



## **Dundas Square : Consumption and Intimacy**

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### **Prologue** (Friday 6:30pm)

*First visit to Dundas Square 6:30pm Friday. Timed with June Friday Funk. Poor turnout. The place is nearly empty. The man on stage looks uncomfortable. No presence. Dances like a cheap mechanical plant. Tries to sing James Brown with both feet cast in concrete. Constipated. Somehow beautifully complements the square. Sheet of rock topped by flashing lights. Glowing billboards. Giant bottles. Television screens. On off on off. Signs of consumption. Pure spectacle. The couple sitting in the middle like sitting on their lawn, surprisingly bored from the overload of ambiance, yawning in the presence of speed and money. Is everything in this place a trope? An ethereal, fabricated, large scale exquisite corpse. The place hardly feels public. Like a playground under watchful eyes. Ads are the most prominent things here. Constant reminders of what this place isn't and what the metropolis is.*

Dundas Square is consumption and entertainment. A product of our society's devaluation of public life. Ironically though, it is there, in the disjunction between what it became and what Toronto imagined it would be, that Dundas Square finds its significance.

## Redevelopment

In 1996, the City of Toronto officially undertook the project of redeveloping the corner of Yonge and Dundas Street. The area around the intersection known as Toronto's commercial centre had slowly fallen into a state of decrepitude after 1977, the year the Eaton Centre was built. The giant mall gutted Yonge Street replacing it with an interior galleria. The shops around the corner of Dundas and Yonge soon lost business and the state of the neighbourhood worsened steadily. In 1996, the intersection was primarily known for pawnshops, bargain stores and drug abuse. The plan to redevelop the area included as its major contribution a new open public square on the southeast corner of the intersection. The national competition for the square was officially opened in September 1998 in hopes of creating "an animated urban square to serve as the centrepiece of the revitalization of downtown Yonge Street. (Competition Brief)" It was hyped as the most significant public place to be built in Toronto since Nathan Phillips Square in 1965. Surrounding the site were important existing locations such as the Eaton Centre, the Atrium on Bay and Ryerson Polytechnic as well as projected ones like Metropolis, a retail centre incorporating 30 cinema screens now being built on the north-east corner and the Olympic Spirit Museum on Victoria Street East of the square. The ground for the square was to be the roof of a 270-place parking lot situated directly underneath. Following the expropriation of a series of shops along Yonge Street that cleared the way for the development, the empty site for the new square got to be described as the "most important piece of real-estate in Canada."



Aerial map of downtown Toronto showing the Skydome, the CN Tower and the Financial District.



Aerial photo of the area with the Eaton Centre to the left and Ryerson Polytechnic to the top right.

In a city with a budget of only 12 million for public space maintenance—compared to over a 100 for a city with the same population like Paris—the creation of a new public square creates tremendous tension and excitement. Such places have historically served to define cultures, infusing a demographic group with a sense of belonging. “Public life in public space serves as a social binder on the scale of a group’s history and culture. One level [...] is that of public historical places and monuments [that] evoke connections to past events that stimulate feelings of national pride, of a sense of belonging, of concern for an entity outside of one’s primary associations with family and friends. They define people’s membership in groups –national ones such as citizenship, local ones such as residents of a town or neighbourhood. People also engage in public life through cultural, social, and interest groups, by attending meetings and other national groups, all make political and social statements while enabling groups to join with others to display their numbers and sense their unity and power. (Stephen Carr, 47)” Not only does the new void in the urban fabric serve as a future “stage” for all public interactions, but its emptiness seems to activate the city’s imagination. People project into the void their vision of the city, their hopes for major public events and intimate encounters. For many the new square would be Toronto’s answer to New York’s Times Square or London’s Piccadilly Circus while others saw it as an urban oasis. Its promoters, the Corporation of the City of Toronto and the Yonge Street Business and Residents Association Inc., saw in it the possibility for cleaning up Toronto’s retailing centre and redefining the heart of the city. Perhaps a new iconic symbol of Toronto was being created. One to go beside the CN Tower, City Hall and the Sky Dome on the postcard racks.

