STROLLING THROUGH MOKUM:
THE DYNAMICS OF PLACE, SACREDNESS AND SOULS OF AMSTERDAM

MASTER THESIS (ARTICLE)

PLACEMAKING

What if we built our cities around places?

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**Strolling through Mokum:
The Dynamics of Place-making, Sacredness and Souls
in the City of Amsterdam**

Abstract: Since place is dynamic, there is more to a place than just materiality. The spatial turn has made geographers and urban designers aware of the fact that places are layered and that places are constantly changing. In this article three dynamic notions are connected with each other, in order to understand how sacred places are to be understood: the notions of place-making (the human action to get from place-as-it-is towards place-as-it-can-be), of sacredness (the experience of emotive human desires being fulfilled in a multisensory way) and of souls (the anonymous forces that hold societies and cultures together). At the core of the underlying empirical research is a relatively simple method: a stroll through Amsterdam with participants who take photos and discuss their images in group-discussions along the way. By sharing their distastes and desires, they indicate where, according to their opinion, down the route sacredness happened. It turns out that, whereas sacredness only occurs under the right circumstances, the other two notions — place-making and souls of the city — are in fact aspects that can function as a catalyst in the dynamics of sacred place. The article concludes with the demand for a practical theology of place that fits within a dynamic and mobile context and proposes two incentives for bringing into practice such a theology: tracking trails and leaving traces.

Keywords: Sacred Place, Sacredness, Place-making, Souls of the City and Amsterdam.

1. Introduction: Pentecost in the Oude Kerk

It is almost 7:30 pm when I lock my bike at the square in front of the Oude Kerk[1] in Amsterdam. It is Saturday evening and tomorrow the Christian church will celebrate the Feast of Pentecost. That's why tonight a vigil has been organized in the church that I am about to attend. When crossing the square to enter the building, I am struck by the impressions and stimuli that are everywhere around me. Church bells ringing, youngsters hanging-out on a bench in front of the church, smoking pot, a group of tourists listening to their guide telling them stories about the rich history of the city,

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[1] This church is the oldest building and parish church in the city. Its history goes back tot the early 14th century, since the church was consecrated in 1306. Later that century, in 1369 Saint Nicolas became its patron saint. The building is owned by a foundation, which has the official status of a museum and exposes modern art. In the meantime, the Protestant Church in Amsterdam still uses it for its services. Kruizinga, *Het XYZ van Amsterdam,* 799-802. The building is located in the heart of Amsterdam's main red-light district. Street-view via: https://goo.gl/maps/n8hDeDwHC9x.

some drunk young men part of a bachelor party, on their way to see a prostitute. The American writer Russell Shorto called Amsterdam the most liberal city in the world[2], and indeed nicknamed Mokum - Yiddish for *place* or *safe haven* - the city aims to be a place where people of different cultural backgrounds feel at home and are free to express themselves the way they like.

The service in the Oude Kerk attracted my attention because of its invitation: *We're celebrating the coming of the Spirit, which lets us experience unity within diversity. Crossing borders we choose to meet each other in the things that inspire us.*[3] And since the vigil is organized in a period that I am doing research on sacred places and the soul of the city it actually is a must-go. Would I encounter sparkles of the soul of Amsterdam — here in this centuries old sacred place in the heart of the city? And interestingly, that seems to be the case, when the pastor uses the motto of Amsterdam's Coat of Arms to structure her final prayer: "May we be valiant, steadfast and compassionate when we leave this church and go out into the city."

On my way out, I am pondering about what exactly had *happened*. For my fellow congregants and for me, sacredness and the soul of the city appeared to be present in the church during our time of worship — as if the place was made for it. But how exactly did that happen? And what about other places in the city, such as the square on the other side of the church wall? Can we simply create holy places, that are somehow separate from our everyday world, and where its visitors experience sacredness and soul? In this article I will show how place-making, sacredness and the soul of the city, are in fact all dynamic notions, and how they relate with each other. Place-making can be defined as the human action to get from place-as-it-is towards place-as-it-can-be. Sacredness, as I will argue below, has everything to do with the experience of emotive human desires being fulfilled in a multisensory way. And by the souls of the city, I mean within the framework of this research project, the anonymous forces that hold societies and cultures together. In what follows I will introduce the reader to empirical research that I have been carrying out in Amsterdam, searching for an answer to the question: What are the dynamics of place-making, sacredness and the souls of the city?

2. Method: Photo-walking with the City

At the core of this research project lays a relatively simple method: a stroll through the contemporary city of Amsterdam.[4] However, the challenge of dealing with late-modern cities is their enormous complexity: they are multicultural, multilayered and multifunctional. In their study *What makes a Good City? Public Theology and the Urban Church,* the British theologians Elaine Graham and Stephen Lowe pay attention to the idea of strolling through town as a method for researching the city. The device of

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[2] Russell Shorto: Amsterdam. A history of the world's most liberal city. Vintage Books. New York, 2013.
[3] https://oudekerk.amsterdam/nieuws/pinksterwake (visited 05.07.17).
[4] The method described in this section, as well as some of the research results as discussed in this article, have been presented by the author before, at the World Congress of the International Union of Architects in Seoul on 4th September 2017.

narrating the personal impressions and experiences by simply walking through town, can bring to light deeper values, stories and power relations that are less easy to grasp in more abstract terms. The immediacy of one's own experience can be used to shape a wider and more analytical approach, which is yet essentially shaped by the physical sensation of walking, moving and encountering objects, buildings and artifacts. Life will be turned into text and in doing so, it can be demonstrated that places are the bearers of narratives, symbols and memories.[5] According to the Australian scholar in Educational Studies Stephen Dobson, knowledge about the city can only appear as embodied knowledge. Researching the city starts by engaging with the city itself. Dobson points at what Walter Benjamin called the flâneur: the walker who has time on his hands and who saunters, strolls, wanders and promenades. In doing so, the flâneur is able to reap uncharted and unexpected experiences. Dobson adds that this strategy for examining the city is also a social matter, since it comes from our experience of participating in daily life. Peer groups play an important role in experiencing the city, whereby group-interaction is fundamental. Participants should reflect on their urban experiences and bring in several perspectives, whereby knowledge from different fields and various subjects comes together.[6]

A specific method that helps to gather embodied knowledge about the city is called *photo-walking with the city*. The Finnish researcher Noora Pyyry approaches learning as a process of rethinking the world. The aim of photo-walking is to make the familiar unfamiliar — and to reflect on everyday practices and places by concentrating on photographing. Learning happens in encounter with the world and should be seen as a relational and multidirectional event where sensing and knowing happen *with* the human and the non-human world — it is about a relationship between the observer and the city. Like Dobson, Pyyry refers to the flâneur, but she also points at the so called *drift*, a practice that was founded by the Situationists: a group of social revolutionaries, avant-garde artists, intellectuals and political theorists in the 1950s, that were influenced by anti-authoritarian Marxism and art movements such as Dada and Surrealism. They understood everyday lived experience as a creative involvement with the world, aiming at openness to encounters with people and places.[7] Since in my research project I want to track down the souls of the city, a notion in which the city is positioned as a living organism, concepts like enchantment, flâneur and drift are of interest for me.

The actual walk my respondents and I have been been photo-walking, consisted of a 6-km course through the Eastern part of the city of Amsterdam. We walked it with various peer groups, whereby the participants were asked to take photographs of the urban environment. I specifically asked them to focus on the notions of place-making, sacredness and soul, as these are central to my research question. I wanted to find out

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[5] Elaine Graham & Stephen Lowe: *What Makes A Good City? Public Theology and the Urban Church.* (Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd. London, 2009), 51-54.
[6] Stephen Dobson: Urban pedagogy. A proposal for the twenty-first century, in *London Review of Education.* Vol. 4, Number 2, 2006.
[7] Noora Pyyry: Learning with the city via enchantment. Photo-walks as creative encounters, in *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education.* Vol. 37, Issue 1, 2016.

what my participants were thinking of, when talking about sacredness and soul — and besides I was curious where along the route they would encounter sacredness and soul. What locations, artifacts or human behavior would they come up with? The participants walked the route in three separate stages, with a discussion intermezzo after every leg. The transcriptions of these group discussions form the major source for the research data for this project, together with my own memo's and the almost 1,000 photographs that were taken during the walks.[8] Two so-called focus groups consisted of three respondents each, accompanied by myself. Apart from this, I walked the route twice on my own and twice with a single respondent. The participants were selected, based on their professional or personal engagement in place-making in Amsterdam. All of them knew the city well, and were familiar with the concept of place-making. Their background however varied; like place of residency (Amsterdam, periphery), field of expertise (Theology, Real Estate, Photography, Architecture, Psychology, Geography, Journalism, Government), core personal religious belief (Christian, Agnostic, Atheist) and gender (female, male).

Figure 1: Predetermined route through Amsterdam-East

The exact route was determined following a relatively arbitrary process: starting at the Oude Kerk in the inner city of Amsterdam, a straight line was drawn into

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[8] The transcriptions and memos have been analyzed by way of coding the material in ATLAS.ti, whereas the photographs have been labeled in Adobe Bridge. The latter have been used to be able to describe certain locations along the route in greater detail.

southeast direction. The walk is closely following this line, but in opposite direction, starting at the cemetery De Nieuwe Ooster[9] towards the Oude Kerk. Walking the route exposed the participants to different neighborhoods, developed in different periods of history and thus the route was quite diverse and rich when it comes to different architectural styles, functionalities, etc. Actually, it seemed to us that almost everything in the city is about variety and dynamics. Not only do places in town differ from location to location, and from time to time, but also each one of us would encounter something different in the same place and at the same moment. Having said that, as will turn out below, my participants were able to experience sacredness in certain locations. And interestingly, they sometimes even came to recognize the soul of the city in those exact same locations. Our walks thus showed that the notions of sacredness and soul are indeed connected with each other — or at least they are connected in some specific places and on distinct times. But in order to understand how that process might work, we have to look into a third notion first: the concept of place-making.

3. A Tale of Two Cities: The Dynamics of Place-making

Strolling through Mokum the respondents often expressed their feelings of being almost overwhelmed by the hustle and the bustle of the city. Starting in a relative quiet neighborhood and walking into the inner city, they experienced an increase in impressions and impulses.

> "What overwhelms me here is the dynamics of the street. I sort of cannot name it, but I do feel it is quite interesting: those trams, those bikes and everything. [...] It is like the street invites you to participate in all these dynamics. To stay excited."

But not everyone is completely charmed by the energy of Amsterdam. Particularly when walking our last leg, through De Wallen[10], some participants become disappointed.

> "I know that this is the area that tourists like the most in Amsterdam. But because of all the dynamics and all these influences... it also is a little bit of a madhouse."

Recent literature on space and place, supports the idea that place is a dynamic notion. Because of the fluid nature of the concept of place, every place is unique. The Chinese-American geographer Yi-Fu Tuan therefore stresses the importance to distinguish place from space: What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it

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[9] This cemetery is located in the Watergraafsmeer and opened in 1894 as a replacement of De Oude Ooster, which was located nearby the current location of the Royal Tropical Institute. At its 110th anniversary, a book was published about the cemetery with the title: A place of quietness and meditation. Jaap Kruizinga, *Het XYZ van Amsterdam*, (Amsterdam Publishers, Amsterdam, 1995), 742-743. Street-view via: https://goo.gl/maps/CFJPLQ7skVN2.

[10] This is the largest and best-known red-light district in Amsterdam. It is named after the Oudezijds Voor- and Achter-burgwal. Kruizinga, *Het XYZ van Amsterdam,* 1207. Street-view via: https://goo.gl/maps/KtWcPBkyD2q.

better and we start endowing it with value.[11] The work of Tuan and other scholars, such as Edward Casey and Edward Soja, caused a complete change in the way scholars thought about space and place among several disciplines — an event that has been summarized as the *spatial turn*.[12] It emphasized that, as the American geographer Tim Cresswell has pointed out, place is not just a thing in the world, but rather a way of understanding the world. Looking at the world as *a world of places*, we can find all sorts of things: Attachments and connections between people and place. Or in other words: Worlds of meaning and experience.[13]

The spatial turn has made geographers and urban designers aware of the fact that places are constantly changing. On our stroll through Amsterdam, we encountered many examples of this phenomenon. An observation shared by multiple respondents was that place is produced over time: by smaller or bigger physical interventions, but also by personal experiences, stories and memories. The city changes from place to place, but it evolves over time as well. That became quite clear to me, when walking the exact same route several times during the research period. Amsterdam looks very different on King's Day — the national celebration of Dutch King Willem-Alexander's birthday, when everyone has a day off, is clothed in orange outfits and is in a festive mood — in comparison with an average working day. But also walking the route with others had big impact on my perception of the city. The places we walked through, became richer the more often I passed through them, as my fellow walkers kept sharing stories about these places with me. In short: places and cities are dynamic and layered. And actually, that is a good thing — because it makes the city very vital, as one of my respondents concluded:

> "This city has proven to be very resilient. Every time a new layer is placed over it, with new residents, new functions and so on... Well, apparently the city can move along with it."

Cresswell argues that places are never finished but are always becoming.[14] They are performed on a daily basis through people living their everyday life. Like Jane Jacobs already observed in her monumental work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, when describing the *sidewalk ballet* on the street where she lives — starting in the early morning and reaching its crescendo in the late afternoon. It is the ballet of the good city sidewalk, that never repeats itself from place to place and that in any one place is always replete with new improvisations.[15] Indeed, it is the people who can make (or break) a place. And that is what they do, as all over the world humans are engaged in place-making activities: from homeowners that redecorate their houses to city governments that legislate for public buildings, to express the spirit of particular places.[16]

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[11] Yi-Fu Tuan: *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience.* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, London, 1977, Eight Printing 2001), 6.

[12] Sigurd Bergmann: Theology in its Spatial Turn: Space, Place and Built Environments Challenging and Changing the Images of God, in *Religion Compass*, Volume 1, Number 3, May 2007), 355.

