A social way of living

Short-term ethnographical research on social space of elderly.

Architectural research thesis by: Janneke Visser

Cut out from one of the maps containing ethnographic knowledge on the researched settings. By: Janneke Visser

Architectural research thesis by: Janneke Visser – 4294505

Research tutor: Leeke Reinders
Design tutor: Leontine de Wit
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Introduction

"Elderly" are often considered to be a group of people that we as a society need to take care of. But also more and more people start to realize that not all elderly are the same and therefore not all care should be the same. Some elderly stay fit and independent until advanced old age and some start needing help with daily activities already around their 60's. Also elderly themselves speak their minds on their age and need for care. They more and more refute the idea that old age is a disease and are looking for services that not only take care of them when they are ill, but keep them mentally and physically active.[1]

Beliefs on how to view the elderly in society have not always been the same. A great change in our views on elderly happened after the second world war. This change was greatly influenced by the desire for renewal after the war. Social deprivation was to be avoided and people dreamed of a new socially minded society. This desire for renewal also showed in architectural ambitions after the war. "The idea that architecture should play a crucial role in the construction of a new, socially minded society was also accepted in the Netherlands by almost all designers, no matter to which movement they subscribed".[2] Problem was that the housing stock in this time did not live up to these ambitions. In elderly homes, minimal standards were often not even met. With little privacy, no way to organize their own interior and limited by the institutional regime for meals, treatments and visitors.[3] Of course there were also elderly that lived alone, in their own homes.

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[1] Feddersen, E., & Lüdtke, I. (2009). *Living for the elderly - Principles and processes*. Basel, CH: Birkhäuser Verlag AG. P.26

[2] Mens, N., Wagenaar, C., Brinkman, E., & Mason, P. G. (2010). *Health care architecture in the Netherlands*. NAi Publishers. P.84

[3] Ibid. P.175

Figure 2: *Sleeping room for elderly in elderly home in Roeterstraat around 1952. From documentary "Opkomst van bejaardentehuis" on the show "Andere tijden".*

Problems found in these situations were that elderly were often found to be lonely, neglected, contaminated, dehydrated, or with pests in their home. [4]

In the 1960's the social health of elderly was not only on the radar of physicians but also of politicians. Idea's changed from elderly dying soon anyways, to the idea that elderly could become old in good health in a pleasant way. [5] In these years more modern elderly homes or "bejaardentehuizen" as we knew them before 2015 were built. In 2015 government policy has changed, care for elderly was decentralized and elderly are stimulated to live in their own homes as long as possible. The elderly home could no longer exist.[6]

These elderly homes often tackled problems of loneliness and neglect. One could call one of these elderly homes their home even before they would be very ill. This ensured them having a home where they could grow old living around the same people, even if they would need more help or would decline over time. If the abolishment of the elderly home was hastily, it is still in debate these days. In a participation society it seems an attractive idea to help elderly before they start relying on help from the government. But in practice, the possibilities for this kind of help are often limited. People these days are often busy and live far away from their elderly kin. In addition to that, the elderly that are frail and do rely partly on others often have a limited social network.[7]

[4] *Opkomst van het bejaardentehuis* [Video]. (2016). Retrieved 12 October 2020 From: https://www.anderetijden.nl/artikel/211/Opkomst-van-het-bejaardentehuis

[5] Ibid.

[6] Programma langer thuis. (2018). Retrieved 12 October 2020 from: https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/zorg-en-ondersteuning-thuis/documenten/rapporten/2018/06/15/programma-langer-thuis

[7] Giesen, P. (2018). *Is het verzorgingshuis, het oude 'bejaardenhuis', toch te overhaast afgeschaft?* Retrieved 8 October 2020 From: https://www.volkskrant.nl/columns-opinie/is-het-verzorgingshuis-het-oude-bejaardenhuis-toch-te-overhaast-afgeschaft~b35dd018/?referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F

Figure 3: Christmas in a niche attached to rooms of elderly in elderly home De Drie Hoven. From: Herzberger, H. (1996). *Ruimte maken, ruimte laten.* Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, p. 161

It is this group of elderly, which is lonely or at risk of being lonely, but is not physically or mentally ill enough to live in a care home, I am interested in. This is a group of elderly that could benefit from a new affordable social form of housing and living.

This new social way of living can possibly be achieved by creating a form of housing where informal care systems are integrated into the environment. Our current built environment and society is not necessarily built to embrace a system initiated and controlled by informal care and social systems. To make a certain system work we therefore need to rethink our environment. This thesis is focused on learning from elderly and their relation to others in their home environment.

In 2019 I explored history on social concepts for homes for elderly, by doing a literature study in the form of a history thesis. In this exploration the term 'social concepts' was defined as solutions providing for the social needs of frail elderly. During my research into this theme I found increased acknowledgement for the importance of supportive social networks for the elderly. [8] The dissolution of family structures, as well as the dissolution of friends as relations, have been compensated for by architectural solutions. [9] A problem with these architectural solutions is that there often is a tension between the vision of the professional and the actual behavior and wishes and desires of people designed for. As Isabelle Makay and Leeke Reinders mention in their book "Het gemankeerde (t)huis", there is a tension in the daily use of space, between the typology of space, as envisioned by the professional and the actual use of space, where people have to relate to spaces in their daily lives. [10]

This thesis investigates people and their relations in three different settings, in a more deep and personal way. Important herein is the link between people, social relations, space and architectural elements. How are social interactions and social control possible in and around the home? How do people actually use space? What social relations are there in these settings? How do people look after each other and what is the role of the division of

[8] Roy, N., Dubé, R., Després, C., Freitas, A., & Légaré, F. (2018). Choosing between staying at home or moving: A systematic review of factors influencing housing decisions among frail older adults. *PloS one*.

[9] Feddersen, E., & Lüdtke, I. (2009). *Living for the elderly - Principles and processes*. Basel, CH: Birkhäuser Verlag AG.

[10] Makay, I., & Reinders, L. (2016). *Het gemakeerde (t)huis. Een visuele antropologie over de woonpraktijken van ouderen in Brussel*. Antwerpen-Apeldoorn, Netherlands: Garant-Uitgevers nv. P. 175

space and visual connections? But also what characteristics of settings enable people to choose to be in touch with neighbors and look out for each other?

For this purpose, the actual behavior of people and the traces of social relations in three settings are studied. The knowledge gained through this research will be used to design environments where the possibility of having different kinds of social relationships is facilitated by the home setting. Ultimately, I believe this knowledge can contribute to successful projects and approaches in the future, where the social and mental health of elderly (and others) is considered in its design.

The research question answered in this thesis is:

How do independently living elderly use space in and around the home, relating to the social, physical and metaphysical dimension of social space?

Sub questions that will be answered are:

- What is social space?
- How does use of space relate to dimensions of social space?
- What elements can be used to visualize/represent social space?
- How do elements that visualize/represent social space relate to the social, the physical and the metaphysical dimension of social space?

Theoretical framework

Elderly and their home setting

This thesis focuses on the social relations of elderly people and in particular on the social relations of elderly people in the fragile retirement age. In this phase of life, the living environments of the elderly have to meet more and more demands due to the decline of social, mental and physical capacities.[11] The elderly in this thesis can run an autonomous household, but need more and more help in their daily activities. Due to a change in government policy, elderly are now more and more dependent on their immediate home environment for their social wants and needs. Since the home environment is not always designed to facilitate this change, the social needs of independently living elderly are in danger to be overlooked. To prevent this from happening it is important to study the role of the home setting in the social relations of these elderly. Therefore the home setting in particular is subject to this research.

Social space

In this thesis, spaces as a product of social relations of elderly are investigated and referred to as social spaces. To get a good grasp of social spaces, how these spaces are meaningful, divided and produced by social relations, this thesis approaches social space through three dimensions. The metaphysical, the physical and the social dimension.[12] The rectangular shape in the middle of the conceptual scheme on the other page represents a mapping which visualises social space.

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[11] Huber, A. (2008). *New approaches to housing for the second half of life*. Birkhäuser.P.54-55

[12] Schwarz, B., & Brent, R. (2001). The architectural metamorphis of long-term care settings. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, P. 260
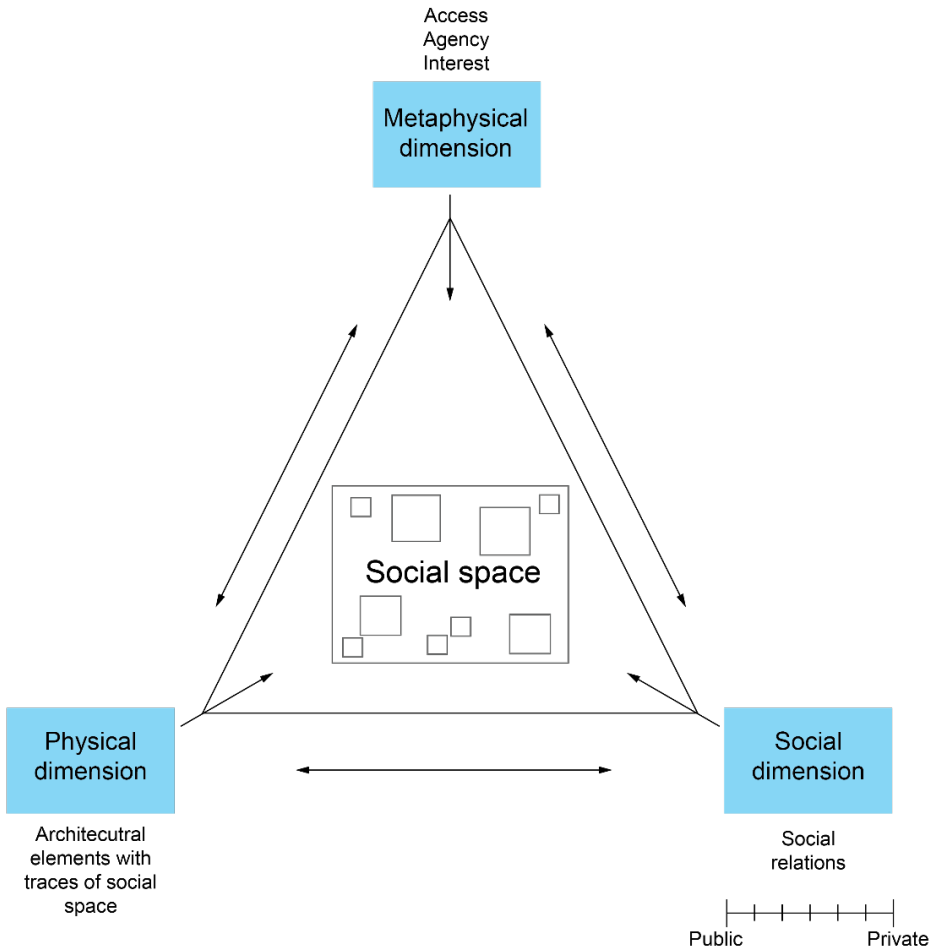
Figure 4: *Conceptual scheme: Dimensions of social space*

Social dimension

In the social dimension, human relationships and interactions are addressed. [13] This dimension concerns the actual social relations between people, like two women being neighbours.

Social relations, that what together constitutes social space, is the starting point of research in this thesis. What social relationships are there and what distinction can be made between them? Subsequently the questions, how do these social relations and distinctions relate to the physical dimension and what is the role or influence of the metaphysical dimension. The distinction between social relations in this thesis, which is used as an underlying layer, is approached as the distinction between public and private relations. This public-private distinction, according to Mandipouri, determines daily life routines and is crucial in relations between the self and the other, individual and society. [14] Relations within the personal realm of individuals and their intimate circle of family and friends can be defined as private. That what lies beyond this realm can be defined as public. The two realms of the public and the private are interdependent notions and therefore only make sense when related to one another. [15]

The more public or more private social relations and how they relate to the metaphysical and physical dimensions are studied in two ways, an objective and a subjective way. The subjective way of studying social relations is through fieldwork, by a study of behavior of the people. Social practices are studied on site and interpreted subjectively. As sociologist Jan Blommaert writes, research on human behavior in space needs to be researched as it effectively occurs on site. [16] The reason for this is that there is no meaning of human interaction without subjective interpretation of social practices.

[13] Schwarz, B., & Brent, R. (2001). The architectural metamorphis of long-term care settings. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, P. 260

[14] Madanipour, A. (2003). *Public and private spaces of the city*. Routledge. P.2

[15] Ibid. P.3

[16] Blommaert, J. (2017). *Waarom en hoe een etnograaf een wetenschapper is*. Retrieved Juli 27, 2020, from https://www.diggitmagazine.com/articles/waarom-en-hoe-een-etnograaf-een-wetenschapper

Figure 5: *Photo of two neighbors who are subjects of study in this research thesis. Their relationship and how public or private their relationship is will be studied through observation. More specifically, their behavior and the space as a product of their relationship (and their relationships with others) will be studied. Photo by: Janneke Visser*

Physical dimension

The objective way of studying social relations is through its traces in space. This includes a study of architectural elements, objects, spaces and boundaries which together constitute the physical dimension of social space. As Walter Benjamin noted in 1935, later published in "The arcades project": "to dwell means to leave traces". In particular, he writes about the accentuated traces in the interior. [17] Since dwelling is not just an inside activity and relates to the outside surroundings of a home also, one should be able to find traces of dwelling outside the house. I read this statement as an invite to identify the dweller and its social relations according to its traces.

