The Urban Coffee Shop

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an investigation of the role of the coffee shop in the urban environment throughout history. Coffee shops spread from the Arab world to Europe and then to the U.S. at the end of the seventeenth century. Coffee shops always had an integral relationship with the public space and they were found on the physical civic structure of the cities. Thus, coffee shops can become a tool to map the city’s social activity. This thesis is the first attempt to relate coffee shops to the urban setting, and to define the variables that have affected their appearance or disappearance. Their civic importance nowadays is highlighted along with the significance of technology to shaping coffee shop’s new public character. I will present the evolution of coffee shops in the last three centuries and I will mainly focus on their location within the city. In each case, I will illustrate both European and American examples.

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Last but not least, I want to thank my parents for their endless sacrifice, love, encouragement and faith in my abilities. Mom and Dad, without your support and confidence, this thesis would not have been completed and I could not have been where I am today.
This thesis has four main purposes: first, to deal with the fascinating story of coffee and the coffee shop; furthermore, to highlight the importance of coffee shops as civic places; also, to attempt to connect the coffee shop to the urban form of the last three centuries; and lastly, to address to bigger urban issues that may have caused the change of the way we use public space today.

Coffee is the second most valuable exported legal commodity on earth after oil. In other words, the coffee industry is vast and so is the stream of people who make money from coffee: exporters, importers, roasters, traders, expert cuppers, liquorers, retailers, vending machine suppliers, marketers, advertising copyrighters and consultants. From an Ethiopian custom, drinking coffee became an everyday activity and sometimes personal need. Today, coffee is considered to be the most widely taken psychoactive drug [Cherniske, 1998].

However, the importance of coffee does not end in its trade volume. Coffee resulted in the creation of the coffee shop, a place where people could gather, drink primarily coffee, and at the same time socially interact. The significance of coffee shops in the public realm has been mentioned by a number of social researchers and writers. Ray Oldenburg [1989] introduces the notion of the “third place”. He argues that apart from the first and second place, home and work respectively, another vital place exists in people’s lives that he calls “third place”. The third place is a generic term for an array of public spaces that host the ordinary, voluntary and informal gatherings of inhabitants. Oldenburg emphasizes the importance of coffee shops as third places. Furthermore, the late twentieth century German philosopher Jürgen Habermas [1989] in his initial examination of the foundations of the civil society called The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere argues that the public sphere occurs in private space, or on the edges between public and private. He goes on to argue that the coffee shop is an excellent example of such places because in it, people gather and interact in a space that is personally owned and therefore private, but also open and therefore public.

However, the significance of the coffee shop does not solely derive from its social character and its importance as a gathering place. That is, a coffee shop has only certain inherent values that make it a good third place; another important factor
that the sociologists seem to take for granted is its location in the city. The coffee shop's location builds up its significance as third place. If coffee shops were created outside the boundaries of a city or in tabula rasa, they would not have become so vital in our lives. Hence, there is a bidirectional relationship between the location of a coffee shop and its social importance. Furthermore, its location provides us with information about the evolution of the city. By mapping coffee shops we can observe whether a city is expanding or not and to which direction. Their position also informs us about the evolution of urban form and consequently the changes of public space. This thesis will try to prove that coffee shops are found in majority on the civic structure of the city. Furthermore, today, they are found on the active parts of the civic structure, a fact that can establish coffee shops as a tool for the investigation of the social activity of the city.

This thesis is the first attempt to identify the relation of coffee shops to their urban surroundings. I will acknowledge that coffee shops are unique places and furthermore claim that they have a set of characteristics that strongly relates them to the urban environment. At certain periods in history, coffee shops supported the civic structure of the city and animated public space; they were like an injection of caffeine into public space. Specifically, in the late seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe, there was a fit between coffee shops and major public spaces. Public space was multifunctional and many times it accommodated government, retail, and recreation all together. Similarly, in the US, the first coffee shops, which opened around 1660, were tied to major public spaces. Two hundred years later, around 1860, we still find coffee shops on squares, streets, civic centers and close to other important civic spaces.

However, in the mid-twentieth century U.S. the urban coffee shop declined. Its character changed from an endpoint and a pole of attraction, to a midpoint, or a tangent point to other uses. This thesis will analyze the reasons that caused that change and will examine its consequences on the urban realm. I will argue that the decline of the coffee shop did not occur in Europe, or it is not as obvious as in the U.S. where the importance of a good urban environment was underrated and set aside by financial market rules.

In the last decade or so, with the booming of Starbucks and other corporate coffee shop chains, Americans are forced to reconsider the significance of the coffee shop as a social venue and a form of public space. In this case a series
of questions arises: Has aggressive strategy of such companies unintentionally managed to re-link the coffee shops to the physical designed public space? Does the coffee shop today attest to the emergence of a secondary social network as part of the physical civic structure of the city? And can the coffee shop be the expression of urban culture in the twenty-first century? The answers are a part of what this thesis will examine.

The importance of coffee shops as social places, and, their relationship they have with the city’s civic structure, makes them a good case study for the historical examination of the changes of urban form and public space. I will try to find whether the presence or the absence of coffee shops has been a variable to the decline or improvement of public space. My research will begin from the eighteenth century Europe, and will end today, in the twenty-first century USA where coffee has truly invaded our lives.

The research examines the relation between coffee shops and public space in the last three centuries. In doing so, the following methodical steps will be followed:

The first step analyzes the economic, social and political situation of the cities that will be used as case studies, namely Paris, London and Boston.

The second step illustrates the theoretical and philosophical issues of each period. This part coupled with the socio-economic analysis provides a general framework of the way people lived and developed urban form.

The next phase attempts to underline the effects of the abovementioned framework to the urban form of each city through examples of urban design from the history of European and American cities. The analysis is mainly graphical with the use of civic structure diagrams which will demonstrate the evolution of public space. From the analysis I extract the most “fashionable” urban element or urban tendency at each period.

The following step gathers the data of coffee shop locations. I use both primary and secondary sources. For the primary sources, I browse all governmental business archives to which I have access in order to find old and new coffee shop locations. The rest of the research is based on secondary sources, that is, any form of literature that has direct or indirect association to coffee shops.

The final step maps the coffee shops in each different period and finds
their relation to urban form. If, for example, they correspond to the urban transformations of that time, then indeed, for that specific period, we can argue that there is a fit between coffee shops and public space. For the mapping of recent coffee shops I use geographic information system software (GIS).

Paris, London and Boston are not randomly picked, but they have played an important role in urban history. Furthermore, they are cities for which I have found historic data about coffee shops.

In the first chapter the question "Why coffee shops" will be answered. I explain why coffee shops are unique and important in the social activity of a city. I elaborate on the idea of third places and I compare coffee shops to similar retail or recreational spaces. I argue that their uniqueness is based on six different factors: being a third place, affordability, cultural history, public character, conviviality, and dissemination of information.

In the second chapter, I argue that the appearance of coffee shops is closely related to the consumption and not the cultivation of coffee. The two different types of coffee that exist in nature are introduced and then the history of coffee and coffee consumption follows.

In the third chapter, I analyze what has happened in the urban history of the eighteenth century. The square was the main functional urban element of the European city at the time. This argument is based on two examples, one of Nancy in France and the other of the city of Bath in England. Then the mapping of the historic coffee shops in Paris and London suggests that there is a fit between coffee shops and the public space.

In the forth chapter, I argue that the first urbanization of the European cities has taken place in the mid-nineteenth century. This time another urban element is introduced and highlighted: the street. I use Paris as an example and I map the coffee shops to suggest that indeed they correspond to Haussmann's urban transformations. The shift of attention from the Parisian Palais Royal to the boulevards in the late 1860s is accompanied with the migration of coffee shops to the streets. In the U.S. civic developments are mainly concentrated on cities' expansions and not on the re-building of the older parts of the cities.

In the fifth chapter, I examine the change of the urban environment
Introduction

in the late twentieth century. Unquestionably, the two World Wars led to the decline of coffee shops both in the U.S. and Europe. I argue that suburban models and infrastructure mega-projects prevail in the U.S. after the two World Wars. Furthermore, I map the coffee shops in Boston to examine whether they are disconnected from the urban space. I argue that a series of reasons such as suburbia, transit infrastructure, and zoning has led to the decline of the coffee shop and consequently the decline of public space in the U.S. However, in the last decade the coffee shop reappeared. Starbucks and other coffee shop chains have revitalized the city's public space. I argue that coffee shops are important in the perception of the city. They are also a fundamental use towards the revitalization of public space. Furthermore, coffee shops today should be found on the civic structure of the cities as they have always been.

In the last chapter, I suggest that in the twenty-first century the coffee shop, properly done, can play an important civic role. The social situation and the technological progress of today, make coffee shops one of the few expressions of public space. I conclude by suggesting that the new corporate American coffee shops -that are infiltrating the European market as well- create a dynamic social structure within the city limits which can either support or even replace the traditional public space.
Definitions

Public space

Public space is probably one of the most abused terms in the field of architecture and urbanism. Its abuse is mainly caused by its originally vague term. Both the notion of “public” and the notion of “space” are vague—much more their combination—and have multiple interpretations. Furthermore, public space is related to a dynamic system, the urban form. In order to explain what I mean by dynamic system I will use an example from the computational field. Imagine a box which contains a number of elements. If these elements change size over time then the system is called parametric. However, when these elements change in size, number, and quality the system is called dynamic. Typical examples of dynamic systems, systems that involve change, are the stock price movements and the spread of disease. The urban form is a dynamic system as well, because in time, it changes size, number, and quality. Since public space as a term is related to a dynamic system it is obvious that changes within the system will affect its meaning. In other words, the term “privately owned public space” would not make any sense three hundred years ago because the dynamic system of the urban form had not yet generated appropriate criteria for understanding. However today, the socio-economic changes (privatization, globalization) which are elements of the dynamic system allow us to understand the term “privately owned public space” as a space that is accessible by the public however owned by private interests. Thus public space cannot have a specific definition but it should always be examined in relation to time and urban form. That is the reason why an enormous literature by attempting to specify the meaning of public space have argued its death [Sennett, 1992], its mauling [Kohn, 2001], its privatization [Mitchell, 1995], its aspatiality [Habermas, 1989], and even its disappearance [Carpignano et al. 1990]. However, for this thesis in order to simplify communication with the reader, the term public space will denote the place that is publicly accessible and owned by the government and consequently by its citizens.
Definitions

Civic structure

The term civic structure denotes the primary sequence of public spaces which form the anatomy of the city. Important civic buildings and the city's topography can be other elements to shape the civic structure. The latter is illustrated graphically, yet it is an important tool of examining a city.

The Coffee Shop

According to WordNet [2003], Princeton's online dictionary, the coffee shop is a small restaurant where drinks and snacks are sold. Its synonyms are the café, the coffeehouse and the coffee bar. According to the National Restaurant Association (and the census) the restaurant industry whose part is the coffee shop is divided into three groups: Commercial Restaurant Services, Noncommercial Restaurant Services, and Military Restaurant Services Group. The coffee shop as a term is not used but it is replaced by the Cafeteria being an "establishment engaged in serving a wide variety of prepared food and beverages primarily through the use of a cafeteria line where customers make selections from displayed items. Some limited waiter/waitress service may be provided. Table and/or booth seating facilities are usually provided" [National Restaurant Association, 2005].

Today the word coffee shop is heavily and many times poorly used. Restaurants, bars and taverns often use the word coffee as a prefix in their name to become something that they are not. The way to distinguish the blurry categories is not so simple. Two major elements can differentiate a coffee shop from the other types. First, coffee shops are places that are mainly serving coffee; in a coffee shop people are able stay for hours for the price of a cup of coffee. Obviously, this cannot happen in a restaurant or in a bar where customers would be obliged to order something more. Second, a coffee shop opens early in the morning, closes at night and is set to work on a continuous basis; contrary to restaurants, coffee shops do not have lunch or dinner peak times. In this thesis, by coffee shop I mean all these places that satisfy the two abovementioned characteristics.
Chapter One

Why coffee shops?

This chapter examines the importance of the coffee shop as a place and the reasons why I chose coffee shops to relate them to the urban environment. Coffee shops have a set of characteristics that make them unique places in the city. Primarily, they are important gathering places which provide an affordable way of socializing. Moreover, there is a cultural element embedded in the history of the coffee shop, since it has been a place to spark a number of revolutions and political movements. The coffee shops have also been an influence on painters, philosophers, musicians and others. Furthermore, there is a social and convivial atmosphere in it that helps people to interact. In other words, the architectural scale of the coffee shop is targeted to social interaction. In addition, coffee shops are related to information. Since the eighteenth century there were always places of disseminating information for the price of a cup of coffee. Especially today, in the age of information, coffee shops can play an important role in the public realm. Lastly, people have a public experience when being in a coffee shop. The latter is one of the few private places in the city where people can have such a public experience.

Third places

In today's world of free capitalism and private development, public space is rarely produced. By public space I mean the space that is owned by the government and consequently by the citizens of the state. However, there is another notion of public space that originates from our desire for relaxation, entertainment, leisure, and social interaction: public space is not necessarily the setting of our public life.

True public spaces are remnants of an older period and were created to meet diverse objectives. The City Beautiful Movement for example, focused on eliminating urban disease whereas the residential amenity concern produced greenery and small parks for the wealthy. The mass recreation movement resulted in amusement parks for workers, and the park-playground movement provided sports and supervised playgrounds for children [Cavett et al., 1982]. More specifically, in the first half of the nineteenth century, many American cities such as Boston, Chicago, New York and San Francisco gained in their possession large areas of
Why Coffee Shops?

land within the city to transform them into extensive urban parks. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the urban parks that were created functioned primarily as pleasure grounds of the upper-class elite [Cranz, 1989]. Most of the parks were created in the city’s fringes, thus addressed to the rich, ostracizing the poor and the working class. Today these parks still serve as a major urban resource for the cities and they are the only exceptions to the privatized world of the city building [Rybczynski, 1999]. After the Second World War, capitalism and the free market economy pushed towards huge private developments which shaped the urban environment up to the twenty-first century city. It is nowadays common for a single developer to be responsible for the building of a whole neighborhood. University Park at MIT for example, a master-planned 2.3-million-square-foot mixed-use development, was built by Forest City Enterprises Inc., a national real estate developer [Forest City, 2004]. The open spaces of University Park suppose to be added to the resources of the city’s public spaces. But is this really true? Is the corporate plaza a public space, and is the open space of private developments in general considered to be public space?

Shopping malls, corporate plazas, arcades, gallerias, and other such settings produce a fake vision of public space, from which the dangers and ambiguities of daily life are cautiously edited out by their creators [Banerjee, 2001]. Therefore, what we are currently witnessing, in all levels, is that traditional public space has become private space with publicly accessible uses. In other words, with the existing terminology, in urban developments of today we can only talk about public-oriented uses and not about public space. The privatization of public space has various consequences that extend even to political and legislative fields. It surely poses numerous conceptual challenges for public policy makers. For example, is it ownership or use that determines whether a place is private?[Kohn, 2001] In this thesis I am not positioning myself for or against privatization, but I will rather take it for granted as an embedded characteristic of our times. In the abovementioned context, we can create a new term related to public space: quasi-public space will be called the space that can accommodate publicly accessible uses (i.e. parks, streets, squares) and may be partially or fully privately owned. In this case, coffee shops can be considered as quasi-public spaces.

So far I have looked public space from the scope of the ownership. A different approach would be to examine public space from a humanistic perspective.
The question that arises is whether social interaction is important in our lives. I will argue that it is, and what is even more important is the existence of places of potential social interaction. In other words, people are not obliged to interact but should be able to do so. First of all, human beings are social beings. That means that we have a certain behavior related to others. However “others” is one of the factors which shape our behavior. Hence, much of our identity is relational. Goffman [1971] calls the “units” in which we interact in public “participation units” of two kinds: the “single” and the “with”. Our social identity is mostly determined by the participation units we are in, and affects the things we can do and cannot do. Without social interaction we lose our social identity, one of the most important human characteristics, and the knowledge of how to act in public. However, this brings up the issue of the relation of public space to sociability. Is social interaction happening only in public space? A number of sociologists have been interested in that, and conclude that social interaction can only happen in the public realm [Sennett, 1992]. Another supporting argument of social interaction is the fact that without it living becomes more expensive. Social interaction is stress relieving and beneficial in helping relationships and support groups [Cohen, 2000]. Stress relief enhances long run productivity. Princeton Survey Research Associates concluded that nowadays workers experience more stress than a generation ago [McConnell, 2005]. Many argue that this is caused by the lack of the informal public life. Therefore, places that can allow for social interaction to happen are necessary more than ever at present, in our stressful daily lives.

Given that the existence of places for potential social interaction is necessary Ray Oldenburg [1989] creates a concept of public space which he calls “third place” (figure 1.1). According to Oldenburg, three are the places that constitute one’s life: the home, the place of work, and the third place. First in the hierarchy is home, second is work, and third are the third places, being an array of public spaces that host the ordinary, voluntary and informal gatherings of inhabitants. The coffee shop is one example of third places found in the urban context. Oldenburg goes on to argue that the problem of the lack of place in America is obvious and has serious consequences on both the country’s productivity and economy, and the social life of Americans. But what makes a third place? In other words, what are the characteristics that a place should have in order to be a third place? To begin
Why Coffee Shops?

with, third places are of great importance politically. Third places can serve as intellectual gathering places or as offices. Furthermore, they are places that stimulate conversation and which have traditionally kept long hours. Last but not least, third places are typically plain. The coffee shop acquires all six characteristics, whereas a restaurant, a theater or a club does not. I believe this demonstrates that coffee shops, according to Oldenburg's criteria, are the best third places of all commercial and recreational uses.

Before the nineteenth century first and second places, home and work respectively, were one. Industrialization separated the place of work from the place of residence, removing productive work from the home and making it remote in distance from family life [Oldenburg, 1989]. Third places existed long before industrialization and divided life into private and public spheres. Indeed, coffee shops, which first opened in London in 1650, were the places where people would gather to socialize and have fun. However in the post-war period, third places that have existed for so many years rapidly disappeared. Especially in the US, a two stop model (house-work) became the standard as the urban environment afforded less opportunity for public interaction. One wonders whether this holds true today. Is public space still declining, resulting in the disappearance of third places? This
thesis will attempt to answer these questions by examining the evolution of coffee shops as vital third places. I will later argue that coffee shops, which declined in the post-war period, are re-emerging today, resulting in the creation of a strong social network in American cities. Oldenburg's pessimistic approach will hopefully be proven wrong with the recent reappearance of the coffee shop as a vital civic third place in the U.S.

To conclude, in both approaches of public space, the one relative to ownership and the other relative to social activity, the coffee shop more than other uses is considered a form of public space.

**Affordability and socialism**

Quasi-public spaces are all privately owned spaces that accommodate publicly accessible uses. Coffee shops have always been the most affordable quasi-public space. For a very small price people could gather and socialize since the end of the seventeenth century. The price of a cup of coffee was always minimal, compared to the time someone could stay in a coffee shop. However, in the last fifteen years, with the boom of specialty coffee and its promotion through corporate coffee chains such as Starbucks, the price of coffee compared to the time people stay in the coffee shop stops being negligible. In other words, specialty coffee is expensive, compared to previous types of coffee. However, when such companies expanded to countries with low per capita monthly income they succeeded. For example, in the first two years of Starbucks' operation in China the consumer base was of seventy percent local Chinese. This was surprising as the ambience in the Chinese cafés, the menus, and the prices were similar to the ones in the United States. A cup of coffee was priced between $2.50 and $3.50, an outrageous amount in a country where per capita monthly income was only $84 (Appendix, 1.1) [Moffett & Ramaswamy, 2003]. This fact demonstrates that coffee shops can infiltrate all countries and all cultures, even the ones with very low per capita income.

Coffee shops also serve all social classes and all ages. Unlike theaters, music halls, and other performances where the price of the seats segregates social classes, coffee shops are a melting pot where everybody becomes equal. This democratic nature of different classes gathering in the same public space for pleasure is also highlighted by most historians. Furthermore, sociologist Richard Sennett [1992]
Why Coffee Shops?

focuses on the paradox of sociability and argues that “people can be sociable only when they have some protection from each other”. In other words, in order for people to interact there must be a neutral ground where they may gather. Coffee shops which are found in large numbers in cities do provide the neutral ground for interaction.

Culture

Coffee shops and culture are synonymous. Artists, musicians, writers, philosophers have been fond of coffee shops and have been influenced by their social and cultural atmosphere. Edouard Manet was one of the artists who was interested in depicting French cafés (figures 1.2 and 1.3). By disregarding the cultural stereotypes of the time about women, he intended to depict the different expressions of human psychology in “motionless action” in the public realm. Manet’s images addressed changing urban social structures, mainly the integration of different classes and genders in public places of realm. He was influenced by the impressionists Pierre Auguste Renoir and Edgar Degas. Around 1876, Renoir painted the dance hall of the Moulin de la Galette and other café scenes in the following years. At the same period, Edgar Degas painted “Absinthe” depicting a lower class couple seated in a café. In general, by the late 1880s the theme of the cafés thrived in French paintings, drawings, prints, popular illustrated journals, and commercial art [Schwartz, 1994]. In all illustrations the democratic environment of the coffee shop was dominant.

Figure 1.2 and Figure 1.3
Manet’s depiction of Parisian cafés
The Urban Coffee Shop

However, one may argue that coffee shops are not the only recreational places related to culture. For example, the Operas and the Theaters are some other important leisure places which promote cultural education as well. Nevertheless, there is a significant difference between coffee shops and theaters and the like, in that, coffee shops do not include a performance; their cultural element is their sociability. In addition, coffee shops are not just another gathering place. There is a significant history associated with them as they have been places responsible for shaping world’s history. The French and the Italian Revolutions, for example, started from coffee shops.

Conviviality

Coffee shops have a convivial atmosphere that usually encourages people to interact. They are one of the few places in the city where conviviality has a social character. Three architecture-related features promote that convivial feeling: scale, table planning, and decoration. The scale of a coffee shop is usually medium to small. Unlike other commercial and recreational uses such as theaters or restaurants, the scale of the coffee shop is closer to that of a person. The Parisian coffee shops, for example, have usually a street façade of five meters (sixteen feet) or less, (except for the corner ones) and a depth of eleven meters (thirty six feet). Table planning is also important in coffee shops. Usually the tables are close to each other with the back of the chairs almost attached. The decoration is another significant aspect of their conviviality, and it usually follows the general architectural styles of the era. In the eighteenth century it was rococo, later neo-classical, art nouveau, art-deco, de Stijl, pop, post-modern and finally minimal. Music also plays its role in the creation of a friendly atmosphere. It is usually associated with each country’s culture. For example, one can listen to classical music in a typical Viennese coffee shop, and to pop music in an American one.