[13] Tim Cresswell: *Place - An Introduction*, 2nd Ed. (John Wiley & Sons Ltd, West Sussex, UK, 2015), 15-18.

[14] Cresswell: *Place - An Introduction*, 71-74.

[15] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* (Random House Inc, New York, 1961), 50-52.

[16] Cresswell: *Place - An Introduction*, 10-12.

Coding and data-analysis

To structure the coding and analysis of my research data, I used this concept of place-making as defined in my introduction (see figure 2). The data analysis started off with a first cycle of coding, in which I used descriptive-codes, depicting what the respondents actually talked about. Since I introduced the notions of place-making, sacredness and soul at the start of each walk to my respondents, I found these words back in the data quite often. But also other topics came up, such as different characteristics of place, certain aspects of place-making, stories about particular locations and attitudes towards the city. For desires and distastes that were expressed, as well as for clarifications on how the respondents had been searching for souls and sacredness, I used values-codes, representing the participants' attitudes and beliefs.

Figure 2: Place-making as the main structure for coding and analysis
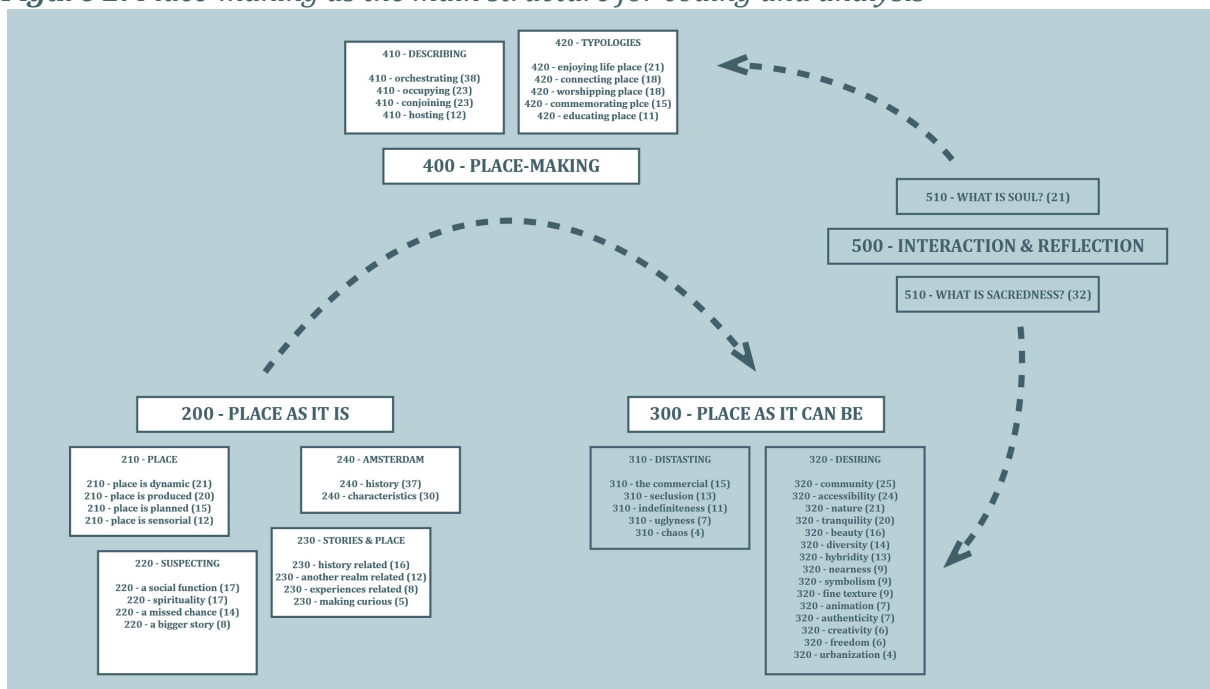
In a second cycle, I reorganized and reanalyzed the data that was coded through the first cycle method. From now on, I also used pattern-codes, in order to identify emergent themes and to group the research data in smaller sets; such as descriptions of place, stories about Amsterdam, typologies of place, desires and distastes, and so forth. Finally, in the third cycle I also used theoretical-codes, deriving from my own theory. During this final round the number of codes was brought back significantly, because of a process of merging and fine-tuning.

Typologies of place

One code group consists of codes that are concerned with *typologies of place*. It sorted out from my data analysis that in their description of certain places, a pattern came up concerning the potentialities of some distinguishable sites. Without aiming to

be complete, I found five different typologies that I would like to present below. Firstly, we can think of *connecting place*. Places are like nodes in a network and digital connection is important. But even after the information-technological revolution, physical connection also keeps being of prime importance for many citizens. As one respondent pointed out:

> "Nowadays it is no longer about being accessible only, it is also about proximity. So you have to be near the people, you have to really meet them, for example in order to get work."

It is not difficult to find examples of connecting place along our route: small restaurants with a terrace in front, a coffeehouse with street view, a refurbished cinema where digital nomads are invited to work for free, a meeting place in front of the zoo, a swimming pool for toddlers in the Oosterpark and so forth. But also public buildings such as a library and a church do have the potential to function as a connecting place, as long as they meet the most important precondition for a connecting place: accessibility - both offline and online. Secondly, we can look at *enjoying-life place*. Life in Amsterdam often is perceived as being *good life*. And thus the city contains plenty locations where this good life can be celebrated, although the tendency to extravagantly enjoy life, seems to be more typical for the younger generations than for the older ones.

> "I know a grandma who takes her grandchildren on a walk when taking care of them. Walking along the street, the kids saw a terrace and asked her: shall we sit down here for a while? They were just used to that... but for their grandma it actually was way too luxurious."

Along our walking route however, we found multiple restaurants, coffeehouses with terraces and ice cream parlors. But within this category also places like the parks and water-edges fall, as they are facilitating sports and physical health as a life-style.

> "If I look at that through my eye-lashes, than I think: For some people it is almost like a ritual or something... Or at least it is a life-style."

Enjoying-life places can be quite temporary as well. Sometimes they just occur, for instance during the so-called Free Market on King's Day. One can then see many citizens actively engaged in some sort of place-making: creating a small place to enjoy life. But it is just for one day and the day after the city is back to normal. Thirdly, I can mention *commemorating place*. With its rich history, Amsterdam has many memorial sites. These sites are spread all over town, but the Eastern part of the city arguably has the highest density. After walking the second stretch of our route one of the respondents concluded:

> "What strikes me in this part of town, is that there are so many places that were really made as memorial site or so... There are so many monuments and places of memory... It is all very explicit."

Indeed, this area of Amsterdam has historical connections with some delicate moments in the city's history (such as the slave-trade until the mid-19th century and the deportation of Jews in WWII). Places to commemorate suit the purpose of remembrance. Spending time at these sites is always about remembering. But on the other hand, it can also be about celebrating values that are important for the city and its citizens: such as freedom of speech, cultural diversity and gender equality. A fourth typology of place can be called *worshipping place*. Even in a post-secular city as Amsterdam, it is not at all difficult to encounter traditional worshipping places such as churches, mosques and synagogues. But besides that, within this category also fall the more contemporary places of worship, where people with shared ideas or ideologies gather to celebrate whatever connects them. Unfortunately worshipping places often are difficult to access.

> "I am afraid that the church has become something for Sundays only... and that on the other days
> of the week it is some sort of bunker."

On the other hand, most of the participants are convinced that worshipping places have a great potential as meeting place or as community center. And their potential also lays in their dominance: they literally take a lot of space and have, with their towers and architectural details, a great impact on the spatial experience of the city. But having said that, other worshipping places are camouflaged: such as an apparent mosque at the Plantage Middenlaan[17] and Hillsong Church in the former Tropentheater.[18] And who knows how many worshipping places we have passed without knowing of their existence? Finally, there is *educating place*. This is about more than just schools, it's about all those places in the city that have the potential to teach its visitors lessons: about history, nature, music, norms, values and so much more. In the course of the 19th century a shift can be seen from the prominence of worshipping places towards the prominence of educating places, the latter suiting the purpose of educating the masses. Think of botanical gardens, theatres, concert-halls and museums. A striking example is the (oldest) zoo in Amsterdam.[19] Its full name is *Natura Artis Magistra*, meaning that nature is the teacher of the arts and sciences. One of the buildings along our route, with this full name written out at its facade, reminded one participant of an ancient temple.

> "That building, you can compare it to the Concert Building and with... Well, actually these
> buildings were all designed to become the new temples. It is a little bit like a temple indeed, isn't
> it? With that facade... [...] It is typically 19th century."

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[17] This street is the main street of the Plantage neighborhood in Amsterdam-Centrum. It dates back to the 1682 major city expansion. The area was designed as a park-like garden-area, for citizens to escape the hustle of the city. The Hortus was planted directly at the entrance of the new city expansion. Kruizinga, *Het XYZ van Amsterdam,* 848-850. Street-view via: https://goo.gl/maps/P19dJbSHsGp.

[18] This theatre has been part of the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT). The institute aims to collect and spread knowledge about the Tropics and Subtropics. Kruizinga, *Het XYZ van Amsterdam,* 497-498. Street-view via: https://goo.gl/maps/ufT2ePxoyND2.

[19] Artis is the best-known and oldest zoo in the Netherlands. Apart from a zoo, it also contains an aquarium, a planetarium, a zoological museum and a geological museum, making Artis a unique cultural heritage. Kruizinga, *Het XYZ van Amsterdam,* 82-84. Street-view via: https://goo.gl/maps/NuCxCvLaymS2.

After introducing these five typologies of place, it is now important to note that multiple typologies of place can actually co-exist in a hybrid way on the same location. Artis for example, can be seen as a connecting, enjoying-life and educating place. And the Kastanjeplein[20] two kilometers to the southeast can be seen as a connecting, enjoying-life and commemorating place. In fact this touches on the existence of what we might call *rich* and *shallow* places in the city. Some places are rich, in the sense that multiple typologies of place are combined in one and the same location. Some other places along our route however, appeared to be less rich. At first glance representing only one typology of place, they appeared to be more shallow and less hybrid.

Place-making and the City of God

These five typologies of place are a direct or indirect result of place-making — a notion that has been described by my respondents as a mix of actions, such as orchestrating, occupying, conjoining and hosting. With certain ideas about the potentiality of a place in mind, people have been acting to shape and try to improve the city as it is. It is important to note that place-as-it-is (the directly experienced place) and place-as-it-can-be (the subjectively imagined place and potentials of that place) are always in interaction with each other. Place is always more than what we directly experience as empirically measurable and mappable. But it is also more than what we subjectively imagine: the cognitive, conceptual and symbolic worlds. In his theories about place, Edward Soja names the former Firstspace (Perceived Space) and the latter Secondspace (Conceived Space). But he also proposes an additional way of looking at place: Thirdspace, where place is never established but operates through a constant and reiterative practice and where place thus is both produced and producing.[21] This idea about place-as-it-is and place-as-it-can-be being in a constant interaction with each other, reminds me of the work of a Christian thinker from ages ago: Augustine of Hippo.

His book *The City of God* tells a tale of two cities: the City of God and its counterpart the Earthly City. They represent two communities that stand opposite to each other. The City of God is similar to the *ecclesia*, which is an eschatological concept for Augustine, since the church as it will be later is included in it. But this also applies to the Earthly City: everything that does not belong to the City of God is part of it.[22] And hence there is this constant tension between the two cities — between an already and a not yet — that can be compared to the tension between place-as-it-is and place-as-it-can-be. Graham & Lowe provide a more contemporary theological perspective on the dynamics of place in the urban context. They argue that the city is the place where *Christ*

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[20] Translated: Chestnut Square. Residential square in the heart of the Oosterparkbuurt. Every year at May 4th, a memorial event takes place all day, under the title Names and Numbers, in order to commemorating the deported Jews during WWII. http://www.namenennummers.eu (visited 05-07-17). Street-view via: https://goo.gl/maps/5kZTPnd8SA52.

[21] Edward W. Soja: 'Thirdspace. Expanding the scope of geographical imagination.' In: *Architecturally Speaking: Practices of Art, Architecture and the Everyday*, Ed. by A. Read. (Routledge, London, 2000), 17-19.

[22] J. van Oort: Augustinus' geschrift "De stad van God" (De ciuitate Dei): Een introductie tot de belangrijkste themata, in *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies 67(1).* Art. #1017, 2013).

and *culture* meet.[23] Referring to Augustine, they argue that Christians are called to participate with Christ in the redemption of the world — by remaining in the world. The two cities of Augustine are not separate places (the secular world of politics versus the sanctuary of the church), but rather virtual spaces that are overlapping each other.[24] As Graham & Lowe make clear, place-making therefore never is a *neutral* act. There is always something at stake. The design of the urban environment tells stories: of power and exclusion, politics and economic struggle.[25] Place-making can become "place-breaking", when the motivations for change are wrong — for example when conceptions about place-as-it-can-be are one-sided and biased. This brings us to an important question we now have to discuss: What drives humans to become engaged in place-making? What do they think place-as-it-can-be looks like?

4. Longing for a New Jerusalem: The Dynamics of Sacredness

According to the American theologian Walter Brueggemann the Bible suggests that a sense of place is one of the primary categories of faith. In his book *The Land: Place as Gift, Promise, and Challenge in Biblical Faith* he shows how being rooted, is a central promise of God to his people. Parts of the Old Testament are about Israel as God's homeless people. But without a place to live, it often is on its way to a promised place. As a landless people, yearning for land, Israel is presented in several images derived from several experiences: from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as sojourners to the exiled Jews in Babylon that were displaced and alienated.[26] What keeps the Israelites going is their longing for a New Jerusalem, and this might be a fruitful metaphor when thinking about place-as-it-can-be. What is it that drives us in aiming for better places to live, work and relax? What does "promised place" look like in the minds of my respondents?