## **Public Space**

The projected visions of citizens dreaming their city are for the most part formulations of fundamental concepts of public places. These images we create of the “perfect public place” are formed by historical, symbolic places we physically or virtually have experienced. Everybody has either been, or can imagine, sitting at a café, driving by a monument, buying produce at a market square, attending a concert at a park or celebrating a victory at a civic square. Each idea, each image, is part of the iconography of public space and can be understood as a relationship between two things : a setting and an action.

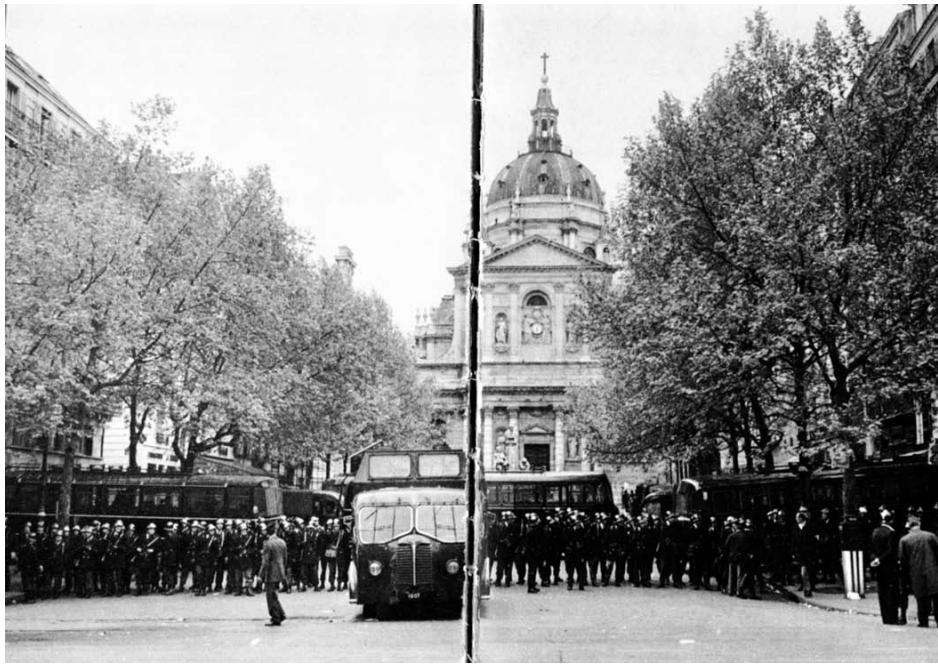
The architectural setting of a place gives it symbolic meaning. It is its physical stage. All of the most commonly known public places, the forum, the town square, the piazza, are all defined by their surrounding buildings or



Sienna's main public place viewed from the top of the Campanile. An example of an iconic piazza defined by a powerful architectural setting and a wide range of social actions (from horse races to intimate encounters).

by the monument they amplify. For example, the Roman Forum is a particular type of public space, a void that only gains meaning from the buildings that define it (senate house and temple for example). The medieval town could have many squares, all defined by the major powers present on site, the church, the town hall, the market or the palace. Camillo Sitte, writing in 1889, probably represents the prime advocate for the architectural setting of public squares. Reacting to modernism's disregard of history, Sitte looks back to public place types and argues in their favour. His book "The Art of Building Cities" gives an overview of squares in Southern and Northern Europe. Great public places, he notes, always present a good relationship between buildings, monuments and open space. "During the Middle Ages and Renaissance public squares were often used for practical purposes, they formed an entirety with the buildings which enclosed them. Today they serve at best as places for stationing vehicles, and have no relation to the buildings which dominate them. (Sitte, 10)"

Once the architectural setting of a place is defined, the stage is clear for action. It provides the channels for movement, the nodes of communication, and the common grounds for play and relaxation (Carr, 3). Society, the organization of people living together, becomes fully represented on the public place, lone people watching others, couples walking hand in hand, bicycles weaving through them, people sitting at café tables, groups of kids playing, large groups attending concerts, crowds celebrating victories. The city lives through its public places and the possibilities for social



