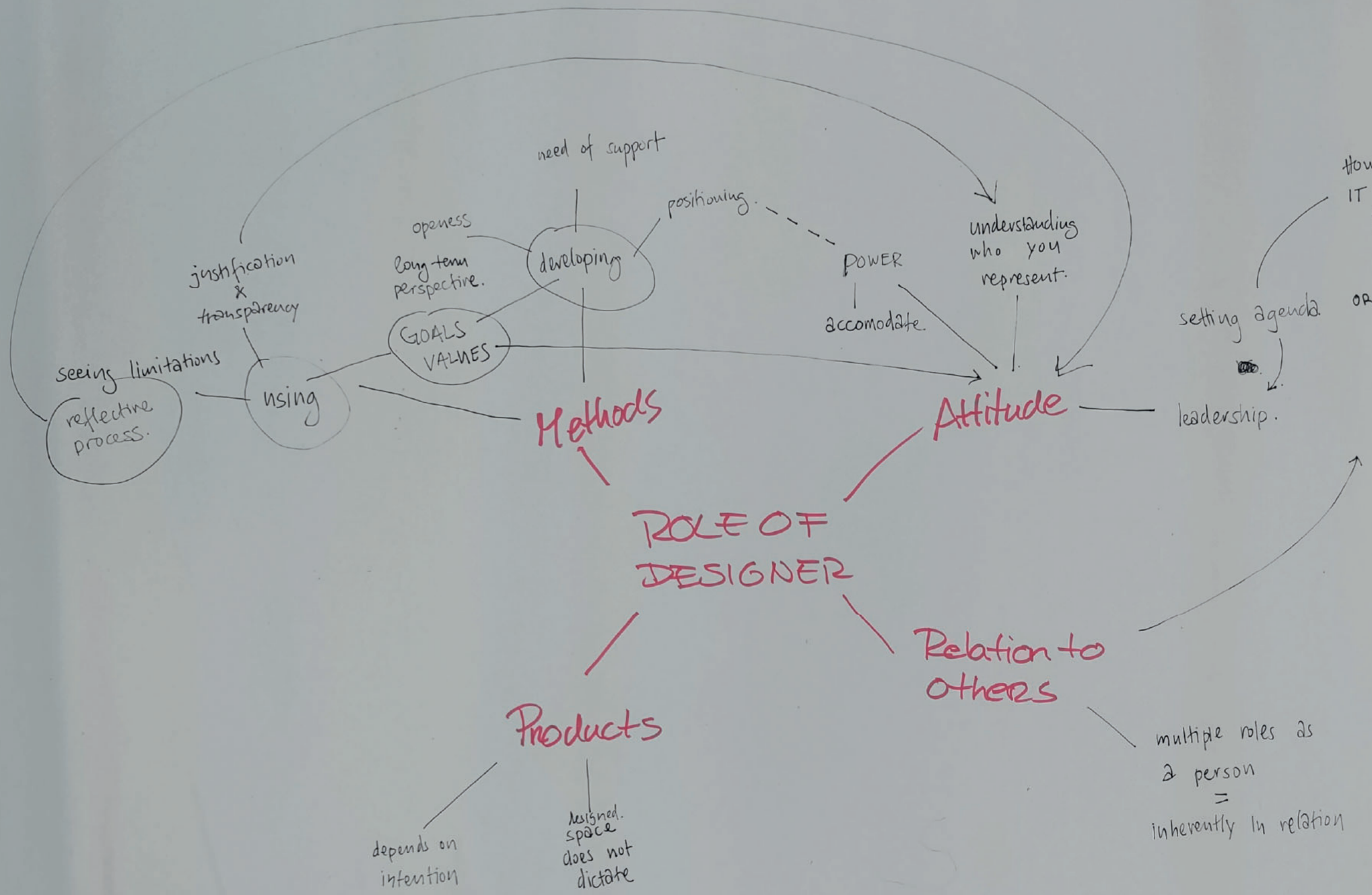
Planners exert power

Where do limits lay & where should the limits of the power of a designer / planner be?

GROUP: B

AMOUNT OF PEOPLE: 4

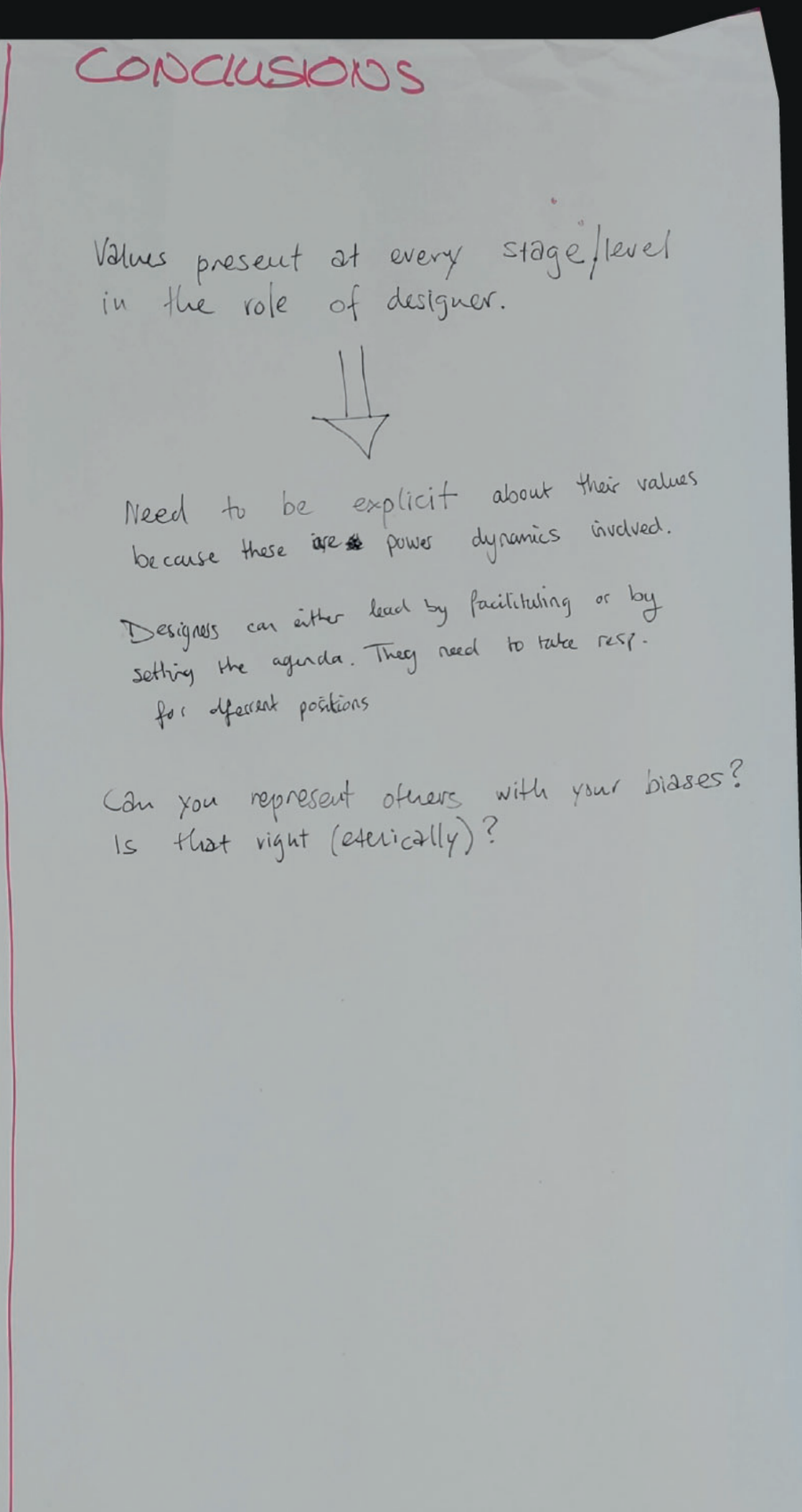
DEPARTMENT:



05.11. **BRAINSTORM**



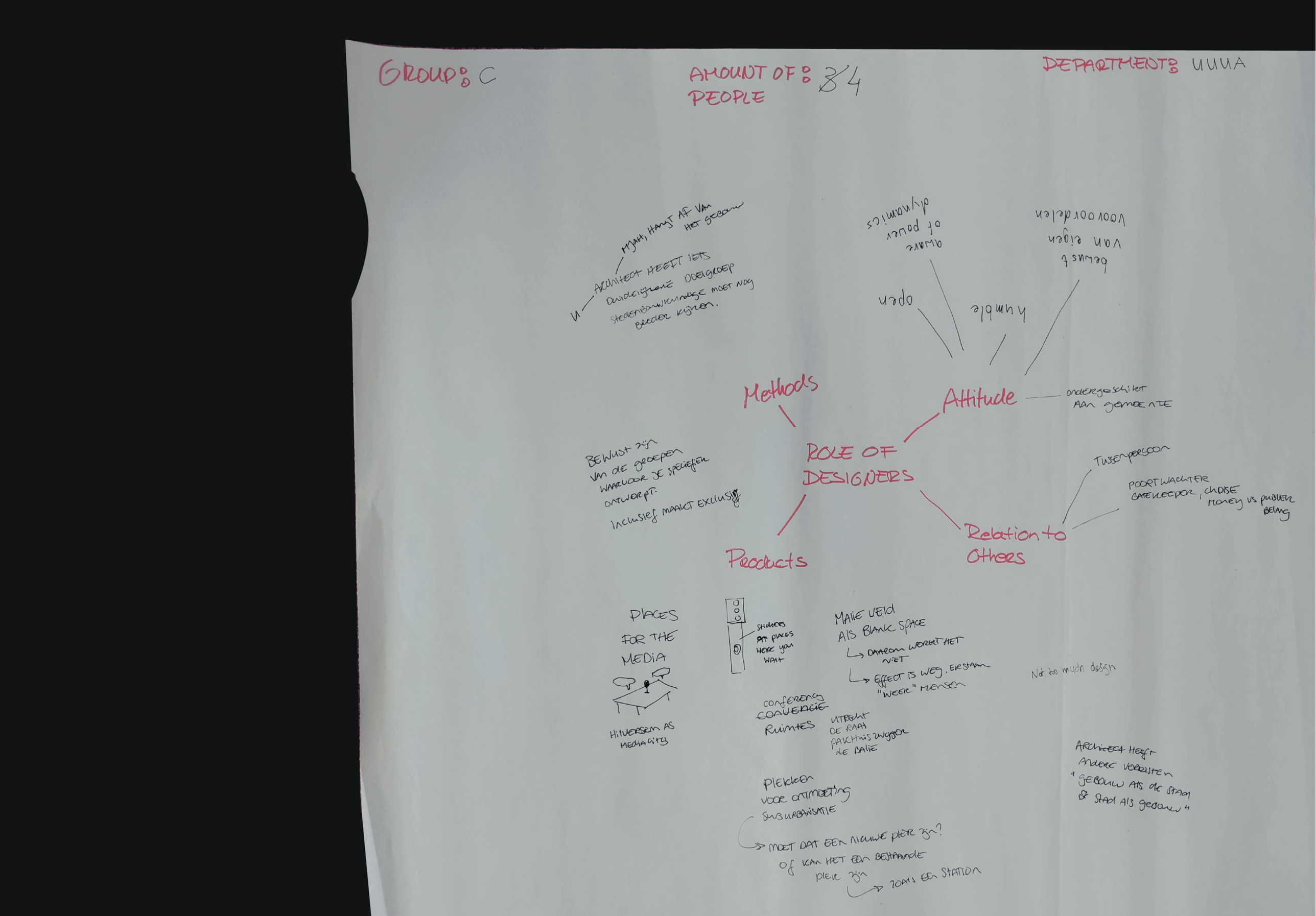
The mindmap of group B can be seen on the left. Again, they concluded the discussion in a list of questions rather than a list of anwsers.

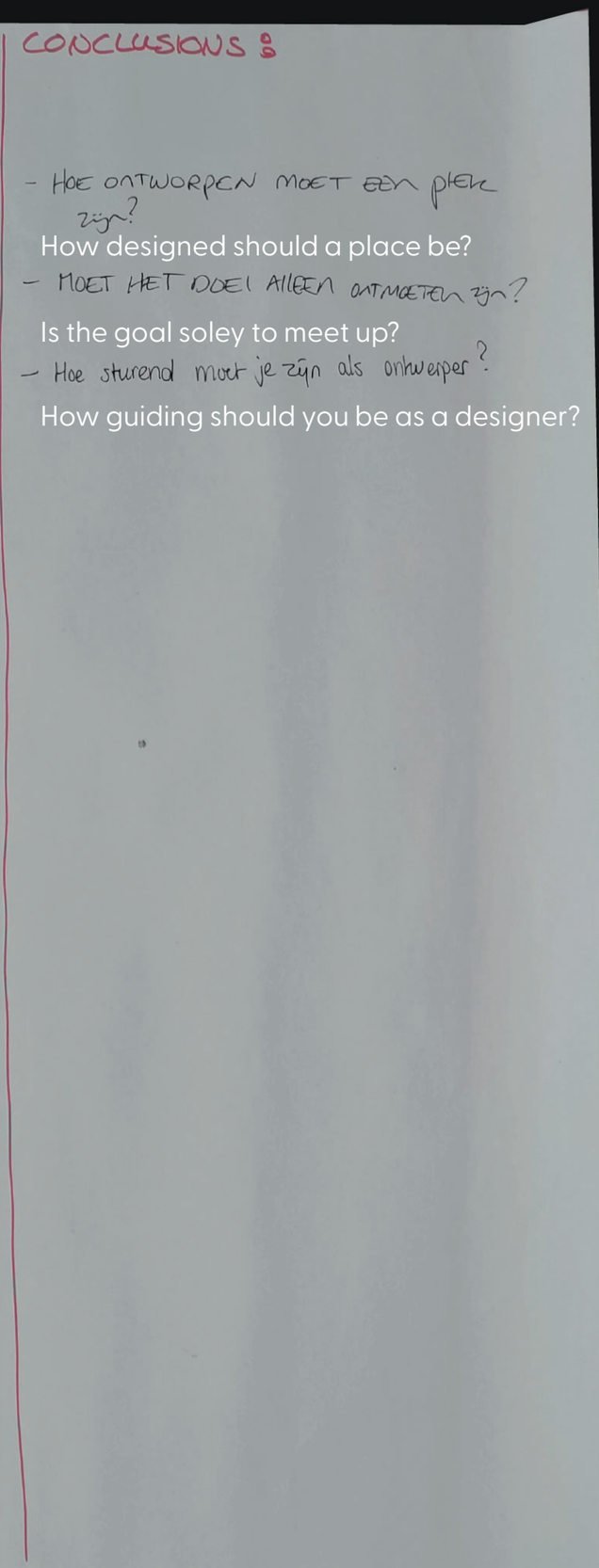


GROUP: C

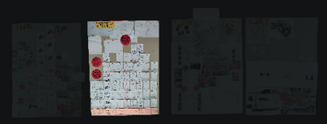
AMOUNT OF PEOPLE: 84

DEPARTMENT: UUUA





05.11. **BRAINSTORM**



Group C also concluded the discussion with a list of questions.

05.12. **CONCLUSIONS STATEMENTS & BRAINSTORM**

The main conclusion drawn from the statements and the brainstorming is that there are still many questions for the students.

In particular, they stress that the role of the designer in a democracy is to be aware of its biases, as these play a role in making a design. These biases consciously and unconsciously cause certain groups to be prioritised over others.

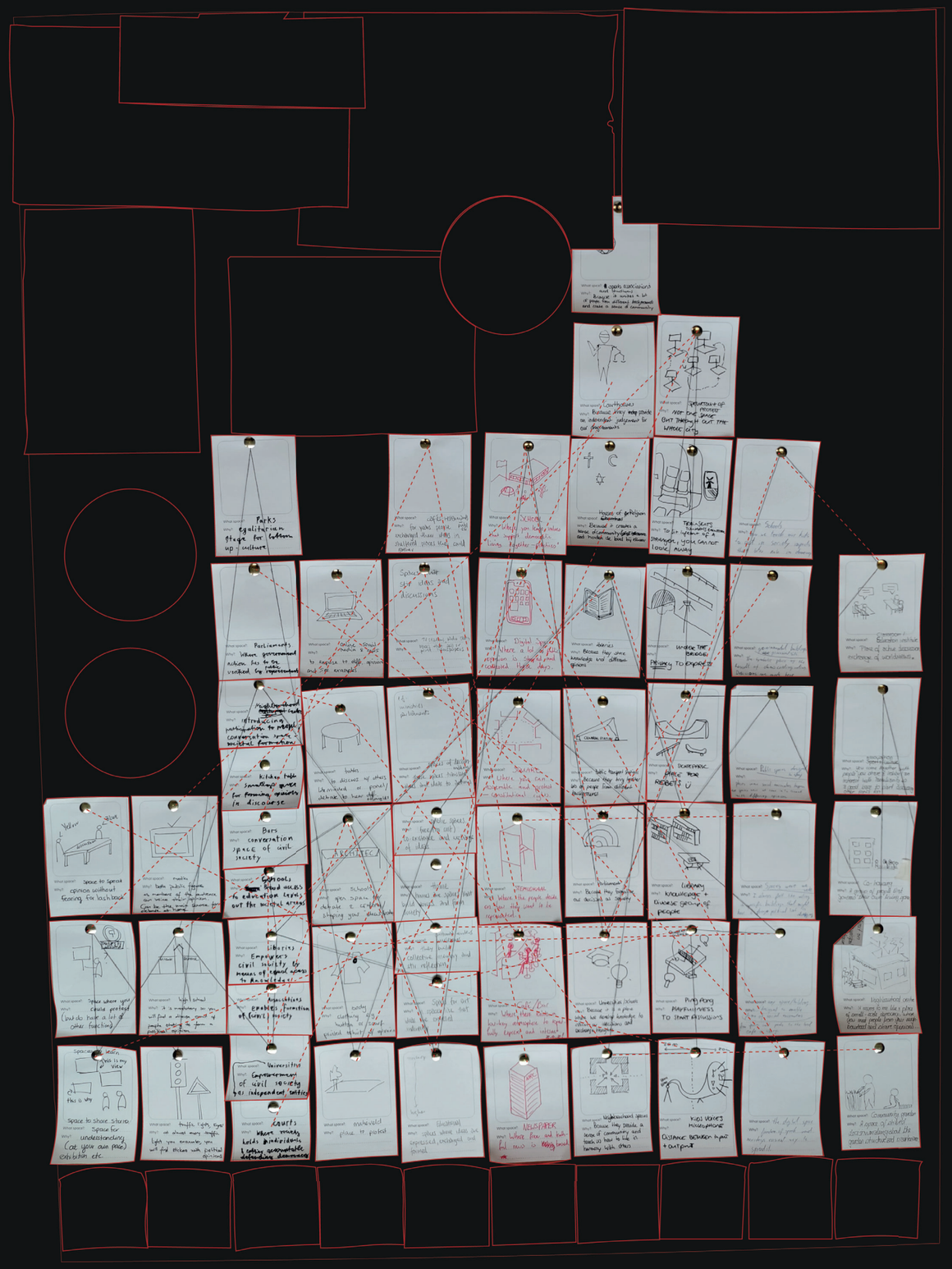
In making a design with the goal of democracy, where everyone is free and equal, it is important for a designer to assume different roles and be aware of his own values in these different roles.

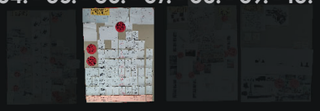
A designer must know that there are limitations to realising this ideal and, above all, be aware of them. This is not an easy task, as a designer has diverse roles, from examining the problems at play in a place to coming up with a solution. It was also mentioned that the designer should not want to design everything, but also leave room for multi-interpretable uses. It also becomes clear that the idea of what constitutes a democracy is fleshed out differently from person to person.

05.13. **WORKSHOP | SPACES IN THE RADICAL PLURALIST DEMOCRACY**

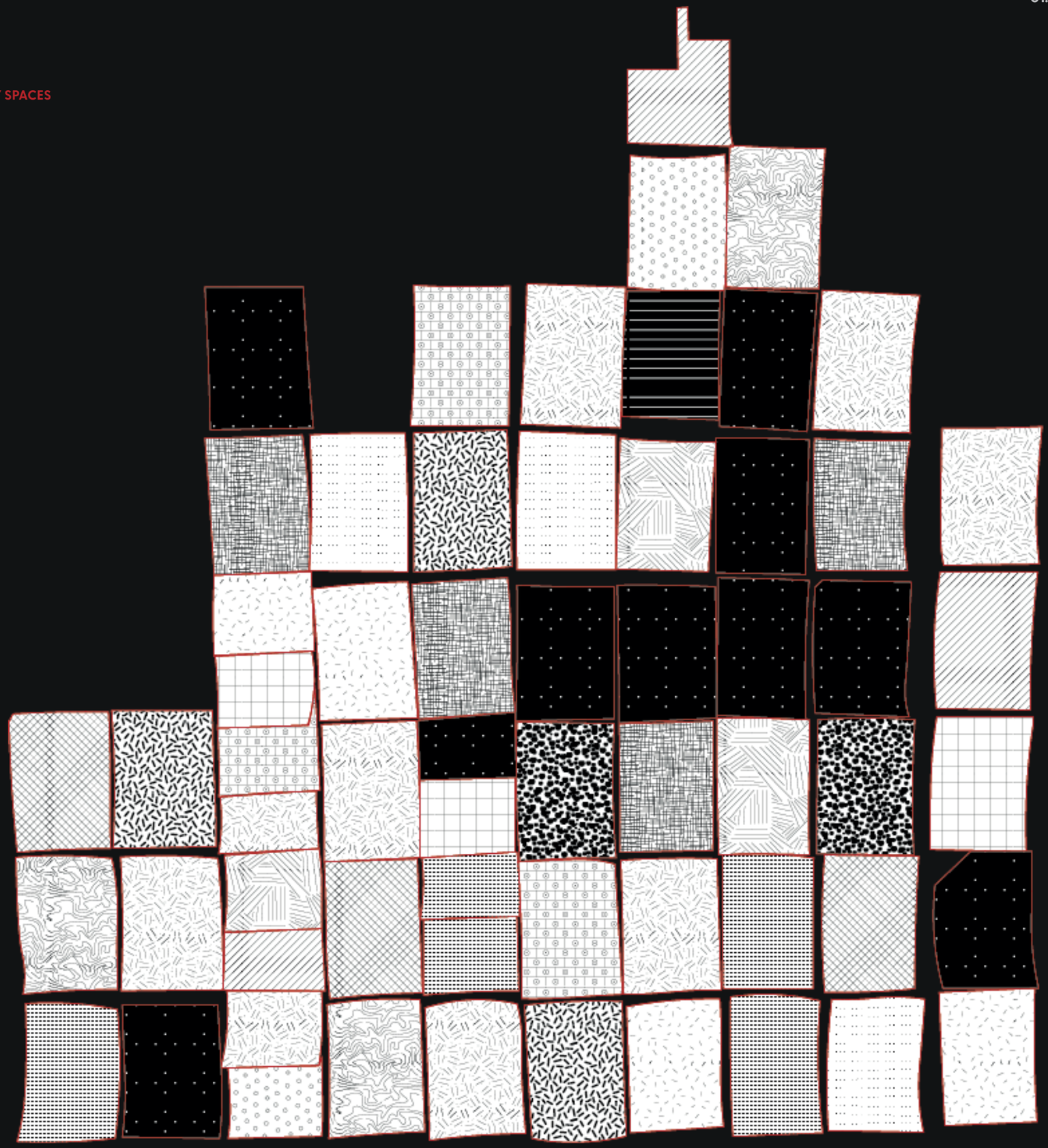
After the discussion on the statements and the brainstorm, the students were asked to write down the spaces they considered important in a democracy and why. On the first image, you see all the different cards on the panel, connected with a red line per group. On the second, you see the different cards grouped per type.

Each column was created by one person. Multiple people were found to find the same spaces relevant.

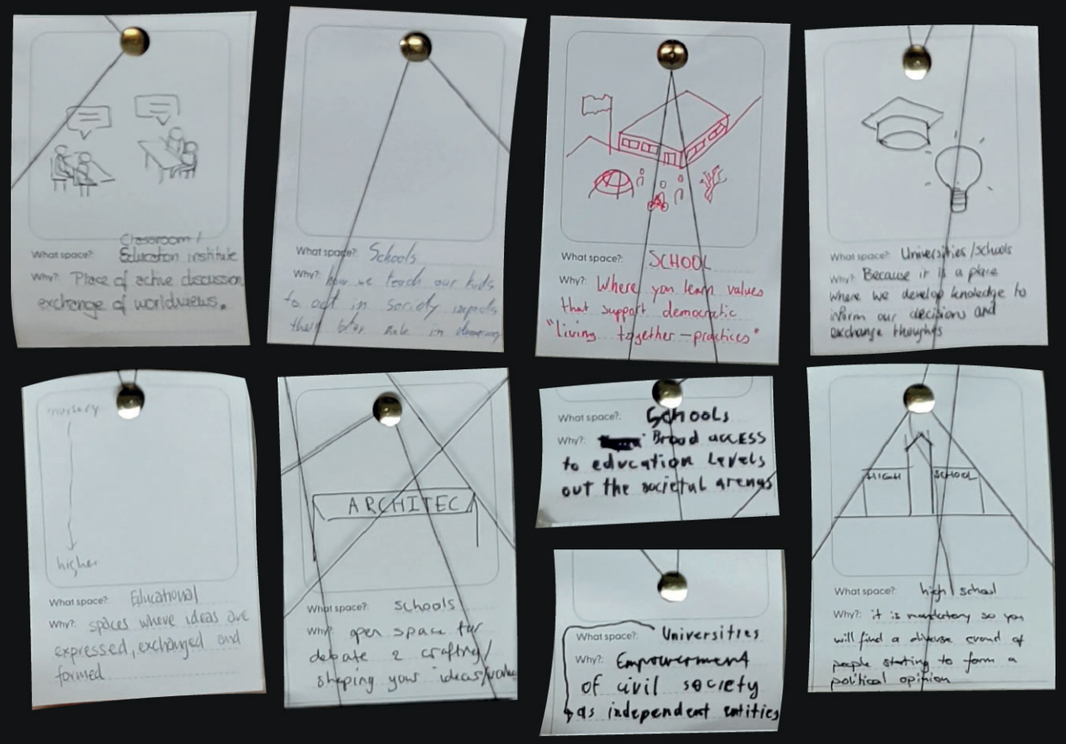

Parks
egalitarian stage for bottom up culture
Parliaments
Where governmental action has to be publicly scrutinized by representatives
Digital spaces
Where a lot of discussion is unified and scrutinized. Hybrid ideas.
Libraries
Employers civil society by means of equal access to knowledge!
Universities
Governments of civil society and independent institutes
Markets
where people meet. Holds pluralistic ideas. Lobby accountable and defending democracy
Schools
Bars
conversation space of civil society
Kitchen table
Swallowing queen for forming opinions in discourse
Space to speak
opinion without fearing the backlash
Space where you could protest
(and do make a lot of other things)
Space to share stories
Space for understanding
(art, your own piece) exhibition etc.
Space to debate
Space to discuss of others
Space where ideas are expressed, exchanged and shared.
Where you can
Where there is a lot of discussion is unified and scrutinized. Hybrid ideas.
Because they have knowledge and different opinions
Because they are
Because they bring people on a same level
Because they bring people from different backgrounds
Because they are
Because they bring our democracy to life
Because they bring our democracy to life
Because they bring our democracy to life
Because it is a place where we develop knowledge to
Because it is a place where we develop knowledge to
Because they bring people together
Because they bring people together
Because they bring people together



- NEIGHBOURHOOD HOMES, COMMUNITY SPACES
- RELIGIOUS SPACES
- GOVERNMENTAL BUILDINGS
- LIBRARIES
- PLACES FOR VOTING
- DIGITAL SPACES , SOCIAL MEDIA
- CAFÉS, RESTAURANTS, BARS
- THE HOME
- ASSOCIATIONS
- COURTHOUSES
- SCHOOLS
- TRADITIONAL MEDIA
- ABSTRACT ‘MENTAL SPACE’
- SPACES FOR PROTEST
- CULTURAL SPACES
- PUBLIC SPACES (SQUARES & PARKS)



05.14. **SPACES**

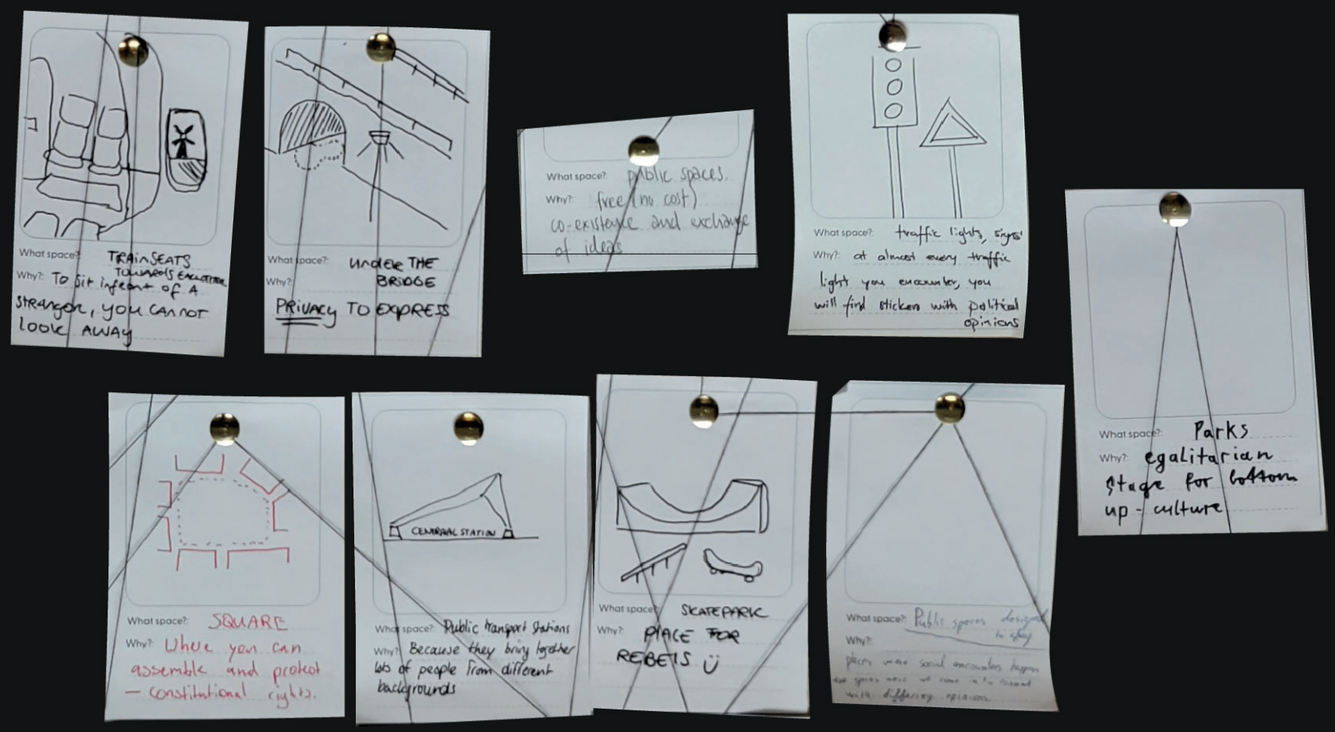


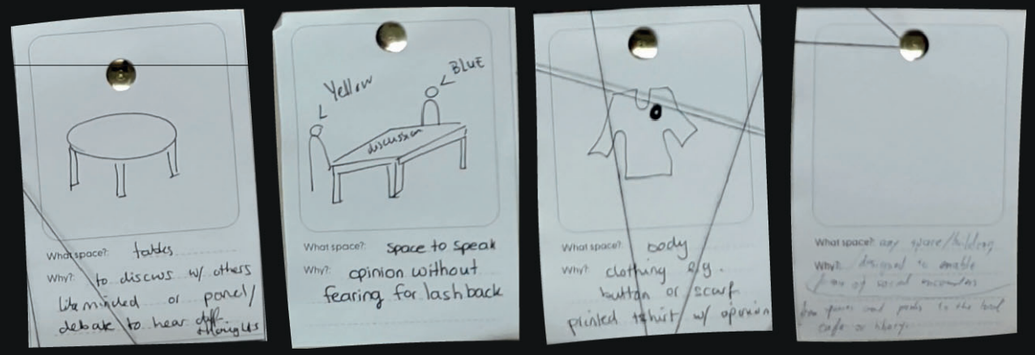
EDUCATIONAL SPACES

Schools & Universities are important, to exchange and form different ideas, to achieve discussions on different worldviews, to learn 'living togheter practices', to be able to learn consequences of our decisions, to empower citizens

PUBLIC SPACES

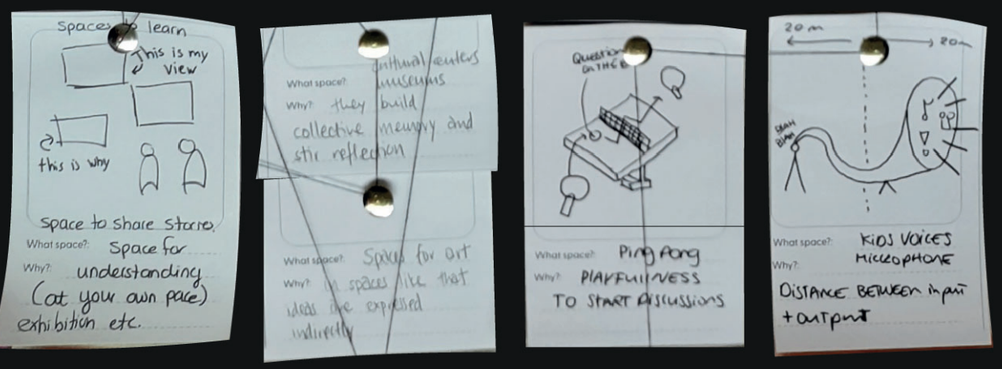
Public spaces, like squares, parks, trainstations, traffic lights even, are important to live free and co-exist, to exchange ideas, to express to assemble, to see strangers, to see different political opinions, for bottom-up cultural practices





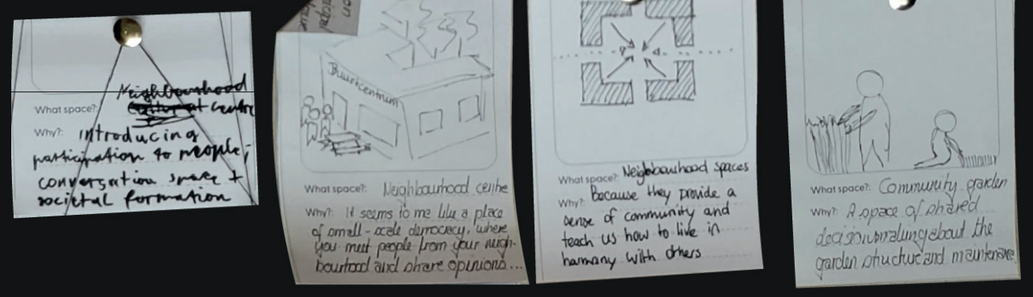
MENTAL SPACES

Democracy is not only physical, but a mindset. Spaces have to create an atmosphere that allows for safe and open discussion. Also, the body in its form itself and its clothing are forms of expression and opinion.



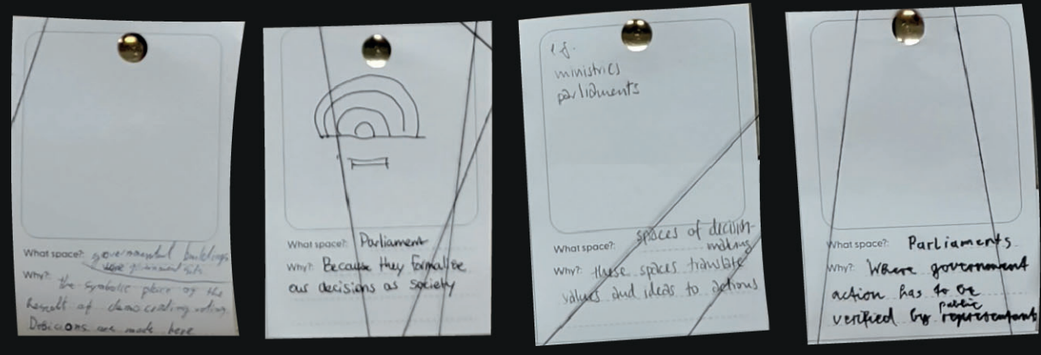
CULTURAL SPACES

Cultural spaces, such as spaces for exhibitions, cultural centres, spaces to share stories, museums, art, play are important to start discussion and to have ideas expressed indirectly and to broaden people's understanding



NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRES & COMMUNITY SPACES

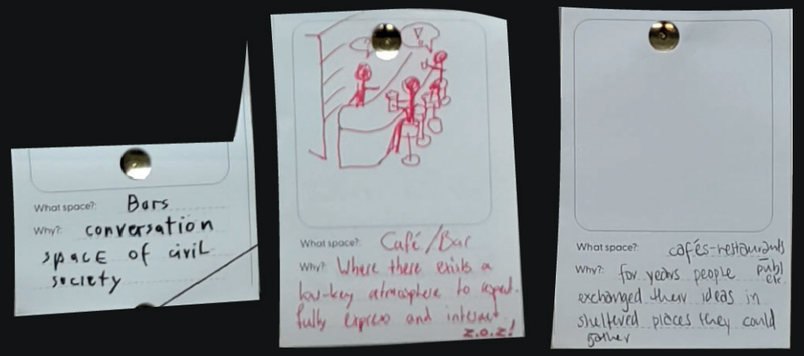
Neighbourhood centres are important spaces to meet neighbours and share opinions, to engage with participatory practices, to create a sense of community, to make decisions on a small scale with a group of people



GOVERNMENTAL BUILDINGS

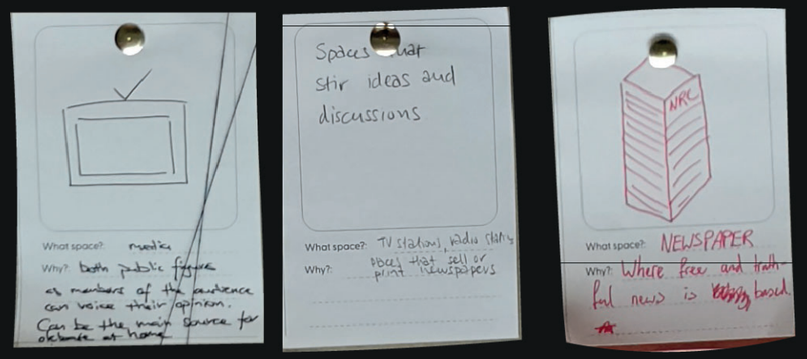
Governmental buildings, such as the parlaiment building is important, for its symbolic relevance, to make decisions as a society, to translate ideas and values into action, to verify the governmental action by the public

05.14. **SPACES**



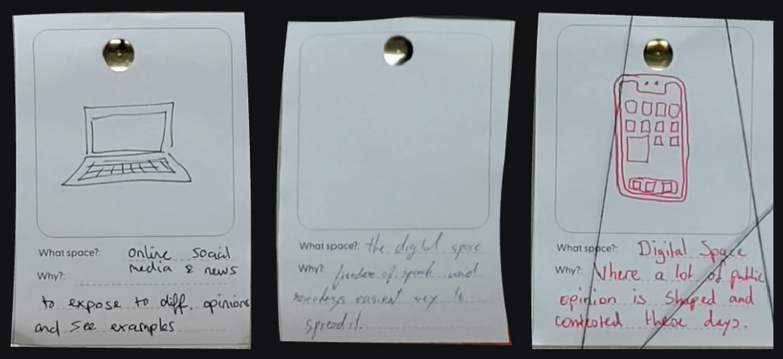
CAFÉS, RESTAURANTS, BARS

Cafés, restaurants, bars are important to have conversations, to exchange ideas in shelter, to express and interact



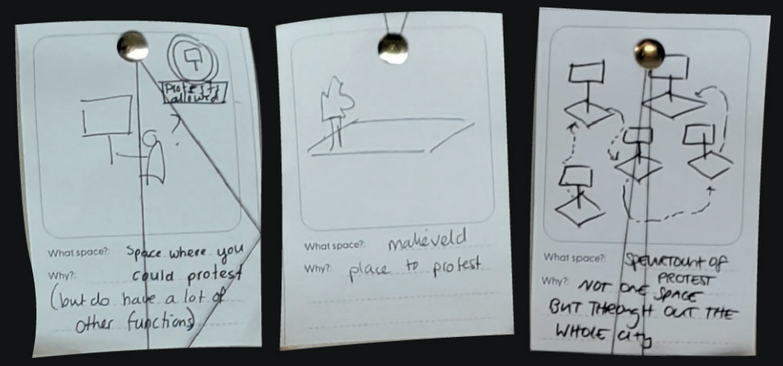
TRADITIONAL MEDIA

Traditional media sources, such as TV stations, radio and newspapers are important spaces to voice opinions, for the freedom of speech, to steer ideas and discussions



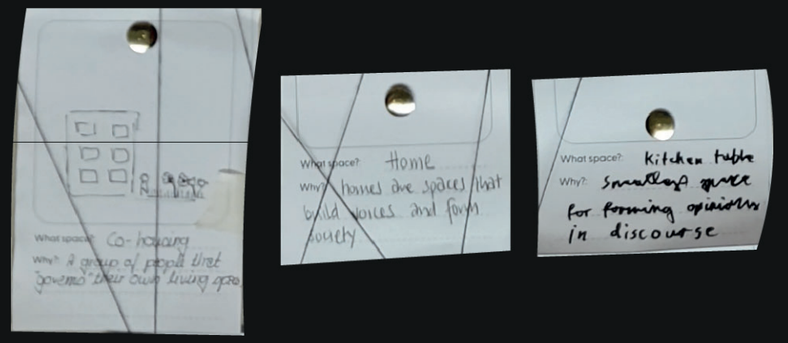
DIGITAL SPACES & SOCIAL MEDIA

Digital spaces are important spaces to be exposed to different opinions and to see examples, to shape and contest discussions, to spread ideas



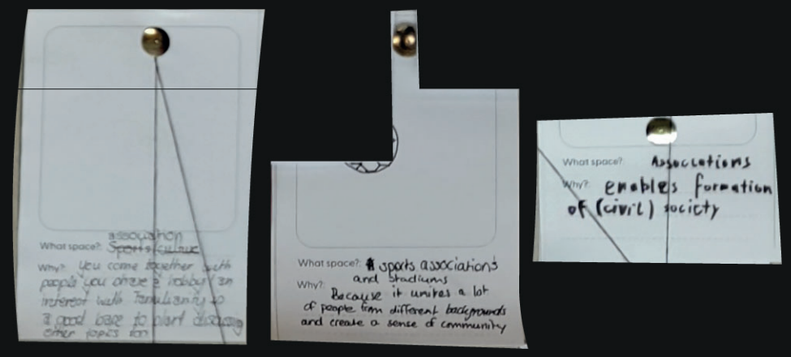
SPACES FOR PROTEST

Spaces to protest are important, to speak out



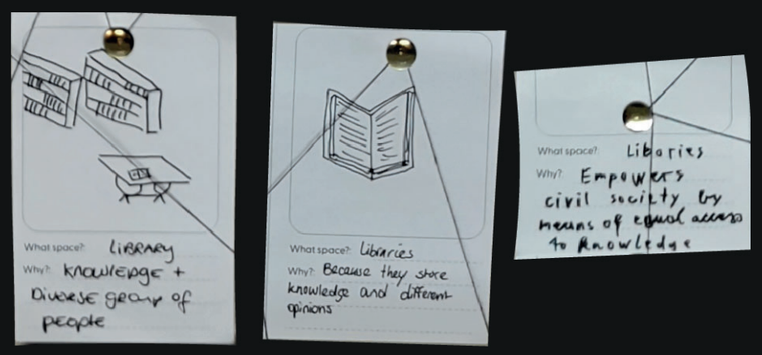
THE HOME

To build voices and form society



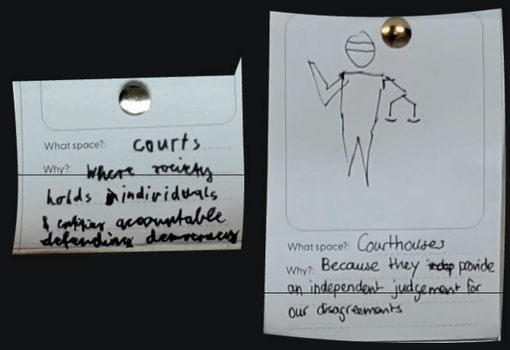
ASSOCIATIONS

To unite people from different backgrounds over shared interests



LIBRARY

To gain knowledge, to meet a diverse group of people, to store different opinions, to empower society, to have equal access to knowlegde



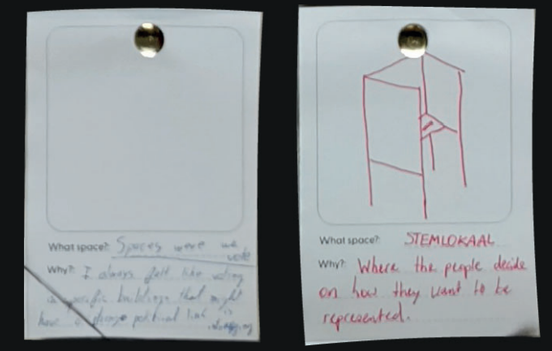
COURTHOUSES

To hold people accountable, to defend democracies, to have judgement for (moral) disagreements



RELIGIOUS SPACES

To create a sense of community, to keep society toghether



PLACES TO VOTE

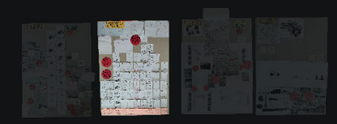
To decide how one wants to be represented

05.15. CONCLUSION ON WORKSHOP ON DEMOCRACY AS A DAILY LIFE PRACTICE

The aim of the workshop was to broaden the understanding on the topic of designing for democracy as a daily life practice, through the lens of other architecture and architecture and urbanism students and to gain an understanding in what spaces they found to be relevant in designing for democracy as a daily life practice.

We conclude that if we want to design for democracy, this is not an easy task and that there are a lot of questions, rather than answers from the students. However, this does not mean that questions in itself cannot be an interesting and relevant conclusion. The discussions during the statements and mind-mapping showed that there is a lot to think about and to disagree about. Questions were posed on if the public space of today still works for democracy. It was also discussed that designers cannot be responsible as individuals and that this question reflects the need of a more collective approach, acknowledging that this is not a technical question, but one that demands different perspectives, this is an interesting conclusion that can be linked to the conclusions in 'The Reflective Practitioner' (Schön, 1983). In this regard, the students found it difficult to define what acting responsibly is and how they could do it. They also concluded that spaces for protest and governmental buildings are important, but not the only spaces relevant. The workshop ended up with 16 different types of spaces, as can be seen on the previous pages. It is interesting to relate these back to conclusions of Honigh et al. (2025) on the 'Table of citizenship', since conclusions in the text of Honigh et al. (2025) seem to overlap, both focus on local, as well as big scale relevance of different typologies' (sports associations (local) and national media (national) f.e.), as well as spaces for deliberating and acting (cafés (deliberating) and community gardens (acting) f.e.) . It would be interesting for further research to think of ways to link the concept of 'The Table of Citizenship' to conclusions of this research.

Overall, it is important to conclude that designing for democracy is a question of many perspectives and it would be interesting to see if people outside of the urbanism bubble would answer the questions differently.



Workshop Urban Design & Democracy

When? Friday 14-03
Time? 12:45-14:15
Where? Room Y



Hi everyone!

I am Marieke and am currently graduating in the Transitional Territories studio of Urbanism.

Next week I am organising a workshop on the topic of urban design and democracy. During the workshop we will explore the role of urban designers in a democratic system. I will introduce the topic briefly in a presentation. Next, we will discuss the role of designers in a democratic society.

Furthermore, we will explore the spatial qualities that are linked to designing in a democracy. This workshop is meant for students from all departments and others that are interested

Interested? Join next Friday 14-03 in room y. Thank you already!

Questions? Text me: 06-25139897 or
Mail me: mariekerussche@tudelft.nl

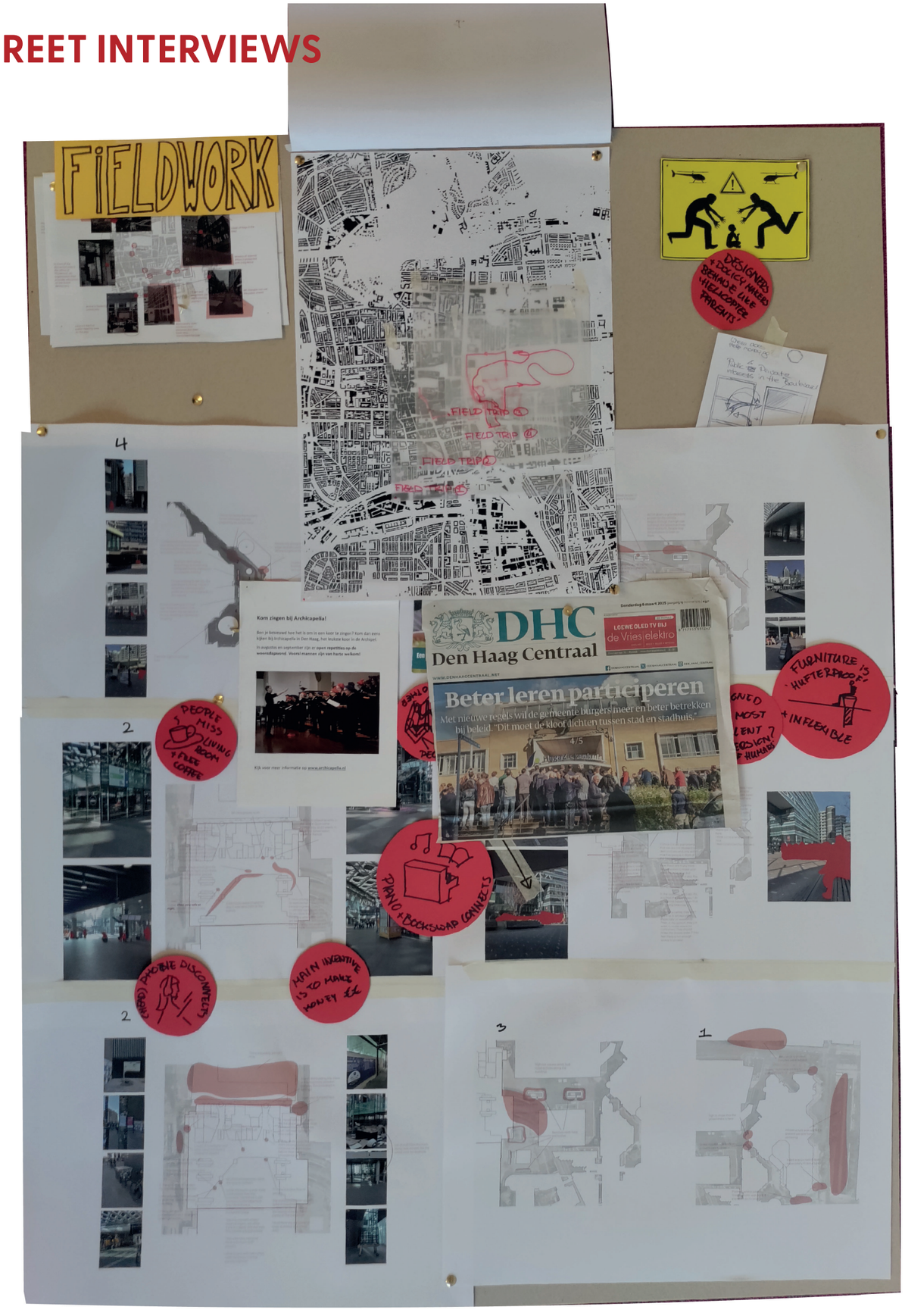
Poster for the workshop

This poster was used to invite people to the workshop

05.16. **FIELD WORK AND STREET INTERVIEWS**

Aiming to broaden the understanding of the Central Train Station area of The Hague through the lens of Critical Urban Theory, as proposed in the Conceptual Framework, a set of street interviews and fieldwork was carried out. Furthermore, the aim of this process was to understand different perspectives on the place of local citizens, on questions related to the radical pluralist democracy, such as how they are currently meeting people and if they meet anyone outside of their bubble in this area. Conclusions in the related work section were used to analyse the space. A set of drawings on the interviews was mapped.