One wonders whether the convivial character of the coffee shop can be found in other public places. Lisa Peattie [1996] in her article “convivial cities” argues that it can. According to Peattie, planners are concerned with producing and restoring a sense of community; however, they usually don’t regard conviviality as a planning goal. Illich’s [1973] definition for conviviality as “autonomous and creative intercourse among persons, and the intercourse of persons with their environment” is used by Peattie to elaborate on intentional social actions. These
Paris, which dominated and influenced the whole Europe for a long period. After mentioning the many areas in which that city had become the "social center of the world" he concluded that "its supreme merit is that it is a city of conversations and cafés". In other words, conversation in coffee shops which was stimulated by the constant flow of information was really important in socializing.

The tradition of coffee shops being centers of information continued, and today, with the introduction of wireless hotspots people can have access to the internet, thus to global information. However, hotspots are not free; people have to pay for information today. Only a few coffee shops have introduced free Wi-Fi. Edge Consult [2003], ARChart's research and consulting division, conducted a study in July 2003 to determine the affects of hotspots on venue's revenue stream. The study used five imaginative coffee shops with different hotspots scenarios and proved that on average profits under the free schemes are 533 percent higher than the paid for services. Is it time for major corporate coffee shop chains to reconsider their strategies? One thing is for sure, that information has been and still wants to be free.

Public experience

People have a public experience when being in a coffee shop. To quote Christopher Alexander [1977], “Strolling a person must keep up a pace; loitering is only for a few minutes. You can sit still in a park but there is not the volume of people passing, it is more a private, peaceful experience. But on the café terrace you can sit still, relax, and be very public”. Alexander's argument is what makes coffee shop a unique place. The coffee shop has more than a quasi-public character. It is something more than a third place, it is a form of public space; the volume of people, its public-ness, makes it a space more "public" than public space itself. The French cafés, especially, can claim the most public character of all coffee shops. Their chairs face the street or the square; the public space. Life on Parisian boulevards is a theatrical play; the street becomes the stage while the café provides the seats for the audience [Landau, 2000]. However, the public character of the coffee shop has gone through some changes. Once, coffee shops were places were people would hang out for hours. According to Paul Boulal, the owner of Café de Flore in Paris, Jean-Paul Sartre, the renowned French writer, was one of the “worst
actions may involve not just having fun in bars and singing in pubs but also “small group rituals and social bonding in serious collective action” [Peattie, 1996]. It is true that many of these collective actions take place in actual public spaces such as squares, streets, parks, and public buildings. For Peattie, this fact emphasizes the existence and the role of the public realm.

However, one questions whether Peattie’s ideal of democratic conviviality that bonds people in communal public actions is rare and episodic [Banerjee, 2001]. Why try to promote conviviality in a large communal scale when there is an already existent pattern of third places such as coffee shops in the city? Coffee shops are convivial third places, and with the appropriate manipulations, local governments and communities may take advantage of their corporate expansion. Illich’s ideal for the future to deliberately choose a life of action over a life of consumption can be altered by the perverse effects of globalization: why don’t we choose a life of action within our life of consumption. Of course, that choice would have similar effects to the ones of privatization and globalization. The effects, as mentioned before, would mostly challenge the political and legislative framework of today, something that this thesis will not touch upon.

Dissemination of information

Where do people go when they want to know the latest business news, keep up with political situations, track commodity prices, or learn the latest scientific and technological developments? In 2004, the answer is obvious: they log on to the internet. In the seventeenth century, the answer was just as simple: they went to a coffee shop [Standage, 2003]. At that time for the price of a cup of coffee people used to get reading materials and the chance to catch up on news and gossip. The coffee shops of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century were information centers for politicians, businessmen, artists, philosophers, writers, scientists and above all locals. In England, where the first European coffee shops appeared, they provided a forum for education, debate and personal cultural advancement. They were called “penny universities” because at that time the price of a cup of coffee was one penny [Ellis, 1956]. Coffee shops had a specific area of focus depending on the interests of their clientele. Some displayed commodity prices and shipping lists, whereas others offered foreign newsletters full of coffee shop gossip from out of the country. Emerson in his paper “table talk” concentrates on
customers” since he stayed in the coffee shop all day and ordered just one drink. Time spent in coffee shops started to reduce with the invention of the espresso coffee maker from Achille Gaggia in 1948. Time spent reduced even more by later urban and economic changes which led to the introduction of “take out coffee”. However, in any case, public quality remained as the most typical characteristic of the coffee shop through history.

The six abovementioned reasons illustrate my argument that coffee shops are unique and vital places within the city. I believe that spaces of such value should be approached from all different perspectives. Sociologists have analyzed coffee shops and the way people interact. Artists have depicted them and musicians have been influenced by them. Historians have emphasized their role on shaping world's history whereas politicians have accredited them and have been afraid regularly of their political power. It is time for planners and urban designers, by acknowledging the civic importance of the coffee shop, to examine its relation to the physical public space.

In the following chapter I will present the history of coffee and how it has become the second most traded legal commodity, after oil, in the world today.
There are two different species of coffea in nature: Coffea Arabica and Coffea Canephora. The former is known by the term “Arabica coffee” and grows in Ethiopia whereas the latter is mostly known for its African variety called “Robusta”. In the market today, everyone is accustomed with these two kinds of coffee: Arabica and Robusta.

The procedure of making coffee is divided in five major steps: The harvest, the pulp removal, the husk removal, the roasting, and finally the grounding. There are several ways of harvesting coffee. The good quality Arabicas are usually picked by hand whereas the Robustas and some Arabicas are gathered with a less costly technique by using a large comb that runs through the branches of the tree. After the harvest, the red cherries are treated with one of the two different methods known as the wet and dry method. In the first one the cherries are left to water to swell and then are passed through machines that remove their pulp. The dry method is less expensive since the cherries are left for a month under the sun to dry while they are turned over regularly. It is used mainly for the Robustas and some Arabicas that are classified as natural and have a more full-bodied taste than the washed ones. After the cherries are dried they are passed through a husking machine to take the green beans. The next step is the roasting which again has several techniques: the traditional, the fast and the hot-air method. In brief, the green beans have to reach a temperature of 200°C (392°F) in the roaster for the aromas to start to develop. Then, the burning coffee comes out of the roaster in one go and must be cooled in the air. The grounding is the final important step to develop a good cup of coffee. The classic mills with blades might sometimes spoil the taste of a good coffee, by overheating the beans. That is why specialists propose the use of a grinder which ensures homogenous milling without destroying the aroma of the coffee [Vantal, 1999].
History of Coffee

Various Ethiopian and Arab legends exist about who discovered coffee. The truth is that we do not actually know, but the most interesting legend is that of a goatherd named Kaldi. In around 600-800 AD, Kaldi was tending to his animals on a ridge in Ethiopia of today, when he noticed that his goats were acting strangely. He realized that the animals under the rain forest canopy were chewing off some green leaves and red berries of a tree that he had never seen before. Intrigued, the goatherd tried some of the red berries and felt energetic and more awake. Kaldi had discovered the effects of caffeine.

Coffee was used from Ethiopians for almost a century when it reached the Arab world by crossing the Red Sea. In the beginning the berries were chewed and later they were brewed with boiled water. It was in the sixteenth century when someone roasted the beans, ground them and created coffee as we know it today. Ethiopians still serve coffee in a complex ceremony that may take nearly an hour [Pendergrast, 1999].

According to the legend, when coffee beans reached the Arab world they were used by Arab Sufi monks to stay awake for midnight prayers. Coffee was called “qahwa” and made by boiling the beans. Qahwa, also known as the Arabian wine, was drunk by Muslims who were not allowed to drink wine. By the end of the thirteenth century Muslims were drinking coffee consistently. Through Islam, coffee was spread to the world. From Persia to Egypt, to Turkey, and North Africa, coffee was traded as a profitable item.

Around 1300, Yemen was the country were coffee was first cultivated. In 1536, the Ottoman Turks conquered Yemen and shortly the coffee bean became a vital export through the Turkish Empire. Coffee was shipped to Suez from Mocha, Yemen’s most important port. Since the Arabs were very cautious with other countries obtaining their fertile coffee berries, the Yemen was the world’s main supply of coffee until 1600.

At that time, a Moslem pilgrim named Baba Budan smuggled seven seeds to South India on his annual travel to Mecca, and cultivated them in the mountains of Mysore. From its offspring, the Dutch began growing coffee to Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and other islands in the East Indies [Allen, 1999].

Mediterranean merchants who had tasted the Arabian wine reported to the West about its existence. The seventeenth century is the most active century
The Urban Coffee Shop

in the history of coffee, as it began to be introduced to many parts of the world. Colonialism forced major European powers to begin coffee production to various tropical colonies. The first European city that took delivery of green coffee beans was Venice in 1615. That shipment sparked off the increase of coffee consumption in Italy. However, early Christians in Italy considered coffee as the devil’s drink and turned to the Vatican for an answer. Pope Vincent III decided that he had to taste the drink before banning it. The Pope liked the flavor of coffee and decided to baptize it so it would become an acceptable Christian beverage [Heise, 1987].

![Figure 2.1 The spread of world's coffee consumption from 1300 to 1800.](image)

Surprisingly, the French were slower in adopting coffee than the Italians and the British. In 1669 Suleiman Aga, a Turkish ambassador, introduced coffee to Paris through his luxurious parties. The drink was a success although in the beginning it was considered too bitter until somebody had the idea of adding sugar to it. Only the Sun King rejected coffee in favor of another drink: chocolate. In 1713, after the signing of a treaty, Amsterdam gave to France its first coffee trees and only a couple of years later the Sultan of Yemen send more green beans to thank the King for services provided. King Louis XIV planted them in his Gardens.

Gabriel de Clieu, a French chevalier, was given a post in Martinique in 1718. After hearing the rumors about the precious plants in the King’s Garden, de Clieu requested the King’s authorization to transfer two small coffee trees and plant them in the Caribbean. On October 8 of that year, Gabriel de Clieu left France with two cuttings of which he was personally responsible. According to history, the chevalier kept the two plants in his cabin and even in a period of drought he shared
his remaining water with them. After several attacks from pirates and storms the chevalier managed to bring back to Martinique one of the two coffee trees which he planted to his own garden [Vantal, 1999]. That single plant is responsible for much of the world’s supply today. Later, the French transferred fertile berries to the entire Caribbean.

In 1715, the Dutch also sent some plants to Surinam, their colony in Guyana. History repeated itself and this time a French stolen some seeds to make the French Guyana a coffee producer. A couple of years later, the French lost some plants from the Portuguese who moved in to Brazil. Fifty years later, the Spanish Jesuit priest named Jose Gumilla settled down to Colombia, the second biggest coffee producer today and commenced to cultivate coffee (figure 2.2).

All the cultivations so far were high quality Arabicas. A century later, a new type of coffee tree, the Canephora Robusta, was found in Africa. The new species proved to be less fragile and consequently less flavorsome than the Arabicas that had been grown until then. The new species sounded attractive to the Dutch, who after their Arabica plants in Java got destroyed by rust decided to replace them with Robustas.
From the history of coffee, one can observe that the countries that consume coffee are not necessarily the ones that trade or cultivate coffee. The Dutch for example, were one of the biggest traders of coffee, however, a nation with low consumption. Brazil, Vietnam and Colombia were always the leading coffee producers whereas U.S.A. and Europe were the leaders in coffee consumption (figures 2.3 and 2.4). Last but not least, it is the consumption of coffee that led to the appearance of the coffee shop and not its trade. In other words, coffee shops spread in the countries where coffee was heavily consumed.

Figure 2.3 World coffee production in 2001. Source: International Coffee Organization (ICO).

Figure 2.4 World coffee consumption in 2004. Source: ICO.
Chapter Three

This chapter focuses on the relation between the coffee shop and the urban environment in the eighteenth century. To do so, I first briefly present the history of coffee shops up to the eighteenth century. The history of the European urban form coupled with the mapping of coffee shops follows, to argue that in the eighteenth century most coffee shops were found on major public squares. In the America of the eighteenth century cities were just beginning to be formed and that is why a thorough examination of the coffee shops' locations would not lead to any conclusions. In 1720, the population of American colonists reaches 475,000 with Boston being the largest city (12,000), followed by Philadelphia (10,000) and New York (7,000). At that time the population of London for example was more than 700,000. This is the reason why the case study cities of this period are solely European, and specifically London and Paris.

Coffee shops before the eighteenth century

After coffee was introduced to Turkey from the Ottoman Turks, the first coffee shop in history called Kiv Han opened in Constantinople in 1475. A couple of years later, coffee shops had multiplied and, consequently, coffee had become a part of the everyday social life. In the end of 1477 the hundreds of coffee shops in Turkey were called “schools of the wise” because of the many things people could learn and do in coffee shops. Turks would usually go to drink coffee but at the same time listen to music, smoke, watch dancing, and of course talk and socialize.

When coffee reached Europe in the mid-seventeenth century it was being sold by nomadic street vendors, who added their new beverage in their usual trade of lemonade and water. Street vendors were one of the reasons to delay the appearance of the coffee shop. Indeed, even though Venice received Europe’s first shipment of green coffee beans from the port of Mocha in 1615, the first coffee house there, Caffè Florian, opened much later in 1683 (figure 3.1). Before that, the first coffee shop that is known to have opened in Europe was in Oxford in 1650, in the parish of St. Peter, by a Turkish Jew named Jacob. Two years later, a Greek servant named Pasqua Rosee began running the first urban coffee shop in St. Michael’s Alley in the city of London. By 1654 London had hundreds of coffee shops, each serving their
own customers. Coffee was regarded as the contrast of alcoholic drinking which stimulated mental activity and conversation rather than dullness of the senses. An anonymous poem published in London in 1674 condemned beer as “foggy ale that besieged our brains” and wine as the “sweet poison of the treacherous grape that drowns our reason and our souls”. Coffee, however, was praised as:

...that Grave and Wholesome Liquor,  
that heals the Stomach, makes the Genius quicker,  
Relieves the Memory, revives the Sad,  
and cheers the Spirits, without making Mad.

[Standage, 2003]

The coffee houses of London had their own rules, concerning ones manner when walking in. They promoted a democratic character and social egalitarianism. A broadsheet displayed at the entrance of a London coffeehouse in 1674 wrote:

THE RULES AND ORDERS OF THE COFFEEHOUSE
Enter sirs freely, But first if you please, Peruse our Civil-Orders which are these:  
First, gently, tradesmen, all are welcome hither,  
And many without affront sit down together;  
Pre-eminence of place, none here should mind,  
But take of the next fit seat that he can find;  
Nor need any, of Finer Persons come,  
Rise up to assigne to them his room [Ellis, 1956]

Surprisingly enough, the French were not the ones to open the first European coffee shops. The first French café opened in Paris in 1672 near the church of St. Germain by Pasqua Rosee, the owner of the first London coffee shop. However, by being “too plain” for Parisians it was doomed to fail. At that
Coffee shops before the eighteenth century

time in France, coffee was considered a kind of medicine and the coffee shop had not yet built its later social character. It was only fourteen years later, and after Suleiman Aga's luxurious parties, when Francesco Procopio de Coltelli of Sicily started Le Procope in Paris, an establishment that is still in business today and has been the haunt of such personalities as Voltaire, Diderot and Robespierre (figure 3.2). What Suleiman Aga had accomplished was to establish coffee as an elite beverage. Indeed, the first French cafés of the eighteenth century were addressed to the elite, especially the political cliques. Their decoration reminded of elegant drawing-rooms with marble topped tables and green, beige or grey paneling [Boyer, 1994].

Figure 3.2 Le Procope in Paris. Source: http://lhistoireducafe.free.fr/lieux_gauche.html

By that time, Vienna had been in war with the Turks. A Polish army officer, Franz Georg Kolschitzky, who had previously lived in Turkey, got a hold of a number of coffee bags left behind by the defeated Turkish army. He was the one to open the first Viennese coffee shop and to invent the famous Viennese coffee by adding some milk to the already sweetened coffee brew [Dittrich, 2002]. During the seventeenth and eighteenth century coffee shops had spread all over Europe and addressed to every social class. In London there were more coffee shops then, than there are today. British who wanted prompt service and a reserved seat in their favorite coffee shop would leave some money in a can labeled “To Insure Prompt Service” - “TIPS” [Pendergrast, 1999]. However, until the nineteenth century,
coffee shops were hangouts for men. Women were not allowed except for the owner or the cashiers. The fact that coffee shop’s popularity was rising resulted in the London Women’s Petition Against Coffee in 1674 where women complained that men were neglecting their home responsibilities since they were enjoying themselves in the coffee shops [Ellis, 2001] (figure 3.3).

In 1607, coffee reached North America and only sixty years later, it had replaced beer as New York City’s favorite breakfast drink. At that point coffee shops looked like an attractive investment and spread in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere. However, their character was not the same as of their counterparts in Europe. American coffee shops resembled bars and taverns, serving alcoholic drinks as well. The most famous coffee shop in New England was the Green Dragon in Boston, a coffee shop that is still in business today. Located in the historic Blackstone section of Boston, this coffee shop and later tavern opened in 1657 and was at first popular with British officers. In later years, it became the meeting place for the Sons of Liberty as they discussed political revolution. Even though coffee shops were spreading, tea still remained the favorite drink of Americans until the famous Boston Tea Party in 1773. King George of England attempted to raise money from tea and other British exports with the Stamp Act.
Coffee shops before the eighteenth century

of 1765. However, Americans refused to pay the tax on tea and chose Holland as their provider. When the British East India Company sent large tea shipments to Boston, New York, and Philadelphia as a response, the people of Boston revolted by throwing the cargoes into the sea. The incident became known as the "Boston Tea Party", and afterwards Americans considered drinking coffee a patriotic duty.

The coffee shop in the urban context

This section is divided in four different parts: the first part is an analysis of the political, social and economic situations in Europe at that time. It is followed, by the examination of the theories of the era, being urban, philosophical or scientific. Then, an investigation of the results of the socio-economic and theoretical changes on urban form follows. In other words, the third part examines civic design in the eighteenth century Europe. The urban tendencies are observed as well as which urban element, if any, was the most fashionable and functional at the time. Two of the first European civic design attempts are presented, in France and England. It is believed that the plan of Nancy and the expansion of the city of Bath were the precursors of European urban design. These two examples frame the urban design ideas of the time which will be used later for the examination of Paris and London. Finally, the last part consists of the mapping of coffee shops and an analysis of their relation to the urban environment.

France in the eighteenth century

France of the eighteenth century was ruled by Louis XV (1715-1774) and his grandson Louis XVI (1774-1792). Both kings had good intentions and were less dominated by religion than their precursors. However, most historians claim that they were both apathetic and did not prepare France to adapt to its changing economic and social conditions [Uninsky, 1982]. Nonetheless, the eighteenth century was a period of extraordinary economic growth for France. It became the world's richest and most powerful nation whose lifestyle and architecture was copied throughout the continent. France's apparent world domination resulted in a culturally unified Europe. The nation's population rose thirty-three percent from twenty-one million in 1700 to twenty-eight million in late 1790s. Manufacturing rose,
The Urban Coffee Shop

agricultural income increased by sixty percent whereas the French merchant marine expanded its trade to Africa, America, and India. However, while manufacturing in the countryside flourished, urban industry fell on hard times and urban laborers hardly kept pace with inflation because of the government's heavy taxation. Economic and demographic historians have studied the commercialization of the rural economy in the last century of the ancien régime. Franklin Mendels calls it proto-industrialization; an industrialization without large growth of capital, mechanization, or factories [Mendels, 1972]. However, it was the expansion of the French merchant marine, usually headed by urban entrepreneurs, which supported the growth of the proto-industry.

By the end of the century, intellectual evolution was taking place driving people to oppose the monarchy. The opposition was led by the philosophes, who were writers on social, political and economic problems. The philosophes argued that everyone had certain common rights such as life, liberty and property, and that the governments ought to secure these rights. The bourgeoisie, which was growing at the time, tapped into the social ideas of the philosophes in order for their claims to be heard by the government. In 1763, at the end of the war of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years’ War, France had almost lost all its colonial territory in America and India. The financial situation kept deteriorating, and resulted in the 1789 French Revolution [Taine, 1850 (2002)]. On June 17, 1789 the National Assembly of France was formed under the oath of giving France a constitution. The Assembly ruled for only two years but managed to accomplish its target. The property of the church was seized to issue paper money, and a constitution for a parliamentary government similar to the one of England was created. Furthermore, the provincial and judicial systems were re-conceptualized moving away from their previous centralized versions. The constitutional monarchy lasted only for one year because Louis destroyed the assembly. However, in 1792, another assembly was formed and in the end of that year it established the First French Republic.

To summarize, the financial situation of France in the eighteenth century was generally strong thanks to countryside manufacturing and a growing agricultural and merchant economy. Socially, the aristocracy was exploiting the poor whereas the bourgeoisie was rising as a social class. The theories of the time were mostly
philosophical and centered on human rights. These, in turn, impacted the design of French cities.

The plan of Nancy

Nancy is situated to the east of Paris on a road and rail intersection approximately equidistant from Paris, Lyons and Brussels. Its central geographical location was also instrumental in shaping the history of the city and that of the duchy of Lorraine. In 1736, after the marriage of Leopold's son and successor to Maria Theresa of Austria, an event which ended the war of the Polish succession, Stanislas Leszczynski, the former king of Poland, was given the Leopold's Duchy of Lorraine by the King of France. Two years later, Leszczynski initiated works in Nancy by first building a funeral pantheon for his family, the Notre Dame de Bonsecours. He later had the castle in the periphery of Nancy transformed and most importantly he had the Old and the New Town linked by a first civic design attempt [ot-nancy]. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century the Old Town and the New Town of Nancy were separated by an infinite esplanade. Communication with the New Town had been established by the French through a gate in the city's walls named the Royal Gate in honor of Louis XIV. However, during the reign of Stanislas, that link finally took a physical form. Stanislas Leszczynski commissioned Emmanuel Héré, Boffrand, and de Corny to design a connection between the two towns. The architects came up with the idea of creating three linked squares of different sizes and shapes bordered by public buildings of simple design [Risebero. 2002]. The Royal Square today called Stanislas Square, the Carrière Square, and the Alliance Square altogether consist one of the first design attempts for a city's center (figures 3.4 and 3.5). The Royal Square which was intended to honor and glorify Stanislas' son in law, Louis XV of France, is closed to the south by The City Hall and linked to the north to the Carrière Square through a triumphal arch. The Carrière Square is closed to the north by the Palais du Gouverneur which is framed in a semicircle of columns [Office de Tourisme de Nancy, ot-nancy].
The plan of Nancy highlights the fact that the square as an urban element starts to play an important role in urban design. In other words, the square becomes the most functional urban element of that period. However, even though the civic squares were used by the public, they were mainly created to render the power of the monarchy and the aristocracy and did not address to the problems of the poor. I will further support my argument through the examination of Paris. Figure 3.6 represents a scheme of potential places for the King's Statue. These design projects also signify the importance of the square at that time and the desire of the monarchy to flaunt. We notice that in each of the potential places, the architects' proposal is limited to the design of a plaza. The street for example, as a fundamental urban element and a way to structure the city's fabric, is not yet synthetically used.
Figure 3.6 Scheme of potential places for the King's statue.