Traces of social relations can be found in several ways. Traces of more private and public relationships and the resulting public and private realms can be found in the different sides of a property. Comparing different sides of a property is used as one of the main tools to define the character of public and private spheres. [18] Another place to look for traces of social relations is the boundary between the public and the private. The public and private realms are separated and protected from each other by a boundary, which can be a site of interface and communication between the two.

The boundary itself can promote permeability and social interaction. An example of a permeable boundary is a gate in a wall, where the wall is the starting point of both the interior of the house and of the outside world of the street. [19] According to Mandipouri, boundaries regulate concealment and exposure, and play a significant role in society. Boundaries can protect the private life from unwanted gazes and at the same time protect the public life from unwanted disruptive material. [20] They are a very visible manifestation of a division of social life and are a signifiers of a social organization. [21]

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[17] Benjamin, W. (1999). *The arcades project*. Harvard University Press. P.9
[18] Madanipour, A. (2003). *Public and private spaces of the city*. Routledge. P.56
[19] Ibid. P.55
[20] Madanipour, A. (2003). *Public and private spaces of the city*. Routledge. P. 52
[21] Ibid. P.61
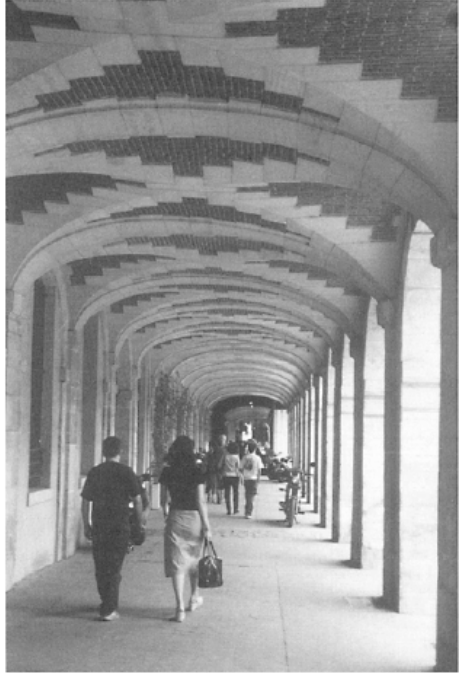
Figure 6: *A spatial boundary articulated by a colonnade. From: Madanipour, A. (2003).* Public and private spaces of the city. *Routledge. P. 57*

Metaphysical dimension

Also the metaphysical dimension of social space is taken into account in this study. A broad definition of the metaphysical dimension will be used. In this thesis the metaphysical relates to the definition in the Dutch dictionary, where "metaphysical" is described as "boven het waarneembare uitgaand".[22] This translates to that what transcends the perceptible and concerns things that are harder to grasp. The metaphysical dimension consist of all these things that influence social relations but are often not physical and hard to grasp. Why are relations the way they are? What are things that might not reveal themselves immediately, but influence how public or private our relations are? Answers to these questions are looked for in the features of activities and practices.

According to Ben and Gaus (1983) these features determine how public or private social relations are. In their book "Public and private in social life" they categorized these features in three dimensions: access, agency and interest. For example when access denied to some people, places and relations can be more private. Also, when your actions are of significant influence on the status of others, relationships are influenced. For example when a person has control over the use of a certain space, it influences the status of the other people in that space. This phenomenon falls under the dimension agency. The third dimension is the dimension of interest. Relationships are influenced by "interest", due to some people being better or worse off because of the activities and practices in question.[23]

[22] Van Dale. (2020). *Betekenis "metaphysisch".* Retrieved Juli 24, 2020, from https://www.vandale.nl/gratis-woordenboek/nederlands/betekenis/metaphysisch#.XxqaSp4zZPZ

[23] Benn, S. I., & Gaus, G. F. (Eds.). (1983). *Public and private in social life.* Taylor & Francis. P. 7-10

Figure 7 and 8: *These images show different sides of an alms house. One side of the almshouse is used by the residents and the other side is not. The reason why things are this way are not immediately visible/perceptible or obvious. What makes these sides so different and why are they used in such a different way are questions relating to the metaphysical dimension. Photos By Janneke Visser*

Visualisation

To help visualize the human interactions in relation to the environment observed on site, maps are made. The maps consist of elements that are in line with the elements Kevin Lynch uses in "mental maps" of cities.

In his book "The image of the city" Lynch proposes that mental maps of cities should consist of five elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. [24] A mental map or cognitive map is a "mental devise and store which help to simplify, code and order the endlessly complex world of human interaction with the environment"[25]

The map constructed in this thesis is not a mental map of the researcher, but a visualization of the ethnographic place. The term ethnographic place will be explained further in the chapter "Method". The maps are representative of an intersubjective reality and not a subjective reality as in cognitive maps. In this intersubjective reality the subjective character of human social interaction is assumed.

Elements in this map contain the ethnographic knowledge gained at the settings. Comparing these elements in a table makes it possible to look for patterns on how these elements relate to the social dimension (what kind of relations are involved), physical (what objects are involved) and metaphysical dimension (what features of practices and activities make these relations more public/private).

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[24] de Lange, M. (2009). *Review: Kevin Lynch - The Image of the City*. Retrieved 27 Juli 24, 2020, from http://themobilecity.nl/2009/05/08/review-kevin-lynch-the-image-of-the-city/
[25] Kitchin, R. M. (1994). Cognitive maps: What are they and why study them?. *Journal of environmental psychology*, *14*(1), P. 2
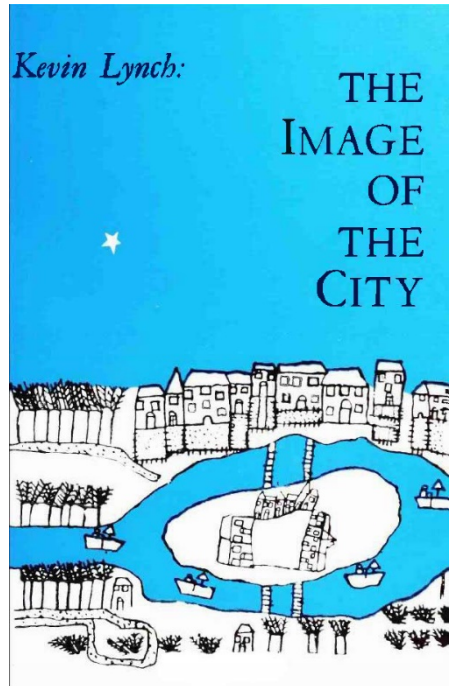
Figure 9: *Cover of the book "The image of the city" by Kevin Lynch wherein Kevin Lynch proposes mental maps should consist of five elements: Paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks.* From: *Lynch, K. (1960).* The image of the city *(Vol. 11). MIT press.*

Research method

The research question is: How do independently living elderly use space in and around the home, relating to the social, physical and metaphysical dimension of social space? In order to answer that question first the sub question "What is social space?" is answered. This is done through a literature study on social space. This question is answered in the theoretical framework chapter of this thesis. Sub question: How does use of space relate to dimensions of social space? Will be answered through the writing of this chapter. This chapter will explain how a study of use of space allows me as a researcher to become knowledgeable on the social space of elderly. Answering this questions warrants a qualitative approach. This in-depth information is acquired by interview and observation techniques. How these elements relate to the dimensions of social space will be addressed in the result and conclusion parts of the thesis. Answering questions like what are the social relations influenced by these elements? What are physical attributes of the elements? And what are the features of space that are harder to grasp but do influence the character of relations related to these elements?

Tradition of research : Relevance of the human/social perspective

The conducted research is research where the human perspective is on the foreground. As in the 1960's, in 2020, research studying human behaviour in relation to spatial design is relevant. This is evidenced by the fact that written text and research from around the 1960's in this field are still relevant and referred to these days. William Whyte and Jane Jacobs are examples of figures who are still of great influence to the fields of research and design. They both seem to believe a study of human behaviour is important to learn about spaces. Their books are still read and even sometimes compulsory in academic education as I have experienced myself at the TU Delft faculty of architecture in architectural and management courses.

Figure 10: Snapshot of the film" The social life of small urban spaces"
(1980) made by William Whyte and his team. In this film Whyte and his
team studied the dynamics of human interactions in architectural
landscapes. From: Maria Popova (2015). *The Social Life Of Small Urban
Spaces*. Retrieved Juli 27, 2020, from
https://www.brainpickings.org/2013/08/22/the-social-life-of-small-
urban-spaces-whyte/

William Whyte (1917-1999) was an urbanist, journalist, and observer from America, who analysed organisations of space and people. He studied urban spaces through observations, trying to find out why some spaces work and why some spaces do not.[26] Similar to his studies, I used observational techniques to find patterns on why spaces work a certain way. Also Jane Jacobs (1916-2006) based her conclusions on observations in environments. She was an activist, journalist and author from American-Canadian descent. An example of her work that is still relevant these days is based on her observations in American cities. In "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" Jacobs observations lead her to conclude that most city residents are disregarded by urban renewal. The relation with design in her book can be found in the prescriptions she writes based on her observations.[27] Another person who pays attention to the human dimension of architecture and urban design is Jan Gehl (1936). He is an architect and urban designer from Danish descent. He is an important person in the field when it comes to the design of public space.[28] He stresses the importance of taking the direct senses of people, like watching and listening, into account when designing places and opportunities for basic activities like walking, standing, watching, listening and talking to take place.[29] This approach, where the human characteristics are studied in a more deep way has been an inspiration for the setup of this research. Like in Gehl's work, the findings of research will reflect in design.

Like the research methods of Jacobs and Whyte, this thesis uses methods of observation to study behaviours of people in relation to their environments. The research methods used in this thesis can best be described as short-term ethnographic research methods. Short-term ethnographic research is a research type defined by Pink and Morgan.[30] The reason that this type of research is chosen in this
thesis is that it enables the gathering of knowledge on a non-physical space like social space by observing human behaviour and human relations in relation to space. In this thesis short-term ethnographic research methods are used to understand space as a product of social relations and the characteristics and roles of the setting and its elements. The benefit of combining research inspired by anthropology and sociology with architectural research is that the outcome of the research is based on actual users instead of hypothetical ones. This

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[26] Whyte, W. H. (1980). The social life of small urban spaces.
[27] Jacobs, J. (2016). *The death and life of great American cities*. Vintage.
[28] Gehl, J. (2013). *Cities for people*. Island press. P. IX
[29] Gehl, J. (2013). *Cities for people*. Island press. P. 118
[30] Pink, S., & Morgan, J. (2013). Short-term ethnography: Intense routes to knowing. *Symbolic Interaction*, *36*(3), P. 352

kind of research can result in concrete generalizations and realistic hypotheses, useful in architectural practices.[31]

Short-term ethnographic research

Short-term ethnography, as defined by Pink and Morgen (2013) is a form of research inspired by long-term ethnography, but not a variant of it. Ethnography as defined by the Cambridge Dictionary is "a scientific description of the culture of a society by someone who has lived in it".[32] In the book Research methods for Architecture, the characteristic of the study being long-term is embedded in its definition. Here ethnography is described as a "longitudinal and subjective study, where the researcher spends extended periods in the field, interacting and recording in various ways, in order to find out more about a given context."[33] In practice, ethnography is often not necessarily characterized by being long term. To reveal what matters to the subjects in the context of what the researcher is trying to find out, often, intensive excursions are made into the lives of the subjects.[34] In comparison to long-term ethnography in short-term ethnography technologies and techniques are used in a different way. [35]

A critique on shorter versions of ethnographic studies is that they are "superficial".[36] Knoblauch argues that in his version of short-term ethnography, "focused ethnography", the short duration of the visit is compensated for by the intensity of the data-collection. Also he writes in his piece "Focused ethnography" that "In addition, the lack of intensity of subjective experience in conventional ethnography is compensated for by the large amount of data and the intensity and scrutiny of data analysis." The intensity of the "focused ethnography" he writes about is often due to various recording devices such as tape recorders, video's and photo-cameras. In addition to these recordings, also traditional forms of observation and interviews are held.[37]

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[31] Blommaert, J. (2017). *Waarom en hoe een etnograaf een wetenschapper is*. Retrieved Juli 27, 2020, from https://www.diggitmagazine.com/articles/waarom-en-hoe-een-etnograaf-een-wetenschapper

[32] Cambridge Dictionary. (2020). *Meaning of ethnography in English*. Retrieved 27 Juli 24, 2020, from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/ethnography

[33] Lucas, R. (2016). *Research methods for architecture*. London: Laurence King Publishing. P.164

[34] Pink, S., & Morgan, J. (2013). Short-term ethnography: Intense routes to knowing. *Symbolic Interaction*, *36*(3), P. 352

[35] Ibid. 352

[36] Pink, S., & Morgan, J. (2013). Short-term ethnography: Intense routes to knowing. *Symbolic Interaction*, *36*(3), P. 351-361.