During the interviews and fieldwork, a notebook was kept. The aim was to understand emotions, intuition and biases involved in the process of fieldwork and street interviews and bases, based on the concept of the Reflective Practitioner of Schön (1983), conclusions of Escobar in Designs for the Pluriverse (2018) and conclusions of Till in Design Beyond the Object (2018), as discussed previously in the literature review section.



05.17. **PANEL OVERVIEW**



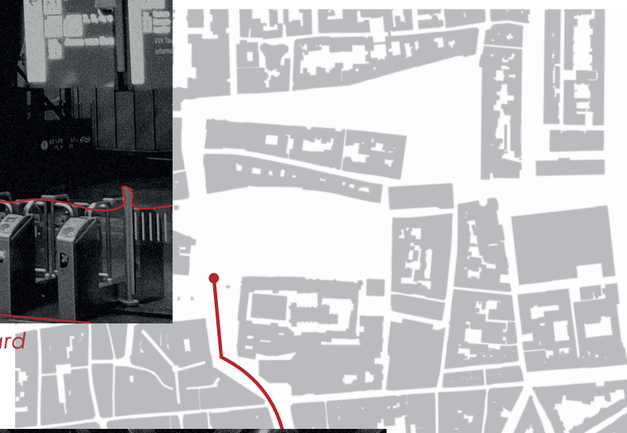
05.18. **FIRST FIELD TRIP: THROUGH THE LENS OF CRITICAL URBAN THEORY**



Gates only allow people with a train card



Big difference in urban furniture inside or outside gates

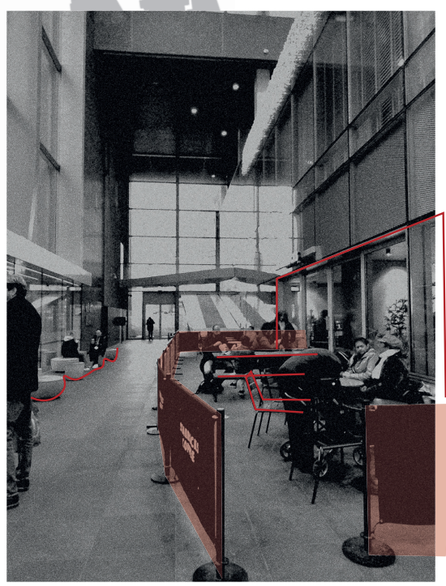




Big screen for comercials & video art

People only walk along the sides

Plinth is active, loads of shops



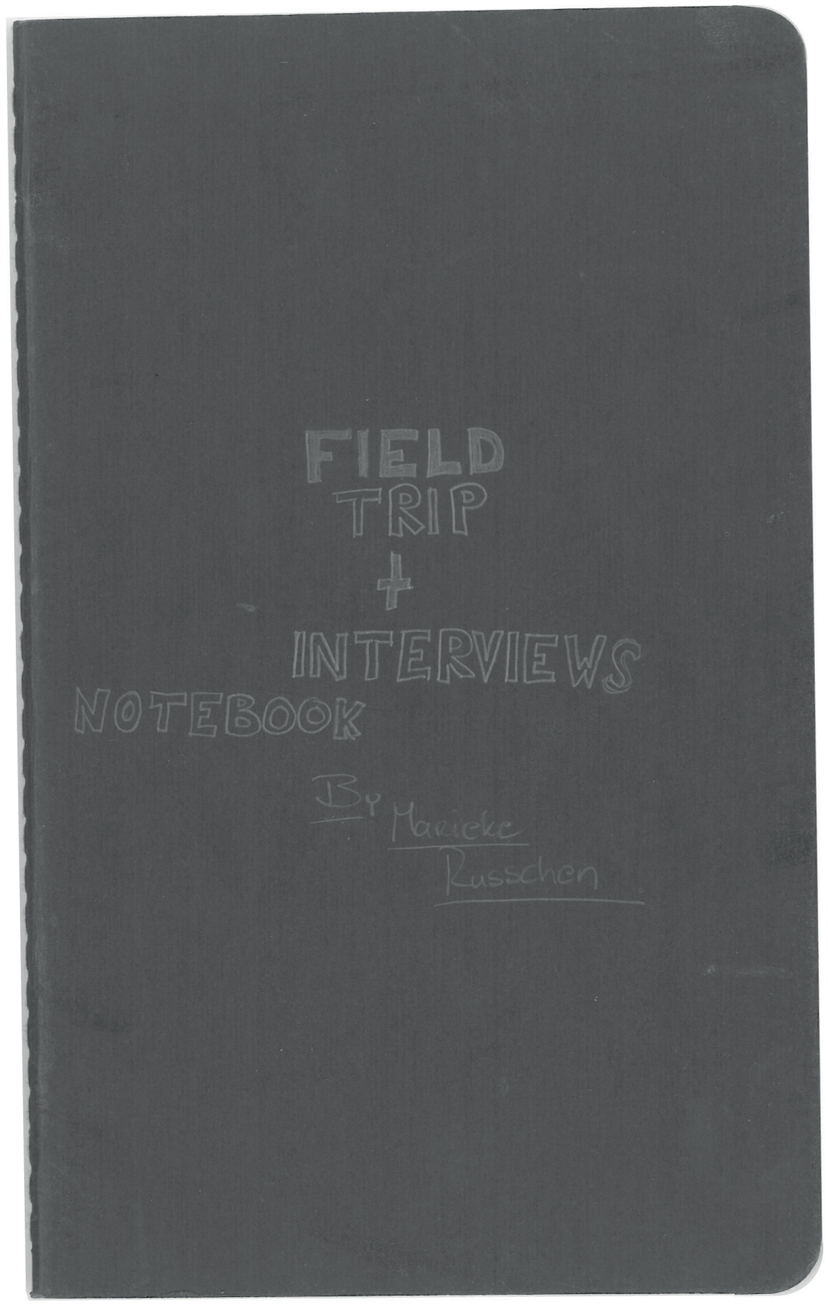
Starbucks can occupy space and put a fence, people who do not pay, cannot sit there

Notes on images of The Hague

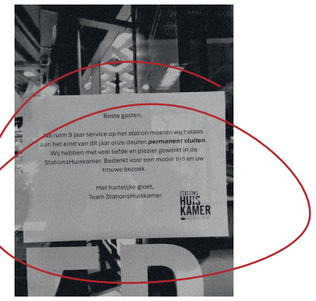
pt. 1

05.19. **PERSONAL REFLECTIONS AND NOTES**





05.18. **FIRST FIELD TRIP: THROUGH THE LENS OF CRITICAL URBAN THEORY**



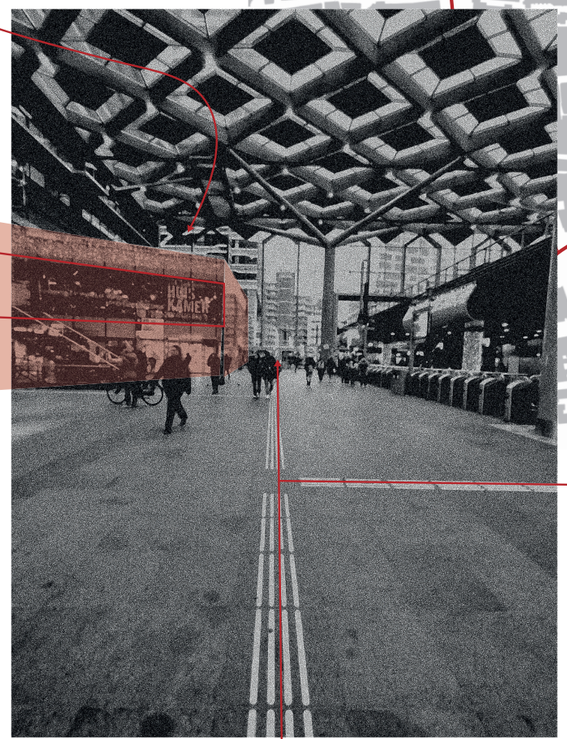


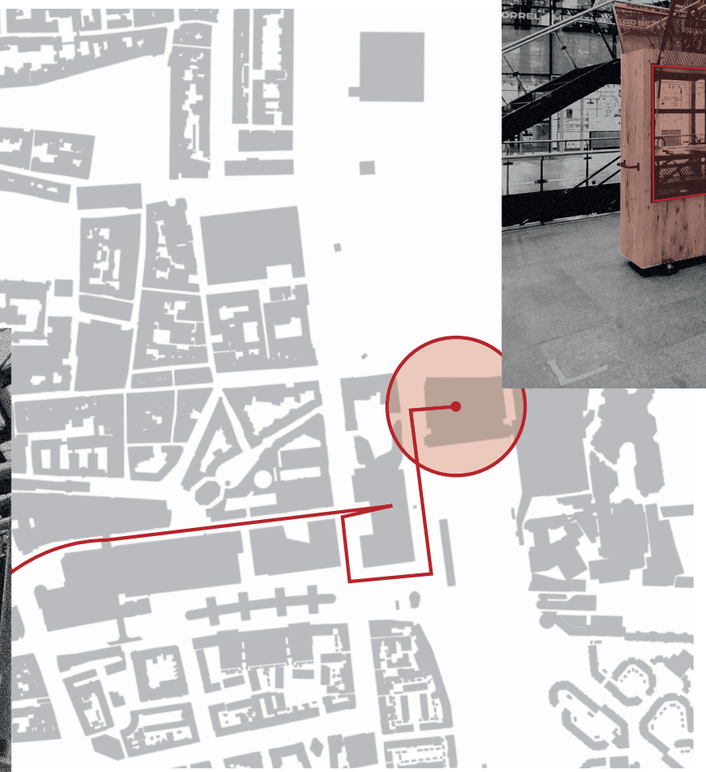
Loads of cameras in NS housstyle: look a bit like birds



Bookshare stand is actively used

Only space where you did not have to pay is higher up and is now closed







And also contains conspiracy theory flyers

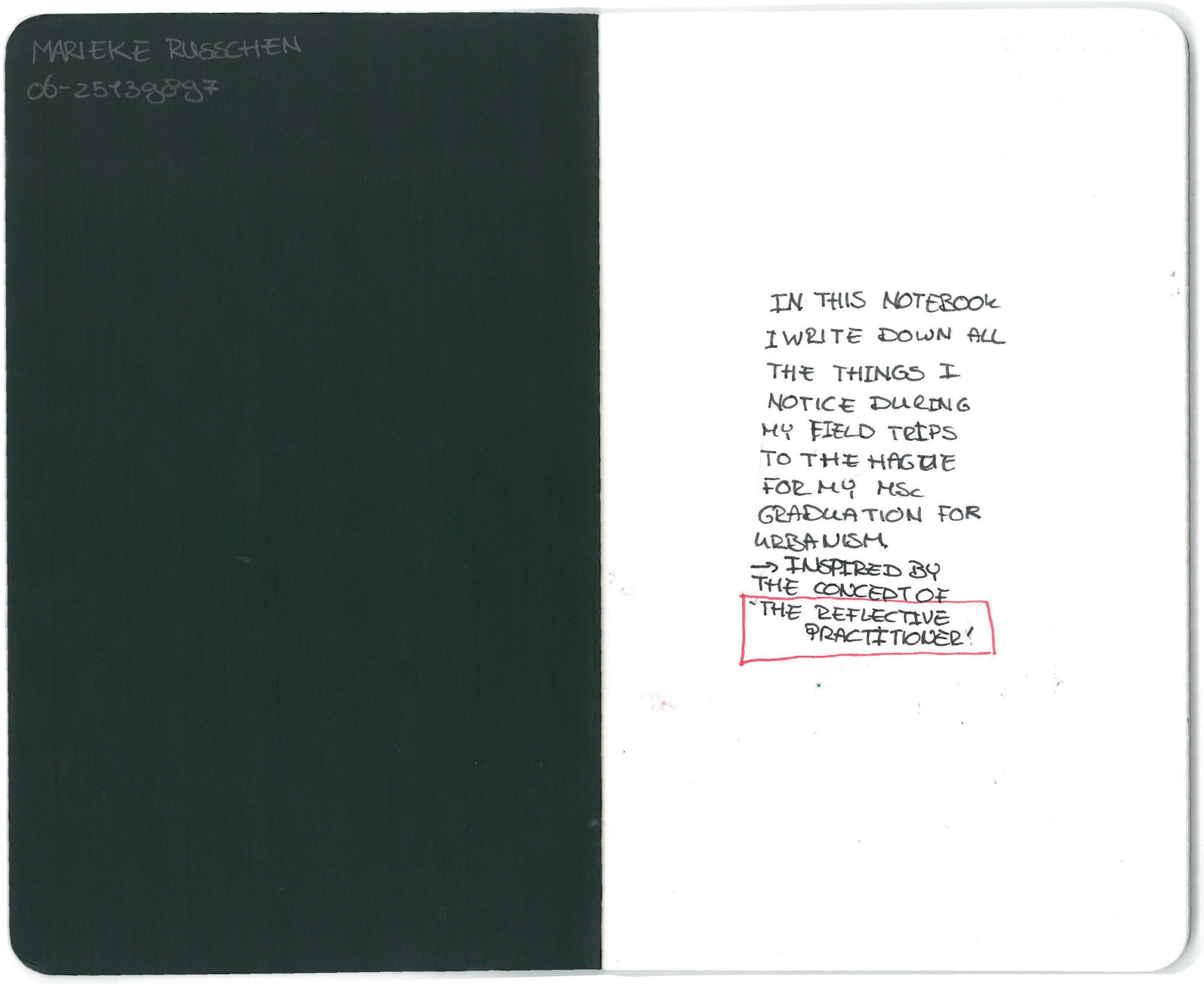
Clear signs for blind people

Notes on images of The Hague

pt. 2

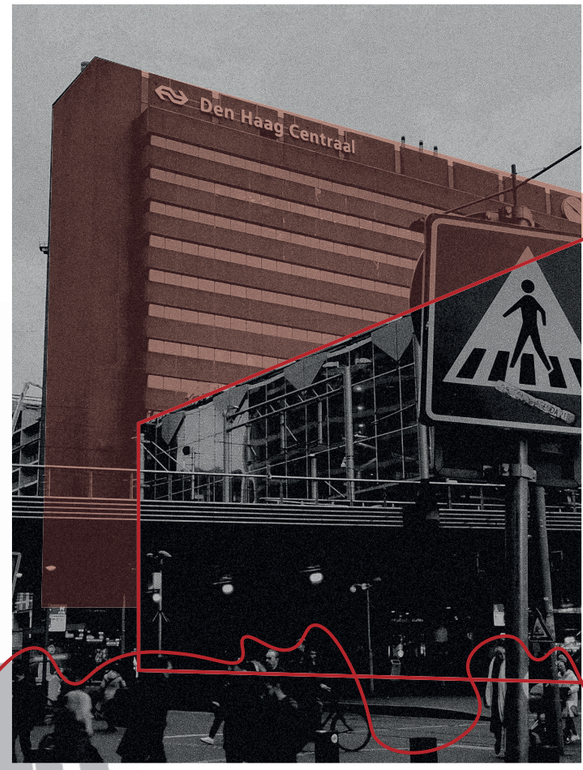
05.19. **PERSONAL REFLECTIONS AND NOTES**





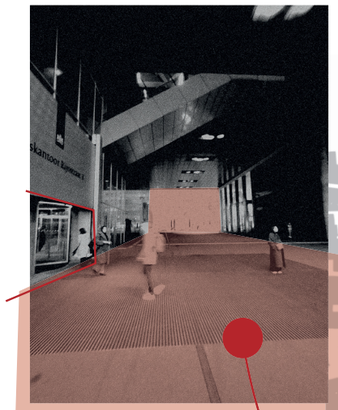
05.18. **FIRST FIELD TRIP: THROUGH THE LENS OF CRITICAL URBAN THEORY**

Building has two characters



People are in a rush

Migration office has super small entry, with a blank public area in front





Public space is covered by roof and static pillars, creates a very 'in between space' atmosphere



Monument has turned into a seating area, lots of people waiting on their own

Pole full of stickers with political statements in front of station



Notes on images of The Hague

pt. 3

05.19. **PERSONAL REFLECTIONS AND NOTES**

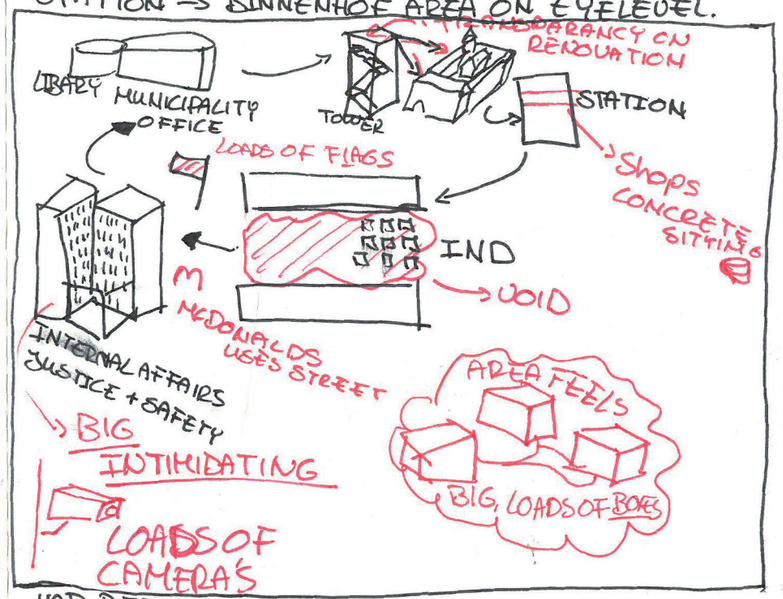


TODAY IT IS 4-3-2025

HERE YOU CAN READ A QUICK SUMMARY OF MY FIELDTRIPS UNTIL NOW. → 3 DIFFERENT ONES

16-12-2024

THIS WAS ON A MONDAY. THE GOAL WAS TO GET A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE STATION → BINNENHOF AREA ON EYELEVEL.

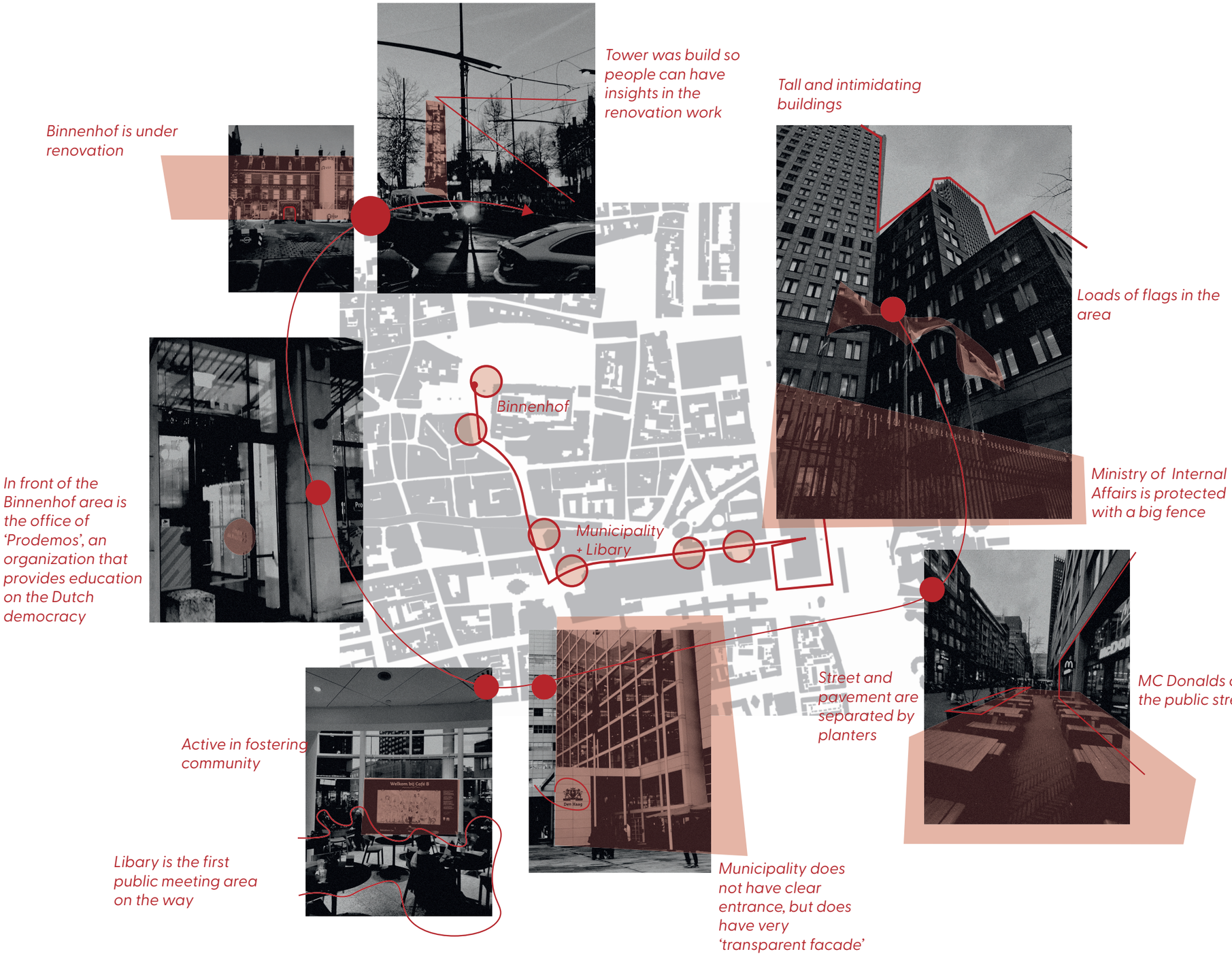


HAD BEEN READING. MOUFFE, LEFEBVRE, ARENDT BEFOREHAND. THIS MADE ME FOCUS ON THE WAY PEOPLE WOULD BE INVITED BY THE SPACES TO INTERACT WITHOUT BUYING ANYTHING.

→ Is difficult to find in this area

I FELT EXCITED AND A BIT ANXIOUS BEFORE GOING. FELT GOOD AFTERWARDS

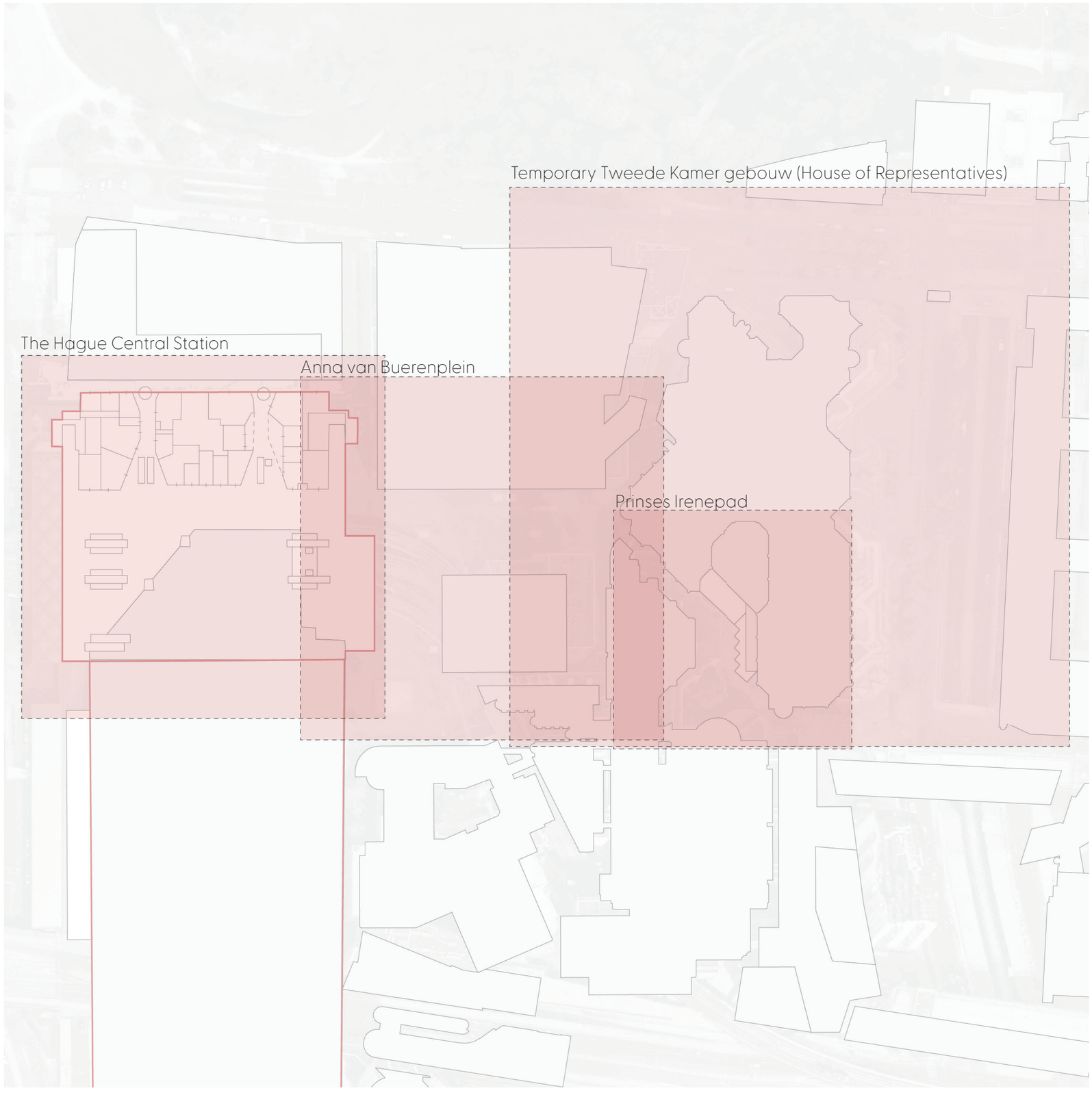
05.18. **FIRST FIELD TRIP: THROUGH THE LENS OF CRITICAL URBAN THEORY**



Notes on images of The Hague

pt. 4

05.20. **OVERVIEW OF INTERVIEW LOCATIONS ON A MAP**



Overview of maps of interviews

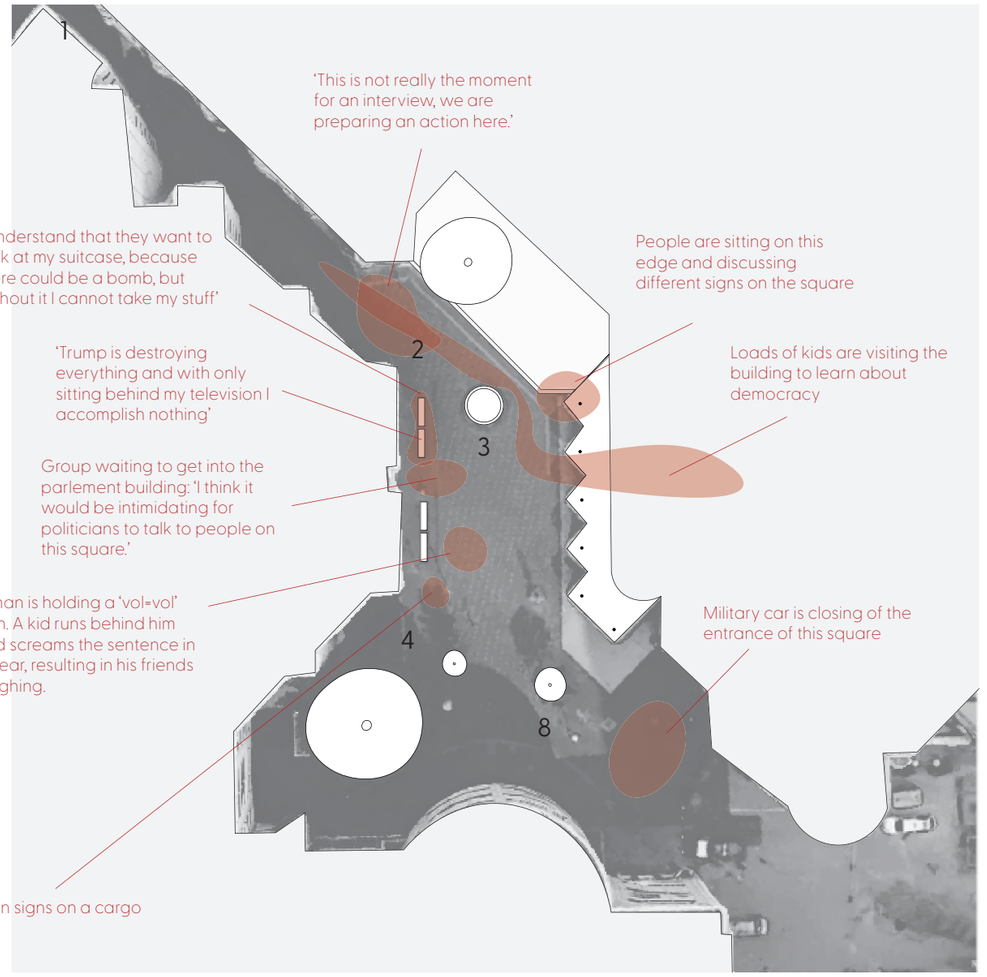
05.21. **STREET INTERVIEWS - PRINSES IRENEPAD**







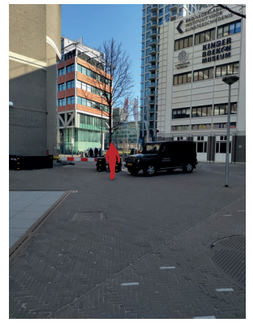












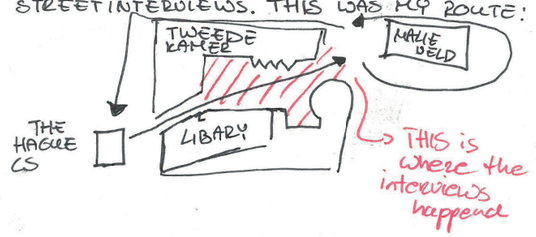
What are you doing here?

As a first step, I wanted to have an icebreaker interview, because I was very nervous. I decided to focus on the question 'What are you doing here?' to see what people brings to the Tweede Kamer building



18-02-2025

THIS WAS THE FIRST DAY FOR INTERVIEWS. I WAS QUITE NERVOUS TO GO AND TALK TO PEOPLE. THE MAIN GOAL OF THE DAY WAS TO BREAK THE ICE WITH THE CONCEPT OF STREETINTERVIEWS. THIS WAS MY ROUTE:



I ENDED UP INTERVIEWING ABOUT 4 PEOPLE AND 2 GROUPS. PEOPLE THAT I INTERVIEWED PROTESTED ON THE SQUARE FOR CAUSES THAT I WOULD CONSIDER FAR-RIGHT OR CONSPIRACY THEORY RELATED CAUSES. AT ONE POINT I DID NOT FEEL LIKE I WAS INTERVIEWING ANYMORE, BUT BECOMING AN EAR THAT PEOPLE COULD VENTILATE THEIR FRUSTRATIONS TOWARDS. WHILE THIS ISN'T THE TYPE I WOULD INTERACT WITH ON THE DAILY, I DID FEEL QUITE SAFE THIS WAS ALSO DUE TO THE EXSTENSIVE PRESENCE OF THE MILITARY.

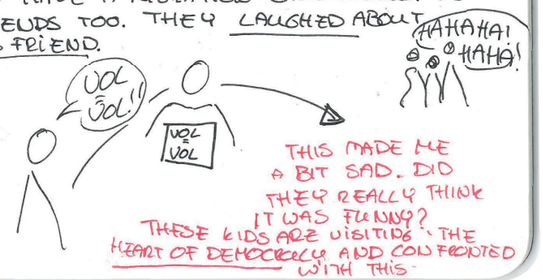


THE QUESTIONS I ASKED WHERE THE FOLLOWING:

- WHAT ARE YOU DOING HERE?
- DO YOU VISIT THIS SPACE MORE OFTEN?
- HOW IS THIS SPACE HELPING YOU TO SPEAK OUT? DID YOU ALSO DO THIS AT THE BINNENHOF?
- WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS SQUARE?
-
-
-
-

THE ANWSERS I RECIEVED WHERE VERY PERSONAL. PEOPLE DIDN'T COMMENT ON THE SPATIAL QUALITIES OF THE SQUARE VERY MUCH.

DUE TO THE PRESENCE OF PEOPLE WITH PROTEST SIGNS, SOME TENSION WAS PRESENT ON THE SQUARE. A GUY HAD A 'VOL=VOL' SIGN. A KID RUN BEHIND HIM AND SCREAMED THE SENTENCE TO HIM. THE KID SEEMED TO HAVE A MIGRATION BACKGROUND. HIS FRIENDS TOO. THEY LAUGHED ABOUT HIS FRIEND.



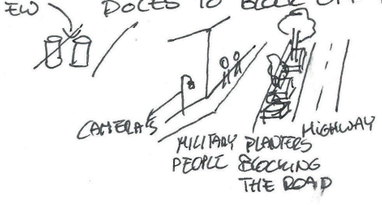
AFTER THIS FIELDTRIP I FELT A LOT OF THINGS. IT WAS NICE & INTERESTING TO BE ABLE TO SPEAK TO PEOPLE OUTSIDE OF MY BUBBLE

HOWEVER, AT ONE POINT A BIG MAN CAME UP TO ME, HE HAD HEARED ABOUT MY CONVERSATIONS AND WANTED TO TALK TO ME. THIS MADE ME FEEL SMALL & SCARED



REFLECTION
HOW DO I MAKE SURE I DONT MAKE ANY FALSE PROMISES? HOW DO I GET MORE SPATIAL ANWSERS?

I ALSO WALKED AROUND THE NEW TWEEDE KAMER GEBOUW. I NOTICED MAINLY HOW HIGHLY SURVAILLANCED THE AREA IS. THEY WHERE ALSO CONSTRUCTING NEW DOGES TO BLOCK OFF THE ROAD.

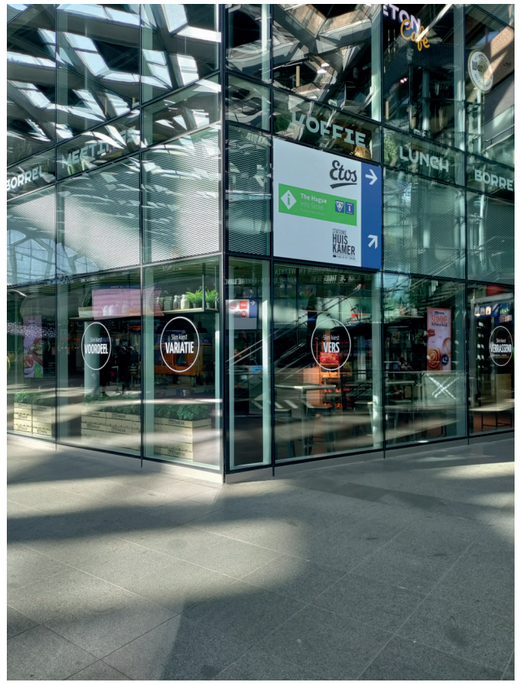


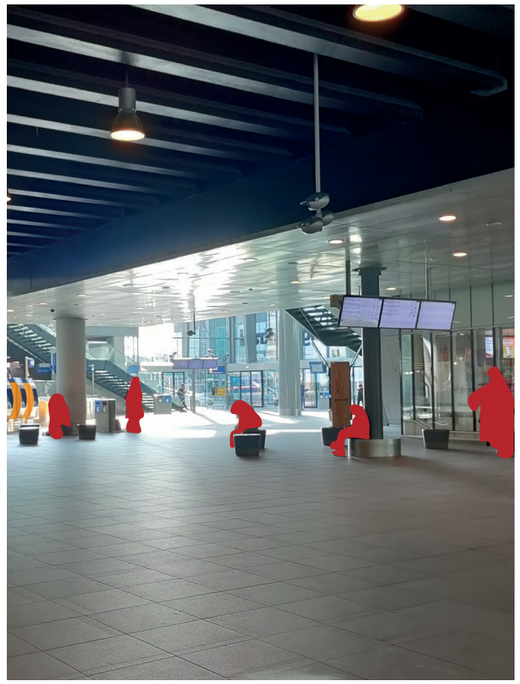
If you could change 1 thing after this discussion, WHAT would it Be?

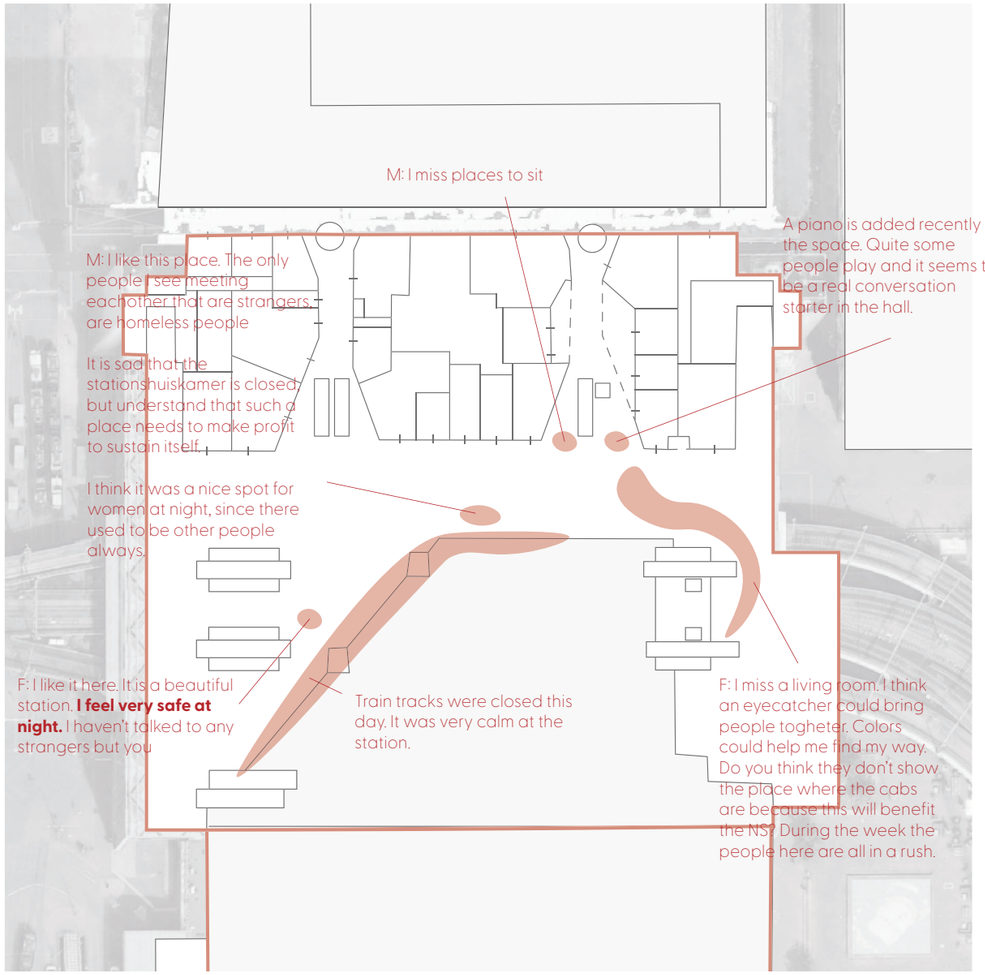
Reflections during the interview

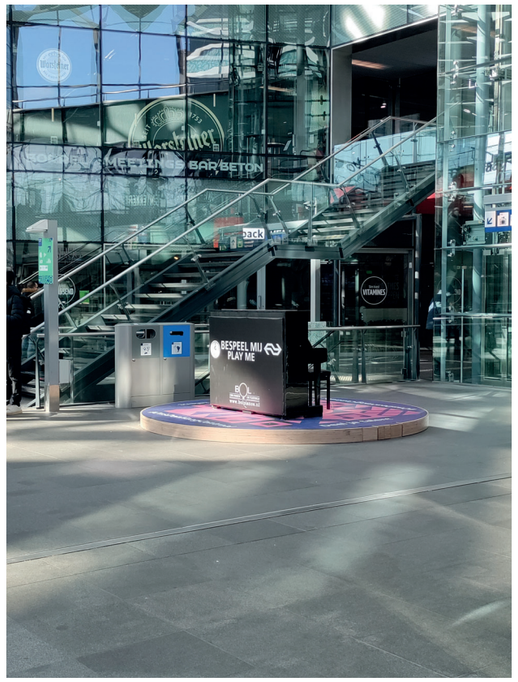
Notes on personal insights during the interview

05.22. **STREET INTERVIEWS - THE HAGUE CENTRAL TRAIN STATION**









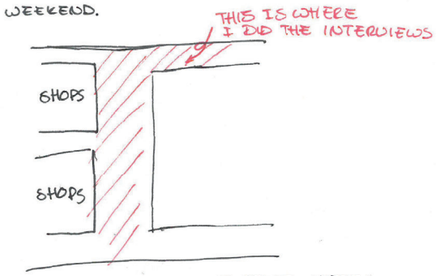


What do you think of this station? Have you met any strangers here?

Images of field trip and anwsers during the interview

2-3-2023

THIS DAY WAS A SUNDAY. I WENT TO THE HAGUE CENTRAL STATION FOR 4:30 hours. THE TRAINS WHERE NOT DRIVING THIS WEEKEND.



THE MAIN QUESTIONS I ASKED WHERE:

- How would you like to meet people outside of your Bubble in the station?
- WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE STATION?
- WHERE WOULD YOU LIKE TO MEET UP WITH PEOPLE?

I FELT A BIT OF A BARRIER TO SPEAK TO PEOPLE AGAIN AFTER THE PREVIOUS ENCOUNTERS. HOWEVER, IT ENDED UP BEING OKAY. ONE WOMAN WAS REALLY NICE AND GAVE ME A LOT OF ENERGY.

ANSWERS WHERE:

I MISS A LIVINGROOM WITH BENCHES AND ATABLE & SOME BOOKS AND CHEAP COFFEE. MAYBE AN EYECATCHER, LIKE A PIANO OR A GLOBE, THAT PEOPLE CAN TOUCH AND INTERACT WITH. I MISS PEOPLE TO HELP ME. I MISS GOOD SIGNS. WHERE ARE THE TAXIS? PEOPLE ARE RUSHING TOO MUCH

I MISS PLACES TO SIT

I LIKE TO WORK HERE.
I NOTICE PEOPLE WHO MEET HERE, MAINLY ALREADY KNOW EACHOTHER. HOMELESS PEOPLE MEET HERE TOO.
I MISS THE LIVINGROOM, BUT UNDERSTAND THAT THE PREVIOUS ONE WASN'T PROFITABLE ENOUGH.
I THINK WOMAN DON'T FEEL SAFE AT NIGHT.

I FEEL SAFE HERE. THE POLICE IS PRESENT. THERE ARE ENOUGH PEOPLE TO HELP ME OUT.

I START INTERVIEWING PEOPLE AFTER ABOUT HALF AN HOUR. I FEEL NERVOUS. THE STATION IS BUZZY. PEOPLE ARE WALKING FAST. LOADS WEAR HEADPHONES OR LOOK AT THE FLOOR.

I DECIDE TO TALK TO PEOPLE THAT ARE ALREADY SITTING ON THE BENCHES. THE FIRST QUESTION OF THE DAY IS:

Asked in area behind gates

How & Where would you like OUTSIDE TO MEET PEOPLE OF YOUR BUBBLE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS TRAIN STATION?

I have autism, so its nice to 'hide' for all the others sometimes

We mostly meet people at school or at sporting events. It's nice to talk with people that have the same interest

That's all I can think of

The most conversations I have with strangers happen when I am knitting in public. People ask me what I am making or show me their own work.

I try to compliment more strangers on their outfits because I really like it when that happens to me

I mainly talk to strangers on the Randstad Rail



It's unclear if these concrete benches where built to sit on. The distance between them is TOO FAR APART

I think the phones are in the way. If you only have a few minutes, you used to have the newspaper. You wouldn't grab that for such a short moment

REFLECTION

I THINK I SHOULD ASK MORE 'provoking' QUESTIONS TO SPARK PEOPLES IMAGINATION MORE.

MAYBE ALSO ANOTHER LOCATION?

MAIVELD? → BUILDING BLOCK IN RESIDENTIAL AREA?

QUESTIONS I THINK OF ASKING NEXT TIME:

- HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE YOUR VOICE HEARED?
- HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO INTERACT WITH PEOPLE THAT HAVE A DIFFERENT WORLDVIEW?

Reflections during the interview

Notes on personal insights during the interview

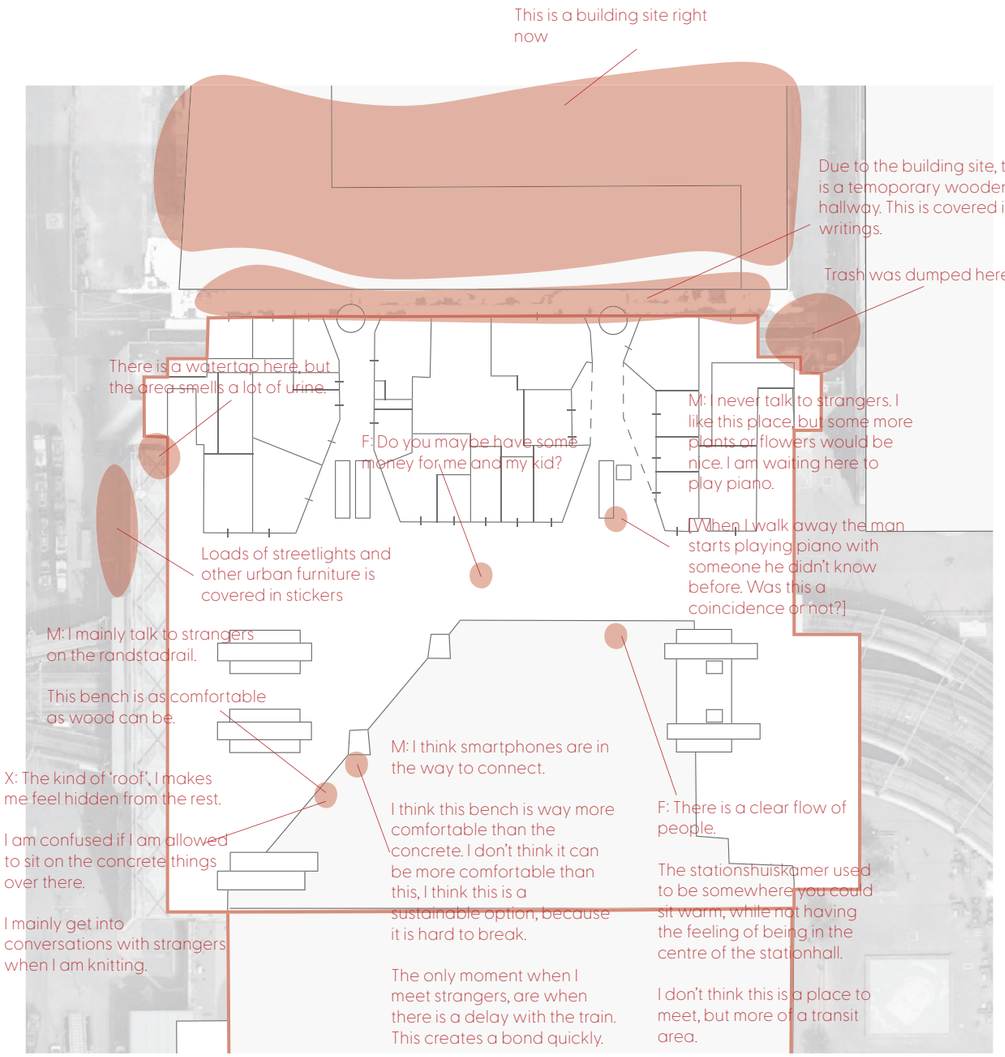
05.22. **STREET INTERVIEWS - THE HAGUE CENTRAL TRAIN STATION**



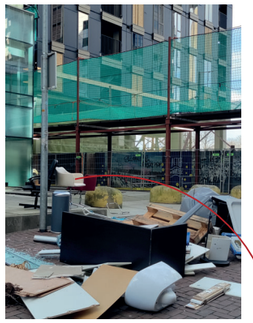


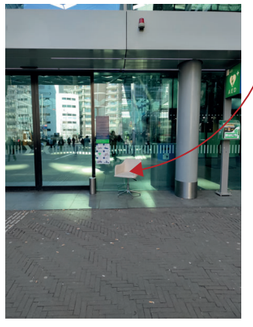














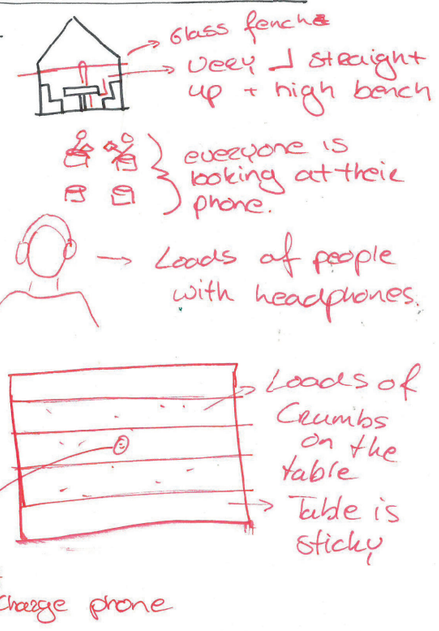
Lot of stuff from this trash dump was moved, like the white chair for example

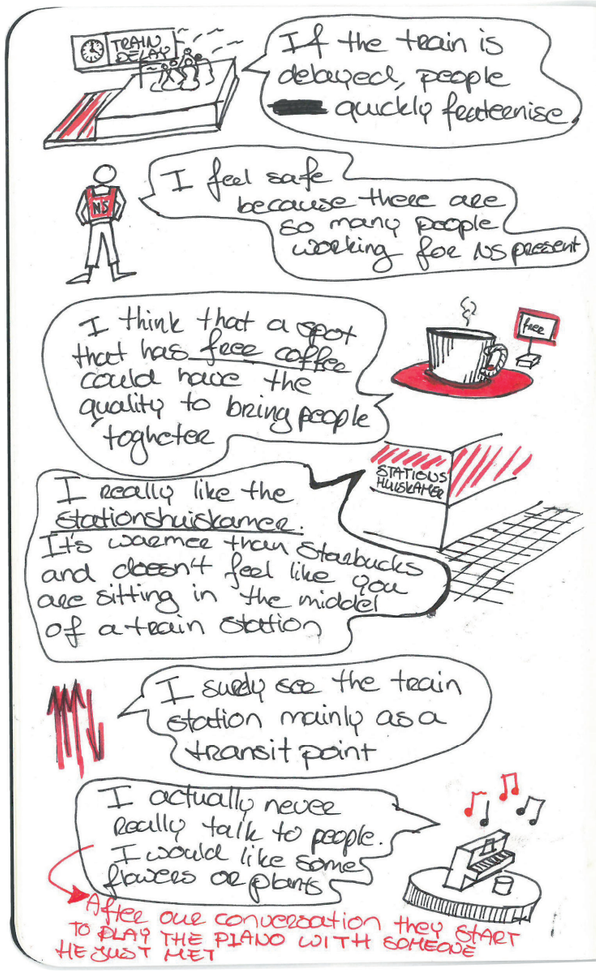
What do you think of this station? Have you met any strangers here?

Images of field trip and anwsers during the interview

06-03-2025

CURRENTLY, I AM SITTING ON A BENCH IN 'DEN HAAG CENTRAAL'. I AM ABOUT TO INTERVIEW SOME PEOPLE. IT IS 12:55 AND SUPER BUZZY. I HEAR THE NOISE OF THE TRAIN, THE BLEAPING OF THE NS-GATES. I AM A BIT NERVOUS NO ONE SEEMS TO HAVE TIME. THE BENCH IS QUITE UNCOMFORTABLE AND HIGH





I NOTICE AFTER TALKING TO PEOPLE ON HOW THEY'D LIKE TO MEET OUTSIDE OF THEIR BUBBLE / PEOPLE THAT ARE STRANGERS TO THEM, THAT THE QUESTION DOESN'T LEAD TO VERY DIRECT ANSWERS.