Figure 3.7 shows the actual plan of Paris in 1754. Until then, five important civic squares were created dating back to the seventeenth century: The Royal Square now called Place des Vosges, the place Dauphine, the Place du Palais Royal, the place des Victoires, and the Place Vendôme.

Figure 3.7 Plan of Paris, 1754. Five civic squares existed in 1750, dating back to the seventeenth century.
The Urban Coffee Shop

The Royal Square was Paris' original attempt at urban design. It was designed by Baptiste du Cerceau and was constructed to the city's east from 1605 until 1612. It is symmetrical in plan and at street level an arcade goes around the entire square. It is consisted by thirty-nine houses which have a unified façade of red brick with stone facings. In the early nineteenth century Napoleon changed the name of the square from “Place Royale” to “Place des Vosges” to demonstrate his gratitude towards the Vosges department, the first department in France to pay taxes. The place Dauphine was commissioned by Henri IV in 1607, two years after the beginning of the construction of the Royal Square. The place Dauphine, in the tip of Ile de la Cité, is also symmetrical in plan and flanked by red brick buildings. The Place du Palais Royal with Place de la Colette and Place du Théâtre, is one of the three squares bordering the Palais-Royal gardens and the Comédie Française. Its history is closely related to the history of the flamboyant Palais Royal which first started to be built in 1629 by Cardinal de Richelieu [Dupezzard, 1895]. In the eighteenth century the square became a meeting place where the great thinkers of the Age of Enlightenment could exchange ideas. On July 13, 1789 revolutionary Camille Desmoulins chose the regularly attended square of the Palais Royal to urge the crowd to revolt. This day was one of the greatest moments in French history. The place des Victoires, constructed in 1684–86, and the Place Vendôme, created in 1699, were both projects of Jules Hardouin-Mansart [France, Direction de l'architecture, 1946]. The place des Victoires is circular in plan and was build to honor Louis XIV. A statue of Louis XIV dressed in royal coat and crowned by Victory on a podium which was supported by four chained prisoners was the centerpiece for this town square.

We notice that the idea of the square as a means of expression of political power had its roots to the seventeenth century. Place Vendôme and Place Louis XV which were built later in the eighteenth century followed that tendency. The site of Place Vendôme was formerly a hotel which Mansart bought for speculative reasons. However, his plan did not succeed and after a series of events the site became a king's property. The king commissioned Mansart to design a house facade which the buyers of the plots around the square had to keep. Financier John Law was the first to build his residence behind one of the facades, and in 1720 the square was complete (figure 3.8). After 1750, the Place Louis XV later known as the Place de la Concorde was constructed in the city's west. In 1787, Arthur Young [1792] wrote:
The coffee shop in the urban context: France in the eighteenth century

Figure 3.8 Façade for the Place Vendôme in Paris. Source: http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivannm/vendome/det3.jpg.

"... the Place Louis XV is not properly a square, but a very noble entrance to a great city. The facades of the two buildings erected are highly finished. The union of the Place Louis XV with the Champs-Elysées, the gardens of the Tuileries and the Seine is open, airy, elegant, and superb; and is the most agreeable and best built part of Paris."

Figure 3.9 shows the civic structure of Paris in the eighteenth century. It is obvious that there is not any specific street pattern. This is caused by the fact that the civic design is anchored to three different elements: the royal buildings, the churches and the civic squares. One wonders whether the coffee shops are attracted to the squares which were the main urban element to form the civic structure of the city. In other words, where are the coffee shops found in the eighteenth century Paris?

Figure 3.9 Civic structure of Paris in the eighteenth century. It is clear that there is not any street pattern.
The Urban Coffee Shop

The answer to that question is not so simple, mainly because of the lack of data of coffee shops of that time. Unfortunately the Parisian coffee shops of the eighteenth century have not survived up to now. However, my speculations will be based on anecdotal facts and on the only historic coffee shops that are still in business today. To start with, one of the most famous coffee shops of Paris is the Café de la Regence which is situated in the square of Palais Royal. It first opened its doors in 1670 when it was one of the greatest chess venues of Paris. Cafés became numerous in the first half of the eighteenth century and by 1716, there were more than three-hundred [Graf, 2000]. Coffee shops became the places for political debates and literary discussions as Montesquieu described in Les Lettres Persanes. Furthermore, Diderot, a prominent figure of the Enlightenment, observed in 1760 that the Palais Royal district was popular in pre Revolutionary Paris:

“It is my practice to go, towards five o’clock in the evening, to take a turn in the Palais Royal. I am he whom you may see any afternoon sitting by myself and musing….if the weather is too cold or too wet, I take shelter in the Regency coffee-house. There I amuse myself by looking on while they play chess. Nowhere in the world do they play chess as skillfully as in Paris, and nowhere in Paris as they do at this coffee-house…..”

Under Louis XV many coffee shops were set up under the arches of the Palais Royal. These coffee shops were mainly venues for politicians [Vantal, 1999]. The Café de Foy was the spot where Camille Desmoulins began the French Revolution. The Rotonde opened its doors in the beginning of the nineteenth century and got its name from its shape, a half-moon overlooking the gardens of Palais Royal (figure 3.10). Chez Leon is another coffee shop on the square that survived since the end of the eighteenth century. On the other side of the city, Café Ma Bourgogne is the most recent name of an eighteenth century coffee shop found on Place des Vosges.
Figure 3.11 Parisian historic coffee shop locations.

Figure 3.11 illustrates the civic structure of Paris and the positions of the historic coffee shops that have survived from that era. It also shows areas of activity which are based on data from historic personal journals. Diderot and Arthur Young in his *Travels in France During the Years 1787, 1788, 1789* illustrate that the area around the Palais Royal was the most fashionable of the time because of its coffee shops. Young also illustrates the interest of the monarchy to construct ostentatious civic squares [Young, 1792. Appendix, 1.2]. From all anecdotal reports it is safe to speculate that most Parisian coffee shops are found on the civic structure of the city whose squares are significant poles of attraction.

From the analysis so far, we can conclude that in the eighteenth century France there was connection between the economic, social, and political situation, the urban form, and the positioning of the coffee shops. Social activity was happening on the civic squares, as the coffee shop analysis rendered. The square was the most important urban element of the time and it was a result of the social and political situation of the eighteenth century. The aristocracy desired exposure and this led to the creation of grandiose civic squares. The urban coffee shops were upscale places where people frequented to discuss about politics and the news, or simply to enjoy their time playing chess. Parisian coffee shops were democratic since everybody was allowed to express his or her public opinion. In contrast to the London coffeehouses, the Parisian ones allowed the presence of women. However, women who frequented the cafés, apart from the cashiers or waitresses, were
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considered dishonorable. In total, we can conclude that there was a cause and effect relationship in the way people lived and developed physical form in the eighteenth century. In that causal relationship, there was a delay for the theories of the time to affect urban form. Theories usually affect the urban form of their following century. The philosophes were talking about human rights and this led to the French Revolution and the rise of the bourgeoisie. However, their humanistic ideas were not rendered in the eighteenth century urban form but affected the civic design of the next century, the expansion of Paris by the introduction of the boulevard.

The coffee shop in the urban context: England in the eighteenth century

In England, the situation was similar to France. The coffee shops were found on the civic structure of the city whose squares were components of the few civic design attempts of the era. In this part I first analyze the social, political, economic, and theoretical situation in England in the eighteenth century. The evolution of urban design through the example of the city of Bath follows, to end up with the examination of London and its coffee shops.

The economic growth of England in the eighteenth century is owed to the rise of agriculture, mercantilism, steel industry, and manufacturing. Unlike the monarchies of Europe, England had its revolution in the end of the seventeenth century resulting to a parliamentary system. The Parliament was under the control of the merchant and capitalist social classes. That is the reason why in the eighteenth century a number of legislative acts were passed favoring mercantile and capitalist interests. Among them, the most important were the enclosure laws that transformed previously crop-free land, used by the whole village usually for livestock grazing, to active cultivation. As a result, the rural population was given two choices: either to accept a radically lowered standard of living or to move to the cities to work as cheap labor in the increasing factory economy. Therefore, the enclosure acts by driving peasants off their lands, increased both urban population and agricultural production [Langford, 2002]. Mercantilism was also rising in England both internally and externally. The travel of goods in mainland England was cheap, and profits rocketed. Beyond her borders, England had managed
to monopolize overseas trade, specifically the merchant trade with the North American colonies. Last but not least, technological innovations caused a boom in the British economy. The invention of the steam engine boosted the steel industry and the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney made cotton a profitable crop and increased its cultivation in the English colonies.

While the economy thrived in England, it did against the poor. The country entered the eighteenth century with social inequalities and exploitation of laborers, and left it, with the industrial revolution and the establishment of a wage system. Bourgeois property-owners having the right to make political decisions were constantly exploiting poor laborers. In the beginning of the century the poverty of London reached crisis levels. One could find starving people in every corner; also, crime and prostitution were at historic levels. The solution to crime was the hanging tree. England had become a Thanatocracy where hanging was considered a national policy to ensure social stability. In the colonies, forced and slave labor were common, as well as having children from the age of five to fourteen working ten-hours every day. However, towards the end of the century, while Thanatocracy had failed, England favored internal peace and expanded its trade to the foreign markets [Mayer, 2005]. In 1790, the industrial revolution was starting to take place and peaked later in the 1800s. Once more, industrial wealth was based upon social inequalities. However, England had a number of characteristics which made its social distinctions somewhat different to other European monarchies. First, the mercantile and capitalist revolution was actually a middle-class bourgeois revolution. The pursuit of money was not an aristocratic characteristic but one of everyday people. Society was unequal but one in which respect and investment created a sense of mutual social responsibility. Second, England had four distinct social classes that controlled the country. The Church, the Royalty, the marine class, and the merchants were all powerful in shaping the future of the country. Their relationships and pursuit of interests occurred within the framework of a “moral economy”, the theoretical origin of paternalism. Furthermore, according to Perkin social emulation was a characteristic of the English eighteenth century society. In 1763, the *British Magazine* wrote:
“The present rage of imitating the manners of high life hath spread itself so far among the gentlefolks of lower-life, that in a few years we shall probably have no common people at all” [Brown, 1991].

That is why in Britain the middle-class power and prestige were correspondingly higher than elsewhere in Europe.

Two were the main theories that influenced the history of England in the eighteenth century: empiricism in philosophy and Palladianism in architecture. Empiricism is a philosophical theory arguing that all knowledge is derived from experience. The most famous empiricists were John Locke (1632-1704), George Berkeley (1685-1753), and David Hume (1711-1776). Locke, who was the real founder of empiricism, took science and specifically Newton as a starting point for his theory. He argued that all knowledge comes from impressions made on the mind. In opposition to the rationalistic theories of Descartes, Locke suggested that at birth the mind is a tabula rasa. He implied that, as in science, one never has certain knowledge, but just highly probable knowledge. This thinking had obvious results in the social ideas of the nineteenth century England. If people were formed by experience - by education and proper upbringing - Britain could make better people [Halsall, 1998]. As illustrated by the example of France, theories usually affect the urban form of later centuries. In England Palladianism, a philosophy of design based on the writings and work of Palladio in the sixteenth century, found its expression in the eighteenth century. The theory was based on classical orders and grace by minimizing decorative elements [Risebero, 2002]. A number of influential books were published at that time which supported Palladianism. Vitruvius Britannicus by Colen Campbell and Designs of Inigo Jones by William Kent were valuable resources for architects of the era.

To summarize, the economy of England in the eighteenth century was flourishing thanks to growing agriculture, mercantilism, steel industry, and manufacturing. In the social spectrum, it was the bourgeoisie and not the aristocracy that was exploiting the poor since making money became the norm. The marine class, the Church, the Royals and the merchants were the dominant social classes. The theories of the time were of two kinds: philosophical and
architectural. Empiricism was to affect the social situation of the next century whereas Palladianism had obvious results in the architecture of the cities. In this context the urban form began to transform and a series of civic design attempts appeared.

**The plan of Bath**

While France's only interest was the exposure of the monarchy's power illustrated in their civic designs, in England, the first civic design attempts were addressed to the bourgeoisie. These efforts did not take place in the big cities such as London but in smaller towns where the possibility of failure would not cost that much. The first try was the case of Bath, a city situated in southern England. The small city of Bath, bordered from three sides by the Avon River, took its name from the three springs that it houses. That is the reason why, by being an attractive resort, Bath has played an important role in British history. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, its population was two thousand whereas at the end it had risen to twenty-eight thousand. The reason for such an increase was Bath's increasing tourism industry. By 1720, Bath became fashionable and the two Woods, father and son, were called to re-plan the city. Until then the city had reached the medieval wall surrounding it, so needed a master plan for expansion. John Woods, the elder, had designed the Queen's Square in 1728 in the city's west. The proposed urban plan for the city's expansion consisted of a series of connected squares lined by impressive terrace houses. Queen's Square was the starting point, to connect to The Circus (1754), to connect to the Royal Crescent (1767). In the end of the eighteenth century, the plan was complemented by John Palmer, who connected the Royal Crescent to St James Square. Figures 3.12 and 3.13 illustrate the evolution of Bath and the proposed plan. It is obvious, that once more the square is important as an urban element. However, the condensed version of Nancy, where there is an immediate succession of three squares, changes to a lengthened version of three squares connected by designed streets. Furthermore, the very formal arrangement of Nancy is in contrast to Woods' work in Bath where architectural forms are used in a less monumental organization of spaces [Moughtinn, 1992].
Before the Wood's urban transformation one could find a number of coffee houses in the city of Bath. In 1679 a Turkish coffee house was found in the Marketplace which at the end of 1694 moved to the corner of Cheap Street in the center of the old city. In the 1720s, the second coffeehouse of Bath, Benjey's, opened at the end of Terrace Walk (figure 3.14). At that time, Thomas Sheyler opened The Grove Coffee-house on a strategic location at the exit of Wade's Passage from Abbey Churchyard [Fawcett, 1999]. The latter thrived until the 1750s and accommodated hundred of subscribers and notabilities. In the late eighteenth
century George's Coffee-house opened near the Pump Room. It is interesting to note that following Woods urban project the coffee houses spread to the new part of the city. The Upper Assembly Rooms were built off the Circus, while in their lobby an often frequented coffee room was introduced. In 1796 a rival in the area opened, behind Royal Crescent which was called St. James's Coffee-house. In the same period, the completion of Putney Bridge in the east of the city attracted new cafes among which was the famous Argyle coffee-house [Fawcett, 1999]. Pulteney Bridge, built for William Pulteney in 1770, was and still is one of the four bridges in the world lined by shops on both sides. To sum up, one notices that the urban transformations of the city of Bath had been followed by the appearance of coffee houses. This fact was not haphazard since the urban coffee shop has a connection to urban changes and urban form.

London's coffee shops

I will further demonstrate the importance of the square as an urban form by analyzing London. The first London square, which is called Covent Garden Piazza and still survives today, was created in 1631. It was designed by Inigo Jones and was an urban space with stores, coffee shops and exclusive residences. In 1660, the Earl of Southampton in his London residence in Bloomsbury designed a grass space crossed by paths. The land on the remaining sides of the forecourt was leased as building plots for houses, and the urban result became known later as “the square” [English Heritage, 2000]. That square was the precursor of most of the fore coming British urban designs. By the eighteenth century, the London squares had multiplied and had an extensive public use since the landowners believed that they added value to the surrounding properties and that they were important places for the amelioration of the living environment. Many argue that the consecutive construction of squares in London is one of England’s most important contributions to the European urban design. Even later in the nineteenth century, with the introduction of the villa, the square remained an important urban characteristic. Therefore, in London, similarly to Paris, the notion and the use of the square in civic designs were extensive. However, there was a significant difference between the London square and the French one. This difference was caused by the political and social dissimilarity of the two nations. While the French square was
The Urban Coffee Shop

built by the monarchy as a gesture of power, mainly addressing to the aristocracy, the English one was built to accommodate public needs of the middle classes, such as housing and retail.

Figure 3.15 shows the civic structure of London in the eighteenth century. It is obvious that the prevailing urban element is the square. The question that arises is whether squares are places of social activity or just places for the beautification of the city. Through the coffee shop examination I will attempt to find where social activity is happening in the city.

As it has been mentioned, London was the first city where coffee shops opened. By 1663 there were eighty-two of them, while by the beginning of the eighteenth century they had increased to about five hundred [Standage, 2003]. The London coffee shops, as their French counterparts, were embedded in the everyday life of the Londoners. Thomas Macauley [1848] in his History of England, wrote "that the coffee-house was the Londoner's home, and that those who wished to find a gentleman commonly asked, not whether he lived in Fleet Street or Chancery Lane, but whether he frequented the Grecian or the Rainbow." Even during the plague and the great fire, Londoners were loyal to their favorite coffee-houses (figure 3.16). Samuel Pepys and Daniel Defoe, for example, would daily visit their haunts during that dreadful time, but as everybody in that period they were cautious. From anecdotal reports, personal journals [Young, 1792], and old databases [Leigh, 1819] we know that there were specific areas in the city where coffee shops were found.

Figure 3.15 Civic structure of London. The prevailing urban element is the square.
The main characteristic of the coffee shops in London was that they each targeted a certain clientele. Usually coffee shops with the same kind of clientele were also found in proximity. In other words, they formed clusters in the city according to the group that they targeted. In particular, two coffee shops near London’s Royal Exchange, Jonathan’s and Garranoy’s, were preferred by stockbrokers. In 1773, a group of traders left Jonathan’s, which was found in Change Alley, to move in a new building, the forerunner of the London Stock Exchange [The Roast And Post Coffee Company, 2005]. Other coffee shops were focused on marine and trade news. Ship captains and owners as well as the marine insurance brokers frequented Edward Lloyd’s coffee shop which first opened in Tower Street close to the public square of the Tower. When Edward Lloyd moved his coffee shop to the beginning of Lombard Street to be near to the Royal Stock Exchange he managed to keep his clientele after having built a reputation for honest shipping news. That coffee shop later became the centre of world insurance and the headquarters of Lloyds of London [Lloyd’s History, 2005]. Coffee shops became so specialized in their clientele that The Tatler, a London newspaper founded in 1709, printed its stories under coffee-house headings. In the first issue published, Sir Richard Steele wrote:

"All accounts of Gallantry, Pleasure, and Entertainment shall be under the Article of White’s Chocolate-house; Poetry, under that of Will’s Coffee-house; Learning, under the title of Graecian; Foreign and Domestick News, you will have from St. James’ Coffee-house."

[Pelzer, 1982]
The Grecian was the coffee shop most closely associated with science. It was most frequented by the members of the Royal Society, Britain’s pioneering scientific institution. Isaac Newton and Edmund Halley were part of the Society. Sir Richard Steele, the editor of the Tatler, gave its postal address as the Grecian coffee-house. The Marine near St Paul's, was another coffee shop targeted to science, and it was preferred by captains and sailors who had realized that science can improve navigation, and hence offer commercial success. Will's Coffee-House in Covent Garden, a major public square, was the place where the famous poet John Dryden and his entourage analyzed and discussed the latest poems and plays. White's Chocolate-House, an atypical coffee shop, was targeted to gamblers. The sixth print of William Hogarth's Rake's Progress illustrates a troubled man just having lost his fortune in the gaming room at White's. Based on historical data about coffee shops [Leigh, 1819] it is safe to argue that the ones around the Royal Exchange were frequented by businessmen. Coffee shops around St. James' square and Westminster were frequented by politicians, whereas those near St Paul's Cathedral were haunts of clergymen and theologians [Standage, 2003]. The eighteenth century English coffeehouse was a gathering place for the mob. Citizens frequented coffee shops to have strong debates and discussions stimulated by the new beverage (figure 3.17).

The coffee shop in the urban context: England in the eighteenth century

From the analysis so far and the plotting of the coffee shops of the era based on the Leigh database [1819] we can conclude that there were four major areas in the city of London where coffee shops clustered in the eighteenth century: the area around the Royal Exchange, St. James, St. Paul Cathedral, and Covent Garden. Figure 3.18 illustrates the civic structure of the city overlaid by the four coffee shop clusters. Similarly to Paris, we can argue that in London the coffee shops are found on the civic structure of the city and mainly on and around public squares.

Figure 3.18 Civic structure of London and the coffee shop clusters: St. James (1), Covent Garden (2), St. Paul Cathedral (3), and Royal Exchange (4). Source: Author.

In the eighteenth century England there was a connection between the economic, social, and political situation, the urban form, and the positioning of the coffee shops. The middle class was politically in charge so the developments of the time were focused on housing which in turn, was followed by the construction of squares -residential, commercial- to accommodate public needs. That raised the British square to the most important urban form of the time. Coffee shops were found in four specific areas within the city, which altogether formed its civic structure. Each of the four coffee shop clusters addressed a different dominant social class. Coffee shops around the Royal Exchange addressed the marine class, the ones near St. James to the Royals, the ones around St. Paul's Cathedral to the Church, and the coffee shops on Covent Garden to the merchants. London's coffeehouses were democratic places where one's social status was not a variable in social participation. Coffee shops were centers of information and they supported science and intellectual cultivation. In Paris we notice that coffee shops were located on major public squares or close to royal buildings. However, in London, the parliamentary system and the less authoritarian social situation contributed to a
more uniformed spread out of coffee shops throughout the city. In both cases, the coffee shops were an inherent characteristic of the city's civic structure as illustrated by the civic structure diagrams. In the eighteenth century, in both Paris and London there was only one major coffee shop typology: the typical old coffeehouse. Coffeehouses were usually large in scale and they were inwardly oriented. Their connection to the outside—the public space—was not as strong as it was later (figure 3.19). This coffee shop type highlights the social and political situation of the time. Citizens constantly debated about politics and the coffee shop was open to all social classes, thus its spatial organization was done accordingly. A large room with long tables in the middle allowed for different groups to seat together and discuss about anything.

The question that arises is whether we can use the coffee shops to determine and analyze the anatomy of each city. In order to answer the question I will proceed to the examination of the connection of coffee shops to the urban form in the nineteenth century.

