The Role of Collective Memory in Shaping Public Squares; the Case of Republic Square, Male' City

Fathimath Shaheen[*]**, Janaka Wijesundara**[*]
University of Moratuwa, Sri Lanka

Abstract

It is a seeming paradox that the balance between society and built environment has a constant change as we evolve repeatedly, and our collective identity mean to facilitate new public spaces to boost our public life, as well re-shaping existing spaces. The public spaces we design directly or indirectly influence to our behavior, experiences and social interactions which in turn reflect how we respond to our built environment. Even though urban designing and planning paly wider role of this evolving procedure, sometimes some proposed design does not respond to the vital role of public spaces and unknowingly break the relationship between man and his environment by incorporating some ambiguous attributes.

This research aims to study the relationship between collective memory and public squares and the influence of public collective memory to shape and re-shape, to revitalize and utilize today's public squares. The qualitative and quantitative data to answer the research questions were gathered by conducting user survey, visual documentation and interviewing with community focus group.

The study is conducted through a close examination of the Republic Square of Male' city, which was once prevailed with a strong sense of community, though today it is seen as an isolated piece of public realm. By combining the theoretical background with qualitative research and quantitative methods, the paper aims to provide a better understanding on the underlying issues and possible solutions. Findings indicate that the success of the public squares is based on the experiences and rationalities of the urban past as evidenced by the historical continuity which characterizes the relationship between collective memory of its people and the public spaces.

Key Words: Collective Memory, Public Space, Public Square, Male', Sense of Belonging, Revitalization

Corresponding Authors: [*]; E-mail- -fshahyn@gmail.com; jwijesundara@uom.lk

Introduction

The paradox of collective memory in contemporary writing argues that it is the complex social phenomenon that in turn alters our perception of urban public spaces with its positive and negative factors. In this study, collective memory refers to the shared memories of inhabitants about their shared past and expressions they made when remembering buildings, spaces and places of the past and present city living (Halbwach, 1992). The collective memory in relation to public square is the consideration to its key role in revitalizing and creating memorable urban public squares which leads to strengthen the sense of community and sense of belonging.

Research Problem and Questions

This research focuses on the reasons behind underutilized or declined public squares, and an analysis of collective memory will be emphasized, especially in terms of its influence on the public squares. Public squares have a vital role to play in the cities by connecting various elements, offering wide range of activities and it happened to be the starting point for all community, retail business and social activities. At least that's the theory and that's how it should be. So the main research questions are;

Why people are abandoning and neglecting some important and historically significant public squares? How do these underutilized public squares can affect public collective memory? How sense of collective memory in terms of accumulation is necessary in revitalizing and creating memorable urban public squares?

Limitations of the study

This research study is focused on physical attributes, social aspects and sensory experience of public squares that influence to the transformation of the squares. The study limits the users and socio-cultural setting in the surroundings of the one of the largest and historically significant public spaces in Male' Republican Square.

The Concepts of Public Squares

The concept of Public Square has not much been changed in contemporary world and has the four main characteristics of place "as being: 1) historical, 2) imbued with human identity, 3) relational and 4) charged with symbolic meaning" (Augé, 1992 cited in Levy, 2010). Public Squares have been one of the inevitable components which enhance urban livability and are regarded as the heart and soul in every city from ancient times to till the date. We can see public spaces everywhere, but the distinction between other public spaces, and public squares are which squares signify something more powerful components in urban public life than other public spaces. It differs from parks, park lets, beaches and other public spaces, because "a public square is that on a square, the citizen is not connected to manifestations of nature but to the heart of urban culture, history and memory" (Levy 2010). History provides various examples of how great public squares were emerged, evolved and transformed. The ancient squares are very much different from contemporary public squares or city squares, in terms of its defining elements, dominating activities and the relationship built between people. It's one of the many reasons why the older and traditional squares are full of public sprits and more popular than recently emerged squares.