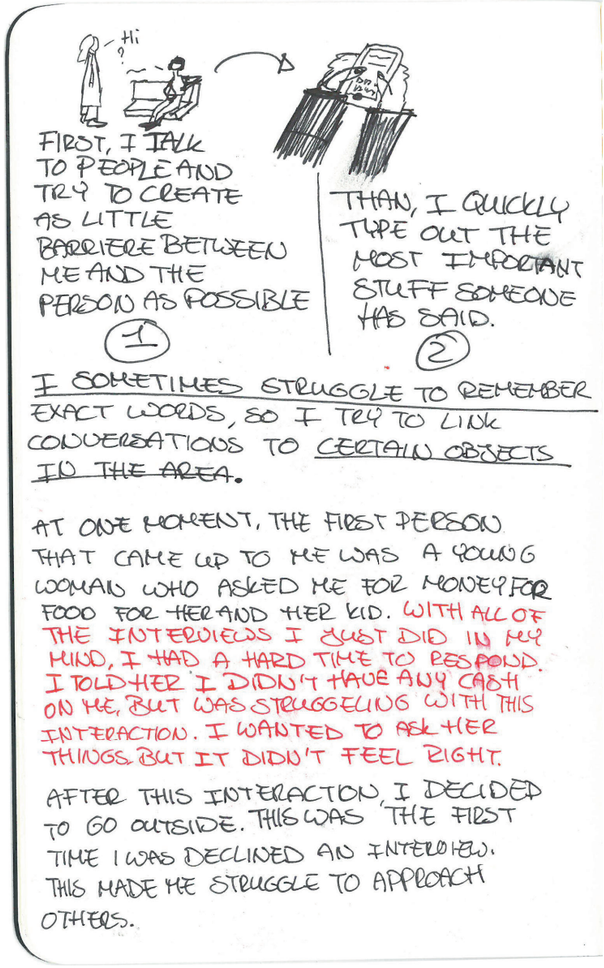
PEOPLE END UP EXPLAINING MAINLY ABOUT WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE THEY ARE ALREADY MEETING: 'I AM MEETING MY FRIENDS / SOMEONE I PLANNED A MEETING WITH.'

PEOPLE ALSO TELL ME THEY VIEW THE STATION AREA MAINLY AS A PLACE TO TRANSIT THROUGH. THEY DO NOT REALLY SEEM TO THINK OF IT AS AN AREA TO STAY.

WHEN I ASK HOW PEOPLE WOULD LIKE TO MEET STRANGERS / PEOPLE OUTSIDE OF THEIR BUBBLE, PEOPLE DO NOT SEEM ENTHUSIASTIC, BUT MOSTLY CONFUSED ON WHY THEY WOULD EVEN WANT TO DO THAT.

HOWEVER, WHEN I INTRODUCE MYSELF, ~~YES~~ EVERYONE I HAVE ASKED SO FAR WAS WILLING TO TALK TO ME. I START MY INTERVIEWS IN THE FOLLOWING WAY: 'Hi, I am Maaike. I am studying this area for my studies. Would it be okay if I ask you some questions? AND IS DUTCH OKAY?'





I SOMETIMES STRUGGLE TO REMEMBER EXACT WORDS, SO I TRY TO LINK CONVERSATIONS TO CERTAIN OBJECTS IN THE AREA.

AT ONE MOMENT, THE FIRST PERSON THAT CAME UP TO ME WAS A YOUNG WOMAN WHO ASKED ME FOR MONEY FOR FOOD FOR HER AND HER KID. WITH ALL OF THE INTERVIEWS I JUST DID IN MY MIND, I HAD A HARD TIME TO RESPOND. I TOLD HER I DIDN'T HAVE ANY CASH ON ME, BUT WAS STRUGGELING WITH THIS INTERACTION. I WANTED TO ASK HER THINGS BUT IT DIDN'T FEEL RIGHT.

AFTER THIS INTERACTION, I DECIDED TO GO OUTSIDE. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME I WAS DECLINED AN INTERVIEW. THIS MADE ME STRUGGLE TO APPROACH OTHERS.

Reflections during the interview

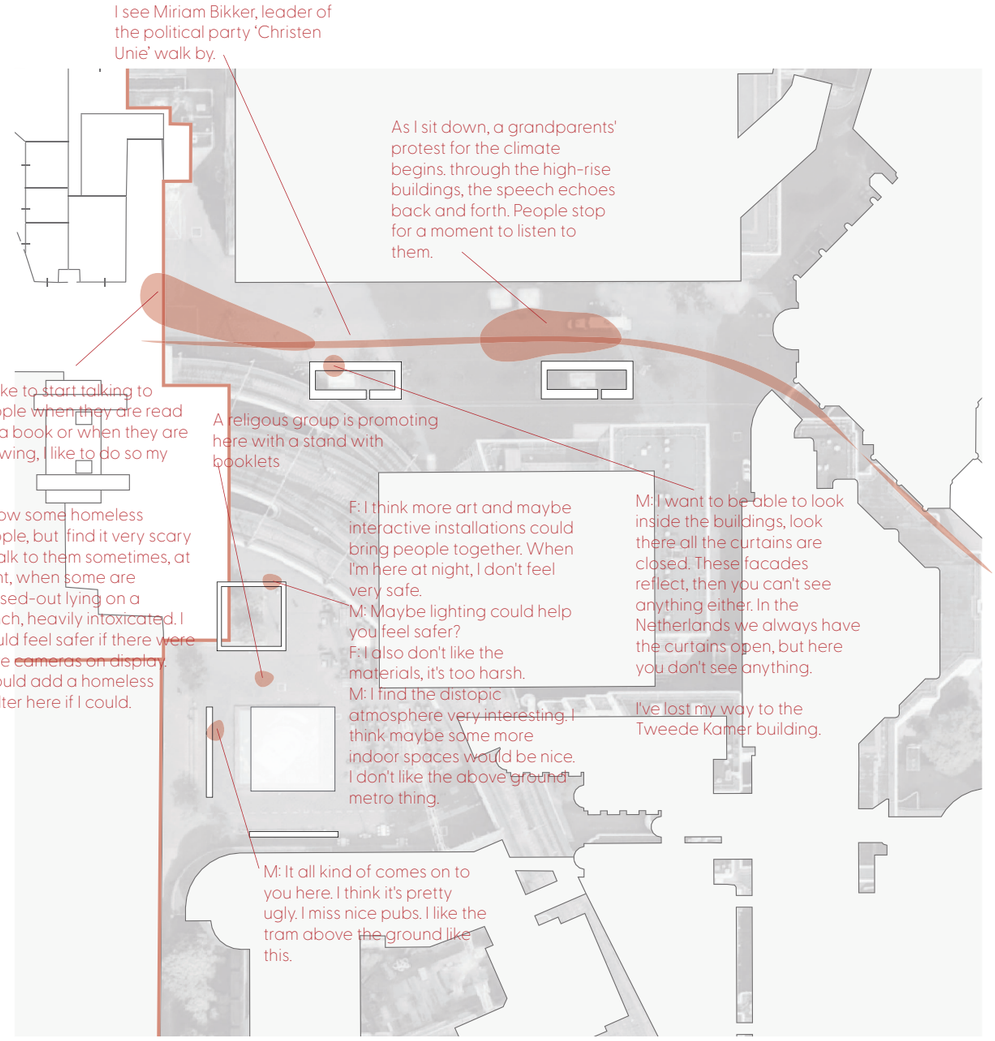
Notes on personal insights during the interview

05.23. **STREET INTERVIEWS - ANNA VAN BUERENPLEIN**















How would you like to meet strangers?

Images of field trip and anwsers during the interview

THEN I SEE AN INTERACTION THAT ~~M~~HER ME AGAIN.



SOME BIRDS ARE STUCK IN THE HALL OF THE TRAIN STATION. A GIRL ASKS AN EMPLOYEE OF NS IF HE CAN DO ANYTHING TO GET THE BIRD OUTSIDE AGAIN.
SHE GOES OUTSIDE. I DECIDE TO TALK TO HER. SHE IS FEEDING THE BIRDS SOME PEANUTS.

I ASK HER

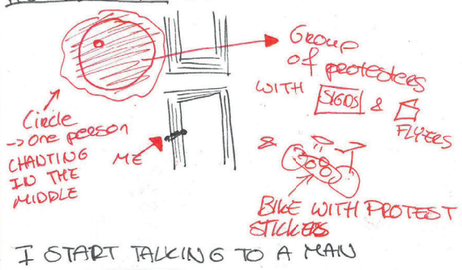
HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO MEET STRANGERS?

SHE

I TALK TO STRANGERS MORE OFTEN. HERE OR IN THE HAAGSE BOS. PEOPLE SOMETIMES COME UP TO ME WHEN I AM READING OR DRAWING. I ALSO TALK TO THE HOMELESS SOMETIMES AND ASK THEM IF THEY NEED ANYTHING. AT NIGHT, THIS AREA CAN FEEL UNSAFE. HOMELESS PEOPLE ARE PASSED-OUT THEN. I WOULD FEEL SAFER IF THERE WERE MORE POLICEMAN OR CAMERA'S. I WOULD CREATE SPACES FOR HOMELESS TO SLEED, IF I COULD CHANGE ONE THING.

I THINK THE TABOO OF TALKING TO STRANGERS SHOULD BE BROKEN

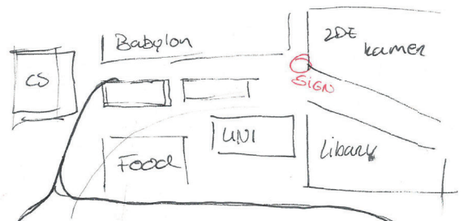
AFTER OUR CONVERSATION I SIT DOWN ON A BENCH. AT THAT MOMENT, A PROTEST FROM 'GROOTOUDERS VOOR HET KLIMAAT' STARTS.



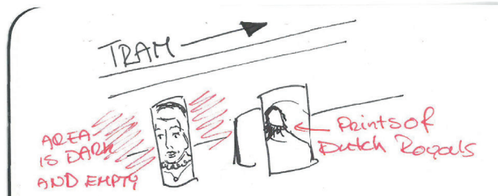
I START TALKING TO A MAN

WHAT DOES CONCRETE DO TO A PERSON?
IT FEELS VERY STATIC.
I AM FROM THE HAGUE. THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE EMBASSY NEIGHBOURHOOD AND THE REST. I HAVE THE FEELING THIS IS GETTING WORSE. IT'S GETTING MORE AND MORE IMPERSONAL
IT IS DUTCH TO HAVE YOUR CURTAINS OPENED UP, BUT ALL OF THOSE ARE CLOSED. I WANT TO BE ABLE TO LOOK INSIDE. ALL OF THE WINDOWS REFLECT THE LIGHT. I CANNOT SEE IN.

I DON'T THINK THERE IS MUCH WE CAN DO ANYMORE.



Hi, Do you know the way to the 2de Kamer? I AM A BIT LOST



I START TALKING TO TWO PEOPLE, THEY ARE SMOKING SOME WEED. THEY FACE THE VIADUCT, THE TRAM PASSES BY EVERY NOW AND THEN.

I THINK MAYBE AN INTERACTIVE ART INSTALLATION COULD HELP PEOPLE TO INTERACT WITH ONEANDTHERE. AT NIGHT I DON'T FEEL VERY SAFE HERE. THE PLACE IS CROWDED, YET UNPERSONAL MAYBE SOME LIGHTS COULD HELP. I DO NOT LIKE THE MATERIALS

I QUITE LIKE THE DISTOPIAN VIBE. MAYBE SOME INDOOR SPACES COULD BE NICE. I THINK THE METROTHING IS UGLY

I START WALKING ON. THE WEATHER IS NICE. THERE ARE A LOT OF PEOPLE SMILING AND ENJOYING THE SUN.

IT FEELS LIKE EVERYTHING IS COMING TOWARDS YOU WITH ALL THE TALL BUILDINGS
I THINK IT IS UGLY. I PREFER THE HISTORICAL CENTRE ON THE OTHER SIDE. I MISS NICE CAFÉS HOWEVER, THE FOODHALL IS QUITE FUN. I DON'T KNOW WHAT THAT THING IS. IS THERE WATER IN THERE?
IT IS MEGA WINDY
I QUITE LIKE THE TRAM

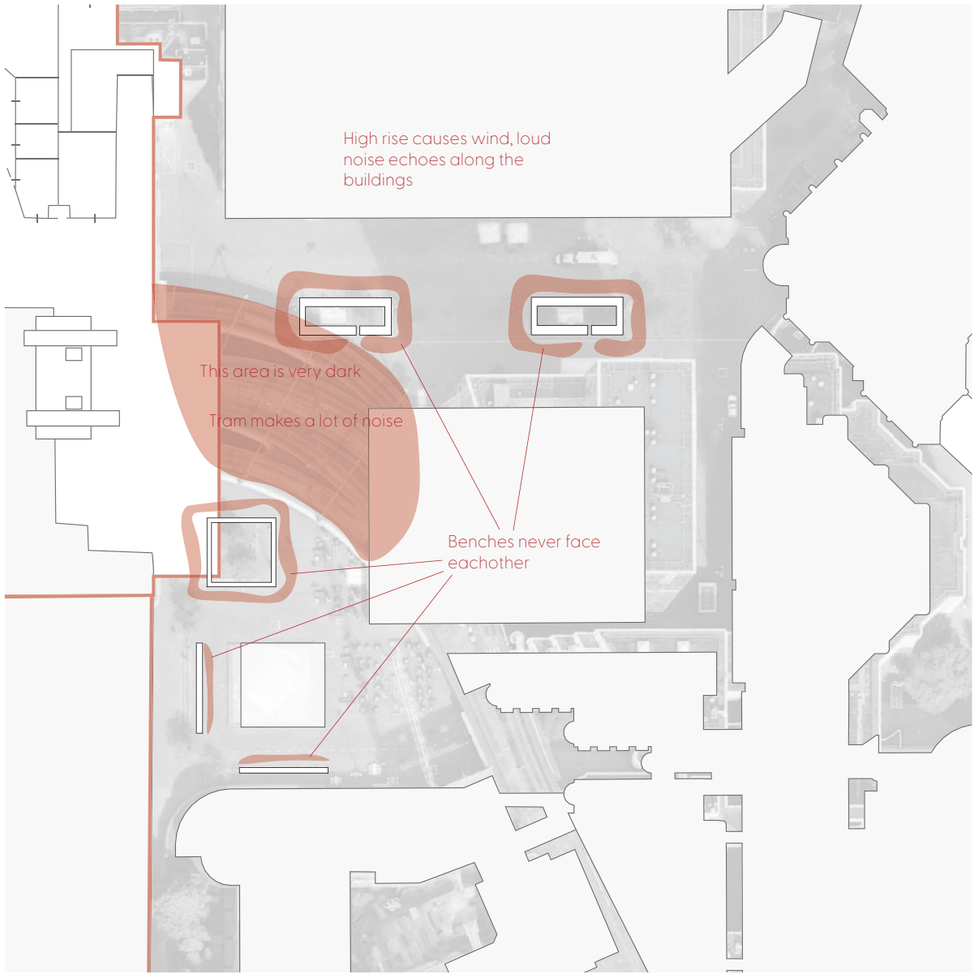
AFTER THIS CONVERSATION, I HEAR THE 'GROOTOUDERS VOOR HET KLIMAAT' SING. THEY ALL LOOK REALLY NICE.
I DECIDE TO ASK THEM THE LAST QUESTION ON MY LIST:

HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE YOUR VOICE HEARD IN SPACE?

Reflections during the interview

Notes on personal insights during the interview

05.23. **STREET INTERVIEWS - ANNA VAN BUERENPLEIN**

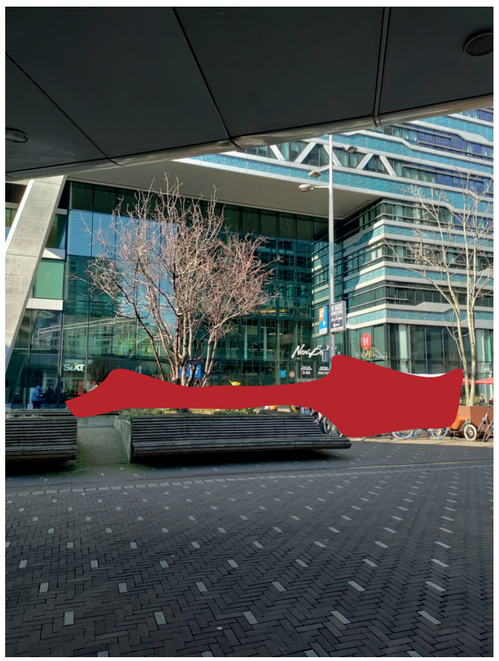


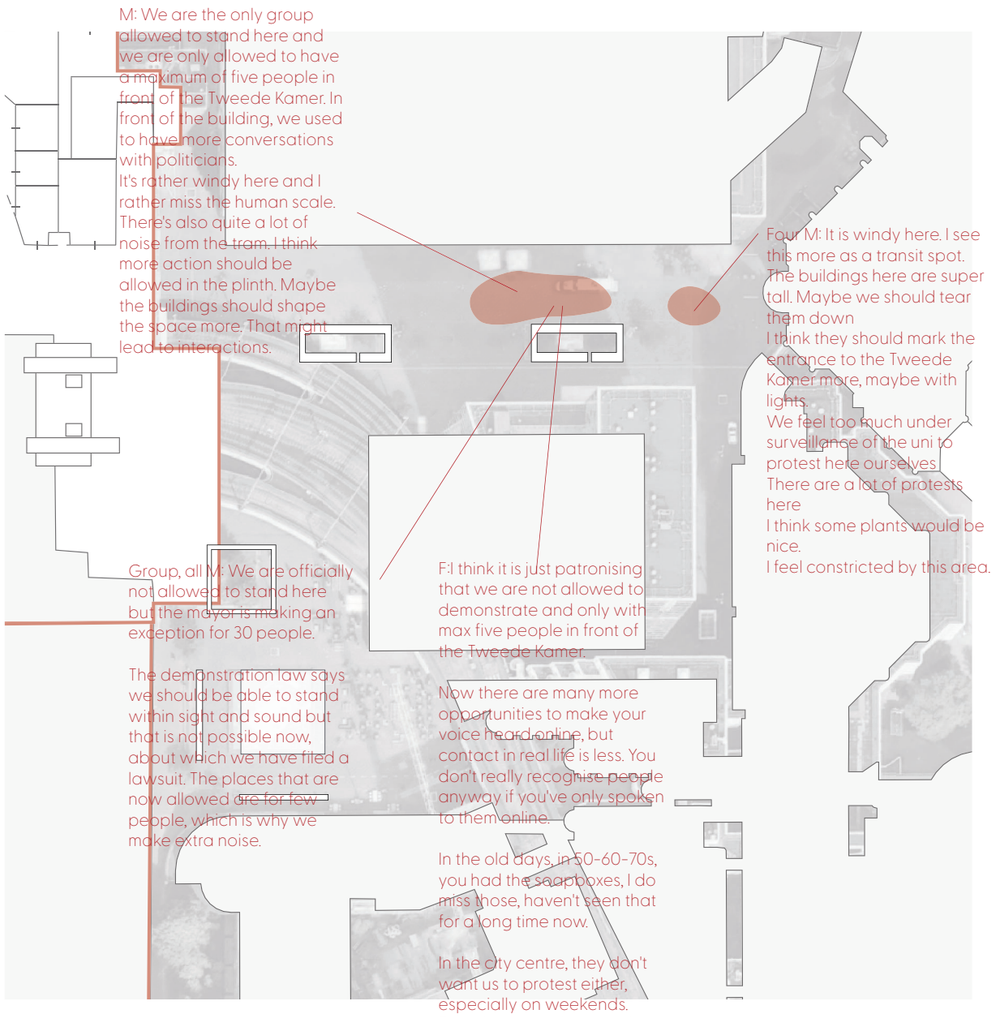
Personal notes of atmosphere



05.23. **STREET INTERVIEWS - ANNA VAN BUERENPLEIN**









Why are you protesting here? What do you think of this place? What do you think of the protest? How would you like to have your voice heard?

Images of field trip and anwsers during the interview



I START TALKING TO ONE MAN. HE SAYS:

WE ARE THE ONLY ONES ALLOWED TO BE STANDING HERE. ON THE SQUARE IN FRONT OF THE TWEEDE KAMER THEY ALLOW MAX. FIVE PEOPLE

I THINK THIS PLACE IS SO SO IT IS VERY WINDY AND THE TRAM MAKES A LOT OF NOISE I MIS THE 'MENSELIJKE MAAT' (HUMAN SCALE).
THERE SHOULD BE A BETTER SPOT IN FRONT OF THE TWEEDE KAMER. WE USED TO GO THERE, [redacted] THEN WE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO CHAT WITH POLITICIANS. THEY USED TO GET OUTSIDE TO TALK TO US (MAINLY IN THE PRECIOUS BUILDINGS).
I THINK HERE SHOULD BE MORE ACTION IN THE PLINTH.

MAYBE THE BUILDINGS COULD SHAPE THE SPACE MORE, THIS COULD PERHAPS CAUSE MORE INTERACTIONS. I HAVE SOME BOOK RECOMMENDATIONS:
1. Lewis Mumford – THE CITY & HISTORY
2. THE PENTAGON OF POWER

I BECOME CURIOUS TO WHAT PEOPLE OUTSIDE OF THE PROTEST GROUP THINK. I START TALKING TO A GROUP. I ASK THEM WHAT THEY THINK OF THE AREA AND HOW THEY WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THEIR VOICES HEARED

IT'S SUPER WINDY HERE. I THINK OF THIS MORE OF JUST A PLACE TO PASS THROUGH. ~~THE BUILDINGS ARE TOO HIGH.~~ BREAK THEM DOWN!

SOMEONE ELSE SAYS

THE ENTRANCE OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT BUILDING SHOULD BE MARKED MORE.

~~WE FEEL TOO SURVAILANCED BY~~ THE UNI BUILDING TO PROTEST OURSELVES.

OVER HERE, A LOT OF PROTEST HAPPENS PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES, NOW THE GRANDPARENTS, LAST WEEK HEALTHCARE RELATED STUFF

I FEEL CONTAINED BY THIS AREA

SOME PLANTS WOULD BE NICE

I WOULD GO TO AMSTERDAM OR THE MALIEVELD TO PROTEST

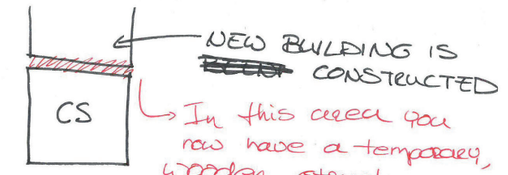
DO YOU WORK FOR THE MUNICIPALITY?

NOW, THE RULES AROUND PARLIAMENT & THE BINNENHOF ARE STRICTER THAN BEFORE. WE ARE ALLOWED LESS. THEY ARE AFRAID OF TERRORISM. VERY

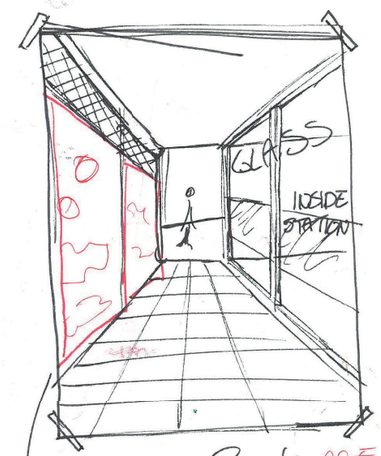
AFTER THESE CONVERSATIONS, MY BRAIN IS OVERLOADED OF OPINIONS. I FEEL TIRED AND NEED SOME TIME TO REFLECT.

I WALK A BIT MORE AROUND THE AREA. I REALISE THAT I MAINLY APPROACH PEOPLE I FEEL COMFORTABLE WITH. PEOPLE THAT I RECOGNISE MYSELF IN A BIT. SOMEONE YOUNGH. SOMEONE WHITE. SOMEONE LIKE MY PARENTS, LIKE MY FRIENDS, OTHER STUDENT-LIKE PEOPLE, WOMAN.
→ How do I deal with this conclusion?

DURING MY WALK, I NOTICE SOMETHING INTERESTING



TO PREVENT PEOPLE FROM EXCITING THE BUILDING GROUND



Wooden Panels ARE FULL OF STICKERS & TEXT.
MOST 'APPROPRIATED' SPACE SO FAR?

Reflections during the interview

Notes on personal insights during the interview

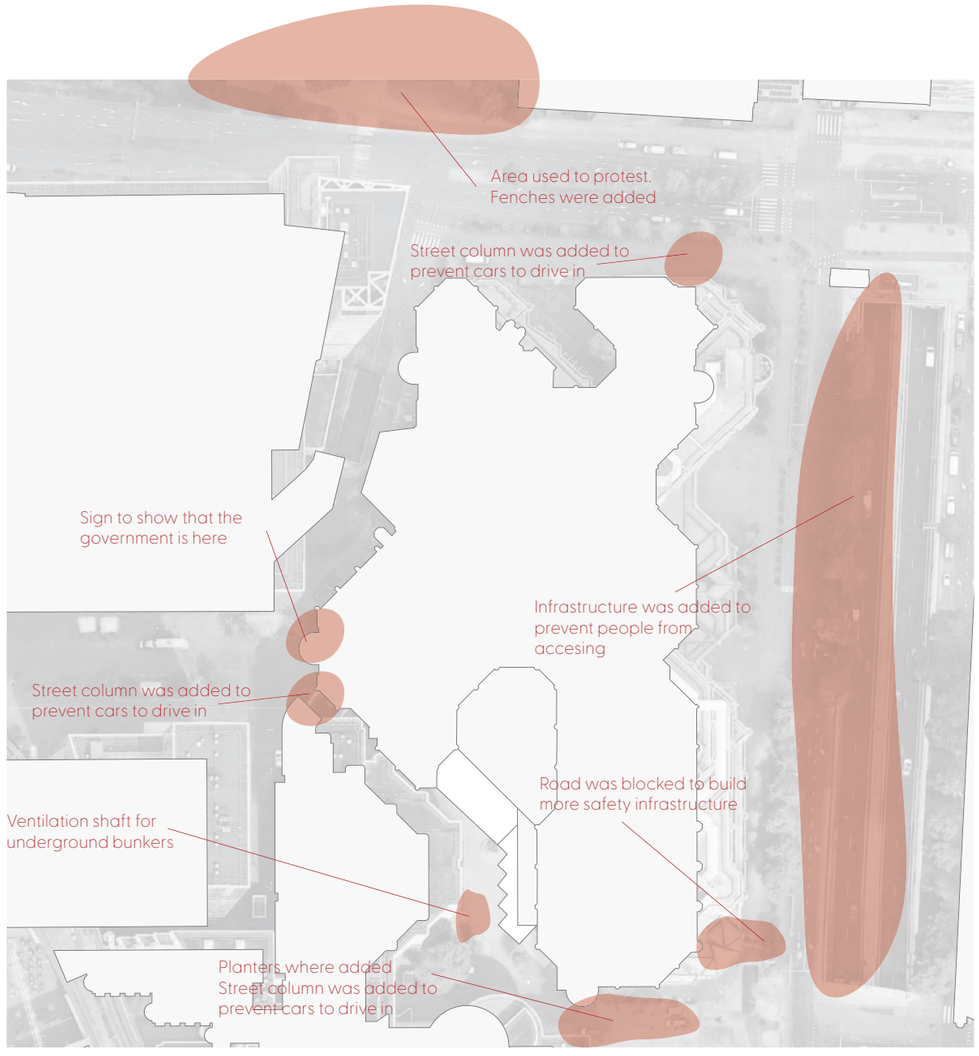
05.24. **SITE VISIT - AROUND THE TWEEDE KAMER GEBOUW: PRINSES IRENEPAD, A12**

















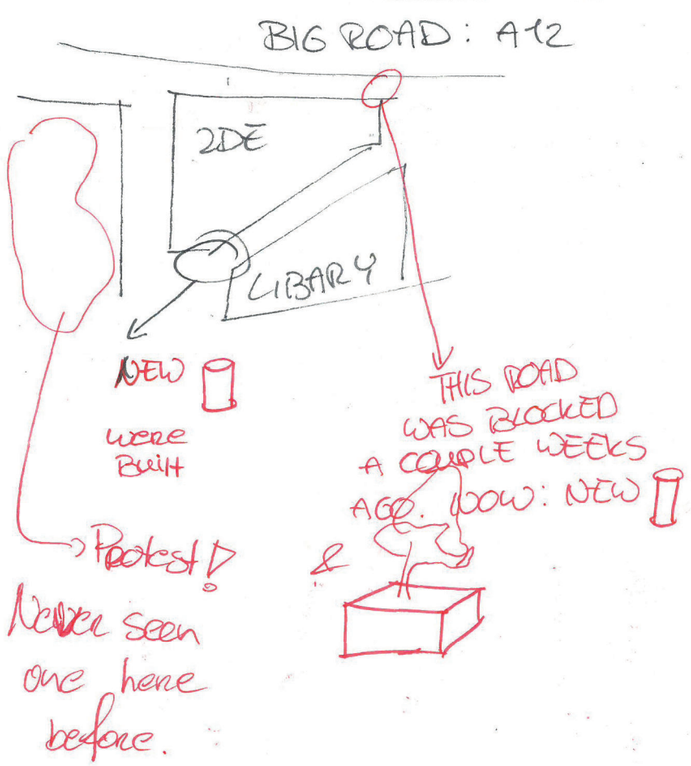


Notes on interesting objects

Images of field trip

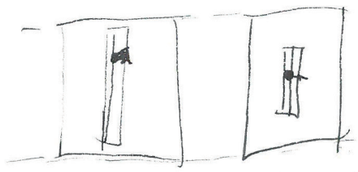
15-03-2025

I WENT TO THE HAGUE WITH TWO FRIENDS. I NOTICE A COUPLE OF THINGS



11-04-2025

I AM IN THE BEGINNING OF THE DESIGN PHASE, BUT I AM STRUGGLING A LOT.



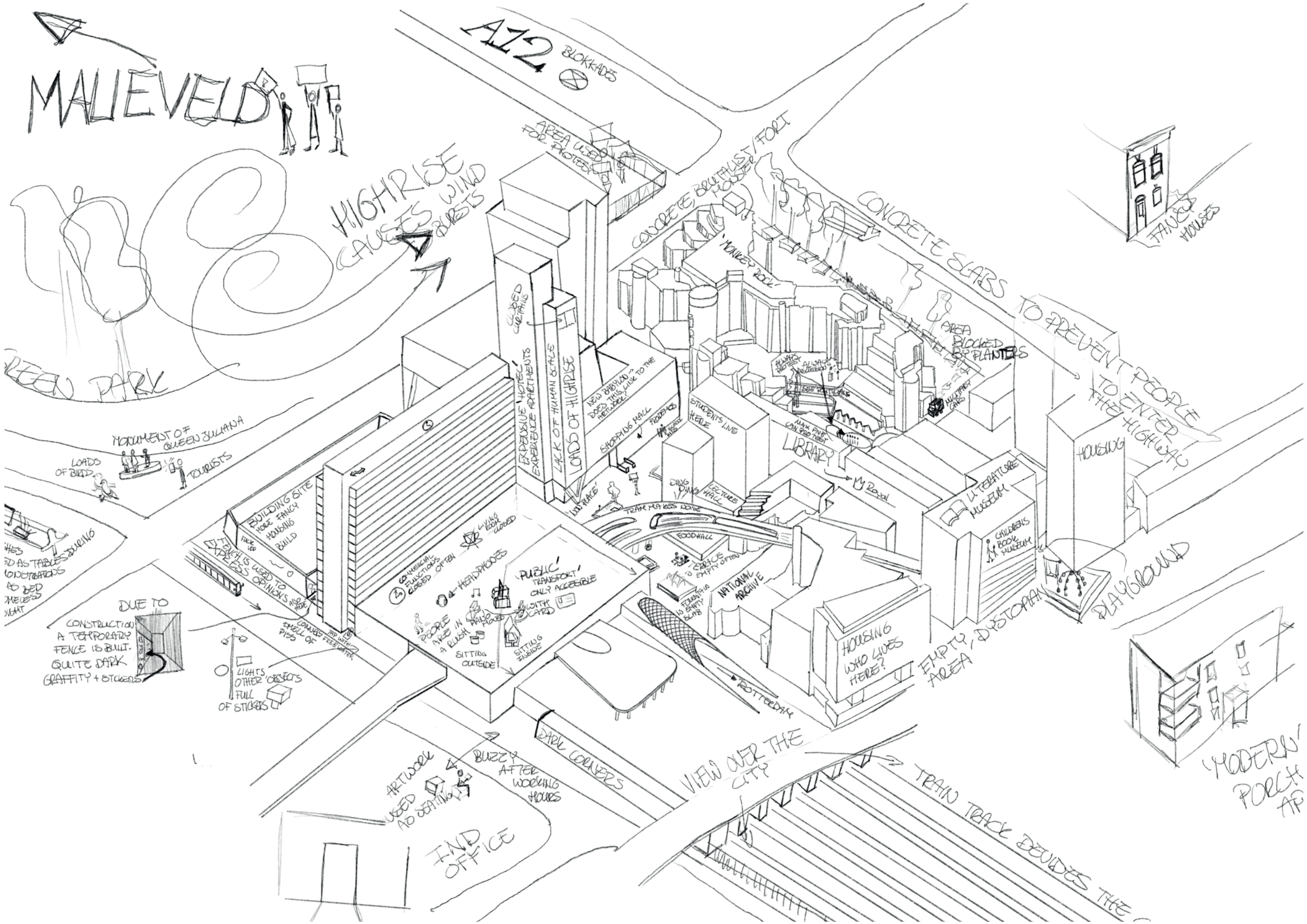
→ Huge difference in scale & size if I compare satelite vs drawings

→ Nothing seems to justify all the readings.

THERE IS NO SOLUTION TO THESE ISSUES, ONLY AN APPROPRIATION TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE.

HOW?

05.25. **SOFTMAP MADE AFTER FIELD TRIPS AND INTERVIEWS**



05.26. **CONCLUSIONS AFTER INTERVIEWS AND FIELDWORK**



The space is a mix of commercial interest, in the form of the shopping mall New Babylon and the shops in the Central Station and a Food Hall. Private interest of house owners is also present in the space, since the New Babylon tower is an apartment tower with high segment housing. Opposite the New Babylon tower is a building of the University of Leiden, which also contains student accommodation. The tower of Hague Central Station contains offices and meeting rooms. The commercial nature of the area can affect public space and limit the scope for political engagement, as noted by Harvey (n.d.). Furthermore, the Royal Library, the Literature Museum and the National Archive are present, as well as the Tweede Kamer building (House of Representatives).

During the fieldtrips, it became apparent that the political character of The Hague is also visible in this site, in bus shelters, on construction site fences, on street poles and on electricity boxes there are all kinds of stickers and graffiti with political statements. Furthermore, homeless people can often be found around the station.

During the fieldtrips, interviews were conducted.The aim of the interviews was to get a better understanding of the area around The Hague Central railway station and the route to the Tweede Kamer. Furthermore, the aim was to discover whether people meet strangers here and, if not, how they would like to. Furthermore, we asked why people come to the Tweede Kamer building and how people would like their voices to be heard in the space.

It was also discovered during the interviews that the area (The Hague Central Station, Anna van Buerenplein, Prinses Irenepad) is used for protests, but that there is a lot of tension about this and that the mayor of The Hague is not happy about it, due to the fact that the area is very crowded and the fact that national politicians walk around in the area. The protests are seen as “unsafe”, the interviewees explained. The extreme level of surveillance in this area is something to be critical of, as it can also be a form of imposing certain social norms, as Bodnar (2015), as well as Harvey (n.d.) explain.

A lot of people see the area mainly as a transition place, to get from a to b. While this is a space where a lot of different people have to be, the space does not result in a lot of interaction among different groups, at least not verbally. People are blocking interactions we would even conclude, because they wear headphones and look on their phones, instead of looking around. In the literature review section, we concluded that interactions with conflict are crucial for democracy, especially in a city where segregation already is already present, we consider the possibility for interaction with conflict in spaces like this area around the train station, to be highly important.

Due to the presence of the railway station and the Tweede Kamer building, many people from outside the city also come to this area.The dualities of The Hague, as found in the Historical analysis, are present on a small scale in this area. Such as the friction between local interest and supralocal interest influence the area, due to the presence of the building of the National government, as well as The Hague Central Station, as well as the neutral-political friction, in the limitations of protests in the area.

We conclude that the presence of the temporary Tweede Kamer building demands a critical examination of the limitation of political expression in this space. During the interviews, it was already found that some students do not feel the freedom to protest due to the presence of the university, for example. Activists in the space feel limited, because they cannot protest with more than five in front of the Tweede Kamer gebouw, they say. This temporary condition of the space could perhaps be seen as less important for research attention. However, we argue that if we want to design for the radical, pluralist democracy, this space is highly important; if democracy is a daily life practice, than we should also focus on how this temporary building can still fit the needs of its symbolic connotation as highly important for the Dutch democratic system.

The next section will explore the spatial qualities of this area, to see how interaction and the possibility for conflict is limited or created through form.

Furthermore, people find the cameras present hindering their ability to express themselves. Below is a list of ideas per location on possible focal points for the design phase, based on the comments of people during the interviews.

A list per location:

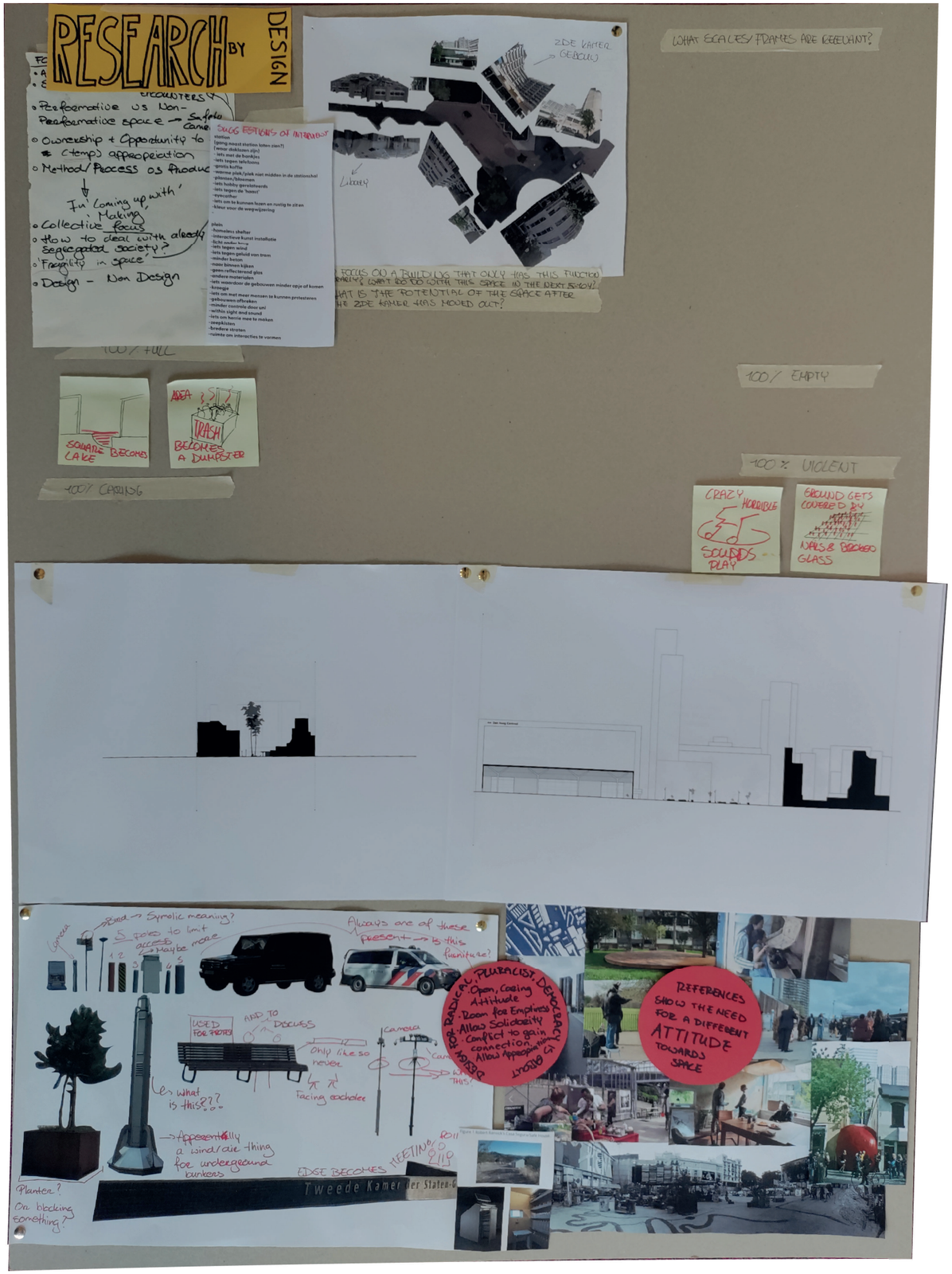
The Hague Central Station:

-something with the benches
-something against telephones
-free coffee
-warm place/spot not in the middle of the station hall
-plants/flowers
-something for hobbies
-something against the 'rush' people have
-eyecather, something to touch and talk about
-somewhere to read and sit quietly
-colourcoding for wayfinding

Anna van Buerenplein and Prinses Irenepad:

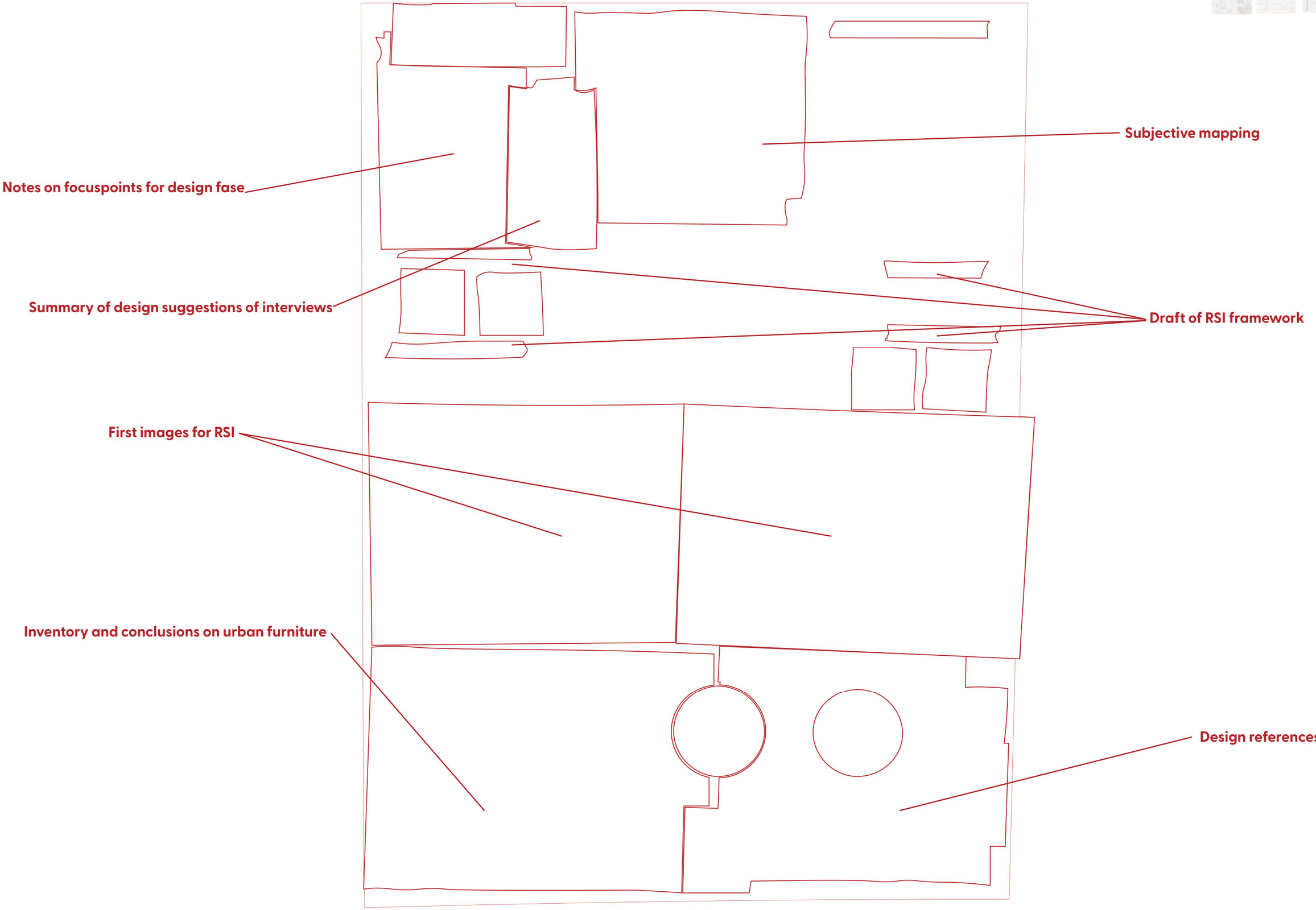
-homeless shelter
-Interactive art installation
-light under bridge
-something against wind
-something against tram noise
-less concrete
-look inside
-no reflective glass
-other materials
-something that makes the buildings look less like you
-pub
-something to allow more people to protest
-demolish buildings, because they are too high
-less control by uni
-within sight and sound
-something to make noise with
-soap boxes
-wider streets
-space to form interactions

05.27. **SITE ANALYSIS, REFERENCES AND FIRST STEPS OF DESIGN**



05.28. **PANEL OVERVIEW**





05.29. RADICAL PLURALIST DEMOCRACY: REFLECTING THE CONCEPT BACK TO A SPATIAL DIMENSION

This thesis focusses on the concept of the Radical Pluralist Democracy (RPD). This section will repeat previous conclusions in the literature review section and connect those with conclusions from the workshop, interviews and historical analysis.

In the RPD, democracy is considered a daily life practice and active citizenship is at its core. It focusses on the commonality, rather than on one individual. As Dewey explains, in this version of democracy there should be a focus on discussion, diversity and dynamism and ever evolving (Rocco, Gonçalves, & Lopez, 2024). Citizens shape their communities through open communication and collaboration.

Also, both political theorists Jürgen Habermas and Chantal Mouffe propose to deepen and extend the present-day democratic system, by extending the democratic quality of inclusiveness to social life and public institutions (Kapoor, 2002).

Habermas strives for a focus on communicative action and rational discourse in the public sphere in deepening or radicalising democracy (Rocco, Gonçalves, & Lopez, 2024). Mouffe critiques this model and explains that every finite decision is inherently to some sort of social order, and therefore is in conflic with the democratic ideal where everyone is free and equal (Kapoor, 2002).

Considering the fact that any spatial form is a consequence of decision-making processes, we conclude that participatory practices in the processes of design is not the only type of participation that should be taken into account, we think. Therefore, there should also be focus on the possiblity to appropriate the space that already exist, as also concluded by Frediani & Boano (2012). This also results in thinking of citizens in a more active role, than as passive consumers (Frediani & Boano, 2012).

Previously, in the conclusions after the related work section, we concluded that the marketplace and neoliberal society of today limit the opportunity to create more democratic (public) spaces and that already existing public spaces are highly vulnerable to de-politicization and privatization (Escobar, 2018; Sennet & Sendra, 2021, Honigh et al., 2025, Harvey, n.d.; Hoskyns, 2014; Bodnar, 2015). Citizens are turned into consumers.

During the interviews, we found that this is already happening in this space: any from of protest in this space is highly controlled and constrained.

Considering the fact that in the city of The Hague, segregation has been identified, concluding the fact that segregation in a city results in less interaction between different social groups (Segregatiemonitor - Toelichting Begrip En Discussie - Den Haag, n.d.) , while interacting with conflict is found to be at the core of a democracy, as stated by Sennet and Sendra (2021) and Bodnar (2015), among others, than we conclude that spaces like the area around the central station are highly important, because this is a place where many differences meet. However, currently the space is not resulting into many (verbal) interactions, we found during the interviews.

Taking these conclusions into account, we will focus on the next topics in the spatial analysis:

-The opportunity to appropriate space
-The opportunity to express oneself in space
-The way spatial elements create interactions
-The effect commercial functions have on the public space
-To see how freely people can move around the area

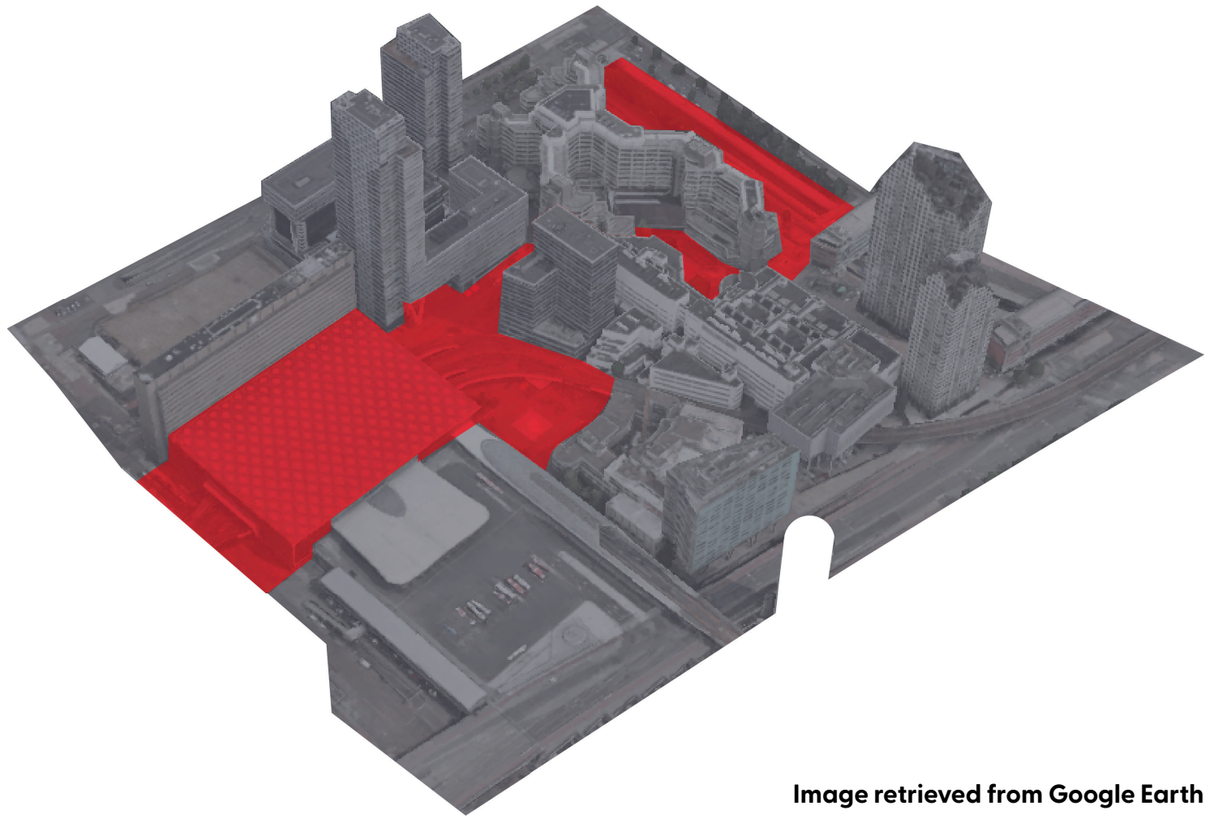
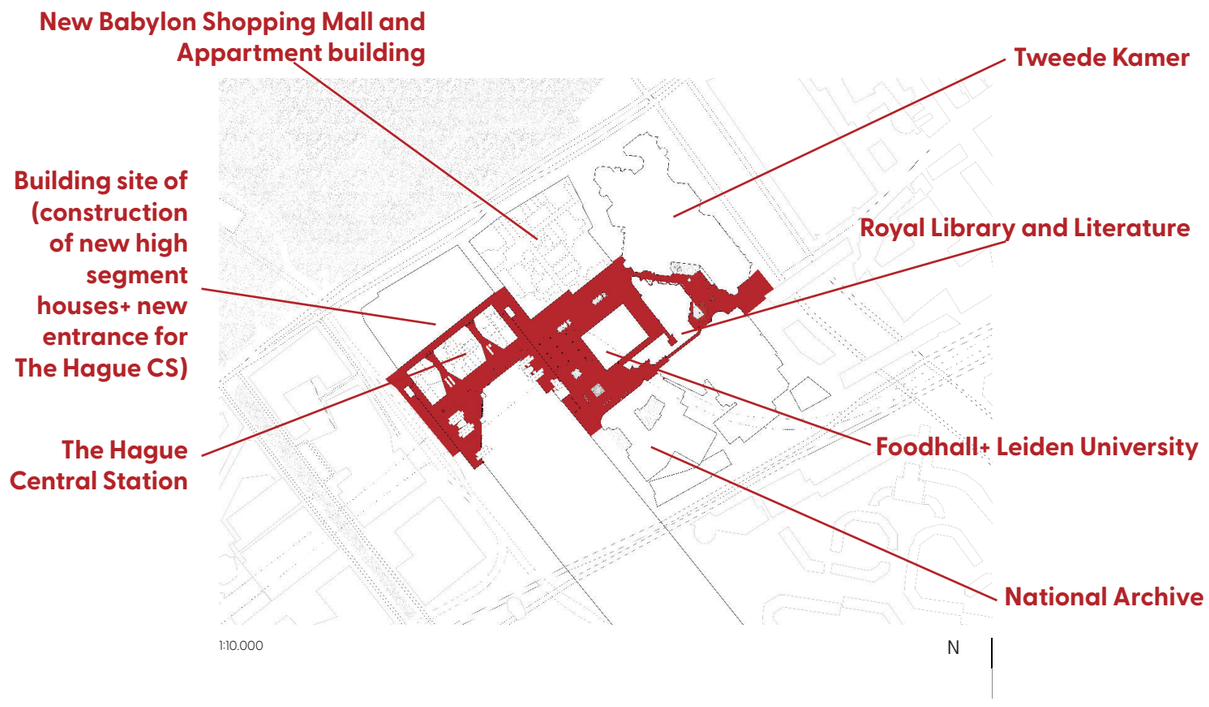


Image retrieved from Google Earth





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05.30. **TWEEDE KAMER: BUILDING AND SQUARE**



Tweede Kamer and Royal Library (Images retrieved from Google Earth)

Collage of Prinses Irenepad: Shows the brutalist builiding with modern facade of Tweede Kamer . On this square, there are a lot of camera's and there is always a car of the military police present. The highrise buildings make the square feel very small.