Figure 3.19 The old typical coffeehouse typology. The coffee shop was usually embedded in the urban fabric while its connection to the outside was not very strong. Source: Author.
Chapter Four

This chapter focuses on the relation between the coffee shop and the urban environment in the period between the beginning of the nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth century. In that period significant historical events took place changing world’s history, including two World Wars. However, since this thesis is mostly interested in the association of the coffee shop to the urban form and the analysis of the factors that have affected the appearance or disappearance of the urban coffee shops, I have attempted to simplify the historical part and focus on specific periods which have played an important role in the development of the physical form. The same methodology as in chapter three is followed. I first present the economic, social, political and theoretical ideas of the time. Their outcome in urban form of the era follows, coupled with the examination and the mapping of the coffee shops. Two cities are the case studies for this period: Paris in the late nineteenth century and Boston in the early twentieth century.

In this period the coffee shop migrated to the streets and later spread to the whole civic structure of the city. The urban developments of the time were mostly public and of a large scale. The introduction of the Parisian boulevard by Haussmann changed the character of the street from a simple connector and an area of movement to an interesting animated promenade. This change was supported by the coffee shops which attracted social activity. In America, the fact that since the eighteenth century coffee drinking was considered a patriotic duty led to the increase of the urban coffee shops. The latter were found on the civic structure of the cities. The grid was the main urban form that structured American cities and coffee shops were found on its most socially active parts.

France in the nineteenth century

The general economic framework that characterizes this period is related to industrialization. In France, after 1840, the growth of industrial production transformed the country from an agrarian into an industrial state. The construction of a nationwide railroad system, which was initiated in 1842 with the Railway Law, boosted French industrialization since the transfer of goods became faster and easier. After a serious economic depression in 1846 which lasted for two years,
France resumed its economic growth by tripling the railway infrastructure and by promoting new banking institutions. Banks provided a nationalized credit system which was vital for the industries and supported investments on enterprises. A capitalist system was quickly building up while industrial competition with other nations was catalytic to the improvement of the economy [Microsoft (R) Encarta, 1994]. The trade treaties with England and other European nations exposed the French industry into European competition driving cost down and quality up. Furthermore, major public works improved the life quality in the cities, ameliorated the condition of the ports and consequently helped the economy to prosper. The three last decades of the nineteenth century and until the break of the First World War the French economy was gradually improving, however, in a slower pace than previously.

The political scene of France in that period of one hundred and fifty years was constantly changing, mainly shifting from authoritarian monarchies to republic governments. In 1804 following the French Revolution of the late-eighteenth century, Napoleon established the French Empire and took the title of emperor. However, after the destruction of his army in Russia, Napoleon's enemies wishing a peaceful France attempted to restore the Bourdons to the throne. In 1814, Louis XVIII entered Paris as a King to rule for only one year when Napoleon returned to reestablish the empire. On June 18, 1815, the European rulers finally joined their forces to permanently defeat Napoleon at Waterloo. Louis XVIII was reestablished and ruled until 1824. He founded a parliamentary monarchy, representative but not democratic. Louis was succeeded by Charles X, an ultra-Royalist, who ruled for six years [Microsoft (R) Encarta, 1994]. In 1830, the fact that Charles defied an election result provoked a protest of liberal journalists and deputies. Parisian workers arguing a violation of the constitution joined them and after three days of street fighting they managed to oust the royal troops from the city. That event is known as the July Revolution of 1830 which ended with the chirotony of Louis-Philippe as the King of French and not the King of France.

Louis-Philippe was the last King to rule France and during his reign the nation prospered economically and intellectually. The upper bourgeois class thrived along with the wealthy bankers. However, the monarchy was rigid and unwilling to adapt to the changing economic and social situations of the time. Louis-Philippe
France in the nineteenth century

specifically opposed the expansion of the right of voting to other social classes. This coupled with an economic depression in 1846 and 1847 built up a general desire for a new republic. In February 1848, the government's gawky effort to thwart a Republican rally in Paris started a fight between troops and demonstrators that developed into a revolution. The second Republic of France was formed after the election of Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as President. The new constitution adopted by the government established a republic with a single assembly, where both president and assembly were to be chosen by national male voting. Four years later, in 1852, Napoleon declared himself Emperor Napoleon III and named the Republic as the Second Empire. Until 1860, he governed France as an authoritarian ruler, but later he began to transfer power from himself to the legislative houses. By 1870, France was a parliamentary monarchy with a powerful ministry. Napoleon's reign ended with the Franco-Prussian war in 1870-1871 where he and his army surrendered at Sedan. Germany in the end of the nineteenth century was building up its power and its army could not be compared to any of other European countries. After the loss in Sedan, Otto von Bismarck, the Prussian prime minister, moved his army to Paris which was held against siege for four months. In January 1871, Paris surrendered and the election of a new national assembly with authority to make peace was forced by the Germans [L'Encyclopædia Britannica, 2004]. The Third Republic was formed in Bordeaux and soon enough had to confront a civil war at home, the Commune of Paris in 1871 which was an independent municipal government. The commune was obliterated with force and in the next three decades, up to the First World War, France was a peaceful Republic.

A period known as “New Imperialism” followed where France and other European countries focused on colonial expansions, especially in Africa and Asia. Meanwhile, the Germans, whose power kept growing, had transformed to a dangerous neighbor for France threatening its national security. That is the reason why in 1894 France and Russia signed a defensive alliance against any German imperialistic movement. In 1907 when Britain and Russia resolved their differences, they joined France to form a Triple Entente in order to counterbalance the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Furthermore, in 1914 the First World War started with Germany declaring war on Russia and France. The aftermath of the war saw the emergence of central economic problems. The devaluation of the franc which led to the Great Depression of 1932 coupled with
the rebirth of a militant, imperialistic Germany brought new threats to the French Republic. Lastly, in September 1939 Germany attacked Poland, whose protection was guaranteed by France and Britain. It was the beginning of the Second World War [Microsoft (R) Encarta, 1994].

In this long and turbulent period the social situation was slowly changing from an established aristocracy to the growth of the bourgeoisie and later to the rise of the working class. Especially in the decades of the Third Republic after 1871 both the bourgeoisie and peasantry started to prosper. In addition, the industrial working class increased in number while gaining higher living standards. In 1884, labor unions were legalized and syndicalism emerged. Syndicalism was a drastic political movement that brought industry and government under the control of labor unions by the use of direct action, such as general strikes and sabotage. In the mid-nineteenth century the first decline of rural population is observed as people moved to cities. According to Bairoch [1976], the French urban rates of growth were nonexistent in the seventeenth century and slowly accelerating in the eighteenth century. In the first half of the nineteenth century the urban population increased from 12.5 percent to 19.5 percent of the total population, and then nearly doubled between 1850 and 1910, reaching 38.5 percent. The fact that governments were concerned about social problems and inequalities was portrayed by the laws they passed. Specifically, in 1833 a school law was introduced, requiring every commune in France to sustain a primary school for boys. Those who could not afford the tuition would enroll for free. In the late nineteenth century Bohemianism created another social class which rejected conventional rules of behavior. Bohemians, generally people with artistic and intellectual tendencies, were typically respected by the bourgeois class. Honoré de Balzac, a famous bourgeois writer who approved of bohemianism, was the first to use the term in 1840 in a short story called “Prince of Bohemia”. Later, French novelist Henri Murger (1822-1861) popularized the term in an article series, which depicted the precarious lives of poor and idealistic Parisian artists and writers [Miller, 1981].

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the prevailing architectural style was neoclassical. It was a pure imitation of the forms of the classical style found in ancient Athens and Rome. In contrast to the renaissance and baroque architects
of the sixteenth and seventeenth century who re-interpreted some elements of
classical architecture to their designs, neoclassicism was a desire to return to the
professed "purity" of the classical arts. Neoclassicism first appeared in England
and France in the mid-eighteenth century and it was heavily influenced by the
writings of the German archeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann. However, its
powerful reappearance is noticed in France in the second empire. Neoclassicism
being an antithesis to Romanticism and Gothic revivals was not interested in
novelty, creativeness, and personal expression but on the exhibition of the perfect
control of an idiom [Risebero, 2002]. By the mid-nineteenth century several urban
developments in European cities were based on the neoclassical style.

To summarize, the capitalistic economy of France in the nineteenth
century was growing quickly thanks to the industrial revolution. France was turning
from an agrarian economy to an industrial one where the middle class started to
thrive both economically and politically. The aristocracy was not as powerful as
before and the bourgeois society along with the working class obtained political
power. The theories that influenced the urban form of the time were focused on
ancient civilizations. Baroque gave its way to the Greek Revival which stimulated
Neoclassicism.

The rebuilding of Paris

The most important urban developments of the nineteenth and mid-
twentieth century took place in the decades between 1850 and 1870 under the
reign of Napoleon III. In that period the street became the most prominent urban
element. Boulevards were designed to structure the cities and solve a number of
urban problems such as congestion and hygiene issues. The countries experienced
a growth of their urban population forcing the cities to undertake new urban
developments. In 1850, Paris was facing a lot of problems: initially, the city was
highly congested and its civic structure was not complete. In other words, there was
not any specific sequence of public spaces that could define the anatomy of the city.
Buildings were too close to one another causing inhabitants to asphyxiate within
the urban fabric. Small medieval streets formed slums and dangerous labyrinths for
walking at night. Furthermore, the city's existing urban plan did not include parks
and green spaces. In 1850, the only parks that the city had were Champs Elysées
and Place de Vosges. Moreover, water could not reach most of the houses resulting to several diseases and the outbreak of cholera twice. Lastly, Paris did not have a structured system of sewers. Most of the sewers were clogged and waste water was led to the Seine in the heart of the city contaminating the river and causing the spread of diseases [Pinkney, 1958].

Therefore, in these two decades slum clearance, sanitation, emigration, and urban growth were the tasks that Napoleon III and his trusted engineer George Haussmann were called to confront in order to rebuild Paris. The expenditure of rebuilding the city according to Haussmann's estimations was two and a half billion francs, equivalent to eighty-four million dollars.

Napoleon's first priority was to continue Rivoli Street designed by Percier and Fontaine. Five-story residential blocks with arcaded ground floors and unified façades lined the street. The blocks were consisted by impressive individual bourgeoisie houses with shops on the ground floor (figure 4.1). Napoleon also

proposed to create a boulevard from Gare de l'Est to the Pont au Change in order to solve the north-south traffic problem. A number of historians argue that this idea originated from some landowners who met with the Emperor and proposed the opening of a twelve meter wide road through their land situated in the north of Paris, in order to connect the newly built railway terminus to the Grand boulevards. Three months later, the authorities introduced the idea of enlarging the new road

Figure 4.1 Rivoli Street, Paris 1900. Source: http://homepage.ntlworld.com/e a n d j . f o x l e y / MagicLantern/Paris/RueDeRivoli.htm
between the railway station and the Grand Boulevards to thirty meters and planting it with two lines of trees. After several decisions a 4.5 kilometer long boulevard was created, planted with trees, cutting through the entire city from north to south. At that time the street was called Boulevard du Centre and later was divided to Boulevard de Sebastopol, Boulevard du Palais and Boulevard Saint-Michel [Darin, 2004]. Following the extension of Rivoli Street, Napoleon planned Avenue de l’Opera, Rue des Ecoles, Rue des Rennes, and Avenue de Turbigo. The new streets plan was conceived to have three networks: first, second and third; financed accordingly by the state, both the state and the city, and just the city. However, Napoleon’s idea to cut streets through the city was not solely based on public need. He intended to destroy the hotbeds of revolution and provide easy and fast access to his troops to any part of the city. After the revolution of 1848 social security became a primary aim. The first buildings to be destroyed were the ones near the palaces which might offer cover to the attackers [Risebero, 2002]. In any case, in transforming Paris Napoleon was providing both employment and the genesis of a healthy and livable environment.

Napoleon’s second priority was the construction of the new central markets called Les Halles. He commissioned the architect Baltard to design the markets which later became an important civic space, a node in the city of Paris. Following Haussmann’s advice in order to get the commission, Baltard designed a completely iron and glass structure, something totally new to the Parisian architectural typology of the time [Chevalier, 1994]. Baltar’s design and later other structural masterpieces such as the Eiffel Tour manifested the industrial age. In 1850, the Emperor became aware of the fact that the city’s parks totaled to seventy four acres, so he proposed Bois de Boulogne to become a spacious public park. Many argue that parts of his ambitious plan for Paris were inspired by his observations while exile in London while another source of inspiration might have been the Plan des Artistes created in 1793.

Haussmann was as an important figure as Napoleon for the rebuilding of Paris. He had no superior but the Emperor himself. Haussmann had three collaborators: Eugene Belgrand who was an engineer specialized in hydrology; Adolphe Alphand who was in charge of most of the landscaping of Paris including Bois de Boulogne and Bois des Vincennes; and Descamps who was an architect and planner. In 1870, Haussmann was forced out of office after certain of his
financial operations had made him a political liability. However, he had achieved two very important things for Paris: first, he supplied the city with abundant fresh water from springs in Somme Soude and the Vanne Valley, and second, he designed a new system of collector sewers which stopped the contamination of the Seine. Haussmann was also concerned about the lack of green space in Paris. He created twenty two enclosed landscape squares that addressed to the neighborhoods and he commissioned Adolphe Alphand to design Bois de Boulogne and later Bois de Vincennes. When Haussmann stepped down in 1870, Paris had four and a half thousand acres of parks whereas in 1850 it had only forty-seven acres of green space.

Both Haussmann and Napoleon were in different times accused of using classical city planning. For that, David Pinkney [1958] claims that “even if classical city planning was used, the two men achieved to make a big city like Paris beautiful, and to demonstrate to city planners of whatever persuasion that civic architecture must be conceived on a grand scale, that the relationship of buildings to each other is at least as important as the design of the individual structures”.

From the analysis so far, it is clear that the urban transformation of Paris was based on the creation of new streets mainly in the form of a boulevard. The street had become a major component in the urban developments of the time. Figure 4.2 shows the actual plan of Paris in 1834. It is obvious that even though the city had expanded, its urban fabric still resembled medieval cities. The first designed streets started to appear in the place of the medieval fortification. Figure 4.3 shows the final civic structure of the city after the urban transformations of Haussmann. The appearance and the results of the boulevard are obvious.
The word boulevard was first used in French in the fourteenth century, as a military term designating a city wall and later designating the bastion. In 1771, it changed meaning and it indicated the tree planted promenade that surrounded Paris. Between 1827 and 1847 the word’s meaning changed once more and boulevard was applied to streets that don’t have anything to do with the city’s wall. After the word gradually stopped being a reference to existing fortifications, in 1850 the construction of Boulevard du Centre made boulevard a sign of distinction. The
Grands boulevards were not perceived anymore as a dividing line between the city and the countryside but as the main east west artery of the right bank [Darin, 2004] (figure 4.5).

However, the formal designed streets did not appear only in the neoclassic rebuilding of Paris where strong axial lines and vistas dominated. Similar urban transformations happened in the West End of London where John Nash designed a system of buildings and streets from the Buckingham Palace to Regent’s Park. Specifically, Regent Street is considered one of the masterpieces of European urban design. The connection of Park Crescent to Portland Place, and then,


Figure 4.5 View of Boulevard Beaumarchais looking at Place de la Bastille. Source: Landau et al., (2000). Les Grands Boulevards.

Figure 4.6 John Nash’s plan for Regent Street, London nineteenth century. Source: http://arch.utexas.edu/AV/ARC318L/glossary/building/regent.html.
France in the nineteenth century

through All Souls Church to the Oxford Circus illustrates the brilliance of John Nash. The Quadrant in the south part of the street achieved to turn orientation through ninety degrees and continue the street to Carlton House through Piccadilly Circus [Moughtinn, 1992] (figure 4.4 and 4.6). Another classic monumental civic design is the Great Pulteney Street in Bath which connected Pulteney Bridge to Sydney Gardens through Laura Place. Furthermore, in Vienna emperor Franz Josef demolished the city walls in 1858 and replaced them with the Ringstrasse, a broad boulevard designed by Ludwig Forster. I will further demonstrate that the coffee shops were attracted to the new formal streets which were one of the main urban elements to form the civic structure of the European city at the time. The following investigation will be limited to the city of Paris.

The Parisian coffee shops

The golden age of the French café was the nineteenth century. In 1841 there were about four thousand coffee shops in Paris, led by the older Procope across the street from the Comedie Francaise, and the Régence which Robespierre, Voltaire, Rousseau and Napoleon visited regularly. In the years between 1850 and 1870 Paris was reborn. New construction and the urbanization of the city caused Palais Royal, the Parisian center so far, to lose its fashion which moved towards the emerging urban boulevards. At that point the coffee shops migrated from the squares to the new public space of the street. In the early 1880s, French coffee shops became related to philosophers and artists. Manet frequented to Baudequin in the Boulevard des Batignolles where he met with Monet, Whistler and Fantin-Latour. They were later succeeded by the group of Pisaro, Renoir and the Orientalists [Boyer, 1994]. In the late 1880s the historic meeting places of the French intelligentsia were mostly found on the Left Bank. Closerie des Lilas, Le Flore, Le Café du Dome, Brasserie Lipp, Les Deux Magots are some of the famous coffee shops where personalities such as Picasso, Hemingway, Apollinaire, Lenin and Trotsky frequented (figures 4.7 & 4.8). The boulevards were lined with trees and coffee shops from where one could enjoy as a spectator the Parisian life. Henry James [1876], an American author and critic of the late nineteenth century, called the boulevards a long chain of cafés. The boulevards had become the most used form of public space where people went to hang out or to be seen. In the Second Empire boulevard life prospered. The Grand
Café and the Café de la Paix were found on boulevard des Capucines, whereas the Café Anglais was situated on boulevard des Italiens (figure 4.9). The sidewalk café with all of its chairs facing the street emerged as a new coffee shop typology responding to...
the boulevardier, the frequenter of the boulevards. The American author and actress Cornelia Otis Skinner wrote specifically for the boulevardier:

“Parisien, his wit was Parisien, his outlook was bounded by the Boulevard itself...its cafés, its theaters, its easy access to the rest of the city, but no further than the Bois. He was the man of bright sophistication, the man sharply aware of the present scene”. [Graf, 2000]

Le Café de Paris, le Napolitain, la Maison Dorée, le Tortoni, le Grand U, and other coffee shops appeared on main boulevards and gradually took the glory from the coffee shops in the square of Royal Palace [Landau et al, 2000]. Figure 4.10 illustrates the civic structure of Paris in the late nineteenth century and the positions of the coffee shops of that era. Again the mapping is not complete since old Parisian business directories are destroyed. However, the location of the coffee shops that have survived shows the shift of social activity from the squares towards the boulevards where the new cafés opened.
In the nineteenth and mid-twentieth century two new coffee shop typologies appeared: the short façade and long depth café and the corner coffee shop. Both typologies were results of the urban transformations of the time. The short façade café was embedded in the urban fabric and animated the public space (figures 4.11, 4.13 & 4.14). In Paris, this type spread to the new city streets which became the fashion of the era. The new boulevards generated the boulevardier and the idea of the promenade and flânerie within the city's limits. Flânerie being the activity of strolling and looking was strongly supported by the new coffee
France in the nineteenth century

Figure 4.12 Corner coffee shop typology. Source: Author.

The corner coffee shop, usually more upscale, was a hybrid version of the two other typologies. Its one side was always facing an important street or boulevard, and its other side was either on a square or on a significant civic intersection (figure 4.12).

Figures 4.13 and 4.14 Short façade coffee shops in London. Source: Classic Cafés by A. Maddox.

From the analysis so far, we can conclude that in the nineteenth and mid-twentieth century France there was a complex connection between the economic, social, and political situation, the theories of the era, the urban form, and the positioning of the coffee shops. Overall, in Europe of that period there was a cause and effect relationship in the way people lived and developed physical form. The French government desired to control the public and the hotbeds of revolution so Haussmann was charged with cutting wide and linear streets through the city for the
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royal troops to have rapid access everywhere. Coffee shops followed that change and they spread to the new streets. Furthermore, the devastating slum clearance created areas of commercial interest and coffee shops rapidly responded. Their response led to their massive expansion and their establishment as a cultural element. In addition, Napoleon's desire to impart grandeur to the regime found substance in Neoclassicism which was the prevailing theory at the time. Neoclassicism inspired the creation of Rue de Rivoli and to a lesser degree Regent Street. These streets were major shopping centers, colonnaded to protect their clients from bad weather. Hence, the building of new streets emphasized the fact that cities changed from being periodic outlets addressing to the market production to permanent shopping centers selling manufactured products. Of course, this change could not have happened if the social situation was not improving resulting to a wider spread of capital. More people gained money and that boosted commercial uses and the emergence of roofed shopping centers called Gallerie. The earliest example is Galerie d'Orleans, built in Paris in 1829 by Fontaine. Others followed such as the Galleria Umberto I in Naples (1887), and the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II in Milan (1829) designed by Giuseppe Mengoni [Risebero, 2002]. One wonders whether this complex relationship which was supported by the coffee shops appears in the other side of the Atlantic as well.

U.S. in the nineteenth and mid-twentieth century

When Paris and Europe were being rebuilt in the mid-nineteenth century, in the United States urban quality was not the first priority mainly because of the unstable political situation. In 1861, the American Civil War began and its positive consequences will only appear later towards the end of the nineteenth century. In the beginning of the Civil War the United States was consisted of four distinct areas: the Northeast, with a growing industrial and commercial economy and a constantly increasing urban population; the Northwest, an area where free farmers where multiplying; the Upper South, with a developed plantation system; and the Southwest, with a rapid expanding cotton economy. The four regions did not follow similar paths in their social, political, and economic development. Their most important difference was the labor system used, where in the North
it was based on wage labor whereas in the South on slavery. The election of Republican Abraham Lincoln caused seven states to secede from the Union and establish a rebel government on February 9, 1861 called the Confederate States of America. The split of the seven states was one of the reasons that triggered the Civil War whose first objective was the preservation of the Union. Later, with the Emancipation Proclamation of 1862 Lincoln added the end of slavery as a second war purpose [U.S. Department of State, 1990]. The Civil War diminished coffee consumption in America, since the Union government charged a four-cent tax on imported beans and barricaded Southern ports in order to cut rebels’ access to any coffee. Throughout history, coffee was one of the few pleasures of war soldiers. In the Civil War each Union soldier consumed daily one-tenth of a pound of green coffee beans, resulting to the building of an everlasting desire for the drink [Pendergrast, 1999]. The fact that America was not a unified nation until 1865 will shift the following urban and coffee shop research towards the end of the nineteenth century and certainly the beginning of the twentieth.