Riot police lined up in front of the Sorbonne chapel during the student uprising of May 1968. Public space became an arena for contesting power. (photo credit)

interaction are endless. And while we mostly imagine the good that can come out of this interaction, the possibility for disruption is as strong. The violent take-over of the streets by students in the 1960s both in Europe and the United States showed that public space could also become a vehicle for contesting power. The iconic spaces of civic and national power could end up turning against those who built them. "Fostered by the turmoil of the 1960s, the recognition that people could take over the public arena had an impact on the provision and use of public spaces in the next two decades. (Carr, 69)" In the same way that the Parisian barricade revolts of the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had influenced Haussman in his redesign of the city, campuses built in the 1960s or soon after were fragmented and decentralized, without any main open space for social gatherings. In fact, the Haussmanian deconstruction and reconstruction of Paris probably showed with great success how crowds could be effectively contained and monitored, and public opinion manipulated, all through public space. All these charged things, the iconic settings, the celebrations and the protests, are unfolded for the creation of a new public square. It is no wonder the city dreams about itself.

## The Square Built

In December of 1998, Browne & Storey Architects of Toronto were announced as winners of the competition for Dundas Square. Their design, a relatively open square with a focal stage, a canopy lining Dundas Street, a row of trees to the south and an *allée* of water jets, was chosen among five finalists. Architectural critics were enthusiastic. The project was featured both in "Architecture" and "Canadian Architect" and received prizes from both publications. Barry Sampson, a juror for Canadian Architect, wrote "the design of Dundas Square employs an elementarist strategy that is carefully calibrated and elegantly spare, making much out of relatively little (Canadian Architect, December 1999). A major reason for the project's success at this stage was that it presented itself as a void in the city and not a cluttered theme park. The relatively calm design contrasted the almost chaotic intersection.

Some of the first concerns to arise regarded the expropriation of properties along Yonge Street. For the project to be possible, the line of shops between Dundas Street and the Hard Rock Café had to disappear. When some of the shop owners decided to appeal the decision, the city justified its effort by stating it was engaged in an extraordinary attempt at City building. Three Divisional Court judges dismissed the appeal by property owners against a decision by the Ontario Municipal Board upholding the city's right to expropriate buildings on Yonge Street (G&M, October 6, 1998). For the interested parties, the revitalization of the area could only happen if the undesirable shops were removed. The state they were in and the clientele they attracted made the city nervous. "Like 42<sup>nd</sup> Street three years ago, Yonge and Dundas suffer from a perceived malaise that limits its attractiveness to a broad range of



Renderings of Dundas Square courtesy of Browne & Storey Architects.

shoppers and entertainment seekers. (Appeal Response, 5)" On the other hand, for some Torontonians, the corner had a certain gritty charm. The replacement of landmark stores such as Rockwell Jeans (although the owner Steve Rockwell did not appeal the decision) by their rampant counterparts the Gap or Le Château meant the loss of a distinctive memory place. For these people, the gritty stores played the same role as Honest Ed's, another extravagant "low-brow" store, does at the corner of Bathurst and Bloor. They define a "place" in the city.

Some other concerns directed at the City concerned its seemingly small budget. Lisa Rochon in an article entitled "Big City Smalltown Ambitions" complained "the vast new Dundas Square [...] has been allocated a mere \$2.5-million for its construction budget (Globe & Mail, June 19, 2000)." Concerns were also expressed about the bleakness of the place. The openness that seemingly pleased architectural critics was now making some people nervous. The square, covered entirely in dark granite, was dubbed a concrete park and a bus shelter. Something seemed awfully wrong with the way the public received the square. City councillor Kyle Rae reacted strongly to criticism by calling Torontonians "crabby and impatient" (Now, Don Wanagas, March 2003). Enthusiasm faded quickly as the square, scheduled to open in 1999, finally opened in 2003, five years after the competition results were announced. And when it opened, as some hopefuls were still declaring that Toronto is "one giant step closer to realizing its dreams of civic greatness (Toronto Star, Christopher Hume, May 30, 2003)", the dreams first generated by the void at Dundas and Yonge were obviously shown as only that.

