



ev yaratmak<---->maak een huis (Creating Home, an inquiry into migration and identity)

History of migrant housing in the Netherlands (Guest worker influx to the European refugee crisis) and the incorporation of cultural identities in housing and integration policies

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AR2A01 I Architectural History Thesis
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(front cover photograph)

Peter Mokveld, Woonruimte Turkse Gastarbeiders / Living Space of Turkish Guest Workers in the Netherlands, Nationaal Archief, Flickr, 2012, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/nationaalarchief/6941436043/>.

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I

Abstract

Migration of different ethnic groups into an urban ecosystem over generations can lend to diversity and religious plurality. As people migrate from their homeland, they bring with them their culture and mould their surroundings into something that emulates 'home'. These migrant populations try to fit into their new environment, and the host country has to take measures to help them adapt to their new home. Their place of dwelling is the zone within the larger urban context that should make them feel secure, and the various housing projects implemented for migrants may reveal strategies for their integration into their current environment.

This architectural history thesis focuses on the story of migration and migrant housing in the Netherlands, beginning with the influx of guest-workers between 1964 and 1973, family reunification programs in the late 1970s and the recent migration after the 'European Refugee crisis'. There are three phases of assimilation in terms of scale, the larger urban context studies through the case study of the housing crisis for guest-workers

in Utrecht in the 1970s, the neighbourhood level study conducted in the Post World War II Neighbourhoods of Enschede, and the residential level study conducted in the INTERACT projects in Startblok Riekerhaven, Amsterdam and Place2BU, Utrecht and the 'Utrecht Refugee Launchpad Project'. The historical time frame of migration and the different integration methods implemented along this timeline may facilitate newer modes of integration while overcoming the shortcomings of the existing bundle of techniques.

Moreover, the study of migration architecture may help understand the urban ethnographic polyvalence. Through literature and spatial mapping studies conducted from the larger urban context (in terms of frequency in social housing schemes) to the changes in the spatial layout of homes (understanding prevalent Dutch rituals compared to Turkish cultural traditions), we may understand these pre-existing transition methods.

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I

Introduction

Definition of terminology (Migration and Identity)

Jeffrey Hou contended that in cities around the world, the migration of people has continued to shape the makeup of neighbourhoods, districts and communities.¹ He described how new immigrants play a critical role in rebuilding decaying urban areas and creating new cultural and economic networks that transcended borders. In the decades following World War II, Hou recollected countless advancements in transportation, communication and economic globalisation. This caused the accelerated migration of people from one place to another. Many national conflicts and emergencies around the world confirm this as they shifted in the global political, economic, and social systems. Immigration here, is the permanent movement of people across national and international boundaries.² These immigrants may be legal (those with permission), illegal (those without permission), exiled communities or refugees (those who cross borders to escape atrocities or persecution). It includes forced immigrants who have to move against their will because of political, social or economic troubles.

Cristina Cassandra Murphy argued that when newcomers seek places to live, factors of utmost importance include safety, an affordable lifestyle, economic stability, family-friendliness, immigrant-friendly policies, and diversity.³ Cities are destinations of transnational and national migration. While contributing to the multicultural aura of a city, migration can cause

different interactions when the newcomers and the locals come together.⁴ Migration leads to the renewal of the identities of existing places and results in an expected image of multicultural landscapes that represent the people who live within them.⁵