The Civil War in 1861 and the late urbanization of the U.S. caused a delay of almost fifty years for the European social, political, and economic phenomena to occur in America. Nevertheless, the United States more than any other nation produced an economic expansion of astonishing magnitude in the nineteenth and mid-twentieth century. That was the reason why immigration in the end of the nineteenth century skyrocketed. After the Civil War, the Gilded Age arrived. The term was borrowed by the American novelist Mark Twain who intended to demonstrate the flashy on the outside, but corrupt on the inside nature of American society during industrialization. The protagonists of that era were the powerful “robber barons”, the corrupt politicians, and the laissez-faire government. The laissez-faire school of thought by praising capitalism follows a free market ideology. That is, capital is best left on its own rules, through which it is allocated intentionally and quicker than any legislating body could. In other words, the less governmental interference in private financial decisions the better the economy [The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 2003]. The growth of the economy in the Gilded Age is owed to its dual paths of development: one being agricultural and exploitation of natural resources, known as the “western movement”, and the other being industrial with rapid increase after 1865. In the Gilded Age, according to Hewitt, Americans
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consumed coffee six times as much as most Europeans. Coffee had become “an indispensable beverage” to Western society [Hewitt, 1872]. Around 1875, the long depression that struck Europe from 1874 to 1896 hit the U.S. as well. In 1893 the so called “Panic” was a severe economic recession. It started with the collapse of the Reading Railroad, an important eastern line, followed by the bankruptcy of its dependent enterprises and banks. The stock market plunged while the economic downturn distressed the agricultural sector in the west and south as well [Avery, 2005]. However, the Cleveland administration did not take any action at the time since it was believed that economic recessions were cyclical and natural, and above all outside political interference.

During the late nineteenth century the target of all businesses was growth. Since “grow big” became the main strategy, businesses integrated both vertically and horizontally. U.S. Steel for example, mined for iron, transported it to its mills, developed it into steel and metal products, and shipped the products to wholesalers [Porter, 1992]. These strategies are obviously antithetical to the ones businesses use today in the saturated and fragmented market, where more narrowed and focused strategies profit. The depression of 1890s created a new capitalistic system based on large corporations (finance capitalism) [Carosso, 1970].

The period after the Civic War was called Reconstruction. As foreseen, the defeated Confederate States of America did not effectively reunite to the rest of the country. The government failed to enforce the civil rights in the South, however managed to pass three amendments – thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth – concerning slavery and African Americans’ civil rights. Soon, the Reconstruction period came to an end resulting in the end of civil rights for African Americans. Especially in the South, the forced initial concern of civil rights faded in time. The period from 1870 to 1890, the Gilded Age, was considered an era of great economic and industrial prosperity. In this period, the United States experienced a massive immigration wave which unfortunately resulted to an increase in racial discrimination. Between 1880 and 1910 eighteen million immigrants entered the United States eager for work. Harsh competition and the rules of the free market economy forced owners to fire craftsmen and replace them with unskilled and cheap labor. The immigrants in search of a job offered cheap labor especially in the manufacturing sector. Nonetheless, their exploitation by the management led to
the building of strong tensions between them and to the creation of labor unions. By the end of the nineteenth century the industrial worker including women and children was heavily exploited and started to get organized in a number of strikes which often involved violence and death. Great Railroad Strike in 1877, Homestead Strike in 1892, Pullman Strike in 1894, the Anthracite Coal Strike in 1902, and Bread and Roses Strike in 1912 were proving the power of the organized labor union [U.S. Department of State, 1990]. In 1890, the Sherman Silver Purchase Act issued by the Congress and the lack of Republican support to enforce civil rights in the South led to the emergence of a new political party called the Populists. Tom Watson of Georgia tried to persuade Southern white farmers to surmount their hostility toward blacks since they were actually both oppressed by the same autocrat: the government. In the elections of 1892 the Populists polled over one million votes and managed to elect a number of their representatives to Congress.

The Panic of 1893 that natural recourses were rapidly declining forced American politicians to act similarly to the European leaders fifty years ago when New Imperialism was introduced. Furthermore, the U.S. industry had expanded resulting to an excess supply which could not be absorbed by the American market. As a result, an era of U.S. Imperialism succeeded targeted to the Philippines and Latin America. After 1890, and until the First World War in 1917, a progressive period emerged. New laws passed to soften social inequalities and improve the living conditions of the working class. The new laws diminished working hours, banned child labor, and made school attendance mandatory. The effort for social equilibrium continued with the Roosevelt and Wilson presidency where the laisser-faire barons of the nineteenth century were effectively publicly controlled. In 1901, instant coffee was invented by Japanese American chemist Satori Kato. Five year later, English chemist George Washington, invented the first mass-produced instant coffee which was later destined to support the American troops in the First World War. Indeed, in 1918 the U.S. Army requested the entire G. Washington production, a fact that was advertised by the company with the slogan: "G. Washington's Refined Coffee has gone to WAR". By the end of the war, the U.S. forces had used seventy-five million pounds of coffee while the American Army of Occupation in Germany maintained a two and a half thousand pounds daily coffee consumption [Pendergrast, 1999].
The prevailing nineteenth and mid-twentieth century theories were expressing what we now call "Social Darwinism". A number of historians however, have opposed to the anachronistic use of the term and highlight its incapability to describe that period. In the academia the term is generally accepted and signifies the association between Darwin's theory of natural evolution, and the sociological relations of humanity. Academia argues that Social Darwinism expressed a misapplication of a biological ideology that Darwin produced. Over-simplified Social Darwinism is the idea of "survival of the fittest" [Shermis, 1999] where at the time "fittest" would have meant "most suitable" or "most appropriate" rather than "in the best physical shape". Darwinism found supporters to the economy as well. John D. Rockefeller once said "growth of a large business is merely a survival of the fittest...the working out of a law of nature..." [U.S. Department of State, 1990]. Blake et al [1966] attempted to apply Darwinism to business by arguing that in the corporate worlds the larger will eventually swallow the smaller. In any case, Darwinism created ruthless capitalism and the emergence of social problems such as racism, sexism, and widening of the gap between the poor and the rich. Critical to that was Marxism, a social and political theory that would change the world the following years. Karl Marx published the first volume of Das Kapital in 1867, but he died before he could finish the already drafted second and third volumes. His collaborator Friedrich Engels finished and published them in 1885 and 1894 while the last volume called “Theories of Surplus-Value” was edited and published by Karl Kautsky in 1905-1910. The whole book was a critical analysis of capitalism and its economic practices and theories.

The prevailing theory in architecture was once more Neoclassicism. The plan for Washington, the Lincoln Memorial, the National Gallery in Washington, and the American Museum of Natural History’s Roosevelt Memorial were examples of Neoclassicism and evidence of the strong influence of Americans from the Beaux-Arts architecture. It was only after the twenty first years of the twentieth century when the most essential architectural movement was born: Modernism.

To summarize, in that long period of one and a half century the economy in the U.S. was growing fast, much faster than in Europe, mainly because of its
duality, the fact that it was focused both on agriculture and industrialism. The economic prosperity led to a massive wave of immigrants in the late nineteenth century who provided additional cheap labor to the industry. Ruthless capitalism however, ameliorated the living conditions of the bourgeoisie but amplified the differences between the poor and the privileged. By the beginning of the twentieth century society theories like Marxism attributed to the building of a social conscious. People became critical to capitalism and a series of progressive laws passed by the governments attempted to secure social stability. The question that arises is what has happened to the urban form and the coffee shops in this period of economic fluctuation and social change.

_Urban form: Boston in the nineteenth century and mid-twentieth century_

Boston followed a similar development path to the rest of the U.S. In the beginning of the nineteenth century it was a merchant economy with its trade reaching to China, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, South America, and Africa. After the War of 1812, American trade with England was cut off once more, permanently eradicating the country's most important trading partner. At that point, Bostonians began the industrial revolution in the U.S. with Francis Cabot Lowell, a wealthy merchant who visited England and memorized the design for machinery and the layout of mills. When returning to Boston he opened with Nathaniel Appleton the first textile mills in the country while speculating for their profitability. During the 1830s and 1840s wealthy businessmen privately financed the construction of railroads which connected the city to the suburbs and to other distant cities such as Providence and Worcester. At that time, it was common for local taxpayers and wealthy donors to pay for the city's developments whose programs were based on local needs. Urbanization, being a direct result of the Industrial Revolution in the United States, led to the building of factories in the heart of the cities offering central location for resources and workers [Krueckeberg, 1983].

As early as 1859, Boston was a city which supported intellectual accomplishments. That year, the government passed an ordinance indicating certain areas to be reserved for later educational or cultural developments. Two years later, the first buildings of MIT were constructed on Boylston Street in the new area of Back Bay which was completely filled in by the late 1880s [Menino & Maloney,
In the period between 1880 and 1940, Boston's civic development focused on waste management, traffic congestion, water refinement, and slum clearance. In other words, the problems Boston faced at that time were similar to the ones of Paris half a century ago, however were not confronted with an analogous strong urban gesture. The first step of the government, in response to the building of central park in New York in 1850, was the design of an interconnected park system. Between 1870 and 1880, the committee of Boston in charge of parks finally developed a scheme for the Boston Park System. They envisioned a continuous wave of parkland and they commissioned Frederick Law Olmsted, to design it. His finalized scheme is known as the “Boston's Emerald Necklace” (figure 4.15) and is consisted by The Boston Public Garden, the Commons, Commonwealth Avenue, the Back Bay Fens, the Riverway, Olmsted Park, Jamaica Park, Arnold Arboretum, and Franklin Park [Zaitzevsky, 1982].

However, the participation of the private capital in public works contracted after the Civil War. The government, after the fire of 1872 which destroyed most of the downtown, failed to undertake big urban projects similar to the European ones due to the lack of capital and the lack of private investors’ support. Another reason that differentiated Boston’s urban development to the European ones was the fact that the city was expanding its surface through the fillings, whereas in Europe, cities were reorganizing the urban environment within the same geographical limits. Therefore, the most important civic attempts in Boston were the fillings and their layout, and the construction of infrastructure and amenities for new suburban lands annexed to the city. Figures 4.16 and 4.17 illustrate Boston's actual plan and civic structure in 1772 while figures 4.18 to 4.21 illustrate Boston's actual plan and civic structure in 1814 and 1880.
U.S. in the nineteenth and mid-twentieth century

From the diagrams we notice that the city's geography had drastically changed. We also notice that a grid system is used for the new filling areas. The new city plan was envisioned as a matrix for the subdivision of land and hence, it was open and non-centric in its form. Ironically, such open plans which could have been associated to social homogeneity were to accommodate a sealed society. Unintentionally perhaps, the American urban developments of the time, gave to the nation an advance toward the construction of urban structures for open
societies. There were hardly any Versailles or Louvres on the American urban form. Nevertheless, apart from the city’s expansion, Boston’s civic attempts were much more subtle compared to the strong urban gestures of Haussmann or even Nash. In the period after 1890, the city assumed a regulating role in directing urban development by placing height limitations and establishing the first zoning act in 1924, a regulation that attempted to keep things as they were. Zoning was, and unfortunately still is, a device for controlling land-use in the city. Its purpose is to separate mutually exclusive uses, such as residence and industry, but in reality it is commonly used to manipulate land value and to support privilege. Especially the first appearance of zoning is recognized to be counter productive, since it restrained urban designs which considered the city as a whole and not an assembly of different activities [Woods, 1975].

Researchers have argued that the depression of 1921 led to the emptying of Boston and the massive move to the suburbs [Krieger et al, 2001]. However, the city’s population peaked in 1950, in the post-Second World War period, while from then on started to decline. Its peak in mid-twentieth century leads us to conclude that the depression of 1921 stimulated only a certain migration to the suburbs, mainly of the upper class, while human activity in the inner city kept increasing. This becomes clearer from the mapping of the coffee shops of Boston from 1900 to 1940.

*Urban coffee shops in Boston*

In 1917 and after the First World War, the government passed the eighteenth amendment to the constitution which prohibited the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages in the United States. People in the coffee industry became optimistic, as one roaster said: “I believe that there are great possibilities in coffeehouses succeeding the saloon as a community center” [Pendergrast, 1999]. Thus, the 1920s was the decade of the emergence of the coffee shop in the U.S. Prohibition, encouraging publicity, and a public willing to socialize, resulted to the opening of coffeehouses in major U.S. cities. Coffee became a part of the *jazz age.* In 1928, Alice Foote MacDougall [1928], the most famous New York coffee shop owner, published her autobiography. She had started with a twelve-by-sixteen-foot space coffee shop in Grand Central Station, while in 1922 she opened another coffeehouse again narrow, long, and eighteen feet high. By the time she published her book in 1928, MacDougall’s coffeehouses employed seven hundred people and
served six thousand customers daily.

Figures 4.22 to 4.25 illustrate the civic structure of Boston and the location of the coffee shops from 1900 to 1940. Their location is based on old business city directories. However, city directories at that time did not include a separate business category for coffee shops, so the latter were classified under restaurants. Therefore, I have mapped all establishments under restaurants that contained in their name the
words coffee, café or cafeteria. This obviously fails to include coffee shops whose names did not consist of the abovementioned words. This fact might have been one of the reasons that few coffee shops appear in the 1900s diagram. In any case, since the method is consistent comparisons can be drawn.

One can notice that until the 1930s the coffee shop as a sole establishment was not popular in Boston. In the U.S. by then, people were probably drinking coffee at home, in taverns, restaurants or bars. While coffee consumption was high, so were the national direct coffee sales to consumers. The idea of an institution for coffee started to appear in the late 1920s. Indeed, in 1920 one could only find eleven coffee shops in Boston, while ten years later they had increased to sixty-three. Similarly to Europe, one can argue that the American coffee shops were found on the civic structure of the city. This becomes more obvious by the coffee shop density diagrams which I will call CDD. By creating a script in matlab, an integrated technical computing environment that combines numeric computation, advanced graphics, and a high-level programming, I mapped the CDD of Boston in each period. The script also allows people to detect the density of a specific location, thus creating the opportunity to identify potential attractive market locations. Furthermore, the absolute minimum and maximum CDD number can become a comparative tool between different periods since it represents the concentration of establishments in a given space relative to their total number (Appendix, 1.3).

Figures 4.26 to 4.28 illustrate the CDD from 1920 to 1940. In 1920, three clusters start to appear and in 1930 the higher density becomes visible in the downtown area. One decade later, the coffee shops are densely located and their peak appears in the area under the Boston Common close to the Park Square. The CDD number from 1920 to 1940 changes from a maximum of to 0.3 in 1920, to 1.6 in 1930,
and to 1.5 in 1940. Therefore, in 1930 we get the highest density of coffee shops whereas in 1940 we get the denser area spread. But what does that mean for the urban environment of the city? In the next chapter I will argue that coffee shops can actually map the most active parts of the civic structure of a city. In that case, in 1930 the activity was concentrated in downtown whereas in 1940 the city’s activity equally spread from downtown to Massachusetts Avenue.
The Urban Coffee Shop

The expansion of Boston, the appearance of the grid, and the construction of roads were later supported by the emergence of coffee shops on streets. From the diagrams, it is clear that coffee shops are lined on streets specifically on Washington Street, Huntington Avenue, Columbus Street, and Massachusetts Avenue. In the downtown, major clusters are formed around Park Square and Haymarket Square. Last, after 1930 coffee shops spread to the whole civic structure of the city.

To summarize, in the nineteenth and mid-twentieth century America there was a connection between the economic, political, and social situation, the urban form and the coffee shops. In the beginning of the century, urban developments were focused on the expansion of the cities and were supported by private capital. When capitalism and individuality started to become evident, coupled with a general economic depression, the urban developments were of smaller scales and without the participation of the private sector. When the cities expanded the coffee shops increased in number and were found on the new civic structure both on squares and streets. However, it was only after the 1920s when the coffee shop as an institution appeared in America. In order to realize its urban significance one should focus on the following thirty years from 1950 to 1980 when important civic attempts took place in the U.S.
Chapter Five

From the eighteenth until the mid-twentieth century the coffee shop was flourishing around the world. An increasing number of different coffee shop typologies proved people's appeal towards coffee. The foggy Arab coffee shops, the dirty, crowded, and smelly coffee shops of London, the sidewalk cafés of Paris, and the Viennese coffee-houses had all one thing in common: their urban and public character. In the U.S. people had developed a strong desire for coffee while its institution, the coffee shop, different in character than its European counterpart, had become a part of the everyday life. Even the depression and the two World Wars did not destroy the already socially embedded coffee interest. However, in the period between 1950 and late 1980s the urban coffee shop declined in the U.S. Numerous coffee shops closed down or relocated. Nevertheless, today the urban coffee shop has re-emerged. A strong coffee culture has reappeared while young Americans have added words like latte, cappuccino, and macchiato to their vocabulary. In this chapter the reasons behind the drastic decline, and later emergence of the coffee shop, are analyzed.

The United States in the period between 1950 and 1980

In the fall of 1929, America experienced one of the worst stock market crashes in history. On Black Tuesday traders sold off 16,400,000 shares of stock resulting to a total market loss of about twelve percent. The price of coffee tumbled from 22.5 cents a pound in 1929 to 8 cents two years later. Following the crash, the U.S. started to decline and fell into a deep depression. Companies, banks, and factories bankrupted and by the next decade more than eight million Americans were out of work. When Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected as president promising a “new deal” to the “forgotten man”, the nation started to recover. The Home Owners Loan Corporation, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and the National Recovery Administration were a series of legislation passed by the government that attempted to relief, recover and reform the country. The legislation principally extended federal authority in banking, agriculture, and public welfare while it instituted minimum standards for wages and hours on the
The Urban Coffee Shop

job. Later, the outbreak of Second World War transformed the nation's economy. Previous substantial unemployment waned and the Great Depression gave its way to the global effort to defeat the Axis powers of Japan, Germany and Italy [Conte & Karr, 1981]. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, coffee went to war again. U.S. army demanded 140,000 bags a month to please the 32.5 pound annual per-capita military addiction. War journalists of the time stated that “Coffee is no luxury drink. It is essential in warfare” [Pendergrast, 1999].

The Second World War boosted the American economy and accelerated developments in industry, aviation, medicine, electronics and atomic energy. The GDP before the war in 1940 was one-hundred billion dollars while by 1960 it had reached five-hundred billion (Appendix, 1.4). Post war America was enjoying supreme economic security. At that time, the “baby boom”, the increase in postwar births, generated more consumers and enlarged the middle class. The end of the war was accompanied with the Marshall Plan, an American economic aid to European countries destroyed by the war. The Plan worked both ways since by helping the cities to rebuild themselves it created new markets for American goods. During the 1950s, businesses started to merge and create gigantic corporations whereas manufacturing gave its way to an emerging business sector: the services. By 1956, most U.S. workers held white-collar rather than blue-collar jobs. While services thrived, agriculture declined. U.S. farms employed almost eight million workers in 1947, whereas by 1998 the number had declined by fifty-six percent. In the decades of 1960s and 1970s national expenditure rose severely because of military spending in Vietnam, health care for the elders, food stamps, and a series of education schemes (Appendix, 1.5). Coupled with an oil embargo in 1973-1974 inflation increased resulting to high unemployment. Federal budget deficits deepened and the stock market dropped while foreign competition rose. Stagflation was the characteristic of the following years. Businesses were inactive while inflation kept growing along with unemployment. Furthermore, government’s borrowing peaked resulting to higher interest rates and high costs for consumers. To make matters worse, in 1979 and under the presidency of Jimmy Carter (1977-1981) the Federal Reserve Board imposed controls on money supply causing interest rates to rise even higher. Consequently, consumers spent less while business borrowing decelerated. By 1983, the recession came to an end, inflation reduced, and the United States began a continuous period of economic growth. President Ronald Reagan (1981-
The United States in the period between 1950 and 1980

1989) cut taxes, but also razed social programs and pushed for large increases in defense spending. From seventy-four billion dollars in 1980, the federal budget deficit rose to two-hundred-twenty billion in 1986 (Appendix, 1.5).

After the Second World War, Harry Truman was elected as President of the U.S. in 1948. He announced the Truman Doctrine which aimed at supporting governments resisting communism and he initiated the Marshall Plan for rebuilding war-torn Europe. His agenda was consisted by a social and economic program that he called the Fair Deal. Congress was to expand programs in the areas of economic security, conservation, and housing adding to the previous Roosevelt's initiatives in civil rights, national health insurance, federal aid to education, and agriculture subsides [U.S. Department of State, 1990]. At that time, social culture by experiencing a post-war shock was desperate for a reassuring planned order. However, a group of American writers and artists formed what is known as the beat generation, a generation that rejected conventional social values for spontaneity, communal living, psychedelic drugs, and anarchism. It was a youth subculture which would later influence the broader and more profound social revolution of the 1960s. Leading members of the beat generation like Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg were heavily influenced by the action paintings of Jackson Pollock and the other abstract expressionists who rejected conventionality. The beat generation's work was characterized by a crude, improvisational quality, and an attempt to liberate poetry from formality and plot. Poetry was taken out of the classrooms and into non-academic settings such as coffee houses, jazz clubs, and public auditoriums [Raskin, 2004]. The 1950s are well-known in North American history as a time of both compliance and rebellion. Compliance, because social “perfection” was promoted with two parent families in which the father worked in industry and the mother remained home as a homemaker; and rebellion, because of the emergence of the beat generation, rock and roll music, and rebel icons in motion pictures such as James Dean and Marlon Brandon. Promotion of social ideals was achieved by a new technological invention that had invaded most American households: television. In 1950, consumers were buying two-hundred-fifty thousand sets a month, and by 1960 more than three-quarters of American families possessed at least one set (Appendix, 1.6) [U.S. Department of State, 1990]. In 1945, Achille Gaggia invented
the first commercial espresso machine in Italy, Milan. His product was acquired by a number of Italian restaurants in New York and other major American cities, while by the 1950s, the Italian espresso trend had triggered the growth of the urban coffee shop. Espressos however, which one could find in bohemian coffee shops around the world, did not attract most U.S. consumers. In their majority, Americans frequented local coffee shops which served a regular cuppa joe, often accompanied with burgers and fries. These establishments decorated with plastic, chrome, and neon lights fitted the automobile culture while they had names (totally un-Italian) such as Ship’s, Chip’s, Goggie’s, and Biff’s [Pendergrast, 1999].