[37] Knoblauch, H. (2005). Focused ethnography. In *Forum qualitative sozialforschung/forum: qualitative social research* (Vol. 6, No. 3)

The rest of this chapter is structured by three phases of the research also mentioned by Pink and Morgan as being important in short-term ethnographic research. [38] According to them in short-term ethnography the research encounter, the theoretical dialogue and the analysis are characterized by qualities of intensity.[39] First the research encounter will be discussed, secondly the theoretical dialogue and lastly the analysis. The reason the three settings were chosen is described in the results section "Introduction elderly and settings".

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[38] Pink, S., & Morgan, J. (2013). Short-term ethnography: Intense routes to knowing. *Symbolic Interaction*, *36*(3), P. 351-361.
[39] Ibid. P. 352

The research encounter

Before gathering actual ethnographic data on site, the purpose of the research had been defined to a certain extent. This had been done by a process of reading and writing on the subject matter while composing research questions and objectives and reflecting on those. By preparing the visit and focusing the research questions and topic, the ethnography of this thesis is more so defined according to its purpose, rather than according to its method. According to Forsey (2011) "Defining ethnography according to its purpose rather than its method encourages participation in, and engagement with, the lives of our fellow human beings."[40] Hereby a certain degree of intensity of the research encounter can be achieved. This line of thought is in line with contemporary versions of anthropological ethnography where the idea of anthropological ethnography involves doing research with, rather than without participants.[41]

Suitable subjects for the research were found by the help of friends, relatives and acquaintances. Information on the chosen settings was collected by use of the internet, through friends and acquaintances and by requesting information on the sites and buildings through archives of the relevant province. These sources helped gather factual information and introduced me to the location, the morphology and division of space of the settings. The used techniques, observation methods and interviews, had been set up to find out more about the three dimensions of social space.

Before meeting the first elderly in person, I introduced myself to the elderly over the phone or by email. The visits were located in and around the home of the elderly person and had an average duration of approximately 4-5 hours. The focus of the research methods were on the use of social space through the lens of the social, physical and metaphysical dimensions. The interview questions were aimed at getting to know more about how people use

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[40] Mullooly, J. (2013). *Methods to Mind: Long or Short Term Approaches to Ethnographic Research*. Retrieved Juli 24, 2020, from http://www.ethnography.com/2012/07/methods-to-mind-long-or-short-term-approaches-to-ethnographic-research/

[41] Ingold, T. (2008). Anthropology is not ethnography. In Proceedings of the British Academy (Vol. 154, No. 2007). P. 82

Zaterdag 9 mei bezocht ik het Vughtse Hart om meneer B en mevrouw L te bezoeken. Toen ik aankwam op de grote parkeerplaats voor zijn woning zag ik meneer B al druk bezig op zijn balkon. Na een rondje te hebben gedaan om het blok vond ik uiteindelijk de ingang naar het nummer van zijn woning. Hij haalde me op op de daktuin en via de daktuin vonden we zijn voordeur. Vanaf toen was het een kwestie van elkaar leren kennen. We zijn gaan zitten en gaan praten over onszelf. Ondertussen was meneer B een appeltaart aan het bakken voor zijn kleinkinderen die morgen langs zouden komen. Voor een van de kleinkinderen is meneer B op zijn balkon aan het werk aan een trommel. Hij heeft hiervoor zelf een plateau geklust waardoor hij zijn huis niet uit hoeft!
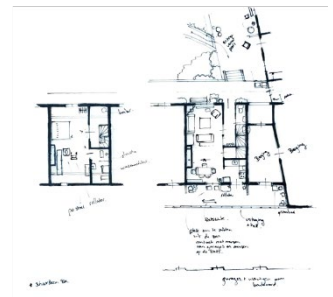
Figure 11-16: *Images of the bulk of information gathered during this research: transcribed interviews, sound recordings, pictures in photo-documentations and maps with observations. Products and images by: Janneke Visser*

space and on social relations in their daily lives. While setting up questions, the focus was on asking open ended questions and leaving room for a variety of answers.

Since questions were prepared and to some extent focused, the interview had a somewhat structured manner to gather information. However, questions asked were also prompted by observations made on the spot and answers given by the participants. During the first visit I found that putting the list of questions aside and engaging in a more casual conversation was the most effective way to find out unexpected experiences and relevancies on the topic. At the end of the visits I checked if all the topics and questions had been discussed.

The short engagement invited me to correspond between my own experiences and those of the participants. This was especially applicable when asking the elderly questions prompted by my observations. This enabled me to recognize practices and ask to reflect on practices which otherwise would have been left unspoken or invisible. [42] Also correspondence is made between experience of the earliest ethnography and later ethnographies.

At one point during the conversations I made a tour in and around the house with the elder. I made observations and asked questions. Also, I observed and engaged in social encounters during the visit and took some time to observe the setting by myself. Observing techniques that I used are inspired by visual ethnography. Photographs, drawing and notes on plans were made. Drawings and notes were made on transparent tracing paper on a plan. This plan had been acquired before visiting the location. This form of research, triangulation, enhances the validity of the collected information and captures different dimensions of a phenomenon. The collected visual data of the observation methods and the auditory data of the visits were afterwards analysed in an intersubjective manner by re-engagement with the material through viewing and listening. In such a way the concept of an ethnographic place allows for the research to continue outside the context of the in situ fieldwork. [43]

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[42] Pink, S., & Morgan, J. (2013). Short-term ethnography: Intense routes to knowing. *Symbolic Interaction*, *36*(3), P. 356
[43] Ibid. P. 355

Figure 17-19: *Photo's taken during the tours at the three settings. Above: Daktuin in Vught. Middle: Oude school in Haarlem. Below: Hofje in Zandvoort. Photo's By: Janneke Visser*

As part of the process of constructing ethnographic knowledge or ways of knowing, the concept of the "ethnographic place" has been developed by Pink.[44] The products (maps) as a result of this research can be seen as a representation of "ethnographic places". Pink developed this concept to be able to explain how different types, qualities and temporalities of things and persons come together as part of this process. [45] Not only the context in which the ethnography is done but also the context in which it is analyzed and disseminated is part of the ethnographic place. As Pink and Morgan (2013) write: "Ethnographic places are therefore not fieldwork localities, but rather they are the entanglements through which ethnographic knowing emerges." [46] This "..concept of the ethnographic place enables us to picture these processes through a wider vision: even when the actual encounter is short and very intense our ethnographic engagement with the fieldwork context can be much more, through online involvement and re-engagement through video, potentially lasting for years."[47] In this particular thesis photographs and sound recording were used instead of video. Re-engagement with the material in this thesis possibly allows for questions on social space in the design phase to be answered. After the research encounter a reflection on the used techniques and approaches has been done through theoretical dialogue with teachers, and reading and writing on the topic.

[44] Pink, S. (2009). Situating sensory ethnography: from academia to intervention. *Doing Sensory Ethnography*.

[45] Pink, S., & Morgan, J. (2013). Short-term ethnography: Intense routes to knowing. *Symbolic Interaction*, *36*(3), P. 354

[46] Pink, S., & Morgan, J. (2013). Short-term ethnography: Intense routes to knowing. *Symbolic Interaction*, *36*(3), P. 354

[47] Ibid. P. 355

Theoretical dialogue

In this thesis an attempt is made to have theoretical dialogue between the researcher, Janneke Visser, and the mentors Leeke Reinders and Leontine de Wit. Fieldnotes, photographs, commentaries and a diary

of the progress of the research were discussed. Similar to the research of Pink and Morgan this dialog "shaped the types of questions that were asked, what activities were followed, the spaces and relationships that the researcher attempted to position herself in, and the kinds of collaborative encounters created or sought out."[48]

According to Pink and Morgan (2013) characteristics of the theoretical dialogue in short-term ethnography are a sharper focus, a need for the research questions to be responded to more firmly and for the data collection and the analysis to be intertwined.[49] They describe that a way to achieve this is ".. by maintaining a certain intensity in the ethnographic-theoretical dialog as the research develops." As a lone researcher this can be done by "taking time away from fieldwork, and presenting preliminary work to peers."

The process of the theoretical dialogue and the focus on discussing the actual findings in this thesis could have been more intense. Due to social distancing measures, the researcher had to work at home and could only sporadically discuss her findings with peers. Discussing interviewing and observing techniques, the progress and focus of the research and the theoretical dialogue with the mentor was dependent on the possibility of setting up a meeting between me and the mentors. Also I believe the intensity of the dialogue was influenced by the media through which the dialogue has been held. The online media to communicate with the mentors during the research phase has been "Zoom". Discussing the project journal as a way to discuss the research progress and products has been a way to deal with this online form of communication.

Diaries used to discuss the research with the teachers can help guide readers of this thesis through the research process and evaluate the observation and interviewing techniques. Research diaries have been kept in the form of a project journal and a recording of the visits in the form of a photo-diary with accompanying text. The keeping of a diary of the recordings of the research, addresses the issue of an observer not being neutral. As Marieke Berkers presented in a lecture on praxeology "An ethnographer is never a neutral observer".[50]

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48 Ibid. P. 357
49 Ibid. P. 357
50 Berkers, Marieke. (2019) Praxeology. lecture slides. AR3A160 Lecture Series Research Methods (2019/20 Q1). TU Delft Slide 47

Analysis

The synthesizing of the materials collected on the different settings is done by mapping elements that visualize social space. Through fieldwork, I will look for what elements can represent social space best. Also after the fieldwork, by manner of re-engagement with the collected materials in the form of the interviews, photo-documentations and observation maps, knowledge on the ethnographic places has been translated into visual languages of mappings, representing social space. The practice of re-engagement with materials is common in disciplines that typically use short-term ethnography.[51] One summarizing map was made for each setting. These mappings are the core of this research. They are a summary of all found knowledge on the ethnographic places/settings and a representation of how elderly use space relating to the social, physical and metaphysical dimensions of social space.

To make the mappings, a language was developed, wherein elements and how they represent and influence social space is visualized. Herein a two dimensional mapping is combined with sections. In the two dimensional mapping, images, text, walking routes, sightlines, lines to address relations, measurements and lines to address the division of space and access of space are used. On this mapping important points on the mappings are shown as sections or perspectives. The layers visualizing social space relate to the two dimensional map as well as to the perspectives.

These layers are put together by digital methods of collage. Hereby both analog techniques of drawing are facilitated, but also new techniques of collage making through direct and indirect

manipulation are facilitated.[52] All of the layers of the drawing are related to one another and together constitute the ethnographic knowledge gained on the social space of the three settings. Of course some layers are more related to one dimension than the other. Analysis drawings and measurements relate mostly to the physical dimension. Lines to address actual relations are mostly related to the social dimension and the metaphysical dimension is mostly addressed in words and the coherence of all the layers.

Subsequently, the maps and its elements are analyzed by comparison. Elements of the three settings are compared with elements of the same category of the other settings in a table which is added as an attachment with the title "Table". The analyzing is done by an analysis of the elements through the three dimensions of social space with the goal of

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[51] Pink, S., & Morgan, J. (2013). Short-term ethnography: Intense routes to knowing. *Symbolic Interaction*, *36*(3), P. 358

[52] Shields, J. A. (2014). *Collage and architecture*. Routledge. P.179

answering sub question How do elements that visualize/represent social space relate to the social, the physical and the metaphysical dimension of social space?

The ultimate goal of analyzing the maps has been to interpret information and guide action. The action to be guided lies within the goal of this thesis to design well considered social spaces in and around the home of elderly.

Results

Introduction elderly and settings

Before introducing the results of this research, the elderly and the settings will be introduced. For this research, two elderly per location have been observed and interviewed. On every location a more deep interview has been held with one of the elderly and the elderly and setting have been observed. A similarity between the elderly is their approximate age, between 70 and 85 years old. Similarities between the settings are that the building complexes are projects housing mostly elderly, there are central shared green spaces in all buildings and the settings are located in urban areas. These similarities are characteristics that make the settings interesting subjects of research. The central green space is a space that can function as a place to meet and a place where social relations can be formed. The fact that the settings are located in cities possibly means that people are in the opportunity to form relations not just with others but also with strangers. This way public relations can be part of the home setting. The settings where the social relations of subjects have been studied I have given the following titles: "Hofje in Zandvoort", "Oude school in Haarlem", "Daktuin in Vught". Below I will give a short introduction of these settings. A more detailed photo reportage and description can be found in the attachment "Photo-documentation".

"Daktuin in Vught" meaning "Rooftop in Vught"

An important influence on my visits has been the COVID-19 epidemic. Restrictions on who to visit and who not to visit and how to be in touch with others, like keeping 1,5m distance have been enforced during the research phase of my thesis. At first COVID-19 restrictions stopped me from being able to visit elderly, who are considered at high risk of severe consequences due to the COVID-19 virus. The moment COVID-19 restrictions allowed me to visit elderly again I visited two elderly in Vught. A fellow architecture student told me about one of his experiences playing "jeu du boules", a French recreational game, with elderly on a rooftop and having a beer with them. He described the place as a small village of elderly where people engaged with each other and looked after each other. After reading and writing on the subject matter of my thesis I decided to contact the people living on this rooftop. The COVID-19 restrictions influenced this and the other visits by the fact that I had to keep 1,5 m distance and sanitizing my hands many times. Also of course it influenced the research in the sense that the social interactions of the studied subject are very likely not the same as they would have been without the restrictions. The subjects I interviewed in this setting I refer to as "Meneer B." and "Mevrouw L.". Interesting about the use of space during the COVID-19 epidemic is that de social relations that can be observed are the social relations that can exist in a setting during such a crisis. It became visible how and if the setting was allowing for social relations to exist, in times of a crisis.