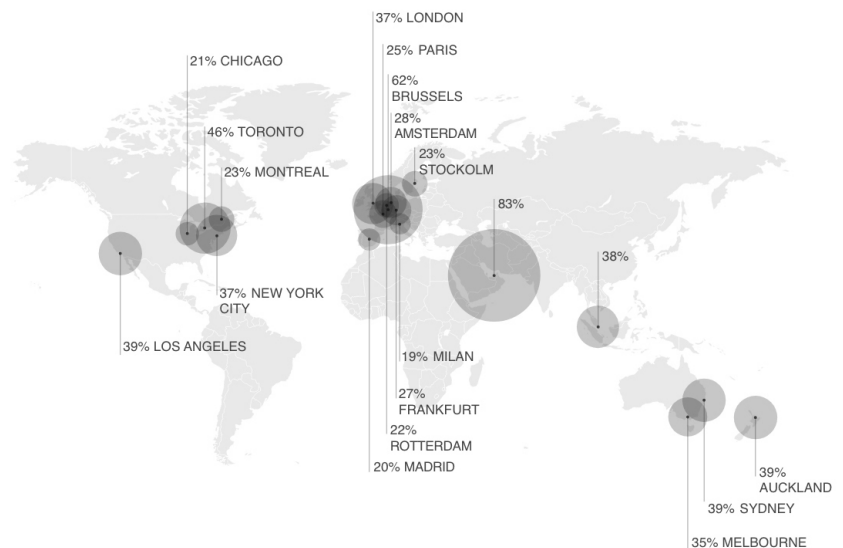


Figure 1.1
IOM's GMDAC. "Foreign-Born Populations in Some Major Global or World Cities." Migration Data Portal. 2019. Accessed April 11, 2022.
<https://www.migrationdataportal.org/themes/urbanisation-et-migration>.

1 Jeffrey Hou, *Transcultural Cities: Border-Crossing and Placemaking* (Routledge, 2013).1

2 Cristina Cassandra Murphy, "The Spatial Impact of Migration," in *The Journal of Public Space*, no. Vol. 3 n. 3 | 2018 | FULL ISSUE (2018): pp. 159-170, <https://doi.org/10.32891/jps.v3i3.1139>, 165.

3 Murphy, Spatial impact, 160

4 Hou, *Transcultural*, 1

5 Hou, *Transcultural*, 2

Noha Nasser described cities as sites of dense social meetings, flows, and interactions within new cultural geographies that move away from homogeneity to accommodate everyday social and spatial practices of migrant groups as they articulate and redefine new ways of life in foreign environments. She observed that idealised notions of a territorially bound group of an ethnical 'other' can create racial segregation. Staving off urban segregation will lend to the functioning of a successful cosmopolitan city.⁶ To tackle this problem, she proposed the creation of kaleidoscopes,

an environment wherein a hybrid urban landscape combined local vernaculars with global elements.⁷ For the purpose of this study, we focus on these aspects of migration and on the people who bring their culture and social practices to a new land. The superimposition of these cultures on the city creates manifestations of this kaleidoscope at multiple levels, from the home to the neighbourhood and on the city itself.

History of Migration in the Netherlands

The INTERACT report, an analysis of integration processes for Chinese and Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, stated that the Netherlands since 1945, has been a country of immigration in the sense that the immigration rate is higher than the emigration rate.⁸ Several global conditions have contributed to this shift.

- During the 1940s and 1950s, Dutch citizens returned after the colonies of the former Dutch East Indies gained independence. In the 1960s, the Dutch government implemented

the policy of introducing guest workers through bilateral agreements with countries such as Italy, Spain and Turkey.⁹ In 2013, almost two-thirds of the population had a foreign background. The two largest groups of people of foreign origin were Turkish and Moroccan.

- Immigration from Turkey started with the policy of guest-worker recruitment in the 1960s through bilateral agreements. Turkish immigrants came from the villages in Central Anatolia and the Black Sea Region and settled

6 Noha Nasser, "From Multicultural Urbanities to the Postmodern Cosmopolis: A Praxis for Urban Democracy," *Built Environment* 30, no. 1 (March 1, 2004): 5–16, <https://doi.org/10.2148/benv.30.1.5.54325>. 297

7 Nasser; *Urban Democracy*, 14

8 Jeremy Mandin and Sonia Gsir, *Turkish and Chinese Immigration on the Netherlands: Corridor Report* (European University Institute, 2015). 1.