The election of 1960 appointed the Democrat John F. Kennedy president of the U.S. who confronted two important foreign crises: the Bay of Pigs fiasco in Cuba, and the Cuban Missile Crisis which brought the U.S. and the Soviet Union closer to nuclear war than ever. In November 22, 1963 Kennedy was assassinated and his successor Lyndon B. Johnson took office aiming to implement the measures that Kennedy had wanted. Johnson’s priority was to enact bills to reduce taxes and guarantee civil rights. In 1964, he launched the Civil Rights Act, which was the most comprehensive piece of civil rights legislation passed since Reconstruction. The origins of the civil rights movement were found in Truman’s presidency (1945-1953). Truman had passed an order excluding discrimination in federal employment and he had pushed for equal treatment in the army by building a committee whose primarily focus was to end military segregation. Johnson intended to stop the progress of communism in South Vietnam and on August 7, 1964 Congress approved the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which authorized the open involvement of the United States in the Vietnam War. In November of that year, Johnson commenced a policy of escalation which dictated twenty-five thousand soldiers sent in Vietnam in 1965 to rise to five-hundred thousand in 1968. Shortly, public protests and discontent with the U.S. war policy and the lack of a specific strategy for ending the war forced the president to begin negotiating for peace. By the late 1960s a number of coffee shops opened around army bases as venues for antimilitary GIs (enlisted people in or veterans of any of the U.S. armed forces). GI coffeehouses were in several cases attacked by arsonists or the Ku Klux Klan. From their first appearance coffee shops had been meeting places for political literature and revolt against authority. Coffee shops encouraged opposition against Charles II of England, the French monarchy, and other colonial masters. Now, anti-war GI
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coffeehouses resisted to the L. B. Johnson's policy and later to Richard Nixon's. The authorities attempted to shut them down through threats and legislative tricks. The establishments which were able to survive from governmental pressures and attacks disappeared in time [Pendergrast, 1999].

The general public dissatisfaction led to the win of the election of 1968 by Republican Richard Nixon whose agenda focused on "law and order". Nixon however, intended to continue the war in Vietnam and end it with honor despite the uproar in colleges and universities. Cambodia was invaded to cut off the supplies of the Viet Congs and peace talks were initiated. In the 1972 election, Nixon's Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, stated that "Peace is at Hand" resulting to Nixon's re-election. It was only one year later when the Vietnam War came to an end with the U.S. signing the Paris Peace Accords. Meanwhile, the government's commitment to civil rights reduced under Nixon's presidency. The Watergate scandal forced Nixon to resign in 1974 and put Gerald R. Ford to office to be succeeded by Jimmy Carter in the election of 1976. At that point the country was in the worst recession since the 1930s, with inflation and unemployment at record levels. In 1980, Republican Ronald Reagan took office with a conservative agenda.

Three were the most important theories which affected the urban form of the twentieth century: Garden Cities, Modernism and Postmodernism. Howard's Garden City had been introduced in an earlier period, specifically in the late nineteenth century. Ebenezer Howard in his book "To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform" developed a theory for a new type of planned city, which he called the Garden City. Garden cities were combining both the spaciousness of the countryside and the comforts of the town (figure 5.1). Individual houses with gardens were mixed with large open spaces and parks to create a low density community with plenty of air and light. His idea came in response to the late nineteenth century city slums and supported the creation of cities where inhabitants would have an economic interest in the town, which would be independent and run by its citizens. In England, Howard's [1946] ideas proved appealing, and in 1905 Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker drafted the plans of the first garden city: Letchworth. Garden cities, being self contained communities of predetermined area and population, were against metropolitan sprawl. Soon, Howard's model was applied to create
other garden cities and “new towns” in Great Britain and elsewhere. However, the idealistic garden city concept did not succeed since local industries proved unable to provide employment for the city’s inhabitants, many of whom were obliged to commute to work in other centers. In the U.S. the concept of the garden city resulted in residential suburbs of privately owned homes.

Modernism is probably the most significant architectural movement in history and has influenced numerous architects until today, however its planning application is generally considered unsuccessful. Modernism in both architecture and urbanism rejected traditional forms whereas Postmodernism, being a reaction to Modernism, highlighted the importance of history and tradition. Modernism first appeared in the late nineteenth century but found its extensive expression after the Second World War. This school of thought for planning came in reaction to the industrial cities of the nineteenth century proposing to reduce extremes of industrial capitalism and promoting utopian ideas for a future in which social problems would be restrained [Beauregard, 1989]. Modernist urban planning was associated with the emergence and expansion of the automobile (“fordist” city). Its practice involves the fragmentation of any part of a territory into single monofunctional zones. As a result circulation becomes the main activity of the society. The process of modernist planning was based on uniformity, functionalism and abstraction. Modernist urban planning tool to regulate circulation and monofunctionality is the functional zoning which eventually becomes the principal cause for loss of time, and wastage of energy and land [Krier, 1987]. Uniformity of use is illustrated by modernist planning models such as the Central Business District, the commercial strip, the office park, and the residential suburb.

On the other hand, Postmodernist planning can generally be described
as "post-fordism" and can be characterized by the appearance of new technology industries such as computing. Postmodernism has a pessimistic approach to the existent extreme fragmentation arguing that collective action is no longer possible. However, it also has an optimistic proposition by emphasizing the benefits of diversity and opening up the planning process in a way which is typically denied by an emphasis on technical rationality [Goodchild, 1990]. Postmodernism is generally considered more efficient in urban planning. In this case, the good city provides all urban functions within an agreeable walking distance. It is a traditional city, economical in the use of time, energy, and land, and by nature ecological. Its planning purpose is based on the proximity of the most possible variety of private and public uses [Krier, 1987]. In traditional cultures invention, innovation and discovery are a means to improve planning and systems of thinking, whereas in modernist cultures they are ends themselves [Krier, 1987].

To summarize, post-war America until the 1980s faced numerous economic and social problems. Even though the Second World War boosted the economy and dragged the country out of the Great Depression, in the following years inflation and unemployment were prominent. In the social spectrum, the fight against segregation and racial discrimination was initiated in the 1960s and gradually gained popularity. The participation of the U.S. in the Vietnam War provoked a series of protests by students and people who had built up social consciousness. At that time, a number of coffee shops, as previously in history, became hotbeds for resistance to political strategies. The country's labor force had drastically changed from industrial workers to employees in the service sector. The Garden City and Modernism, theories that affected the urban form of the time, were focused on low densities by a prodigal consumption of land, and on privately owned homes in new, green, and full of air and light communities. Postmodernism came late, in reaction to the fragmentation of the city. The result of such framework in the urban form of the American city is more than obvious. Until the 1980s the cities were declining while another urban phenomenon was flourishing: suburbia.
In the decades between 1950 and 1980 an American phenomenon resulted by and affected both the economy and the social structure of the nation: suburban growth. The suburbs were under the spotlight of the government, of the real estate market, and of Americans who dreamed of a private home and a safe and peaceful life. Figure 5.2 shows a comparison between the urban and rural population in Europe and the U.S. From 1950 to 1980 in both continents the urban population was declining; however in the U.S. the rural population was significantly rising. Thus, people in the U.S. were moving out from the cities and in to rural areas which will later become prominent suburbs.

Before 1950 and between the two World Wars, two extremes existed in the U.S., the realists and the idealists. The former created professional organizations and institutionalized the planning process. Their tools were zoning and the master plan. The idealists were experimenting with utopian ideas about cities. Their first product was the plan of Radburn, a new town for the motor age [Krueckeberg, 1983]. From 1933 to 1944 a series of experiments and different planning methods were applied to a number of American cities with an emphasis not on the physical design but on the planning process. The Second World War diverted the national resources so the needed capital to ameliorate decayed cities was not available. The major urban concerns at the time were the improvement of housing of slum dwellers and the redevelopment of the commercial cores of the cities. The American Institute of Planning was initiated and grew fast the following forty years. However, planning after the War was destined to change the character of the cities. Four major federal programs were launched: public housing, urban renewal, home mortgage insurance,
and highway building [Krueckeberg, 1983]. Public housing was a national policy since 1937 but it was not sufficient to meet housing demands, whereas urban renewal, being part of the Housing Act of 1949, intended to ameliorate the quality of downtown housing. The effects of home mortgage insurance programs were much more evident than the effects of the two previous federal programs since it facilitated the substantial growth of the suburbs. However, the most important of all four acts was the Interstate Highway System created by the Highway Act of 1956. The capital expenditure for highway building reached two billion dollars and resulted to a critical transformation of the metropolis. The act generated the growth of suburbia and the displacement of usually poor city residents because of the demolition of their houses found on the highway’s pathway.

Suburbia is probably one of the most discussed and written subjects in urbanism today because of its peak in mid-twentieth century and its debatable forecast in the twenty-first century. The growth of suburbs has serious consequences to the economic and social structure of cities, and to the quality of urban life. Suburbia surely poses a number of challenges to policy makers and planners of today, thus creating two opposite cliques: the supporters of the suburbs and the “American Dream” and the supporters of urban city life. Since the Second World War North Americans created a dream, the American Dream, through their interest and investment in the suburbs. Suburbia promised a sense of place and community, affordability, family and mobility. In the past fifty years, suburban growth skyrocketed mainly because of the extensive production and use of the automobile. In the U.S. in 1990, ”two-thirds of all dwellings consisted of a single family living in a single dwelling surrounded by an ornamental lawn” [Jackson, 1995]. Historically, the upper and middle class lived in the center of the cities, close to the central business district. For a number of social and political reasons - the American dream, the interstate highways, and the out-migration of manufacturing - the upper and middle class began to leave the central cities in the post-war period. Their out-migration caused the decline of property values which in turn reduced city tax revenues. Thus, the city was forced to increase tax rates resulting to a more massive flight to the suburbs [Hoffman, 1997]. Figure 5.3 demonstrates that the percentage of both residences and jobs in metropolitan statistical areas (MSA) has decreased since the Second World War [Mieszkowski & Mills, 1993].
American suburbs started as bedroom communities but gradually expanded to include retail, office and manufacturing. Joel Garreau [1991] argues that in the decades after the Second World War the suburbs were solely residential while Americans commuted everyday to the city to work. In the 1960s and 1970s, the malling of America moved retail and commerce to the suburbs, where people already lived, and in the 1990s, the “edge city” appeared when the means of creating wealth, employment, migrated to the suburbs as well. The growth of edge cities indicates an absolute alteration of the spatial formation of post-war American life. Another factor which boosted suburbanization is the media. Television which had invaded the American household by the mid-twentieth century promoted a suburban way of living. Shows like Leave it to Beaver and Father Knows Best were taking place in imaginary suburbs depicting joyful and successful white family life.

The results of suburbia are numerous but not a primary interest of this thesis. In brief, until the late 1980s, the increase of suburbia was associated with the decline of the city. However, one should acknowledge that suburbs were not the only reason to depopulate the central cities. Furthermore, suburbanization redefined open space. In the central city, open spaces were public spaces such as urban parks and squares, whereas in the suburbs open space became privately owned. The American dream appeared to be associated with privatization of previously public spaces.

The future of the suburbs is debatable. Mike Davis [1994] argues that “across the nation, hundreds of aging suburbs are trapped in the same downward spiral – from garden city to crabgrass slum. It is this silent but pervasive crisis that dominates the political middle landscape”. The revitalization of the declining inner suburbs and the control of sprawl are part of the agenda of New Urbanists. Their agenda is critical to bedroom communities and tries to control suburban sprawl by bringing in strict zoning, cross-boundary revenue sharing, and the creation of urban growth boundaries [Kotkin, 2001]. What had never been attempted for the
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cities is now happening for suburbia. However, the results are similar. Housing costs rise and people migrate further out. Out-migration has become uncontrollable to the same degree the core urban cities experienced fifty years ago. Furthermore, a number of people argue that we are approaching a critical era, as global demand for fossil fuels begins to outstrip supply. In that case what will happen to the car-dependent suburbs? What does Oil Peak mean for North America? Perhaps it is time to reconsider the American dream.

Coffee shops in Boston: 1950 to 1980

So far we have looked at the economic, social, and political situation, the theories of the time and their impact on the urban form of the post-war America until the 1980s. But, what has happened to the coffee shops in that period? The coffee shop analysis will be focused on Boston.

The city of Boston had followed a similar path to the other American cities. In the Second World War, the demand for boots, shoes, uniforms, and munitions generated demand for textiles, leather goods, and machinery resulting to the last profitable boost of the manufacturing age. Later, Boston was one of the first American cities where new growing industries appeared such as computing and electronics. Just as factories and mills had led the way in the 1820s and 1830s, electronics were leading the way in the mid-twentieth century. By 1970, Boston had completed its shift to a service based economy with high concentrations of professional service and finance jobs (table 5.4). Figure 5.5 illustrates the population of Boston from 1790 to 2000. The population peaked in 1950 reaching eight-hundred thousand people whereas in the decades between 1950 and 1980 the urban population plunged thirty percent.


<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White-Collar</td>
<td>126,471</td>
<td>146,657</td>
<td>154,456</td>
<td>191,251</td>
<td>197,049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manag, Profess &amp; Rel.</td>
<td>49,080</td>
<td>59,929</td>
<td>77,217</td>
<td>107,206</td>
<td>123,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales and Office</td>
<td>77,391</td>
<td>86,728</td>
<td>77,239</td>
<td>84,045</td>
<td>73,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue-Collar and Service</td>
<td>134,610</td>
<td>119,848</td>
<td>101,561</td>
<td>97,453</td>
<td>84,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constr, Extract, Maint.</td>
<td>32,398</td>
<td>27,157</td>
<td>19,772</td>
<td>18,453</td>
<td>14,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product, Transp &amp; Rel.</td>
<td>52,175</td>
<td>36,695</td>
<td>24,825</td>
<td>19,971</td>
<td>23,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service and Farm &amp; Fishing</td>
<td>50,037</td>
<td>55,996</td>
<td>56,964</td>
<td>59,029</td>
<td>51,062</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not reported</td>
<td>27,115</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>288,196</td>
<td>266,505</td>
<td>256,017</td>
<td>288,704</td>
<td>285,859</td>
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Figure 5.6 illustrates the urban coffee shops of Boston in 1950. By comparing this diagram to figure 4.25 it is noticeable that the coffee shops in the city had increased in number since 1940. The invention of the espresso machine and the return of coffee addicted soldiers from the Second World War, were definitely important reasons for that expansion. At this point however, I should clarify that the mapping of coffee shops of the city of Boston includes all types of establishments and not just the ones that have a more public character. This thesis is trying to make a statement that coffee shops can be a form of public space. However, not all coffee shops acquire the six characteristics of chapter one which will eventually make them a form of public space. In 1950, the coffee shops are once more found in majority on the civic structure of the city. Four clusters are formed in the downtown area around Scollay Square. The rest of the coffee shops are found on major civic streets such as Massachusetts Avenue, Washington Street, Huntington Avenue, Columbus Avenue and Tremont Street (figure 5.7). In total, the number of the coffee shops and their civic location confess the high urbanity of the city at that time. Indeed, if a way of measuring urban success is population growth, in the 1950s Boston’s population had peaked.
Figure 5.6 Civic structure of Boston and coffee shop locations in 1950. Source: Author.

Figure 5.7 Graphic analysis of the coffee shops' locations in 1950. Source: Author.

Figure 5.8 illustrates the location of the urban coffee shops in 1970 whereas figure 5.9 illustrates their location in 1980. It is clear from the diagrams that the coffee shops decreased in number in 1970 and almost disappeared in 1980. At that point, the remaining urban coffee shops did not form a concrete structure. One can argue that they were still found on the physical civic structure of the city, however, resembled remnants of an older period. The previous central composition of the coffee shops with a number of clusters downtown and strong axial lines dispersing to the rest of the city was not evident anymore. In 1980, two small clusters were formed around the Boston Common and a couple of cracked linear connections were found on the traces of the previous coffee shop locations.
Figures 5.10 to 5.12 depict the CDD of Boston from 1950 to 1980. In 1950, the absolute density number increased to 1.6 whereas in 1970 it fell to 1.4 and in 1980 to 0.7. However, it is interesting to note that in the CDDs the location and the density spread of the coffee shops is similar in the three periods. Even though coffee shops decreased both in number and density, their macro structure remained the same. The highest density was in the downtown area and gradually faded to the south-west. Therefore, it is safe to argue that albeit their decline coffee shops were still found on the civic structure of the city. But, which are the reasons behind the decline of the urban coffee shop in the period between 1950 and 1980? To answer the question, I will use a speculative trial and error method which will touch upon the economic, social and urban situation of Boston at the time.
The United States in the period between 1950 and 1980

Figure 5.10  CDD of Boston in 1950. Maximum density is 1.6. Source: Author.

Figure 5.11  CDD of Boston in 1970. Maximum density is 1.4. Source: Author.

Figure 5.12  CDD of Boston in 1980. Maximum density is 0.7. Source: Author.
The Urban Coffee Shop

Primary, a factor that might have affected the coffee shop decline might have been the high price of coffee. Figure 5.13 depicts the fluctuation of the price of coffee from 1920 to the present day. Indeed, in the period between 1950 and 1980 the price of coffee had risen. However, what had happened to the inflation in the country? Figure 5.14 illustrates the inflation in the U.S. and figure 5.15 compares the inflation to the fluctuation of the coffee price. In the decade between 1940 and 1950 there was a steep rise of the price of coffee compared to inflation, however, in the following decades inflation's growth was extremely higher relative to the one of the price of coffee. Thus, from a pure economic point of view, we could even argue that the price of coffee adjusted for inflation decreased in that thirty-year old period. Another fact related to the coffee shop industry which might have affected

![Figure 5.13 Price of coffee from 1920 to 2003.](image1)

![Figure 5.14 Inflation in the U.S. from 1920 to 2003.](image2)
The coffee shop's decline could have been the decrease in per capita consumption caused by extraneous factors. Figure 5.16 illustrates the total use and supply of coffee in the U.S. and figure 5.17 illustrates the per capita consumption of coffee. While, the supply and use for that period remained practically constant, the per capita consumption declined. During the late 1950s the American coffee industry arrived in an "in denial" period. At that point, the U.S. was experiencing the "baby boom" which coupled with the appearance of the colas in the food and beverage market created a new group of consumers and consequently high competition to the already established coffee market. Young consumers were more attracted to colas than coffee which was associated to an adult beverage and signified a change in lifestyle from a young and untroubled existence to a "boring" businessman and housewife ideal. An editorial in the Tea & Coffee Trade Journal in 1965 summarized the problem:

"Coffee has been engaged in a tough competitive struggle for a great many years and it has been losing that fight for at least a decade. Now, for the first time, the extent of the loss is becoming measurable and there is no reason to believe that the tide of the battle is about to turn" [Pendergrast, 1999].

However, a question remains unanswered: was it the descent of the interest in coffee that resulted to the decline of the coffee shop or vise versa? One thing is certain: the decline of the coffee shops was a national phenomenon. Figure 5.18 shows that the number of cafeterias in the U.S. was falling between 1970 and 1990.
Another speculation for the decline of the coffee shop could have been its possible correlation to the national economy. In other words, if the economy had been undergoing a recession, the existence of the coffee shop and the practice of coffee drinking could have been considered as useless luxury. Indeed, as it has been mentioned, in the period between 1970 and 1980 the country was in the worst recession since the 1930s. Paradoxically, the GDP was growing (Appendix, 1.4) and retail was booming (figure 5.19). From 1950 to 1980 the total retail sales in the U.S. rose exponentially from almost two-hundred billion to one trillion dollars. Therefore, it is not clear whether the recession had an effect on coffee shops since it did not have any impact on other possible luxuries such as retail.
The United States in the period between 1950 and 1980

Furthermore, in the social framework, coffee shops had always been associated to political conversation. In this case, the speculation that lower political interest could have accelerated the downturn of the coffee shops is turned out false because the political interest in the U.S. had remained stable in the study period. Figure 5.20 demonstrates the national political interest by plotting U.S. voters as a percentage of the total national population. In 1950, thirty-two percent of the total population confronted the ballot-box whereas in 1980 the percentage had risen to thirty-five. Nevertheless, in both cases the percentage as an absolute number was low; hence, political interest was in general small. This was one of the main reasons that caused the change of the character of the coffee shop in the twentieth century. The lack of political interest led to the deterioration of coffee shop discussion, a major characteristic of coffee shops by then. In addition, another factor that might have influenced the coffee shop's decline could have been the distribution of personal expenditures. While the total personal consumption expenditures rose eight-hundred percent in that period (Appendix, 1.6), their distribution changed emphasizing medical care, personal care, housing, personal business, and recreation, and minimizing expenditures for food and clothing. The fact that people spent more for housing and less for food meant that Americans stayed more at home when they were not at work. It was the time where the two stop model – home and work – was thriving alienating citizens from each other. In this, television was...
a catalyst, since by the 1960s everyone in America watched television an average of six hours a day. To summarize, the possible national economic and social factors to impact the decline of the urban coffee shop were the general decline of per capita coffee consumption, the fact that people were constantly building up a two stop model leaving no room for any kind of “third place”, and the generally low political interest. However, since coffee shops had always a strong civic presence, one should analyze possible changes of the urban environment that might have affected their decline.

The most obvious urban change that definitely had an impact on coffee shops was suburbanization. Boston was a declining city since most of its residents had left for the suburbs. The urban coffee shop was substituted by its suburban counterpart. A new coffee shop typology appeared in the suburbs which served the automobile culture (figures 5.21 and 5.22).

Figure 5.21 An interior view of the suburban coffee shop model. Source: http://www.ronsaari.com/stockImages/googie/pannsInterior1.php

Figure 5.22 A typical example of a suburban coffee shop. Source: http://www.ronsaari.com/stockImages/googie/parasol.php
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Figure 5.23 shows the Boston's share of the area's population. By comparing figure 5.23 with figure 5.5 it becomes clear that in the period between 1950 and 1980 the city confronted a massive flight of residents while at the same time the area's suburbs were growing fast. Indeed, by comparing the manufacturing, retail and services of the central city of Boston to its suburbs we notice the following: manufacturing, which was nationally declining giving its way to the service sector and later technology, fell from 1967 to 1997 in the city whereas it grew in the decade of 1977-1987 in the suburbs (figure 5.24). Retail in the city dropped eighteen percent in 1967-1977 and reappeared by the late 1980s to fall again in the 1990s (figure 5.25). In contrast, suburban retail growth reached thirty-two percent in 1967-1977 and forty the following decade. This was mainly caused by the appearance of suburban malls which became counterfeit town centers for suburbs where no true physical centre existed. Figure 5.26 illustrates the retail trade in Massachusetts where Suffolk county, the county of the city of Boston, ranks second in 1972, and forth in 1982 and 1992 with eight other counties very close. Finally, the services (figure 5.27) were the only economic factor that experienced growth both in the urban and the suburban setting. However, services' growth in the suburbs doubled that of the city in 1967-1977 while in the following decade it remained much higher.
Figure 5.24 Boston's manufacturing growth from 1967 to 1997.

Figure 5.25 Boston's retail growth from 1967 to 1997.