Figure 20: *Photo's of setting "Daktuin in Vught". By: Janneke Visser*

"Oude school in Haarlem"

The second interesting setting I found was a building which has been transformed from a school into a building where elderly live. The old playgrounds are now shared green spaces. I found this setting through an acquaintance of my family who lives there. In the interviews I refer to her as "Mevrouw I.". Like all other subjects in this thesis, I have referred to her in a way she is anonymized to a certain extent. Another woman I interviewed during my visit I refer to as "Mevrouw O.". I had an appointment with "Mevrouw I." and met "Mevrouw O." when observing the setting.

Figure 21: *Photo's of setting "Oude school in Haarlem". By: Janneke Visser*

"Hofje in Zandvoort"

Lastly I visited a "hofje" or almshouse in Zandvoort. In the remaining part of this thesis I will refer to this setting as the "hofje". This hofje used to be for elderly people only but now also younger people live there. Government policy resulted in people with social problems and elderly living together. The problems as a result of these developments are discussed during the interviews. The main subject who I interviewed for this thesis is found through an acquaintance of my family, who is a nurse. She sometimes helps one of the residents of the almshouse with daily activities. This resident is the woman I have observed and interviewed for this research. I refer to her as "Mevrouw S." During my visit I also meet "Mevrouw P." who is the neighbor of "Mevrouw S." and "Mevrouw N." who is a friend and of "Mevrouw S." and also one of the residents of the almshouse.

Figure 22: *Photo's of setting "Hofje in Zandvoort". By: Janneke Visser*

The maps and how to read them

The maps constructed during this research can be read as a representation of three settings through the vision of the subjects/residents. On the maps one can see two dimensional layers representing social space in combination with perspectives. The perspective drawings depict the landscape of the subjects of the settings from their perspective. The maps can be read as sequences of these perspectives. Where the perspectives are anchored in a body that strolls through the landscape of the setting. An example of this way of reading maps in a sequence of perspectives can be found in the work of Gordon Cullen. To create a "serial vision" Gordon Cullen placed perspective drawings in a sequence to depict the landscape of towns from the perspective of a pedestrian.[53] Similar to the way these "townscapes" from Gordon Cullen can be experienced, the views/perspectives in the maps can be read in a linear way. The perspectives are related to other layers of the mapping, namely the images, text, analysis drawings, walking routes, sightlines, lines to address relations, measurements and lines to address the division of space and access of space.

On the next pages a tour will be given through all mappings.
The routes which are followed can be found as sequences of perspectives or "serial visions" behind the tours in the mappings.

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[53] Gordon, C. (1961). Townscape.
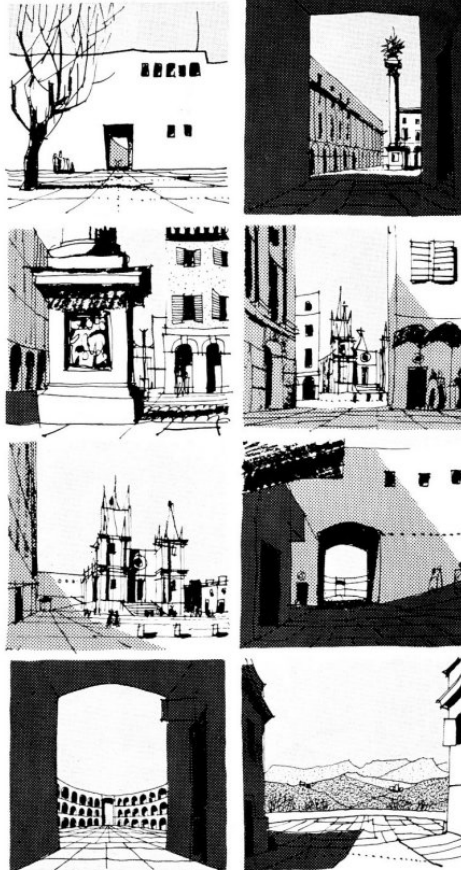
To walk from one end of the plan to another, at a uniform pace, will provide a sequence of revelations which are suggested in the serial drawings opposite, reading from left to right. Each arrow on the plan represents a drawing. The even progress of travel is illuminated by a series of sudden contrasts and so an impact is made on the eye, bringing the plan to life (like nudging a man who is going to sleep in church). My drawings bear no relation to the place itself; I chose it because it seemed an evocative plan. Note that the slightest deviation in alignment and quite small variations in projections or setbacks on plan have a disproportionally powerful effect in the third dimension.

Figure 23: *Page from the book "Townscape" by Gordon Cullen where he explains the concept of "serial vision". From: Gordon, C. (1961). Townscape. P. 17*

Map "Hofje in Zandvoort"

To read the mapping, we imagine ourselves being a visitor to the setting. There are several ways to start reading this mapping. To me, it feels most natural to read the mappings guided by the walking routes, which are the red lines. In this mapping a clear division is visible between more public walking routes on the outside of the hofje, directly connected to city tissue, and more private walking routes on the inside of the hofje. Let's start with the more private walking route towards the inside of the hofje.

Figure 24: *Mapping "Hofje in Zandvoort". By: Janneke Visser*

When approaching the main entrance, the big clock is visible from further away, which is addressed by the blue striped line, which is a visual representation of a sightline. This clock is used as a way for people in the hofje to direct others to their homes. After passing the main entrance, the walking route goes along the front of a house with a lot of junk in front of their door. In green the words "mensen met sociale problemen" are written which means "people with social problems". This is how the interviewed subjects with whom I created the intersubjective reality of this map described the people who lived there. All green texts and lines in the map represent the social relations of the people in the hofje. They show who has good social relations with whom.

Figure 25: *Cut-out of mapping: Main entrance hofje. By: Janneke Visser*

In the bottom of this next image we can see where I left off in the description of the last image. When we follow the walking route upwards, we walk past another perspective. In order to be able to see the perspective properly, we have to turn our head in the direction in which the perspective would be visible if we actually visited the hofje. When we do this, we see that we are walking past a woman/resident of the hofje sitting on her chair, in front of her "half door", which is open. Now we know that, when walking towards homes inside the hofje, one walks past porches of other residents, which people use by for example putting down chairs. When we walk on, we arrive at the home of a lady standing in her "half door", watching out onto the hofje. Next to her home is another door which leads to the storage room. Above this perspective, a perspective of the inside of the storage room is visible. When we look closer at the image of the lady in the half door, we see a sightline which starts at her window and points towards the chimney of the neighbor we just walked past. This indicated that the chimney is visible from her window and refers to the social control the lady in the half door told me about. Through this sight line she can see if the neighbor takes a shower on the time she regularly takes a shower, which functions like a form of social control. Also one can see the green lines starting at the lady herself and going towards the neighbors on two sides of the hofje. If one looks at the bigger map, one can see she does not have contact with the "rokers" and the "mensen met sociale problemen", which translates to the smokers and the people with social problems.

Figure 26: *Cut-out of mapping: Route towards home of elderly lady. By: Janneke Visser*

Let's now follow a more public route around the hofje. Through conversations with the people living in the hofje, I found out that an important walking route is the walking route from the hotel, in the lower left corner, to the station, which is indicated with the Dutch railway company logo in the upper right corner.

Figure 27: *Mapping "Hofje in Zandvoort". By: Janneke Visser*

When starting from the hotel and following the walking route upwards, one walks past a few perspectives visible above. Firstly one walks past a back of a house where a scooter is parked. After that one walks past the back of houses which are separated from the street by a height difference. One has to walk around this fence to arrive at the back of the houses. At the end of the walking route is a door that leads to the storage room. This means that when one wants to put their scooter in the storage, one has to walk by the back of the houses where people might be sitting on their chairs or watching them out of their windows. Also the actual height differences of the separations between the streets and the back of the homes, but also between the appropriated porches are visible in the mappings.

Figure 28: *Cut-out of mapping: Route from hotel to train station. By: Janneke Visser*

In the left lower corner, one can see the perspective where the description of our route through the map just left off. When we follow the walking route further in the direction of the train station, we come across another perspective. Once again, to see the perspective the right way, we need to turn our heads in the direction that we would actually see this perspective. Here we see a visual relation between the porches at the back of the hofje and the garages of the neighbors. Through the interviews and conversations on site I found out that this visual relation is important in the coming about of the relationship between people of the hofje and the people owning the garages of which the doors function as the gateway to their back yard. When walking on, one finally arrives at the perspective which shows the road towards the station. Something not described in this route yet are the logo's which represent services close to the hofje. These are services which are of relevance to the people living at the hofje. For example "Rabbel", visible in the lower left corner of the map is a restaurant where one of the subjects spoken with always has her coffee in the morning.
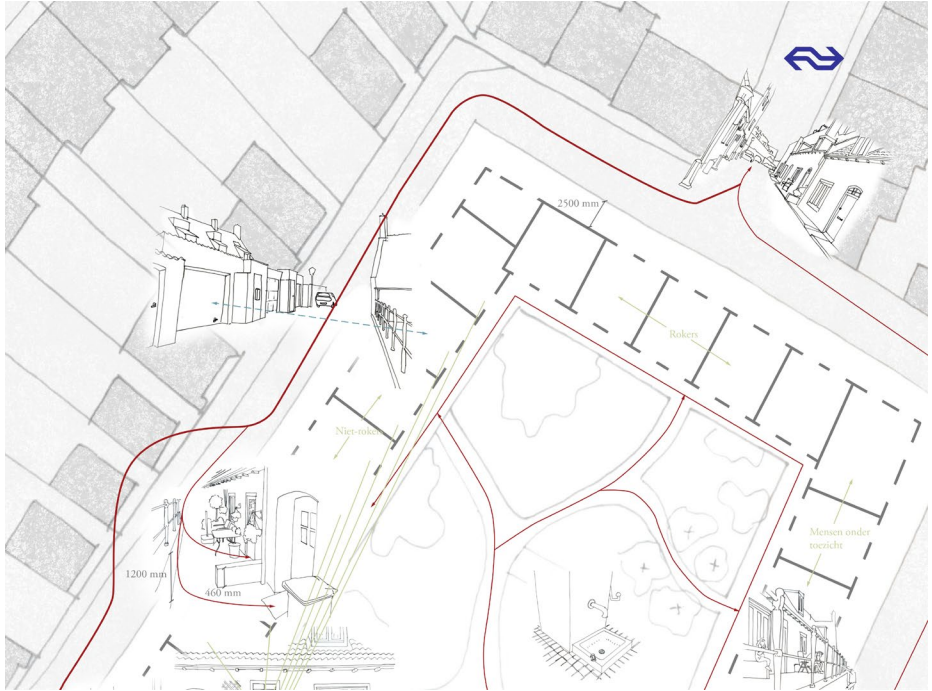
Figure 29: *Cut-out of mapping: Route from hotel to train station. By: Janneke Visser*

Route towards home of "mevrouw S."

You see the monumental entrance of the hofje and you know you have arrived at the home of mevrouw S.
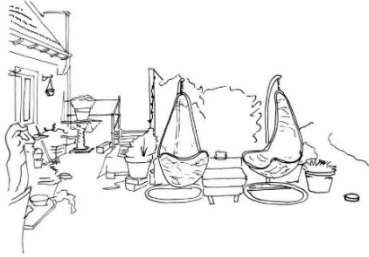
When entering the first thing you encounter is a large amount of stuff owned by one of the residents mevrouw S. and others in the hofje do not have great contact with.
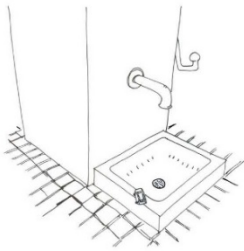
You walk past the shared green space of the hofje, where a waterpump is one of the elements that attracks tourist and others to the hofje. You notice a small car on the waterpump and tiles stirred up a little. You notice that it is representative of what mevrouw S. told you about the disagreement on the use of green space in the hofje

One walks past "mevrouw P." for a short conversation. Her door towards the hofje is a "halve deur" which she has opened up all day long. She tells you the reason she has no plants in front of her home is because she doesn't like gardening. She is very happy the shared green space is taken care of by de housing corporation.

Finally you arrive at mevrouw S. She is waiting for you, standing in her "halve deur". You have a conversation on how it is to be living in the hofje.