## **Disjunction**

A schism formed between the realized project and people's expectations. Articles such as "Failed Square", "Square to Nowhere", "There's No There There" and "The Perfect Place to Contemplate Emptiness" were all published in major Toronto newspapers. The critics attacked everything, the city, the police, the architects, the media, the granite slabs, the canopy and even the garbage containers. Yet all criticism seemed to revolve around one centre of contention : The issue of public versus private or whether the square was public at all. Unlike a truly public square, Dundas Square is run by a board that insures the financial success of the place. An October 2002 City of Toronto Staff Report describes the creation of the board: "An amendment to the Toronto Municipal Code adopted by Council to establish the Yonge-Dundas Square Board of Management allows for the maintenance, operation and control of the Square to be exercised by the Board and sets out the Board's powers and duties regarding

the operation and fiscal management of the Square. The by-law establishes the Board's goal of achieving financial self-sufficiency for the Square by 2005 and allows the Board to establish booking policies for the Square, retain staff and consultants, issue permits for activities on the Square, and to enter into contracts for services as may be required in connection with its role of managing the Square." The achievement of the Board's goals as set by the city required private money *a priori*. At its inception, the square was a hybrid of public and private control.

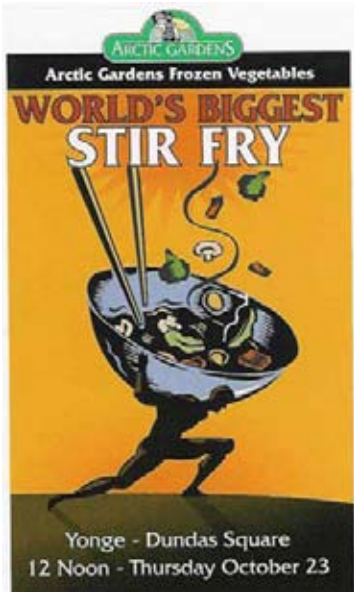
Within the span of a year, while the square was being constructed, at least four Toronto Star articles described the ongoing battle to decide whether the police was to use video cameras to monitor the site. As the social activists warned against the "wholesale monitoring" of people, the police beamed about the benefits of the system that cheaply insures safety for the "victimized decent law-abiding citizens" (Toronto Star, October 19, 2001). The system is in use now and the site is also being monitored by privately employed security guards. This constant surveillance -even when it is presented as a safety measure- has definitely turned the square into a place where the most common

activities normally seen as public could feel illegal. In perhaps the single most significant event of the square's short history, two chalk artists were allegedly arrested by the police for drawing on the granite slabs (Globe & Mail, May 30, 2003). Not surprisingly, a year prior to the incident, the same Staff Report stated that "what takes place on the public sidewalk surrounding the Square will impact upon the Square's success in meeting its objective of becoming a vibrant, safe and active focal point and economic catalyst. The Board has expressed concern respecting the possible impacts of activities such as sidewalk busking and vending, postering and sidewalk maintenance, and with security issues such as panhandling." The report further recommends that the Board meet with the Toronto Urban Development Services Department in charge of issuing permits for such activities in order to attract some of the revenue generated by the sale of the permits. When the public questioned the arrest, the Councillor for Ward 27, Kyle Rae, a major force behind the entire Yonge Street Redevelopment Project, explained that the square "is city property, not public property (G&M, May 30, 2003)." Another issue arose when the square



Security cameras keep a watchful eye on the activities within the square.

was used by peace activists for an anti-war rally in 2003. In a report to the police services board, police chief Julian Fantino writes that "a problem is arising, where portions of the public believes that Dundas Square is a public space. [...] Anti-war demonstrators in the first quarter of 2003 [...] utilized the space without proper authorization (NOW, October 2, 2003)."