Analyzing the research data, it turned out that this could best be described by using two opposite categories of feelings: distastes and desires. Figure 3 shows how two code-groups with codes are linked to place-as-it-can-be: one with codes for certain distastes that were experienced, the other with codes for desires. For example, they expressed their distaste for the commercial, for seclusion, for indefiniteness, ugliness and chaos. Starting in a more or less quiet neighborhood and walking right into the buzz of the very city centre, they felt increasingly uncomfortable with Amsterdam as they experienced it. Particularly the area in between the Mr. Visserplein and De Wallen felt very alien to the respondents, although it is exactly this area that attracts most of the 17 million tourists the city welcomes every year. But as one respondent put it:

> "There are places where it becomes a little risky. Here for example. […] Here I feel the least at home, so to say. Because this part of the city is really taken over by others."

[23] Graham & Lowe: *What Makes A Good City*, 1.

[24] Graham & Lowe: *What Makes A Good City*, 15-19.

[25] Graham & Lowe: *What Makes A Good City*, 65-66.

[26] Walter Brueggemann: *The Land. Place as Gift, Promise, and Challenge in Biblical Faith*. 2nd Edition. (Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2002), 3-7.

Apart from expressing their distastes, my respondents also told what they like about a place. Some of their desires are clearly antipodes of the distastes mentioned above, such as their desire for authenticity (vs. the commercial), accessibility (vs. seclusion), fine texture (vs. indefiniteness), beauty (vs. ugliness) and tranquility (vs. chaos). However, they also mentioned other desires, for example the desire for a (social) community: about being connected, engaged and in interaction with other people in a certain place. Respondents emphasized the need for social interaction that transcends the boundaries of generation, race, gender and cultural background. Another desire that often has been referred to, is the desire for nature, by which respondents expressed their longing for those phenomena of the physical world that are not man-made - although most of these phenomena are part of bigger-scale man-made projects, such as parks and waterfronts. Both direct natural phenomena (such as trees, water and sunlight) and indirect phenomena (like wooden things, artificial green and fountains) fell within this category.

Figure 3: Desires and distastes to describe place-as-it-can-be
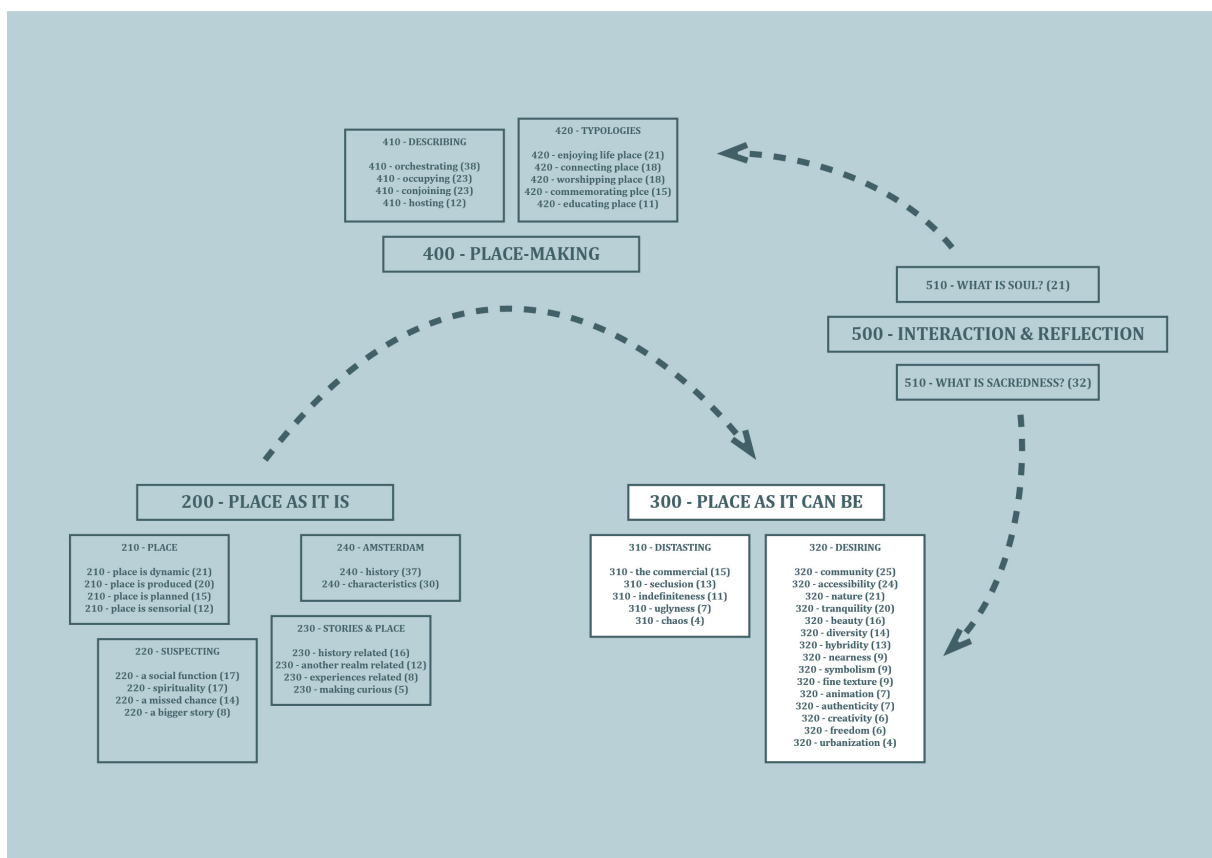
A third desire that has often been mentioned is the desire for symbolism, in which respondents express their admiration for symbolic places, that somehow point to immaterial, ideal, or otherwise intangible truths or states. These places may be locations that remind respondents of another domain that is distinct from the everyday city, such as the way a sculpture in the park points at stories from the past or even at myths or

religious narratives. Lastly, the desire for hybrid places has been mentioned quite a lot: for places in which multiple functionalities and multiple purposes can be achieved simultaneously, so that these functionalities and purposes are able to strengthen each other. Think of places that combine private and public functions, places where spontaneous and organized activities come together and places that combine commercial and non-commercial functions.

Sacredness and human desires

It is interesting that codes that refer to certain desires and codes that are related to the search for sacredness seem to co-occur quite frequently. Respondents refer to their desires for beauty, symbolism and tranquility when talking about sacredness. But most often they connect their desires for community, diversity and accessibility to sacred place. Particularly their conviction that a sacred place should be accessible (although it somehow contradicts their desire for tranquility) is of importance. Hence the existing churches along the route are not frequently seen as sacred places. Respondents might suspect that buildings like De Bron[27], Hofkerk[28] and Koningskerk[29] are sacred *on the inside*, but since these structures are not accessible for the public during weekdays, it is just guessing. And so it seems that the respondents are more open to find sacredness in the parks along the route. Particularly Park Frankendael[30] is mentioned often in relation to sacredness. As one respondent said:

> "Look, a park like that... I never know what the idea behind it has been. But [...] for me it expresses something like a longing for paradise. It is [...] nature, but it is not wild nature. It is ordered. It is a place where one can distract oneself. Where one can find a place that is removed from the hustle of the city, which I believe has something to do with sacredness."

And another respondent puts it like this:

> "What I think is clever about this park and the villa [...] is that it breathes history. But it is not about history alone. A lot *happens* over there. People come to the park and a diversity of people does a diversity of things. One can see very old trees in the park. [...] It comes closest to sacredness of everything we have seen thus far."

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[27] A protestant church built in 1938 and opened in 1939, along the Middenweg in Watergraafsmeer. The church is formerly know as Emmakerk. An active congregation is still using the building. Kruizinga, *Het XYZ van Amsterdam,* 313. Street view via: https://goo.gl/maps/pfXC4vjg21H2.

[28] H.H. Martelaren van Gorcumkerk. A roman-catholic church from 1929 in Watergraafsmeer, that is part of a bigger complex called Linnaeushof. Kruizinga, *Het XYZ van Amsterdam,* 640. An information panel at the exterior tells the visitor that this courtyard with church, school, shops and residences aimed to function as a "catholic enclave" within a majorly protestant area. Street view via: https://goo.gl/maps/Z9gZM47styj.

[29] A protestant church from 1956 in Watergraafsmeer, that was originally built as a Reformed Church but is now in use by the Moravian Church (Suriname). Kruizinga, *Het XYZ van Amsterdam,* 584. Street-view via: https://goo.gl/maps/NAMJmp6zVrG2.

[30] This is the only remaining historic "buitenplaats" (literally: place away from the city) in the Watergraafsmeer, constructed around 1660. Until the 90's used as a nursery garden; since then as a public park. Kruizinga, *Het XYZ van Amsterdam,* 347-348. Street-view via: https://goo.gl/maps/Pxx9J5FN3gT2.

In other words: sacredness seems to be something that is experienced by people in such a way that it involves many senses. It is about seeing, hearing and so much more. But also: sacredness comes into the picture when people feel that a place has the potential to fulfill their desires. Can we say that sacredness *happens* when certain human desires are fulfilled? And in saying that, can we also say that some places are better equipped for doing so than others? I believe the answer to both questions is yes, and in order to ground my argument we will now elaborate further on the notion of souls of the city.

5. Bind Us Together: The Dynamics of Souls

As we have seen, certain codes for desires and codes for sacredness appeared to frequently co-occur. It is interesting that this is also the case for certain codes for typologies of place and codes for the soul of the city. The respondents particularly referred to two typologies when talking about their search for soul: *enjoying-life place* and *commemorating place*. Places where life is being enjoyed, can indeed provide information about what one can see as an important aspect of the soul of a city: those things that are important for the citizens of a city. For the inhabitants of Amsterdam it seems that enjoying the good life with family and friends is important. The same goes for meeting with fellow supporters of the cities biggest soccer-team by the way. Take the terrace of Elsa's Café[31]. As one participant put it:

> "This terrace is a welcoming addition to the street. Or actually, it is very old already. It really is a place... the good old Ajax-café, where people from all kinds of backgrounds gather together and mingle. Over there it is quite easy to talk to a stranger. The terrace is always full."

Elsa's Café is a fine example of the cohesive role that sports play in contemporary society. It binds people together and lets them interact with each other. Commemorating places on the other hand, provide information about what can be seen as another important aspect of the soul of a city: the values that are significant to its citizens, often because of moments in history that showed how the opposite proved to work out disastrously. Places in town that have the potential of commemorating are telling its visitors a story and provides them with a lesson: We've been trough this once... but never let it happen again. Like on Chestnut Square, when every year the deported Jews during WWII are commemorated. As one respondent said:

> "In some parts of the city, one can taste something like... well, there definitely is something like the spirit of Amsterdam or so. It has to do with that culture of freedom. [...] If you know the

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[31] A restaurant since 1890, originally opened for passengers of the steam-tram waiting for departure. Nowadays know as the "Ajax-café" where fans of the football club regularly meet, greet and watch the games. http://www.elsascafe.nl (visited 05.07.17). Street view via: https://goo.gl/maps/pfXC4vjg21H2.

stories... this city is very much shaped by it. And we've seen it this morning as well. [...] But it is difficult to name it."

Places like Elsa's Café and Chestnut Square point to the fact that the soul of the city sometimes *materializes* in a place. This reminds me of what the French sociologist Émile Durkheim wrote about the notion of soul in his book *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Intrigued by the question what exactly holds societies together, he argued that a society is a supra-individual force, existing independently of the actors who compose it. Social integration in a society is rooted in a shared moral code that can sustain a harmonious order. This moral code — along with the feelings of solidarity it generates — forms the basis of all societies.[32] Durkheim argues that it is both necessary and possible, to point out a certain number of readily visible outward features that allow us to recognize religious phenomena, wherever they are encountered. But how does this relate to the notion of soul? Based on his empirical research with aboriginal clans in Australia, Durkheim concludes that the form of soul is essentially unstable and indefinite. Soul changes from moment to moment to suit circumstances. But this does not mean that soul is totally immaterial. In fact the soul is no other than the totemic principle of the clan incarnated in each individual. It is the anonymous force that holds society together.[33] According to Durkheim it is necessary for a society to reunite, assemble and meet at certain times and at certain places — so that the individuals, being closely united to one another, reaffirm together their common sentiments. What Durkheim writes about soul actually opens an interesting perspective on sacred place as well. It must be possible for a certain place to be loaded with a soul (in the architecture theory sometimes called a "genius loci"). These are the souls that connect a place to the wider and overarching context of society.

This brings me back to Park Frankendael. As we have seen earlier, my respondents often related this place to the notion of sacredness. However, looking at the research data they also relate this place to the notion of soul. In other words: at this location sacredness and soul appear to come together, which makes it an interesting place to look into again. In terms of typologies, Park Frankendael can be described as a combination of a connecting place (full of potential to connect with others), an enjoying-life place (full of potential to relax) and a commemorating place (full of potential to discover history). Originally planned as *place away from the city*, this location has always been a tranquil escape from the buzz of the city.

> "I really think that Frankendael is a fantastic spot... as is the Frankendael-house. Indeed it is a historical place, but at the same time it is also a place of today. But also because they made it accessible... for artists and for meeting places."

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[32] Scott Appelrouth & Laura Desfor Edles: *Classical and Contemporary Sociological Theory: Texts and Readings.* (Pine Forge Press. Sage Publications, Inc, 2008), 85-93.

[33] Émile Durkheim: *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. (Translation: Karen E. Fields, The Free Press, New York, 1912, 1995), 22-26 and 242-244.

The park is indeed an intriguing place, and actually further research into this place would be interesting to dig deeper — but to me it already seems that in this park one can find multiple elements of the souls of Amsterdam. Doesn't this park as a connecting place point to an aspect of these souls, namely that in this city diversity and equality are important values? And doesn't it as an enjoying-life place point to another aspect, namely the fact that here freedom, liberty and accessibility for everyone are of highest importance?

Sacredness, souls and sacred place

As I have been arguing so far, both sacredness and souls haven't been gone away in a contemporary city like Amsterdam. My research project shows how both notions are related to each other, but also to place-making and to place-as-it-can-be (see figure 4), trying to lay out a theory that can be used for further research on this topic. From my research analysis so far, two hypotheses derive. The first is that sacredness appears to *happen* at places where desires that are brought to that place by human visitors are being fulfilled in a multisensory way. The second is that soul *materializes* at certain places in the city, making it possible to get a better understanding of the anonymous forces that hold the societies, communities or perhaps even cultures together.