From hotel to trainstation

After a nice weekend on the beach you are on your way back home to Germany. Zandvoort has been good to you and you start your walk from your hotel to the train station.
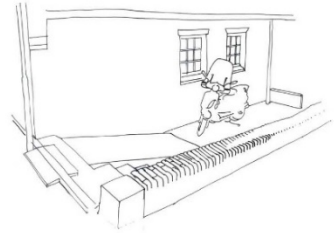
On your way you pass a building where people park their motorized vehicles outside. You wonder who lives there.
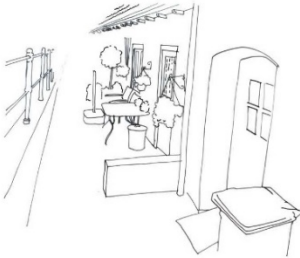
When you walk on, you pass a wrought iron fence and see that behind the fence there is a lower stoop where people have put chairs and plants. You are sure people sit here if the weather would be a bit nicer.

On the other side of the road you see garages that belong to houses along the boulevard. You see people using these garages as back entrances and think the fact that the back of these houses are directed to one another is a nice way to meet neighbors. While walking past you see a tiny house behind the garage door. That must be the B&B you have reserved for next year to see the formula 1 races!

You look forward to the races but are also excited to go home for now and walk on towards the train station of Zandvoort.

Reading the map "Daktuin in Vught"

When looking at the map as a whole, one can see two clusters of green lines. The words the lines cluster around read "huurders" and "kopers", which translates to renters and buyers. The clusters refer to the fact that the renters and buyers mostly have relations with each other. Also standing out in this map is the clear division between inside and outside walking routes. There are two main entrances and a back entrance. Let us start with the walking route the subject I spoke to almost always takes towards his home.
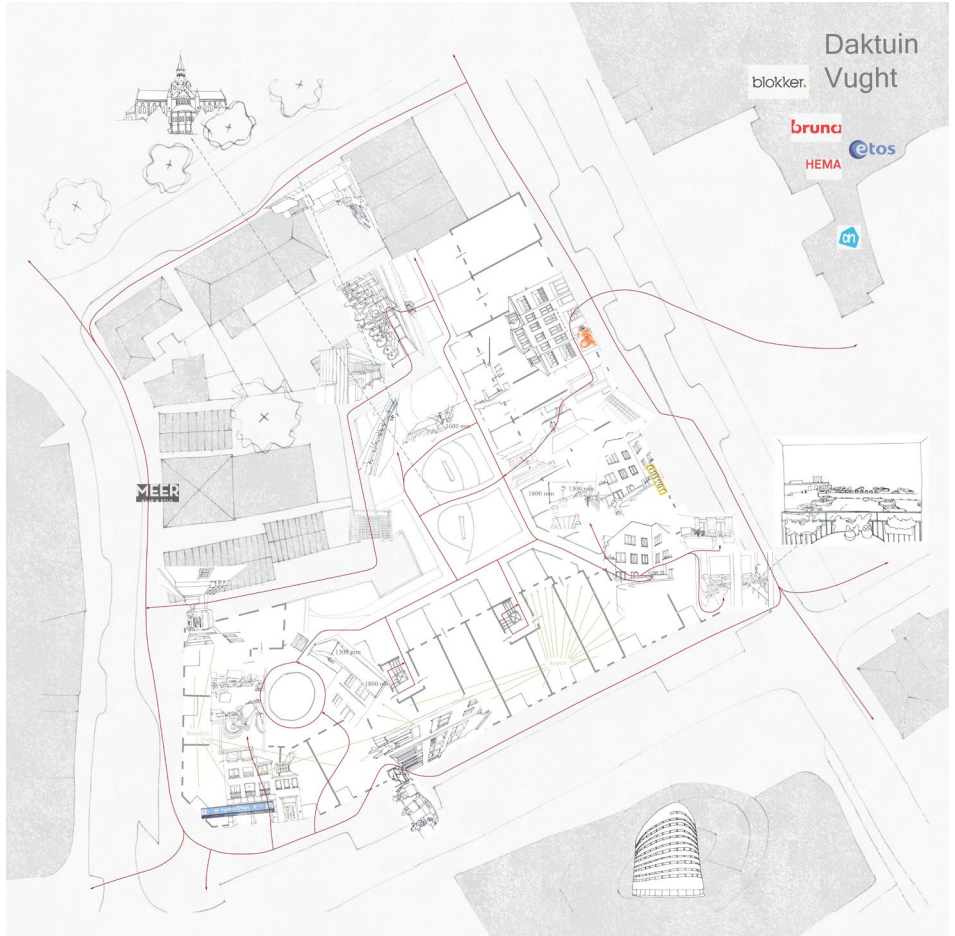
Figure 30: *Mapping "Daktuin in Vught". By: Janneke Visser*

For this route, one starts by following the walking route in the top right corner. One enters through a door with a ATM machine right next to it, represented by the logo of the bank. When one follows the route in the direction of the rooftop garden and eventually to the subject's house, one walks past several halls and door, which tells us that the rooftop garden is not very accessible for the public. Arriving on the rooftop garden one comes across hedges, which separates the houses visually from the part of the rooftop garden where people play jeu du boules. The striped blue lines indicate visual relations with the surroundings. One line refers to the visibility of a landmark, the church, from the rooftop. The other sightline refers to the rooftop being visible from the public street. When following the walking route to the bottom right of the mapping, one walks past hedges that surround gardens of residents of the building, which allows for relations to form. Then the walking route splits into three lines. One line leads further into the building. Another line leads one into the home of one of the residents and shows the view from one of the residents towards public space. The third line leads to a perspective that shows the garden from the residents home.

Another route we can follow is the route to the back entrance of the house. To do this we start at the house where we just finished. First one walks past the shared green space and the gardens of neighbors. To exit the rooftop, one goes down a stairs, walks past a bicycle parking and a garbage collection place. These are places where residents meet and are therefore shown on the mapping. Before actually being able to exit, one has to pass a high locked fence, which emphasizes the fact that the rooftop is not meant to be accessible for the public.

Figure 31: *Cut-out of mapping: Route from main entrance to home of elderly man. By: Janneke Visser*

Route towards home of "meneer B."

You are on your way to visit "meneer B" and found yourself looking for the entrance of the building for quite a bit. How does this building work? It is definitely not clear from the outside.
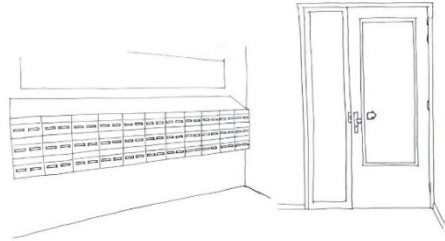
Finally you found it. You check if you have everything on you to meet "Meneer B." today and by the time you are ready, the second door you want to go through is already locked again! This building definitely does not host uninvited people.
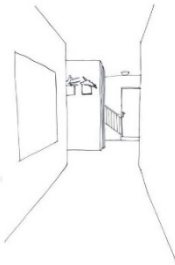
The amount of mailboxes made you wonder about the inhabitants of the building. Where do they live? You walk on through the hallway and up the stairs. What a quest!
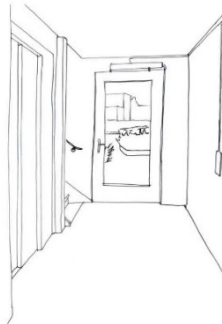
Then, on the first floor you see a garden through a glass door. Is this it? Than "meneer B." appears behind the window and helps guide you to his house.
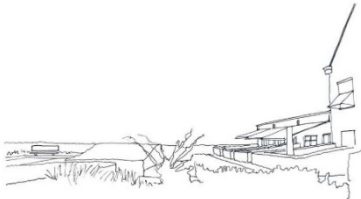
What a luscious garden! Lots of color and different kind of plants. In the distance you see the church of Vught, how nice! Also you see that plants are used to provide people with a certain amount of privacy. "meneer B." tells you the height of the hedges has changed over time. People wanted the hedges to be higher on more public sides so that people that walk by do not immediately look into the gardens.
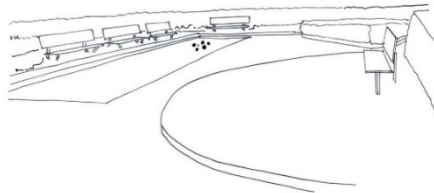
You walk further into the garden and see the "jeu du boules" field your friend told you about. This is the place he randomly ended up with "lots of beer and old people". In real life it looks a little less exciting then he told you.

Then "meneer B." point out his home, right there in the corner. He has a small garden but is very happy with it. His wife could not be in the sun too long, but since she sadly passed away he finds himself sitting in the sun more often. You say hi to the neighbors who are sitting in their garden on your way to the doorstep of "meneer B.".

You notice the cozy room layout with enough space to entertain people.
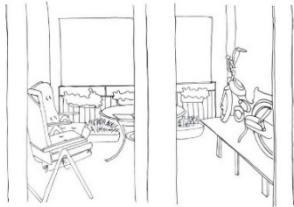
Right beside it you see a balcony. You think about how nice it is to be able to sit in the sun on different moments of the day. In the morning you can drink your coffee here and in the afternoon you can work on your garden in the sun. Also you notice the motor bike. "meneer B." tells you the bike is for his grandson. Since he had no reception in his small storage room, he moved the bike upstairs. This way his ill wife could always reach him.
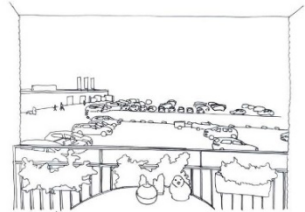
You enter the balcony and look over de railing. You see a big parking lot and lots of people walking in and out of the shopping center. "meneer B." tells you this wide view is one of the reasons he bought this house. Unfortunately the parking lot has to make room for more shops in the future.

Route from home of "meneer B." to back exit
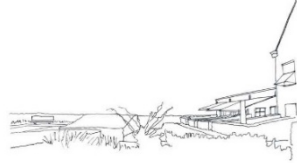
You, "meneer B.", are on your way out to go for a bike ride.

You walk past the gardens of your neighbors and see that they have their sun shades out. What lovely weather.
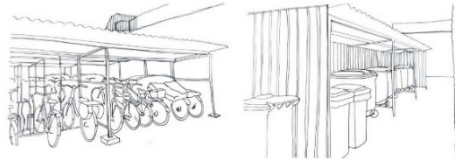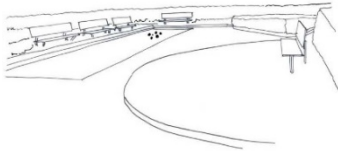
Still no-one at the "jeu du boules" part of the garden. Only a few times a year that space is actually used. The thought passes your mind quickly. You do not really have anything to complain about the garden. Maybe a water feature, inviting some birds to the garden could make it even nicer.

After walking past the shared garden, you walk down the stairs and are now on ground level. You say hi to a person that has just taken out her trash.
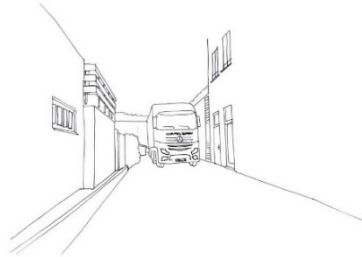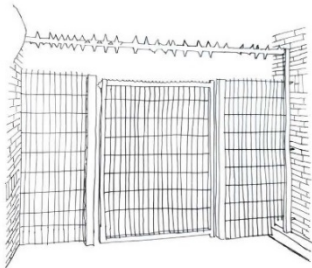
Before you can hop on your bike you have to open a fence that protects the garden from unwanted visitors. In the distance you see the backs of supermarkets. Not an amazing view, but you do not mind since it is a space you pass through quickly.

Then finally you approach the street. You watch back and see the rim of the shared garden adjacent to your home. You feel lucky to live on such a nice hidden green spot right in the center of Vught.