Two examples of publicity for commercial events on the square: Arctic Garden Frozen Vegetables and Heineken. (internet credit)

Adding to the debate is over 32,000 square feet of advertisement towering over the site and ranging from static billboards and television screens to oversize novelty items. The omnipresence of the ads makes it hard not to see the square as the city's television couch. Every building that faces onto the square has jumped the fray and is putting up displays. The tower on the Northwest corner of Yonge and Dundas already feels like it is part of the city. The Eaton Centre is expanding over the South-West corner—covering what was probably one of the most genuinely exciting outdoor space in the city, where a constant bustle was created from musicians, preachers and buskers—and adding a thirteen-storey media tower of its own that will end up being the focal point of the square. Finally the Metropolis development to the North has been described by its designers as "a highly stylized machine, blending 20<sup>th</sup>-century industrial and 21<sup>st</sup>-century multimedia design. Features include a glockenspiel-type clock, smokestacks, ornamental gargoyles, media billboards, and a series of large moving pieces that create an animated atmosphere. (Urban Land, Dave Eagleson, March 2000)" All this media presence gives the impression that the new square is more a marketing tool than a social condenser. This is not far from the truth. When the idea for the project first arose, the new space was seen by the city and the involved business people as an opportunity

for product placement and launches, as an economic catalyst for the area. With rental fees set at over \$3,000 for a summer afternoon, it is highly unlikely the square will be used for anything else. "Unlike public squares attached to city-owned buildings, where programming is geared toward community events, the Yonge-Dundas Square was intended to be used largely for commercial events for which a fee would be charged. (Now, Scott Anderson quoting the city's chief administrative officer, December 2001)" The opportunity of reaching on average 10,000 consumers a day was too good to pass by.



Crowd gathering at Yonge and Dundas. This photo was taken prior to the square project. (from the Dundas Square website)

All these factors have turned Dundas Square into perhaps the most contented site in Toronto. After all, the city and its citizens were hoping for something wonderful to happen, each imagining what the end result would be. Toronto dreamt of what Toronto could be. For that reason Dundas Square continues to hover in people's mind between a true public square and a commercial venue. But this is exactly the reason Dundas Square is significant. The place reflects two cultural phenomena of our society: consumer culture and the decline of public life. Our contemporary society could not have done anything different with the square. Or if it had, the square would have reflected nothing from it.

## Consumption

In his 1970 book "The Consumer Society", Jean Baudrillard brings forth the idea of consumption elevated to the standard of a moral institution. "Consumption is an institution of classes just like a school: not only is there inequality in the face of objects in the economic sense, but more acutely there is a radical discrimination in the sense that only a certain few can access an autonomous logic, rational, of the elements of the environment. (Baudrillard, 77)" Much like lineage would guarantee your place in society in the *ancien régime*, consumption becomes a social gauge. A backdrop onto which the worth of a human being can be measured. This reality of consumption stems from the industrialization of our society. Since the industrial revolution the production of objects has become nearly pathological. The logic of our capitalist society is not producing objects for their purpose, but for the purpose of selling the next one.

The philosopher Hannah Arendt traces this phenomenon back to the beginning of our modern economy and the creation of a common *wealth*. "Society, when it first entered the public realm, assumed the disguise of an organisation of property-owners who, instead of claiming access to the public realm because of their wealth, demanded protection from it for the accumulation of more wealth. (Arendt, 68)" In other words, profit or the accumulation of wealth became a defensible common right. This pathological pursuit of capital combined with our already



The Crystal Palace (Joseph Paxton, 1851) was made possible by the mass-production of identical elements. The exhibition itself celebrates the mass-consumption of culture.

pathological industrial production has generated the illusion of a society of abundance. In reality, Baudrillard argues, we seemingly create abundance by producing more while really creating new unnecessary needs for consumption. In the recent documentary "The Corporation", directors Mark Achbar, Jennifer Abbott and Joel Bakan support the thesis that the multi-national corporation has become the reigning institution of our time. Sometimes more powerful than governments. Following Arendt's ideas, this proposition does not seem far fetched. After all, the accumulation of capital (embodied in the corporation)

superseded the acquisition of property (the private realm), which before that had superseded the common (the public realm). Furthermore it is only a logical step from Baudrillard's argument, since the most powerful force supporting consumption, the moral defining our society, is the multi-national corporation.