Figure 4: Desires and typologies of place in interaction
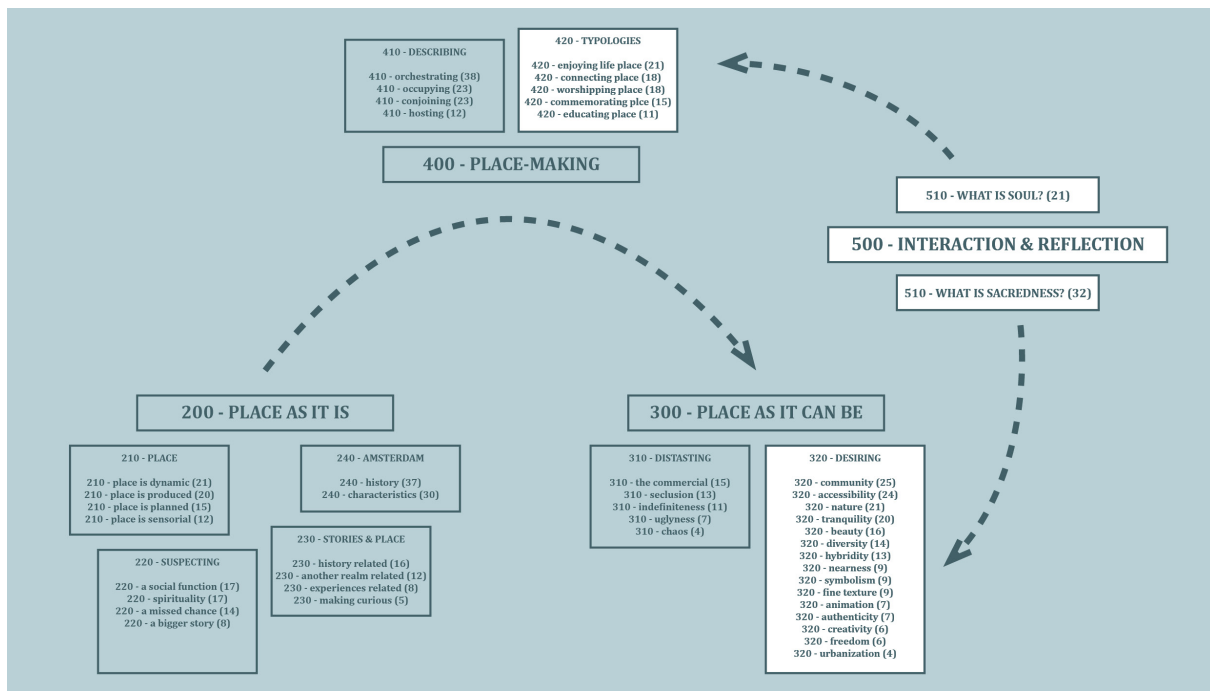
At this point we may want to take one step back and try to find out how these hypotheses might fit within a so-called *theology of place*. As we have seen above, the respondents did indeed find places along the route in which they experienced sacredness to a certain extent. But at the same time, all of them expressed their hesitation in really addressing a place as a sacred place, since they found it hard to give their own definition for the concept of sacredness. What do we actually mean, when we

talk about a sacred place? Limiting ourselves to the Christian discourse, I will first introduce two theologies of place that were published recently. In his book *A Christian Theology of Place* the Church of England bishop John Inge argues that such a theology always has to concern a three-way relationship between God, people and place. The most constructive manner in which to view place from a Christian perspective is sacramentally: holy places therefore, are places in which sacramental encounter takes place.[34] In Christ, God has hallowed the material world we inhabit and made it home to His divinity. Space has been "Christified" by the incarnation, which implies that places are the seat of relations or the place of meeting, of activity in the interaction between God and the world.[35] For the South African theologian Craig Bartholomew, the concept of place-making should play an important role in any theology of place. In his book *Where Mortals Dwell* he states that what should motivate Christians to take place seriously is the incarnation and redemptive work of Christ. Place is part of the good creation of God, who is already renewing it and will finally renew it completely at the end of the ages. Cultural development is normative and fundamentally good, even though the fall has opened up the possibility for the disastrous misdirection of cultural development. It is our Christian duty to practice place-making, and to do so in such a way that it occurs along the grain of God's order for creation.[36]

In light of what we have seen above, it should be noticed that both theologies of place are quite robust and even sort of massive. According to these authors, sacredness *happens* first and foremost when God takes place, for example through the actions of the Christian church, as it participates in the body of the incarnated Christ. However, this perspective on sacred place also raises some serious questions for my research project in Amsterdam. We are talking about a city where the Christian church is marginal and that can be characterized as post-secular, multi-cultural and multi-religious. Where are we to find sacredness, when the traditional worshipping places often seem to be inaccessible for the public? Do these theologies of place fit within a context that has to be characterized by mobility, fluidity and movement? If place is dynamic, as we have seen earlier, than sacred place will be dynamic as well. In other words: It can pop up everywhere — and it might look different from what we would expect, based on what we know about sacredness from our own Christian tradition. With that in mind, I will make the argument that another theological framework potentially would fit our dynamic cities and fluid context much better.

The American religious scholar Thomas A. Tweed states in his book *Crossing and Dwelling - A Theory of Religion*: "Religions are confluences of organic-cultural flows that intensify joy and confront suffering by drawing on human and supra-human forces to make homes and cross boundaries." In order to take into account the dynamic nature of religions, Tweed looked for metaphors and philosophical and religious frameworks that highlight movement and relation. The spatial metaphors he uses (dwelling and crossing)

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[34] John Inge: *A Christian Theology of Place.* (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Farnham, Surrey, 2003), x-xi.
[35] Inge: *A Christian Theology of Place*, 30-31 and 57-58.
[36] Craig G. Bartholomew: *Where Mortals Dwell. A Christian View of Place for Today*. (Baker Academic. Grand Rapids, 2011), 244-246.

signal that religion is about finding place and moving across space, whereas his aquatic metaphors (confluences and flows) signal that religions are complex processes. Religions can be best imagined as a confluence of flows in which organic channels direct cultural currents. These confluences conjoin in order to create institutional networks that prescribe, transmit and transform tropes, beliefs, values and emotions - but also artifacts and rituals that become visible as traces and trails in time and place. Religions are partial, tentative and continually redrawn sketches of where we are, where we have been and where we are going. This means that religions involve homemaking. They construct a home, a homeland and a collective identity.[37] And so, what I described above about what *happened* in Park Frankendael, can to my understanding be seen as an interesting illustration to the theory of Tweed. Two phenomena or flows basically conjoined: on the one hand the cultural flow of the souls of the city that are materialized in the park and on the other hand the more emotive and devotional flow of desires that a visitor bring to the place. In the merger of these two, we have seen how the park for that specific visitor became a sacred landscape — bringing to mind what Tweed in his book calls a *sacro-scape.*[38]

6. Tracking Trails and Leaving Traces: The Urban Challenge for the Christian Church in Amsterdam

In fact the same process that we have seen taking place in Park Frankendael, can explain why on the 4th May the Chestnut Square is experienced as a sacred place. And it probably is the same mechanism that I encountered at the vigil in the Oude Kerk at the evening before Pentecost. At the beginning of this paper, I asked the question: What are the dynamics of place-making, sacredness and souls of the city? When formulating an answer to that question, it is important to notice that where souls are connected to places in the city, sacredness is connected to human desires. However, this does not mean that the two are always separate from each other. In fact the two often work together and are in a dynamic relation with each other.

In what follows I will draw some preliminary conclusions from my research project, knowing that further research has to be done in order to fine-tune my theories. Firstly, it has become clear that sacredness is something that *happens* - but it does not happen always and everywhere. Sacredness is a dynamic notion, and by no means sacred places can be seen as static. Even the very fact that a location has been seen as a holy place for centuries, does not guarantee that it stays like that in the future. And given the fact that our world becomes increasingly mobile and multi-layered, we can expect new types of sacred place to pop up everywhere. Secondly, sacredness only occurs under the right circumstances, but it has also to be noted, that the other two notions

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[37] Thomas Tweed: *Crossing and Dwelling. A Theory of Religion*. (First Harvard University Press paperback edition, 2006, 2008), 54-59, 64-69 and 73-77.
[38] Tweed: *Crossing and Dwelling.* 59-62.

from my central question — place-making and souls of the city — are aspects that can function as a catalyst in the dynamics of sacred place.

What does this mean for the Christian church in a city like Amsterdam? I would like to propose two possible incentives for further reflection on a *practical theology of place* that fits within the dynamic and mobile context of the late-modern city. The first incentive can be summarized as *tracking trails* — and perhaps we should connect it to the notion of souls as described above. Basically, it is about the challenge of the church to listen carefully to the city in order to get better equipped in making places that have the potential of becoming sacred place. Building upon his description of religion, Durkheim is able to explain why apparent religious phenomena, that belong to no constituted religion can exist. They are no longer integrated into a religious system, but sometimes they once were. Since the original cult they were part of, did not manage to survive and the whole to which they belonged has disappeared, these phenomena are the surviving fragments from religious systems of the past.[39] And in fact what Tweed calls artifacts and rituals that become visible as traces and trails in time and place, fall in the same category. I would argue that churches cannot disregard these fragments of meaning, that often tell important stories about the context in which places are becoming, about the people that play a prominent role in the daily place-ballet of a certain location and about the distastes and desires they bring with them.

The second incentive can be summarized as *leaving traces* — and perhaps we should connect that one to the notion of place-making as described above. Also here, it is about a challenge for the church, but now it is about the challenge to create places in such a way that they allow sacredness as much as possible to *happen*. And not unimportant: to make sure these places are accessible to the public. Obviously this is something the Christian church in Amsterdam already does and always has done, with the Oude Kerk as its oldest artifact — a trace standing strong in its very heart. And actually one cannot stroll through Mokum without encountering all kinds of traces from its Christian past. But on the other hand my respondents also disappointingly found out that most traditional worshipping places were inaccessible or closed during office hours. It is food for thought that particularly this typology of place wasn't often brought into relationship with either sacredness or with the souls of the city by them.

Having said that, the Oude Kerk invited me on the evening before Pentecost to celebrate the coming of the Spirit, which according to the invitation lets us experience unity within diversity. The service aimed to let its visitors cross borders and to meet each other in the things that inspire them. Or put it differently: to share our desires with each other. Indeed, Pentecost inspires to cross borders — and the urban challenge for Christian churches in Amsterdam might be to constantly break through existing church walls and start walking through the city, perhaps with no other goal than to listen to its citizens and to search for souls. In tracking trails and leaving traces, the Christian church may be able to become a bridge between the many voices of Babel and the souls of the New Jerusalem. Or in other words: Pentecost revisited.

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[39] Durkheim: *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 39.

STROLLING THROUGH MOKUM:
THE DYNAMICS OF PLACE, SACREDNESS AND SOULS OF AMSTERDAM

MASTER THESIS (EXPLANATION & APPENDIX)

August 10th, 2017

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Examinator: prof. T. de Boer PhD (Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong)

VOORWOORD

Het afgelopen jaar ben ik op zoek gegaan naar de ziel van de stad... een zoektocht die me goed bevallen is, hoewel ik tegelijkertijd het idee heb dat ik onderweg maar een beperkt aantal antwoorden — en vooral allerlei nieuwe vragen en uitdagingen ben tegenkomen. Hoe dat ook moge zijn, het moment is inmiddels daar om een tussenstand te geven van mijn onderzoek naar de relatie tussen plaats(maken), sacraliteit en de zielen van de stad in Amsterdam. De onderzoeksresultaten van mijn veldwerk, een beschrijving van de data-anlyse, en de interpretatie daarvan vanuit een theoretisch kader, heb ik in een artikel samengevat. Dat artikel fungeert als mijn master-thesis voor de masteropleiding Gemeentepredikant aan de Protestantse Theologische Universiteit.

Dít voorliggende document kan gezien worden als een toelichting op dat artikel, waarbij een aantal zaken nog wat uitgebreider voor het voetlicht worden gebracht. Door voor deze opzet te kiezen heb ik meegedaan aan een pilot-project, waarbij de master-thesis als artikel kan worden ingediend. Mijn ervaringen met deze manier van werken zijn positief. Het is nuttig om bij het schrijven van een thesis een duidelijke doelgroep voor ogen te hebben: in dit geval de lezers van een academisch tijdschrift. Het dwingt je om helder te formuleren, om stelling te nemen en om je schrijfsels enigszins lezenswaardig te houden. Daarnaast geeft het eindresultaat van dit traject een mooie samenvatting van het onderzoek in handen, waar nog op allerlei manieren wat mee gedaan kan worden. Kortom, wat mij betreft is deze proef geslaagd en ik kan het andere studenten zeker aanraden op deze manier vorm te geven aan het afstudeertraject.

Het voorliggende document bevat zoals reeds aangegeven een toelichting op het artikel. Omdat het artikel in het Engels is opgesteld, heb ik deze toelichting (afgezien van dit voorwoord) ook in het Engels geschreven. In hoofdstuk 1 geef ik achtergrondinformatie van het beoogde Journal voor publicatie: het *International Journal for Practical Theology*. Tevens geef ik in dat hoofdstuk een overzicht van de (praktische) vereisten waar het artikel aan moet voldoen. In hoofdstuk 2 volgt dan een evaluatie van mijn aanvankelijke onderzoeksvraag, de wijze waarop deze tijdens het onderzoek gefungeerd heeft en de reden om deze onderzoeksvraag in het artikel gewijzigd op te nemen. Hoofdstuk 3 geeft een

overzicht van de zogenaamde status quaestionis, ofwel de stand van zaken van het onderzoek op gebied van ruimte en plaats. Tevens geef ik hier een inbedding van mijn onderzoek in het bredere vakgebied van de Praktische Theologie, waarbij ook het literatuurpakket zoals dat vanuit de opleiding werd voorgeschreven aan bod komt. Hoofdstuk 4 bevat een toelichting op de gehanteerde methode. Zowel veldwerk als analyse komen aan de orde. In hoofdstuk 5 stip ik tenslotte enkele mogelijke nieuwe onderzoeksvragen en vervolgstappen present, alvorens in hoofdstuk 6 een overzicht te geven van alle geraadpleegde literatuur tijdens het onderzoeksproces.