Reading the map "Oude school in Haarlem"

To the right, one can see the mapping of the setting in Haarlem. In this setting the green lines show the relations of one of the residents who is in the residents committee and therefore has relations with many of the residents in this building. When looking at the walking routes, one can see that there is one main entrance and several back entrances. Let's start following the walking route from the public street towards the main entrance.
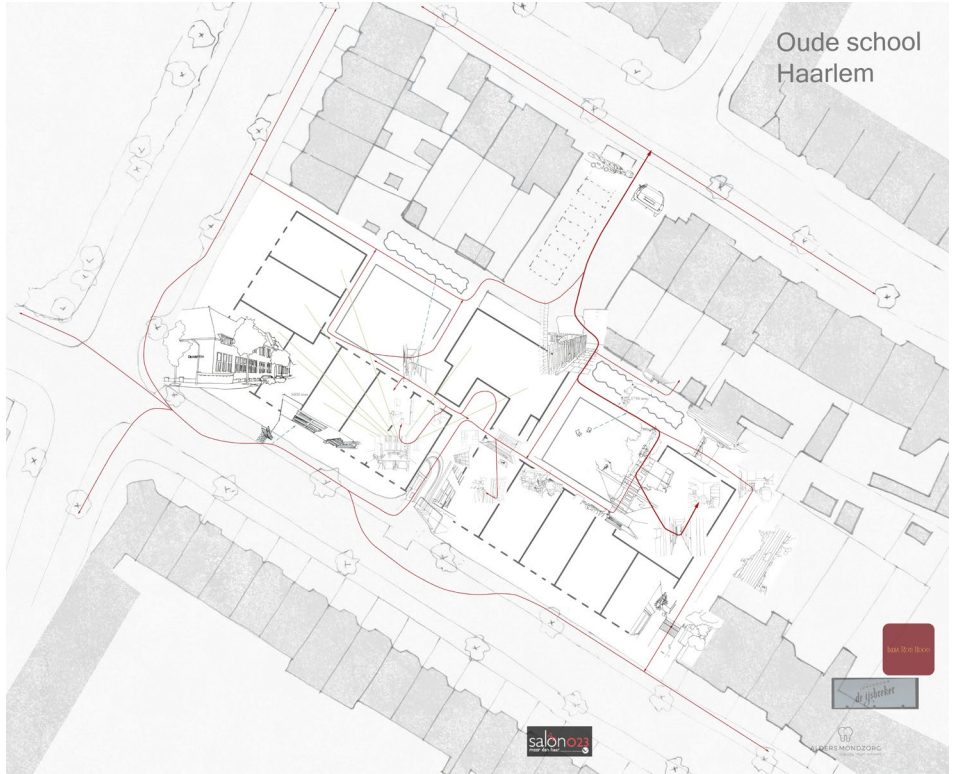
Figure 32: *Mapping "Oude school in Haarlem". By: Janneke Visser*

In the top left corner we see the corner of the building from the public intersection. When we walk towards the main entrance we pass the façade of the building, which is separated from the street by a low stone border. The element that blocks the view of the public from looking far into the home is the height of the windows, which provides the residents with some privacy. The main entrance of the building is very visible and has large doors with a window above it providing light in the hall behind it. Along the walking route towards the homes are mailboxes and a pinboard with notices for the residents. After that, the residents or visitors have a choice to either go up the stairs or to go on past the house of one of the subjects towards one of the green spaces. Since people either have to go through this central hall or through shared green space to get to their homes in this setting, there is lots of opportunity for people to meet. When one goes up the stairs, one passes the "gemeenschappelijke ruimte" which translates to community room. Here tables and chairs are placed and several communal activities take place. After walking past the door towards the communal space one can access a gallery which goes past the homes of the residents. This gallery is appropriated by the people by putting down chairs and small tables where they can for example drink wine. As visible through the sight line, when one is walking on the gallery, one is visible from the shared green space.

Figure 33: *Cut-out of mapping: Route from public road to shared spaces in building. By: Janneke Visser*

When choosing the route towards the green space, one first walks past the homes of one of the interviewed residents. Access towards the shared green space can be gained by walking through a small hallway where the second door towards the outside is locked. This is necessary since one of the back exits is not locked towards the public street. This is the route which goes in the direction of the top of the image. When one follows this route one passes a parking lot with at the end of it garbage disposal units. This is a relevant element in the social relations of the residents. To walk towards this garbage disposal one has to walk past the homes of others and past the shared green space, which allows for people to meet and see others. Entrances towards other homes bordering on the green space are made more private by green borders with a height of approximately 1.75 meter. One can still notice people walking behind the green hedges which makes the hedges a semi-transparent border. Also bordering the green space are the storage spaces. Among other things people keep their bikes here. Since the exit that passes the garbage disposal is not locked off, people tend to take this route. That is why the red line of this route is thicker in the map. The other route is used less. The residents I spoke to told me they found it too much effort to unlock and lock the gate when there is also an open connection to the public street available. The accessibility of the public street of the back entrance with the gate makes for a more private place. This place is appropriated by the people who live right next to it. In the perspective this is visible in the chairs, tables and garden, which are owned and maintained by the residents living beside it.

Figure 34: *Cut-out of mapping: Shared (Green) outside space. By: Janneke Visser*

Route from public street to the shared garden

You are on your way to visit "mevrouw I.". You are interested in architecture and heard that "mevrouw I." lives in a very interesting building, which used to be a school building. When you approach the building it reminds you of your own old school building. What a public appearance!

You walk on towards the building and are impressed by the large monumental entrance. No doubt about where to enter the building. You try to look for where "mevrouw I." would live but you can't see much through the high windows.

After walking up the small stairs you pass mail boxes. You wonder if you need to press a button but someone already opens up the door for you from the central hallway.
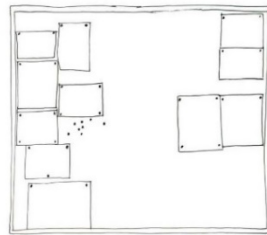
You walk past a notice board and see that the residents of this building are reaching out to each other quite a bit. Activities are posted, but also if there is something wrong, at least the number you should call is right on this board!

Then you notice the hollow sound of the space you are in and you take a moment to look around. What a nice high space with light coming through windows up above. Also you notice the amount of doors you can go through and you are not sure exactly where to go.

You remember "mevrouw I." told you she lived in the first apartment to the right on the ground floor. You take the door to the right and enter a small hallway. This must be the place. You see the paintings and doorhanger and want to compliment "mevrouw I." on those later. You are about to ring the bell but are distracted by what you see through the glass door..
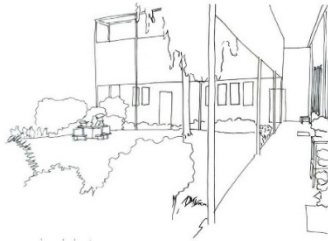
Wow! What a lovely garden. This must have been the playground for the children. Not it looks like a perfect shared green space. How would people use this space? You see people walking up on the gallery above you. You wonder if they would use the space.
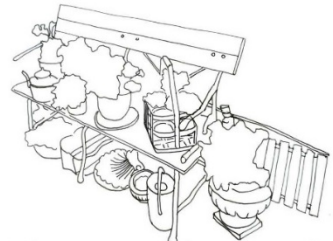
Besides the home where you believe "mevrouw I." lives you see a bench with lots of plants and pots. Also other people have put some things out on the backside of their homes. The chair on the right side of the bench makes you want to sit down on the grass in the sun. That must be what people do around here!

Route from shared garden to back entrance
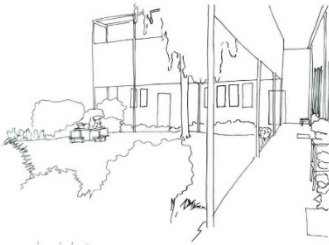
You, "mevrouw I." are about to throw away your green waste. How nice that always when you have to do this you walk past the shared garden. Especially in times of a crisis. Maybe you will even encounter a neighbor for some small talk.
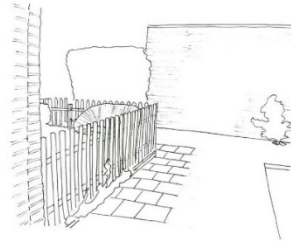
You walk on and are about to turn the corner as you encounter your neighbor who is also throwing out her green waste. After some small talk you walk on past the low fence of your other neighbor. You do not know her that well, so after saying hi you keep walking.
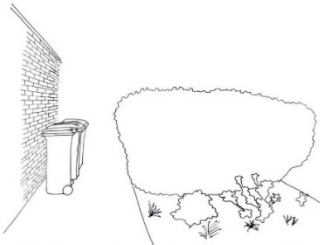
Before exiting the garden you look to your right and wonder whose backyard that alley leads to. You have seen them sometimes but the hedge which is around eye-height hides them from your view when you are sitting in the garden. Even though you wonder who these neighbors are you feel the hedge provides a nice bit of privacy.

Then finally you arrive at the waste disposal. Behind the disposal you see the streets of the neighborhood. Also other people throw away their waste here. Sometimes it can be a mess you feel it is nice to see a bit of the neighborhood this way every now and then.
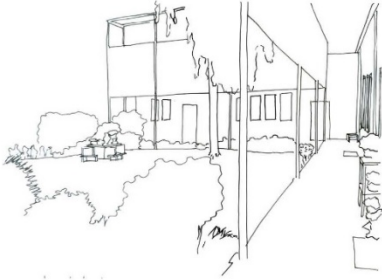
You, "mevrouw I." heard the neighbors have made a cute garden for themselves at one of the back entrances of the building and are happy to take a look.
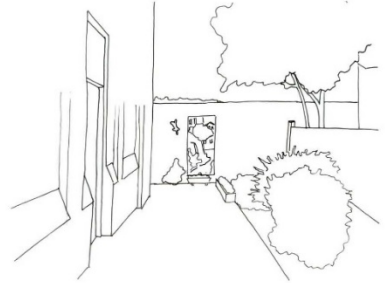
After you walked along the garden and turned the corner around the building, you arrive in a small lane. Immediately you see a poster of a nature landscape. When you enter the property this way, it must be nice to always see this landscape.
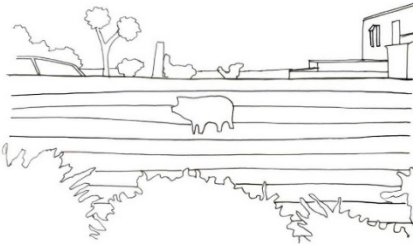
You look over your left shoulder and see the tops of the trees of the gardens of adjacent houses. What a nice and sheltered place this is.
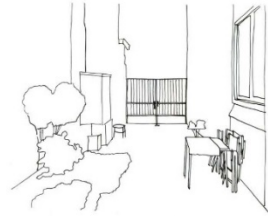
Then you arrive at the actual back entrance. You know most residents in the building do not really use this entrance since the fence is locked and people do not feel it is worth the hustle of opening up the lock, opening the fence, closing the fence and locking the fence again. How nice that the people living next to this entrance have appropriated this place through the plants and sitting place.

Analysis of maps in tables

For the analysis part of this research it was necessary to determine what elements, that constitute the mappings, are representative of the dimensions of social space. To find these elements, clues are found in social relations themselves (social dimension of social space) and in traces of social relations (physical dimension of social space). The relation between the dimensions that the elements in the maps represent are shown on the next page in a conceptual scheme.

Access
Agency
Interest

Metaphysical
dimension

Social space

Physical
dimension

Architecutral
elements with
traces of social
space

Social
dimension

Social
relations

Public   Private
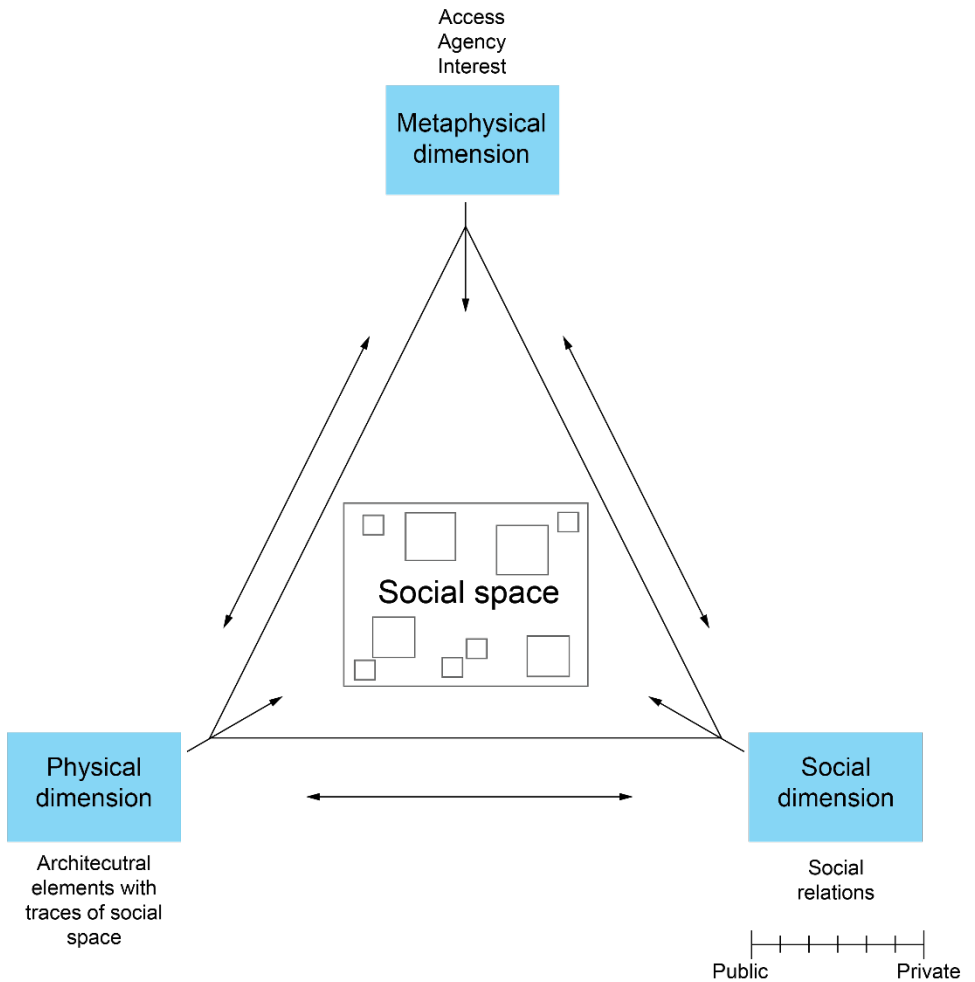
Figure 35: *Conceptual scheme: Dimensions of social space*

The social relations themselves have been studied by means of a subjective study of human behavior and actual relations. In this study I found walking routes, sightlines and the presence of certain social relations as elements that influence social relations.