Today, the significant uses of public squares are diverse as they are used as a metaphor for all kinds of gathering rather than the traditional role of civic activities. Nevertheless all these

squares as forum, plazas, amphitheaters are mean to do the same such as mingling with other people, share and hear stories, exchange information to construct a sense of community and collective identity. Today, in the globalization context the physical setting of the square is influencing with the rapid expansion of metropolitan areas. City centers became crowded with vehicular activities. Since political protests and gatherings dominate the squares, they became more controlled and choreographed by governments and relevant authorities.
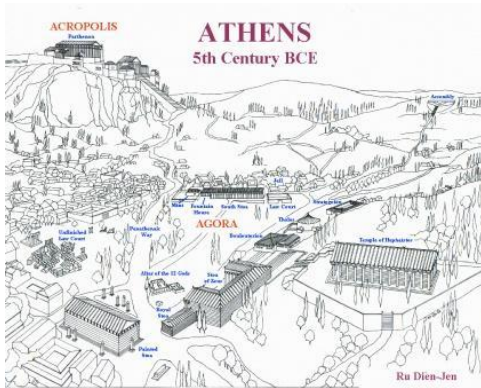

Fig. 1. Agora - The original of Public Square as "Commons". Source Spatial Frameworks (2011)

Fig. 2.A popular square in Copenhagen, Denmark. Source: placer sustain

Many scholars point out the symbolic roles of public squares. According to Lewis Mumford, a city is a "theater of social action" and its crucial function is the acculturation and humanization of its inhabitants (Mumford,1961) and for these purposes public squares, acts as a central formative element, makes the society "a community and not merely an aggregate of individuals" (Zucker 1959).Therefore, a good public square must function like stage to make the "Social Drama" more richly significant, well-designed, intensifies and underlines the gestures of the actors and the action of the play (Whyte,1980; Mumford,1961).

Public squares play a vital role in shaping and reshaping of today's civic society acting them as a common ground where public culture is expressed and community life developed (Francis, 1988). According to Jean-Bernard Racine, the square is a "collective property" where, people can share and care diverse activities with a sense of ownership and community (Racine, Jean-Bernard, 1999, cited in Levy, 2010).

Theorizing Collective Memory

The notion of collective memory began with the works of French Sociologist; Philosopher Emile Durkheim. In his influential book, 'The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life' (1912), he used the term "Collective Effervescence" as a transcendence of the individual and the profane into a united sacred group (Durkheim, 1921). However, Maurice Halbwachs, a student of Durkheim later developed this discourse and use the term "collective memory" and its relation to time, space and history. After Halbwachs, many different explanations given by various academic disciplines and it find the concept of collective memory as an inter-disciplinary concept and its correlation between space and place making.

Halbwachs influential book 'On Collective Memory' defines collective memory as something that is socially constructed through spatial imagery, a way that a group conceptualized the past while in the present (Halbwachs, 1992). He further explains that; "Our memories remain collective *…+ and are recalled to us through others even though only we were participants in the events or

saw the things concerned. In reality, we are never alone. Other men need not be physically present, since we always carry with us and in us a number of distinct persons" (Halbwachs, 1992). The dialectic between the collective memory and individual memory forms a complex relationship when considering and relating these concepts with urban public space and place making.

Individual Memory and Collective Memory

In distinguishing between collective memory and individual memory, Halbwach (1980) claims that there are no purely individual memories (or he refers as "autobiographical" memories) which a person experience himself, or things that he is able to remember being presented for. (Halbwachs, 1980) By explaining this he memorized how he experienced the city of London for the first time, while he was walking alone he felt that he is not alone. There are certain things, for example; architects, historians, artists who mediate him to explore the city through his imaginary perception(Duindam,2010). Halbwach (1980) states; "I can recognize in myself many ideas and ways of thinking that could not have originated with me" (Halbwachs, 1980 cited in Duindam,2010). In this sense, if an individual person visiting a place alone for the first time, he normally acquire information about the place through the means of media, books, maps, guides, conversation, stories etc. this means, when he is experiencing the place he is accompanying virtual group of friends with him and he has a mental map of the place. Therefore, his visit can only confirm what he stores through images and other means and is the experience definitely won't be different or unique but rather a confirmation of what the person already knows.

Literatures have attempted to study various frameworks of collective memory in relation to urban space and place making. Some of them demonstrates in terms of its shapes and activities, its distinguishing attributes; how, where and when it is produced; how people make use of it in their daily lives; how personal or individual memory contribute with performing public and performing memory. The collective memory of any society is vital important in preserving cultural identities, in bridging the past & the present. However the term collective memory differ from discipline to discipline, for example some philosophers and their students use the term as " cultural memory" and some sociologists and other scholars refer it as " social memory (Leiden University). In this research, the term collective memory will portray as a perpetually social phenomenon (in relation to urban public spaces); which acts as a bond tying members of the community to the eternal present and maintain their identity.