Rest mij nog mijn begeleider Marcel Barnard zeer hartelijk te bedanken voor de buitengewoon inspirerende en prettige begeleiding tijdens dit project. Ik ben met veel plezier aan het onderzoek bezig geweest, niet in het minst dankzij de stimulerende begeleidingsgesprekken op de PThU. Daarnaast waren ook de gesprekken met de andere onderzoekers van de vakgroep Practices steeds weer bijzonder nuttig. Hun meedenken heeft me allerlei nieuwe en betekenisvolle inzichten opgeleverd. Ook Tjeerd de Boer wil ik hartelijk bedanken, voor de tijd en energie die hij vrij heeft wil maken om deze thesis te lezen en mede van een beoordeling te voorzien.

Tenslotte ben ik veel dank verschuldigd aan de respondenten die bereid waren om een dagdeel met mij door de stad te lopen. Zonder hun ogen en oren, hun kennis van de stad, van architectuur, fotografie en van zoveel meer, was ik nergens geweest. En... had ik Park Frankendael nooit ontdekt — wat mij betreft inmiddels het heerlijkste park van Mokum. Alleen daarom al was deze hele onderneming de moeite waard...

Amsterdam, 10 augustus 2017,
Willem Jan de Hek

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

1.1 Aims and Scope

The article is written with the *International Journal of Practical Theology* in mind as potential journal to be published in. At its website, the journal presents itself as:

> "An academic journal that is intended for practical theologians and teachers of religious education, scientists specializing in religion, and representatives of other cultural-scientific disciplines. The aim of the journal is to promote an international and interdisciplinary dialogue. The journal contains contributions on an empirically descriptive and critically constructive theory of ecclesiastical and religious practice in society. Primarily, it deals with descriptions of religion as it is practiced. Religion in this context can be understood in the broad sense of the word according to which all appreciative tendencies towards an ultimate view of oneself and of the world can be described as being religious. Thus the many different forms of religion as they are lived today are applied in a critically constructive manner to the normative self-image of churches, ecclesiastical groups and denominations. As contributions towards Practical Theology, they ultimately pursue the structure of practically orientated theories of ecclesiastical and ecclesiastically conveyed religious practice."

The journal contains articles about a spectrum of themes that are divided into five groups. My article would potentially fit in the group of themes that are dealing with the global and regional different changes in religious practice in relation to the processes of socio-cultural modernization processes (individualization and pluralization), but it also touches on themes from another group, namely that are related to the study of the development of new forms of public religion (civil religion). In recent editions of the journal no significant articles have been published about a *theology of place* - although its current editor-in-chief, Elaine Graham who is the Samuel Ferguson Professor of Social and Pastoral Theology at the University of Manchester, wrote an excellent book on the topic, in co-operation with Bishop Stephen Lowe with whom she was a member of the Commission on Urban Life and Faith in the Church of England.

1.2 Submission guidelines

The submission guidelines for the *International Journal of Practical Theology* are actually quite plain and simple and can be found on the website of the journal. In order to make possible the publication of a suitable range of submissions, the authors are required to confine themselves to write no more than twenty pages (which is about 10,000 words, including footnotes). The final paper should be completely anonymized when submitted, because the editors will give that version into the review process without any further revision. Also an abstract of the article is requested at the beginning of the article.

The use of abbreviations in the main text should be kept to an absolute minimum. The international nature of the journal precludes the use of abbreviations for the names of journals, series, etc. in the references. Omissions and alterations made by the authors in citations should be indicated by the use of square brackets. References to quoted material and scholarly literature will not be given in the body of the text but only in annotations (footnotes). In general, the *Chicago Manual of Style* should be followed. Literature cited or to which reference is made is not put in a bibliography at the end of the contribution but, upon first appearance, the title (including series and publication information) are given in full. Authors' first names are written out. If the same title is cited more than once, only the surname, head word and pages are given, separated by a comma, after the first full entry.

The version I have submitted as my master-thesis follows as much as possible these instructions. The version that will submitted to IJPT will be completely anonymized, including a reference to the presentation of the research method and some of the results at the Word Congress of the International Union of Architects UIA 2017 (footnote 4) that I added because of potential self-plagiarism policies.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

2.1 Evaluation Main Research Question

In my final research design (d.d. February 7th) I defined my main research questions as follows: *How does the soul-of-the-city inspire people to engage in the process of place-making: the human action aiming to get from place-as-it-is towards place-as-it-can-be?*

The process of place-making sorted out to be a very helpful tool to structure my data analysis. Also this concept has been valuable when walking through the city, it helped my respondents to get grip on what they experienced. However, the research question only speaks of two notions: soul of the city and place-making. From hindsight I have to say that a third notion that is absent in this research question has to be added. In fact, what my research data showed is that three concepts are in a constant dynamic relation with each other: place-making, sacredness and souls of the city. Hence based on the final version of the article I would re-define the research question as follows: What are the dynamics of place-making, sacredness and souls of the city — and how do these concepts relate to the dynamics of sacred place?

An (preliminary) answer to this question can be found in the last section of my article. It turns out that, whereas sacredness only occurs under the right circumstances, the other two notions — place-making and souls of the city — are in fact aspects that can function as a catalyst in the dynamics of sacred place.

2.2 Evaluation Sub Questions

In the final research design, I also gave a number of sub-questions. Actually the sub-questions sorted out to be relevant for my research project. Below I will go through them one by one in order to indicate how these sub-questions have been answered.

1. *How can place-as-it-is and soul-of-the-city be described more specifically for contemporary Amsterdam?* As mentioned above I have been using the concept of place-making (getting from place-as-it-is towards place-as-it-can-be) to structure my data analysis. During this process it sorted out that a number of groups with codes

could be connected to the notion of place-as-it-is, thereby describing this notion specifically for contemporary Amsterdam: On the one hand this has been about stories and personal experiences that were connected to concrete locations by the respondents (code group 230) and on the other hand this has been about sharing facts and knowledge about the city of Amsterdam (code group 240). In doing so, a rough image of place-as-it-is in Amsterdam appeared out of the data. It also sorted out that the other concept, soul-of-the-city, is closely connected to this information about place-as-it-is. When thinking about the souls of Amsterdam, respondents would primarily think of the city's history and its characteristics (code group 240), aspects that materialize in certain concrete locations or what I came to call in my article certain typologies-of-place (code group 420).

2. *What specific (religious, cultural or ideological) concepts can people possibly have in mind when thinking about / aiming for place-as-it-can-be?* During the data analysis it sorted out that this question can best be answered when looking into the distastes (code group 310) and desires (code group 320) that the respondents expressed. Rather than expressing their personal religious or ideological views, they expressed what they liked or disliked about a place. This is not to say that there is no relation between their personal convictions and the distastes and desires they expressed (actually, I wouldn't be surprised if there is), but this relation has not been within the scope of the current research.

3. *To what extent can the concepts used by people to engage in place-making be connected to identifiable souls-of-the-city?* Actually, this sub question can be answered in two ways. Firstly, one can think of concepts in the sense of typologies of place (code group 420). My argument would be that these typologies indeed could be connected to the souls-of-the-city. Think for example of commemorating place, that is clearly connected to the history of the city but also to its ideals and values. Secondly, one can also thing of concepts in the sense of desires and distastes, or in other words: the way people would like places to be (code groups 310 and 320). Here the connection with soul is more difficult to make. Of course, desires can be shaped by souls-of-the-city, but this is not always the case. In my theory I therefore rather connect these desires to sacredness.

4. *To what extent can concrete locations where the souls-of-the-city appear to manifests itself - be seen as sacred places?* This question is answered in the article by looking at three locations where this seems to be the case: the Old Church, Chestnut Square and Park Frankendael. Some locations where souls-of-the-city materializes are indeed experienced by visitors as sacred place. However, this is not always the case. Firstly, sacredness is something that happens - but it does not happen always and everywhere. It is a dynamic notion, and by no means sacred places can be seen as static. Even the very fact that a location has been seen as a holy place for centuries, does not guarantee that it stays like that in the future. And given the fact that our world becomes increasingly mobile and multi-layered, we can expect new types of sacred place to pop up everywhere. Secondly, sacredness only occurs under the right circumstances, but it has also to be noted, that the other two notions from my central question - place-making and souls of the city - are aspects that can function as a catalyst in the dynamics of sacred place.

Apart from answering these research questions, I also asked myself new questions that seemed to be relevant for the article, particular in order to connect the theory to urban theology. That is why in the last section of my article I added one more sub question: *What does this mean for the Christian church in a city like Amsterdam?* And another sub question, which can in fact only be answered in a preliminary way, as there is much more research and thinking to be done: *What does this mean for a potential practical-theology-of-place, that fits within the dynamic and mobile context of the late-modern city?*

3. STATUS QUAESTIONIS

3.1 Practical Theology

In her article *Five Misunderstandings about Practical Theology*, the practical theologian Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore examines five common misunderstandings in the history and development of scholarship in the discipline of Practical Theology.[1] She describes each of them and offers correctives, concluding at the end of her article that three decades of progress in the field affirm that there is a need in Practical Theology for alternative ways of theological knowing and for further work in the discipline. According to Miller-McLemore Practical Theology has been more and more about taking theology out to the streets (!) and about using what it has learned from going out to assess the adequacy of biblical, historical and doctrinal claims. The discipline has proven to be vital, relevant and contributing. Miller-McLemore argues that Practical Theology has always been and remains far more than an academic endeavor, and even is about returning theology to the people. As a way of faithful discipleship and as way of doing theology in daily life, Practical Theology can so be fundamental to Christian faith and to all areas of theological study and practice. (Graham & Schröder, 2012: 5-26) I would argue that my research project, taking theology literally to the streets of the contemporary city, fits well within the boundaries that are set out by Miller-McLemore in her article.

In his response to Miller-McLemore, Pete Ward speaks about the *lived theology* of his students — and that they *embody* theology. He argues that the question of how we connect theological understanding and the everyday involvement in the life of the church is central to think about. The division between theory and practice, as it is usually presented in Practical Theology, fundamentally misunderstands how ideas about God function in the life of the church. To be a Christian, is to indwell and to be indwelt by God. This presence of God is mediated in language and in practices. (Graham & Schröder, 2012: 55-65) Where for Ward

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[1] Miller-McLemore pays attention to the following five common misunderstandings: (1) practical theology is a marginalized discipline with a serious identity crisis; (2) the problem with practical theology and theological education is the clerical paradigm; (3) practical and pastoral theology are interchangeable terms; (4) practical theology is impossible to define or, inversely, can be defined simply (e.g., study of the relationship between beliefs and practices); and (5) practical theology is largely, if not wholly, descriptive, empirical, interpretative, and not normative, theological, and in some cases Christian. (Graham & Schröder, 2012: 5)

the epistemological basis for Practical Theology needs to be rooted in the everyday and the ordinary theologizing of the Christian community instead of in the academy, other theologians stretch the tasks of Practical Theology further, speaking of the everyday world and the whole body as being the potential object for our practical theological study. Wilhelm Gräb for example, in another reaction to *the five misunderstandings* mentioned by Miller-McLemore, pleads for Practical Theology as a religious and cultural hermeneutics of Christian practices. What he means by that, is that one of the key tasks for Practical Theology as a specific theological sub-discipline would be the empirically based hermeneutics of religion and culture — exploring the existence of religious motifs, symbols and rituals in everyday life and the different fields of contemporary culture, such as the media, the arts and politics, music and cinema, law and education, and so forth. (Graham & Schröder, 2012: 79-92) It is here where I would specifically position my own research project in the broader field of Practical Theology, exploring what can be summarized as *lived religion* in the contemporary city.

Besides, my research project fits within another direction that becomes more and more at the foreground in Practical Theology, namely the increase of an interest in the notion of *embodiment*. This is related to what Miller-McLemore in her Introduction to the *Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Practical Theology* calls the use of gerunds. Gerunds look like verbs, but function as nouns — they are nouns that contain action. Miller-McLemore argues that Practical Theology is also verb-like, but rather than leaping to huge claims about God's nature and practical theological parallels, it is better to say that Practical Theology is like a gerund. In the companion, authors therefore reflect on their subject as noun and as verb — as subject and as action. A number of such gerunds are discussed and reflected on in the handbook, from suffering to healing and from eating to loving. All these examples indeed make clear that there is more to a Practical Theology than theologizing and reflecting — it is about our whole embodied life. (Miller-McLemore, 2012) In my case: Strolling though Amsterdam, means that the purpose of my research project within Practical Theology as a discipline, is not only to reflect on (theologies of) place(-making), sacredness and the souls of the city, but also to point at the potential implications of such reflections for those who are strolling through the city. What does it mean for us to be inhabitants of the world, to be citizens of the contemporary city, to be engaged in place-making as a church, and so forth?

These questions also bring me to the significance for my research for the actual Church in Amsterdam. In his book *A Fundamental Practical Theology*, the American practical theologian Don Browning defines the task of his discipline as critical reflection on the church's dialogue with Christian sources and with other communities of experience and interaction, with the aim of guiding its action toward social and individual transformation. Practical theology starts when a religious community is challenged by a crisis in its practices and in the meanings that are embodied in them, and the goal of such an endeavor is to reconstruct them. Browning speaks about a *critical correlation* of the faith community with its environment, that starts with a hermeneutical engagement with the community (descriptive theology) and ends after a historical and systematic theological inquiry with a proposal for interventions in the situation (strategic practical theology). (Browning, 1991) Since my research project is not aiming to focus on the Christian church in Amsterdam in particular, the approach of Browning does not directly apply to my positioning. However, having said that, I believe the moves of Browning are not irrelevant for this project on the long term, since for the churches in our contemporary cities it is a constant struggle how to relate to the late-modern society around them. At least my research project takes a first step in the method as proposed by Browning, by describing what that context looks like, where it challenges the urban church and how the Christian congregation can take its place in the urban environment: both spiritually and physically. With that in mind I will now turn to discussing recent research on space and place.