Figure 5.26 Retail trade in Massachusetts by county for the periods 1972, 1982, and 1992. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, USA counties 1998.

Figure 5.27 Boston's services growth from 1967 to 1997.
The United States in the period between 1950 and 1980

In the following figures the correlations of the urban coffee shops and the city's housing and population are illustrated (figures 5.28 and 5.29). Clearly, urban housing supply was not a variable to the decline of the coffee shop. In contrast population and coffee shop establishments in the city have a high covariance. Figure 5.30 depicts the relation of the coffee shops to the total retail in Massachusetts. It is apparent that when coffee shops declined in the period between 1970 and 1980 the total retail sales in the state rose one-hundred-fifty percent. This fact highlights once more the decay of the central city relative to the prosperity of the total area.

Figure 5.28 Correlation between the urban coffee shops and the city's housing.

Figure 5.29 Correlation between the urban coffee shops and the city's population.

Figure 5.30 Correlation between the urban coffee shops and retail sales in Massachusetts.
The analysis has hitherto focused on macro-scale urban changes and economic, social and political transformations. However, other major civic “improvements” were taking place in the city. New urban developments were shaping the new physical environment. One of the most significant public developments of the time was described by the General Plan for Boston published by the City Planning Department in 1950. The plan was inspired by Martin Wagner’s submission in the Boston Contest, a competition in 1944 for new planning ideas for Boston. Wagner, a pure modernist and student of Walter Gropius, proposed renewal at the expense of first bulldozing most of the city’s downtown. Similarly, the City Planning Department initiated renewal by labeling the West End as an obsolete neighborhood and proposing a new plan where most of the existing urban fabric was to be destroyed (figures 5.31 and 5.32). Figure 5.33
The United States in the period between 1950 and 1980

illustrates the process of the new development and the demolishing of the city in 1964. Part of the urban renewal was the conversion of sixty acres in the heart of the dense downtown into an area for governmental uses. Scollay Square was renamed Government Center while at its core a new brutalist city hall was built. Twenty-one streets were abrogated to create a new site for the Government Center and the formal “Sienna” plaza on which it sat [Krieger et al, 2001]. Furthermore, along with the urban renewal the state Department of Public Works designed and built the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Expressway in 1950, a highway whose pathway crossed downtown Boston. Their revolutionary idea was to construct a “Highway in the Sky” with on and off-ramps that served local destinations. The new artery displaced more than twenty thousand people and demolished more than one thousand structures. Luckily, a second highway, the Inner Belt, which was designed to circle downtown Boston from the South End and Back Bay across the Charles River to Cambridge and Charlestown was never constructed because of public opposition [Massachusetts Turnpike Authority, 2005]. By the end of the twentieth century, the Highway in the Sky became known as the “green monster” and was put underground in the biggest so far program in public works in the history of the U.S. commonly known as the Big Dig. Figure 5.34 shows the civic transformations of the time and the location of coffee shops in 1950. By comparing this diagram to the mapping of coffee shops in 1980 (figure 5.9) one can understand the impact of the civic demolition on coffee shops. In 1980, in the area of civic “improvement” there are no coffee shops. Moreover, the highway seems to have pushed the remaining two coffee shop clusters more to the west. Therefore, the correlation between the civic alterations and the coffee shops is once more especially high. As in the nineteenth century, where the construction of the boulevards attracted the coffee shops, in the mid-twentieth century, the leveling of the heart of the city provoked their later disappearance. This phenomenon was national. In the mid-twentieth century U.S., authorities acquired large chunks of land within the central city for redevelopment to be executed by private enterprise. The main consequence of these urban renewals was the displacement of many specialized retailers who were unable to afford the high rents in the new buildings, eventually leading to the thinning of the socio-cultural role of the city [Whitehand, 2001].
The Urban Coffee Shop

To summarize, Boston's economy was declining, its upper and middle class population was leaving for the suburbs and, above all, its civic environment was confronting bold modernist planning ideas. Coffee shops decreased in number; however their macro-structure remained the same. From the research so far one can argue that the coffee shops’ decline was associated to the city’s decay. Could this association work vice versa? Can the coffee shops map urban success and public activity?

The coffee shop might have public characteristics but at the same time it is a commercial privately-owned business. This means that it would fail if it was to open in areas without a potential market. With that in mind we can safely argue that the specific places where coffee shops are found within the city are the ones where social activity is happening. Thus, coffee shops can actually map the city’s social activity (or public activity), that is, where people are during daytime. By social activity I do not mean social interaction. Social activity is general daily activity, people’s movement within the city. Of course, social interaction is a subgroup of social activity; hence, social interaction is happening in some of the socially active places. This speculation can facilitate the understanding of a city: by mapping coffee shops we can see for example where the popular places of an unknown city are. Especially today, where all business databases are on the internet, it becomes easier and faster to map the coffee shops and discover the “hotspots” of the city than to research or read about them. In 2004, Keyhole Inc. Images, founded in 2001, developed a software called Keyhole which delivers a three-dimensional digital model of the entire earth via the Internet. The software allows people to select other features to overlap the aerial map of a city. One can select the roads of the city, the populated
The United States in the period between 1950 and 1980

places, railroads, subway, schools, hospitals, and among others the coffee shops. Coffee shop databases are powered by google, the biggest internet search engine so far [Keyhole Inc. Images, 2004]. Coming across this software I was astonished for two reasons: first, because the mapping of coffee shops was achieved with a simple mouse click and second because of the fact that coffee shops were one of the features one could choose, meaning that someone had realized their importance as civic spaces in the city.

However, counterarguments and questions emerge when stating that coffee shops can map social activity: is it only the coffee shops that can map the city’s social activity or other commercial uses can achieve it as well? And, is it the coffee shop that attracts activity or is it people that attract the coffee shop? To answer both logical inquiries one should first realize the competitive advantage of coffee shops over any other commercial use. From a pure economic point of view, coffee shops have a competitive advantage over other similar uses, i.e. restaurants, theaters, and fast foods, because they have easier access to the market. By applying Michael Porter’s five forces model, for the coffee shop industry, we get low barriers to entry, low supplier and medium buyer bargaining power, high substitutions, and high rivalry (figure 5.35). Therefore, the industry is attractive but risky since it has high possibility of substitutes, and high rivalry. Restaurants for example, or coffee being considered unhealthy or out of vogue, could be substitutes for coffee shops. Plus, the rivalry is high, meaning that the coffee shop market is competitive since there are numerous owners addressing to the same audience. In the case of the restaurant industry, using the five forces model we get high barriers to entry, low supplier and medium buyer bargaining power, low substitutions and high rivalry (figure 5.36). In this case, the barriers to entry the market are higher, meaning that the initial capital needed to start a restaurant business is high, and certainly much higher than the one needed for the coffee shop business. Therefore, it is clear that coffee shops have a competitive advantage over restaurants and similarly over other alike uses. Consequently, if there is a prime location in the city, coffee shops by “nature” have a head start to occupy the site. However, one should acknowledge that other parameters such as the size of the site are also important in deciding occupancy. This simple economic approach is visible in reality. If you think of almost any important civic building or place you have visited, there is always a coffee shop nearby. The latest and heavily criticized example is the opening of a
Strarbucks in one of the many buildings inside the Forbidden City in Beijing, China. Starbucks is the only Western concession inside the walls of the Forbidden City.

Nevertheless, is it the coffee shop that attracts people or vice versa? In other words, what would happen if coffee shops opened in areas where there is no public activity a priori? The answer is that both coffee shops and people attract each other. However, my argument is not based on the cause but on the result which in both cases is the same: people are found where coffee shops are found. Coffee shops in order to survive as a commercial entity can be located either in areas with activity or they can create activity in areas with appropriate growth potential. In both cases activity and coffee shops are synonymous.

The urban coffee shop re-emerges: 1980 to 2005

While in the period between 1950 and 1980, the urban coffee shops declined, today, they have re-emerged. Figure 5.37 shows the coffee shops of Boston in 2005 and figure 5.38 graphically illustrates their structure. This diagram resembles the one of 1950 when the city was at the threshold of decay. The CDD of 2005 is similar to the previous ones in that the higher density is downtown and it fades away moving to south-west (figure 5.39). The density number in 2005 has peaked to 2.7 meaning that coffee shops have both increased in number and are found closer to each other. Such a high number might even imply a saturated coffee shop market. Nevertheless, one wonders what has caused the re-appearance of the urban coffee shop. Does their return correspond to the revival of the city of Boston? Four are the key factors that might have influenced the re-emergence of the urban coffee shop: primary, the appearance of the new social class of the yuppies and later the “bobos”, furthermore the aggressive corporate strategies of coffee shop chains such as Starbucks, also, the revival of the central city as a place
The urban coffee shop re-emerges: 1980 to 2005

for leisure, entertainment and recreation, and lastly the introduction of Wi-Fi
technology in coffee shops.

Figure 5.37  Civic
structure of Boston and
coffee shop locations in

Figure 5.38  Coffee
shop graphic analysis.
Four clusters are formed
downtown while axial
lines appear on major
streets. Source: Author.

Figure 5.39  CDD
of Boston in 2005.
Maximum density is 2.7.
Source: Author.
The Urban Coffee Shop

In the 1990s the national economy started to climb since the U.S. expanded its trade owing to the fall of the Soviet Union and Eastern European communism ten years earlier. Technology was booming. New electronic products and innovations in telecommunications and computer networking generated an enormous hardware and software industry. Meanwhile, the shift of labor toward the service sector continued. The number of farmers declined, small section of the labor force worked in industry while white-collar jobs multiplied. The economic tools and ideas on how to stabilize the economy had significantly changed from the 1960s. Fiscal policy as a tool for regulating the rate of economic activity gave its way to monetary policy directed by the nation's central bank. From 1991 to 2000, the U.S. economy experienced the longest expansion in history, leading the country to the twenty-first century with an economy that was bigger than ever [Conte & Karr, 1981/ updated by U.S. Department of State].

Following the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, the Republicans were to preside for three consecutive electoral periods until 1992 when Bill Clinton was elected. In the 1980s, addiction to cocaine and other hard drugs reached record levels and President Bush, elected on 1989, declared “war on drugs”. At that time, a new social class emerged: the yuppies. Yuppie stands for young urban professional and describes a new generation of people in their thirties with graduate degrees who usually were employed in the professional sector. Yuppies were the opposite of the 1960s “hippies” who rejected materialistic values and corporate nationalism. The yuppies sought symbolic distinction, so they found an interest in specialty coffee. Their desire was to differentiate themselves from the dullness of mass culture by consuming exotic products which were associated to other apparently more exciting places and times [Rosberry, 1996]. Indeed, in the early 1980s the specialty coffee sales started to increase exponentially (figure 5.40). Furthermore, today a new social class has emerged. David Brooks [2000] calls us bobos which stands for bourgeois bohemians. The previous apparent class distinction between the bourgeoisie and the bohemians is not evident nowadays. On the contrary, the two classes have merged creating highly educated people in search of a meaning in every action. Bobos have become the new urbanites. In New York City for example, during the 1990s, middle class families out-migrated to be replaced by younger better educated people, many of whom regarded the increase of cultural institutions as one of their main reasons for moving in the central city [Kornblum,
1995]. Today, eighty-eight percent of the residents of lower Manhattan are under forty-five years old. Coffee shops were a part of the cultural institutions which the new urbanites supported.

Another factor that might have caused the re-appearance of the urban coffee shop has been the several attempts by city councils to re-establish city centers as foci of social, economic and cultural life. In the 1990s, central cities were experiencing an economic and cultural rebirth. Although they failed to revive as industrial centers or residential cores, many large American cities achieved to develop “knowledge-value industries” such as multimedia, entertainment, graphic arts, design, and high end business services [Kotkin, 1999]. Urban developments of the time focused on the promotion of the city as a place of leisure, culture and spectacle. Waterfronts for example, have been a manifestation of that urban tendency since they have attracted investment particularly in office development. Boston in specific experienced a slight population increase in the 1990s (figure 5.5) which finally ended the thirty-five year long previous vertical population decline. Furthermore, there has been an explosion of housing values, a fact that testifies the high demand for the central city. Adding to the nature of the city as a place with a specific character was the remarkable orientation of Boston towards education. Even though Boston was dominant in higher education for centuries, the enrollment from 1990 to 2000 increased eight percent (figure 5.41) ranking the city first in per capita student enrollment in the U.S. [Boston Redevelopment Authority, 2002]. Students under twenty-one years old who are not allowed in bars or clubs use coffee shops as meeting places in the city. Moreover, the fact that city has become an attractive place is highlighted by the tourist industry and specifically by the hotel market. Figure 5.42 shows that there is an increase in both the occupancy and the room rate since 1992. Boston’s primary industries – financial and professional services, the visitor industry and tourism, health care and education – are what brings people to the city and generate a large demand for hotel rooms.
The Urban Coffee Shop

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Occupancy Rate</th>
<th>Room Rate</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>72.3%</td>
<td>$117.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>75.5%</td>
<td>$120.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>77.0%</td>
<td>$127.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>78.0%</td>
<td>$135.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>79.4%</td>
<td>$145.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>79.6%</td>
<td>$162.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>78.6%</td>
<td>$176.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>74.8%</td>
<td>$188.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>78.6%</td>
<td>$200.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures 5.41 and 5.42
School enrollment from 1990 to 2000 (left) and hotel occupancy since 1992 (right). Source: PKF and Pinnacle A.G.

Obviously another reason for the increase of the urban coffee shops is the aggressive corporate strategy of Starbucks, the fastest growing coffee shop chain in the world. Starbucks by bulling the market has generated both lovers and enemies. Lovers are loyal customers whereas enemies have associated the firm to globalization and ruthless capitalism and question the Starbucks Experience that the marketing department of the company promotes. How did the conglomerate start and what is the relation of the Starbucks experience to the old coffee shops which promoted social interaction?

Gerald Baldwin, Gordon Bowker and Ziev Siegl, three Seattle college students who had traveled together through Europe, met back in Seattle in 1970. Being true gourmet coffee lovers, they decided a year later to start a small, quality roasting business in their hometown. Ziev Siegl traveled to the Bay Area to find Alfred Peet, the pioneer of gourmet coffee in the U.S., and make a deal. Peet was to supply the roasted coffee beans, but also helped for the equipping of the new store. Bowker, Siegl and Baldwin came up with the name “Starbucks” which was used for characters in *Moby Dick* and *The Rainmaker*. By 1972, Starbucks was a success and the trio decided to open another store. In 1982 Howard Schultz, a plastic salesman, joined the company as a member of its marketing team. Two years before, Ziev Siegl had sold out to pursue other interests while by then Starbucks had been the leading roaster in Washington, owning six retail stores. In spring 1983, the company sent Schultz to an international house wares show in Milan, Italy. There, he encountered a strong coffee culture supported by more than one thousand espresso bars. Coming back to Seattle, Schultz urged the partners to consider opening espresso bars in combination to their coffee sales. One year later, the first espresso bar opened in the company’s downtown Seattle Starbucks store, and quickly became a hit. However the partners, Bowker and Baldwin, were apathetic in expanding the espresso bar line, a fact that provoked Schultz’ leaving in
1985 to open his own espresso bar named Il Giornale [Starbucks Corporation, 2004]. In March 1987, Howard Schultz learned that Starbucks was for sale. Within a short period, he convinced local investors to buy the six stores and the roasting plant for $3.8 million. By 1991, there were over one hundred stores in the nation with fifty-seven million dollars in sales (figure 5.43), while the following year Starbucks went public launching its IPO at seventeen dollars per share with a market capitalization of $273 million. By 2002, Starbucks reached sales of $3.28 billion and was ranked in the top one-hundred growing global brands [Starbucks Corporation, 2004].

![Figure 5.43 Starbucks total locations from 1987 to 2005. Source: Starbucks Corporation.](image)

Howard Schultz’s intention was to transplant the concept of the Milan espresso bar to every corner of all city blocks in the world. Cafés in Milan have a sense of community and friendliness that the company aimed for. Schultz was fascinated by the theatrical movements of the baristas, the Italian coffee brewers, who were smoothly preparing coffee while carrying on a conversation with the customer. This was the Starbucks Experience that the CEO of the company desired to bring back to the U.S. and later to the whole world. Each coffee shop was to be a meeting place for locals and friends, or even a work place for people in the neighborhood. Starbucks had to be a destination. According to Schultz the agreeable and enriching Starbucks Experience is central to the company’s strategy. As he stated:

“We certainly don’t ignore product, but it is something we always knew we had and a lot of others didn’t. There’s still a lot of bad coffee out there being consumed. But we built the business through the experience, not through the product. We are definitely a product-driven company and not a marketing driven company, but through the years we’ve become an experience-driven company.” [Schultz, 1999]

Schultz also uses Oldenburg’s theory of third place to argue that Starbucks is a place that supports social interaction. However, a number of sociologists argue that Starbucks is not one of the coffeehouses that Habermas [1989] considered as
venues of discussion and democratic political participation, a part of the “sphere of public opinion”. In other words, Starbucks is not a classic coffeehouse, and consequently does not have the characteristics of one. The sense of the democratic social interaction, an image that the company constantly pushes forward, is strongly debatable. It is interesting to note the way the company markets itself and its Starbucks experience:

“Your Starbucks experience is so much more than just coffees. It is the conversation you have with a friend, a moment of solitude at the end of the day, a quick stop on the way to the movies. And in the tradition of the coffeehouse, it’s also the chance to immerse yourself in eclectic and enduring music while you sip your favorite coffee. [Starbucks, 2000]

The terms coffee shop, coffeehouse and coffee-bar appear in the official Starbucks literature only in the context of social interaction. Even then, the terms never follow the company’s name; hence, one never reads of Starbucks coffeehouses, only of Starbucks stores. Although Habermas highlights the importance of coffee shops in the promotion of political awareness and debate, the marketing expression of today’s American coffee shop chains has a depoliticized, aesthetic focus [Gaudio, 2003]. Starbucks and other similar coffee shops chains (stores) reminisce the old coffeehouse as a gathering place for intellectuals, artists, philosophers and other urban thinkers. However, the old coffeehouse was much more than that. The Starbucks experience is representative of the commercialized aesthetics of the intellectual middle class, what David Ley [1996] classified as “depoliticized appropriation of the postwar counterculture”.

However, it is interesting to note that Starbucks introduced a new coffee shop typology: the long and shallow coffee shop. Even though the company typically aimed for prime real estate locations, under special circumstances and in order to maximize street frontage shallow cafés were occasionally created. They were usually found at places with high pedestrian traffic, such as transit stations and city downtowns (figures 5.44 & 5.45).
The urban coffee shop re-emerges: 1980 to 2005

Figure 5.44 A typical Starbucks store. The aggressive corporate strategy of Starbucks has contributed to the re-emergence of the urban coffee shop.

Figure 5.45 Long and shallow coffee shop type. This type appears only under special circumstances and usually in places with high pedestrian traffic. Source: Author.

Starbucks has demonstrated astonishing business know-how in choosing its locations. Their model has five key inputs: foot and vehicular traffic per hour, number of business establishments in the area, and number of employees and residents within half or three mile radius depending on location. According to Cora Daniels [2003] their strategy is simple: Starbucks blanket the area even if the stores in close proximity cannibalize one another's revenues. New stores achieve about thirty percent of the sales of a nearby Starbucks, a fact that the company considers to be beneficial for a number of reasons: the proximity of the stores cuts down on delivery and management costs, shortens customer lines at each store, and generates more foot traffic for all Starbucks in the area. Furthermore, Orin Smith, the CEO of the company, argues that clustering stores increases total revenue and market share [Holmes & Bennett & Carlisle & Dawson, 2002]. The Starbucks “cannibalization”
The Urban Coffee Shop

model works because of the size of the company which allows absorbing losses at existing stores as new ones open up. At the moment the company opens four stores every day, resulting to its exponential expansion. Moreover, Starbucks stores have the higher frequency of customer visits in American retail, peaking at eighteen times a month for a typical customer. The company’s sales climb twenty percent every year, while store traffic rises seven percent a year in average. However, Starbucks holds only seven percent of the coffee drinking market in the U.S., a fact that demonstrates the immense scale of the market; coffee is the second most consumed drink in the world after water [Daniels, 2003]. Finally, it is interesting to note that while retailers usually spend ten percent of their revenues on marketing and advertising, the company only spends one percent. Obviously, Starbucks-everywhere approach is more effective than advertising.

Lastly, technology and the advance of telecommunications at the end of the century helped the economy to revive and generated the information age, a product of which, the Wi-Fi, might have influenced the re-emergence of the urban coffee shop. As it has been mentioned in chapter one, coffee shops were always places of disseminating information. Since television by the 1960s had invaded the American households, the attractiveness of the coffee shop as a place to get information diminished. However, in the late 1990s with the help of technology coffee shops introduced the first hotspot operators [EDGE Consult, 2003]. In coffee shops of today, one can have wireless access to the internet, thus to global information. The establishment of wireless technology has numerous effects in our everyday lives, many of which this thesis will not touch upon. The most relevant to the urban environment is the ability to combine work with home or other locations. In other words, the two stop model that Oldenburg [1989] criticized in the contemporary American way of life might dissolve with the progress of technology. The latter has obvious implications to urbanism and architecture. Designers of today are facing the problem of incorporating technology in their projects. Technology has produced a highly mobile society which in turn does not have an expression in the physical form. Today, one is able to be in Atlanta and work with a partner in New York as if they were both in the same space. This obviously gives a new dimension to the private and public sphere. Anthropologist Robert MacAdams [1991] argues that in the twenty-first century “an awesome technological destruction of distance” will...
The urban coffee shop re-emerges: 1980 to 2005

take place. The exponentially fast development and ever-increasing sophistication of telecommunications makes it gradually easier to both live and work effectively from the most distant locations.

Furthermore, technology and especially Wi-Fi, have transformed previous mono-functional spaces into multi-functional ones. Coffee shops which have integrated technology are a testimony of this conversion. People can now work in coffee shops, chat online with friends and read the news while sipping their favorite lattes. A number of coffee shop critics, including myself, argue that the urban coffee shop of today has lost its previous political and democratic character. Indeed, social interaction becomes increasingly rare in modern coffee shops which people consider only as places of leisure and relaxation. Casual coffee shop discussion among random members is extremely episodic, and that is the reason why citizens usually plan to be accompanied or to meet someone they know when walking into a coffee shop. Is technology capable to revitalize the public character of the urban coffee shop nowadays? One thing is certain: if information is one of the main factors that spark discussion and social interaction, then information should be provided for free. As old coffeehouses gave out reading materials when they served coffee, modern coffee shops should give out free access to the internet, and in an idealistic situation, provide the necessary hardware in order for everybody (citizens who do not own laptops) to log on the web, the new space of information. Wi-fi coffee shops are now multi-functional spaces, in the same way traditional public space used to be. However, since access to the internet is not included to the price of a cup of coffee, the new “public” character of the coffee shop is commercialized, and thus limited.