Correlation between Collective memory and Public square

Several of influential urban theorists and scholars like Jan Gehl, Aldo Rossi, Lefebvre, Ali Madanipour and Kevin Lynch discuss about the relationship between memory and urban public life. They explain how public space is affecting and influencing to our everyday experience in public life, what makes certain public space more activate, while others tend to decline and abandoned. The roles of collective memory in urban public sphere and cities were explained by Aldo Rossi. According to Rossi (1982), the "city is the locus of the collective memory of its people" (Rossi, 1982). Likewise Henri Lefebvre states that "the city is the setting where urban rhythm of everyday life is played out" (Lefebvre,) and the one place where this urban rhythm significantly portray definitely will be a public space. In this sense, Boyer, also assure that the city can be defined as a fact of collective memory (Boyer, 1994. Cited in Yücesoy, Gökbulut,1999).Therefore, the correlation between collective memory and public squares can be examine in physical setting, activities and sensory experience which are the three necessary elements in a successful public space (Montgomery, 2009).

Physical Aspects – Physical Settings of the Square

It can be observed that, the reconstruction of collective memory happens when there is a major change in physical or social environment. In this context, the physical arrangements of the square recall and evoke the past events and memories that people frequently attached with and measure by the bonds attaching us to various groups of the society. Halbwachs (1992), one of the most influential philosophers on collective memory, stated that monuments and other topographical features are central in the formation of a collective memory and identity in the modern world (Halbwach, 1992), where Public spaces are characterized and distinguished by such elements which means Identity has always been related to physical space (Gehl,2001) . Therefore, people build relationship with such elements and objects and acquire strong collective memory which in turn makes them to feel sense of place and sense of belonging.
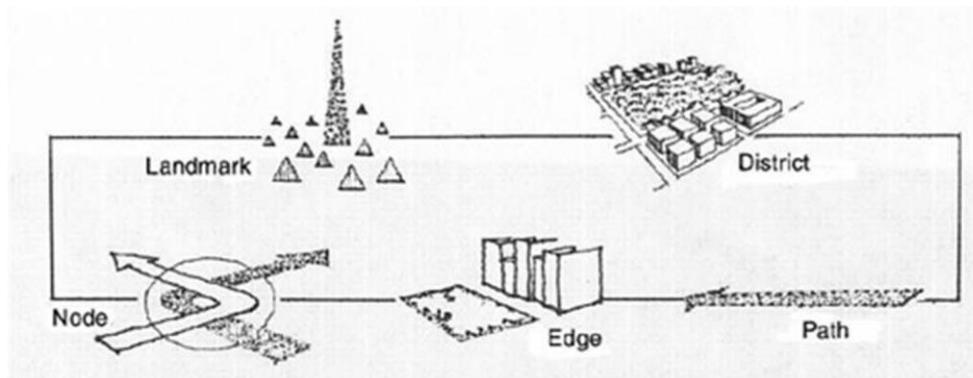

Fig. 3 Five Elements of urban Form, which enable the user to understand the environment
through their collective memory.
Source: Lynch, (1959)

Socio-cultural Aspects – Activities and Activity Pattern

Social aspect refers to the activities and intangible features that are strongly connected with the people and to their public life. Public squares are complex public environments where diverse ethnic and cultural as well as a place for social interaction that facilitates the exchange of words between people who are not likely to intermingle relative to their social groups. These groups give different meaning to these spaces and thus it in turn reflect their society and influence on constructing their ideology and identity (Madanipour,2003). Since collective memory, which favorably and unfavorably influences social interaction, people are able to engage positively in the activities and other people and success of urban spaces.