3.2 The Spatial Turn

Place has often been ignored from discourse in Western society, due to a long and complicated process. However, since what has been called the "spatial turn", more and more theologians got interested in the role of place in theology. Before assessing a number of "theologies of place" in the next paragraph, I will briefly introduce the reader to this spatial turn. In doing so, I will use the excellent introduction by John Inge, the incumbent bishop of Worcester in the Church of England, a theologian who happens to be one of the first Christian thinkers who wrote about place from a theological perspective after the turn.

First of all, Inge states that the spatial turn has made clear that there is a difference between the terms *space* and *place*, as the latter is less abstract than the former. He quotes Yi-Fu Tuan, who stated "what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value." The two terms might be thought of as tending towards opposite ends of a spectrum: the local at one end and the infinite at the other. (Inge: 1-2) The manner in which place and space are conceived in our Western society owes a great deal to the influence of Greek thinking. In Plato's cosmology place is of great importance and it is differentiated from space, since the latter is there in the beginning where it precedes creation. (Inge: 3) Aristotle uses the analogy of the vessel to pursue his line of thinking about place. In the same way as a vessel holds its contents by surrounding them, so place surrounds the body or group of bodies located within it. The most influential part of Aristotle's thinking about space is this idea of the container: it has a dynamic role in enabling a thing to be somewhere. Without place things would not only fail to be located, they would not even be things. (Inge: 4)

The idea of the container was the most prevalent notion of space found in Greek thought. Place was thought of as an inert environment in which things happen. However, a consequence of this view is that in such a case things might happen in one as in another place. Other effects served to compound this persistence, which eventually over time resulted in what Inge calls 'the eclipse of place': by exploring the extensiveness and unendingness of space, the distinguishable notions of spatial absoluteness and infinity began to seem irresistible, resulting in space winning the day over place. (Inge: 5) Although in everyday life place remained very important and of primary human importance for centuries to come, this development in thought actually set the scene for the development of modernism, which in its later phases has downgraded the importance of place in peoples experience as well as in patterns of thought. (Inge: 6)

Inge refers to the work of Martin Heidegger when it comes to a rediscovery of the value of place. For Heidegger the human person is a 'being there', and so placedness is of the essence. It 'places' human beings in such a way that it reveals the external bonds of their existence and the depths of their freedom and reality. The real meaning of the word 'to build', namely 'to dwell', has been lost to us. This dwelling would involve a sense of

continuity, community and of being 'at home'. (Inge: 18-19) According to Richard Rogers buildings are indeed able to transform undifferentiated and 'dehumanizing' space into marked and delimited 'humanized' place. However, it works the other way around as well. The political orthodoxies of our recent past have contributed to the downgrading of 'human' place and this has had severe ramifications in architecture. And also in the way we experience public place. As Winston Churchill once put it: "First we shape our buildings and then our buildings shape us." In short: there are serious questions to be asked on how dehumanizing the loss of place has been in Western society. (Inge: 19-20)

In postmodernism place seems to be rediscovered and revalued. According the Henri Lefebvre space cannot be represented by a neutral and passive geometry, but is produced and represents the site and the outcome of social, political and economic struggle. Lefebvre distinguishes between physical, mental and social spaces, and his conceptions of space make their effects felt in places. (Inge: 23) As postmodernism is suspicious of grand narratives, it attempts to recover a sense of the importance of the particular, one aspect of which is place. Much postmodern writing therefore recognizes the significance of spatial factors in human experience, which was lost in modernity. As Michel Foucault puts it: "We do not live inside a void that could be colored with various shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable one on another." (Inge: 24-25)

Thinkers like Edward Soja further developed this line of thinking, resulting it was has been called the spatial turn. In my article I refer to Tim Cresswell, who wrote an excellent book summarizing the impact of this turn on geography. In his book *Place - An Introduction* (2015) he reflects on global examples of the impact of the spatial turn from the news, popular culture, and everyday life in order to explain abstract ideas about space and place.

3.3 Theologies of Place
Over the last decades, many theologians have been working on theology in relation to space and place. One can think of the work of (in chronological order and among others) Walter Brueggemann (1977, 2002), John Inge (2003), Thomas Tweed (2006), Sigurd Bergmann (2007), Elaine Graham & Stephen Lowe (2009), Paul Post (2010) and Craig Bartholomew

(2011). In this paragraph I will briefly discuss these authors and their perspective on place, before explaining why I used two of them -John Inge and Craig Bartholomew- as an exemplar for theology of place in my article, why using another of them -Thomas Tweed- as a basis framework for my own potential "Practical Theology of Place".

- If we take into consideration that the main impetus for a "theology of place" came from the so-called Spatial Turn, then it is interesting that the first edition of Walter Brueggemann's book *The Land: Place as Gift, Promise and Challenge in Biblical Faith* (2002) was first published in 1977. The second edition of the book was published twenty-five years later and fully revised. As an Old Testament scholar, Brueggemann focuses on the Hebrew Bible as the main source for his thinking, but he also points at aspects from the New Testament. He uses his exegesis to address contemporary issues concerning place and land, such as border conflicts, soil and water pollution and homelessness, thus reflecting on the relation between the biblical traditions and our contemporary dilemma's. I find the way he tells the story of the Israelites, longing as a homeless folk for the New Jerusalem particularly striking. To me it is a useful metaphor for what seems to be an intrinsic human desire for "a better place", which is why I used this metaphor at the start of section 4 in the article and in the title of this section: Longing for the New Jerusalem.

- As mentioned above, the work of John Inge was one of the first theologies of place that were published after the so-called spatial turn. Inge is a bishop in the Church of England, and his book *A Christian Theology of Place* (2003), grew out of a doctoral thesis. For a rediscovery of the importance of place Inge is convinced that the Bible and the Christian tradition holds important recourses. Place is a very important category in the Old Testament. The narrative shows a three-way relationship between God, people and place. Turning to the New Testament, Inge suggests that the incarnation affirms the importance of the particular - and therefore also of place - in God's dealing with humanity. It is in particular places that God meets the world. The most constructive manner in which to view place from a Christian perspective is sacramentally. The notion of sacrament must be grounded in event. The place in which these events occur is not merely a backdrop to the experience but rather an integral part of it. Holy places therefore are places in which sacramental encounter

takes place. Because Inge's theology of place is often referred to in contemporary articles and books about theology and place, I found it valuable to refer to it in my article, but as I will argue below not without a critical note to it.

· In his book *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (2006), Thomas Tweed offers a definition of religion that draws on aquatic and spatial tropes. Based on his empirical research among Cubans in Miami, the definition stipulates those aspects of religion that the author believes are useful to identify and interpret religious practices in different times and places. Tweed states: "Religions are confluences of organic-cultural flows that intensify joy and confront suffering by drawing on human and supra-human forces to make homes and cross boundaries." Tweed speaks about religions (plural) in order to emphasize that interpreters never encounter religion-in-general. Observers are always situated themselves, encountering particular practices performed by particular people in particular contexts. In order to take into account the dynamic nature of religions, the author looked for metaphors and philosophical and religious frameworks that highlight movement and relation. By using the metaphor "confluences", which is taken from physics, the author suggests that religions are flows. Each religion is in fact a flowing together of currents traversing multiple fields, where other religions also cross, thereby creating new spiritual streams. The heart of Tweed's theory is the phrase in his definition that religions "make homes and cross boundaries".

· In an article in the first volume of Religion Compass (Wiley, Volume 1, Issue 3), called *Theology in its Spatial Turn: Space, Place and Built Environments Challenging and Changing the Images of God* (2007), the German theologian Sigurd Bergmann shows the potential impact of the spatial turn on theology. He argues that space and place have been almost absent in theology for long periods of its history. However, in the last decades, space/place reflections have moved out from the margins to several sectors of sciences and the humanities. Spatial metaphors and the central image of the Earth as 'our home' are at the heart of environmentalism. According to Bergmann, theology has to become aware of its embeddedness in the existential spatiality of life. In general he identifies two directions of theology in its spatial turn: on the one hand theologians explore what Christian images and practices in space and at place mean for theology's classical questions. And on the other hand, they

also move into other discourses by experimenting with theological contributions to other disciplines and public discourses. This leads to the main question that Bergmann asks in his article: Can space set theology free?

· The practical theologian Elaine Graham and bishop Stephen Lowe both have been members of the Commission on Urban Life and Faiths. Together they wrote *What makes A Good City? Public Theology and the Urban Church* (2009). The book is a reflection on the Faithful Cities Report of the Church of England and its implications for the urban church in Great Britain. It the core of the vision of Graham & Lowe on the urban church is the conviction that Christians are called to worship God - but that they are also called to offer an incarnational presence for the world. Part of the task of the church is to be transformative. It should embody vision and signal justice. Doing so is all about hope, transfiguration and the Kingdom. It is a performative Practical Theology: not only preaching to the world but being incarnated in the world. Obviously, this also touches on the physical place that the church takes in the world. The church can take the lead in encouraging local people to think about their neighborhoods. What values are significant for any definition of a "good city"? To find answers to this question the church can act as a catalyst. Distinctive marks of the church in this context are: its unique localness with a long-term presence and commitment to that place, it's care-taking and service to the community and its vision of hope, forgiveness and transcendence.

· In his book *Voorbij het kerkgebouw: De speelruimte van een ander sacraal domein* (2010), the Dutch theologian Paul Post argues that in a changing post-Christian world characterized by secularization, we need to look at religion, rituality and sacredness from a new perspective. Our post-Christian society asks for a new sacred domain, which is larger than the traditional church building. Post presents four different clusters of sacred-religious presence: the religious domain, the domain of memorial, the cultural domain and the recreational domain. These domains are the ideal "adjacent" milieus for sacred place. Particularly in the overlap of these four clusters Post presumes important new perspectives concerning sacredness, rituality and place. His hypothesis is an open invitation to researchers for further exploration of the four clusters. Since my research shows that my respondents also experience

indeed sacredness outside of the traditional worshipping places, I found it relevant to refer to Post's work in my article.

· The South African theologian Craig Bartholomew wrote an extensive study that aims to sum up what has been written on theology and place over the last decades: *Where mortals dwell - A Christian View of Place for Today* (2011). Indeed it is a helpful volume (for me it has been the first theological study I read on the topic). Bartholomew himself states that he has "worked through as much of the vast literature as possible." What does Bartholomew in his work adds to the discussion? It seems that his Calvinistic background comes through, when Bartholomew states that place in fact has a very practical bent to it. His concern is not a recovery of just the Christian view of place, but rather a recovery of place-making. The third part of his book therefore handles about some very concrete practical implications of a rediscovery of place by theology, when he talks about place-making and the city, place-making in garden and home and place-making in various facts of life. I felt that this very practical perspective on a theology of place can be somehow refreshing, which is why I brought up the theology of place of Bartholomew in my article, particularly as it asks for very different emphases compared to Inge.

As mentioned above, I used the theology of place from Inge and Bartholomew in my article to show how one can think theologically about God taking place in our world. Having said that, both the theology of place of Inge and of Bartholomew felt a bit massive and robust to me. Particularly when analyzing the research data, it feels not appropriate to sort of "capture" the feelings of my respondents in a massive theological framework, as if they - without knowing it- are witnessing the Kingdom if God breaking through. Whether or not that is the case, actually goes beyond the purpose of my study. Therefore, I have used the theory of religions of Thomas Tweed as a framework, since the metaphors he uses are better usable of getting grip of what I discovered during the research analysis. That place is dynamic, and that therefore sacredness is dynamic, as are the souls of the city, fits very well within the frame of Tweed, who speaks about flows and mobility. In the meantime, it has to be said that Tweed's book is about a theory of religions, rather than a theology of place. Perhaps here lays an opportunity to bring the two together, which I tried to argue for by giving two incentives for a practical-theology-of-place in the last section of my article.