05.31. OBJECTS OF DESIGN: AN INVENTORY



Objects

During the fieldtrip, it was noticed that there is very little focus on expression and interaction in space. Objects seem to be present mainly for pragmatic reasons. Benches are never positioned so that people look at each other. There are many cameras present, with spikes attached so that people cannot touch them. There are all kinds of bollards to prevent people from driving their cars on the Prinses Irenepad and Anna van Buerenplein. There is nowhere for people to sit outside out of the rain. Greenery that is present is poorly maintained. Graffiti on walls and furniture is always removed. There is a kind of grey monster in the square, this is apparently the ventilation shaft of bunkers built before the fall of the Berlin Wall. There is a little wall with letters in front of the Tweede Kamer building, where people often have conversations.

05.32. **REFERENCES: EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF USING SPACE**

To broaden the view on the subject, taking into account the previously explained focuspoints, a number of reference projects were collected. In these projects, the focus is on a different kind of look at space use, for example by paying attention to the dimension of time, by focusing on making space without a specific function, by redefining the role of the citizen in spatial development and/or by giving commercial forces less space. Some projects focus on activating citizens, for example by aknowleding possible conflict, without erasing it, by creating spaces that can be appropriated. Some focus on less hierarchical ways of urban planning or on creating spaces for nuance and solidarity.



Hyde Park - Speakers Corner London- Public speeches and debates
Speakers' corner. (n.d.). The Royal Parks. https://www.royalparks.org.uk/visit/parks/hyde-park/speakers-corner



Willemstoren in Rotterdam - Undefined room for all citizens
Junte, J. (2019, July 2). Platform: Instability We Trust - Architectuur.nl. Architectuur.nl. https://www-architectuur-nl.tudelft.idm.oclc.org/platform-jong-talent/platform-instability-we-trust/



Platform without defined function 'What would you want to do here?'
Koenders, D. (2024, August 11). Een nieuwe landingsplaats in Zwijndrecht – Stad in de Maak. https://www.stadindemaak.nl/een-nieuwe-landingsplaats-in-zwijndrecht/



Research by doing: The expert and the citizen expert - Commons-Neighbourhood Centre
Koenders, D. (2024, August 11). Een nieuwe landingsplaats in Zwijndrecht – Stad in de Maak. https://www.stadindemaak.nl/een-nieuwe-landingsplaats-in-zwijndrecht/



Claiming private space for public interest
Vergara-Perucich, J. F. (2019). Urban Design as a Form of Agonistic Democratic Expression. Space And Culture, 24(4), 456–472. https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331219861260



Changing artworks instead of changing ads
Art not ad : DesignArbeid. (n.d.). https://designarbeid.nl/projecten/art-not-ad/



Every mode of transport is equally important: Safe zones
Exhibition Road London. (2012, 30 juni). E-architect. Geraadpleegd op 31 oktober 2024, van https://www.e-architect.com/london/exhibition-road-project









Designing solidarity: Safe House for fugees on farmers land
Weber, C. (2010). Introduction: Design and citizenship. Citizenship Studies, 14(1), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020903466233



Learning nuance: Promoting listening
Het Kabinet van de Dames : DesignArbeid. (n.d.). https://designarbeid.nl/projecten/het-kabinet-van-de-dames/



Generating appropriation: A parkfarm
Parckfarm | Alive. (n.d.). Alive. https://www.alivearchitecture.eu/parckfarm

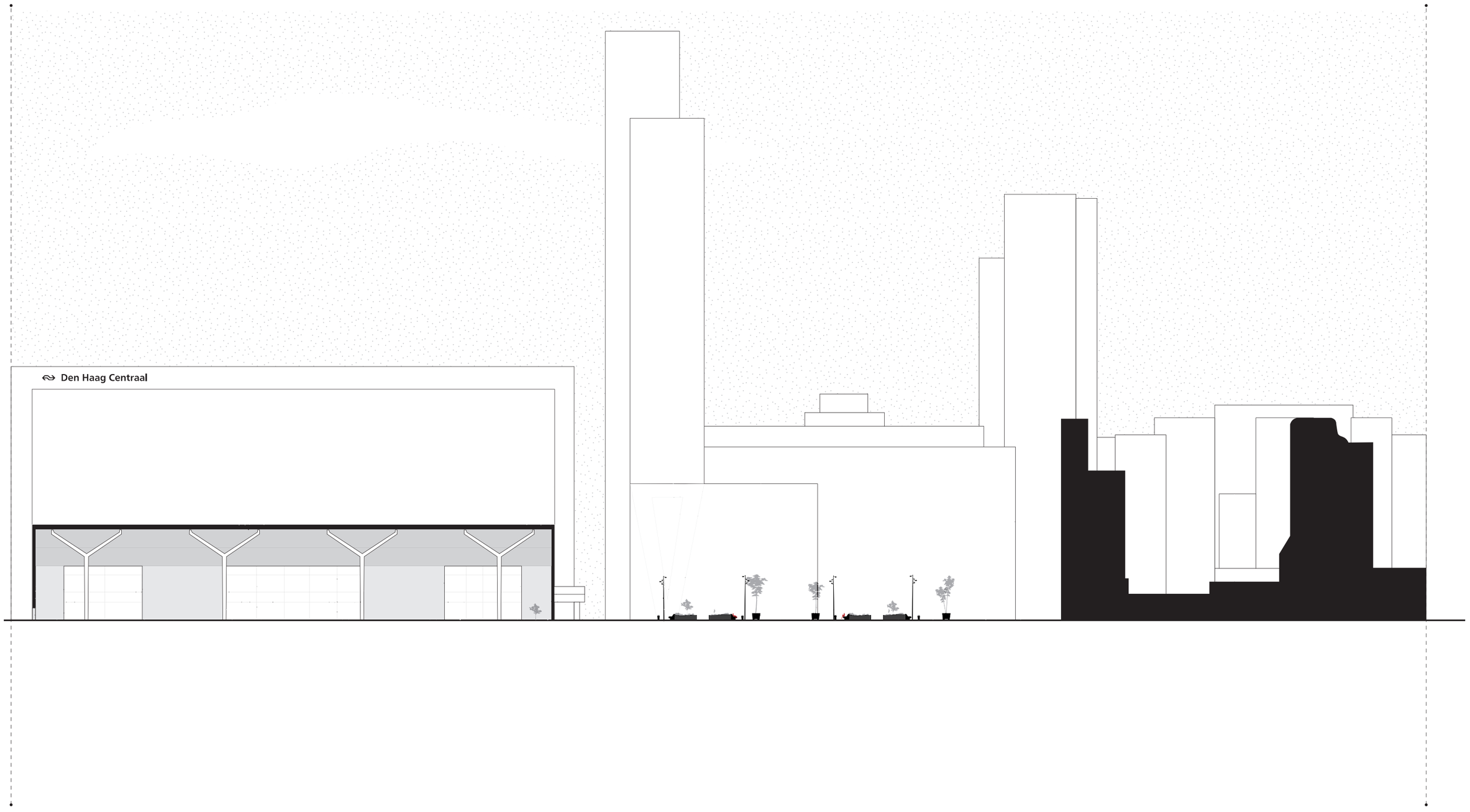


Slowing down: promoting interactions through art
Wikipedia contributors. (2025, May 6). RedBall Project. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/RedBall_Project



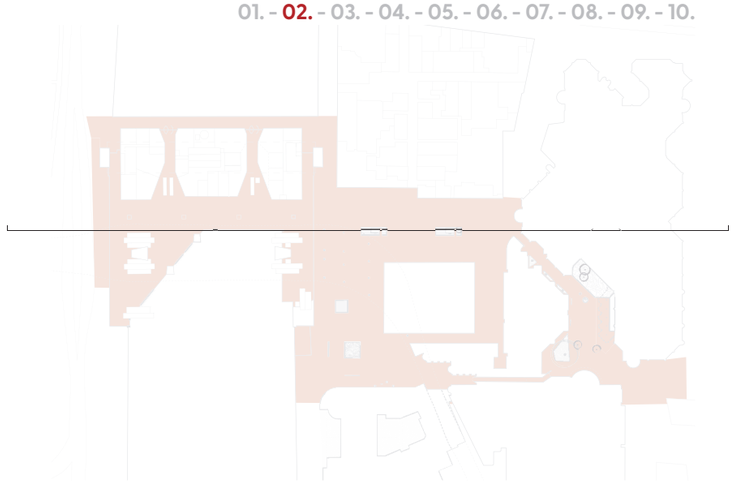
Citizens at the core of Urban renewal: Transition Hubs
Alliantie. (2024, 26 augustus). De Wijk Transitie Hub: Een unieke plek voor en door bewoners. ZO= Zuidoost. https://zoiszuidoost.nl/de-wijk-transitie-hub-een-unieke-plek-voor-en-door-bewoners/

05.33. **VISUALIZING INTERVIEWS INTO SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS**



Den Haag Central Station to Tweede Kamer

Section, own work



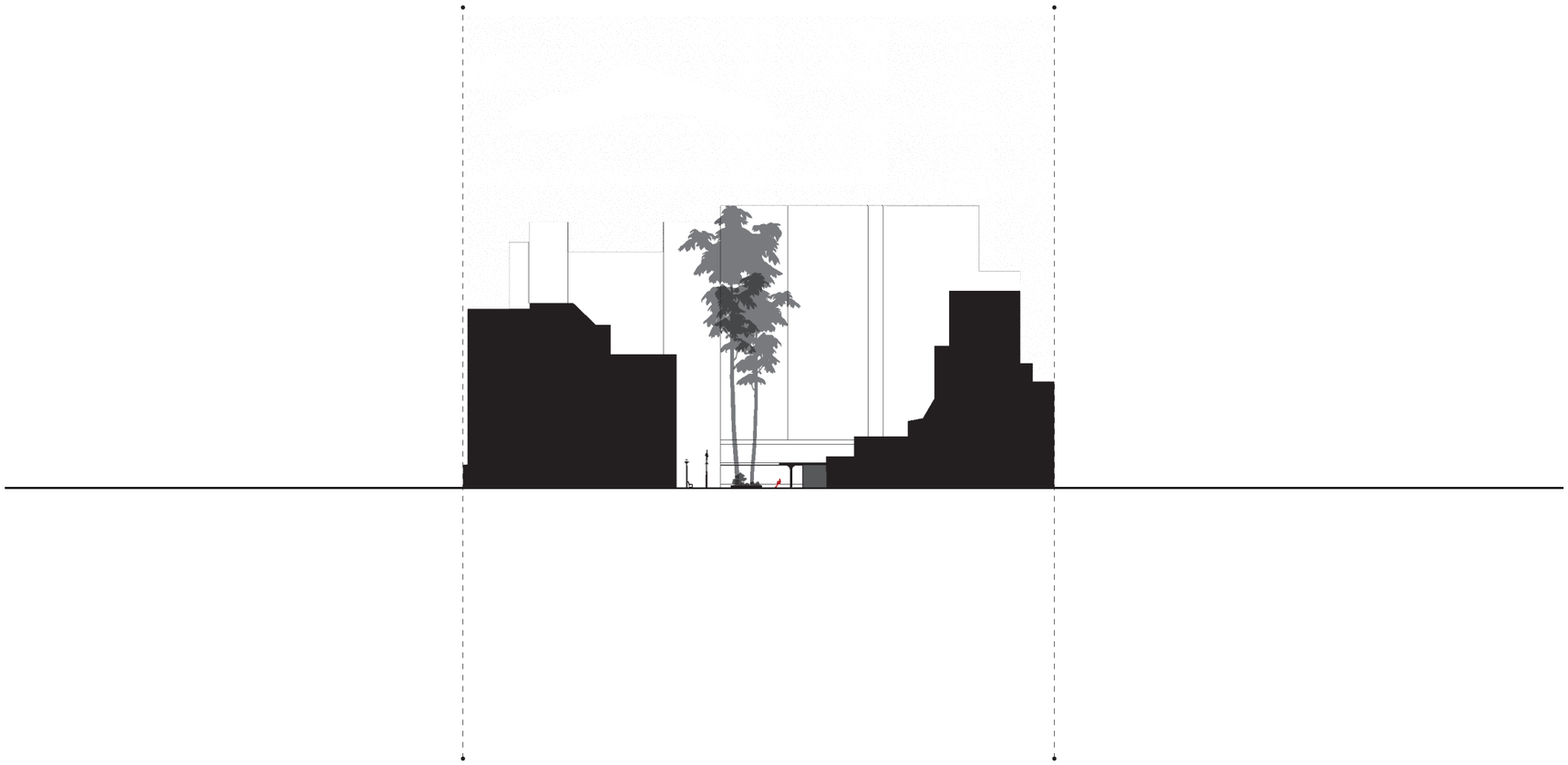
Section Den Haag Centraal to Tweede Kamer
During the interviews, people sometimes named quite radically different ideas, than that the situation was at the time. To show these perspectives, a better understanding of the “pluralistic” view of the space could possibly emerge: The current form is a consequence of decisions made by certain people. 'What would the place look like if we listened to a different perspective?" is the main question of this thought experiment.





Den Haag Central Station to Tweede Kamer: First Radical Spatial Imaginaries

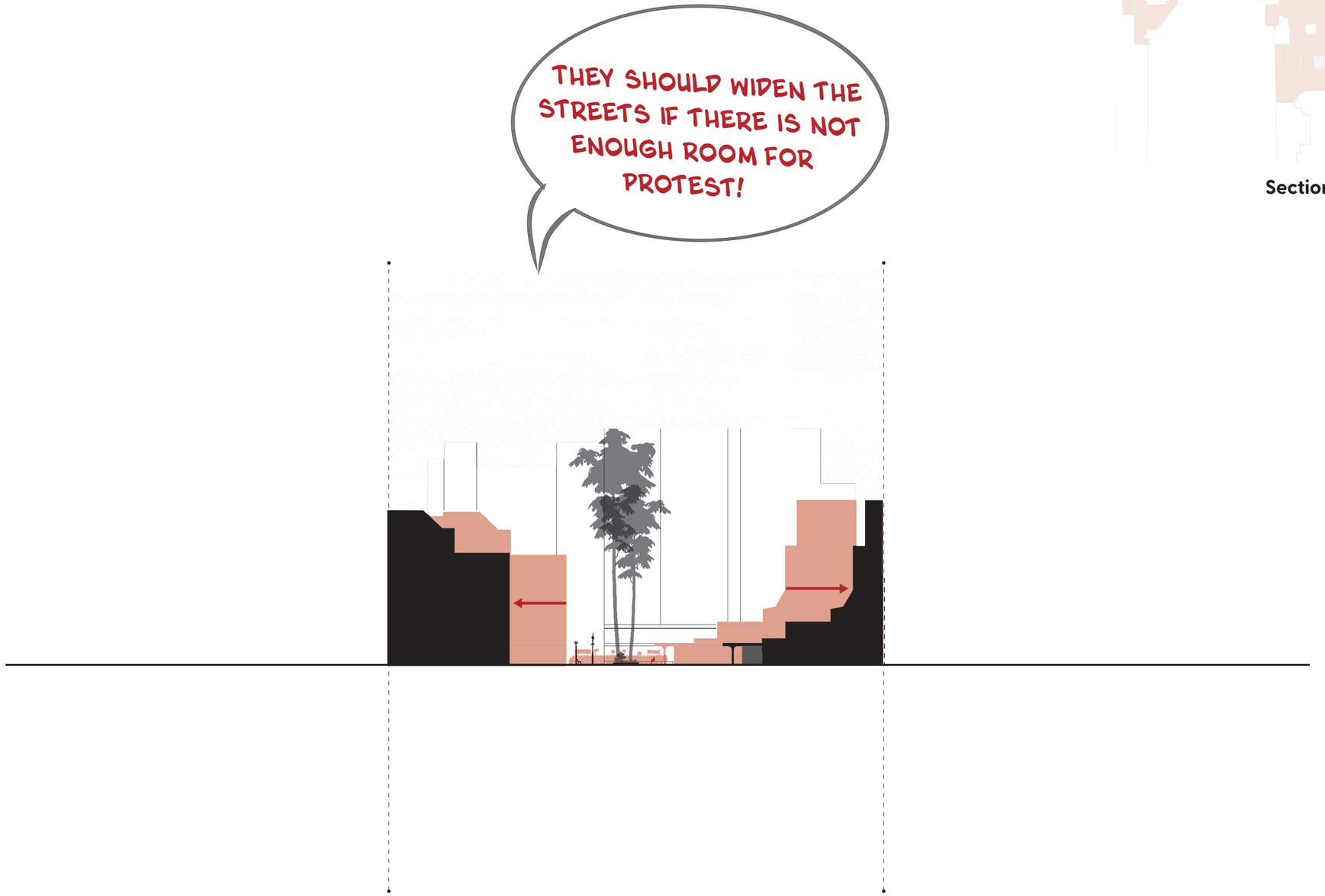
Sections, own work



Tweede Kamer

Section, own work

Section Tweede Kamer and Library



Tweede Kamer

What if we just move the buildings to make more space?

05.34. **COLLAGE OF MATERIALITY OF THE AREA**

























05.35. **REFLECTIONS AFTER ANALYSIS AND FIELDWORK**

In this reflection, it is important to recognise that many of these reflections are a result of the lens that has emerged through reading literature, the workshop and the interviews. The interpretation of the space is not a “neutral” analysis in that sense, but a result of a collection of viewpoints that have been explored.

Looking at the location, it is noticeable that it seems to have been designed primarily as a transition zone, to move as quickly as possible and to sit briefly if necessary. Little thought has been given to other ways of arranging the space, it seems. The group that uses the space most as a dwelling space are homeless people.

Objects are designed to be hufterproof.

The places to really sit nicely in this area are part of a commercial function, such as a café or foodhall.

Benches are positioned so that you can look at people passing by, but never sit facing someone closely.

There is a lot of use of glass in the area. People mentioned during the interviews that they find the fact that glass reflects unfortunate, because as a result you cannot get a good look inside the station or the Tweede Kamer hall. Other materials seems to have been chosen mainly for practical reasons.

Furthermore, no real thought seems to have been given to the possibility of activists gathering in this area. Protest therefore seems to be perceived as an “inconvenient” consequence of the temporary function of the Tweede Kamer building in this piece of The Hague.

There are many high-rise buildings in this stretch, creating gusts of wind. This does not make it a pleasant area to stay. Also, the tram overhead makes noise. Someone said that this makes it difficult for her to hold a conversation as the noise is distracting.

There is a gold sign indicating that the Tweede Kamer is around the corner, but no one seems to see it, as it disappears on the grey stones.

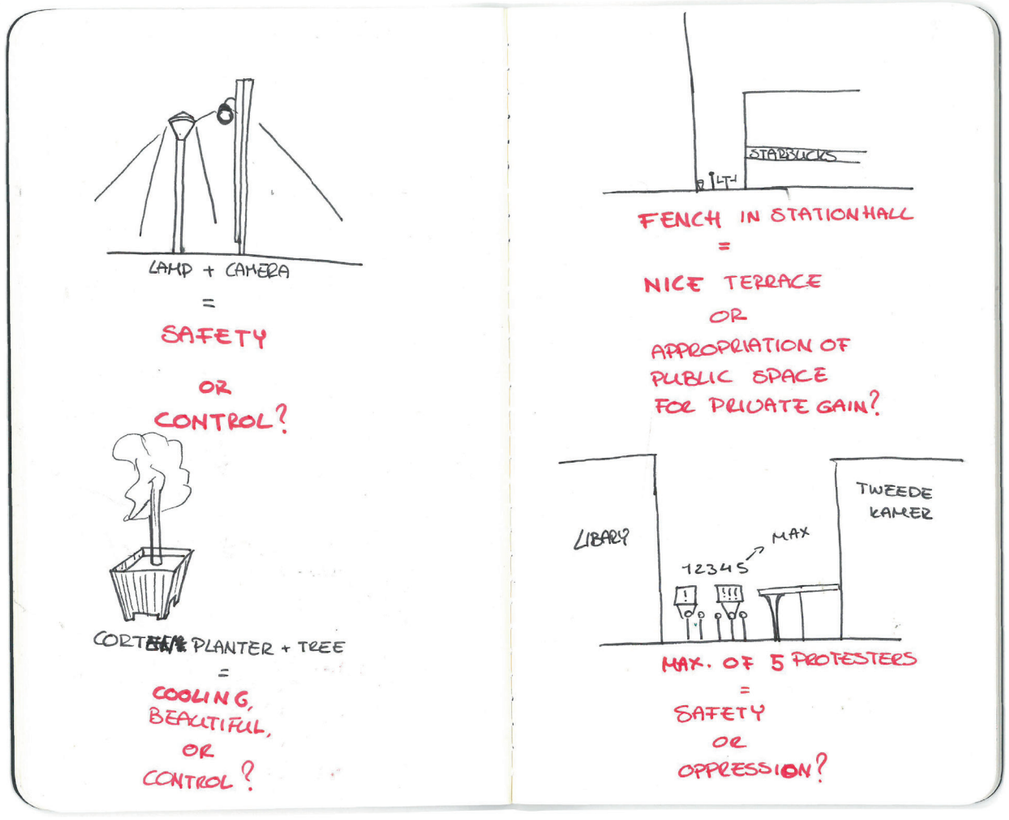
The wooden benches with planter in the middle sit fine, but not comfortably. They are large and fixed in the ground, leaving little flexibility in the layout of the space.

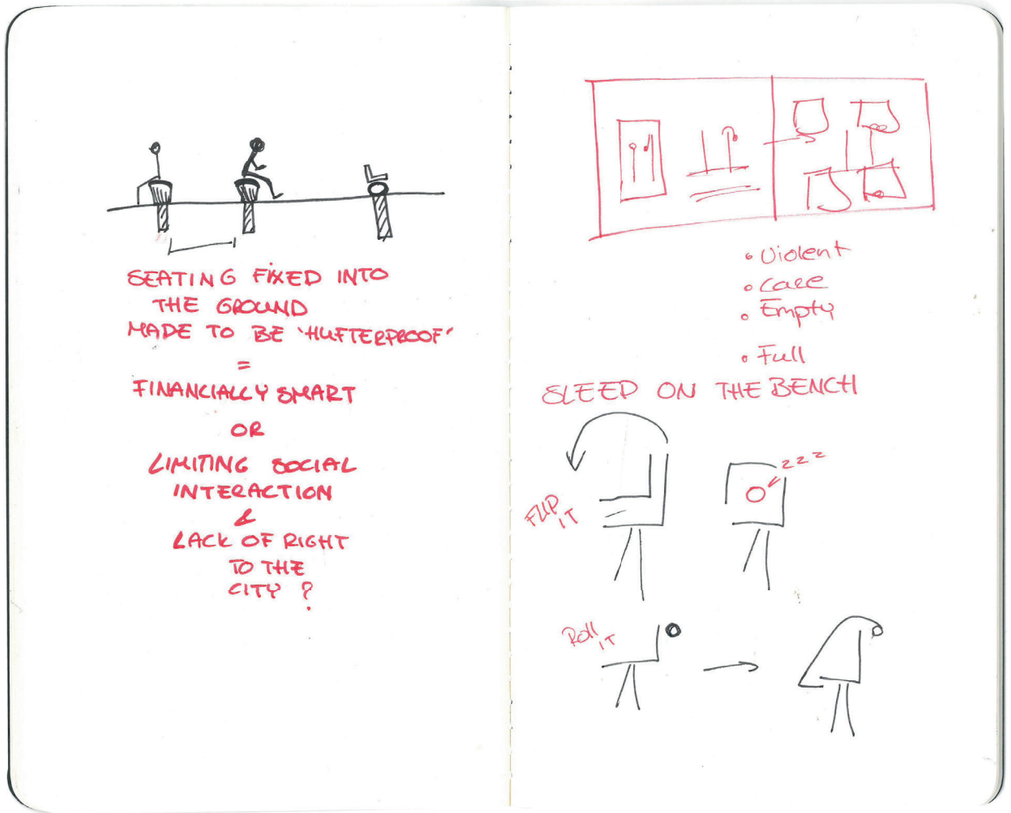
There is no public toilet that is easy to find, so corners smell of piss.

Construction site fences, lampposts and street furniture serve as a canvas for appropriation, but someone is actively removing it.

Seating inside the gates at the train station is more comfortable, than seating outside of the gates. There is a piano, that used to be in the public area, but that was moved to the area inside the gates of the station. There is a book sharing stand, but this also was moved to the inside of the gate area at the station.

The traill track is a big devider in the city, since it is surrounded by fences.





05.36. **CONCLUSIONS**

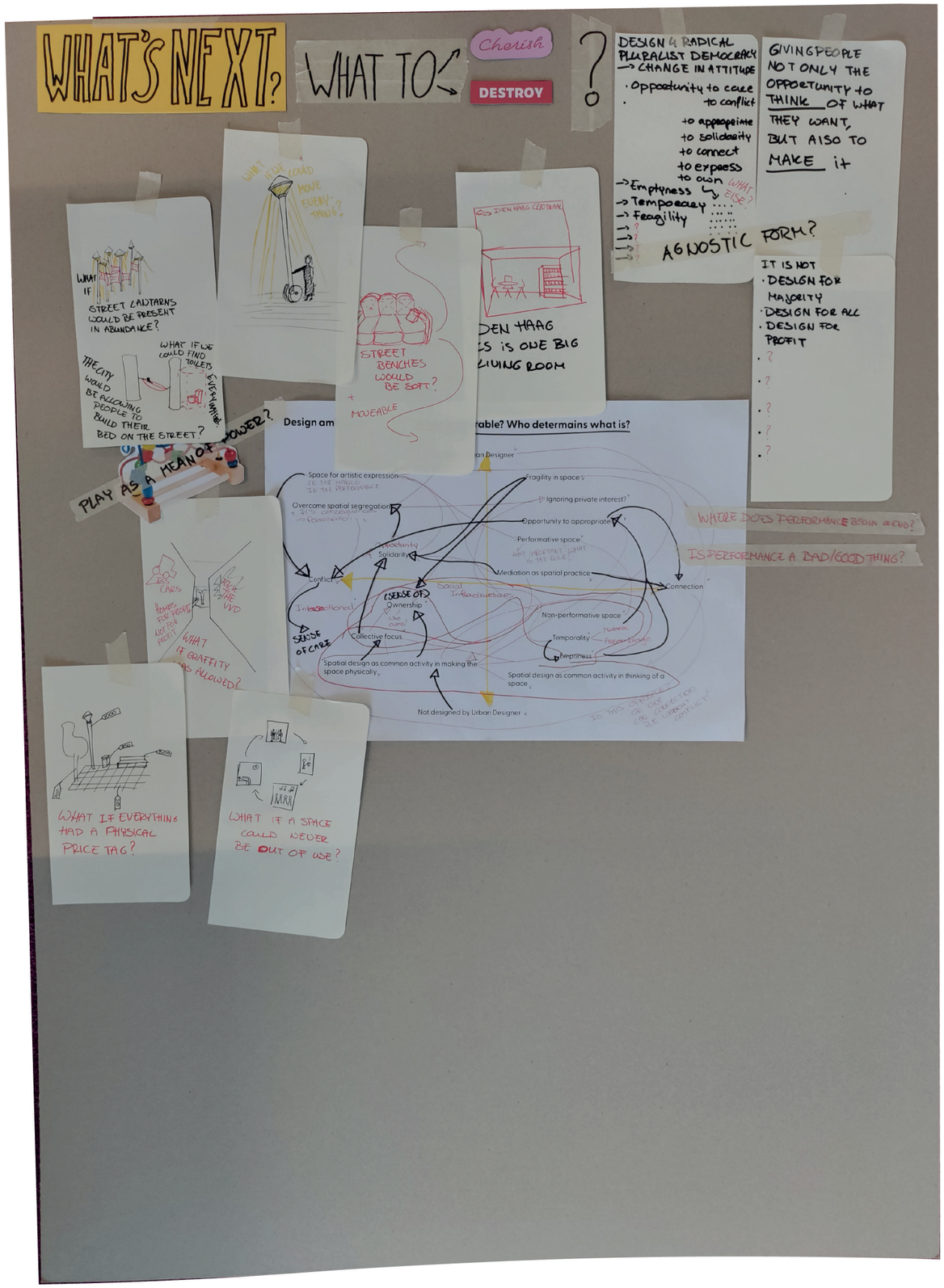
After the field trip and spatial analysis, we conclude that this area is an interesting case for radical spatial imaginaries for the radical pluralist democracy for a multitude of reasons.

First of all, the area is highly contested by a lot of different 'stakeholders': commercial interest seems to shape this area a lot; the quality that is needed for interactions seems to be limited and mainly situated in privatized area's. De-politicization of public space can be the result of these commercial interests. Therefore, the presence of the commercial functions, such as a Starbucks, the shops in the New Babylon mall and private housing in the New Babylon tower, provide a relevant context for answering our main question.

Second of all, the area is highly safeguarded, by police, military police, security guards and cameras. This is an interesting condition to start from, because in the literature review we found that this condition could lead to limiting conditions: it can limit the amount of freedom people have to express themselves and to protest. However, we also have to acknowledge that the presence of the mobile phone also can be seen as part of the safeguarding of the area: people can film and photograph others at any time.

Thirdly, the area is visited by a lot of different people, we concluded after the fieldtrips. Considering the fact that we concluded that pluralism should be considered a base condition for democracy, as described by Mouffe (2000), the area is interesting for radical spatial imagination, because by imagining certain things, certain questions from different perspectives, already present in the space, can be taken into account. This is also the reason we did not continue the work in a neighbourhood context: due to the fact that The Hague is considered spatially segregated, therefore spaces in more residential areas could possibly be less diverse than this area.

Fourthly, there are already quite some spaces present that are considered to be important in a democracy, as concluded from the literature review and the workshop: namely the library, the train station, the university and the Tweede Kamer building. Again, concluding that these programmes are important in a democracy, they provide an interesting layer to our further research.


WHAT'S NEXT?
WHAT TO?
Cherish
DESTROY
?
DESIGN 4 RADICAL PLURALIST DEMOCRACY
→ CHANGE IN ATTITUDE
· Opportunity to cease to conflict
to appropriate
to solidarity
to connect
to express
to own
→ Emptyness
→ Temporacy
→ Fragility
AGNOSTIC FORM?
GIVING PEOPLE NOT ONLY THE OPPORTUNITY TO THINK OF WHAT THEY WANT, BUT AISO TO MAKE it
IT IS NOT
· DESIGN FOR MAJORITY
· DESIGN FOR ALL
· DESIGN FOR PROFIT
WHAT IF STREET LAMPS WOULD BE PRESENT IN ABUNDANCE?
THE CITY WOULD BE ALLOWING PEOPLE TO BUILD THEIR BED ON THE STREET?
WHAT IF WE COULD FIND TOILETS
STREET BENCHES WOULD BE SOFT?
MOVEABLE
PLAY AS A MEANS OF POWER?
Design am
able? Who determains what is?
Urban Designer
Space for artistic expression
Overcome spatial segregation
Opportunity to Solidarity
Conflict
Fragility in space
Ignoring private interest?
Opportunity to appropriate
Performative space
Mediation as spatial practice
Connection
SENSE OF Ownership
Collective focus
SENSE OF CARE
Non-performative space
Temporality
Emptiness
Spatial design as common activity in making the space physically
Spatial design as common activity in thinking of a space
Not designed by Urban Designer
WHERE DOES PERFORMANCE BEGIN & END?
IS PERFORMANCE A BAD/GOOD THING?
WHAT IF EVERYTHING HAD A PHYSICAL PRICE TAG?
WHAT IF A SPACE COULD NEVER BE OUT OF USE?

05.37. TOWARDS RADICAL SPATIAL IMAGINARIES

EMPTY

The research so far has supported forming a lens on the concept of ‘radical pluralist democracy’, as proposed in the conceptual framework.

We conclude that designing for radical pluralist democracy cannot be considered only as a technical issue, but should be considered as a moral ethical issue, as concluded after reading ‘the reflective practitioner’ (Schön, 1983). It is a question that is about norms and values and about bringing different perspectives together. We also argue that if democracy is a daily life practice, the design site is suitable as a “test site” because it is a place that for many people is part of their everyday movements.

To enable us to explore these perspectives, a framework was put together based on some extremes of perspectives on public space we found in the research. Besides exploring different extremes, the purpose of this framework is also to break the so-called “design paralysis”. Indeed, it is a challenge to translate the research foundings into design. The aim is to help the creative thinking process, by focussing on ‘extemes’ to explore the root of the question, rather than a ‘reasonable solution’.

The framework consists of two axes: care-violence and empty-full.

CARE

RADICAL

SPATIAL

FULL

The Care-Violence axis is based on the conclusion that the design site is full of “hufter-proof” objects and that the area is highly safeguarding to prevent violence (terrorism in front of the Tweede Kamer building, as mentioned during an interview with a protester). After reading the book “Handbook of Tyranny” by Theo Deutinger (2018) and Reclaiming Public Space by Judit Bodnar (2015), among others, who both explain that putting up security cameras and securing an area can actually be seen as oppressive, the idea of the axis of “violence” emerged. The question that followed, was; what is its counterpart? We argue that “care” is an appropriate counterpart. Through the Radical Spatial Imaginaries, we will explore what can be understood under the concept of 'care'.

The other axis, Empty-Full, is inspired by conclusions of Teresa Hoskyns (2014) in her book ‘The Empty Place’, in which she concludes that public space should be free of a specific identity: that it is always part of friction and different perspectives wanting to occupy the space. She argues that in public space, all different types of democracy should coexist. The idea is that public space only works when friction and conflict can exist, this understanding of public space is in line with conclusions by Sennet and Sendra (2022), Escobar (2018), Bodnar (2015) and Honigh et al. (2025), among others. The question that follows the conclusion about the “empty place” is: What is empty?; but also: What is full?

This question will be explored, by translating the concepts of “empty” and “full” quite literally, to help explore how the non-visible facets of this issue have translated into physical dimensions: ‘What identities do the objects in space represent?’ is the main question.

The concept of Radical Spatial Imaginaries will be explored on a multitude of scales and through different types of drawing, in order to see if these different forms of drawing (section, plan, perspective), will invite to think of different outcomes. Therefore, the drawings are not necessarily coherent, but all form serperate explorations.

This exercise is also based on the methodology of the critical urban thinking of Peter Marcuse (2009), in an iterative process: The drawing becomes an exercise of analysis, exposure, proposing and politicizing. It is a means to explore the lens that was constructed through reading critical (urban) theory to reflect on the status-quo.

VIOLENCE

IMAGINARIES ***FRAMEWORK***

05.38. **RESEARCH BY DESIGN SKETCHES: RADICAL SPATIAL IMAGINARIES**

CARE



EMPTY

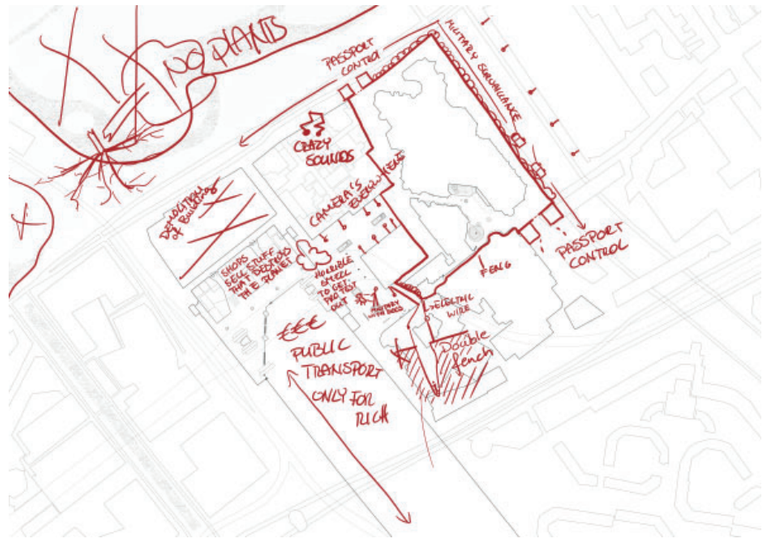






VIOLENCE

FULL





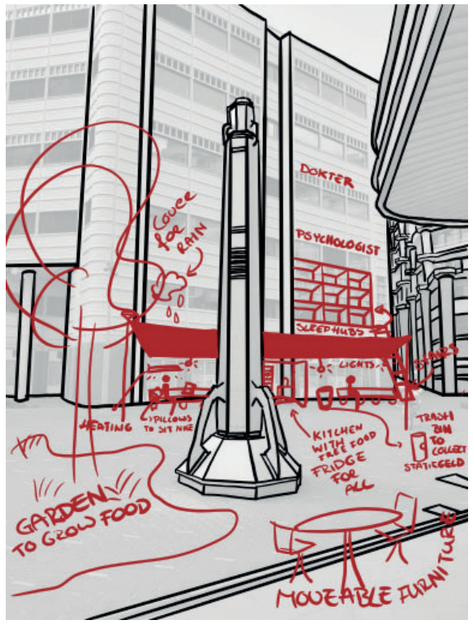
Design explorations

On a plan, neighbourhood scale, own work

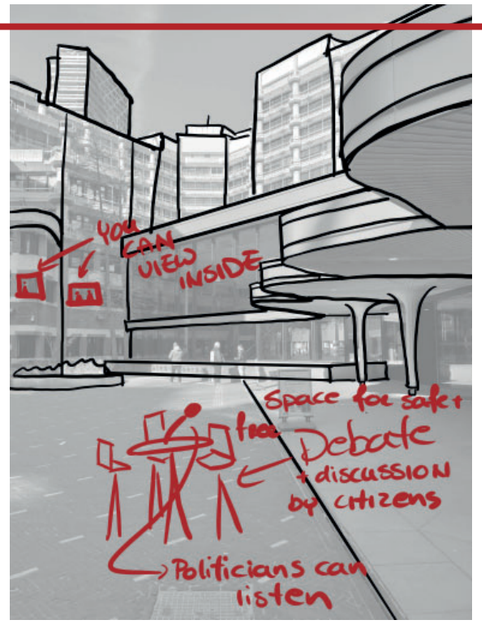
05.38. **RESEARCH BY DESIGN SKETCHES: RADICAL SPATIAL IMAGINARIES**

CARE



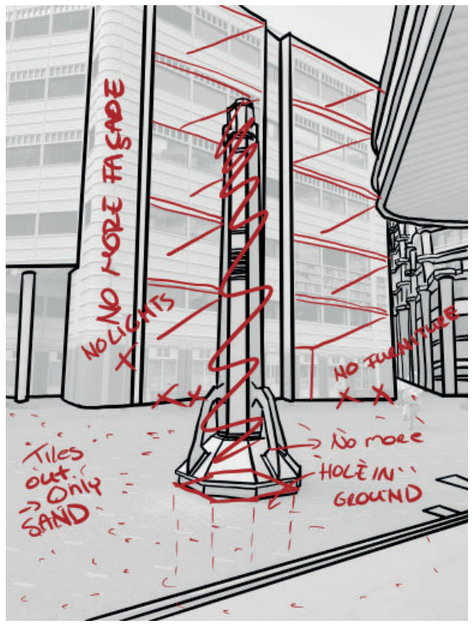


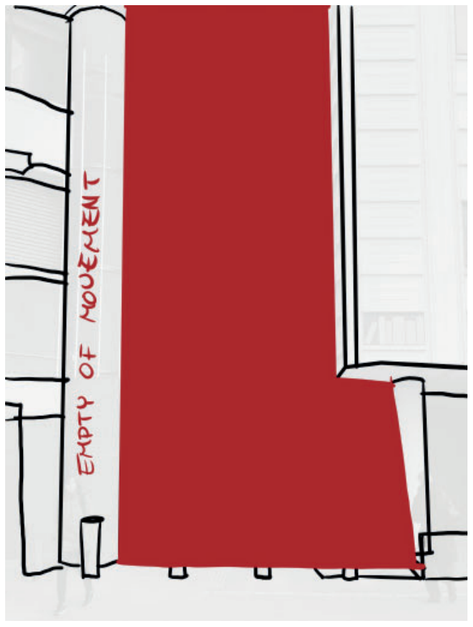


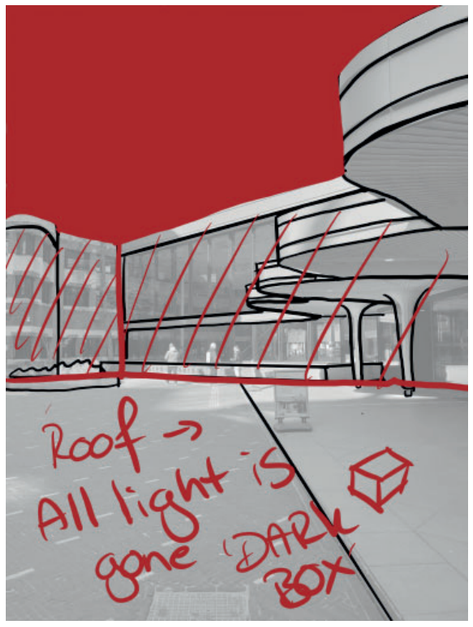


EMPTY



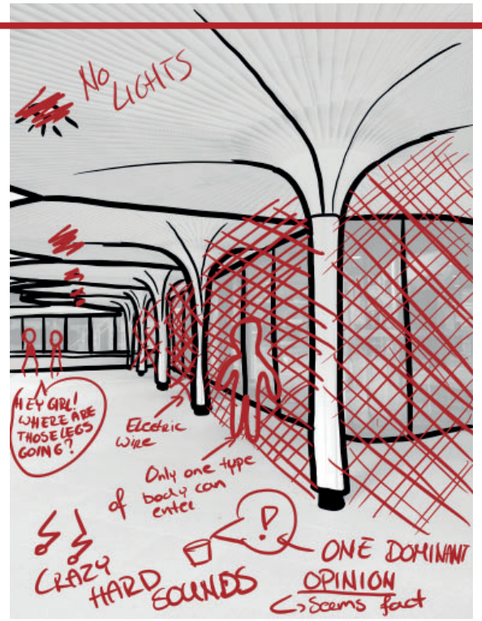


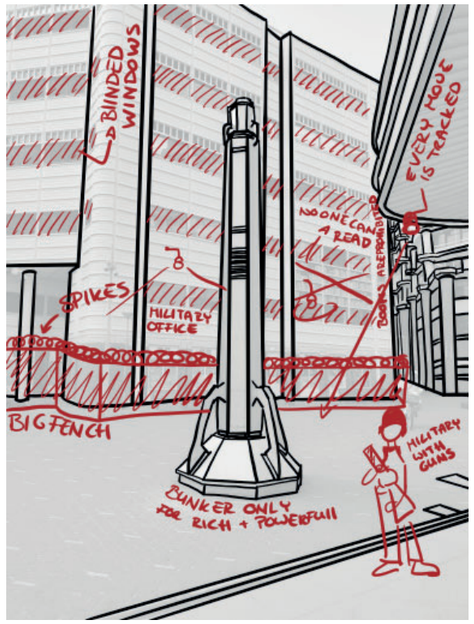




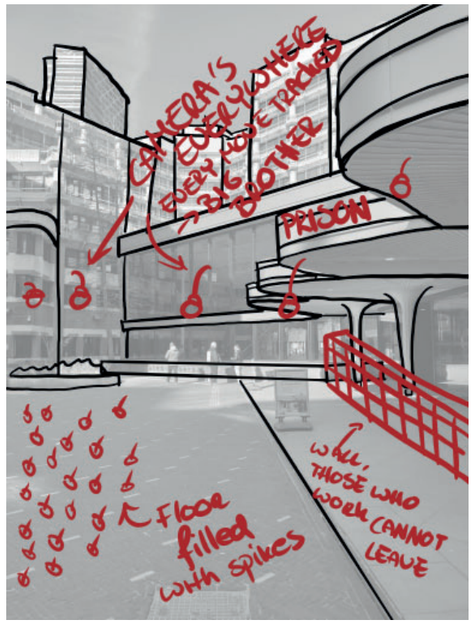
VIOLENCE

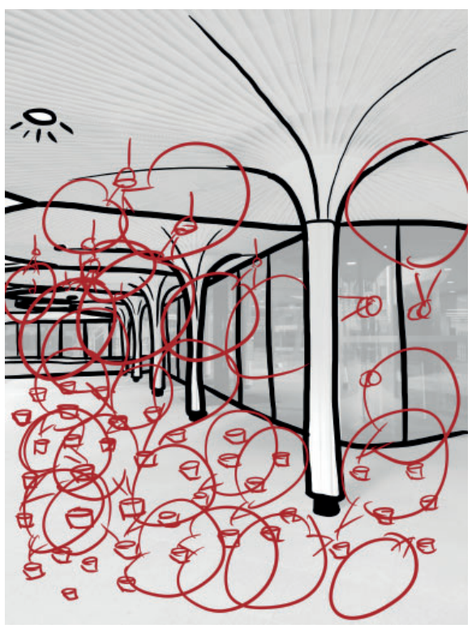
FULL

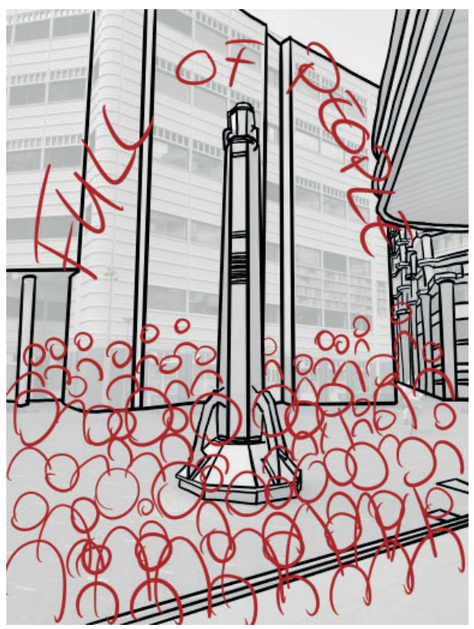




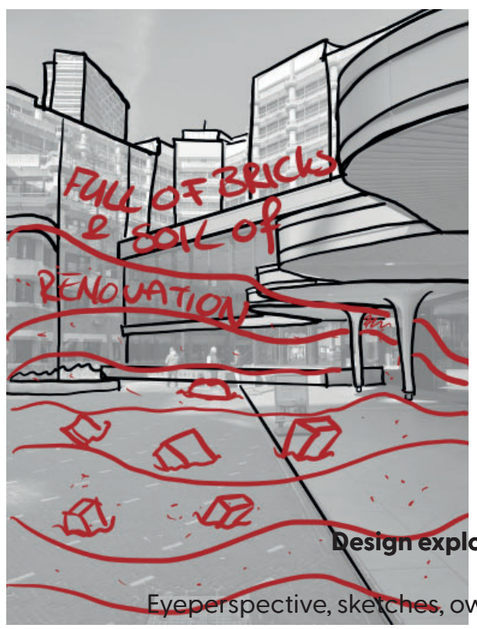








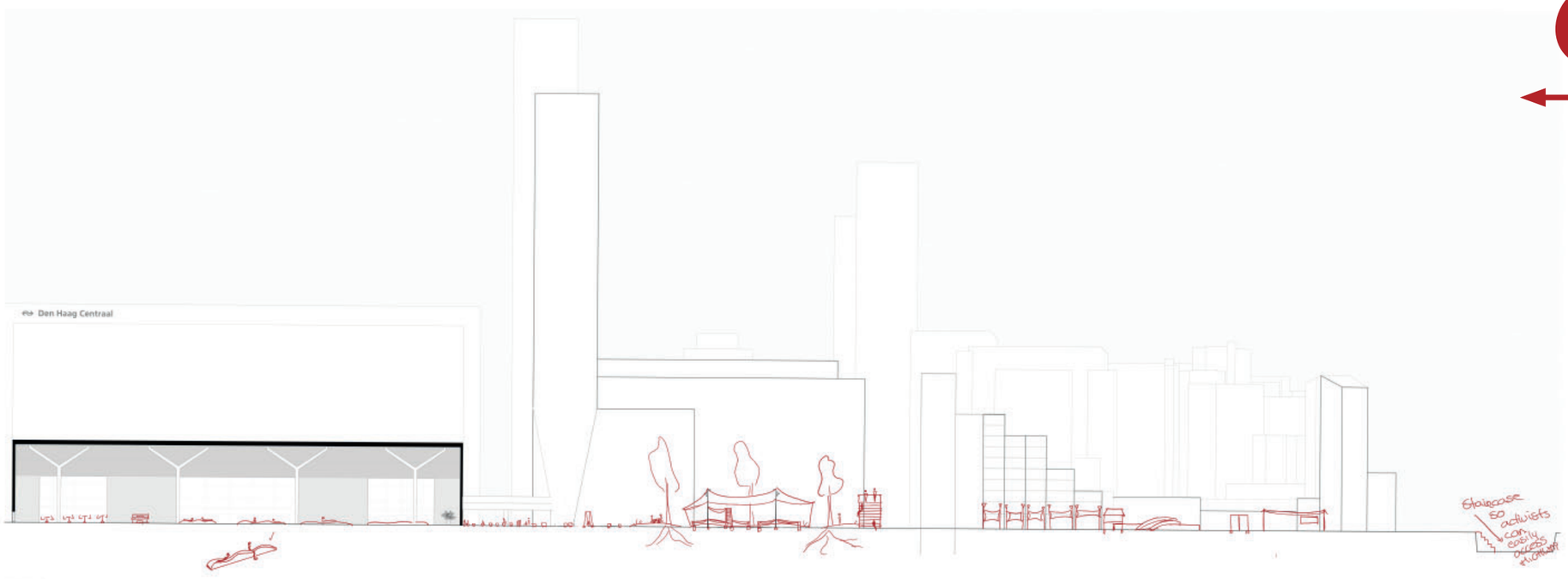


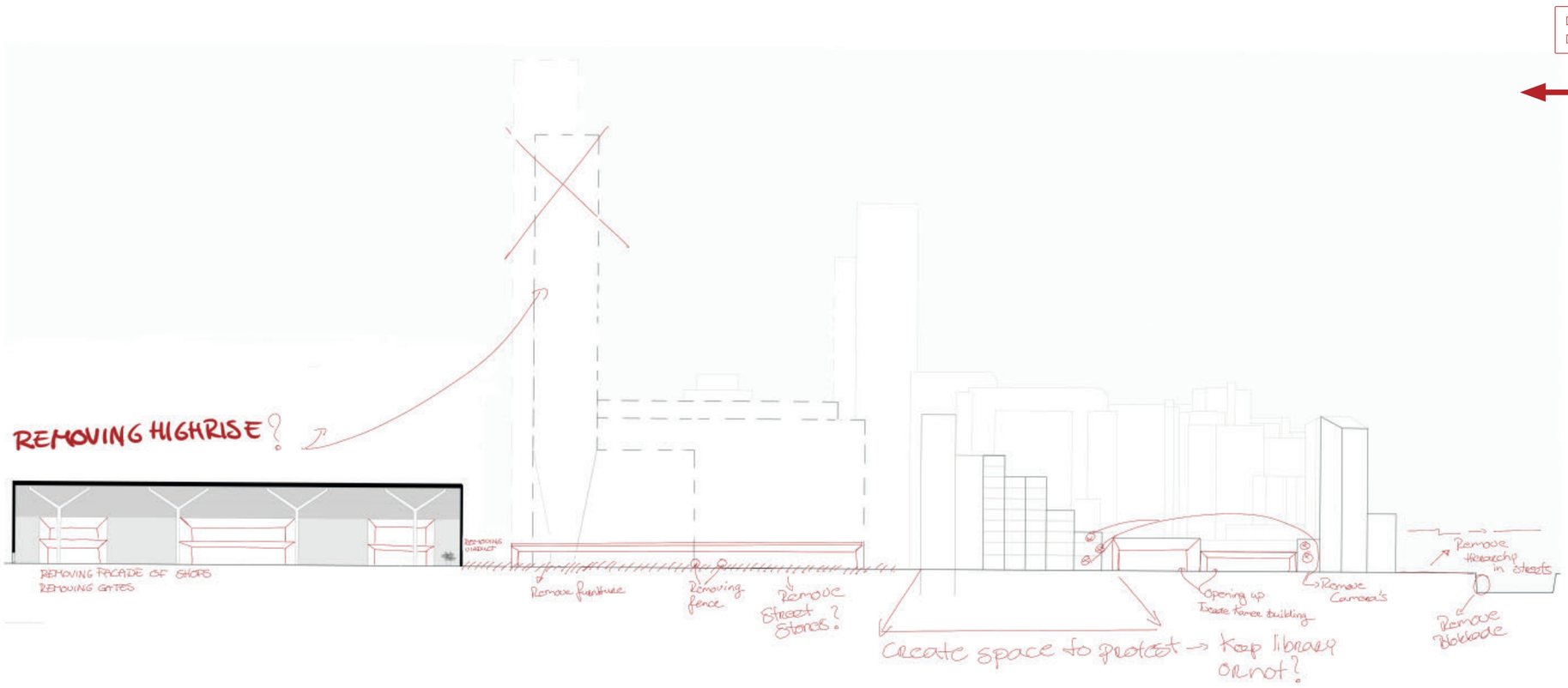


Design explorations

Eyeperspective, sketches, own work

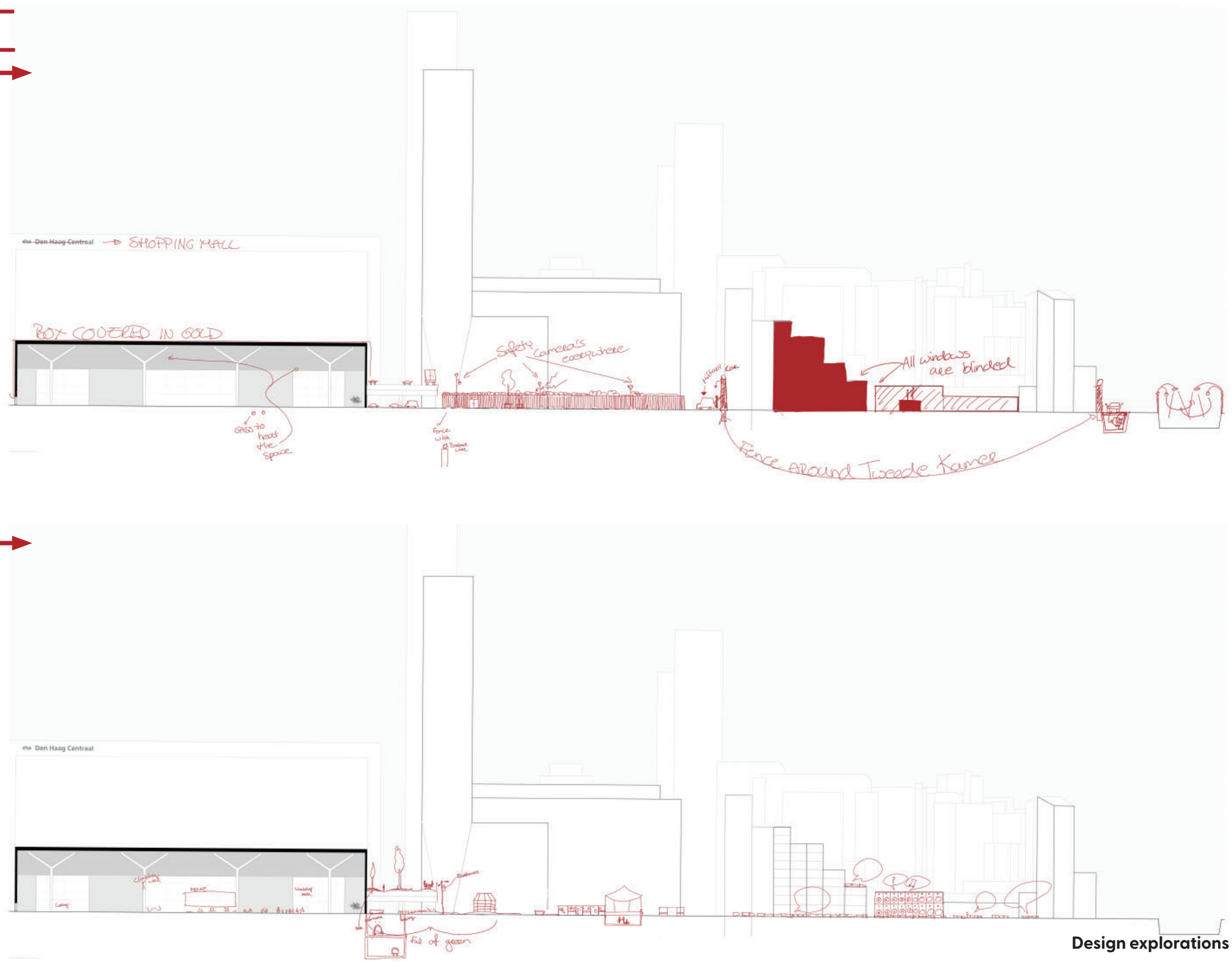
05.38. **RESEARCH BY DESIGN SKETCHES: RADICAL SPATIAL IMAGINARIES**





VIOLENCE

FULL

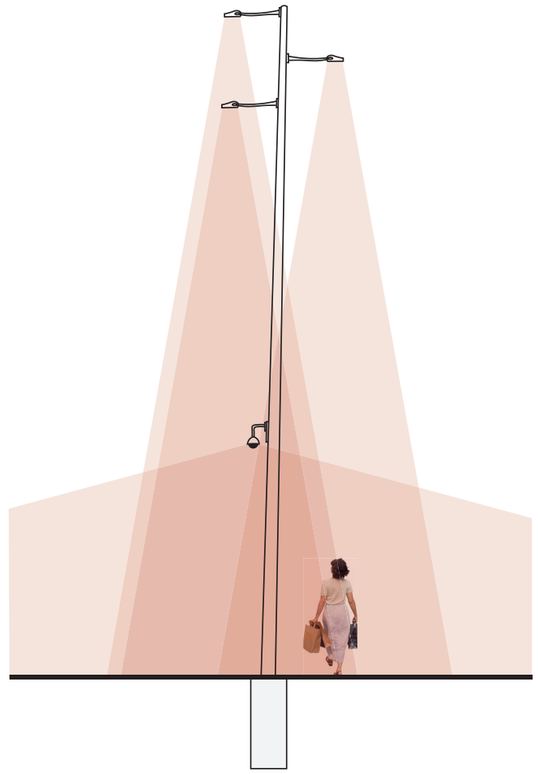


Design explorations

In a section, neighbourhood scale, own work. Main conclusion is that the above ground Tram is has a lot of design potential to creat a more comfortable atmosphere. We also concluded that dissensus could be seeked by juxtaposing different functions next to eachother and by designing with groups that are now not incluced, such as roofless people, childeren or people that do not have much money.