Psychological Aspects –Sensory and Emotional Experience

The review of literature indicates that emotional experience can help to regulate our biological rhythm which effects to the sense of collective memory. Our collective memory help to create mental images of those elements and attributes of the square spatially well connected and make integrity as a whole environment(Simmel,2002). We directly or indirectly linked the spaces we admire places of memories. Those memories influence our perception of space and images in our virtual mind. And those memories are interrelated with different elements of city where legibility, structure, identity and imagebility are major key issues for understanding city and its melieu (Lynch, 1960).Therefore, in the public square most of the people would identify certain

areas or objects, for example, monuments, fountain, public arts or huge trees, where they can feel comfortable and psychological protection. These collections of images are vital and necessary for the individual as well for the group of people in order to perceive and experience the space without any confusion and ambiguity (Lynch, 1960). Because it is the people, who create and shape memorable and meaningful public space through their collective experience, emotions and memory and become a valuable asset (Goheen, 1998).

Collective memory as a tool for shaping Public Squares

The literature review of collective memory in relation to public squares has portrayed that the correlative relation between collective memory and Public Square is a complex phenomenon and which is to be realized through perception and experience. However it has revealed that the features of public squares affect people's collective memory because of people's physiological and psychological processes. The emphasis has been on how these factors influence to the collective memory of people, where they feel incomplete, when there is significant change to any of the factors. Therefore, changes in these factors in a public square (by revitalizing, retrofitting or reconstructing) is one of the facts that cause discontinuities and urban memory loss and therefore it inevitably effect to the people to decline the squares.

The Case of Republican Square - Transformation and Its Changing Roles

Historical Overview

In the early 19th century the Republic Square was a place where the community of Male' can display their cultural events and identity. It was the time when the community felt great sense of community and uses the square as a mean for communication and socializing. The square was the city a large public space that can host an extensive array of activities such as national and informal celebrations. At the time the square was crowded with local citizens even during the late evening. Since the square is surrounded by civic and state buildings, the various groups of people and workers use the space for hang outing socializing and participating in special events.
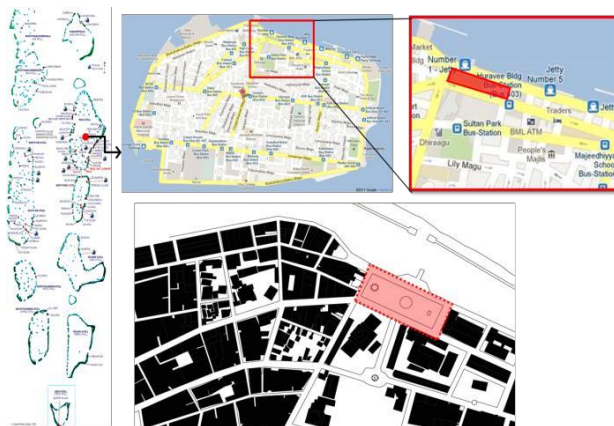

Fig. 4.Republican Square Location Map and
Layout plan
Source Author's construction based on
Google maps

Fig. 5.Republican Square Site Context.
Source: Author

Republican Square as a political Space for representation

Political, social reformers and activists also shaped Republic Square in the period after 1990 and particularly during the introduction of multi-party system to the country. Their reformist activities reached a peak in the beginning 2000, after the introduction to multiparty system to the Maldives. This was the time when the square became a popular site for political demonstration and protest. All these reforming activities had important implications for the city and influenced in Republican Square certain ways especially in a negative way that most of the local residents stopped using the space the way they use it before. Furthermore, the government declared a strict control in the space for such gathering and it leads to change the meaning of the square by the people of the city and their ideology towards using the space. Therefore, this rapid political and social transformation and continues variation could be a major factor that the residents of the city started to declining the square.

The decline of Republic Square

In the case of Republican Square, the strong emphasis of the political gathering and the restrictions seem to be the factor that losing its value among citizens. Another factor, which also could be a strong factor which influences the changing role of Republican Square, is the increasing of 'control', to avoid spontaneous gatherings of politics and protest. This control means to choreograph the space by allowing certain activities, specific groups or individuals to use the space while eliminating others (Madanipour, 2003). Such kinds of legal or institutional power to control the space turn to territory which provides feelings of distinctiveness and privacy. Because of this strict control and political demonstrations, gradually the square became "public space" which does not welcome everyone. Today, the city's built environment could be seen as a machine for living which effects the changes to the public spaces as well. Therefore, the activity in and around the Republican square began to decline. Today, the Republican Square is no longer recognizable and started to lose its social and cultural identity and meaning with its traditional role and it became an exclusive space for occasional tourist visits and a gathering place for foreign labours.