3.4 Urban Theology

Finally, it would also make sense to reflect here on Urban Theology as well. The Dutch theologian Klaus van der Grijp, wrote a book *Geloven in de stad. Geloofsverantwoording in stedelijk perspectief* (1991) in order to reflect on the church in the urban context of the Netherlands (roughly the Randstad-area: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht). According to Van der Grijp, the city is a remarkable product of human activity that can be interpreted from various fundamental perspectives - for instance from the perspective of theology. Such an interpretation takes place when humans attempt to assess certain forms of their existence in light of good and evil, direction and purpose. Urban societies carry on both good and bad elements. The city therefore asks for a certain ethic and even on a deeper level for a more profound and comprehensive understanding: it asks for a theology of the city - for an urban theology. (Van der Grijp: 49)

In Western Christian theology, the contradictions between two cities -Babylon and Jerusalem- play an important role. Take Augustine for instance, who in history recognizes the form of two cities that are originating from two opposing forms of love: Self-love has produced the Earthly City, while love for God produces the City of God. According to Augustine, the fall of Rome can mean purification. By faith, the city can approach the ideal of the City of God. But as long as history continues, the City of God and the Earthly City will be mixed together. (Van der Grijp: 67-68) The Reformation has had a stimulating influence on urban life. This mainly had to do with the fact that the spiritual and the worldly terrain became clearly demarcated and distinguished from each other. And thus, a free space was created for the development of trade, industry, art and science. The teachings of the "two kingdoms" of Luther can be understood as an extension to Augustine's teachings about the two cities, although the accents are different. Luther is asking attention for the ecclesiastical powers of worldly authorities: God rules his people through a spiritual, but also through a worldly regiment. (Van der Grijp: 70)

In the year 1965, the book *The Secular City* of the American theologian Harvey Cox was published, stating that urban culture has become increasingly the culture of our time. However, secularization does not necessarily mean a loss. It is an inheritance of the Jewish-

Christian tradition. What matters is that man in the secularized city is able to bring the Christian faith into practice. The human act became the measure of truth. Humans receive the assignment to transform the world into a human-dignified residence. (Van der Grijp: 71-73) However, from hindsight, Cox's ideas of a secular city sorted out to be too optimistic. In fact, the big cities in our world are still (and actually become more and more) the scene of a multi-cultural and multi-religious society. Various influences in the field of culture and religion seek to fill in the vacuum created by secularization. This raises the question whether culture and religion can be judged individually or forms an inseparable entity? Van der Grijp proposes for example, that believers of different religions should work together for the same values. In addition, religious impulses are also present outside the traditional religions in society. They are only much more fragmented. Everyone processes them in their own way, because the church has become a binding body. At the same time, because of secularization, the imagination of people seems to diminish. This is also a point where the church in the city will have to respond. The doctrines of Christ and of the church are immediately connected. The church is the place where signals of hope are passed. It is the body of Christ. The incarnation of Christ is therefore not an abstract theological concept, but has a practical impact on today's city. (Van der Grijp: 85-88)

The city is like an organism and can be experienced as an animated whole: a body and a soul. All kinds of data - such as geographical location and facts from her history - will determine what exactly her spirituality might be. The "genius loci" is the spirit that characterizes a particular specific place in the world and connects residents with the past and with each other. Buildings in the city -like the churches- can respect and shape its genius loci. This means that a church cannot monopolize the use of its building. Instead, every visitor should feel welcome and there should be reasons for him or her to enter the building. (Van der Grijp: 107-108) It is at this point, that the thinking of Van der Grijp touches on my research project, and he makes a similar point as the one that Graham & Lowe make in their study about the Christian church. This is why in my article I tried to embed my theory in the practices of the urban church in Amsterdam, closing with some "challenges" for that church based on my research analyses: tracking trails and leaving traces.

4. METHOD JUSTIFICATION

4.1 Method fieldwork

In order to collect the data for my empirical research, I having been using the method of photo-walking as described by Pyyry. The participants were asked to take photographs of the urban environment they walked through. This photo-walk should first and foremost be understood as a creative encounter with the city. Attention was focused on the practice of walking and taking photographs, and also on the reflection afterwards during three group discussions. In the end of the day, learning happens through participating and in a non-linear process. Through the engagement with places, new questions are generated and new topics to discuss come up. That is the reason that in my research project the participants walked the route in three separate stages. (See also Pyyry: 111)

[Table 4.1: Respondents background]

	Resident	Field	Religious belief	Gender
Respondent 1	Amsterdam	Theology	Christian	Male
Respondent 2	Periphery	Real Estate	Christian	Male
Respondent 3	Amsterdam	Photography	Christian	Male
Respondent 4	Amsterdam	Architecture	Agnostic	Female
Respondent 5	Amsterdam	Psychology	Christian	Male
Respondent 6	Periphery	Geography	Agnostic	Male
Respondent 7	Amsterdam	Journalism	Christian	Female
Respondent 8	Amsterdam	Government	Atheist	Male

The predetermined route has been walked by two so-called focus groups consisting of three respondents each, accompanied by myself as the researcher. Apart from this I walked the route twice myself without company, and also twice with another respondent. This makes the total number of respondents eight, excluding myself as being the researcher. The respondents did vary from each other on place of residency (Amsterdam or periphery, in order to include both an insider and outsider perspective on the city), field of expertise (Real Estate, Theology or another field that is relevant to place-making), core personal religious belief (as stated by themselves: Christian, Agnostic or Atheistic) and gender. The route has

been walked with the first focus group on a Thursday morning, with the second focus group on a Friday afternoon, with one respondent and myself on Kings Day in the afternoon, with one respondent and myself on Liberation Day in the morning, and I walked the route twice myself without company on a Wednesday afternoon and on a Tuesday morning.

The exact route was determined following a relatively arbitrary process: starting at the oldest church in the inner city of Amsterdam, a straight line has been drawn in southeast direction. The route is closely following this line in opposite direction. It starts at the municipal boundary of the city of Amsterdam, and leads from there into the city, all the way towards the Old Church Square in the very heart of the city. The total route length of the route was about 6 kilometers, meaning a strolling time of 1,5 to 2 hours, with two interruptions of approximately 30 minutes for discussion. During their walk, the respondents were asked to closely observe the urban space they walk through, with a special focus on place-as-it-is, but also on place-as-it-can-be. The pictures were taken by mobile phone with location services enabled, so that the geographical location of the photographs was included in the data. Following the example of Pyyry, I instructed the participants in a very open-ended way. For engagement and enchantment to happen, there needs to be space left for improvisation. One should be able to stay open to encounters with the city. Pyyry describes photo-walks as a form of play that makes dwelling possible and thus sometimes opens up space for a moment of enchantment. (Pyyry: 105)

It should be noted that discussing the photographs in the focus-group at three different moments during that morning, can in fact be seen as a new reflection and therefore a secondary learning event - apart from the experience of photo-walking as a primary learning event. (See also Pyyry: 111) It sorted out that these discussions in between the separate stages functioned as renewed instructions as well. I noticed that apart from my role as researcher, I functioned as a tour guide and influencer too. It seemed to be impossible to keep a neutral stance and in analyzing the research results I needed to be aware of my own role and influence in the group discussions and during the walk.

4.2 Data analysis methodology

Walking the walk through Amsterdam provided me with at least three types of data: (1) the visual imagery that is collected by the respondents, (2) impressions, ideas and reflections from the respondents that were expressed during the group discussions, (3) and my own reflections and observations during the walks. In order to make sense of all the data I used two computer programs for data analysis: ATLAS.ti for analysis of all textual data (transcriptions of the group discussions and the text of my own observations) and Adobe Bridge for coding of all photographic material (photo's taken by respondents during the walk and by myself).

I used the process of place-making to structure the coding and the analysis of my research data. But before getting at this final picture, my data analysis started off with a first cycle of coding. Initially I used descriptive codes, describing what the respondents talked about. (Saldana: 70-73) Since I introduced the notions of place-making, sacredness and soul at the start of each walk to my respondents, I found these notions back quite often. But also other topics came up, such as different sorts of place, certain aspects of place-making, stories about certain places and attitudes towards place. For the desires and distastes that my participants expressed, as well as for clarifications on how they had been searching for souls and sacredness in the city, I used values coding, reflecting the participants' values, attitudes and beliefs. (Saldana: 89-93) In a second cycle, I reorganized and reanalyzed the data that was coded through the first cycle method. Now I started using pattern codes as well, in order to identify emergent themes and to group the data in smaller sets: such as description of place, stories about Amsterdam, typologies of place, desires and so forth. (Saldana: 152-155) In a final cycle I used theoretical coding. (Saldana: 163-167) These codes derived from my own theory, particularly my own definition of place-making, which sorted out to be a workable overall structure for data analysis. Also in this round the number of codes was brought back significantly because of a process of merging and fine-tuning.

Appendix A gives an overview of all codes that has been used, including how these codes have been grouped. For every code a short description is given (based on the content) as well as a number of keywords that also describe what the codes refer to.

5. FURTHER RESEARCH

In this final chapter of this explanatory document to the article, I will briefly highlight some potential areas for further research. In fact, to develop a full picture of how the dynamics of place, sacredness and soul are related to each other, additional studies will be needed that zoom in on those issues that were not covered by the research questions (see also chapter 2). As was expected when starting this project, the fieldwork has been merely explorative and working through a complete research cycle (research design, theoretical framework, fieldwork, data analysis and summarization in a written article) has been helpful to understand what needs further attention in a potential next research cycle. In what follows below, I will give some rough incentives — without aiming to be complete.

- Firstly, it has become clear to me that the sample of respondents needs to be bigger and the variety of participants need to be increased. For instance: even within the limited sample of current respondents it became clear that the religious background of the respondent mattered a lot, for example in terms of the capability of being able to express oneself about religious concepts like sacredness and soul. But also the fact that I walked the route with white Dutch people only, does not really represent the cultural diversity that is characteristic for Amsterdam.
- Also, preferably the total route has to be studied during a full year. Not only does the city looks completely different in winter compared to summer, also over the year multiple festivals take place. Think of King's Day and Commemorating Day, but also of festivals like Keti Koti and the impact that traditional festivals like Sinterklaas and Christmas have on the public domain in the Netherlands.
- Thirdly, whether the length of the current route (6 kilometers) is fine or perhaps too long is still an open question to me. I got the impression that it has been quite a walk for some of the participants, and particularly during the last section of the walk it became harder and harder for them to stay focused. In the description of her method of photo-walking with the city, Pyyry talks about the notion of enchantment. In order to be able to get enchanted, it is important for the participants to enter into a mood of relaxation and hanging out. With time available limited to a full morning or full afternoon, and with a pretty long route of 6 kilometers to be walked, it is not

easy to reach the mode of operation that Pyyry describes. It therefore can be considered to limit the research areas to certain particular locations, such as Park Frankendael, the Plantage and the Oudekerksplein. It would be interesting to see what happens if a peer-group is forced to stay within the boundaries of a park or a public square for instance, while photo-walking and chatting with each other about their experiences.

- Fourthly, from a theological perspective there is still a lot of work to be done to elaborate further on the notions of sacredness and soul, and how these two notions can be found in particular locations in the city. Concretely: is it possible to refine what we have to think of when talking about the souls of Amsterdam? And is it possible to refine what exactly happens at a concrete location when people believe that they encounter sacredness? I believe that answers to these questions might be found by expanding the empirical research as suggested above.

- Fifthly, following up on the two incentives for a practical-theology-of-place and by implementing the results from further empirical research, one must be able to construct theology that addresses the pressing issues and also to put theory into practice. How does tracking trails and leaving traces look like in practice? By purposely looking and searching for these two phenomena during next research cycles, perhaps the contours of such a theology might become clearer and clearer, and it becomes possible to add concrete examples to the theory.

- And finally: what are the potential consequences of such a practical-theology-of-place for the urban churches? One can think of the consequences for ecclesiology and missiology. But it might also be interesting to see what the implications of such a theology are for the ongoing debates in Western Christianity about what to do with religious heritage. Would it open new roads to go?

As I have been stating above, this overview is far from complete. But in the meantime it shows that my current research project leaves several questions unanswered, which perhaps is unavoidable given the dynamic nature of the city. For the moment, I hope that at least I have been able to leave some traces about this research subject in our university, knowing that there are yet lots of trails to be tracked.

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APPENDIX: CODE BOOK

What follows below is an overview of the codes that have been used in analyzing the research data (transcriptions of group discussions.) The codes are subdivided into code-groups, which are all part of one of four major groups: (200) place-as-it-is, (300) place-as-it-can-be, (400) place-making) and (500) interaction & reflection. Where possible the codes are also connected to a geographic location (in 010-codes in ATLAS.ti), which are the same codes that have been used to label the photographic material in Adobe Bridge.

200 PLACE-AS-IT-IS

210 PLACE (CODE-GROUP)

210 Place = dynamic (21 quotes)
- In which respondents talk about one of the characteristics of a place, namely that places are dynamic.
- Keywords: dynamic, hybrid, resilient, movement, excitement, stimulation.
- Dynamic means always being active or changing and having or showing a lot of energy. Something dynamic is marked by usually continuous and productive activity or change. (Merriam-Webster)

210 Place = produced (20 quotes)
- In which respondents talk about one of the characteristics of a place, namely that places are being produced over time: by smaller or bigger physical interventions, but also by personal experiences, stories and memories.
- Keywords: interventions, stories, memories, experiences, place-making.
- To produce is to make or create something by a natural process. (Merriam-Webster)

210 Place = planned (15 quotes)
- In which respondents talk about one of the characteristics of a place, namely that places are planned in advance, whether they are big or small.
- Keywords: destination, functionality, creation, self-made, forced, organized, design.

- A plan is a set of actions that have been thought of as a way to do or achieve something. It is an orderly arrangement of parts of an overall design or objective. (Merriam-Webster)

210 Place = sensorial (12 quotes)
- In which respondents talk about one of the characteristics of a place, namely that places are being sensorial. All senses are being used when experiencing a place.
- Keywords: seeing, touching, smelling, tasting, hearing.
- Sensory is of or relating to our physical senses. (Merriam-Webster)

220 SUSPECTING (CODE-GROUP)

220 Suspecting social function (17 quotes)
- In which respondents refer to a social function, which they believe applies to a certain place along the route. Their supposition is based on either personal experience, or on what they sense during the walk.
- Keywords: sociability, interaction, feelings.

220 Suspecting spirituality (17 quotes)
- In which respondents refer to a sense of spirituality, which they believe applies to a certain place along the route. Within this category, what can be counted as "spiritual" depends on the respondents own definition of this phenomenon.
- Keywords: experience, feelings, symbolism, psychology, history.

220 Suspecting missed chance (14 quotes)
- In which respondents refer to a missed chance, which they believe applies to a certain place along the route. In other words: according to the respondents it could have been better.
- Keywords: wishing, improving, curiosity.

220 Suspecting bigger story (8 quotes)

- In which respondents refer to a bigger story or an underlying idea, which they believe applies to a certain place along the route.
- Keywords: story, idea, design, deepness, background, behind the scenes.

230 STORIES & PLACE (CODE-GROUP)

230 Place referring to history (16 quotes)

- In which respondents make a connection between a particular place along the route and stories from history that are in one way or the other connected to that place.

230 Place referring to another realm (12 quotes)

- In which respondents make a connection between a particular place along the route and stories referring to some non-everyday world (religion / mythology), that are in one way or the other connected to that place.

230 Place with personal experience (8 quotes)

- In which respondents make a connection between a particular place along the route and stories from their personal experience that are in one way or the other connected to that place.

230 Place making curious (5 quotes)

- In which respondents express their suspicion that a particular place along the route probably has some story connected to it, although the exact story is not knwo to the observer. In other words: the place raises questions about its history.