9 Mandin, Gsir; *Interact*, 7

in cities such as Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Utrecht. The foreign worker recruitment process came to an end in the late 1970s though Turkish immigration continued through family reunification. In the 1960s and 1970s, immigrants were not considered permanent and as such, no integration policies were implemented. Facing large-scale immigration settlement, the Netherlands implemented explicit integration policies in the 1980s called “the minority policy” based on several ethnic minorities who could develop their institutions in domains of culture, religion and language. They eventually recognised that the immigrants would stay and public policy shifted towards integration policies aiming at equality on a socio-economical basis and the reduction of restrictions to family migration and asylum seekers.¹⁰

- The Labour of Foreign Workers Act in 1979 and the Labour of Aliens Act in 1995 created policies that tried to restrict the entrance of low-skilled migrants because of the loss of jobs in the industrial sector of the country. This continued to attract high-skilled workers in the growing service sector. The 1990s also saw the Dutch government reduce irregular immigration. In 1998, the Linkage Act made a legal residence status necessary for accessing public services such as secondary or higher education, housing, rent, subsidies,

handicapped facilities or healthcare. There was a shift in family migration policies in the 1990s, from a group-oriented approach to one focused on individual integration and family migration. Since 2005, all non-Dutch family members who want to immigrate required an integration test in the country of origin. Their family rights thus became conditioned upon their knowledge of the Dutch language and society. This was an attempt on the behalf of the Dutch government to make certain that the migrants would be able to cope with their new life in the Netherlands.¹¹

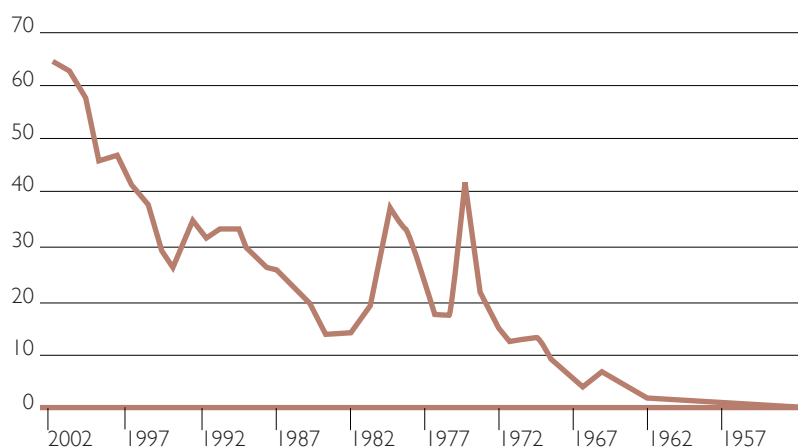


Figure 1.2
UCL, “First Generation Non-Western Immigrants by Year of Arrival,”
History of Immigration in the Netherlands, 2012, Accessed April 10,
2022, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/dutchstudies/an/SP_LINKS_UCL_POPUP/SPs_english/multicultureel_gev_ENG/pages/intro.html

¹⁰ Mandin, Gsir, Interact, 20

¹¹ Mandin, Gsir, Interact, 9

History of Turkish Immigrants in the Netherlands:

First influx of Turkish immigrants occurred because of the policies of guest-worker recruitment wherein significant migration happened between 1964 and 1974 with bilateral labour agreements between the Netherlands and Turkey to meet the needs of workers for economic growth in the Netherlands in labour-intensive professions such as textile making and road construction.¹²

The Turkish government organised emigration of workers to prevent unemployment crises. Male skilled workers were seen as temporary and the Dutch government officially ceased labour recruitment after the oil crisis in 1973, utilising family fortification and family reunification policies, irregular immigration continued. Between 1980 and 1984, there was a decrease in the number of restrictive labour migration laws. Marriage migration and economic growth in the second half of the 1980s saw an increase in Turkish immigration.¹³ We identified the orientation and participation of immigrants as guest labourers in their host countries in three main stages.