Research methodology

This study made use of mixed methodology in relation to the theoretical concepts of collective memory formulated through literature review to see how sense of collective memory is important in activating underutilized public squares. The methods consist of visual documentation, user survey, and interviewing community focused group. Preliminary Observation and Visual Documentation enables to identify the physical character of the square, activity pattern and significant changes with comparison between two formative time periods. Photographic documentation and illustration are used to gather and analysis data's. The User survey is used to document immediate visitor's perception, feelings and experience in the square.

The interviews with community focused group are carried out with the 209 inhabitants from the same ward where the square locates, and consists of three different age groups, which facilitate to understand the different time sequences. The comparison between different time sequences demonstrates the transformations of the collective memory of these inhabitants. The participants were asked 3 main open-ended questions and their sub questions that led to an in-depth analysis of inhabitant's feelings and perceptions of the Republican Square.

Question 1- Which elements were important in the Republican Square? **(Physical Aspects)**
- What makes these elements important?
- What are the physical (spatial) factors that made the square important or special?

Question 2- Are there any political, social, economic or perceptual reasons that belong to you?
**(Socio-cultural Aspects)**
- What was the reason behind why were you using / not using this place?
- Do you think that square was the place of communication of the community? Why?

Question 3- What kind of emotions did this place remind you? Why? (**Psychological Aspects**)
- What was the meaning of Republic Square for you in general?
- When you are experiencing the square did you feel that you are belonging to this place (Republican Square)?
- Can you draw a mind map of the Square?

Research Findings

Based on the interview questionnaires with the community focused group and user survey, the 26 participants who participated in the onsite user survey include 19 male and 7 female and participants who responded to the questionnaire included 124 male and 85 female (see Graph1.)
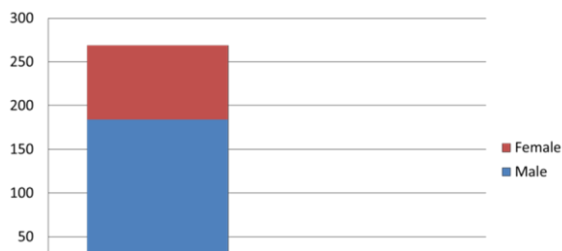
Graph1. Number of responses based on Gender
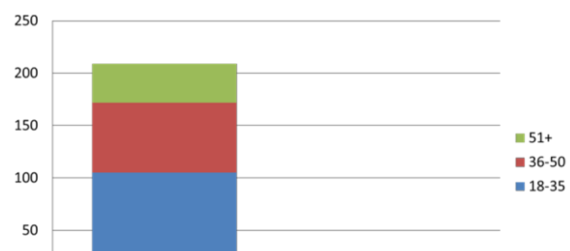
Graph2. Number of responses based on Age

Republican Square - Transformation of collective memory through time sequence

Based on the preliminary observation, information obtained from inhabitants, users/visitors survey and relevant authorities, the transformation of Republican square with the changing ideology towards public spaces in Male', can be identified in two formative period of time. The study examines how the Republican Square was made during the time sequence from 1990 to 2000 and from 2001 to till the date. It will trace the transformation of collective memory by examining the square in terms of its activity patterns, physical setting and psychological factors within the two time period. Furthermore, examining some memorable movements and the impact changing of social, political, economic ideology in urban public realm to investigate how these changes affected the inhabitants' collective memory.

Fig.6. Republican Square physical character and Activities during the first time period (1990-2000). Source: Author


Fig.7. Republican Square physical character and Activities during the second time period (1990-2000). Source: Author

Impact of Physical Setting on Collective Memory

The research indicates the important elements and physical or spatial factors that the participants mentioned. According to them the physical setting around the square was largely influenced by the civic building, the sea front, and location between 2 major roads which provides a connection space to the many public buildings and the parking spaces. Due to this the square was a very happening place during the first time period. Furthermore, it is obvious that the participants only experience these places not only individually, but as a group or collectively which the quality of such places / features will lead to a clear understanding of the space. The graph 4 indicate the physical spatial factors which respondents find is most important and how many time they mentioned about these factors. From the memories of respondents the National Flag as the most important element that made the square more important and memorable (see Graph 3).They strongly believe that the national flag is a symbol of unity, freedom and identity, has continued to symbolize the binding force of the community, even though some respondents declined the square long time ago.