05.38. **THE CAMERA + THE STREET LIGHT |** SAFETY OR CONTROL?

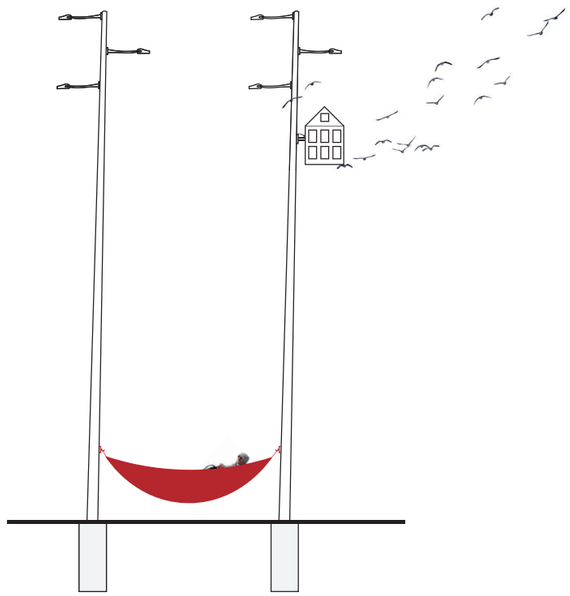




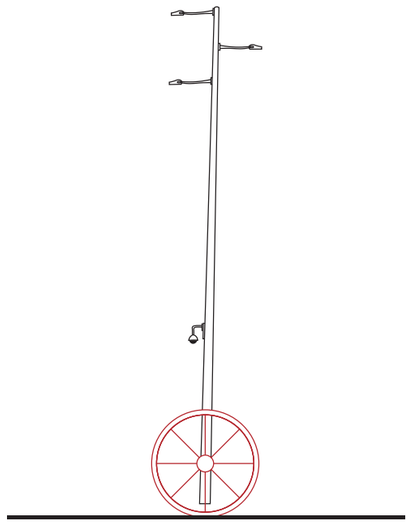
The street light

Often accompanied by a safety camera

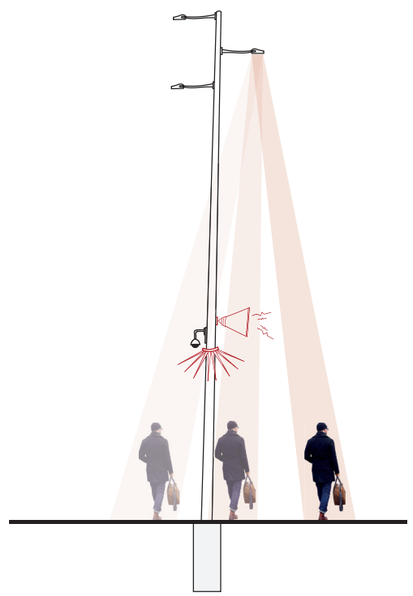
CARE| LANTARN AS MULTIFUNCTIONAL OBJECT



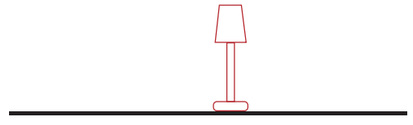
FLEXIBILITY| ALL LIGHTS ARE MOVEABLE



VIOLENCE| EVERYONE IS FOLLOWED BY A SPOTLIGHT



EMPTY| ALL LIGHTNING IS REMOVED & PEOPLE BRING THEIR OWN



Design explorations

Object scale, sketches, own work
We conclude that in every descision there are pro's and cons. We conclude that every object represents certain values.

05.38. **CONCRETE BENCHES|** HUFTERPROOF & PREVENTING AWKWARD INTERACTION, FINANCIALLY SMART OR LIMITING SOCIAL INTERACTION & LACK OF RIGHT TO THE CITY?

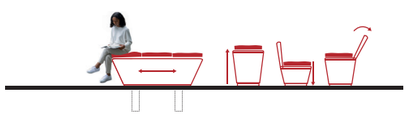




The concrete element

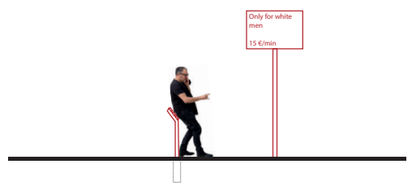
Not comfortable, focusses on individuals visiting the station

CARE| ALL IS ADAPTABLE TO DIFFERENT BODIES

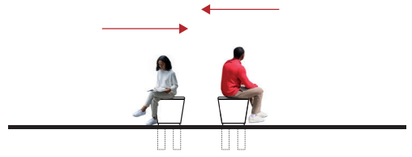


EMPTY| ALL DESIGN GESTURES REMOVED

VIOLENCE| ONLY ONE TYPE IS ALLOWED



INTERACTION| GET CLOSER

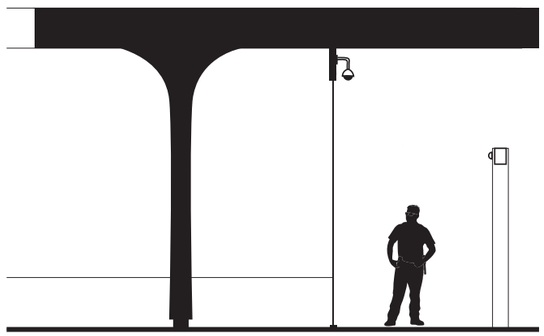


Design explorations

Object scale, sketches, own work. We conclude that material can play a role in designing for democracy. The material shows the amount of thrust society has in people. We conclude that certain design descisions, like putting benches so far apart to prevent ‘awkward interactions’, are limiting disenssus in space.

05.38. **GLASS FACADE AND FRISKING ON ENTERING|** TRANSPARANT AND SAFE ENVIRONMENT OR CONTROLLING & EXCLUDING CHARACHTER?

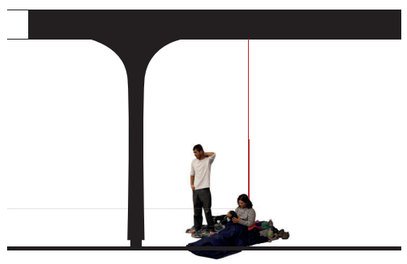




Tweede Kamer entrance

Safeguarding is very dominant in the space: camera's, police, military police become part of the 'image' of the place

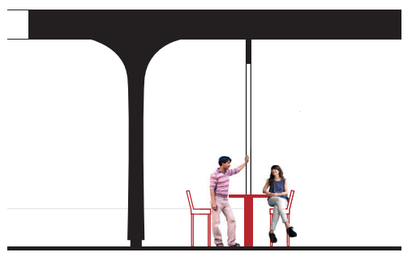
EMPTY| GLASS FACADE IS REMOVED



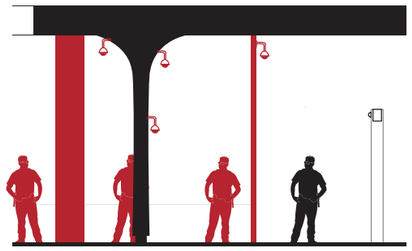
EMPTY| ALL DESIGN GESTURES REMOVED: LOADS OF ROOM TO PROTEST



INTERACTION| TALK TO YOUR POLITICIANS



VIOLENCE| CANNOT SEE INSIDE, CANNOT BE INSIDE



Design explorations

Object scale, sketches, own work
We conclude that de Tweede Kamer is designed with a lot of fear/violence in mind. People cannot enter without showing ID or without being frisked.

05.39. FOUR FOCUS POINTS: DESIGN NOT AS A CONCLUSION, BUT AS AN HYPOTHESIS

To expand on the concept of Radical Pluralist Democracy, it is important to find a personal interpretation of a definition, in order to also gain a better understanding of how the literature has shaped the lens on a personal level. Furthermore, it is also necessary to explain what Radical Spatial Imaginaries are, according to us, to clarify the personal perspective. This perspective is described below, which can also serve as a basis for a broader discussion on this topic. The text is written from the 'I' perspective, but is inspired by the literature read earlier.

If we see Radical Pluralist Democracy as a daily life practice, then I think
you need to be brought into conflict with your own perspective on the world every day, not on an individual level, but as a collective confrontation, which should take place in the public space.

For this, I think it is necessary for people to learn to deal with nuance and difference in perspective. In this matter, I think it is important to learn empathy and to learn to show interest towards the other. I don't think this is an easy thing to do. Therefore, I think it is important for people to learn how to express their view of the world, for example through art forms.

A question that concerns me a lot is the fact that public space always has a definitive form to some extent (even if that form is very minimal), and that form always stems from a certain social order. The material, the arrangement and many other facets of the space represent a certain identity. I therefore think that in anwsering the question about designing public space for the radical pluralist democracy, the possibility and acceptance of appropriation of a public space is essential. Participation should be seen not just as part of thinking about making space, but as something active: people should be able to adapt and change existing spaces themselves, without the interference of an institution. The 'how' and 'what' of this idea is a question I try to explore in my drawings. I feel that, as a designer in this issue, I should not try to come up with a final design, because that undermines the pluralistic nature of democracy. A finite design proposal may give the impression that this is a technical issue with one specific solution, and due to the fact that the duration and individualistic nature of the research does not allow for sufficient perspectives to be discussed, I do not make one design that can be considered 'the solution' of the main question of this research. Rather, I make 'an exploration of a personal perspective'.

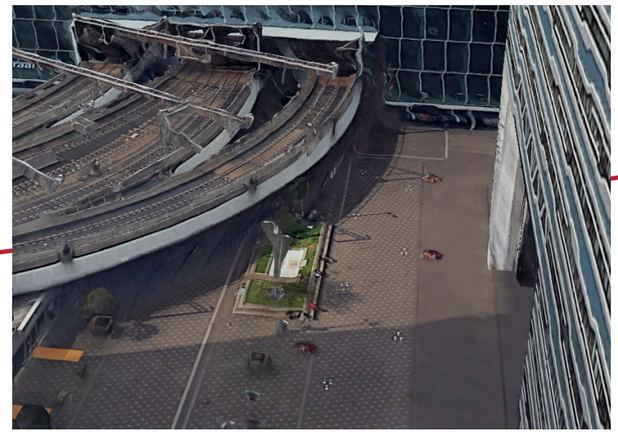
1. The Station



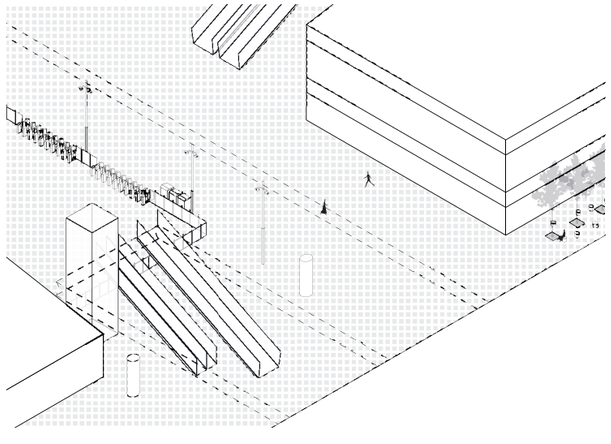
Retrieved from Google Earth

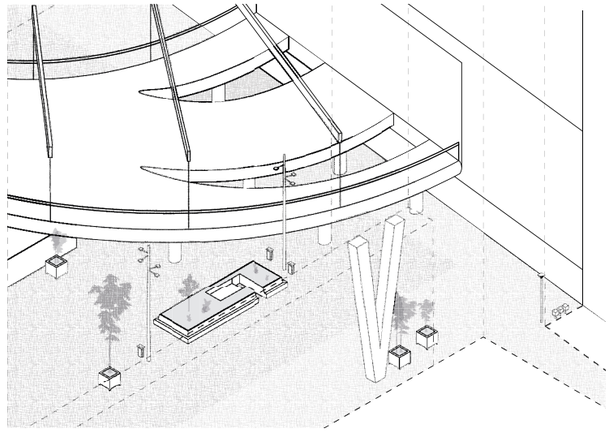
ROUTE FROM STATION TO TWEEDE KAMER

2.Tram track above Anna van Buerenplein



Retrieved from Google Earth





Furthermore, it is also about breaking certain taboos: such as fining sleeping on the street or drawing on buildings, for example. The question has to be asked: What is the reason this is happening? Does this feel unsafe or is this unsafe? What are rules, which stem from discriminatory and non-inclusive policies?
For me, these questions are the reason I use Radical Spatial Imaginaries. For me, it is a way to visualise certain “what if” questions to create a better picture (literally) as a basis to discuss questions, in order to get a grip on different perspectives. It can also be a tool to translate certain statement of the literature with, asking: what is meant by this? How do we implement this idea? Or: What is the opposite of a certain idea? What exactly is not desirable or what is?

In addition, it can be used as a way of magnifying certain spatial qualities to better understand what they mean: Is the frisking at the Tweede Kamer entrance fair? Is this indeed in line with a democracy where people are equal and free? What is free and equal? And how does a physical form play a role in this?

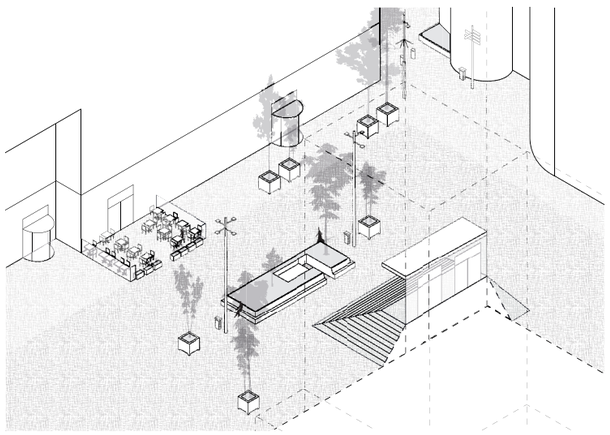
These questions will be explored in the next pages. The designs can be seen as different hypotheses, rather than as solutions.



3.Anna van Buerenplein and access Tweede Kamer



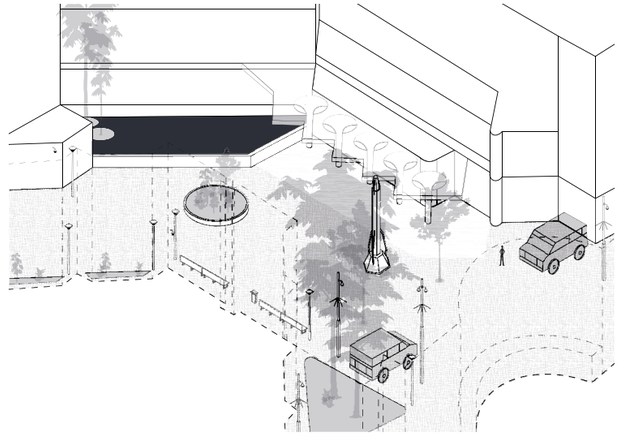
Retrieved from Google Earth



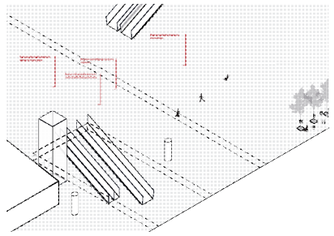
4.Tweede Kamer and Prinses Irenepad

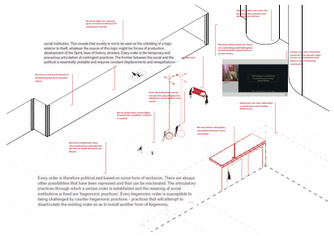


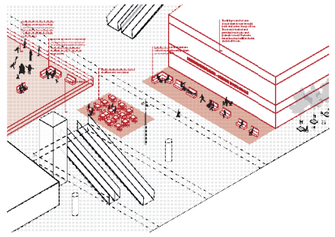
Retrieved from Google Earth

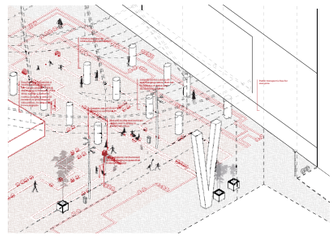


EMPTY





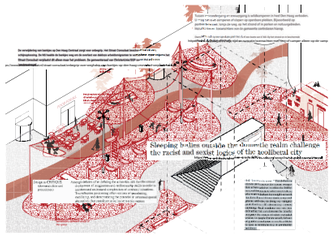


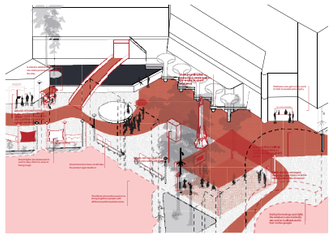


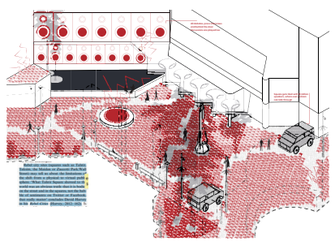
CARE

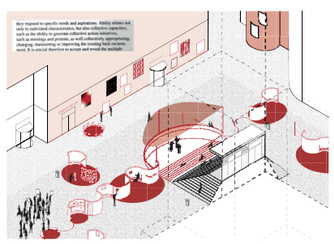
RADICAL

SPATIAL

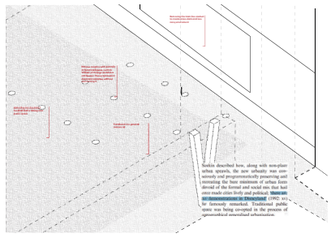


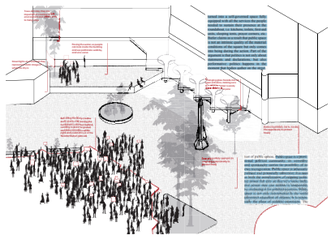


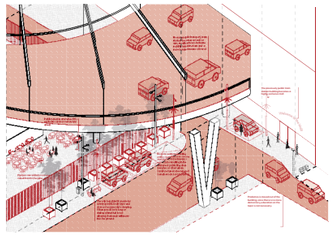


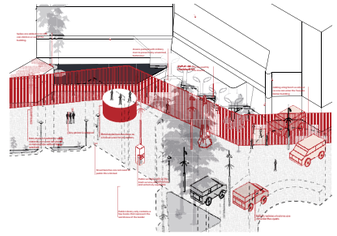


FULL

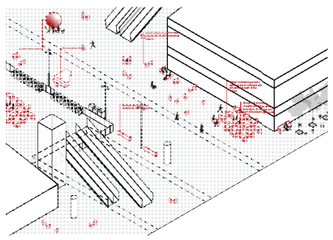


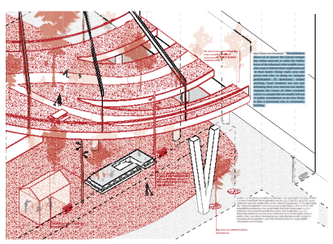


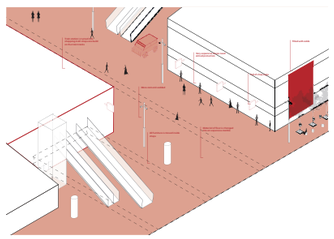


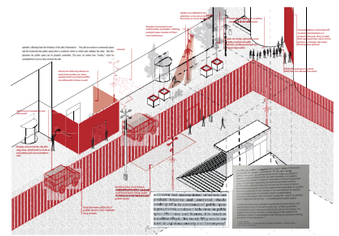


IMAGINARIES ***FRAMEWORK*** VIOLENCE



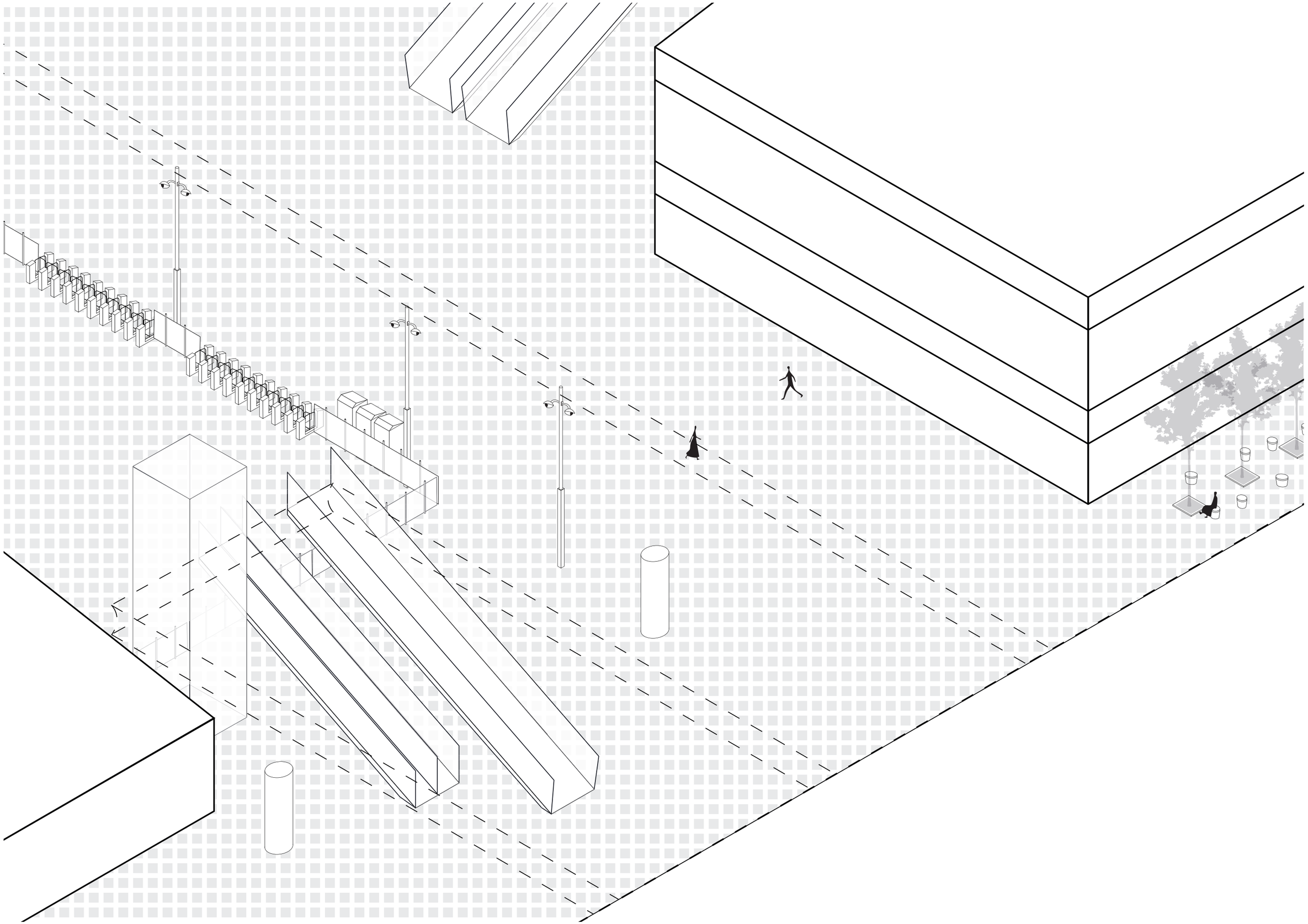






Design explorations: overview

Isometric drawings, own work
Exploring extremes, in order to grasp the relation of social order and physical order: How do they interact and influence oneanother?

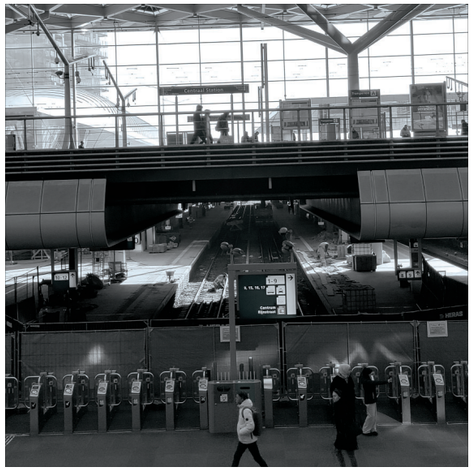


05.39.01. **THE STATION**











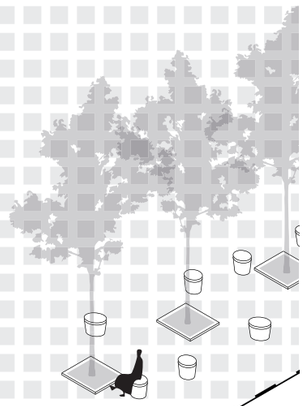


Remove private power: no more shops

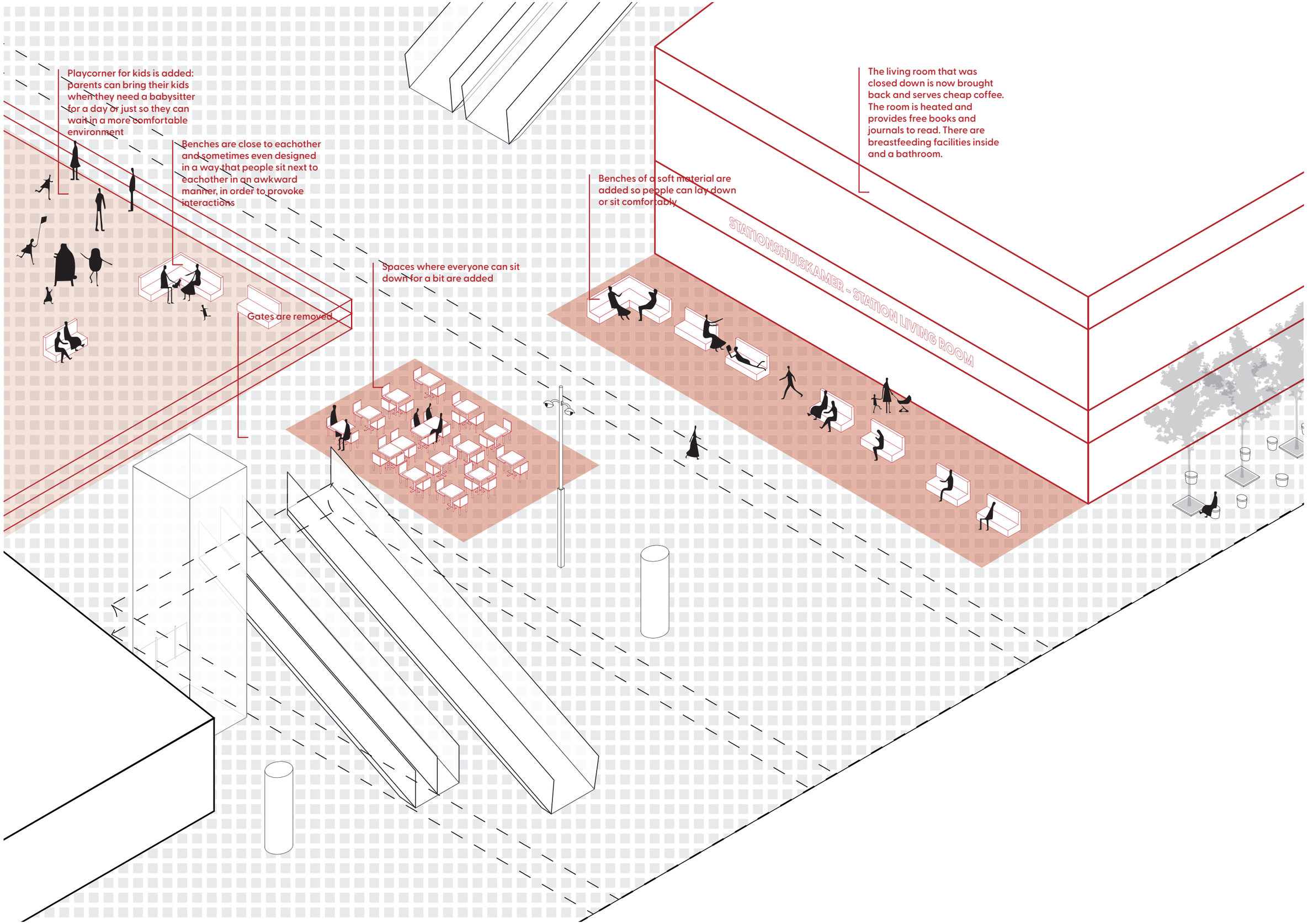
Remove physical barriere to enter: no more gates

Remove survaillance: no more cameras

Remove financial barriere to enter: public transport is free

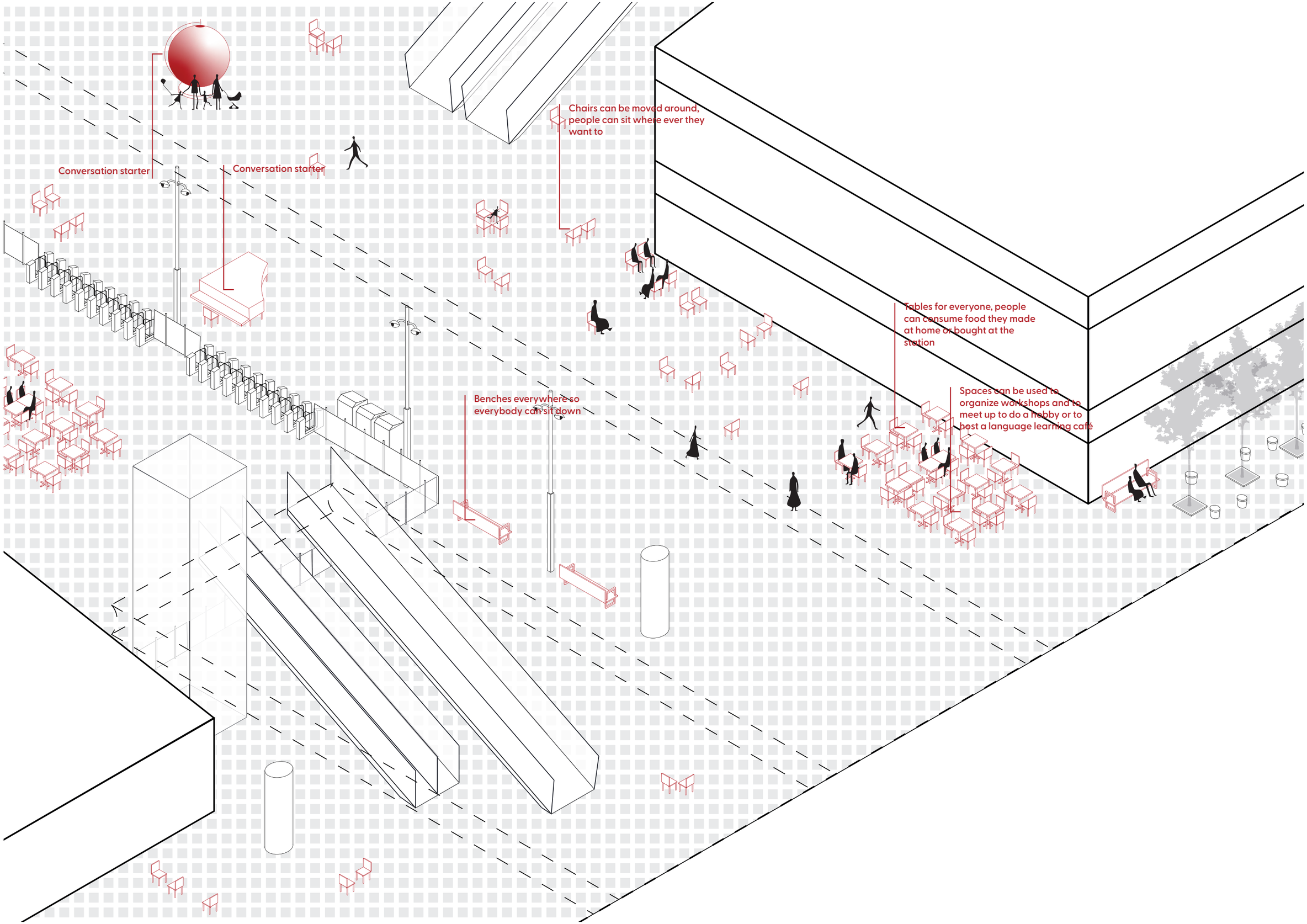


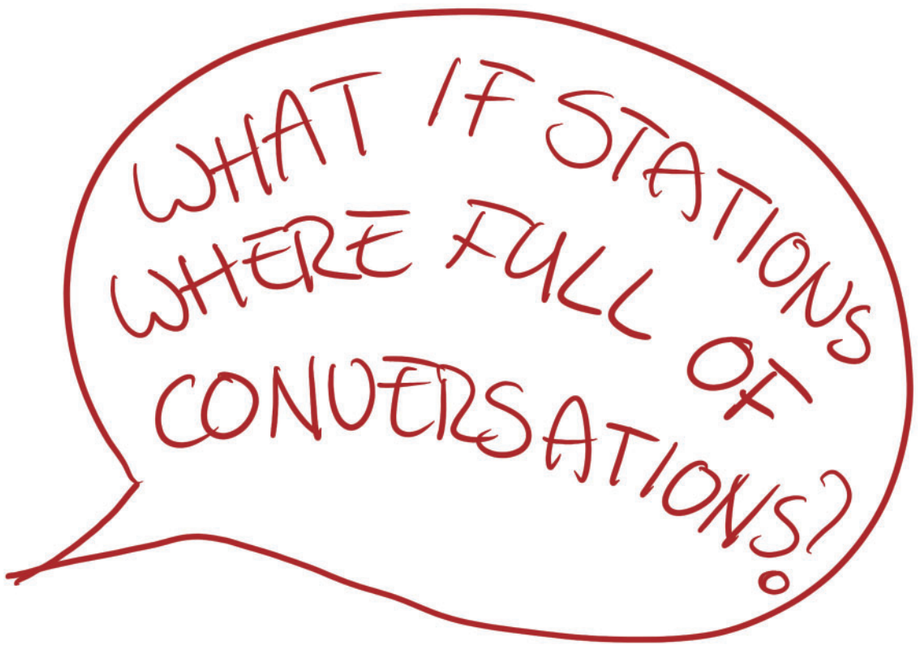
WHAT IF PUBLIC TRANSPORT WOULD BE FREE?

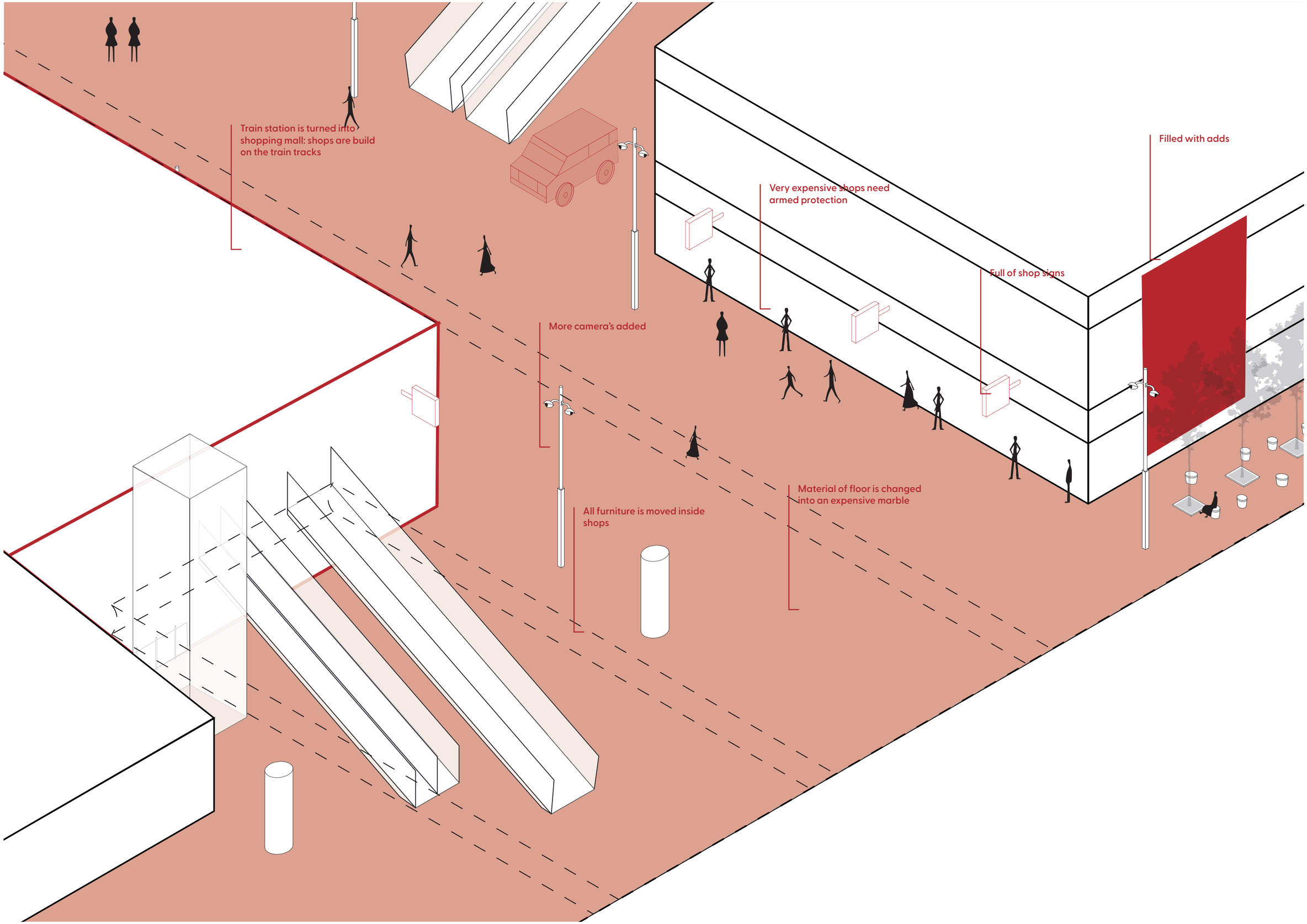

Playcorner for kids is added: parents can bring their kids when they need a babysitter for a day or just so they can wait in a more comfortable environment
Benches are close to eachother and sometimes even designed in a way that people sit next to eachother in an awkward manner, in order to provoke interactions
Gates are removed
Spaces where everyone can sit down for a bit are added
Benches of a soft material are added so people can lay down or sit comfortably
The living room that was closed down is now brought back and serves cheap coffee. The room is heated and provides free books and journals to read. There are breastfeeding facilities inside and a bathroom.
STATIONSHUISKAMER - STATION LIVING ROOM

CARE

WHAT IF TRAIN STATIONS HAD MORE OF A SOCIAL FUNCTION? AND HAD SOFT, COMFORTABLE BENCHES F.E.?

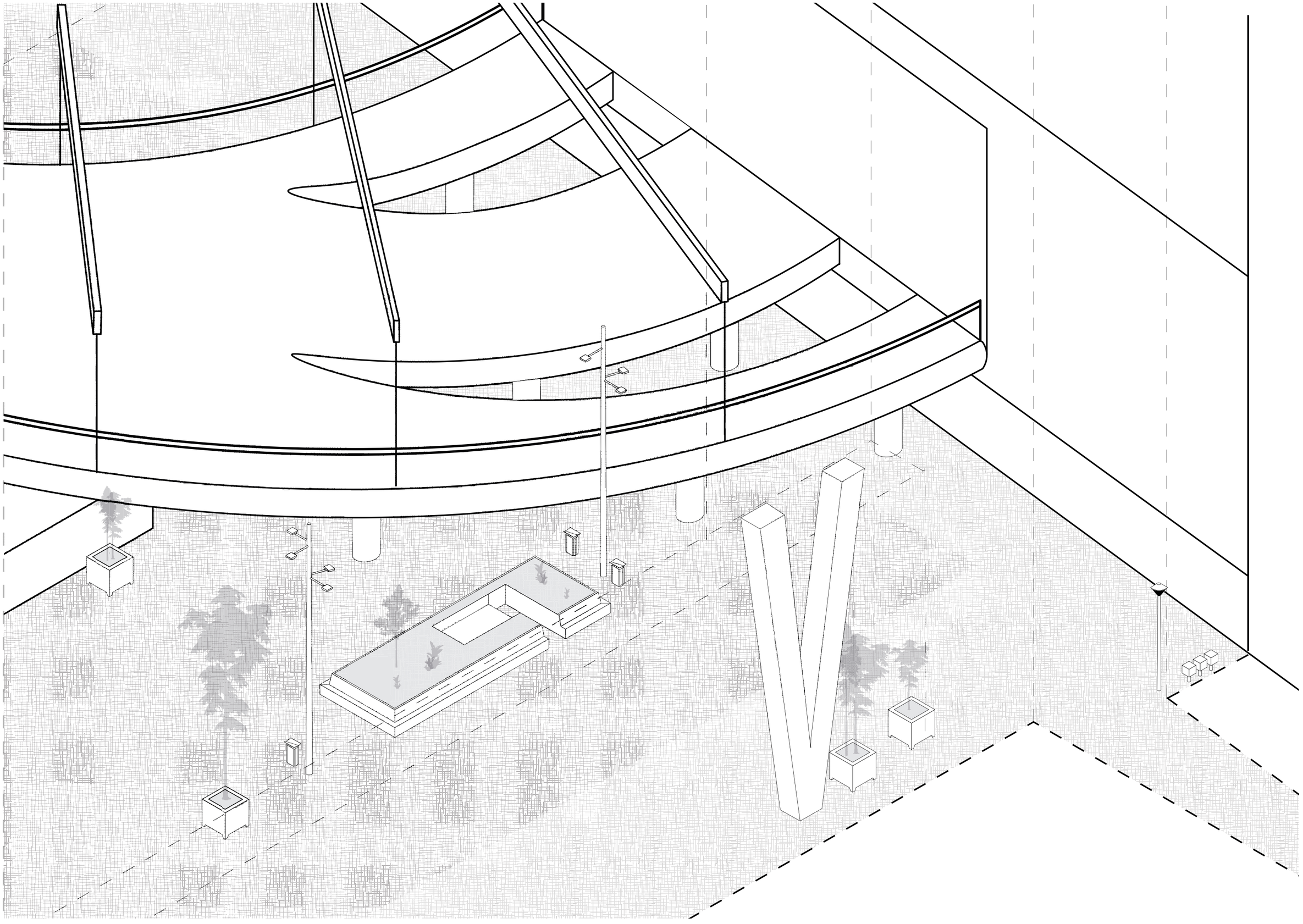

Conversation starter
Conversation starter
Chairs can be moved around, people can sit where ever they want to
Benches everywhere so everybody can sit down
Tables for everyone, people can consume food they made at home or bought at the station
Spaces can be used to organize workshops and to meet up to do a hobby or to host a language learning café


WHAT IF STATIONS
WHERE FULL OF
CONVERSATIONS?