"Consumption is a myth. In other words it is an *expression of contemporary society on itself*, it is the way in which our society communicates. And in fact the only objective reality of consumption, is the *idea* of consumption, this reflexive and discursive configuration, indefinitely readdressed by daily discourse and intellectual discourse, and that has grown into a *common sense*. (Baudrillard, 331)" The language of consumption is all around Dundas Square. It is in the logos, the ads, the flashing lights, the screens, the "faceless" corporations. The fetishising of objects developed by Baudrillard has translated itself into a fetishising of images. Naomi Klein builds a case against this trend in her book "No Logo" published in 2000. "The astronomical growth in the wealth and cultural influence of multi-national corporations over the last fifteen years can arguably be traced back to a single, seemingly innocuous idea developed by management theorists in the mid-1980s: that successful corporations must primarily produce brands, as opposed to products. (Klein, 3)" In a sort of iterative twist, the society of the spectacle described by Guy Debord, the society that had receded into its own representation, has now receded into a representation of its representation. Images, symbols, have become a currency. And the area around Dundas Square, around Time Square and Piccadilly Circus, deal this new currency and feed it to a people that communicates through it. The traditional iconic building or monument may be missing from Dundas Square, but one can almost see such symbolism in the looming media towers. Even the Ellman Company, the advertising group behind the project agrees: "The Atrium Media Tower soars 223 feet above Dundas Square in the heart of downtown Toronto [and] serves as a geographic and cultural



The Atrium at Bay media tower at the corner of Yonge and Dundas.

Toronto landmark and a signature icon of the City of Toronto's Dundas Square redevelopment." Like a chapter from a futuristic "Notre-Dame de Paris", the language of logos and brands, fusing both architecture and print, is erected into a new cathedral. Skeletal steel towers supporting the bright icons of society. What is being projected from the ads may have more significance in people's lives than a monument to a mayor, a politician or even a war hero as the identity and collective memory of a nation can now be formulated through the objects of its production and consumption. Douglas Copeland has recently published two books and curated an exhibition on Canadian identity. While he still presents cultural and natural phenomena such as our French heritage and loons, the majority of the icons are products, cereal brands, railway companies, beer. We are what we consume. Is it far fetched to say that 50 years from now, we might look at present day photographs of the Dundas and Yonge media towers and feel nostalgic? What all these logos try to achieve, is to become part of our collective memory. "People living in society use words they understand the meaning : it is the condition for collective thought. Yet each (understood) word, carries with it memories, and there are no memories to which we could not attribute words. We speak our memories before remembering them; this is language, and it is the entire system of social conventions faithful to it that enables us at any moment to reconstruct our past. (Halbwachs, 279)" Each logo is a memory place. And when we look up at the inflatable beer can, we might remember our national holiday, cottages, hockey victories.



Cultural icon perched on the Yonge and Dundas media tower.



Dundas Square looking towards the Eaton Centre. (photo : Jelena Porovic)

## **Public Life**

Our contemporary public and private lives have dramatically changed from the Greek *polis* and the Roman *res publica*. The importance once put on the body politic as a viewpoint from which to make a distinction between the private and the public realms is now being put on privacy. As a consequence, our contemporary public realm has become increasingly governed by leisure and entertainment. "The Fall of Public Man" by Richard Sennett, published in 1977, gives an account of the decline of public life since the fall of the *ancien régime*. Sennett argues that our idea of public life was formed by industrial capitalism, 19<sup>th</sup> century social ideals and secularism. Industrial capitalism, by slowly industrializing the individual, creating horrible working and living conditions redirected values we historically put on public life towards the family and personal life. The home became the only place where one could be oneself. A refuge from society's terrors. A person's behaviour in his own home was considered, and is still considered, to be the perfect reflection of who that person is. A person in public was an actor, wearing a mask through which sometimes a glimpse of their real character would show. Much importance was put on the external physical appearance of each individual and disciplines such as psychology, phrenology and fashion flourished. "This restructuring of the code of secular knowledge had a radical effect on public life. It meant

that appearances in public, no matter how mystifying, still had to be taken seriously, because they might be clues to the person hidden behind the mask. (Sennett, 21)“ This constant stress exerted on the public person had tremendous repercussion on their actions. The very nature of public life was undermined by this but more importantly the value we attribute to it decreased. The rise of the individual insured us that we had undeniable unspoken private rights in public. That is still evident today, where speaking to strangers without “knowing them personally” is marginal, and where one always has to ask for pardon before addressing someone in public. The public forum is hard to find in the contemporary metropolis. Since public life has been devalued, the significance of civic gathering for politics has faded. Arguably, it has been extracted from the public realm altogether.