The participants did not trace much changes of the physical setting of the square during these two time periods, because the places they mentioned the elements they have identified are still functioning as the way they were before. However some respondents find that the square has lost its pedestrian aspects of two access roads due to the expansion of main jetty within the bazar area. It became evident that even this miner transformation of the square effects to the collective memory of inhabitant which in turn alters their perception of the space.
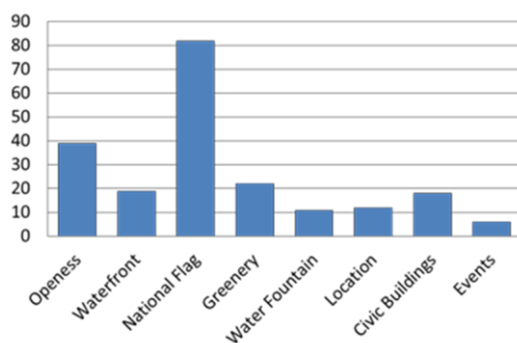
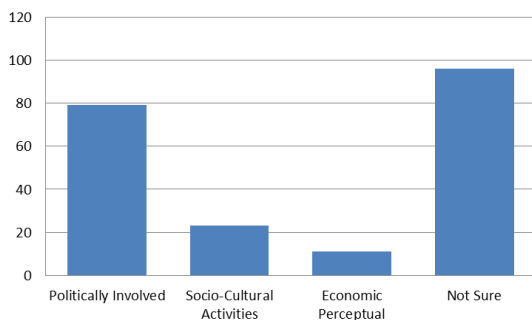Graph3.Frequency of mention graph for the Important Elements of the Square
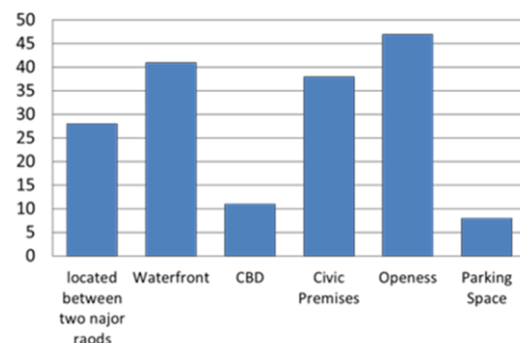
Graph4. Frequency of mention graph for the Physical and Spatial Factors

Impact of Socio Cultural Activities

The participants of the focus group agreed that the square was largely influenced by cultural activities, special day celebration and commemorative events during the first period. Majority of respondents find the "Square was a place for Socio-cultural activities" and therefore, it acts as a platform or meeting place and common ground for community interaction for all the inhabitants. Furthermore, most of the participants find the square was a meaningful place during the first time frame, where they memorize their special gatherings and performed ceremonial celebrations.

However, almost all the participant agreed that socio-cultural environment of the square has started to change after 2005 with the beginning of the political activities in the country which leads to disappear the socio cultural activities they used to participate and experience.

It is clear that data indicates that46% of participant have involved in political gathering, protest and demonstrating which recently happened in the square. About 11% of total responds recalled the socio-cultural activities that they participate and happened to experience in the square long time ago. For this reason, large percentage of people find, and the square's function as a community meeting place has not been recognized in the second time period. Therefore, most of the participants agreed that they don't have any interest to use or visit and spend their time there as they were previously did and some did not certain about whether they liked or not.
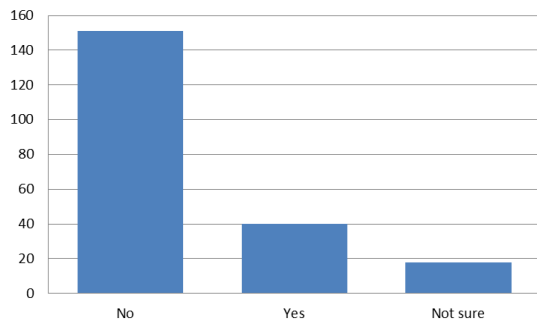