Train station is turned into shopping mall: shops are build on the train tracks
More camera's added
All furniture is moved inside shops
Material of floor is changed into an expensive marble
Very expensive shops need armed protection
Full of shop signs
Filled with adds

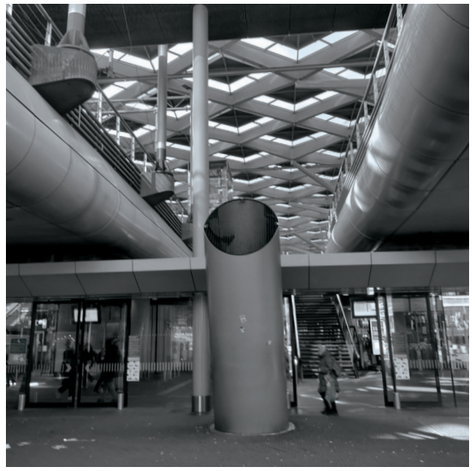
VIOLENCE





05.39.02. **TRAM TRACK ABOVE ANNA VAN BUERENPLEIN**

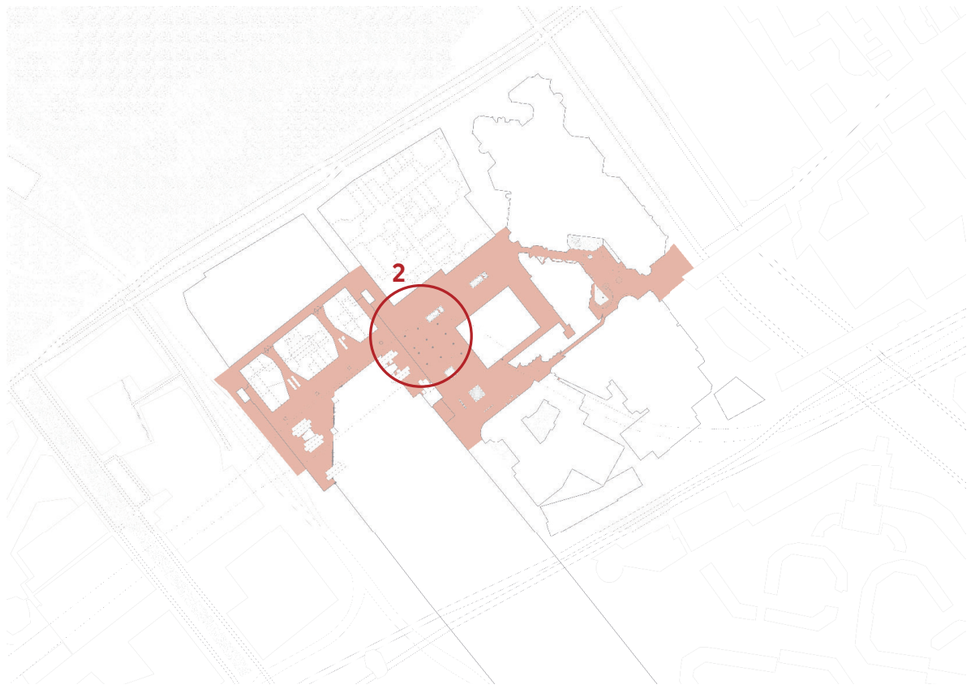












Removing the tram line viaduct to create a less dark and less noisy enviroment

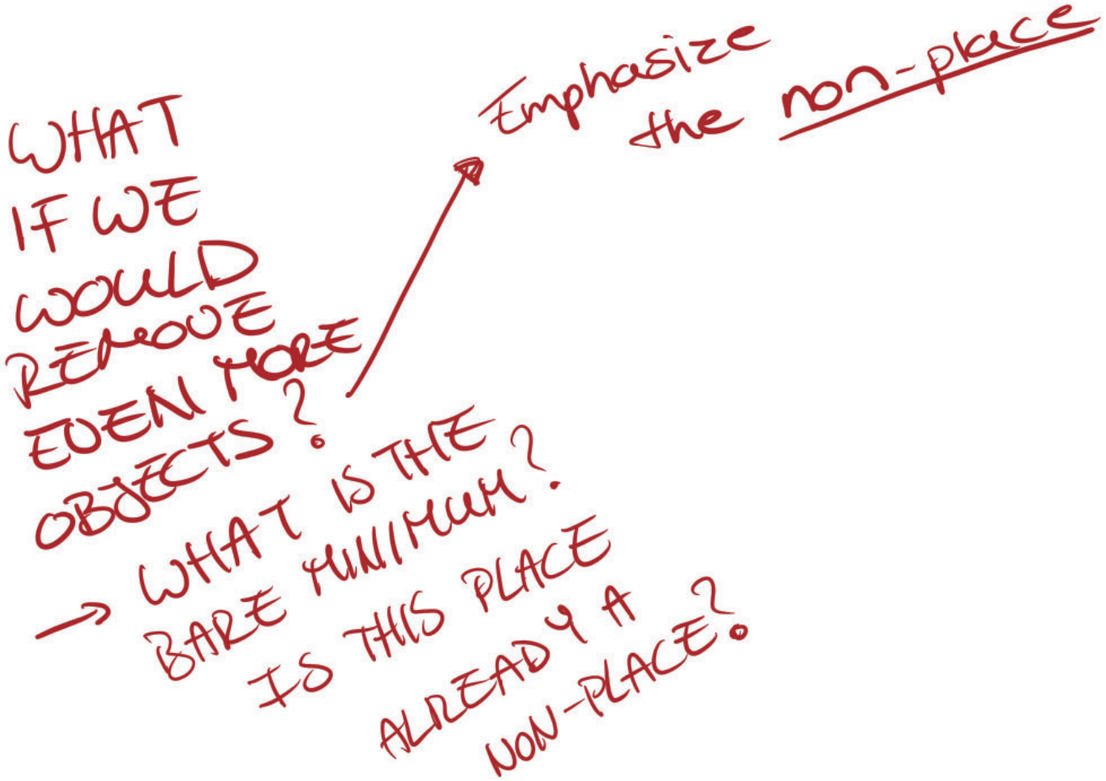
Remove columns with portraits of historical figures, such as William of Orange and Anna van Bueren. These represent a dominant narrative, without questioning it.

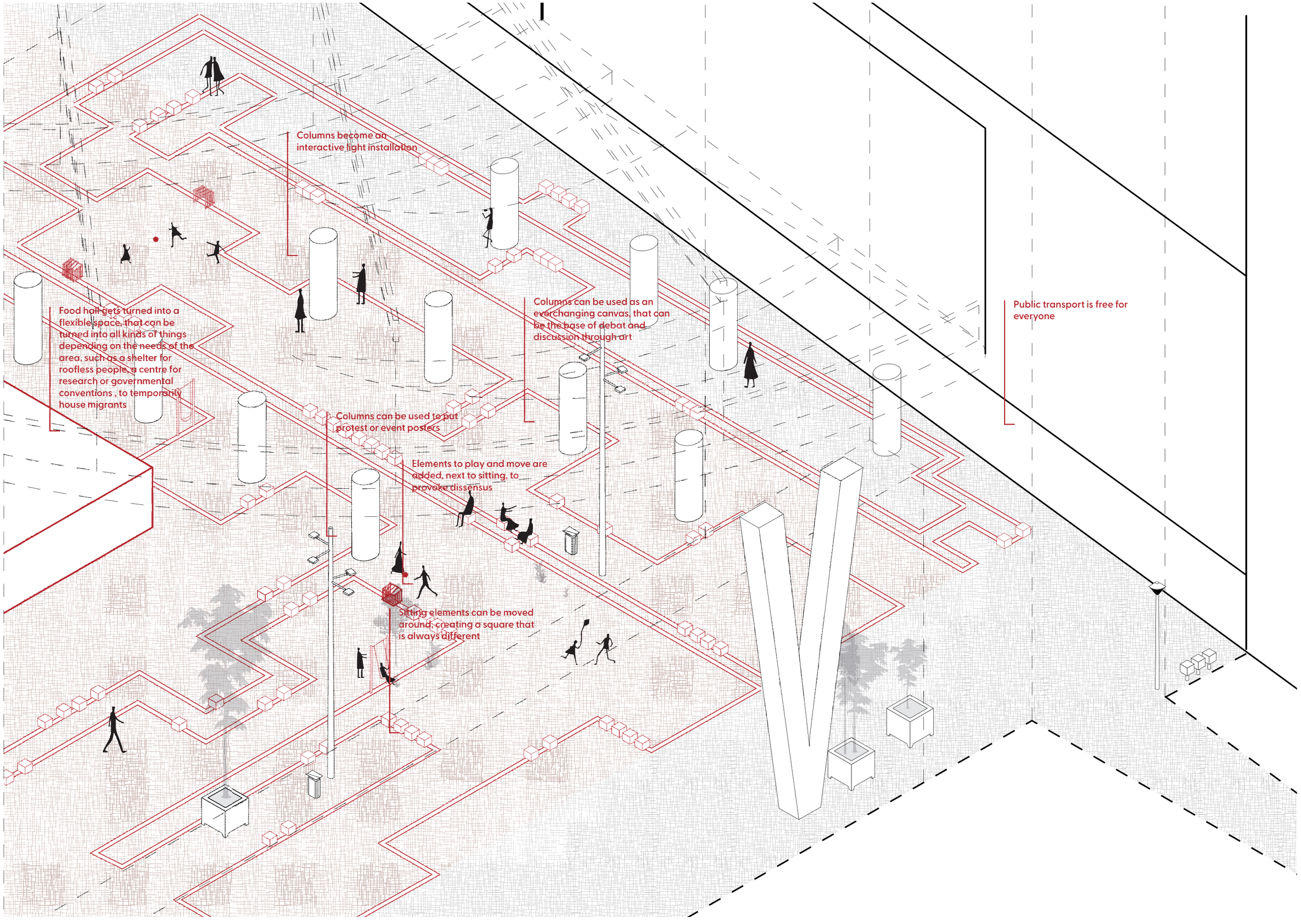
Removing the expensive foodhall that is taking over public space

Furniture is too general: remove all

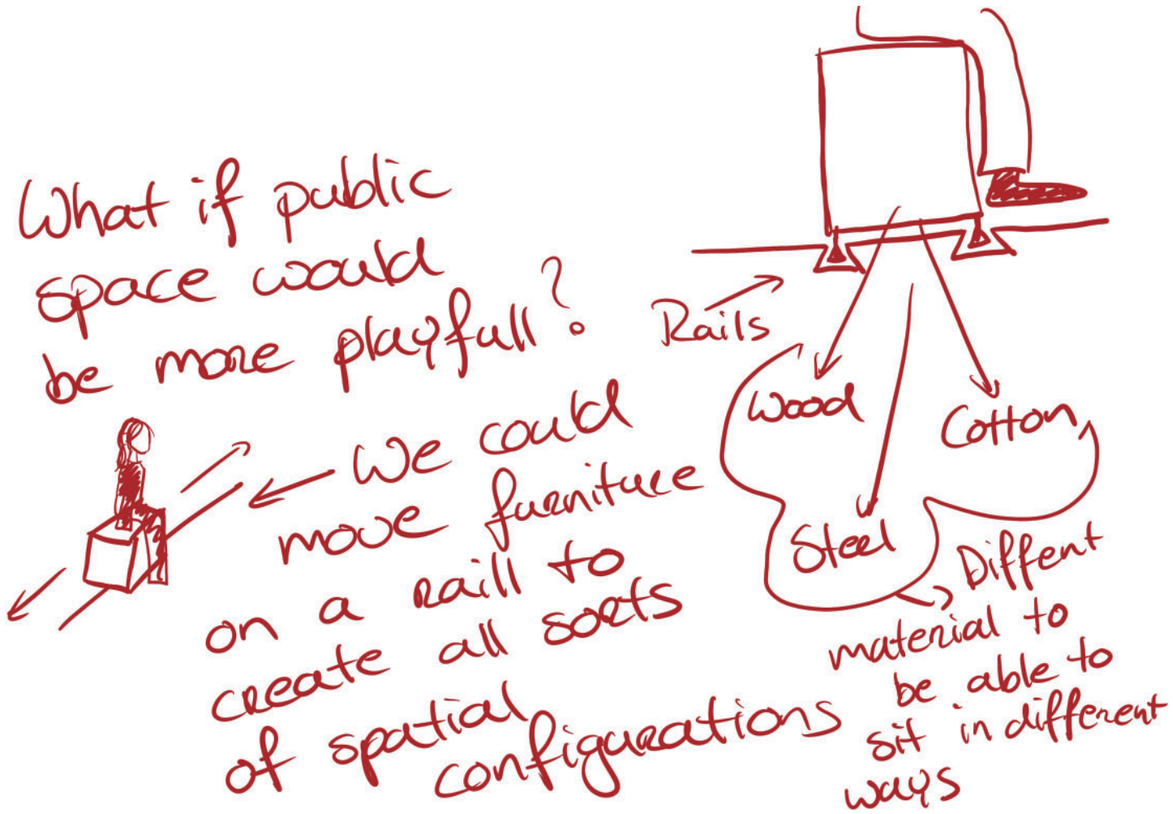
Sorkin described how, along with non-place urban sprawls, the new urbanity was consciously and programmatically preserving and recreating the bare minimum of urban form devoid of the formal and social mix that had once made cities lively and political; 'there are no demonstrations in Disneyland' (1992: xv) he famously remarked. Traditional public space was being co-opted in the process of ageographical generalised urbanisation.

Boonar (2015)

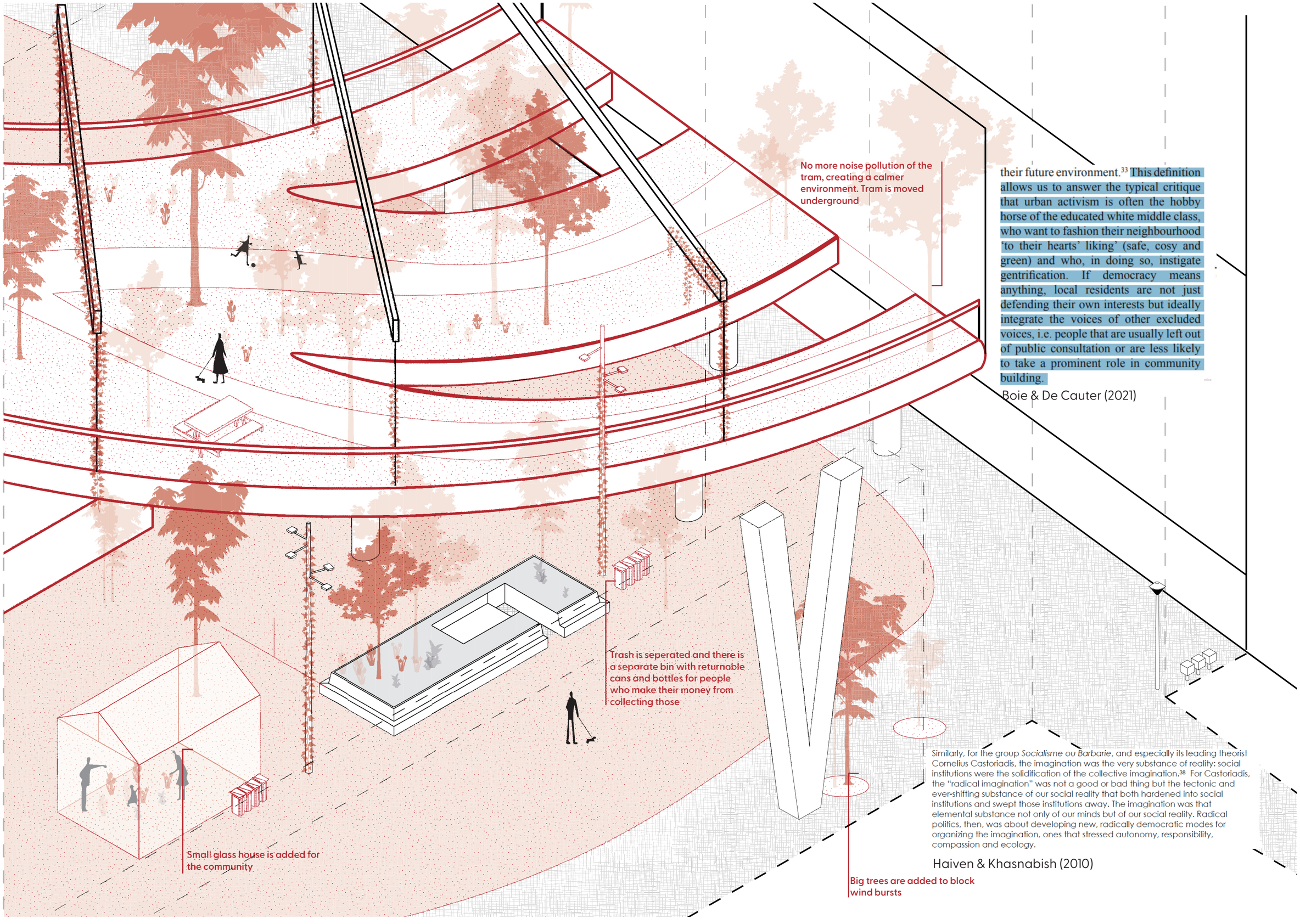

WHAT IF WE WOULD REMOVE EVEN MORE OBJECTS?
Emphasize the non-place
→ WHAT IS THE BARE MINIMUM?
IS THIS PLACE ALREADY A NON-PLACE?


Columns become an interactive light installation
Food hall gets turned into a flexible space, that can be turned into all kinds of things depending on the needs of the area, such as a shelter for roofless people, a centre for research or governmental conventions , to temporarily house migrants
Columns can be used as an everchanging canvas, that can be the base of debat and discussion through art
Public transport is free for everyone
Columns can be used to put protest or event posters
Elements to play and move are added, next to sitting, to provoke dissensus
Sitting elements can be moved around, creating a square that is always different

CARE



PROMOTING PLAY AS A MEANS OF PROMOTING INTERACTIONS,
BUT ALSO INDIFFERENCE AND CONFLICT

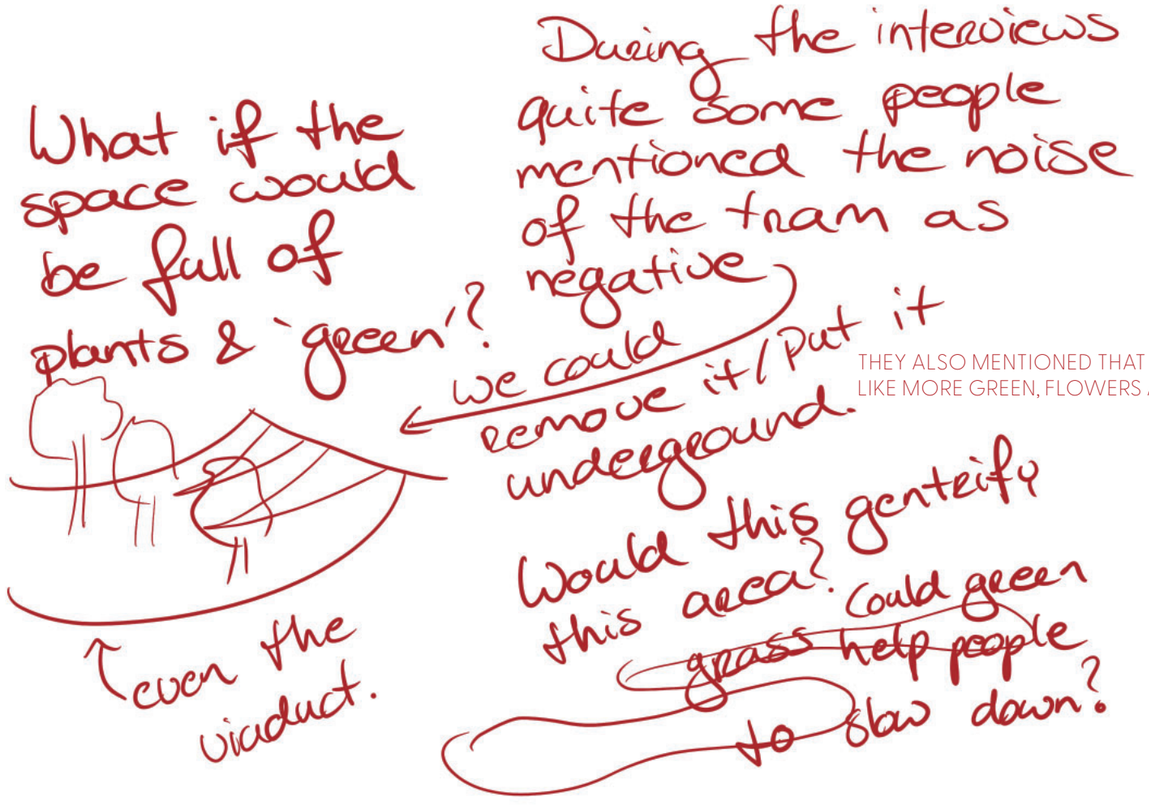


their future environment.[33] This definition allows us to answer the typical critique that urban activism is often the hobby horse of the educated white middle class, who want to fashion their neighbourhood 'to their hearts' liking' (safe, cosy and green) and who, in doing so, instigate gentrification. If democracy means anything, local residents are not just defending their own interests but ideally integrate the voices of other excluded voices, i.e. people that are usually left out of public consultation or are less likely to take a prominent role in community building.

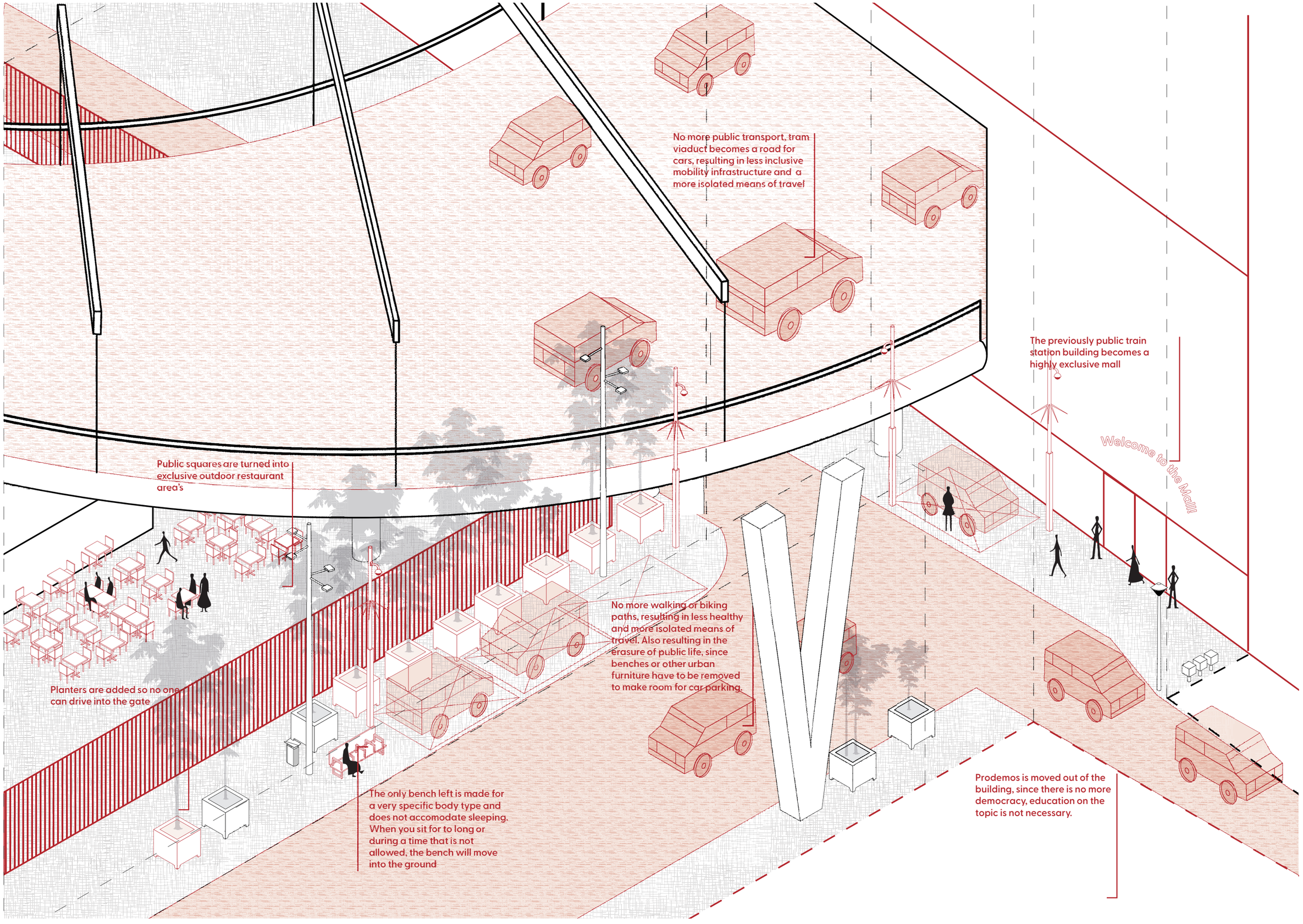
Boie & De Cauter (2021)

Similarly, for the group *Socialisme ou Barbarie*, and especially its leading theorist Cornelius Castoriadis, the imagination was the very substance of reality: social institutions were the solidification of the collective imagination.[38] For Castoriadis, the "radical imagination" was not a good or bad thing but the tectonic and ever-shifting substance of our social reality that both hardened into social institutions and swept those institutions away. The imagination was that elemental substance not only of our minds but of our social reality. Radical politics, then, was about developing new, radically democratic modes for organizing the imagination, ones that stressed autonomy, responsibility, compassion and ecology.

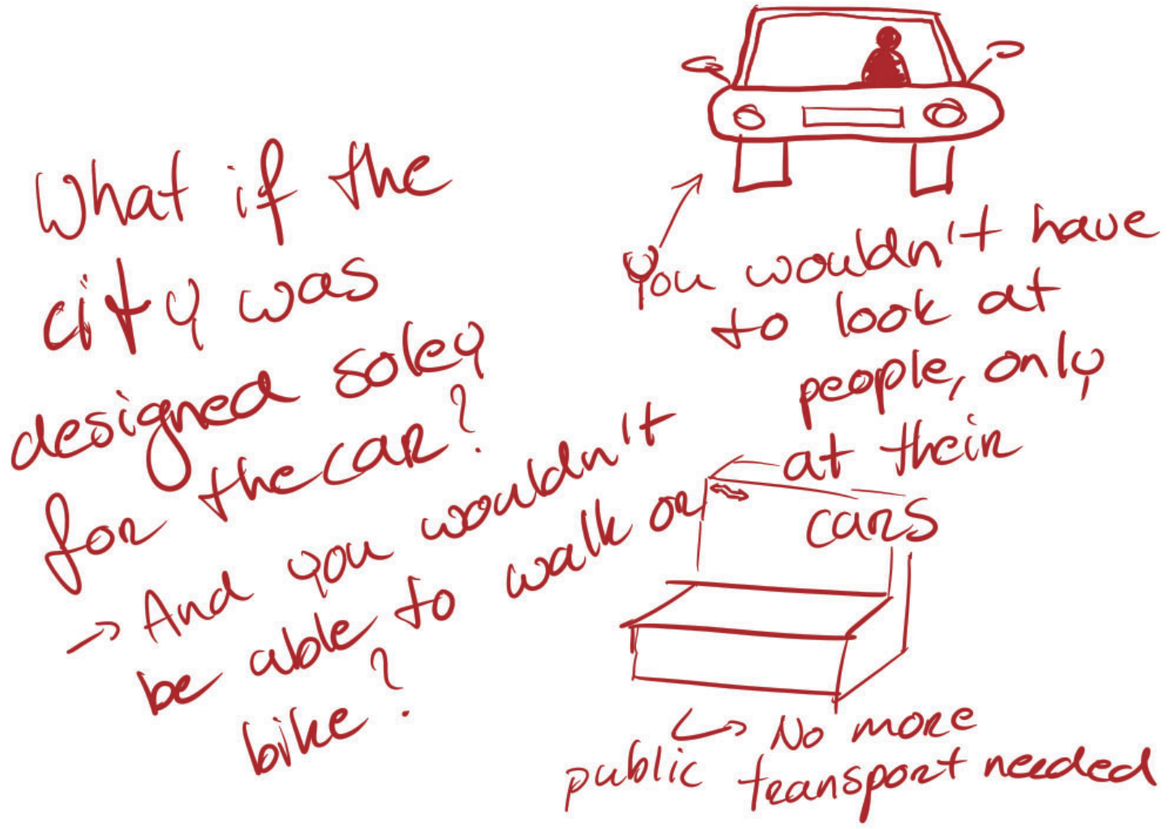
Haiven & Khasnabish (2010)

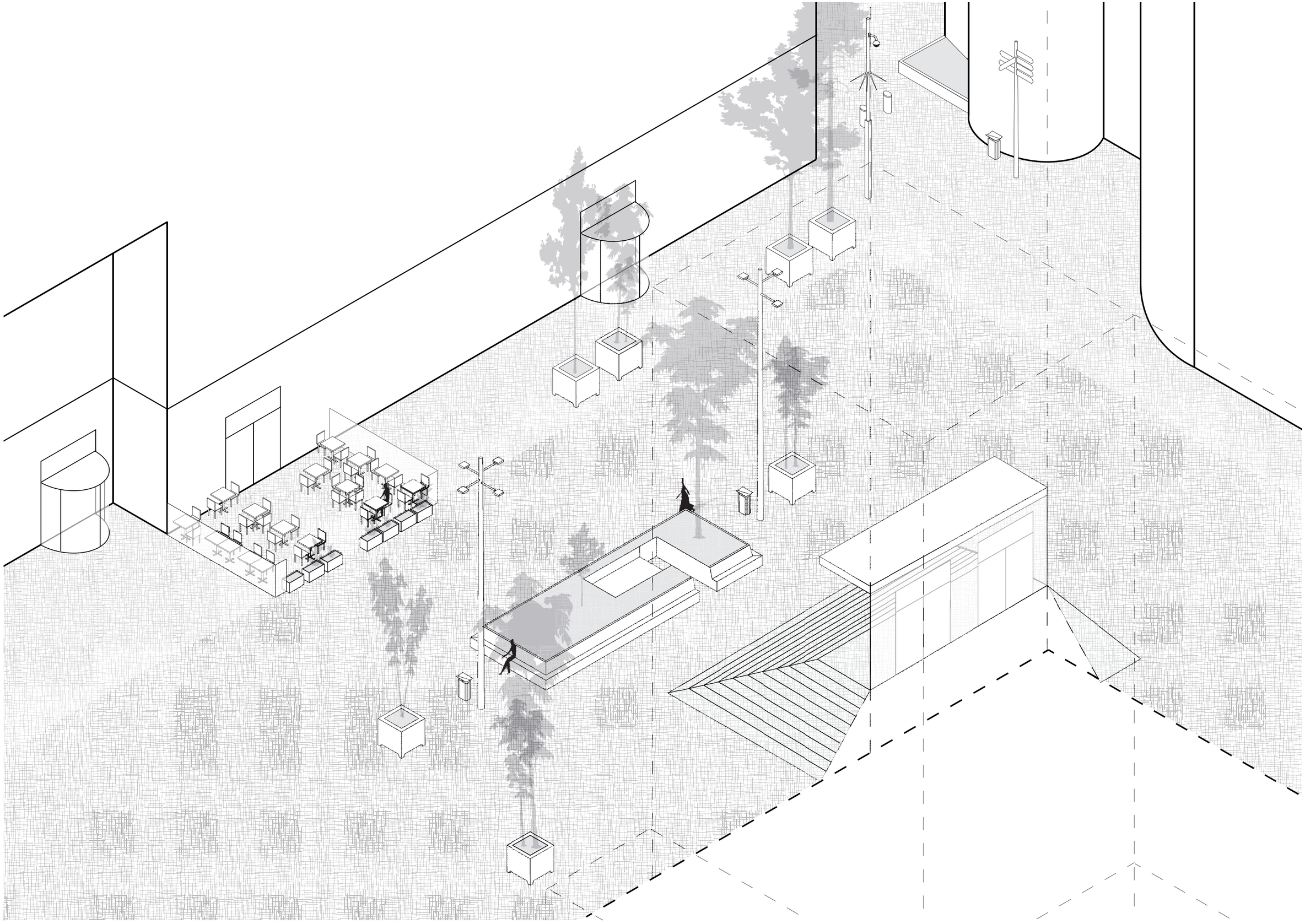


THEY ALSO MENTIONED THAT THEY WOULD LIKE MORE GREEN, FLOWERS AND PLANTS


No more public transport, tram viaduct becomes a road for cars, resulting in less inclusive mobility infrastructure and a more isolated means of travel
The previously public train station building becomes a highly exclusive mall
Welcome to the Mall!
Public squares are turned into exclusive outdoor restaurant area's
Planters are added so no one can drive into the gate
No more walking or biking paths, resulting in less healthy and more isolated means of travel. Also resulting in the erasure of public life, since benches or other urban furniture have to be removed to make room for car parking.
The only bench left is made for a very specific body type and does not accomodate sleeping. When you sit for to long or during a time that is not allowed, the bench will move into the ground
Prodemos is moved out of the building, since there is no more democracy, education on the topic is not necessary.

VIOLENCE


What if the city was designed solely for the car?
→ And you wouldn't be able to walk or bike?
You wouldn't have to look at people, only at their cars
↳ No more public transport needed



05.39.03. **ANNA VAN BUERENPLEIN AND ACCESS TWEEDE KAMER**

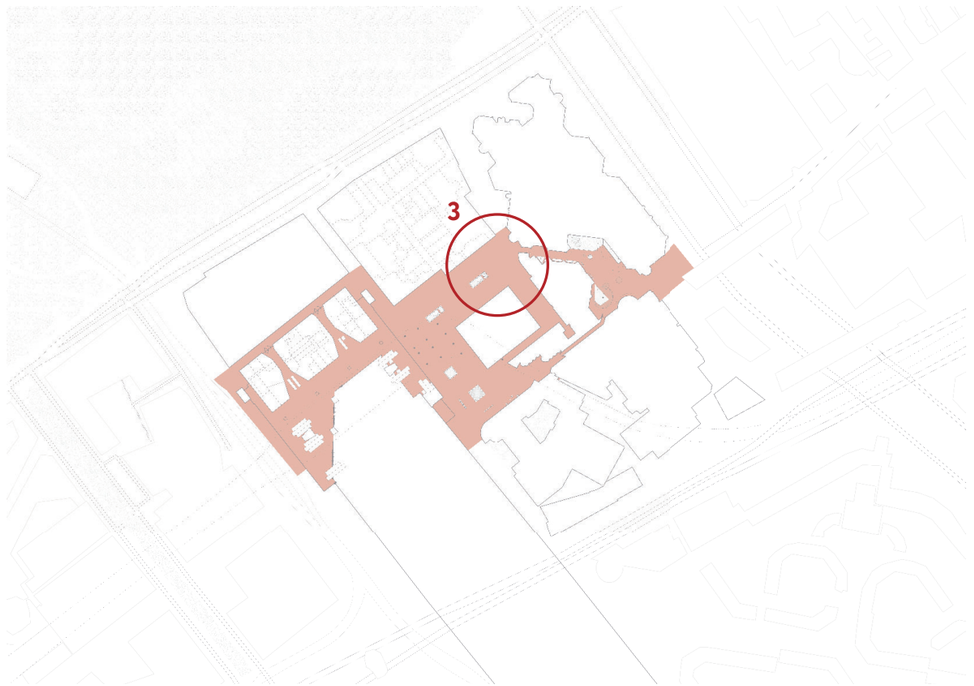












No more high rise: causing gusts of wind, resulting in an unpleasant climate

Tweede Kamer can stay: Has an important symbolic and deliberative function

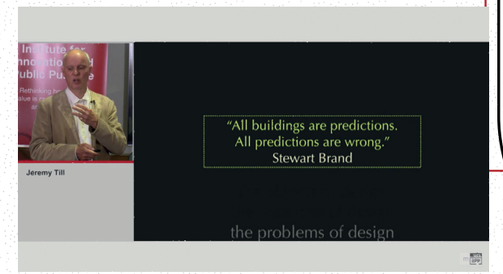
social institution. This reveals that society is not to be seen as the unfolding of a logic exterior to itself, whatever the source of this logic might be: forces of production, development of the Spirit, laws of history, etcetera. Every order is the temporary and precarious articulation of contingent practices. The frontier between the social and the political is essentially unstable and requires constant displacements and renegotiations

Mouffe (2007)

No more safety cameras: These are controlling and limiting free speech and the opportunity to protest freely

Library can stay: Important space for free speech, open access to information and plays a role in fostering community

ng their own



Till (2018)

No more commercial functions: dominating the form of public space

Even street lantarns can be moved, this way people can adapt the space to their own needs

University can stay: education is at the base of a healthy democracy

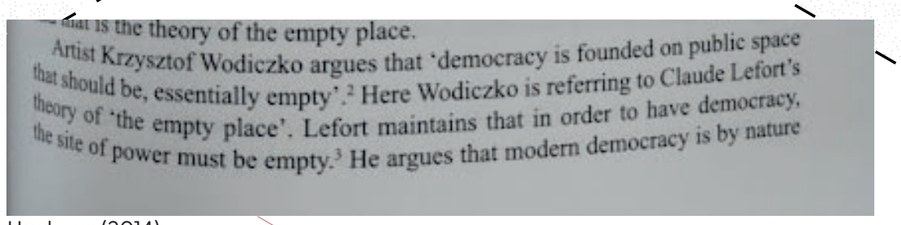
No more benches, street lights, street bricks, trashbins: no form is neutral

No more doors and gates, education becomes more accessible

No more streetbricks: they cause heat stress and limit the amount of water the area can filtrate

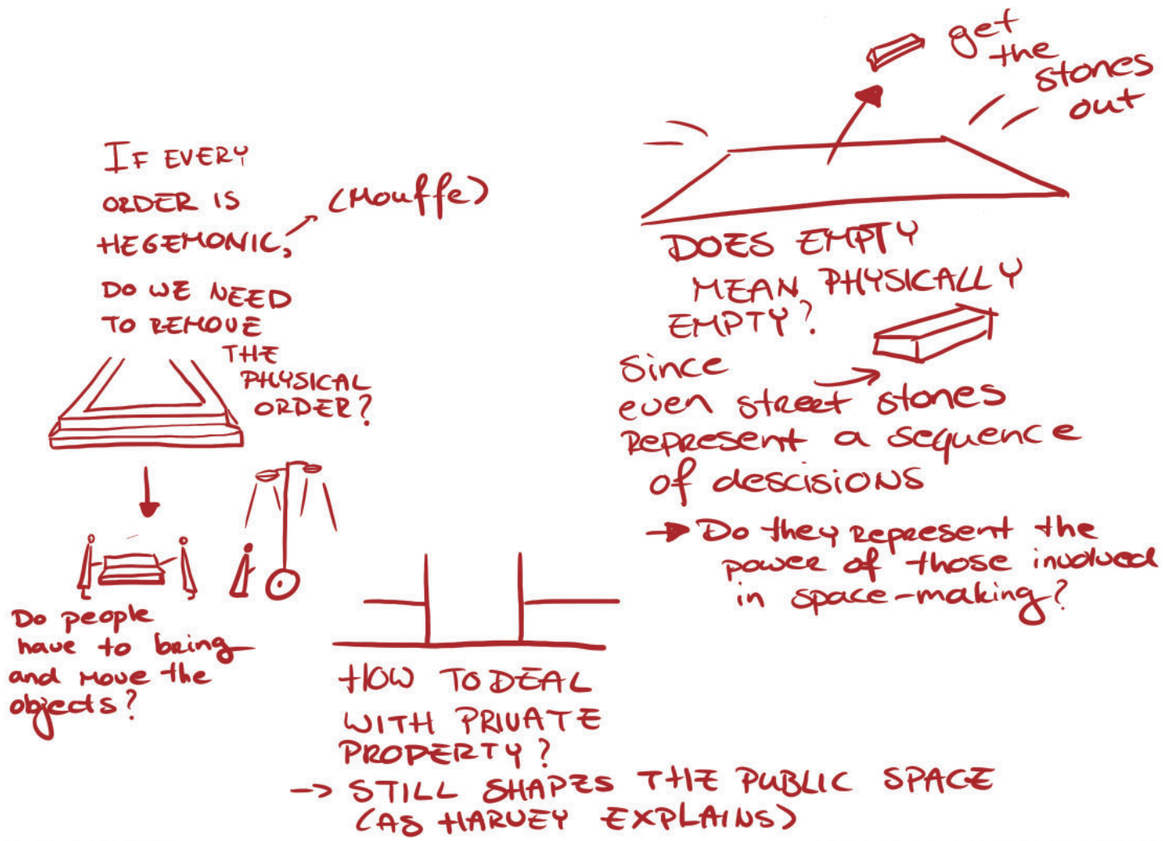
Every order is therefore political and based on some form of exclusion. There are always other possibilities that have been repressed and that can be reactivated. The articulatory practices through which a certain order is established and the meaning of social institutions is fixed are 'hegemonic practices'. Every hegemonic order is susceptible to being challenged by counter-hegemonic practices – practices that will attempt to disarticulate the existing order so as to install another form of hegemony.

Mouffe (2007)



Hoskyns (2014)

EMPTY



WHO MADE THE STONE?
WHAT CULTURE IS THE STONE MADE IN?
WHAT MATERIAL IS IT MADE OF? DID PEOPLE THAT LIVE AROUND THE AREA WHERE THIS MATERIAL IS FROM AGREE THAT THE MATERIAL WAS REMOVED? WHERE THE PEOPLE THAT MADE THIS PAYED FAIRLY? WHY IS THIS STONE HERE AND NOT ELSEWHERE? WHY DID WE FOCUS ON PUTTING THE STONES HERE? WHAT MADE IT A PRIORITY?

OR DO THOSE OBJECTS THEN CONSTRUCT A NEW HEGEMONY AGAIN?

REMOVE ALL COMMERCIAL FUNCTION?
REMOVE ALL FACADES: THEY KEEP PEOPLE OUT

Tussen zonsondergang en zonsopgang is wildkamperen in heel Den Haag verboden. U mag dan niet kamperen of slapen op openbare plekken. Bijvoorbeeld op parkeerterreinen, langs de weg, op het strand of in parken en natuurgebieden. Handhavers en boswachters van de gemeente controleren hierop.

Overnacht u toch op een openbare plek? Dan kunt een boete van € 160. Op het strand en in beschermde natuurgebieden gelden extra regels.

https://www.denhaag.nl/nl/vrije-tijd-en-recreatie/overnachten-met-tent-of-camper-alleen-op-de-camp

De verwijdering van bankjes op Den Haag Centraal zorgt voor onbegrip. Het Straat Consulaat beschouwt het als een schijnoplossing. De NS haalde de bankjes weg om de overlast van dakloze arbeidsmigranten te verminderen, maar volgens het Straat Consulaat verplaatst dit alleen maar het probleem. De gemeenteraad van ChristenUnie/SGP noemt het zelfs een 'pestmaatregel'.

ps://www.straatconsulaat.nl/straat-consulaat/onbegrip-over-weghalen-van-bankjes-op-den-haag-cs-overlast-verplaatst-zich/

living environment to hang out in the city

Fench + planters get removed: otherwise public space is taken away from those who cannot afford to sit here

FOOD FOR ALL

WC

SHOWER

SLEEPING POD

Sleeping bodies outside the domestic realm challenge the racist and sexist logics of the neoliberal city

https://www-architectural-review-com.tudelft.idm.oclc.org/essays/rest-in-public-as-resistance

Design as CRITIQUE (demonstration and precedence)

Amongst debates of re-defining the urban this calls for the critical deployment of imagination and craftsmanship skills in order to question and understand complexities of contested situations. This reflective positioning offers options of speculating, mobilizing, and demonstrating the potential of informed spatial alternatives that contribute to inclusive transformation

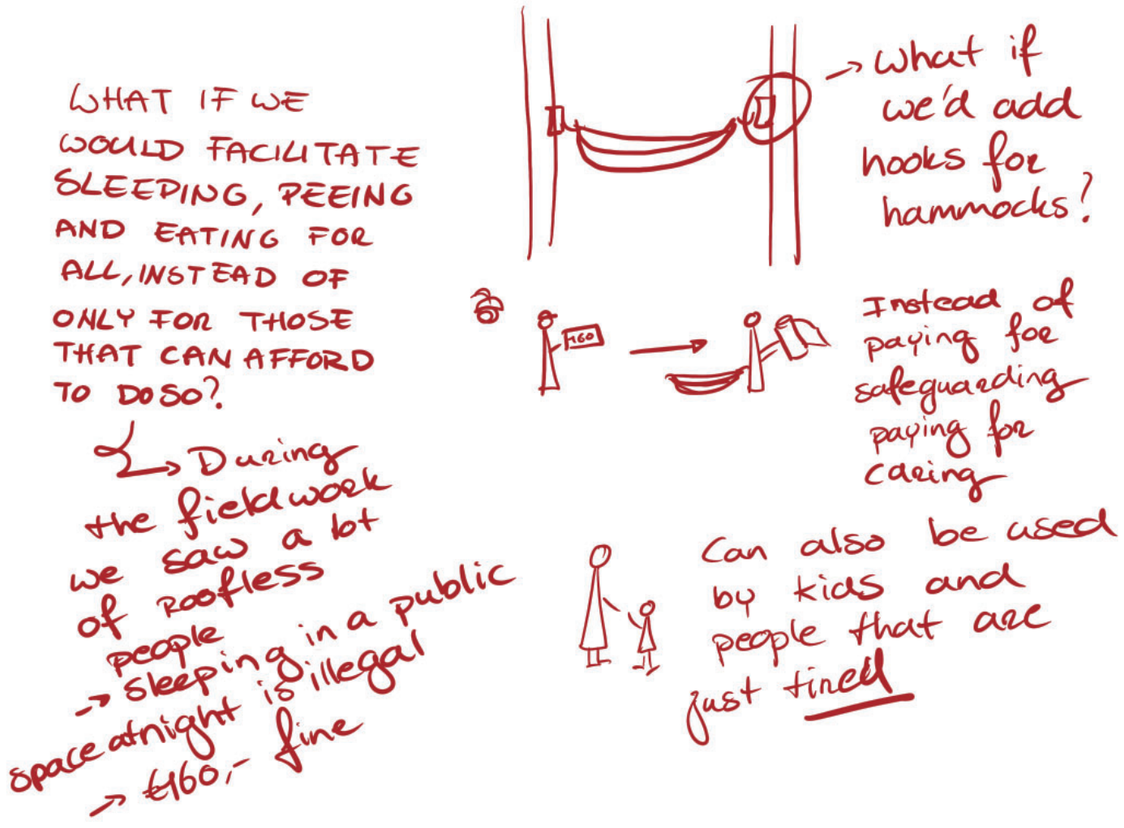
Frediani & Boano (2012)

Bench can become a tent: allowing for different usage of the space

their future environment.[33] This definition allows us to answer the typical critique that urban activism is often the hobby horse of the educated white middle class, who want to fashion their neighbourhood 'to their hearts' liking' (safe, cosy and green) and who, in doing so, instigate gentrification. If democracy means anything, local residents are not just defending their own interests but ideally integrate the voices of other excluded voices, i.e. people that are usually left out of public consultation or are less likely to take a prominent role in community building.

Boie & De Cauter (2021)

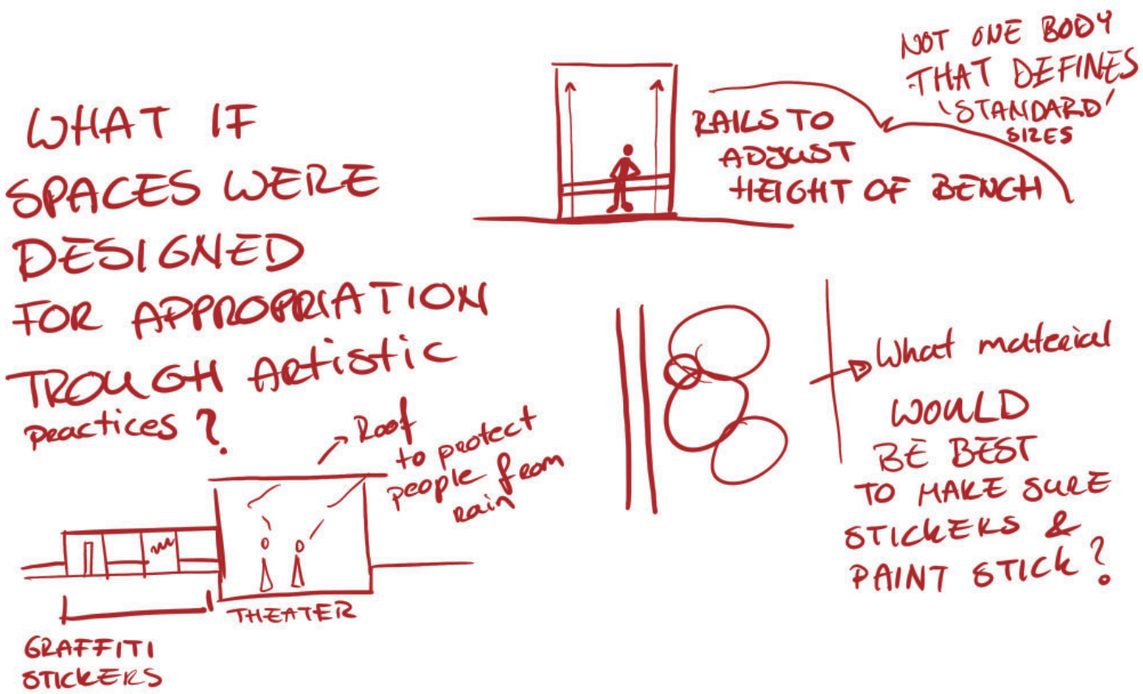
CARE


WHAT IF WE WOULD FACILITATE SLEEPING, PEEING AND EATING FOR ALL, INSTEAD OF ONLY FOR THOSE THAT CAN AFFORD TO DO SO?
↳ During the fieldwork we saw a lot of roofless people
-> sleeping in a public space at night is illegal
-> €160,- fine
-> what if we'd add hooks for hammocks!
€160
Instead of paying for safeguarding paying for caring
Can also be used by kids and people that are just tired

they respond to specific needs and aspirations. Ability relates not only to individual characteristics, but also collective capacities, such as the ability to generate collective action initiatives, such as meetings and protests, as well collectively appropriating, changing, maintaining or improving the existing built environment. It is crucial therefore to accept and reveal the multiple

Frediani & Boano (2012)




WHAT IF
SPACES WERE
DESIGNED
FOR APPROPRIATION
TROUGH Artistic
practices ?
Roof
to protect
people from
rain
THEATER
GRAFFITI
STICKERS
RAILS TO
ADJUST
HEIGHT OF BENCH
NOT ONE BODY
THAT DEFINES
'STANDARD'
SIZES
What material
WOULD
BE BEST
TO MAKE SURE
STICKERS &
PAINT STICK ?

splendor, reflecting back the brilliance of the cafe's illumination. The cafe (an exclusive commercial space) and the boulevard (the public space) form a symbiotic whole in which each validates the other. But this presumes the public space can be properly controlled. The poor, no matter how "worthy," must be excluded from it just as they are from the cafe.

Harvey (n.d.)

Spikes are added to the planters, so no one can touch the trees or sit on the edge

Peoples movements are followed by spotlights, making people hyper aware of their own behaviour

Trash bin is removed: could be used to put a bomb inside

Loads of safety cameras: area heavily monitored with cameras, making anonymous protest impossible

Tweede Kamer is fenched off: no demonstratrations or protest allowed.. Only media that represent the voice of the parties in charge can enter, limiting free speech

Extensive passport control: Only few are allowed to enter

Fench of café only allows to look from inside out. Only people with a certain profile are allowed to have a seat

All forms of resistance are removed

People only move by car, this way, they don't have to look at eachother, just at eachothers cars

Removing the street bench, only leaving a mark of where it used to be: preventing social interactions from happening in public space

Only the bare minimum of public space is left: segregating people

Unknown and unassimilated otherness can produce cognitive and emotional shocks resulting often in avoidance of public space (agoraphobia), intolerant behaviour in public space (Bannister and Kearns, this issue) or incivilities (Boyd, this issue). Why would one want to experience anxiety and fear anyway?