- The first stage was the period of labour migration in the 1960s, which comprised of single male workers as they viewed women as a dependant and passive category of migrant. The workers were economic assets. Likewise, the

economic advantages of the labourer's country of origin improved as these countries, like Turkey, were handling excessive unskilled labour.¹⁴ The uneven distribution of guest workers concentrated in sectors of low-paid, low-skilled workers had several consequences and the position of the government was passive.¹⁵

- The second stage of immigration happened in the 1970s and 1980s, wherein there were several changes in the economies of the Western European countries and the oil crisis in 1973. They placed various restrictions on Turkish immigrants, which led to an increase in the rise of illegal workers. Many workers moved their families to Europe and the family reunification stage in host countries ensued.¹⁶ The population of Turkish women in this period increased. Many Turkish tourists who came to visit families stayed behind, sometimes illegally.

- The third period was in the 1990s- the settlement stage- when many Turkish people stayed in the host country. Higher investment in the housing and business sector and lower frequency of trips to their homeland saw an increased orientation and settlement process in the Netherlands.

¹² Mandin, Gsir, Interact, 11

¹³ Mandin, Gsir, Interact, 11

¹⁴ Eda Ünlü Yücesoy, "Everyday urban public space: Turkish immigrant women's perspective." (University Utrecht, 2006.), 22.

¹⁵ Yücesoy, urban public space, 22.

¹⁶ Yücesoy, urban public space, 22.

The Turkish population settled in four large cities in the Netherlands, the Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Utrecht, along with regions such as Twente and Limburg, where there was a growing demand for industrial labour.¹⁷ They, within the cities, were located near larger affordable housing schemes. According to Van Kempen and Van Weesep, there was a low segregation level between mid-sized cities and larger cities. They stated that this was due to the welfare state development in the housing market. The housing provided and the living conditions of Turkish populations in the Netherlands studied by Van Kempen and Van Weesep revealed that the choice of residential areas related to not only the weak economic status (according to the study conducted in 2006) but they did not want to live in such neighbourhoods as it brought an unacceptable image in such concentrated areas.¹⁸ Studies suggested that they were socially segregated and preferred living with people of their ethnic group and seek social solitude within themselves. Together with a decline in the social contact with the Dutch population, they then form the largest social distance from the Dutch native population. Age, education, occupation and sex play a major role in this segregation. Many populations have comparatively conservative views on gender roles and maybe a reason they prefer to stick to their closed social circle. This makes the process of integration more strenuous. We can see that as generations of migrants pass,

the younger generation's behaviour becomes similar to that of the native populations with respect to social orientation and participation, as seen in a study conducted in Rotterdam.¹⁹