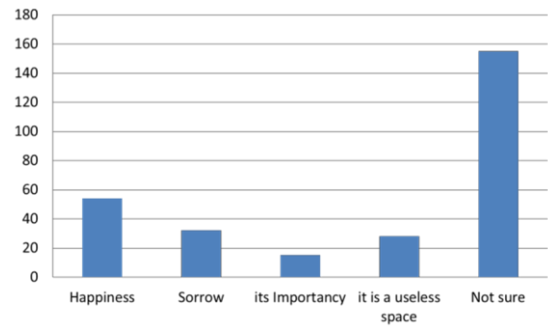Graph5.Frequency of mention graph for the Social, Political and Economic perceptual
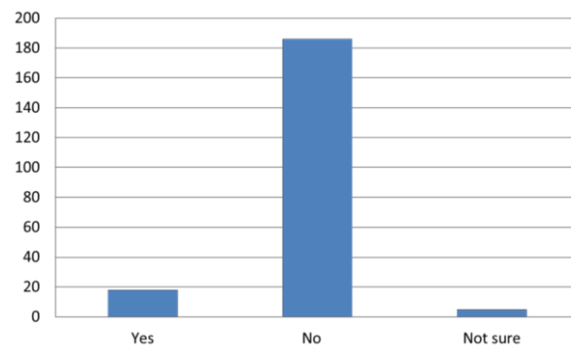
Graph6.Frequency of mention graph for the Square as a place for the communication of the community

Impact Psychological factors

During the first time period the square's functional and social role had a great influence on shaping people's behavior and their life style. The participants emphasize the square as a mean of interaction, mediation, symbolic identity and the place gives different feeling which they just like to be there. Some older respondents find that it was the space where they normally hangout after the work or may be late afternoon. They remember it as a feeling of togetherness, which is unfortunately not felt now. According to the memories of participants, it is astonishing that almost 55% of people are not sure about the emotions which are attached to them when reminding the square.
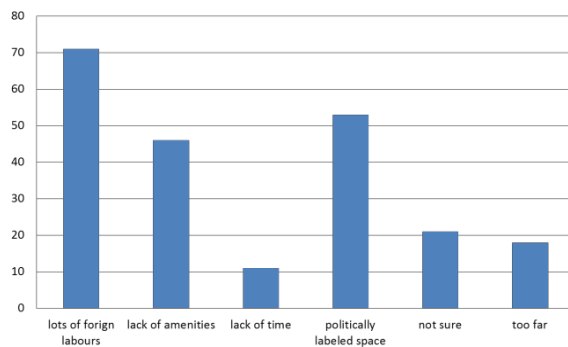
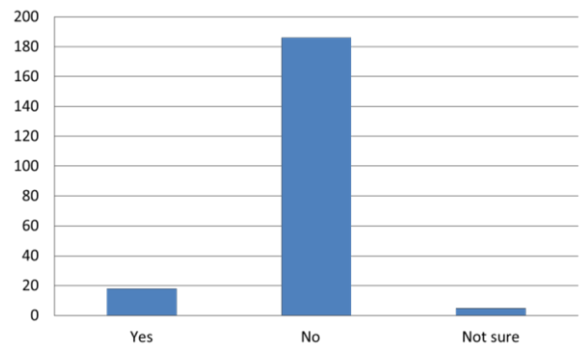Graph7. Frequency of mention graph for Using/Not using the Square

Graph8. Frequency of mention graph for the reason behind not using the Square

According to them the square has lost its meaning and declined during the second time period. Some participants mentioned the strict control over the square by the government due to the political demonstrations has led to the deterioration with the lack of activities and maintenance. Therefore, they find that the interaction between certain elements and activities they were attached before started to distract and people gradually started to find alternatives as a replacement. However some respondents still memorize their happy moments they have experienced in the square collectively as well individually. In the perceptions of the participants, overall respondents experience negative feeling about the square and they don't feel that they belong the place anymore, although they use or visit the square occasionally. For this reason

Graph9. Frequency of mention graph for Emotions and Experience in the Square

Graph10. Frequency of mention graph for Sense of Belonging

although most of the participants are able to draw mind map of the square, however some of them did not identified some important elements and could not portray a clear picture of the square.

Discussion on Research Findings

In the first time period of Republican Square, the physical setting asits monuments, surrounding buildings, activities and social life were recognized and valued as the "commons" of the community. However, the beginning of 2000 starts with smash hit of multicultural ideas and ideologies. Due to the rapid political and social transformation, the society was changing rapidly, freedom from political arena, technology and science and had accelerated development in travel, communication and finance. These changes had altered the way in which society experience the space, activities and to the physical attribution of the square and eventually caused a huge impact in declining and abandoning the square.