Bodnar (2015)

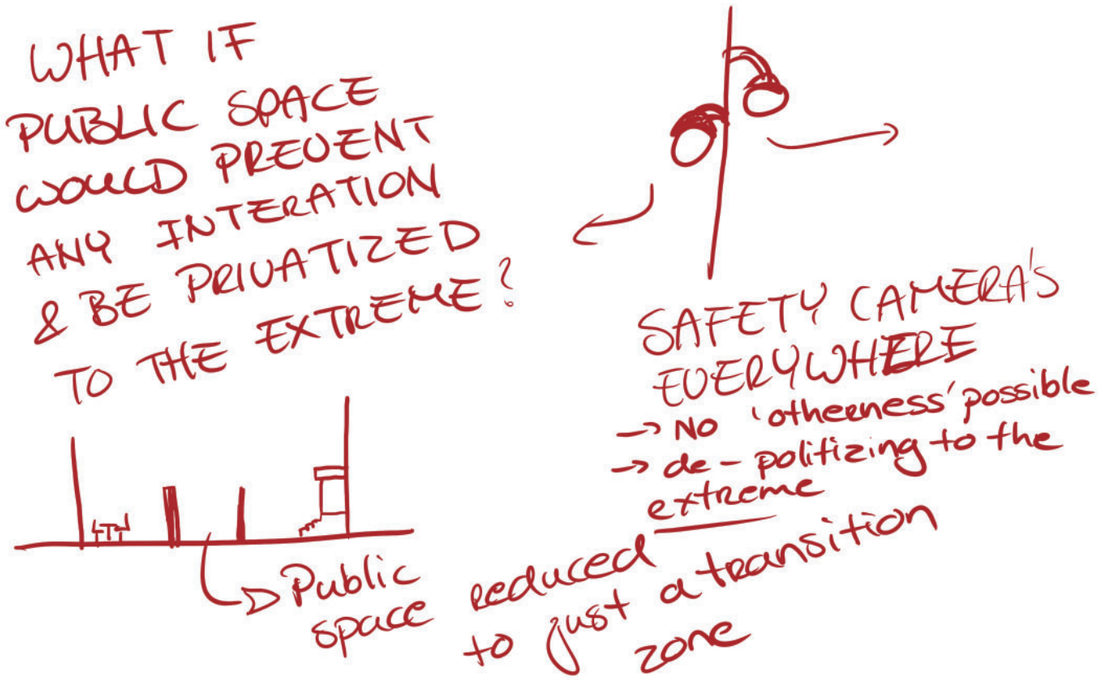
One strategy is difficult to illustrate, since it is a strategy of absence – for example, the absence of the bench.[1] To remove benches entirely from public spaces has proven to be much more effective against unwanted behavior than any anti-homeless, anti-skating or anti-loitering design. A "positive" side effect of removing benches is the cost savings in acquiring and maintaining street furniture. On top of this, café and restaurant owners are all in favor of bench-free streets and squares since they regard every seat taken on a public bench as a seat lost on their terrace. A win-win situation for politics and businesses does not inevitably result in a resounding success for the people. With the bench, public life – and, if we believe Edwin Heathcote, democracy – is retreating from public space:

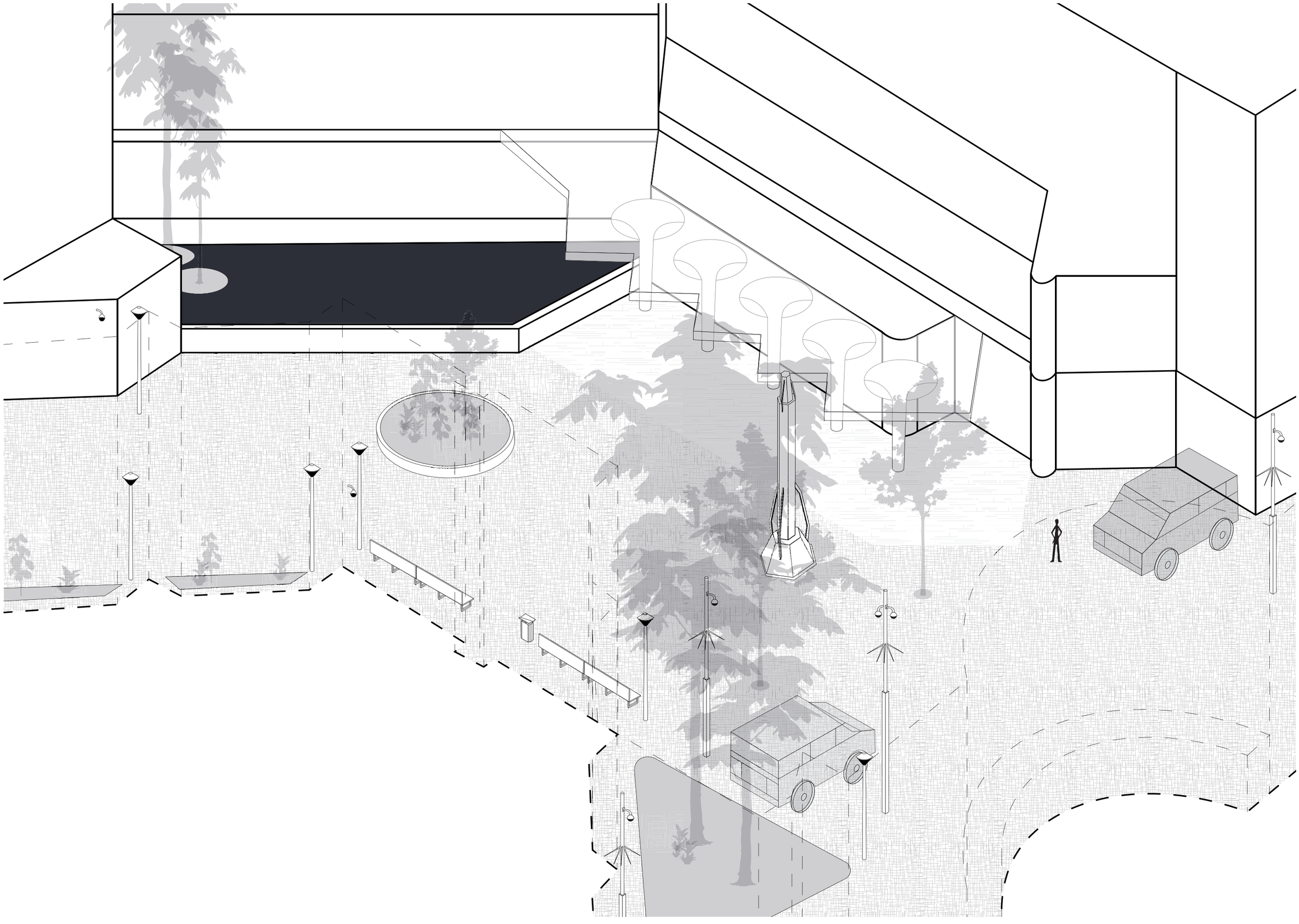
"Indeed, the bench and, perhaps in particular, the park bench, has become the symbol of the democratic city – of free, accessible and equitable public space provided by the city for its citizens. It is a place to be private in public, a small space in the melee of the metropolis where it is acceptable to do nothing, to consume nothing, to just be. A truly free bench."[2]

1 www.nrpa.org
2 Edwin Heathcote, in "Public Benches: The Seat of Civilization," *Financial Times*, June 19, 2015, www.ft.com

Deutinger (2018)

VIOLENCE


WHAT IF
PUBLIC SPACE
WOULD PREVENT
ANY INTERATION
& BE PRIVATIZED
TO THE EXTREME?
SAFETY CAMERA'S
EVERYWHERE
→ NO 'otherness' possible
→ de-politizing to the extreme
Public space reduced to just a transition zone



05.39.04. **TWEEDE KAMER AND PRINSES IRENEPAD**

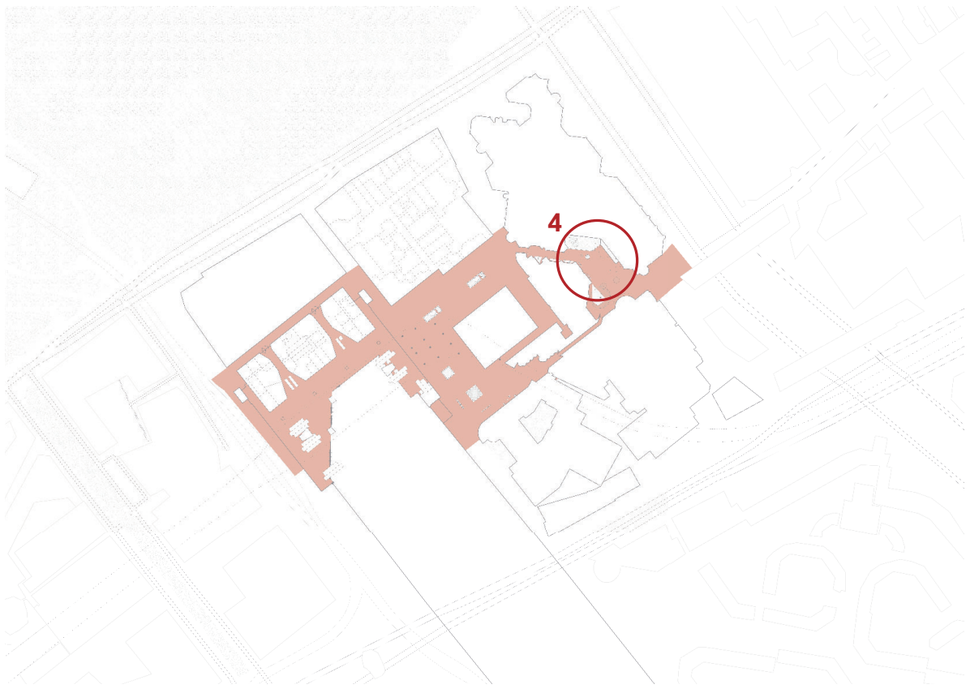


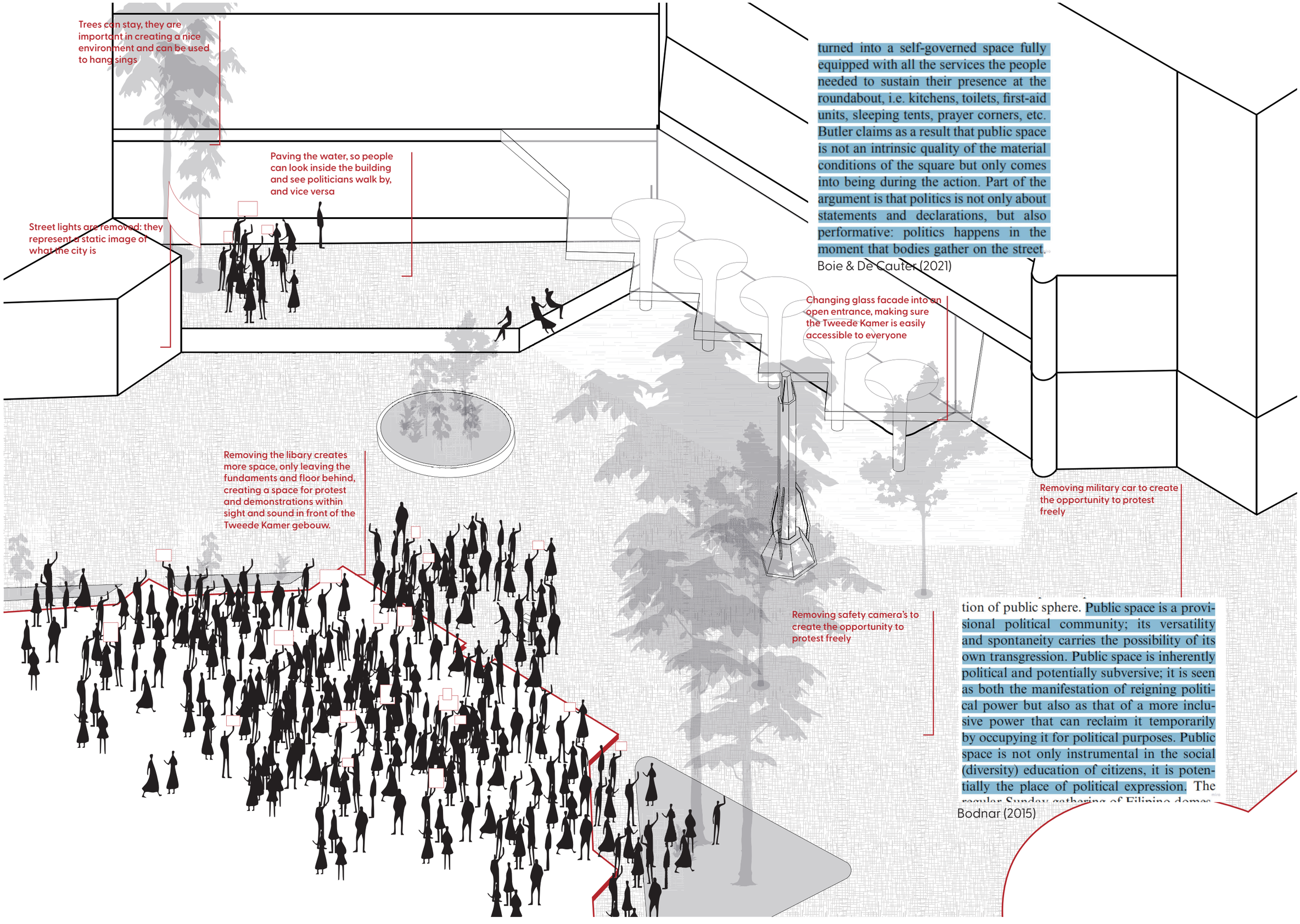












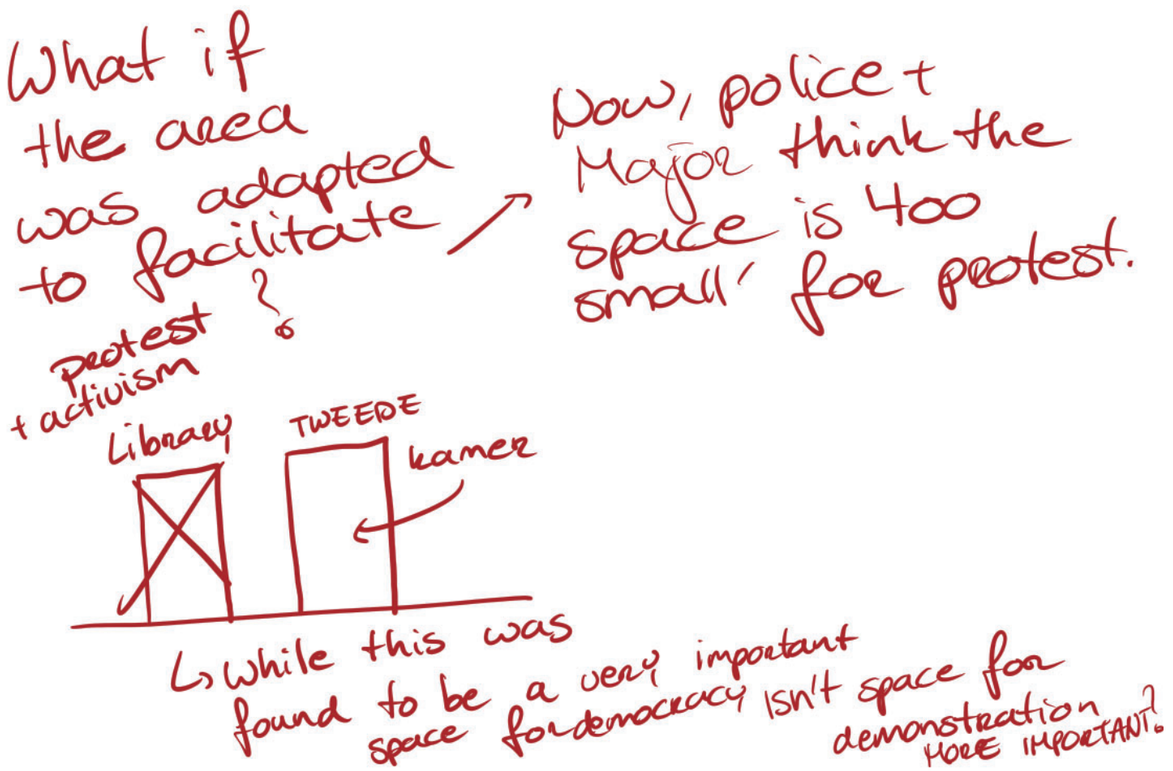
turned into a self-governed space fully equipped with all the services the people needed to sustain their presence at the roundabout, i.e. kitchens, toilets, first-aid units, sleeping tents, prayer corners, etc. Butler claims as a result that public space is not an intrinsic quality of the material conditions of the square but only comes into being during the action. Part of the argument is that politics is not only about statements and declarations, but also performative: politics happens in the moment that bodies gather on the street.

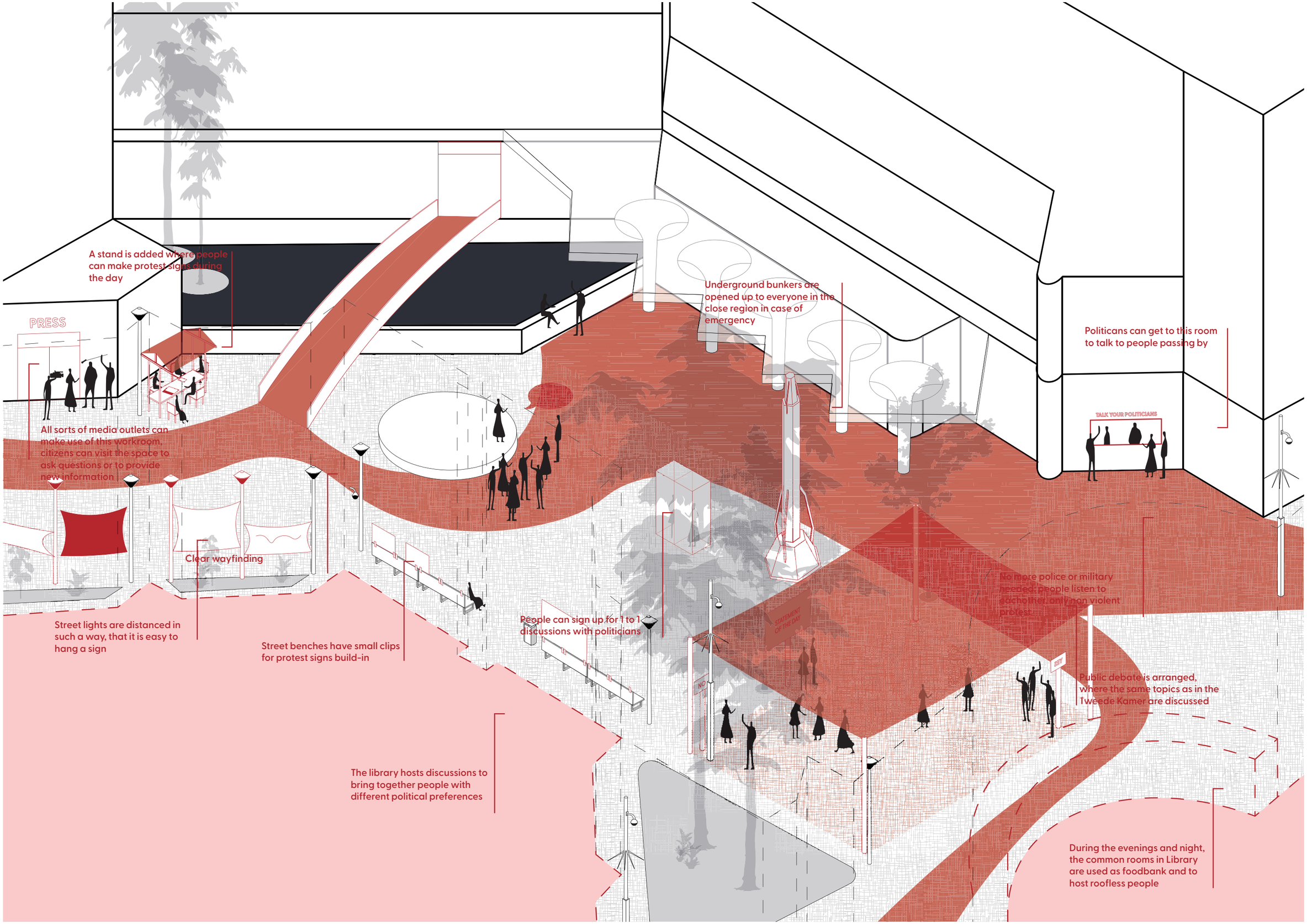
Boie & De Cauter (2021)

tion of public sphere. Public space is a provisional political community; its versatility and spontaneity carries the possibility of its own transgression. Public space is inherently political and potentially subversive; it is seen as both the manifestation of reigning political power but also as that of a more inclusive power that can reclaim it temporarily by occupying it for political purposes. Public space is not only instrumental in the social (diversity) education of citizens, it is potentially the place of political expression. The

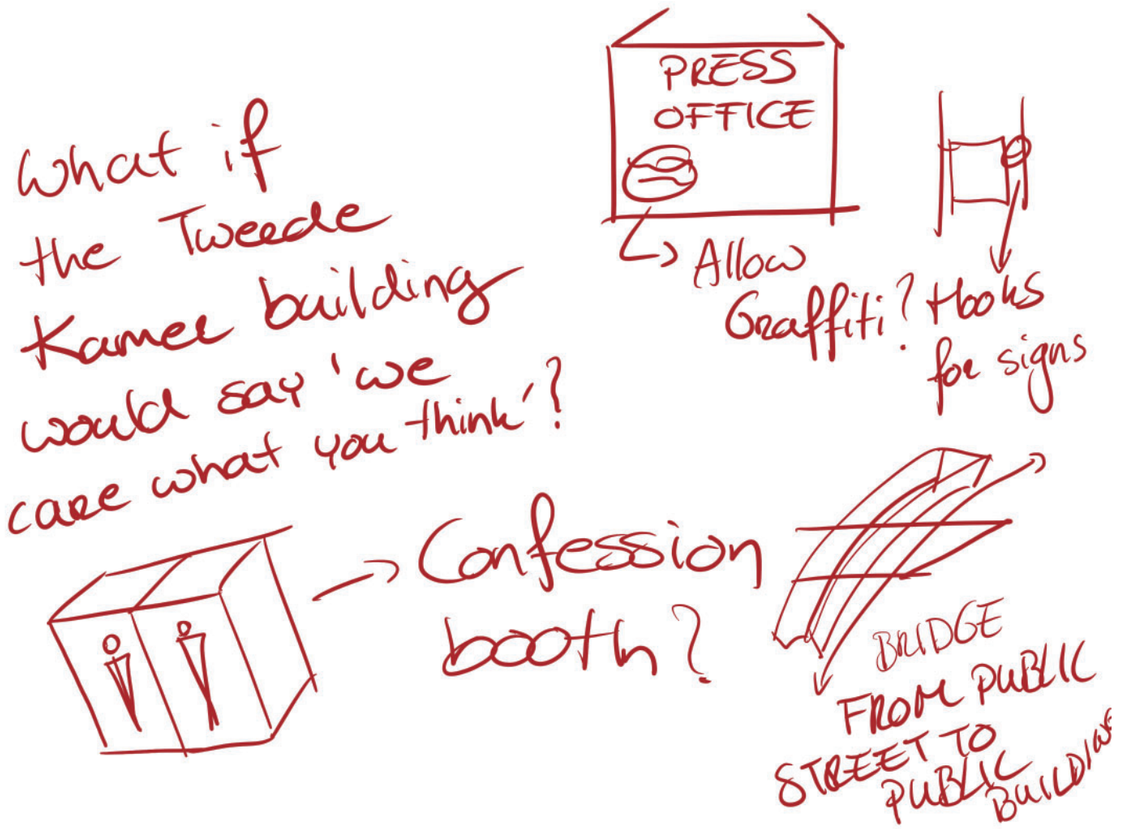
Bodnar (2015)

EMPTY


What if the area was adapted to facilitate protest + activism ?
Now, police + Major think the space is 400 small for protest.
Library
TWEEDE
kamer
↳ While this was found to be a very important space for democracy isn't space for demonstration MORE IMPORTANT?


A stand is added where people can make protest signs during the day
PRESS
All sorts of media outlets can make use of this workroom, citizens can visit the space to ask questions or to provide new information
Clear wayfinding
Street lights are distanced in such a way, that it is easy to hang a sign
Street benches have small clips for protest signs build-in
The library hosts discussions to bring together people with different political preferences
Underground bunkers are opened up to everyone in the close region in case of emergency
Politicans can get to this room to talk to people passing by
TALK YOUR POLITICIANS
People can sign up for 1 to 1 discussions with politicians
STATEMENT OF THE DAY
NO
No more police or military needed, people listen to eachother, only non violent protest
YES
Public debate is arranged, where the same topics as in the Tweede Kamer are discussed
During the evenings and night, the common rooms in Library are used as foodbank and to host roofless people

CARE


What if the Tweede Kamer building would say 'we care what you think'?
PRESS OFFICE
Allow Graffiti?
Hooks for signs
Confession booth?
BRIDGE FROM PUBLIC STREET TO PUBLIC BUILDING

All debates, press interviews and behind the door discussions are played live

Square gets tiled with 18 million speakers, where every citizen can talk through

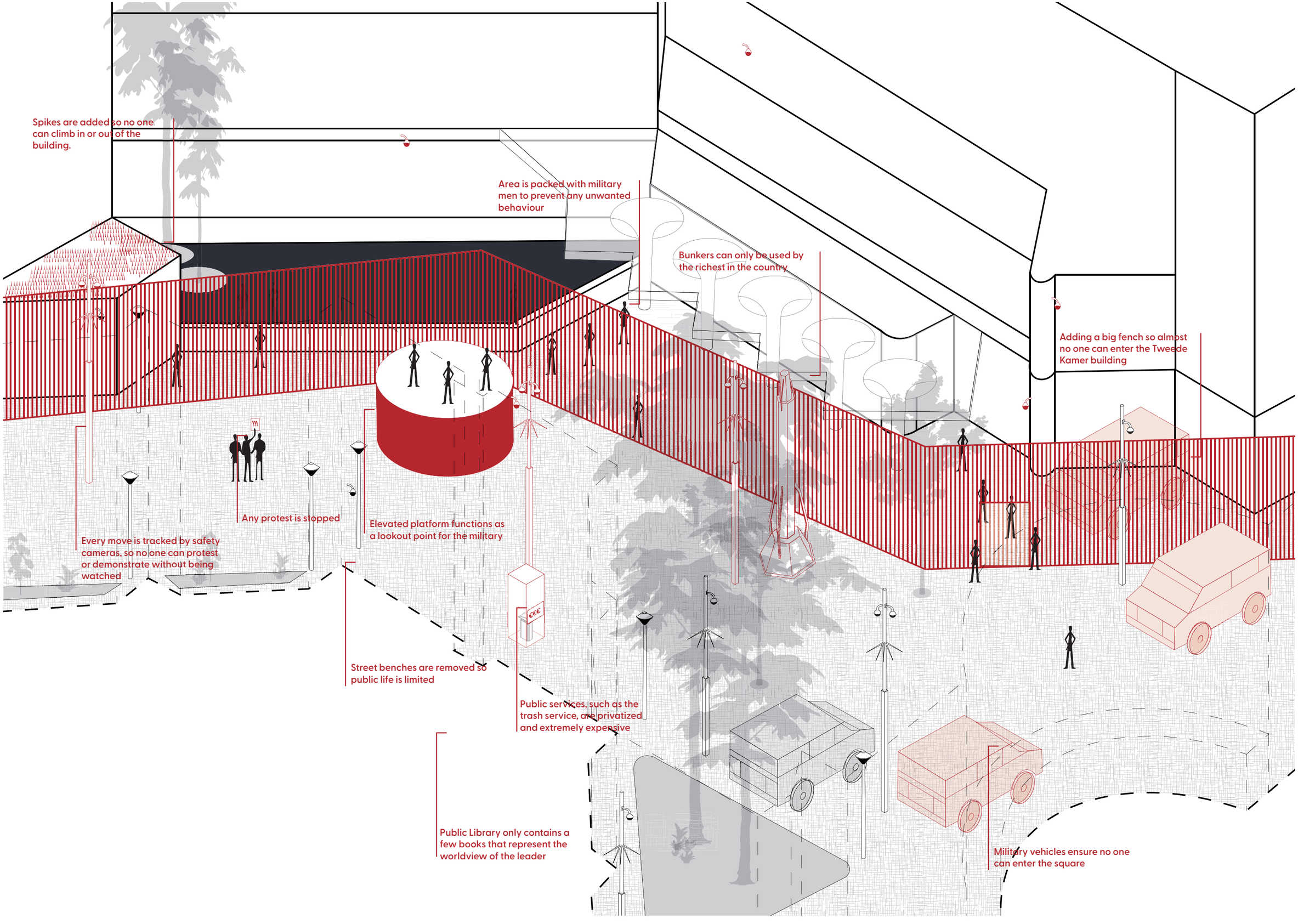
Rebel city sites (squares such as Tahrir, Taksim, the Maidan or Zuccotti Park/Wall Street) may tell us about the limitations of the shift from a physical to virtual public sphere. 'What Tahrir Square showed to the world was an obvious truth: that it is bodies on the street and in the squares, not the babble of sentiments on Twitter or Facebook, that really matter' concludes David Harvey in his *Rebel Cities* (Harvey, 2012: 162). Is

Bodnar (2015)

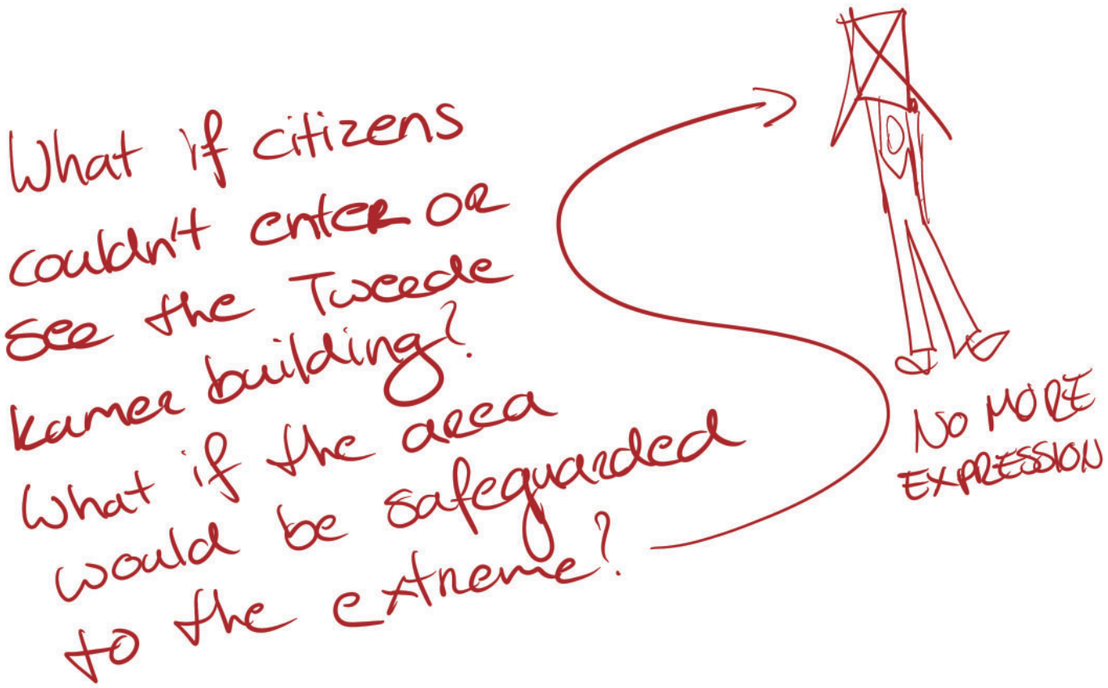
What if people could shout their opinions via their phone & it would come out of a speaker in front of de Tweede kamer?



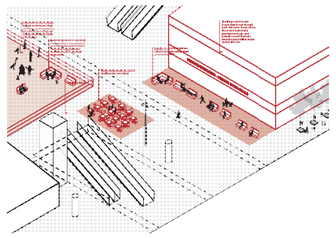
Does this have the same effect as human bodies?

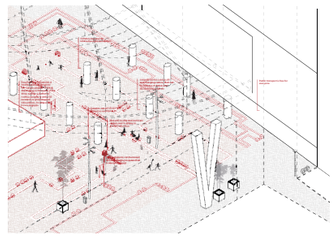

Spikes are added so no one can climb in or out of the building.
Area is packed with military men to prevent any unwanted behaviour
Bunkers can only be used by the richest in the country
Adding a big fench so almost no one can enter the Tweede Kamer building
Every move is tracked by safety cameras, so no one can protest or demonstrate without being watched
Any protest is stopped
Elevated platform functions as a lookout point for the military
Street benches are removed so public life is limited
Public services, such as the trash service, are privatized and extremely expensive
Public Library only contains a few books that represent the worldview of the leader
Military vehicles ensure no one can enter the square

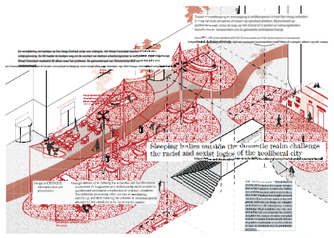
VIOLENCE

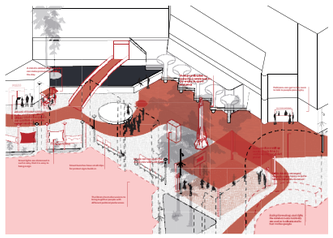

What if citizens couldn't enter or see the Tweede kamer building?
What if the area would be safeguarded to the extreme?
NO MORE EXPRESSION

CARE







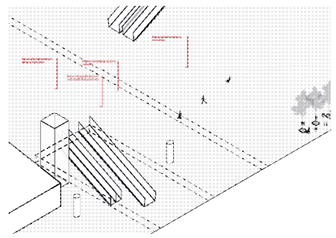


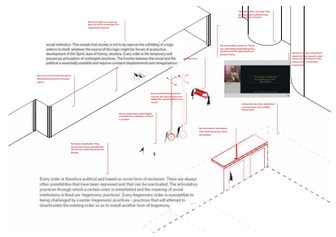
Conclusions ‘CARE’ imaginaries

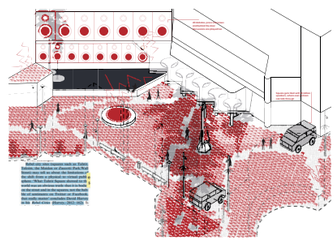
To design for care means to design for people’s needs, to think beyond what is socially ‘desirable’. To add directions, to allow for different use, like graffity or skating. To create solidarity in space, to allow the space to be appopriated, to think about rest, to allow protest and think of this as non-intrusive. To dare to design with fragile materials and objects. To design spaces that need to be cared for. To invest money into public spaces, to create a distinct identity. To think beyond ‘the catalogue’ of the city. To allow grittiness. To allow messiness. To be able to repair a space. To blur the lines between inside and outside, by removing physical barriers. To remove safeguarding and teaching people about non-violent ways of dealing with conflict. To stop dehumanizing ‘the other’. To build a free toilet.

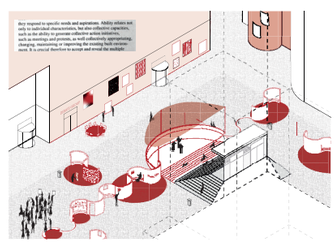
RADICAL

SPATIAL







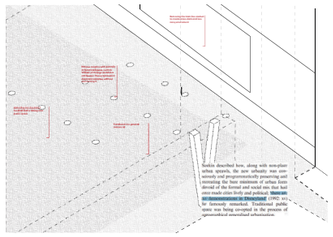


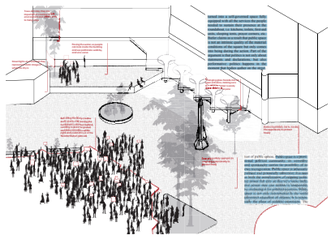
FULL

EMPTY

Conclusions ‘EMPTY’ imaginaries

To design with the concept of the empty place, is to be aware of the symbolic notion incorporated into objects. To aknowledge that spaces are always design with a set of values that could opress others not involved in the process. To know that every finished object puts one user above the other, by thinking in ‘standard’ measurements. To allow for flexible use. To create inclusive spaces. To know that space is always a consequence of balancing interests (library or spaces to protest?). To know that a glass facade does not mean it is a ‘transparant’ or ‘open’ building. To know the difference between physical and mental space. To aknowlegde limitations and political implications of design.



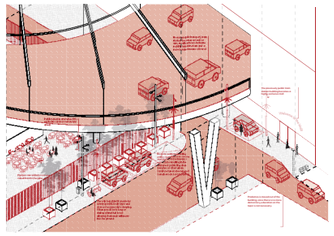


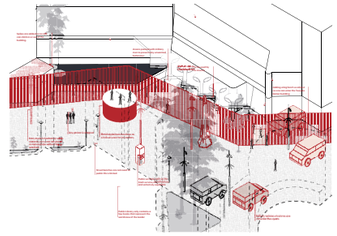
IMAGINARIES

FRAMEWORK

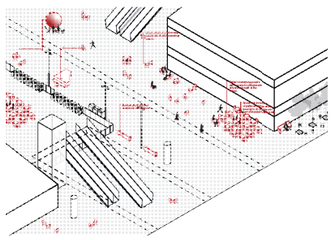
Conclusions 'VIOLENCE' imaginaries

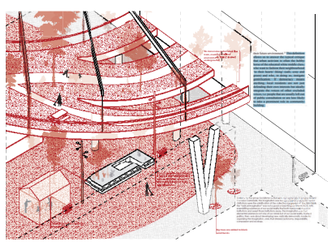
To design violently is to exlude people from space, by creating physcial barriers such as a fence, by creating financial barriers by changing public space into privatly owned spaces or by only designing for people that can use a car. To design violently is to design safeguarding measures, in stead of thinking about non-violent ways to live toghether. To design violently is to prevent people from even looking inside a governmental building. To only allow protest that a government agrees with. To design with art that is acctually an add. To think in one 'aesthetic' or 'image' of a place.





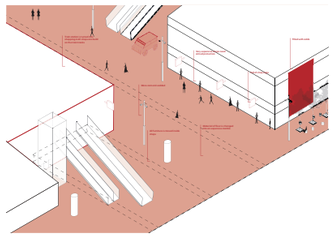
VIOLENCE

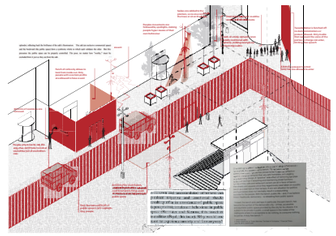




Conclusions 'FULL' imaginaries

To know the the importance of allowing people to use and adapt spaces to their own needs. To allow appropriation. To leave objects out of the ground so people can do so. To link functions that at first sight seem to clash. To think in the spatial context and the effect that this might have. The context shapes the effect of the design and is already filled with tangible and intangible meaning.





VIOLENCE

FULL CARE

EMPTY

05.40. **CONCLUSION ON ROLE OF DESIGNER**

To conclude on the question of what the role of the urban designer is in a democracy, we argue that it is especially important to stress that a designer should be aware that in a public space, people should be able to actually be free and equal. We think this shouldn't be seen as a passive condition, but as an active role in the space.

However, again, the question of 'how', is not just a technical question, but an ethical one.
To explore this question further, we propose to formulate some core values. The aim is to create a design that turns these core values into a physical form, acknowledging that these values are not only to be represented in physical form, but are also to be explored in non-physical dimension.

The values that I as a designer find most important in this, will guide this:

-Space for expression and the opportunity to appropriate (based on Mouffe's Agonistic space, on conclusions of Frediani & Boano in capability space of participatory design (2012) and on the 'acting' of the table of citizenship of Honigh et al. 2025)
-Space for interaction and discussion (based on Habermas's idea of deliberative democracy, also an axis on the table of citizenship defined by Honigh et al. 2025)
-Self added: Space for caring and empathy (While these are also part of the other two, we think they are important parts of making spaces more accessible to all).

We also have to aknowledge the limitations in this conclusion, namely that it is not an easy task to determain what free and equal actually means, that this is an ideal. Designers should be aware of these limitations.

05.41. **‘A’ DESIGN: CONCLUSIONS THROUGH DESIGNING**

In order to further explore what designing spaces for radical pluralist democracy means, an attempt has been made to bring conclusions together in “a” design. The aim of this design is not to offer “the” solution to the issue addressed in this research, but to bring the extremes of the framework closer together. This is still part of the radical spatial imaginaries.

The conclusions based on the themes of care, violent, empty, full, have been translated into a number of spatial interventions, which can be seen here.

Firstly, the relationship between the city and the Tweed Kamer is strengthened by adding a dark red “route”.

Furthermore, an attempt has been made to design with the idea of dissensus, the theme of rest and solidarity. This is reflected in the juxtaposition of certain functions, such as a public toilet, shower and sleeping cabins, which can be used by everyone and are free for people with little money, such as the homeless, next to an expensive apartment building (New Babylon). These are placed under a staircase that allows people to access the station from outside the roof park. Furthermore, the tram is placed underground, which is also accessible through a space under the staircase. This staircase can also be used for sitting, for organising things such as sporting events, by skaters or for a barbecue. A stage will also be added at the foot of the stairs of the university building for performances, but also for protests.

Vulnerable materials such as wood and plants have been chosen to encourage people to take care of the space itself, but also to allow active graffiti or the hanging of political posters (S-shaped elements).

Steel poles have also been added, which people can use for all sorts of things, such as a market, an exhibition, hanging banners, making a tent, or other uses.

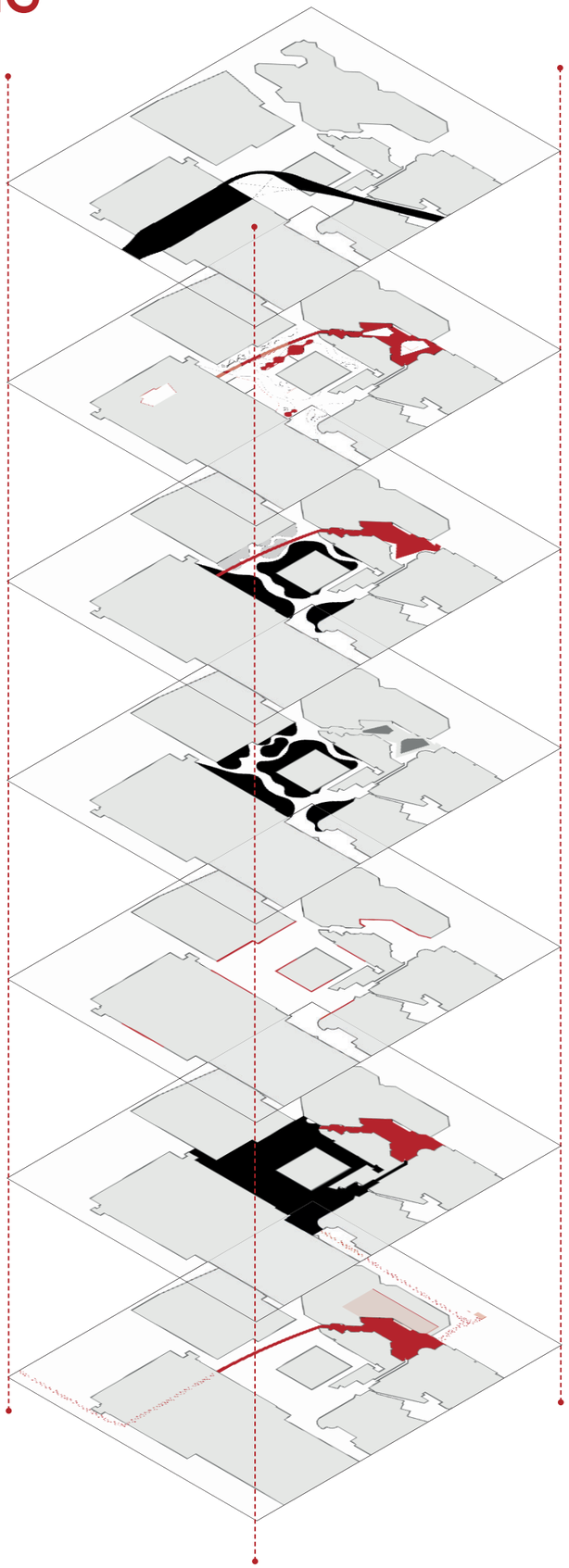
Hammocks have also been added, where people can enjoy the sun or take a nap. At night, homeless people can sleep here.

Above, a number of different possible uses have been explained, but the main goal is to encourage freer thinking about what is and is not “allowed” in public spaces.

I noticed that when I showed drawings to people, they sometimes said, ‘Won’t that attract the wrong people?’ ‘Won’t that cause a lot of noise pollution?’ ‘What if my young kid sees a homeless person?’ ‘What if people damage the place?’

I find this attitude towards others dehumanising and a sign of the normalisation of the city not belonging to everyone. The question for me is therefore ‘how can we learn to deal with these different types of people in the city?’ ‘Are things really unsafe or do we percieve them as unsafe?’ ‘Why is safety the main goal?’

This design attempts to think beyond these questions and to provoke this discussion.



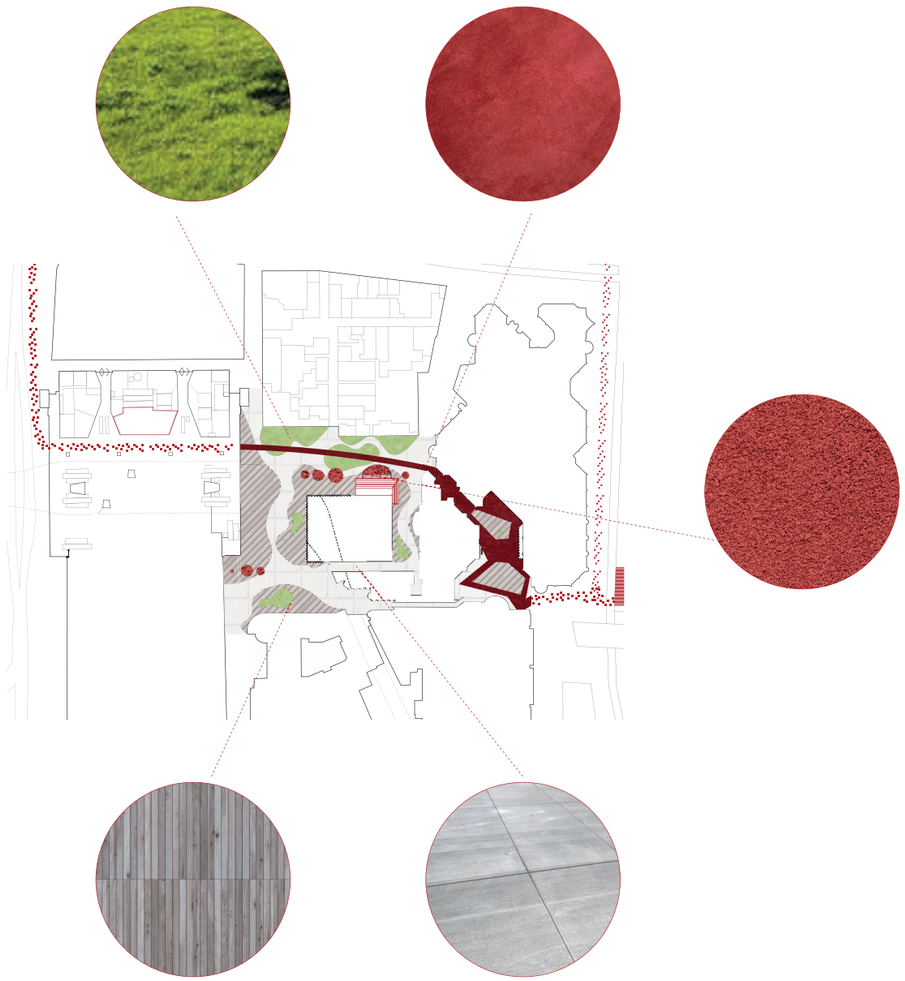
living room with free coffee

foodhall has sliding doors to enlarge square

0 m

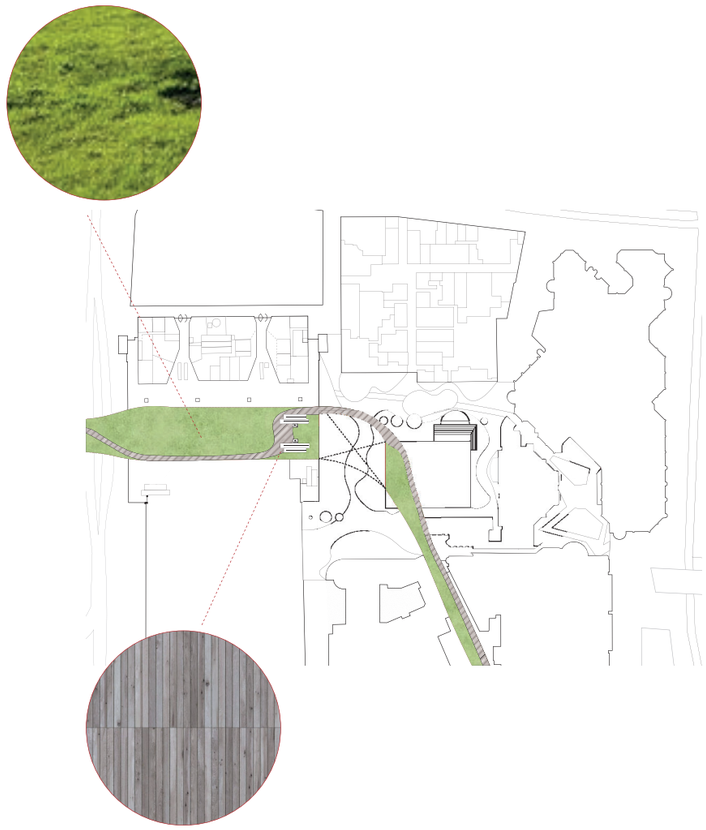
50 m

05.41.01. **MATERIALS**



Impression of Material of the Square - Ground floor - not to scale

Mix of wood, concrete, painted concrete , painted protection tiles, natural material like grass. Wood and grass are materials that need maintainance and care of people, which is why they were chosen.

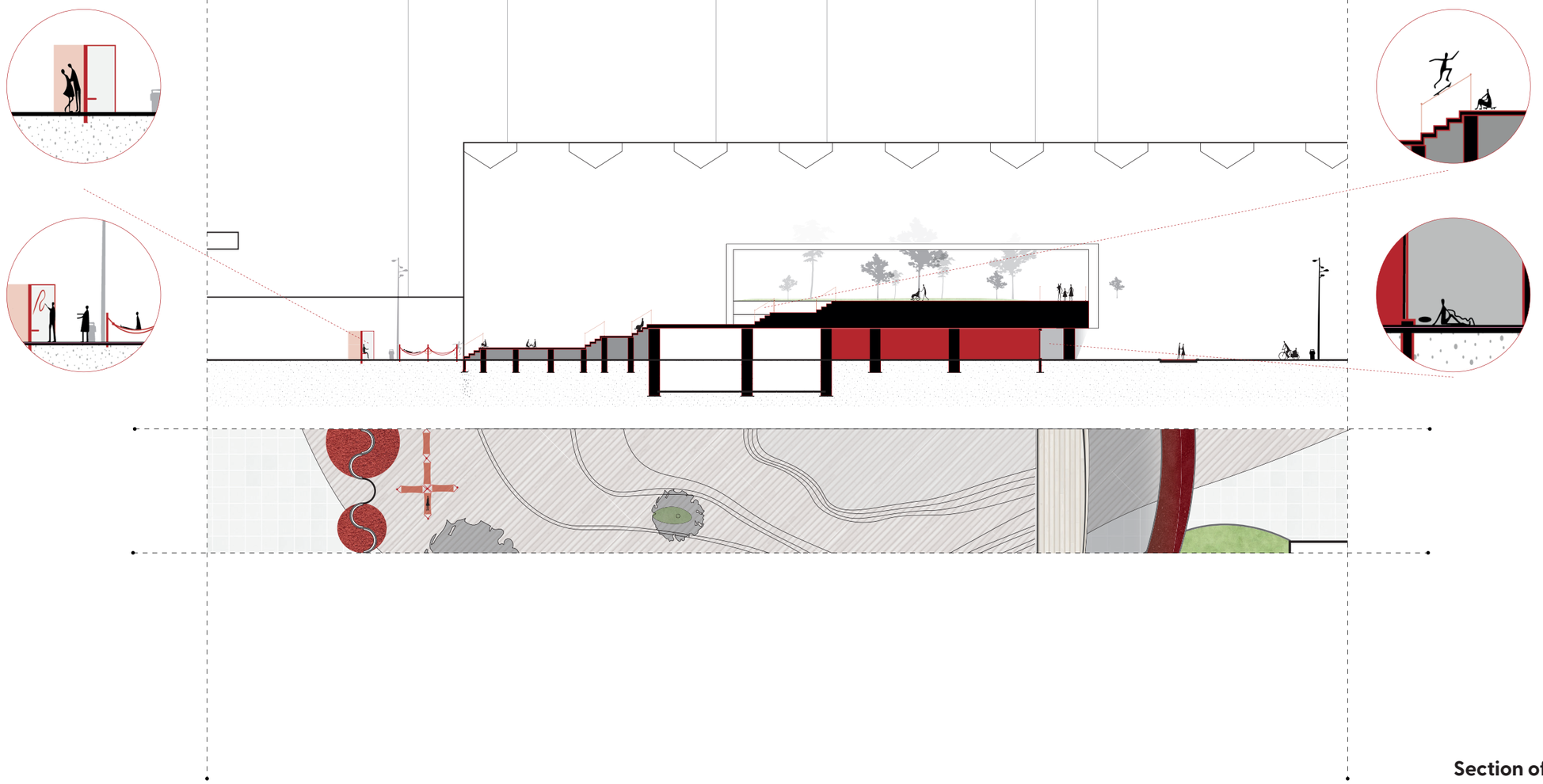


Material of the Square - Park - not to scale

Wood, grass and other plants

05.41.02. **NEW STAIRCASE TO ENTER PARK AND UNDERGROUND TRAM AREA**

New Staircase



Section of added staircase

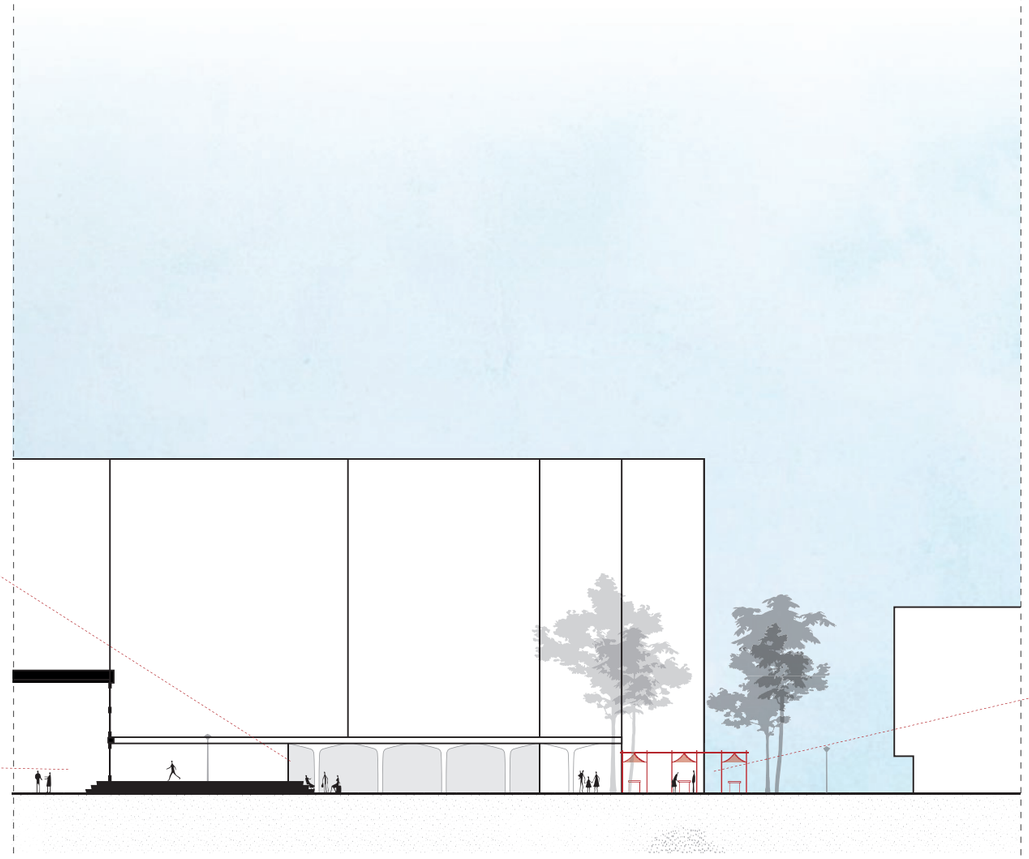
0 m 25 m

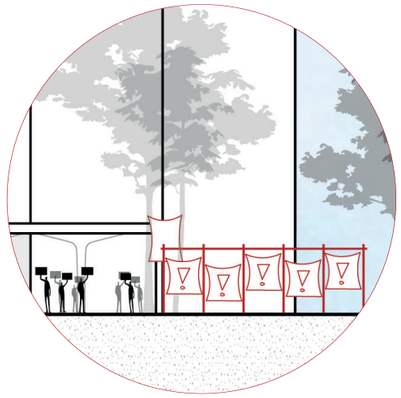
Underneath the staircase, we can find showers, toilets and sleeping pods that can be used for free (marked in **red**). There is also the enterance to the Tramline (in white) , that is now underground

05.41.03. **TWEEDE KAMER AND LIBRARY**

Section Tweede Kamer and Library

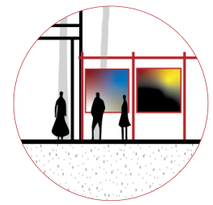














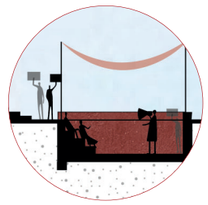
Section of Tweede Kamer and Library

Area is highlighted by the color red to give a strong and intense feeling. The area is also equipped with wooden platforms, that can be used for all sorts of purposes. Also, the entrance of Tweede Kamer is enlarged by a platform.