240 AMSTERDAM (CODE-GROUP)

240 Amsterdam history (37 quotes)

- In which respondents refer to their knowledge about the history of the city of Amsterdam.
- Keywords: remembrance, liberty, science, memorials, meaningful, religion, soul.

240 Amsterdam characteristics (30 quotes)

- In which respondents talk about what they perceive as being characteristic for the contemporary city of Amsterdam.
- Keywords: diversity, freedom, tolerance, resilience, dynamic, bustle, pressure, progress, liberal.

300 PLACE-AS-IT-CAN-BE

310 DISTASTES (CODE-GROUP)

310 Distasting the commercial (15 quotes)

- In which respondents express their distaste for the commercial, often related to the quest for authenticity. Since the commercial is concerned with earning money -and seems to be closely connected to the artificial and the fake- respondents doubt whether it can be authentic or spiritual. Also the feeling that a place is hijacked or occupied by outsiders falls within this category.
- Keywords: artificial, fake, entrepreneurship, signage, shopping.
- Commercial means what is related to or used in the buying and selling of goods and services. It is concerned with earning money, and relating to or based on the amount of profit that something earns. (Merriam-Webster)

310 Distasting seclusion (13 quotes)

- In which respondents express their distaste for seclusion, closedness and massiveness. It is about places that are closed-off from the public, that are inaccessible or without transparency.
- Keywords: massiveness, closed-off, walled, hostile, inaccessible.
- Seclusion is the act of placing or keeping someone away from other people, but also the state of being away from other people: a secluded or isolated place. (Merriam-Webster)

310 Distasting indefiniteness (11 quotes)

- In which respondents express their distaste for indefiniteness, for example in the case of supposedly open, empty or meaningless places or locations.
- Keywords: soulless, emptiness, meaningless, openness, boundless, pointless.
- Indefinite means being not certain in amount or length, or not clear or certain in meaning or in details. It is typically designating an unidentified, generic, or unfamiliar person or thing. (Merriam-Webster)

310 Distasting ugliness (7 quotes)

- In which respondents express their distaste for ugliness. Obviously this is a subjective term, and respondents fill in this concept under their own conditions. They talk about pollution, meaningless architecture and graffiti. Also a missing "grand story" for a place is mentioned.
- Keywords: unappealing, unattractive, unbeautiful, unpleasing, unpretty, offensive.
- Ugly means unpleasant to look at, things not pretty or attractive - things unpleasant to hear, offensive to the sight or even disgusting. Ugly things often also are morally offensive or objectionally. They likely cause inconvenience or discomfort. (Merriam-Webster)

310 Distasting chaos (4 quotes)

- In which respondents express their distaste for chaos, everything that seems not to be well organized, everything that distracts and everything that is perceived as messy and noisy.
- Keywords: messy, noisy, distraction, impulses.
- Chaos means complete confusion and disorder, a state in which behavior and events are not controlled by anything. Also the state of the universe before there was any order and before stars and planets were formed has been described as chaos. (Merriam-Webster)

320 DESIRES (CODE-GROUP)

320 Desiring community (25 quotes)

- In which respondents express their desire for a (social) community. It is about being able to connect, engage and interact with other people in a certain place. Respondents emphasize the need for social interaction that transcends the boundaries of generations, race, gender and cultural background.
- Keywords: closeness, engaging, conversation, play, contact, connection, encounter.
- A community is a unified body of individuals, such as an interacting population of various kinds of individuals in a common location. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring accessibility (24 quotes)

- In which the respondents express their desire for places that are accessible. It is about an accessibility that works two ways: (a) the place should allow sufficient access from the outside inwards, and (b) the place should allow sufficient egress from the inside outwards. Apart from the physical accessibility, respondents also question the need for information about a place to be accessible to everyone.
- Keywords: transparency, openness, access, allowance, approachable, inclusiveness.
- Accessibility means the extent to which a place is capable of being seen, of being reached and of being seen. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring nature (21 quotes)

- In which respondents express their desire for those phenomena of the physical world that are not man-made, although most of these phenomena are part of bigger-scale man-made projects such as parks and waterfronts. Both direct natural phenomena (such as trees, water and sunlight) as indirect phenomena (such as wooden things, artificial green and fountains) fall within this category.
- Keywords: parks, vegetation, grass, (vegetable) garden, (sun)light, water.
- Nature comprises the physical world and everything in it (such as plants, animals, mountains, oceans, stars, etc.) that is not made by people. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring tranquillity (20 quotes)

- In which respondents express their desire for tranquillity and quietness, of being in a serene atmosphere, on a place sufficiently shielded from the area around it.
- Keywords: rest, serenity, stillness, calmness.
- Tranquility is the state of being tranquil, meaning: free from agitation of mind or spirit and free from disturbance or turmoil. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring beauty (16 quotes)

- In which respondents express their desire for beautiful and qualitative outstanding places, quite often with reference to neo-classical architectural styles. Since in architectural theory, beauty has everything to do with sightlines, symmetry and order, expressions referring to these phenomena are falling within this category as well.
- Keywords: ornaments, architecture, sightlines, order, aesthetics, attractiveness.
- Beauty is the quality or aggregate of qualities in a person or thing that gives pleasure to the senses or pleasurably exalts the mind or spirit. Think of a particular graceful, ornamental or excellent quality. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring diversity (14 quotes)

- In which respondents express their desire for diversity, acknowledging diversity as a quality of the city. (1) By having people with different races, different cultural background or even different economical background living (peacefully) together. (2) Also diversity within the physical environment of the city has been mentioned: the urban landscape as being composed of differing elements and qualities. (3) And also diversity in one and the same geographical location, by means of multi-functionality.
- Keywords: mingling, pluriformity, variety, multiplicity, otherness.
- Diversity means the condition of having or being composed of different elements, especially the inclusion of different types of people (as people of different races or cultures) in a group or organization. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring hybridity (13 quotes)

- In which respondents express their desire for hybrid places, in which multiple functionalities can take place and multiple purposes can be achieved at the same time, so that these functionalities and purposes can strengthen each other. Think of places combining private and public functions, places where spontaneous and organized activities come together as well as places combining commercial and non-commercial functions.
- Keywords: in-between space, shared space, triangulation, balancing, multiplicity, layered.
- Being hybrid means that something is formed by combining two or more things. It is about something heterogeneous in origin or composition. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring nearness (9 quotes)

- In which respondents express their desire for nearness, as distinguished from community because in nearness it is more about one-on-one contact than that it is about being engaged in a total community.
- Keywords: deep conversation, meeting, greeting, live contact, chatting.
- Nearness is the state of being in a very personal or private relationship. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring symbolism (9 quotes)

- In which respondents express their desire for symbolic places that point to immaterial, ideal, or otherwise intangible truths or states. It is about places that remind respondents of another world, either from history or from the future. Also about places that respondents perceive like a different world compared to the rest of the city.
- Keywords: otherworldly, expression, representing, symbolic meaning, spiritual.
- Symbolism means the use of symbols to express or represent ideas or qualities in literature, art or architecture. It is the art or practice of using symbols especially by investing things with a symbolic meaning or by expressing the invisible or intangible by means of visible or sensuous representations. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring fine texture

- In which respondents express their desire for diversity in form, scale and color, particularly when it comes to the small-scale fabric of the city: either in response to big-scale urban projects or as a continuation of the fine texture of the historical city. It is related to a Dutch word that is hard to translate: "gezelligheid".
- Keywords: small-scale, village-like, self-made, urban fabric.
- By a texture is meant something that is composed of closely interwoven elements. It is the visual or tactile surface characteristics and appearance of something. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring animation (9 quotes)

- In which respondents express their desire for animation of a place, also involving activation, sufficient flow and visitor/user density.
- Keywords: activation, flow, density, life, business.
- Animation is a lively or excited quality. It is the act of animating: having life. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring authenticity (7 quotes)

- In which respondents express their desire for authentic experiences, emotions and feelings. It is about authentic experiences that the respondent feels with a certain place, but also about places that are experienced as authentic places, and therefore as being able to generate authentic feelings with its visitors and users.
- Keywords: soulful, experience, original, self-made, unique, richness.
- Authentic means being real or genuine, not copied, false or an imitation. It is about being true to one's own personality, spirit or character. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring creativity (7 quotes)

- In which respondents express their desire for creation, creativity and creative moments or things. It is also about creativity as a lifestyle, about people doing things by themselves and about creating identities.
- Keywords: imagination, creation, innovation, invention, originality.

- Creativity refers to the ability to make new things or think of new ideas. It is about the ability to create. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring freedom (6 quotes)
- In which respondents express their desire for freedom, whereby also an aspect like self-expression plays an important role, as well as the freedom to be who you are. Also freedom has been mentioned by respondents as a concept that played an important role in the history of Amsterdam (slavery, World War II, etcetera).
- Keywords: independence, self-expression, autonomy, liberty, self-determination, self-government.
- Freedom means the quality or state of being free, as the absence of necessity, coercion or constraint in choice or actions. Also as liberation from restraint or from the power of another. Also the quality of being frank, open or outspoken. Freedom can be seen as a political right and a privilege. (Merriam-Webster)

320 Desiring urbanization (4 quotes)
- In which respondents express their desire for urbanization as a (positive) phenomenon: areas taking on urban characteristics and people taking on an urban way of life.
- Keywords: urban fabric, world city, cultivation.
- Urbanization is the process by which towns and cities are formed and become larger as more and more people begin living and working in central areas. (Merriam-Webster)

400 PLACE-MAKING

410 PLACE-MAKING DESCRIPTION (CODE-GROUP)

410 Place-making = orchestrating (38 quotes)
- In which respondents talk about one of the characteristics of a place-making, namely that it is an orchestrated action: either planned on a bigger scale by (city)

government and design institutes or initiated on a small scale from grassroots communities and local citizens.

- Keywords: cultivation, idea, planning, entrepreneurship, vision.
- Orchestrating means to organize or plan (something that is complicated). It is to arrange or combine so as to achieve a desired or maximum effect. (Merriam-Webster)

410 Place-making = occupying (23 quotes)

- In which respondents talk about one of the characteristics of a place-making, namely that it always involves an act of occupation.
- Keywords: catch up, involve, engage, appropriate, demarcate.
- To occupy means to take up a place or extent in space. It is about taking or holding possession or control of a place and of residing in as an owner or tenant. (Merriam-Webster)

410 Place-making = conjoining (23 quotes)

- In which respondents talk about one of the characteristics of a place-making, namely that it involves several disciplines and several functionalities at the same time and at the same location.
- Keywords: co-operation, double use, liminality, layers, hybridness, triangulation.
- To conjoin means to join together two or more people or things. It is to join together (as separate entities) for a common purpose. (Merriam-Webster)

410 Place-making = hosting (12 quotes)

- In which respondents talk about one of the characteristics of a place-making, namely that it can be an act of hospitality: inviting others to visit the place and to make use of the functionalities it offers.
- Keywords: hospitality, inviting, welcoming, accessible.
- A host is one that receives or entertains guests socially, commercially or officially. It is one that provides facilities for an event or function. (Merriam-Webster)

420 TYPOLOGIES OF PLACE (CODE-GROUP)

420 Enjoying-life place (21 quotes)

·   Life in Amsterdam often means "good life". Food and beverage play an important role in contemporary Amsterdam. Food & Beverage has become a lifestyle, which is also true for sports. Places to enjoy this good life are popping up in the city.

·   Places along the route: Artis, De Wallen, Elsa's Café, Lineauskade, Oosterpark, Oostpoort, Oude Kerk, Park Frankendael, Plein Watergraafsmeer.

420 Connecting place (18 quotes)

·   Places are like nodes in a network (Manuel Castells). This typology for place is about connection, both offline and online. Places are in-between global and local. Physical connection is still important.

·   Places along the route: Artis, De Wallen, Oosterpark, Oostpoort, Park Frankendael, Popinn Park.

420 Worshipping place (18 quotes)

·   Since its earliest times, Amsterdam has been a religious city. The city has been the endpoint of a pilgrimage route - and still is. Within its borders one can find countless churches, mosques, temples and so forth. Most of these places to worship function till today. But also think of new places to worship, both outside and inside, where people with like-minded ideas about religion gather to celebrate whatever they feel connects them to each other.

·   Places along the route: De Bron, Hofkerk, Koningskerk, Oude Kerk, Plantage Middenlaan, Tropeninstituut, Mr. Visserplein.

420 Commemorating place (15 quotes)

·   With its rich history, the city of Amsterdam has many sites that fulfill the purpose of remembrance site. It is always about remembering and celebrating values tha are important for the city (such as freedom, diversity and equality). Apart from monuments, one can also think of churches and other religious sites.

- Places along the route: Artis, De Wallen, Hollandsche Schouwburg, Kastanjeplein, Oosterpark, Plantage Middenlaan, Plantage Westermanplantsoen, Wertheimpark.

420 Educating place (11 quotes)

- As of roughly the 19th century a shift can be seen in Amsterdam from places of worship towards places to educate. Influenced by the Enlightenment and following the rise of science, these places fulfill the purpose of educating the public. Think about the Zoo and the Botanical Garden, but also about theatres, music halls and museums.
- Places along the route: Artis, Hollandsche Schouwburg, Tropeninstituut, Mr. Visserplein.

500 INTERACTION & REFLECTION

510 What is Soul? (21 quotes)

- In which the respondents reflect on the question: What is (the) Soul (of Amsterdam)?
- Keywords: authenticity, history, characteristics, stories, spirit.
- Soul can be seen as the immaterial essence, animating principle, or actuating cause of an individual life. It is the moral and emotional nature of human beings, the quality that arouses emotion and sentiment, a spiritual or moral force. (Merriam-Webster)

520 What is Sacredness? (32 quotes)

- In which the respondents reflect on the question: What is Sacredness?
- Keywords: desires, rituality, spirituality, sacred place, harmonious, symbolism.
- The sacred is dedicated or set apart for the service or worship of a deity. It can be something devoted exclusively to one service or use. The sacred is something highly valued and important. (Merriam-Webster)