To summarize in the period between 1980 and today, the coffee shops re-emerged in the city. This was correlated with the city’s attempt to revive as a place of recreation and attraction. Also, new social classes, such as the yuppies and the bobos, provoked a major shift to high-quality specialty coffee which in turn was marketed and sold by the Starbucks conglomerate. Starbucks created a new coffee culture in America, both nostalgic and encouraging for different reasons. Furthermore, the Wi-Fi technology, introduced in the 1990s, gave a new dimension to the character of the coffee shops since it supported multi-functionality. The
latter re-emerged on the civic structure of the city with a density number higher than ever. This indicates that coffee shops today are more important civic places than previously. Given that the cities have matured and that urban developments in their cores seem to extinct, the urban coffee shops create a social network capable of replacing or substituting the city’s physical civic structure. Indeed, an example of such case is Toronto whose civic environment is non-existent while its social civic structure comprised by coffee shops and other small scale regional uses is extremely vibrant. Lastly, urban coffee shops are found on the most active parts of the civic structure of the city, thus, they can map its social activity.
Chapter Six

Coffee shops in the U.S. today

According to Mintel’s [2004] last exclusive research on North American coffee shops and to NPD’s Group [Reuters Food Summit, 2005] market analysis, three different types of customers exist today: the “lazy lattes”, people who do not prepare coffee at home and rely upon coffee shops, the “Java snobs” high income and education to-go citizens who have developed a strong desire for high quality coffee, and the “caffeinated cultured” who are usually lower income coffee-goers interested in enjoying the ambience of the coffee shop. From all customers, about sixty percent frequent chain coffee shops (with ten stores or more), while the rest favor independent cafés. One third of respondents select one coffee shop over another based on location. Furthermore, even though half of the total U.S. population considers coffee overpriced, only twenty-five percent of Americans cut down on their purchases at coffee shops.

Today there are more than seventeen thousand coffee shops in the United States with a sales volume of almost seven billion dollars. Coffee shop chains such as Starbucks, account for forty percent whereas independents hold the majority of the market with fifty-eight percent. However, the market share of independents has decreased from 2001, mainly because of the expansion of industry colossal Starbucks. According to NPD’s Vice President Harry Balzer “What companies like Starbucks have done is made it easier to have coffee...It has not caused us to drink more coffee, it’s just caused us to get coffee from different places.” Therefore, overall consumption has stayed the same, whereas, at-home coffee consumption has significantly decreased since 1998 leading Mintel to predict that by 2008 U.S. coffee shop sales will increase forty-six percent. It is interesting to note that NPD’s forecasted future for coffee shops is drive-thrus. Balzer argues that since thirty percent of coffee is consumed in the car, drive-thru coffee shops are the future. Indeed, Starbucks’ CEO stated that drive-thrus are a key component of the company’s long-term growth strategy. Will that be the death of the coffee shop along with the death of any effort for social interaction? Can we use the emergent coffee culture to promote an urban and social culture, or should we obey to blind analytical market methods that only care about profit? As this thesis has
demonstrated, the re-emergence of the coffee shop correlates with the recovery of the city. Urban coffee shops create and map urban activity. However, having conglomerates such as Starbucks dominate the coffee shop market, a significant urban issue can become a corporate decision.

The character of the urban coffee shop revisited

In order to summarize the transformation of the character of the urban coffee shop, I will first elaborate on Habermas’ theory of the public sphere, since in my opinion the changeability of the coffee shop as an institution is representative of the social transformations. Habermas’ theory of public sphere can be summarized in the following diagram (figure 6.1). Habermas argues that in the pre-revolutionary society of the eighteenth century there was a distinction between the private realm and the sphere of public authority. Under the private realm, a public sphere existed where citizens were able to form a public opinion. The institutions of such sphere were places which allowed for and promoted social interaction, political discussion, and debate. Coffee shops of the Enlightenment period were an evidence of the existence of the public sphere. At that time the political state was a liberal democracy since people participated into the public sphere. In the post revolutionary society of the nineteenth century (both in America and in France) the public sphere was institutionalized. Civil rights were guaranteed along with the integrity of the public sphere. Freedom of speech, the emergence of unions and the passing of laws declared a healthy democratic environment. However, in the late nineteenth and twentieth century, the emergence of mass digital media and corporations caused the degeneration of the public sphere which became controlled by economic and governmental organizations. According to Habermas, the citizens by the mid-twentieth century had become consumers controlled by the media and elites. The previous market capitalism and liberal democracy had given way to state capitalism and mass democracy. The welfare state and the New Deal of the 1930s were affirmations of the emergence of state capitalism and the new leading role of the media. Citizens of the twentieth century, being brainwashed by the media, became only interested in consuming while their participation in the public sphere diminished. Habermas associates commercialization to the decline of democracy and proposes a number of ways to revitalize it.
Coffee shops in the U.S. today

The character of the coffee shop follows the same trajectory in history, however with a different ending. In the eighteenth century the London coffee shops were places where one could get information about anything. They were venues to promote social interaction while all social classes were accepted and respected. One's social status was left in the doorstep of the coffee shop. Many establishments targeted their clientele according to the information they were able to offer. Therefore, differentiation was not social segregation. Paradoxically, in the democratic London coffee shops women were not allowed. The political discussion was one of the most important characteristics of the eighteenth century coffeehouse. Citizens were debating about politics, often conspiring against the government, the sphere of public authority. Coffee shops were important civic spaces and were usually found on civic squares. London's coffee shops were smelly and fogy, in contrast to the Parisian ones which were more upscale. Nevertheless, in both cases the coffee shop promoted democracy and an urban culture.

In the nineteenth century, coffee shops increased in number both in London and Paris. They were still places of democratic discussion and philosophical concerns. Among others, artists and urban intellectuals frequented coffee shops to discuss about politics, art, and contemporary issues. Citizens through democratic discussion tried to reach consensus. With the introduction of the boulevard, Parisian coffee shops animated public space. Cafés in Paris became more upscale with remarkable decoration and architecture. Delivery of information and the stimulation of conversation were still the main attractions of the urban coffee shop, which was a place of civic importance found on the civic structure of the city.

In the U.S. coffee shops appeared in the pre-revolutionary America. However, their mapping is unfeasible since coffee shop databases were never created. American pre- and post-revolutionary coffee shops were camouflaged as taverns or diners, places which served and promoted alcoholic drinks and food. Nonetheless, their character was democratic according to Habermas' theory.
The Urban Coffee Shop

coffee culture emerged in the U.S. in the 1920s however in a different context than before. Coffee shops’ character had slowly changed from democratic venues of political and intellectual debate to meeting places for bohemians. They became hangouts for artists and urban intellectuals while the amount of political interest and debate between citizens had significantly diminished. In the following period, from the 1950s to the 1980s the urban coffee shop declined along with the city and democracy. Television, media and consumerism accelerated their decline. However, in all cases as illustrated by the case study of Boston, coffee shops had a similar macro-scale formation since they were found on the sequence of public spaces that formed the anatomy of the city.

In the last decade or so, the urban coffee shop has re-emerged. Can this generate an optimistic future to the idealistic and nostalgic theory of Habermas? Urban coffee shops of today might have a lesser democratic character than before but their re-emergence as commercial places creates activity in the city and a potential for social interaction. People today go out for coffee. This new coffee culture is at the same time nostalgic and positive: nostalgic because coffee shops are associated to a depoliticized bohemian way of life and positive because the increase of coffee shops highlights the importance of third places in our lives and in the city. People abandon their cocooning habits and desire social interaction within, of course, their consumerist lives. Most importantly, the emergent coffee culture is positive because it exalts the contemporary coffee shop into an important civic place. It is interesting to note that coffee shops have re-emerged in the urban environment of the central cities and they prosper. Habermas’ democracy has dissolved; however, the expansion of the coffee shop as a globalization effect has encouraged the rebirth of the urban environment. At the same time, the revival of a number of central cities might imply that third places such as coffee shops are more important in making a good city than the physical public space. To the extreme, given that traditional public space is rarely and difficultly produced nowadays, it might be more effective to vote for a dynamic social network of coffee shops which support the public realm than to attempt to re-create public space based on models from previous eras. In addition, technology has given a new dimension to the coffee shop’s character, since it transforms it to a multi-functional third place. I believe that under certain circumstances technology is possible to be the retrieval mechanism of the lost “publicness” of the urban coffee shop.
The character of the urban coffee shop revisited

Coffee shop typologies

Even though there are numerous different coffee shop types, all can be grouped into four major categories: the typical old coffee house, the short façade and long depth café, the corner coffee shops, and the long and shallow ones facing the street. The typical old coffee house is generally big with its sides equal in length. Usually this type of coffee shop does not support tables outside since its connection to the exterior is not strong. In its façade, the proportion of wall to window openings is three to two, meaning that the area of walls is substantially bigger to that of the openings. The typical old coffee house is inwardly oriented (figure 6.2). The interior space is usually divided in such a way to accommodate more than two rows of tables while the bar is located on the shortest of the four sides. The first coffee shops of this type were found in London and Paris in the late seventeenth century. However, the country where typical old coffee houses flourished was Vienna. Café Dommayer, Frauenhuber, and Mozart were built in the eighteenth century whereas café Central, Demel, Griensteidl, and Schwarzenberg were founded in the nineteenth century [Dittrich, 2002].

The short façade and long depth café is probably the most typical coffee shop typology. The café is embedded in the urban fabric and its takes the total depth of the building where it is located. From a database of eight-hundred-thirty Parisian coffee shops I have created, forty-three percent fall under this category. The length of the coffee shop is usually related to the structure above. Typically the coffee shop occupies a length of two to three window openings of the building façade (figure 6.2). An elongated bar along with individual tables or booths run the depth of the room. The street façade is on average made of glass to allow for the sunlight to reach the rear part of the coffee shop. In this case visual and physical connection to the public space is important and frequently supported with tables outside. The London coffeehouses, the milk bars, the coffee bars, and half of the Parisian cafés are typical examples of this category.

The corner coffee shop coupled with the short façade and long depth ones constitute the majority of coffee shops today. Typically corner coffee shops are more upscale than other types since corner locations are prime real estate. Usually such establishments are big and analogous to the size of typical old coffeehouses (figure 6.2). The difference is that in this case the connection to the outside is significant. Thus, corner coffee shops have glass facades and often tables outside.
typical old coffee house

typologies

short façade and long depth coffee shop

corner coffee shop

long and shallow coffee shop
The character of the urban coffee shop revisited

if the climate permits so. The most representative examples of such typology are the Parisian cafés. Furthermore, the idea of occupying the city block corner was adopted by contemporary coffee shop chains such as Starbucks. Starbucks stores always first target corner locations in order to have larger street frontage, however, their connection to the public space is usually only visual while their scale is smaller than their Parisian counterparts.

Lastly, the long and shallow coffee shop was a product of post-industrial marketing and capitalistic theory: the larger the street frontage, the better. It is interesting to observe that pre-industrial coffee shops were usually embedded in mixed-use structures which mainly served as housing. The shop designed utterly for commercial purposes was, like the office, an invention of the industrial era. In London even in the mid nineteenth century, buildings were constructed so that they could serve either as offices or as dwellings or as both [Whitehand, 2001]. In the late nineteenth century the long and shallow coffee shop emerged in the U.S. however it is still not very common because of the special circumstances it needs to appear (figure 6.2). This type of coffee shop is usually for take out coffee and flourishes in areas where to-go citizens are the majority. Long and shallow coffee shops are found in places with high pedestrian traffic – train stations, airports, downtowns – and certainly do not promote interaction among customers but provide convenience. Their street façade is typically made of glass while all seats face outside to avert ones attention from the claustrophobic interior space.

Conclusions: Coffee shops within the urban environment

This study testifies that the city and the urban environment are complex organisms which have to be analyzed from all different perspectives. Social, economic, political and theoretical factors play a role in shaping the urban setting. The coffee shop, being a part of that complex system and a place of great civic importance is sensitive to transformations that eventually change the city. That is the reason why this thesis has two different levels of approach. The first and most important is centered on the urban coffee shop (figure 6.3). The bidirectional relationships between four factors and the urban coffee shops have been analyzed. The economy, the social and political situation, the urban theories and the urban form have certain interconnections with the coffee shops. The second level of
The Urban Coffee Shop

Figure 6.3 Bidirectional relationship between the urban coffee shop and the economy, the socio-political conditions, the urban theories of the time, and the urban form. Source: Author.

The Urban Coffee Shop

approach by using coffee shops as a proxy attempts to define the relationship between three of the four previous factors and the urban form: economy, socio-political conditions, and urban theories have an impact on the urban form which is probably the most important variant to the coffee shop's changes (figure 6.4). Among the numerous economic, socio-political and theoretical factors that have affected the urban form, this thesis has focused only on the ones that later had an indirect impact to the urban coffee shop. However, one should note that none of the above factors is solely capable to play a role in the appearance or disappearance of coffeehouses. It is the combination of these factors and their dynamic changes that are variants in the emergence and the transformation of the character of the urban coffee shop.

In the first degree analysis, coffee shops have a bidirectional relationship to the economy. In general, economic prosperity and the increase of the number of urban coffee shops covary positively. In the period after 1990, when the U.S. had the strongest economy ever, the coffee shops re-emerged in the central city.
Furthermore, urban coffee shops boost the economy since they attract people in the city and consequently economic investment. Also, coffee shops are significant in a country's economy (countries which support a coffee culture) because of the large scale of the coffee drinking industry. Coffee is the second most traded commodity in the world after oil, and the second most consumed drink after water. The connection of the urban coffee shop to the socio-political conditions of each period is again bidirectional. In the eighteenth century, political segregation led to the clustering of coffeehouses. London was controlled by four distinct powers and consequently four different coffee shop clusters appeared within the city. Moreover, democracy in the public sphere correlates with the flourishing of the coffee shop. The prosperous café of the eighteenth and nineteenth century promoted political interest and debate and above all a strong democratic character. In the twentieth century when the media and the multinational firms gained power the urban coffee shop declined along with its egalitarian character. In coffee shops of today, which are frequented by a depoliticized and polite social class, interaction becomes
increasingly rare. From the reverse scope, historically coffee shops were always places where revolutions started. Repeatedly in history, the authorities have tried to suppress coffee shops since they fostered provocative thinking and political activity. Furthermore, urban theories affect the café and vice versa. With the introduction of zoning in the U.S around the 1920s, the cities were typically segregated into three main land-use categories: residential, commercial, and industrial. Hence, coffee shops located in residential areas were not abided with the new law, so were forced either to relocate or close down. In general zoning in the period between 1950 and 1980 was catastrophic for the central cities. The success or failure of zoning can be indicated by the number of variance applications filed per year. In the case of Boston, the variances in 1964 were 363 whereas by 1985 they peaked at over one thousand [Flynn & Coyle, 1986]. From the opposite scope, the strong presence of coffee shops in the urban environments of London and Paris coupled with their significance in everyday life and activity, testifies that a smaller scale mixed-use zoning allows for the development of a strong socio-cultural urban character. Indeed, many of the re-emergent urban coffee shops of Boston are located in mixed-use areas, a fact that verifies the strength and weight of zoning (figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5 Commercial land uses of Boston and coffee shop locations in 2005. It is clear that most of the coffee shops are found on mixed-use shown in orange. Source: Author.
Conclusions

Lastly, the relation between the urban form and the coffee shop is probably the most significant one, since, as it has been mentioned, changes of the urban form are catalytic to the location and spread of the urban coffee shop. This thesis has attempted to support three arguments concerning the previous connection: first, that in a macro scale, urban coffee shops were located through history on the civic structure of the cities; second, that the coffee shops were found on the most fashionable urban element of each period. Coffee shops migrated from the civic squares to the streets with the introduction of the boulevard and later, with the appearance of the grid and the urban fabric, they spread to the greater city area. Third, coffee shops today with the growth of technology and specifically Wi-Fi can become important public spaces, in times when traditional public space eclipses. In a similar way that suburbia redefined open space, today technology can redefine public space. However, I am positioning myself away from the notion of the “virtual community” as a place for interaction, as I am more interested in the intertwining of technology (Wi-Fi) to the physical quasi-public space. By stating that Wi-Fi can bring back the lost publicness of the urban coffee shop, I suggest that technology has changed its post-war character from a mono-functional place to a multi-functional one. In coffee shops of today, citizens are able to combine work with leisure and relaxation. One can send e-mails, read the news or work in a Wi-Fi coffee shop while sipping his latte. In that case, work becomes the primary activity and coffee drinking the secondary, a fact which reverses in other cases: for example, one can be socializing and drinking coffee as a main activity and flip a magazine, stare outside the windows, or browse the internet as a secondary one. This constant change between focus and de-focus, online and offline presence, is a characteristic of the application of Wi-Fi in quasi-public space. Based of Goffman's [1971] terminologies and categorizations about social interaction, Gupta’s [2004] research shows that Wi-Fi promotes heterogeneous interaction with users forming both weak and strong ties. Furthermore, “Wi-Fi users engage in non-verbal communication and face-to-face interaction habits much like people reading a newspaper or a book in a coffee shop” [Gupta, 2004]. At the same time since users carry their Internet and telecommunication habits, their presence is located in two different levels constantly interchanging positions. The user’s state of awareness and participation shifts back and forth from the physical to the digital-media space.
In the second degree analysis, I have used the coffee shop as a proxy to argue that the economy, the socio-political conditions and the urban theories are key factors to the metamorphosis of the urban form. Industrialization for example, led to the expansion of cities and became associated to urbanization. The fact that industries were located in central cities for laborers to have easier access, coupled with the lack of easy and autonomous transportation, led to the massive urbanization of cities in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, concerning the political factors that affect urban form, the exposure of political power in the eighteenth century France led to the building of ostentatious civic squares. Later, the desire for political control over the hotbeds of revolution led to the cutting of new wide streets within the previously congested city. The Parisian boulevard was not created for the beautification of the city, but for both solving hygiene problems and serving political interests. In the twentieth century, the highway act, which served the automobile and the growth of suburbia, was accompanied by the bulldozing of downtowns. Whole neighborhoods -such as Chinatown in Boston- were razed on account of being in the way of the new massive transit infrastructure. Lastly, this thesis has illustrated that urban theories were aspects that affected the urban form and, in turn, the urban coffee shop. Neoclassicism supported the axial planning of Paris while the Garden city theory promoted suburbia and initiated the decline of the urban coffee shop. Modernism suggested bold urban renewal at the expense of leveling parts of the city and consequently thinning its socio-cultural role.

This thesis has been the first attempt to analyze the urban coffee shop from a social, economic, and urban perspective. Due to this holistic approach the thesis has laid out a base for further research which would focus on a smaller scale. What is the role of the coffee shop in a neighborhood? Can the coffee shops catalyze re-investment in their area? Specific coffee shops should be used as case studies to analyze their character, their changes throughout history, and their correlation to transformations of their surroundings. Urban coffee shops were always important places in the social life of citizens. Today, the increase of privatization and the decline of the public sphere have led to the diminishing of social interaction and the contraction of the social role of the coffee shop. However, its urban role can become more significant than before. Especially with the advance of telecommunications, the contemporary urban coffee shop can represent the multi-functionality of the traditional public space. Today’s network of urban coffee shops
Conclusions

can support or even be an alternative to public space. The government proving its
disability to produce new public spaces should at least promote the building of
such quasi-public spaces for people to meet and socialize. To conclude, the ultimate
aim of this thesis has been to present a short history behind our everyday cup of
coffee and at the same time make the reader realize the social and civic importance
of coffee's institution: the coffee shop.
The Urban Coffee Shop

References


References


The Urban Coffee Shop


References


References


References


Appendix

1.1 Retail Coffee Consumption and Population by Potential Market. Source: Euromonitor - Global Market Information Database.

<table>
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"Dine with my friend at the Palais Royale, at a coffee-house; well dressed people; every thing clean, good, and well served: but here, as every where else, you pay a good price for good things; we ought never to forget that a low price for bad things is not cheapness."

"Dunkirk, Gibraltar, and the statue of Louis XIV, in the Place de Victoire, I place in the same political class of national arrogance."

"But the coffee-houses in the Palais Royal present yet more singular and astonishing spectacles; they are not only crowded within, but other expectant crowds are at the doors and windows, listening a gorge deploys to certain orators, who from chairs or tables harangue each his little audience: the eagerness with which they are heard, and the thunder of applause they receive for every sentiment of more than common hardiness or violence against the present government, cannot easily be imagined. I am all amazement at the ministry permitting such nests and hotbeds of sedition and revolt, which disseminate amongst the people, every hour, principles that by and by must be opposed with vigor, and therefore it seems little short of madness to allow the propagation at present."
1.3 The script created in Matlab allows to calculate the density of the coffee shops in every point on the map of Boston.

\[
[name, x, y, area] = \text{textread('nameoffile.txt', 's f f f')};
\]

\[
\text{num} = \text{input('number of grid points on x or y axis');}
\text{axisx} = \text{linspace(min(x), max(x), num);}
\text{axisy} = \text{linspace(min(y), max(y), num);}
\]

\[
\text{wid} = \text{input('width parameter');}
\text{factor} = \text{sqrt(pi)};
\]

\[
\text{orix} = \text{input('enter x coordinate');}
\text{oriy} = \text{input('enter y coordinate');}
\text{temp} = 0;
\text{for ct=1:length(x)}
\text{temp} = \text{temp} + \text{exp}(-((x(ct)-orix)^2 + (y(ct)-oriy)^2)/\text{wid}^2)/\text{factor}/\text{wid};
\]

\[
\text{disp('density is:');}
\text{tempdecision=\text{input('plot? Y:1 N:0');}
if decision == 1 for countx=1:length(axisx)
\text{for county = 1:length(axisy)}
\text{dispz(countx,county) = temp;}
\text{end}
\text{end}
\text{mesh(dispx, dispy, dispz);}
\text{axis([20 90 10 70 0 2]);}
\text{xlabel('x coordinate');}
\text{ylabel('y coordinate');}
\text{zlabel('coffee shop number density');}
\]

\[
\text{index} = 1;
\text{for h=1:length(axisx)}
\text{for m = 1:length(axisy)}
\text{tableout(index,1) = axisx(h);}
\text{tableout(index,2) = axisy(m);}
\text{tableout(index,3) = dispz(h,m);}
\text{index = index + 1;}
\text{end}
\text{end}
\text{dlmwrite('meshout.txt', tableout, 't');}
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## Appendix


**Source:** U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1999.

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*In millions of dollars.*
The Urban Coffee Shop


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