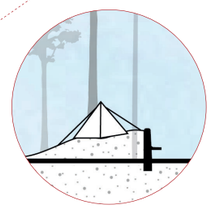
0 m 25 m

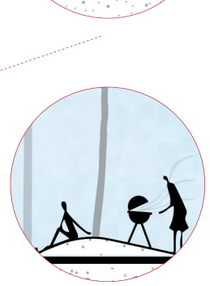
05.41.04. **UNIVERSITY AND NEW BABYLON**

Section University and New Babylon

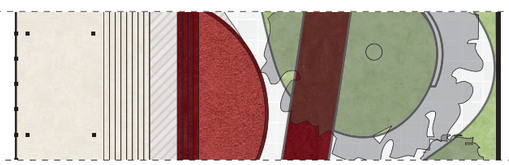












Section of green structure and stage

A stage is added for protest, performance, theater, music

0 m 25 m

05.41.05. **EXPLORING THE DESIGN INTERVENTIONS THROUGH DIFFERENT USAGES**

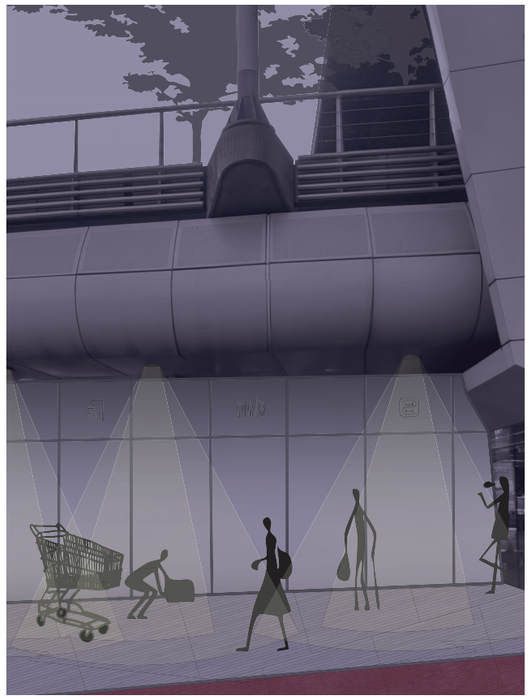
1.

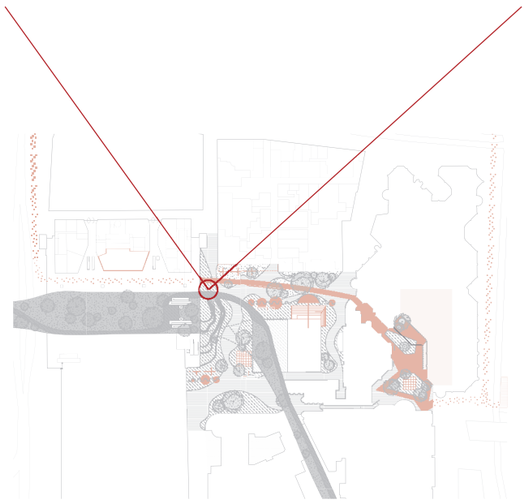


2.



3.





Exiting the Central Station

1. Current situation 2. Shower, public toilets, sleeping pods are added possible effect during the day 3. Possible effect at night

1.

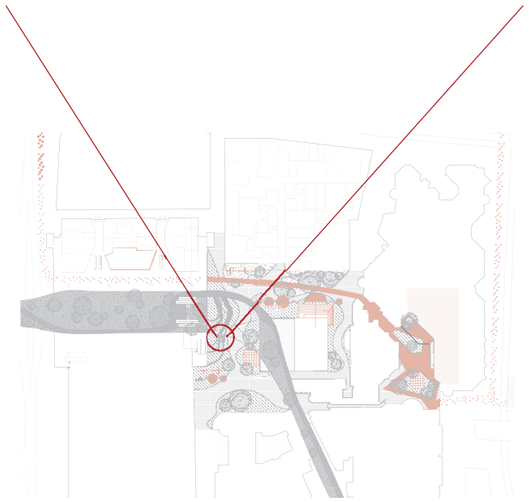


2.



3.





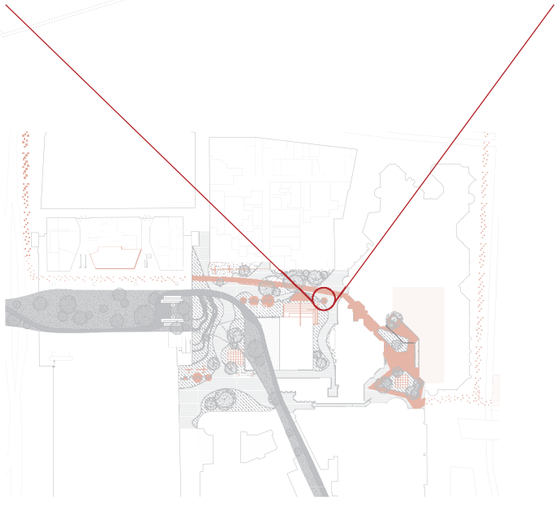
Staircase from Anna van Buerenplein to Park in Den Haag Central station

1. Current situation 2. Staircase is added, can be used to walk to the roofpark and to hang out 3. Stairs can also be used otherwise: To skate for example

05.41.05. **EXPLORING THE DESIGN INTERVENTIONS THROUGH DIFFERENT USAGES**

1.





2.



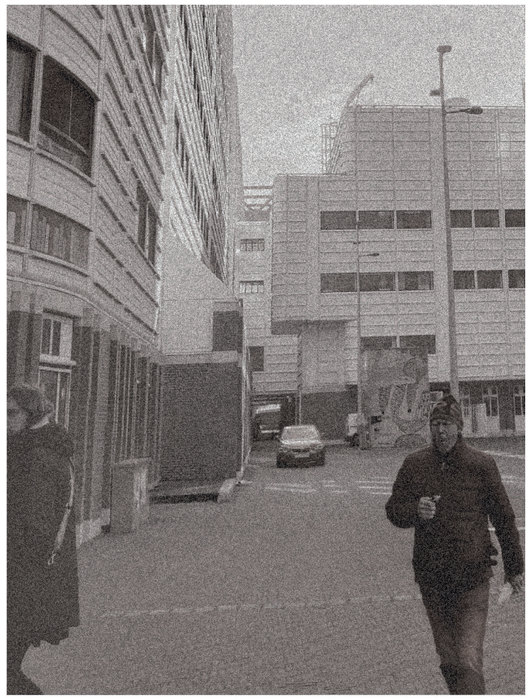
3.

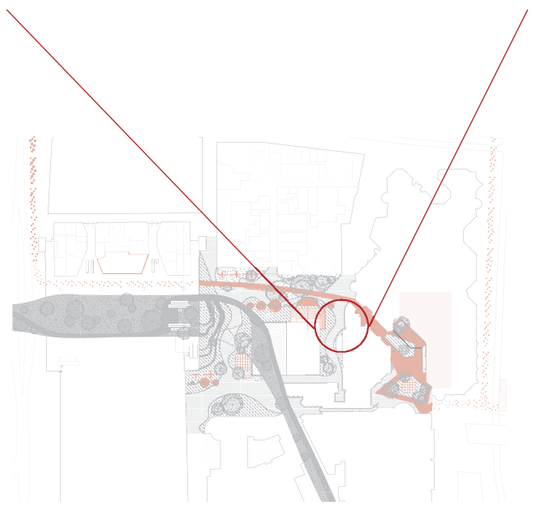


Walking along the University to the Tweede Kamer

1. Current situation 2. New S-shaped element 3. New elements are used for spraypainting, stickers, posters, to drink, to make music

1.





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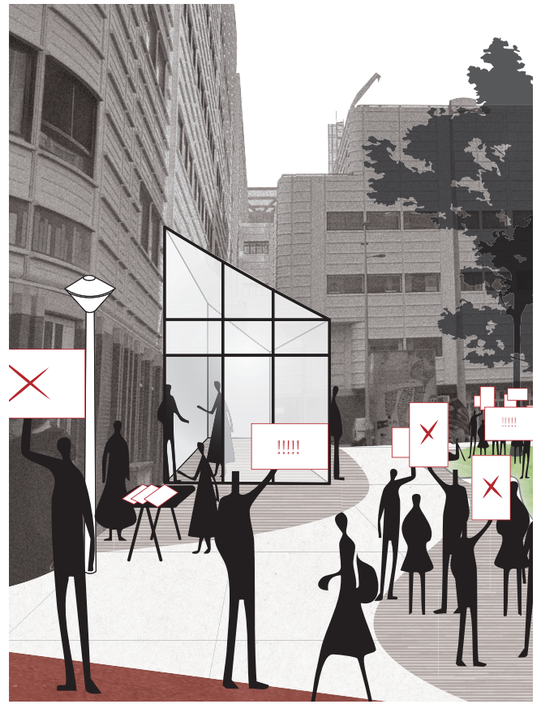


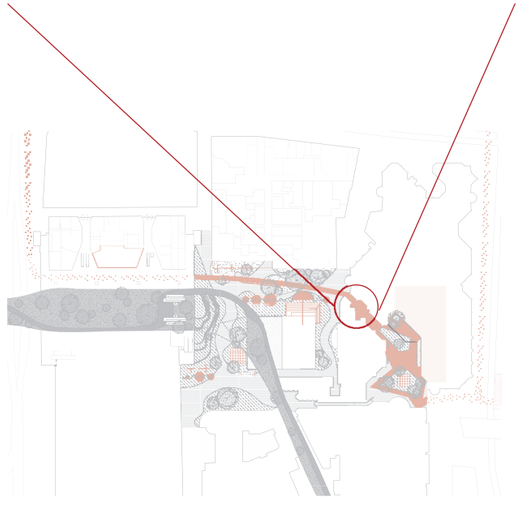
New connection between street and library: a glass room

1. Current situation 2. Multifunctional room that is visually connected to the square 3. Room can be used to host activist groups

05.41.05. **EXPLORING THE DESIGN INTERVENTIONS THROUGH DIFFERENT USAGES**

1.





2.



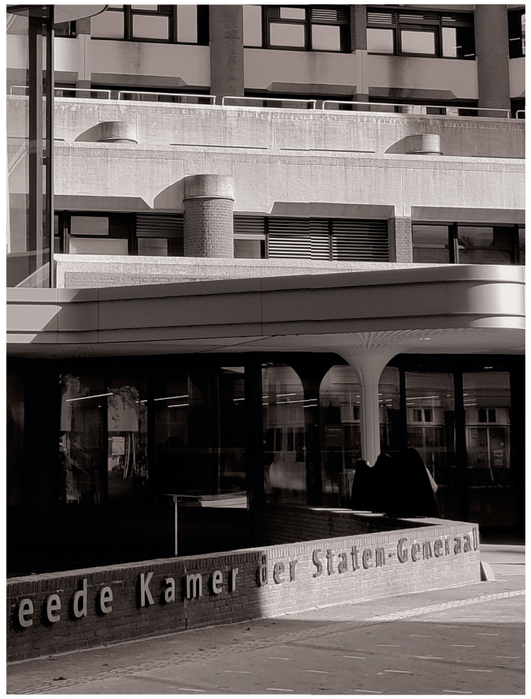
3.



Corridor to Tweede Kamer

1. Current situation 2. Red path to emphasize the entrance of the Tweede kamer 3. Path in times of protest

1.



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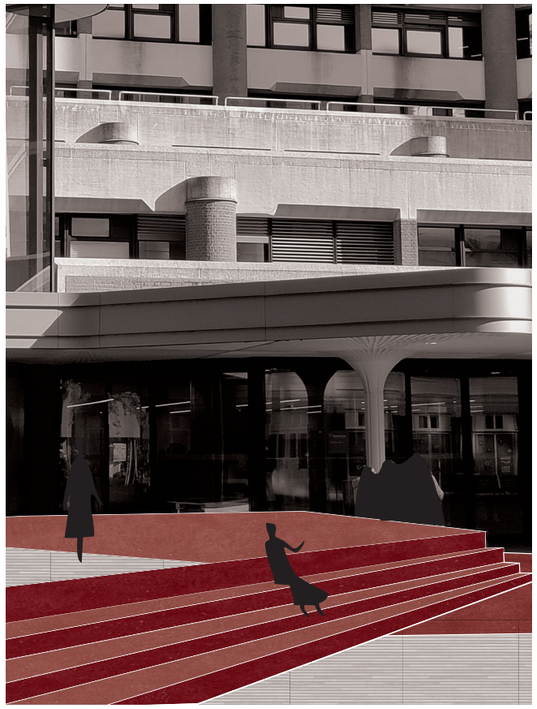

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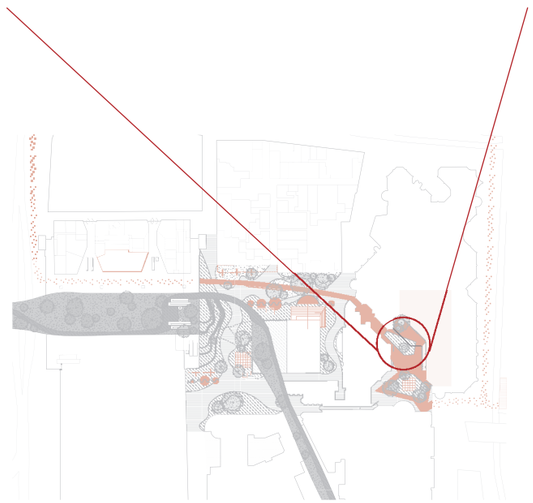
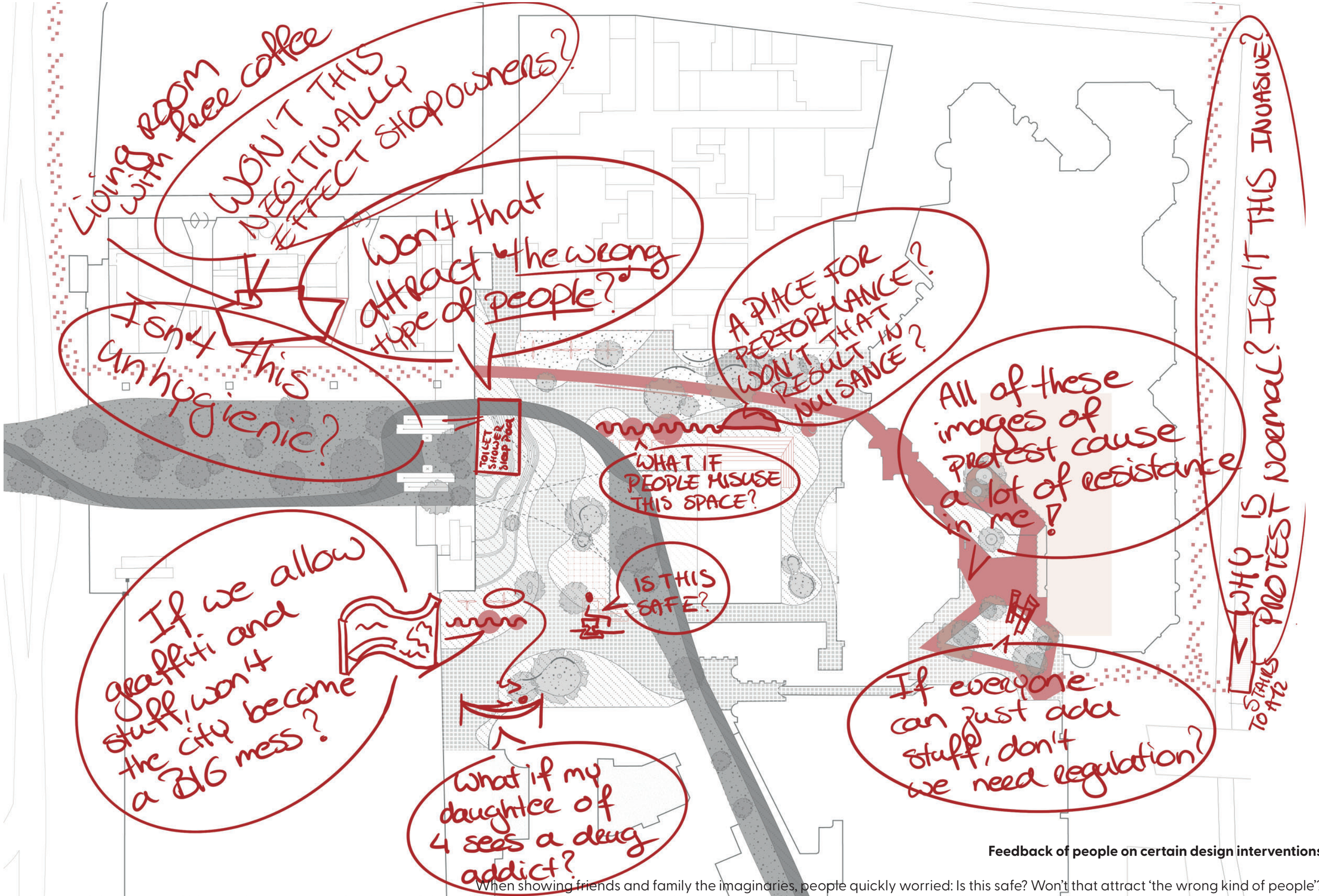


Tweede Kamer entrance

1. Current situation 2. Waterbody is removed and turned into a small stage to blurr the lines between public private 3. Protest



Feedback of people on certain design interventions

When showing friends and family the imaginaries, people quickly worried: Is this safe? Won't that attract 'the wrong kind of people'? To me, it showed the amount of bias involved in certain descisions of design. It also showed that people think some people should not be included in public space. To me, this is undemocratic, inhumane thinking.

05.41.06. **CONCLUSIONS AFTER CREATING ‘A’ DESIGN**

Bringing the extremes of the axes “violent-care” and “empty-full” closer together results in “a” design. In this design, it became apparent that many of the interventions would not normally be accepted. In conversations with parents and friends, it became clear how quickly people become anxious about ideas for more public facilities, such as toilets, showers or more comfortable places to sit or lie down in the city: won't this attract the wrong kind of people? However, I notice that in these reactions, people often seem to have an image in their heads, but the question is whether this image is correct and whether it is the result of prejudice or based on facts.

It is also worth noting that investing in such a place in this way also provokes a lot of resistance: 'Who will be responsible for keeping it clean? However, we believe that these are all questions that have to do with perspective and political opinion.

Furthermore, many people mention things that are not so much related to the object itself, but more to the effect of certain objects in the space. This shows that working from a design in a specific location can contribute to a deeper understanding of the effects of certain interventions, as well as the prejudices that people, both urban designers and “the rest”, have in this regard.

We conclude that this exercise makes it possible to further explore what “designing and using spaces for radical, pluralist democracy” entails. The rapid responses from acquaintances already show how unusual dissent has become and how normalized certain images are and how unusual other images are.

06.

CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTION: ROLE OF DESIGNER IN DEMOCRACY

06.01. **MAIN CONCLUSION**

The main question of this research was 'How can spaces for a radical pluralist democracy be identified, designed and used, in the context of The Hague?'

Before answering this question we have to repeat the conclusion that the crisis of the present-day liberal democracy, including the Dutch democracy, a broad reconceptualisation of the status-quo by many different thinkers is needed (Beveridge & Koch, 2023). This research focused on the concept of the Radical Pluralist Democracy, which is considered democracy beyond the formal procedures of democratic governance, to encompass broader dimensions of participations, inclusion and empowerment in all areas of social life (Rocco, Gonçalves, & Lopez, 2024, p. 110). Pluralism is considered a base condition, the aim is to address political demands of all members of society, taking into account that this entails many different perspectives, connecting social and political dimensions (Mouffe, 1992).

We found that in the Dutch context, the effect of neoliberalism has had a negative impact on the democratic system, because it has resulted in the verticalization of the government, resulting in high levels of control over citizens. This makes it hard to have forms of self-government, direct influence of space for initiatives (Honigh et al., 2025). Due to the technocratic view on decision-making and the de-politicization of decision making space, citizens are less involved and more passive (Honigh et al., 2025). Research stresses the importance of work to a form of a more enhanced citizenship and that in The Netherlands co-governance and ownership is lacking in public space, which has resulted in a group of people that have 'dropped out of politics' (Honigh et al., 2025). Furthermore, forms of demonstration are considered as trouble, rather than active citizens. There is too little focus on classic fundamental rights, Honigh et al. (2025) conclude.

In the literature review, it was also found that the marketplace and neoliberal society of today limit the opportunity to create more democratic (public) spaces and that already existing public spaces are highly vulnerable to de-politicization and privatization (Escobar, 2018; Sennet & Sendra, 2021, Honigh et al., 2025, Harvey, n.d.; Hoskyns, 2014; Bodnar, 2015).

This brings us to the first conclusion to answer the main question; we conclude that in designing for the radical, pluralist democracy, the designer should be aware of the present-day struggles of our Neoliberal system.We conclude that due to the fact that democracy is based on the ideal that people as a whole exercise power, directly or by elected officials (Democracy | Etymology Of Democracy By Etymonline, n.d.), we conclude that the urban designer should be aware that she/they/he often act within the service of money and power (Boie & De Cauter, 2021). Therefore, the designer should be aware of the power relations involved in the process and production and should make sure that citizens are active and involved in space-making, both in the process of design, as in the management of spaces (Frediani & Boano, 2012).

This brings us to the next conclusion of the research, namely that in the attempt to research the concept of spaces for the radical pluralist democracy, we should be aware that due to the pluralist nature of democracy, the designer cannot only see the process as rational, but should be conscious of the intuitive processes involved in the research (Escobar, 2018). Therefore, we proposed to expose the emotions, feelings and intuitive process of research and design research in particular, based on the concept of 'The Reflective Practitioner' (Schön, 1983). The designer should also be aware of the importance of dissensus in participation and a designer should not seek homogeneous unity (Frediani & Boano, 2012).

The research focused on the context of The Hague, the city that is considered the most segregated of the 4 big other cities in the Netherlands (Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Utrecht) (Segregatiemonitor - 5. Werk en Inkomen - Den Haag, n.d.). Segregation and homogenization of cities was found to be problematic in democracy, because it limits the possible interaction of indifferences (Sennet and Sendra, 2022; Harvey, n.d.). The city is also the administrative capital of The Netherlands and is therefore considered an interesting case due to its history and symbolic notion. We concluded that in the history of The Hague, the development of the urban fabric was highly influenced by power and money related questions and that the historical development of The Hague is the reason why the city is segregated today (Van Schuppen, 2006).

In order to identify what spaces are relevant for the radical pluralist democracy, we conducted a literature review and a workshop with students. We conclude that both the Agonistic model of Chantal Mouffe, as well as the deliberative model of Jürgen Habermas, are relevant in this regard, because both the emphasis on conflict, as well as the emphasis on consensus in public space was found to be relevant during the workshop. The insight of Hoskyns was found to be important: these two models can coexist in public space (2014).

We concluded that the conclusions of the workshop aligned with the conclusions of Honigh et al. (2025), who concluded the 'table of citizenship' consists of acting and deliberating and that there are different scales relevant in this question. We concluded that a wide range of spaces are relevant in the radical pluralist democracy, from educational spaces, to cultural spaces, to spaces to vote. We conclude that the definition of Hoskyns on the concept of the empty place is relevant: that spaces should be political, open, plural and composed of different activities (2014).

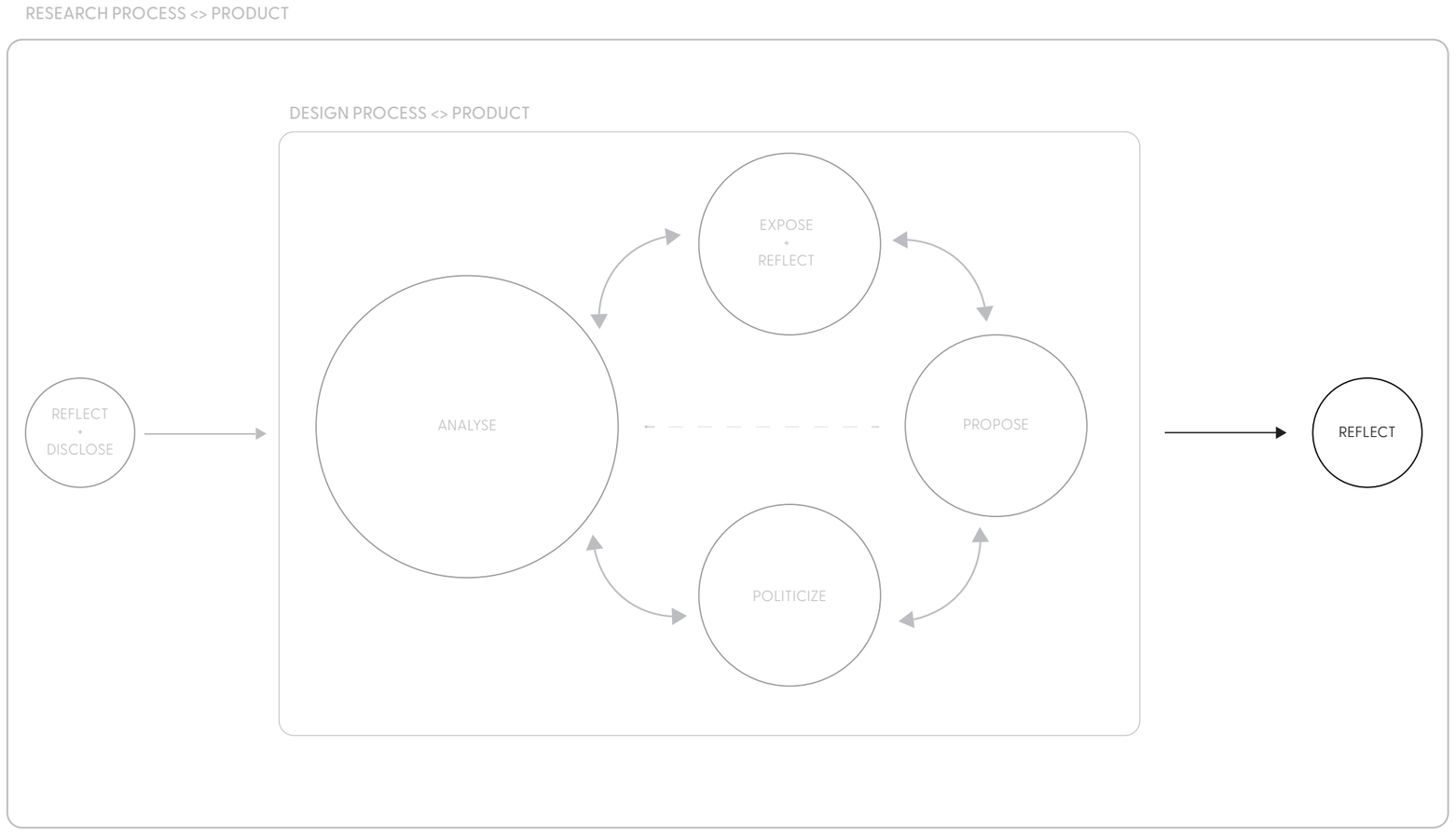
However, we repeat the conclusion that due to the neoliberal society of today the opportunity to create more democratic spaces is limited because of the fact that spaces are highly vulnerable to de-policiation and privatization, to argue that in order to identify, design and use spaces for the radical pluralist democracy, we should first become more aware of the status-quo and the influence of this effect on the design of present day spaces.

This brings us to the site of this research: the area around The Hague Central station. This location was chosen, because it is already an area where a lot of different people have to be. Therefore, since we wanted to explore how we can design and use spaces for the radical pluralist democracy, we considered the diverse character of this area to be highly important, since this provided a relevant condition to do interviews with a range of different types of people in this space itself. During the interviews we found that a lot of people do not feel like this space has an important role in connecting to new people. We also found that due to the presence of the temporary Tweede Kamer building, this area is now used for demonstrations, while the mayor is not content about this. We conclude that this is a sign of de-politicization of the public area. Also, a lot of commercial functions are present in the area, resulting in spatial segregation on a small scale: in the NS station for example, people can only sit near a table if they pay for drinks or if they can enter the area behind the gates. Also, café that have a terrace on the public street, only allow consumers to sit down. Furthermore, we consider the area to be highly surveillanced, due to the presence of safety cameras, police and military police, among other measures. Considering the fact that this could be a form of imposing certain social norms (Bodnar, 2015; Harvey, n.d.), and we conclude that that has a negative effect on the democratic level of public space, we concluded that if we want to design spaces for the radical pluralist democracy, this area is highly relevant.

In the attempt to think of how spaces for the radical pluralist democracy can be designed and used, we found it to be important to stress the fact that this cannot be considered solely as a technical issue, but also as a moral-ethical issue, based on conclusion that followed from literature of Schön and Escobar. Therefore, we proposed to implement the concept of Radical Spatial Imagination, since this allowed us to rethink the present day system, by addressing the root of the question on radical pluralist democracy.

In designing this way, we also were able to actualise the concepts of critical urban theory, analyse, expose, propose and politize, in the act of drawing. We conclude that the axis of violence-care and empty-full sparked interesting conclusions on the concept of the use and design of the radical pluralist democracy. We concluded that in the design it is important to acknowledge the fact that space always has a certain order and that it alway represents a certain identity. We also concluded that due to the fact that this is not solely a technical question, it is important for the designer to be explicit on her/their/his perspective and core values in designing for the radical pluralist democracy. We found that spaces for expression and the opportunity to appropriate spaces are important, as also concluded by Mouffe, Sennet & Sendra, Frediani & Boano. Furthermore, we found spaces for interaction and discussion to be essential, as well as spaces for care and empathy. These imaginaries can be used to reflect on present-day policies that impact the opportunity to create more democratic spaces.

To summarize, we conclude that if we want to design for the radical, pluralist democracy, one should be aware of the limitations of our present day system, especially on the impact of neoliberalism and the effect that it has on public space; namely privatization and depoliticization. In designing for the radical, pluralist democracy, a focus on the collective imaginary is essential. Therefore, this research should not be considered finished, since it was mainly conducted by one master student. We conclude that radical spatial imaginaries are a good start, but cannot be considered as enough in this period of the crisis of our democratic system. Also, we conclude that a focus on the intuitive, emotional processes of design is important, because it influences the process. The positionality and bias of the designer should be clear.



As described in the methodology of this study, we do not end with a design, but with a reflection. These reflections are a consequence of the 'lens' that was constructed thoughout this research. This reflection consists of 10 points that have been found to be critical in answering the main question of this study: 'How can spaces for a radical pluralist democracy be identified, designed and used, in the context of The Hague? These conclusions may also be applicable to other contexts. Curious to find out where they originate from? The most important ones can be searched for in the entire report, by a bar in the top right corner on the page on the right.

06.02. **A GAZE THROUGH THE CONSTRUCTED LENS |** 10 CRITICAL REFLECTIONS



Reflection 01.

Designers have to show how they make sense of the mess

Reflection 02.

Designing for the radical pluralist democracy is about an attitude

Reflection 03.

The presence of public space is essential to democracy, but its role depends on perspective; spaces are multiple, interconnected, and contested

Reflection 04.

Those who own (private) space, have power over (public) space

Reflection 05.

People should be able to act in space without the interference of insitutions

Reflection 06.

Identifying spaces for a radical, pluralist democracy requires thinking beyond the object – it is about reading space through use, appropriation and affect, rather than fixed functions or forms.

Reflection 07.

In a radical, pluralist democracy, public space should be a space for free expression

Reflection 08.

In a radical, pluralist democracy there are spaces for deliberation and discussion

Reflection 09.

Design can be a tool for reflecting on present-day policies that limit the realization of the democratic ideal in today's built environments

Reflection 10.

Designing for democracy is a complex task and should be approached as an ongoing, open-ended dialogue

06.03. **DISCUSSION**

This section will discuss possible limitations and implications of this research. The focus of this thesis is the concept of democracy, a concept that is not a technically rational one, but a politically contested, subjective concept.

To begin with, we have to recognize the fact that research in which democracy is one of the core concepts already causes certain limitations, due to the fact that there is a definite level of bias involved in determining the term: the fundamental question of this research is already highly contested. Answering the question' what is democracy?', is inherently part of a political debate and cannot be perceived as a rational technical question solely.

The focus of this research is on the radical pluralist democracy: democracy as a daily life practice and one where a multitude of perspectives is seen as a base condition for the system. This definition was shaped by the concept of the deep, or radical democracy of John Dewey, the deliberative model of Jürgen Habermas and the agonistic model of Chantal Mouffe. We acknowledge that incorporating different models of democracy into the research would most definitely change the output of this thesis.

The previous conclusion brings us to the next. This research was conducted by an Urbanism student, with a bachelor degree in 'Bouwkunde' (combination of architecture, urbanism, management of the built environment and building sciences). This is an engineering background. The researcher did not have any formal education in political or social sciences or philosophy for example. This is both a strength and a weakness of the research: it provides new insights on the concept of democracy and possibly thinks in different ways than other scientists would have done. However, it also means that there is not a broad background or skill set in reading and interpreting this kind of literature and knowledge. Nevertheless, it is also bridging different disciplines by working within and across these disciplines.

Furthermore, this methodology of this research was based on the critical urban theory of Peter Marcuse. This model has a strong focus on the ethical and moral implications of city making, rather than on the rational technological aspects involved. As a result of this theory, it was concluded to be important to shape a certain 'lens' to approach both the literature review and the research-by-design phase. Again, we have to recognise that this lens is partly subjective. 'Shaping' this lens, by reading different literature could possibly result in different conclusions.

Also, this research attempts to actively expose the bias and 'messiness' of research, by showing the emotions and personal thoughts during the interviews, as well as through the methods of 'the wall of crime panels'. However, these panels could have been used earlier and notes were made only during the interviews, whereas these notebooks could have contributed to a more extensive insight into personal biases if it was used more thoroughly. This conclusion also applies to the panels. In this regard, we also have to accept the fact that if other methods of research were used, that focused on other political, social, spatial aspects for example, in the analysis, expose, propose and politize phase, this would have influenced the research output and conclusions.

Throughout the process, attention was given to researcher biases and subjectivity — for example, through the use of a positionality statement and reflective notes during interviews. While this adds transparency, it also creates room for different interpretations by readers who may not share the same background or values.

In addition, we have to discuss the Radical Spatial Imaginaries framework. While this framework was based on conclusions of the research, an intuitive aspect was involved in choosing the 'extremes' of this framework (empty/full/violence/care). Also, this framework was now used mainly to explore the extremes, also some that are considered undesirable (mainly in the violence aspect). This could also be seen as a risk. If people use certain images outside of the context of this thesis, in relation to the concept of democracy, it could lead to incorrect conclusions or unethical implementations of the conclusion, since the implementation of certain designs mainly in the 'violence' aspect, could lead to less democratic places and could possibly be used as a means of control. It has to be stated clearly that these imaginaries were not created with the aim of implementation to the spatial context directly, but with the main aim to reflect on the present day status of the space, both mentally and physically. While in the final step of creating 'a' design, an attempt was made to explore ways to bring these extremes together, this could have been a more extensive part of the research by design phase. Once more, we conclude that this possibly shapes the research conclusions.

Moreover, we have to disclose the fact that this research was conducted mainly by a Dutch researcher, in a Dutch University (TU Delft), applied to a Dutch context (The Hague). This inevitably influenced the worldview, academic references, and conceptual priorities, potentially limiting broader applicability.

The temporal aspect of this research possibly influenced the conclusions of this research, as explained in the 'Growing Urgency paragraph', the political status of the world, currently under tension, is not a neutral condition.

In this regard, we have to explain that choosing The Hague as a site, both the symbolic relation to democracy, as well as the physical condition of the place have shaped the research. Local dynamics, interviews, and context-specific challenges contributed to the situatedness of the conclusions, which may not directly translate to other urban settings.

Regarding the interviews we have to repeat the fact that the interviews had quite a free form of asking questions and were conducted by a researcher asking people present in the space questions. Another format of interviewing or another researcher with different perspectives asking questions, will possibly influence the output of the research.

The aim to design from and for the location is grounded in situated knowledge. However, the proposed interventions are necessarily shaped by the researcher's personal values, imagination, and assumptions. This subjectivity is both a strength, since it allows for deep engagement, and a limitation, in terms of generalizability, we argue.

This research has a strong focus on the role of the urban designer in a democracy. It was discovered that urban designers often act in spheres of money and power and it was concluded that designers could have an important role in creating a more democratic, just world. Relating this conclusion back to the discussion, we have to acknowledge the power relations involved in this thesis as a limitation, with regard to the interviews conducted, the student workshop, as well as in the fact that this research was part of a graduation project for the Master in Urbanism.

In conclusion, this research should not be perceived as a search for a 'universal truth', but rather as an investigation on the multitude of perspectives and opinions involved in designing for democracy, as well as in designing democratically (two things that cannot be seen as separate). However, this means that conclusions of this research cannot be seen as objective, but should be considered and understood in the broader spatial, temporal and personal context.

06.04. **ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

This graduation thesis researched the concept of the radical, pluralist democracy. We concluded that this research on this topic is inherently part of a political, as well as a moral and ethical discussion. Therefore, we state that acknowledging and exposing biases of the researcher should be seen as an important aspect of this research. It was attempted to unveil these biases through creating a positionality statement, the wall of crime method, as well as showing emotions and intuition involved in a notebook. However, these methods still leave quite a lot of room for interpretation and subjective conclusions of the reader.

It can also be argued that by focusing on the researcher bias, maybe the project results more into other biases and interpretations of readers, rather than unpacking and explaining biases clearly. Also, this research focuses on the concept of pluralism: recognizing the fact that identity cannot be distilled to a set of boxes that one can check off, recognizing that identity and perspective are way more complex than that. We could argue that by creating the positionality statement, this could only emphasise this perception of identity, as a set of checkboxes, rather than a complex reality that is shaped by every step in one's life, and clashes with important conclusions of this research. While this is a very important note, we have not yet been able to find a better way to tackle the complexity of personal bias and identity in the research yet. The panels and notebook were an attempt to broaden the conversation and methods involved in acknowledging biases, as an experiment. Further research should be conducted to explore how the complexity of personal bias and identity can be acknowledged in research, without provoking the prejudices involved in stating a set of identity 'boxes'. It should also be questioned if this focus maybe steers away from the core of the research: up to what level is the researcher bias important? How can we grasp this bias as holistically as possible, without turning the research into a personal project, rather than a scientific one? Can one ever grasp the amount of bias involved in research?

In this research, a set of street interviews were conducted. Interviewees were always informed verbally on the context of the questions. However, no consent forms were used. No personal information about interviewees was collected or images of interviewees were used, in order to protect them from possible effects of participation. The interviews were structured around a few questions, but had a rather open form of discussion. This could have influenced answers. Furthermore, the fact that the researcher was asking the questions caused certain power relations that could again influence the research findings: perhaps people gave only answers they thought the researcher considered desirable.

This brings us to another ethical question, which is the fact that the researcher is representing the voices of those interviewed. While an attempt was made to give people agency through drawing their statements into design interventions, and through acknowledging feelings and intuition involved in these conversations, conclusions drafted based on these interviews are subjective and a consequence of the researcher's worldview.

As part of this research, we spoke to Catherine Koekoek (Phd; her dissertation examines how democratic infrastructures – from community centers to the Rotterdams Wijktheater, with which she collaborates – enable democratic coexistence in the face of both post-truth polarisation and neoliberal depoliticisation) and Wouter Vanstiphout (previously professor Design and Politics at TU Delft; one of the founders of the Crimson Architectural Historians research collective and The School for the City). These interviews were used as a means of reflection and to broaden the researchers perspective. However, the interviews were not directly integrated into the research. Some conclusions of these interviews may be a result of these conversations. They both should be credited in shaping the 'lens' of this research.

In addition, this research used Radical Spatial Imaginaries (RSI) as a means of research by design. The aim of RSI is to reflect and speculate, by imagining the effect of certain spatial interventions, both perceived as desirable and undesirable. However, misuse and misinterpretation could lead to literal implementation of spatial interventions, which is inherently not the aim of this design exercise.

As explained previously, this research was conducted by an Urbanism student. This created the possibility to bridge disciplines. However, it also means that certain conclusions might not be as extensively explored or considered as they would have been by someone with a different academic background. Further research by other disciplines is necessary to further establish the role of space, place and space making processes in democracies.

We conclude however, that this should not be solely an academic research project, but should also take place outside of this realm: the discussion on what democracy entails cannot be seen as solely an academic project and requires a broader perspective, that leaves no one behind.

06.05. **FUTURE RESEARCH**

The topic of space and democracy is already one that engages anthropologists, philosophers, historians, social scientists and many more. However, a further relation among these disciplines should be established. We see the main potential in bridging the engineering sciences with the social sciences. In this regard, we also have to acknowledge the dominance of 'western' philosophy within this thesis. If the conclusion is that pluralism is an inherent part of democracies, we should stress the importance of incorporating a broader set of philosophical perspectives.

The role of designers in power structures should be further researched, since with the rise of participatory design, the question on the role of the designer in these structures becomes more and more complex. A broader understanding of this role and the effect that a certain attitude of designers has is important in deepening our present day democratic systems. However, we argue that this conclusion does not only apply to the urban design profession. In a world where social injustice is growing, climate change and wars are shaping the professions of academics, scientists have to be aware of the political implications of their work, as well as the power relations involved in their work.

This research was multi-scalar, in the sense of taking a broad perspective and socio-political context. However, spatially it was focused on the small scale in the city of The Hague. Further research could explore the multi-scalar spatial dimensions and could be conducted in different social, morphological and topological conditions.

Also, research on how to integrate bias into design research should be explored further, as well as the role of Radical Spatial Imaginaries into design research.

This research concludes that the presence of dissensus in space is important for democracy. In cities that are becoming more homogenized and segregated, we must research the effects of these spatial policies on democracy and have to gain a broader understanding on what designing democratically and designing for democracy and dissensus entails.

It was also found that deliberation is important in democracy. The different shapes, forms and programmes for this concept should be investigated.

In this research we also found that space is both physical and mental. It was found that in design certain physical objects are directly translated to another place since they are perceived to create 'social cohesion', for example. However, this is a very mental concept. Research should be conducted up to what extent physical translation of mental concepts actually reach the aims that they were built with.

This research delves into the concept of democracy as a daily life practice. This means that in order to strengthen the understanding of the concept further research on the different perspectives in our societies should be established.

This research was very much based on a 'lens' formed by a literature review. We have to acknowledge that in order to continue this research, the frame and 'lens' should be critically discussed and shaped by many others, in order to be actually democratic.

06.06. **REFLECTION**

1. How do you see the relation between your graduation project topic, the studio topic, your master's track (Urbanism), and your master's program (MSc Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences)?

The project focuses on the relation of Democracy and Space, this topic fits closely with the Transitional Territories studio, because the focus of this studio is to develop radical projects that pose a critical remark on present-day systems. The project fits within the master track of Urbanism, because it focuses on both the design as well as the planning and strategy aspects of the master. The research explores spatial design methods, reflects on the role of the urban designer in Democracy and reflects on the effect of the urban form on social systems.

It relates to my master's programme, because it is a multi-scalar project that examines design on the architectural and urban scale. It is also related to Architectural Philosophy and Urban Studies, due to the focus of the literature background of the thesis. Also, the project also strongly relates to the Management in the Built Environment track, since it also explores the status-quo of management practice and relates to participatory design.

2. How do you see the relation between research and design in your graduation project?

There is a strong link between research and design in this project. The role of the Urban Form and Democracy is being thoroughly investigated through the concept of Radical Spatial Imagination.

Conclusions on this issue are directly translated to the design methods, for example the mapping techniques that James Corner discusses in 'The Agency of Mapping' have been implemented. The Critical Urban Theory of Peter Marcuse is translated into a method of design analysis. The thesis is influenced by the concept of the reflective practitioner in order to grasp the subjective nature of design.

The thesis uses the concept of research by design and proposes designerly thinking as a way to reflect on the status-quo of today's systems. Design is seen as a tool for experimentation, rather than as a problem-solving tool.

Furthermore, the design phase is heavily informed by the literature review and it serves as a base for the Radical Spatial Imaginaries.

3. What do you see as the value (and limitations) of your way of working: your approach, your used methods?

The value of my way of working is that I have a critical, spatial approach to a topic that is oftentimes explored mainly in theoretical and strategic sense. I think my attempt to translate the main idea of the research, the radical, pluralist ideal, to the thesis as a whole, is also a valuable part of my way of working. While I am not educated as a political or social scientist, I think it is valuable to explore and understand the system to its roots more than I have learned in my academic career so far. However, this also poses one of my limitations: I have not been educated as a political scientist and do not have much knowledge on social science. I think this is why my mentors are important, to guide me and help me to find a way to explore the spatial side of the issue.

Another limitation of this research is my own identity and experience. While I also consider it an opportunity, since it is one of the reasons to initiate this research, I think that in designing for a radical, pluralist democracy, it would be beneficial to have a much larger group of researchers, with a multitude of experiences and identities involved, since the research core is on pluralism. I have to acknowledge that a certain level of bias will be limiting this research, this consideration must also be applied to the literature and data that will be used for this thesis. In deciding what to read and what not to, I

already curate the information that becomes part of constructing my 'lens'. Furthermore, the fact that I am Dutch and have never lived outside of The Netherlands also forms this thesis a lot. I have never experienced life outside of a democratic system in my life, this is a privilege, but also shapes my view and perspective, I think. My understanding of the concepts of empathy, care, violence, appropriation, expression are all formed by my own experience and biases.

Furthermore, I sometimes was quite overwhelmed by the topic and I think this also contributed to the fact that I had a hard time to start drawing, this would be something to note for future researchers. Also, the year in which this research was conducted highly influenced the process, since it was not always ideal to be so informed on the implications of recent developments around demonstration rights, for example. In order to address this issue and to expose the effect that this has had on my emotional state during the process, I also have made the disclaimer after the problematization. To be brief and explicit: this was sometimes a scary process.

Also, I have to note that I have had little to no budget for the thesis. Additionally, the research has taken me a year, so there was limited time to engage in a comprehensive iterative process. Also, due to ethical considerations, I had a limited ability to engage with people. I also did not have the time that I would have liked to discuss the imaginaries with others.

Lastly, due to the political nature of the research, it is important to be aware and mindful of other opinions and values. Therefore, this is a strong part of the methodology. However, it should be noted that this also causes a subjective opinion, while supported by research, on what a 'solution' is, let alone a 'good' solution. I think the main goal is not to show a 'good' solution, but rather a sum of possible solutions that could serve as the base of a broader discussion. However, due to time constraints I do not have the time to properly open up this discussion.

4. What are the academic and societal value, scope and implications of your graduation project, including ethical aspects?

The academic value of my project is the fact that I attempt to link Urban Design and Political Science, by focusing on spatial interventions. Creating this link is valuable, because it bridges different disciplines. The societal value of my project is the fact that I address and research the recent trend of democratic erosion and try to implement the conclusion of research that in order to strengthen our democratic system, the 'societal democracy' or active citizenship should be further conceptualised and actualised.

The scope of the research is the context of The Netherlands, in The Central Station of The Hague. The research will take about a year and will be conducted as part of the graduation year of the second year of the master programme Urbanism of the University of Technology, Delft. The focus will be on the Urban Design field. It will not examine the political system of the Netherlands as a whole or propose a new system, rather the focus is on strengthening the current system, by researching spatial design and methods that could contribute to that goal.

The research also is based upon interviews, the data and information should be carefully managed. During the interviews, it should be communicated what the reason for the interview is. Interviews should only be conducted, if one has expressed consent.

5. How do you assess the transferability of your project results?

The transferability of the research is assessed, by clearly defining the context of the research. Furthermore, the methods, aims, scope and questions are clearly communicated. Limitations are identified and communicated. Also, the motivation, my own personal values and interests are explained.

The conceptual framework creates the base of further research and can be adjusted, if concluded necessary, by others. The theoretical framework shows what literature the research was based upon and was created with the idea that the literature list can be changed or expanded upon, as well as the methodological reflections of the thesis, mainly the focus on the concept of the reflective practitioner through keeping a notebook and through the 'Wall of Crime panels', would be interesting and relevant tools for others to replicate and use.

6. What are the learning objectives of the graduation?

The learning objective of this thesis is to develop skills to link social and political science to spatial sciences. The goal is to gain an understanding of methods and theory to link these fields. Furthermore, the goal is to develop design skills further, by exploring different types of mapping and drawing. Also, the aim is to develop academic writing skills and skills to critically examine the existing practice.

7. What is your motivation for this research?

See first pages!

8. How did your own perception of designing for democracy change during the thesis?
When I started this project, I was mainly fascinated by the role of design and the power structures that play a role in it. However, I had no idea how much my own prejudices were influencing my decision-making. In the second quarter of year 1 of my master's programme, for example, I had created a design with the aim of preventing nuisance caused by young people. However, at the time, I did not realise that this was an example of placing the interests of certain social groups above those of others. This year, I have learned that nuisance and safety are terms that are often used in design, but are also often the result of underlying power patterns and the dominance of certain groups over others.

This year, I have become aware of the fact that, as designers, we must not only be wary of the wrong intentions of others, but above all, we must be wary of our own prejudices and the discriminatory consequences that can result from them.

On the other hand, I have also become aware that designing more democratically is not an easy task and is an ideal in itself. However, this does not mean that we should not strive for it. I therefore believe it is crucial that designers and other parties involved in creating public spaces are more aware of all the considerations and current limitations involved in creating democratic spaces. I would argue that a more comprehensive understanding of political science is essential for the latter. Furthermore, I would welcome more attention to debate on this theme in our education, as it is an inherent part of the field.

07.

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Reference of Charaters used in drawings

The drawings of people I use in this report are know as ‘SANAA people’