74

The response to the questionnaires and physical spatial analysis indicate that there are not many changes in the physical setting and they still have a vivid image of the surrounding environment as a collective memory. However it can be observed that, the reconstruction of collective memory happened due to the changing roles of the square with missing significant activities and elements and according to the respondents, there is nothing they can be proud of or recognized other than the national flag. As a result, the square is being turned into a space without meaning, which, in turn, creates conditions for segregation, social depletion, physical desecration.

Conclusion

The literature review and research findings suggests a crucial insight in the role for collective memory in creating and activating utilized or abandoned public square to a successful and memorable public spaces. In this context, the study explored the complex and multidimensional relationship of collective memory in revitalizing public squares through analyzing Republican

Fig.8. Republican Square Transformation from 1990 to 2014.
Source: Author

Square, Male'. And it has identified the role and perspective of physical setting, socio-cultural dimension and psychological factors, as well as the matters that they consider when revitalizing and shaping public squares. Therefore, as a conclusion it is considered that revitalization of public squares, should consider the aspects which discussed in the study critically and sensitively as a deeper appreciation and understanding of the relationship between public squares collective memory of its people, the spaces will ultimately improve the quality of the public realm. Because every public squares created, shaped, transformed and even declined by its people based on their collective memory.

This research could be carried out further in the future to study of the below mentioned areas.

1) A more in-depth study of the effect of human behavior in creating successful memorable public and its relation to environmental psychology.

2) A more in-depth analysis of socio-spatial reasons behind the changes in thecollective memory of public spaces.

References

Boyer, C., (1994), The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical imagery and Architectural Entertainments, MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England.

D, Duindam (2010) Performing urban memory the façade of Hollandsche Schowburge: theater, site of terror, site of memory, Available atwww.uva.nl/binaries/content/documents/.../d/u/d.a.duindam/.../asset? (Accessed: 12/06/2014).

Durkheim.E, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, translated by Joseph ward swain (2012).

Francis, M., "Changing Values for Public Space." Landscape Architecture. 78, 1: 54-59. January-February, 1988

Gehl, J. and Gemzoe, L., 2001, New City Spaces. Copenhagen, Denmark: The Danish Architectural Press.

G, Goheen (1998) Public space and the geography of the modern city, Available at http://www.researchgate.net/publication/240738898_Public_space_and_the_geography_of_the_modern_city (Accessed: 04/06/2014).

Halbwachs M. On Collective Memory. / Lewis A. Coser. (ed). Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1992; pp. 41-120.

Haveeru, (2013), Pigions Park [ONLINE]. Available at: http://www.haveeru.com.mv/pictures/4217 [Accessed 11 August 14].

Lefebvre, Henri. The Critique of Everyday Life. New York: Verso, 1991

Levy, B (2010) Urban Square as the Place of History, Memory, Identity, Available at: https://www.academia.edu/1489197/Urban_Square_as_the_Place_of_History_Memory_Identity (Accessed: 01/06/2014).

Lynch, Kevin. The Image of the City. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Technology Press, 1960.

Madanipour, Ali. Design of Urban Space: An inquiry into a Socio-spatial process. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons 1996

Madanipour, A. (ed.) (2010) who's Public Space? International Case Studies in Urban Design and Development, London: Rutledge.

Montgomery, J., Making a City: Urbanity, Vitality and Urban Design, Journal of Urban Design, Vol. 3. Issue 1, 93, Retrieved April 24, 2009.

Mumford, L., 1961, The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Online Image unwind, (2010), Male' City [ONLINE]. Available at: http://unwindmaldives.blogspot.com/2010_03_01_archive.html [Accessed 11 August 14].

Rossi, A., (1982), The Architecture of the City, The MIT Press.

Spatial Frameworks, (2011), Agora [ONLINE]. Available at: http://www.spatialframeworks.com/the-original-commons/ [Accessed 11 August 14].

Simmel, Georg, "The Metropolis and Mental Life", Edward Shils (trans.), Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (eds.), The Blackwell City Reader, Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, pp. 11-19.

Whyte, W.H., 1980. The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces. New York, NY: Conservation Foundation.

Zucker, P., 1959, Town and Square: From the Agora to the Village Green. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.