To study traces of social relations, elements that relate to the physical dimension of space have been found to influence social space. In this analysis, the public-private distinction played an important role. Comparing different sides of a property is one of the main tools to define the character of public and private spheres. [54] Which confirms different sides (front/back) of the property are elements that influence social relations. Also the transition between public and private zones and its boundary have been found to be elements that can represent social space.

Since experiencing space is not a stationary phenomenon, the maps are also analyzed through sequences of space. Part of these sequences are not only different sides of the property one comes across when moving through a setting, but also spaces where people meet, like a bicycle parking, and physical elements that influence social relations, like the "half door".

The found elements overlap to some extent with elements that mental maps of cities should consist of according to Kevin Lynch. In his book "The image of the city", Lynch proposes that mental maps of cities should consist of five elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. [55]

Elements by Lynch	Definition	Elements in this thesis
Paths	Routes along which people move through the city	Sequences (also walking routes)
Edges	Boundaries and breaks in continuity	Entrances, sides of buildings, boundaries, transition zones
Districts	Area's characterized by common characteristics	Shared social space/shared green

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[54] Ibid. P.56 Madanipour, A. (2003). *Public and private spaces of the city*. Routledge. P.56
[55] de Lange, M. (2009). *Review: Kevin Lynch - The Image of the City*. Retrieved 27 Juli 24, 2020, from http://themobilecity.nl/2009/05/08/review-kevin-lynch-the-image-of-the-city/

Nodes	Strategic focus points for orientation like squares and junctions	Shared social space, services
Landmarks	External points of orientation, usually an easily identifiable physical object in the urban landscape	Landmarks (also services in the form of shops)

Figure 36: *Table comparing elements Lynch with elements thesis*

A mental map or cognitive map is a "mental devise and store which help to simplify, code and order the endlessly complex world of human interaction with the environment"[56] The map constructed in this thesis is not a mental map of the researcher, but a visualization of the ethnographic place, based on the gained knowledge of the place and research on the experiences and behaviors of subjects. The maps are representative of an intersubjective reality and not a subjective reality as in cognitive maps.

Through this thesis I was able to define three more elements of influence, which are in line with elements Lynch describes: shared space/shared green space, landmarks and facilities.

Comparing the found elements in a table made it possible to look for patterns on how these elements relate to the social, physical and metaphysical dimension. The first row of the table, shown on the next page, includes all the elements that are found to be representative of the dimensions of social space. The next three rows consist of the elements for all three locations. In the fifth row how the elements relate to the three dimensions can be found in keywords.

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[56] Kitchin, R. M. (1994). Cognitive maps: What are they and why study them?. *Journal of environmental psychology*, *14*(1), P. 2

By making the maps and analyzing the maps in the table it has been possible to give answers to the research question: How do independently living elderly use space in and around the home, relating to the social, physical and metaphysical dimension of social space? The answers can be found in the catalog on the following pages. In the conclusion I will elaborate on how the elements relate to the three dimensions of social space in a more generalized manner.

Figure 37: *Table comparing elements that represent social space: Janneke Visser*

Elements with traces of social relations

	Front (Main entrance)
Daktuin Vught	
Oude school Haarlem	
Hofje Zandvoort	
Three dimensions of social space Social (S) Physical (P) Metaphysical (M)	(S) Neighbors between each other, residents and strangers (P) Openable gate vs. closed/locked door Very recognisable vs. indistinct main entrance (M) Access Consciousness of direction

Figure 38: *Fragment of Table comparing elements that are of influence on social space. By: Janneke Visser*

How the elements relate to dimensions of social space

Front (Main entrance)

When looking at how the main entrances relate to the social dimension, I found that the main entrance is a place where residents meet each other but mostly residents meet with strangers/the public. Where the entrance was very recognizable and visible, the entrance referred to a more public setting behind the doors or fence. In the hofje it referred to the accessible green space and in the old school it referred to the old function of the building. The accessibility of the green space of the hofje for the public seems to be stressed by the transparency of the openable gate in comparison to the locked doors at the other settings. Also, the entrance is announced by gate with a big clock on top.

Front of dwelling

When looking at the front of the dwellings through the social dimension, I found that the spaces right in front of the dwelling were mostly used by the residents themselves and their neighbors and visitors. Also In the hofje, where the green space also has a public function, the public does not necessarily pass by this area considered the front of the dwelling. Although there is a visual relation with this element from the shared green space. In all settings there is a space in front of the dwelling which can be appropriated by the residents. To control the privacy of the residents, several physical attributes of the front of the dwelling can be pointed out. More on these physical attributes can be read under the header "Transition public/private". At the setting in Vught, the front of the dwelling relates the residents to other dwellings through visual relations. Here the dweller has a vision on other homes and other peoples chimneys through the window at the front of their dwelling.

Back (Shared to back sequence)

The back is analyzed through a sequence of perspectives from shared space to the back entrances. In all settings there is an option to walk past or through shared space when exiting the home setting. The people that meet through this sequence of space are mostly residents amongst each other. Only at the hofje in Vught residents possibly encounter visitors of the hofje. Along the back exit route there are a few places where residents can

meet each other. In all locations one walks past green space and fronts of dwellings. In Vught for example one also walks past the bike shed and garbage collection point. In Haarlem one also walks past a garbage collection point. A less used back exit in Haarlem is appropriated by the people living next to it. This makes for a more private meeting place. Interesting about the hofje in Zandvoort is how public the green space for passers-by is.

Front (Front to shared sequence)

Another sequence which I looked at is the sequence from the front to the shared space. Here I found that residents meet with each other and with strangers. Interesting to find was that the amount of corridors and halls was higher to reach more private shared space, compared to when trying to reach the more public shared space of the hofje. In Haarlem it was interesting to see that there was a possibility of appropriation of the halls toward the shared space through which people could relate to one another. For example through the pinboard in the main hall. Also one walks past homes when taking this route, where people hung their own pictures and paintings on the walls where others walked by.

Elements with traces of social relations
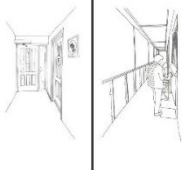
	Front (Main entrance)	Front (Front to shared sequence)		Back (Shared to back sequence)		Front of dwelling
Daktuin Vught						
Oude school Haarlem						
Hofje Zandvoort						
Three dimensions of social space Social (S) Physical (P) Metaphysical (M)	(S) Neighbors between each other, residents and strangers (P) Openable gate vs. closed/locked door Very recognisable vs. indistinct main entrance (M) Access Consciousness of direction	(S) Neighbors between each other, residents and strangers (P) Multiple vs. single corridors Gates to be opened vs. closed door (M) Access Possibility of appropriation		(S) Neighbors between each other, sometimes residents and strangers (P) Bike and garbage storage as meeting point Walking route along private/public border Boundary walking route with vs. without lock (M) Access Bordering on other zones Functionality		(S) Close neighbors between each other, sometimes residents and strangers, residents and acquaintances (P) Half door Window overlooking other homes (window/chimney) Flexible height hedge: 1.80m public, 1.30m private (M) Transparency Flexibility

Figure 39: *Fragment of Table comparing elements that are of influence on social space. By: Janneke Visser*

Walking routes

As mentioned, walking routes influence social relations. The role of the physical dimension herein is the transparency and height of the border. Low borders can guide a person to walk on a certain path while remaining sight on spaces he or she walks past. Having sight on other zones where people reside or walk by allows for social relations to come about. For example in the settings in Haarlem and Vught, where the walking route that leads to the garbage collection and into the neighborhood, leads people past shared green space. When walking the route from the main entrance to the homes of the residents in the hofje in Zandvoort, people either are in direct contact with neighbors on the stoop right in front of their house or see each other in or outside the home. On all locations, the route towards the home is of influence on which people residents meet by meeting or seeing. This possibly results in the fact that people mostly relate to people close to their homes. For example on the location in Zandvoort, the actual relations the observed resident had were with people who lived closer to her home than of people from the homes further away.

Shared space (Green)

Shared space has influenced social relations in several ways. In all settings there are shared spaces which have a very central location. The central location of these spaces create the opportunity for people to meet other residents and possibly strangers. I have found the possibility of appropriation to be important for social relations to form in these spaces,. For example in the central hall in Haarlem appropriation is possible through the pin up wall. Here people can reach out to one another. But also being able to hang a poster or frame in front of the door in the hallway adjacent to the central hall creates the opportunity to relate to one another. Also the possibility of appropriation of the green spaces influences social relations. People could relate to one another by taking care of parts of the shared

	Shared space (Green)	Walking routes
Daktuin Vught		
Oude school Haarlem		
Hofje Zandvoort		
Three dimensions of social space Social (S) Physical (P) Metaphysical (M)	(S) Neighbors between each other, sometimes residents and strangers (P) Taking care of plants by people living adjacent to green space Flexible use of green vs. flexible use of borderzone public/private (M) Appropriation Flexibility Functionality	(S) Neighbors between each other, sometimes residents and strangers (P) Continuous route vs. linear route Route closed with lock vs. openly accessible route Facilities alongside rout (M) Continuity Access

Figure 40: *Fragment of Table comparing elements that are of influence on social space. By: Janneke Visser*

green space. In Haarlem and Zandvoort for example people had the opportunity to take care of parts of the green space. They could plant their own plants and take care of them. One person even built a small statue in his own small garden. He related not only to his fellow residents through this, but also to the tourists visiting the hofje, who wanted to take lots of pictures from this statue.

When walking from the main entrance to the residents' homes in the settings in Vught and Zandvoort, one not only walks past other people's homes and stoops, but one also walks along shared green spaces. By walking past, one can possibly relate to people who use the green space. Visual relationships between people on the route and people in their garden / on their sidewalk are also possible.

 Similar relationships are possible in Haarlem. Here one walks along the shared green space when using the back exits. People here make use of the green by placing chairs on grass when the sun is shining. Not only can people on the walking route relate to each other. There can also be a relationship between people on the walking route and people sitting on the grass. The proximity of the shared green space to the dwelling in this setting has influenced which of the two available communal green areas was used most.

Another thing I noticed about the shared spaces at the three settings is that they were used in a more private manner whenever doors were locked, like in the setting in Haarlem, or people had to go through several spaces before entering the shared space, like in the setting in Vught.

Sightlines

Also sightlines were of influence on social relations in several ways. This is an element that influences relationships between residents themselves, between residents and other neighbors and between residents and strangers.

An example sightlines influencing the relation between residents can be found in Zandvoort. Here the studied resident looked out for her neighbor by checking if her neighbor took a shower every morning. She has been able to do this because of the view on the steam outlet of the shower of the neighbor, on the roof of the neighbor, through some of her windows. The sightline between the windows of one resident and the steam outlet of the other resident provides the opportunity for social control to take place. At the setting in Vught this form of social control was less possible. In the setting in Vught there is no sightline on steam outlets, but also there is no view on rooms from the shared space, other than on the bedroom and spare bedroom. This means that if the residents do not open the curtain in their bedroom, there is no way to check if the person is doing alright from the outside. Also in Haarlem this is the case. Here social control before corona used to be possible through the weekly organized coffee afternoon. Also the downstairs neighbors could hear their upper neighbors flush the toilet, which can be seen as a way to check upon the neighbors.

Another example of a sightlines influencing relations between residents and neighbors who do not live in the same building complex have been found. For example in Zandvoort, the sightline from the appropriated space at the back of the houses towards the garages of the houses on the other side of the street. This sightline provides the opportunity for residents of the hofje and residents of the neighboring homes to relate to one another. Also, this road is a route that lots of tourists walk towards the station in Zandvoort. The sightline therefore also provides the possibility of a visual relation between residents and strangers.

In Haarlem, the sightline influencing relations between residents and neighbors is the sightline from the shared greenspace towards the back entrances of the adjacent houses. Green hedges work as a transparent border between the shared green space and these entrances. The semi-blocked sightline provides the residents of the adjacent homes with some privacy. In Vught a block of vision is used to separate more public and more private area's through green borders. These borders allow for more public and more private relations.

In all settings the residents seemed to enjoy watching people, thereby relating to them, and watching things happen. In the setting in Zandvoort for example people enjoyed watching newlyweds visit their hofje to take pictures in the shared green space. Also people liked to see people walk past their house towards the station. In Vught people liked to watch the busy parking field right in front of a busy shopping center.

An example of sightlines influencing social relations between residents and visitors, acquaintances and friends in this setting is the sightline on the clock of the hofje right above the main entrance. The residents of the hofje use this clock as a means of directing people towards their hofje. The fact that these residents live in a hofje relates the residents to strangers, through the historical meaning of the typology and former use of the building. In Vught, the church, which is visible from the shared green space, allowed people to relate to others through the historical meaning of this landmark.
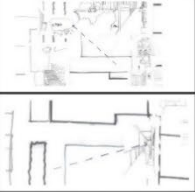
	Sightlines
Daktuin Vught	
Oude school Haarlem	
Hofje Zandvoort	
Three dimensions of social space Social (S) Physical (P) Metaphysical (M)	(S) Neighbors between each other, between residents and acquiantances and between residents and strangers (P) Height as means of directing sight View on other homes as a means of social control Separation in public or private zones by means of partitions Views on landmark (M) Transparency Consciousness of direction Meaning to individual

Figure 41: *Fragment of Table comparing elements that are of influence on social space. By: Janneke Visser*

Social relations

During this research I have found that people relate to one another either by contacting each other directly, by keeping an eye out for one another, through visual relations or by sharing space and elements in space. When looking at social relations on the mappings, one can see that the social relations are often clusters of relations. Besides talking about the reason why these relations are clustered these way, one can argue that the existence of these clusters influence the actual relations of the residents with each other and with others.