Re-assessing the argument put forward by Sennett is Stephen Carr. In a co-authored book entitled “Public Space”, he argues that the visible decline of public life in the industrialized societies is in fact not a decline, but a translation. “What seem contradictory trends, the decline of older forms of public life and the resurgence in public space, instead may be complementary. (Carr, 9)“ While interest in the “older forms” of public life may be fading, an increase of interest in new forms is taken place. This interest, Carr mentions, is evident in the proliferation of public space typologies over the last century. From historical concepts like the town square and the commons, we now have malls, festival squares, urban parks, green-corridors, corporate plazas, etc. While the typology of the public space may change, the fact does remain that the value attributed to our public interactions has declined. The new forms of public space identified by Carr are for the most part directed towards leisure, entertainment, retail



Prospect Park by Frederick Law Olmsted (Brooklyn, NY). The urban park is a recent form of public space.



Place de la Défense in Paris, France. The size of the open space is at the enormous scale of the Grande Arche and the skyscrapers lining it.

and corporate image. Few are successful examples of significant civic spaces. Dundas Square unfortunately finds itself in this discourse. The place is about selling and marketing, and if it caters to a certain type of social interaction, it is entertainment. Entertainment put on by somebody else. The average citizen does not take part in its creation, but is relegated to the role of spectator.



Place de la Défense in Paris, France. The public is relegated to the role of spectator. (photo : Jelena Porovic)

"The reigning belief today is that closeness between persons is a moral good. The reigning aspiration of today is to develop individual personality through experiences of closeness and warmth with others. The reigning myth today is that the evils of society can all be understood as evils of impersonality, alienation, and coldness. The sum of these three is an ideology of intimacy: social relationships of all kinds are real, believable, and authentic the closer they approach the inner psychological concerns of each person. (Sennett, 259)" It is this ideology, that Sennett later develops into tyrannies of intimacy, that is responsible for the extreme wariness of Dundas Square, or any other urban public place for that matter, as being truly public. The value put on intimacy, on the private aspects of life, has made our society treat public life as personal. "The distinction between the private and public realms, seen from the viewpoint of privacy ... equals the distinction between things that should be shown and things that should be hidden. (Arendt, 72)" Activities traditionally accepted as normal public behaviour are now deemed

unacceptable by a society advocating "cleaner" public life. The code of ethics, or cynically, the security system, that governs public behaviour on Dundas Square, instead of being directed at normal social conduct, seems to be geared towards repressing everything that could harm the Board's goal of financial self-sufficiency. Dundas Square was to be a "jewel of the city" in former mayor Mel Lastman's words, and judging from the way the city has dealt with issues of public expression in arrests, fees and security, it was to be a very selective "jewel".

## **Stage**

The criticism of Dundas Square as a public square is dangerous. Clearly, the place is a commercial venue and should probably be addressed as such. But confusion arose from mixed messages from the city that advertised it as a new public square for Toronto while announcing funding from public and private moneys. The interesting discussion is not whether Dundas Square is public or private, but whether it is the prototype for a new kind of significant "public" square, a possible memory place of the city. The flashing icons of consumption that enclose the square by day and light it up by night, and the security concerns that reflect our society's devaluation of impersonal life and valuation of intimacy seem to support that idea. Much like the medieval town square where the seat of power framed the open space, Dundas Square is framed by a representation of the reigning power of our society. And if the increasingly strong voice contesting corporate rule and the repression of public expression is to have an effect, Dundas Square creates the perfect stage for a start.

## Epilogue ?

- These gentlemen, that just came from the riot, are here to refute me if this isn't the truth. It is Notre-Dame the people are besieging.  
- Oui-da! Muttered the king, pale and shivering with anger. Notre-Dame! It is I we are attacking.

-Victor Hugo, "Notre-Dame de Paris"