An example of a reason a cluster exists can be found in Zandvoort. In Zandvoort the houses of the residents were adjacent to a wide stoop, which is between the homes and the shared green space. Besides the patches of green some people appropriated, this is the area the people appropriated and used. The actual green grass was not used, except by some, according to the elderly, unwelcome children. Here the disagreement between residents over use of green influences the social relations/contacts. The elderly do not have great relationships with the parents of the children anymore. This finding gave me insight in the fact that there must be a consensus on the use of the green space and that the wants and needs of different groups of people might conflict with each other in the use of the green space and result in clusters of people who do and do not get along with each other. In this setting in Zandvoort also the fact that some people smoke and others do not result in people clustering together. In Vught, there is a clustering of renters and a clustering of buyers. This separation of groups could result from the fact that the renters and buyers are physically separated by a border in the form of a fence, but also possibly by the fact that the physical appearance of renters homes is different from the physical appearance of the homes of the buyers.

In Haarlem I found that the amount of contacts seemed to be influenced by the total time an elderly lived at the location. One of the residents who has only lived there for a short amount of time had few social contacts. A resident I interviewed who has lived there for a longer period of time had many contacts. She told me it was easy for

	Social relations	Transition public/private	
Daktuin Vught			
Oude school Haarlem			
Hofje Zandvoort			
Three dimensions of social space Social (S) Physical (P) Metaphysical (M)	(S) Neighbors between each other, between residents and acquiantances and between residents and strangers (P) Physical seperation between target groups Visible conflict in maintenance and use of shared green (M) Meaning and names	(S) Neighbors between each other and between residents and strangers (P) Curtains closed in case of too little privacy No use of transition zone if too little privacy Distance to source of nuisance small enough to converse about the nuisance Gradual transition by means of green borders (M) Transparency Appropriation Access	

Figure 42: *Fragment of Table comparing elements that are of influence on social space. By: Janneke Visser*

people to get to know each other quickly through the central shared space where people drank coffee every week. Also through the building committee she knew many residents, which means a possibility of involvement in the activities and organization of things in and around the building also provides residents with the opportunity to get in touch.

Transition public/private

The physical dimension of social space is for example relevant through physical elements demarking space. The role of physical elements has been especially important in demarking the transition between the public and the private. In the settings in Haarlem and Zandvoort the transition between the public and private was dealt with through a height difference. Transparency of these demarking elements for example influenced visual relations between residents and other users of space. Agency to control this transparency allowed residents to have control over what social contacts they would submerge themselves in. At the rooftop garden in Vught the height of the hedges and the curtains behind the windows are used as a more gradual transition between the public and he private. At the hofje in Zandvoort the fronts of the houses are at a distance from the public walking route through the more public green space. Both in the setting in Haarlem and in the setting in Zandvoort the transition zone between the public and the private was wide enough to be appropriated, which allowed for social relations to form on these places. In the location in Zandvoort, the transition zone between the public and the private at the back of the homes, facing the public street, was barely appropriated by the residents. The residents I spoke with about this phenomenon told me they only sit on the side of the hofje to have a coffee or tea, or they would visit one of the café's nearby. The public character of the place seems to have divested people of sitting on that side of their home.

Landmarks

As mentioned under the header "sightlines" the historical meaning and relevance of the "Hofje" in Zandvoort and the church in Vught influenced relations between residents and strangers. In Haarlem the building itself can be seen as a landmark through its former function. Older people who live in Haarlem know this building as being a school and relate to it as it being a landmark in the city.

Services

The different settings were all located in cities, one more central and close to services than the other. The influence of services on social relations I have found in two ways. One way is that by use of the same services as the neighbors, one has the opportunity to see and meet these neighbors. In Vught for example the supermarket was very close to the people's home. In Haarlem I got to know that the residents I interviewed go to the shops by car. If they would become more ill, they would need someone to do this for them which would deprive them of meeting others in shops and on their way to shops. Another role that services play in social relations is that they can provide visual relations. I have found an example of this in Vught. Here the balconies of a number of residents look out over a large parking lot belonging to an adjoining shopping mall. The residents can look out at others visiting the shopping mall from their balcony and have visual relations and contact with people walking by.

	Landmarks	Services
Daktuin Vught		blokker. bruna etos HEMA MEER JUMBO ah
Oude school Haarlem		salono23 Lau Von Roos de ijsberhet
Hofje Zandvoort		ah Allure bruna etos FEBO ONS rabbel
Three dimensions of social space Social (S) Physical (P) Metaphysical (M)	(S) Between residents and strangers, between residents and acquaintances (P) View on landmarks (M) Historical meaning Consciousness of direction Meaning to individual Attracting different target groups	(S) Neighbors between each other, between residents and acquiantances and between residents and strangers (P) Basic provisions at walking distance vs. use of car Restaurant provisions in neighborhood where many people come by vs. restaurant facilities adjacent to buildings where many people come (M) Access Meaning and names

Figure 43: *Fragment of Table comparing elements that are of influence on social space. By: Janneke Visser*

Conclusion

In this research I asked myself the question how the home environment relates to the social relations of elderly. Object of study therefore were the (social) behaviors of elderly themselves and the physical world which gets its meaning through these social relations. The spaces as a product of these social relations in this thesis are non-physical spaces called "social spaces". To get a more deep insight in social spaces, elements that influence social relations are studied through three dimensions: the social, the physical and the metaphysical dimension.[57] The main research question posed is: How do independently living elderly use space in and around the home, relating to the social, physical and metaphysical dimension of social space? Through this research I found that people use the space *in* their home by looking out of their windows, onto shared space, public space and the property of their neighbors. *Around* their home the most interesting factors in the use of space by elderly are shared space and the transition between public and private.

To study use of space a method of short-term ethnographical research was chosen. This research method allows for both the actual behaviors and relations of people, as well as the objects and spaces relating to these relations to be studied. Both actual relations as objects and spaces relating to these relations are part of dimensions that are of influence on social space. Also less tangible reasons for why things are the way they are can be found through short-term ethnographical research, relevant to the metaphysical dimension of social space.

      The next step I undertook was to document and visualize the social space of the elderly. To do that I had to find out how social space can be visualized. Elements emerging from this research were: fronts, backs, sequences from front to back, shared space, transitions between public and private, borders between public and private, sightlines, social relations, walking routes, landmarks and services. The elements found through this thesis show similarities to the elements Lynch proposes to represent space in his book "The image of the city". [58] In essence Lynch proposes for mental maps of cities to consist of five elements: paths, edges, districts nodes and landmarks. In contrast to the maps of Lynch, the maps made in this thesis visualize an intersubjective reality instead of a subjective reality.

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[57] Schwarz, B., & Brent, R. (2001). The architectural metamorphis of long-term care settings. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, P. 260

[58] de Lange, M. (2009). *Review: Kevin Lynch - The Image of the City*. Retrieved 27 Juli 24, 2020, from http://themobilecity.nl/2009/05/08/review-kevin-lynch-the-image-of-the-city/

The starting point for visualizing social space were the social relations that constitute it. In particular the distinctions between more public and more private social relations. I have found during this research that sides of properties for example showed this more public or private character of relations Sides showed this for example through accessibility. Some sides showed accessibility to the public and others didn't. In the physical dimension, the accessibility of space was controlled by for example gates, (glass) doors, green borders like hedges, height differences of stoops, fences and locks or the absence of these objects. As Mandipouri writes in "Public and private spaces in the city", comparing different sides of the property is one of the ways to define the character of public or private spheres. [59] Ben and Gaus[60] describe access as one of the features of practices determining how public or private relations are.[61]

Between the very public zones and the private zone I found an evident boundary relating to both the public and the private. Between the shared space and the private zone there often were more fluid transitions between public and private zones. This is in line with what has been described in literature by Jane Jacobs. She writes that in cities, which are very public zones, what is public and what is private must be clearly demarked. In contrast to for example projects or suburban settings, where public and private zones can ooze into each other.[62] I have found that these more fluid transition zones allowed for social relations between residents and between residents and others to form. The more evident boundaries allowed for a certain amount of privacy to be controlled. The transparency of these borders determined the privacy of the people. Agency over this transparency therefore proved important for the people to be able to decide over their privacy and relations. Also the agency of people to appropriate space has been found important for social relations to form. Like access, agency is one of the features of activities or practices described in literature as determining how public or private social relations are.[63]

If and how people appropriate transition zones as well as shared spaces, is influenced strongly by the physical dimension. Shared spaces or transition zones where there was enough place to sit, in the sun, without obstructing walking routes, with the possibility of watching people or activities, were places I found most people appropriated

[59] Madanipour, A. (2003). *Public and private spaces of the city*. Routledge. P.56
[60] Benn, S. I., & Gaus, G. F. (Eds.). (1983). *Public and private in social life*. Taylor & Francis. P. 7-10
[61] Ibid.
[62] Jacobs, J. (2016). *The death and life of great American cities*. Vintage. P. 35

[63] Benn, S. I., & Gaus, G. F. (Eds.). (1983). *Public and private in social life*. Taylor & Francis. P. 7-10

space and relations could form. These findings are in line with observations of William H. White. He writes in his manual "The social life of small urban spaces" that people reside in certain places if there are places to sit. Also he concludes people look for contact with the outside, like sitting in the sun and he has observed that people attract people.[64]

During the visits, I also found sightlines to be an element that influences social relations at the settings. Sightlines were used by people as a way to look after each other, to watch other people or activities, or to get in touch. An interesting characteristic of the practices of getting in touch, was that people used sightlines towards objects of meaning to direct people towards their home or away from their home.

The presence of certain social relations were found to be an element that influenced the behavior and relations of people. At the locations, existing clusters of relations were evident. These showed people being better or worse off by certain things. As a result of that some people had better relations with some than with others. This is an example where relations are influenced by interest. Ben and Gaus described interest as the third feature of activities and practices that determined how private or public relations are, besides access and agency. [65] In this thesis access, agency and interest are considered part of the metaphysical dimension.

Since experiencing space is not a stationary phenomenon, I also studied space through sequences of space. I analyzed the mappings through sequences of space or "serial visions". Similar to the way Gordon Cullen depicted landscapes of towns in serial visions, I depicted the social space of the elderly at the three settings. These serial visions showed me what opportunities the subjects of research had to form relations with others through the elements and objects he or she walked past. Found elements where people meet are transition zones and green areas. But also shared functions such as waste disposals and bicycle parking's were places where people met each other.

Analyzing space through sequences of space led me to find walking routes as an element representing a part of social space. I found that people relate to things they walk past. Relations of people walking the routes are influenced through the transparencies and heights of borders and the presence of shared space or public-to private transition zones beside the walking route.

Another place one can meet others is on shared space itself. Accessibility of shared spaces is of influence on what kind of relations form here. The appropriation of space can stimulate the meeting of others. Also, responsibility over a place or task increases the

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[64] Whyte, W. H. (1980). The social life of small urban spaces.
[65] Benn, S. I., & Gaus, G. F. (Eds.). (1983). *Public and private in social life*. Taylor & Francis. P. 7-10

opportunity for social relations to form. Lastly I found services and landmarks as elements that can represent parts of social space. Services indicate the presence of strangers and possibly acquaintances and friends with whom (visual) relations can be formed. Landmarks are elements that a lot of people can relate to and can function as a conversation piece to relate to one another. William H. White in his manual "The social life of small urban spaces" describes that some elements in space provide a linkage between strangers and bond people.[66]

In this paper a lot but definitely not all has been uncovered on how independently living elderly use space in and around the home, relating to the social, physical and metaphysical dimension of social space. Re-engagement with the gathered materials can lead to new knowledge on social space.

The next step in the process of this thesis is to find out how the knowledge gained through this research can be useful to me and other designers and architects. How can the knowledge on social space, gained through this thesis, be useful when designing a home setting for the elderly? A setting or environment in which knowledge on the relation between people, social relations, space and architectural elements is taken into account. This knowledge can partly be found in the catalog of elements in this thesis. The catalog illustrates elements representing social space in relation to the dimensions through findings at the three settings. During the design phase of the research I will investigate how this catalog can lead me to design principles.

As a design location, the city lures as an interesting design location. Here it seems the whole range of relations, from public to private seems to be possible to exist. But what exactly is a good location for a home in the city? And what is the urban form that suits as an intermediate scale between the scale of the dwelling and the urban scale? How can this form allow for more public and more private relations to exist? In the design phase of this thesis these questions will be addressed and the different possible relations between people and the role of space and architectural elements will be explored.

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[66] Whyte, W. H. (1980). The social life of small urban spaces.

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