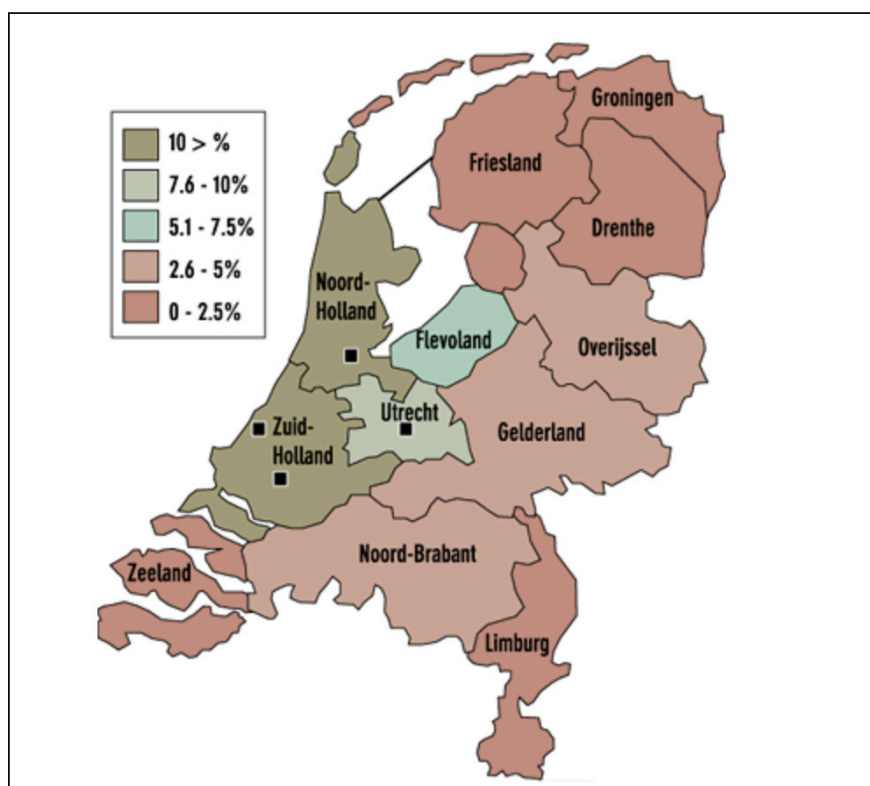


Figure 1.3

UCL, "Spread non-Western immigrants in the Netherlands," History of Immigration in the Netherlands, 2012, Accessed April 10, 2022, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/dutchstudies/an/SP_LINKS_UCL_POPUP/SPs_english/multicultureel_gev_ENG/pages/intro.html.

¹⁷Yücesoy, urban public space, 26.

¹⁸ Ronald Van Kempen and Gideon S. Bolt, "Turks in the Netherlands," *American Behavioral Scientist* 41, no. 3 (November 1997): 374–95, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764297041003008>. np

¹⁹Yücesoy, urban public space, 27.

History of refugee housing in the Netherlands

W. Dennis Keating in "The Right to Housing" said that housing circumscribes various features beyond the necessity for shelter; it includes affordability, safety, services, and social and cultural equality.²⁰ One of the rights mentioned by the United Nations High Commissioner of Human Rights was, "the right to choose one's residence. To determine where to live - and to have - freedom of movement."²¹ Housing discrimination and spatial segregation limit the choice and access of lower-income households and racial minorities. In 2013, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on social housing in the European Union stating that access to housing was a fundamental right but numerous countries including the Netherlands have been in a deficit of affordable housing and this has brought an onslaught of policies to counter this deficit and to create affordable housing that avoided ghettoisation and gentrification.²² Peter Cachola Smal in *Making Heimat* stated that to

live in an urban location is something people desire, whether they are refugees, immigrants, or residents. Although the refugee housing projects,²³ presented in *Making Heimat* are not in the "arrival city," they offer more than just a roof over one's head, since they pay heed to the eight theses that contribute to successful integration such as proximity to work, a connection to public transport and existing networks, and opportunities for personal initiative according to Smal.

Affordable living space and solutions that meet needs is an urgent issue, especially in major metropolitan regions.²⁴ The mass movement of people towards Europe after 2015 caused many policy changes in countries that accepted asylum seekers and refugees including the Netherlands.²⁵ Due to the civil uprising and wars in Syria and Iraq and due to the intensifying condition of insecurity and war in Afghanistan, peaking in 2015,

20 W Dennis Keating, "The Right to Housing: The Goal versus the Reality," in *The Routledge Handbook of Housing Policy and Planning* (Routledge, 2019). 13

21 Keating, *Right to Housing*, np

22 Keating, *Right to Housing*, np

23 Oliver Elser, Peter Cachola Schmal, and Anna Scheuermann, *Making Heimat: Germany, Arrival Country* (Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2016). 15

The projects mentioned in *Making Heimat* includes the settlement in Reutlingen designed by PWC Architecten that provided immediate availability and affordable solutions. or the blue container settlement in Bremen by Feldscnieders+Kister that shows the arrangement of rooms that helps create a small community and placing them within existing residential communities with a wide range of educational facilities for better integration and a smoother transition.

24 Elser, Smal and Scheuermann, *Making Heimat*. 18

the number of refugee seekers increased. Unlike several other countries, the Netherlands provided sufficient emergency accommodations for asylum seekers between 2015 and 2016.²⁷

Housing needs, in a region, depend on its social, economic and demographic composition. A solution for affordable housing was to build additional housing units due to the financial deficiencies along with the long planning process and insufficient land for construction.²⁸ The peak of arrival in 2015 stimulated many housing providers to develop temporary and permanent housing alternatives, relieving the shortage of affordable housing by using vacant housing properties. They looked at various alternatives. One was to speed up the transformation of vacant buildings into residential buildings. In 2016, many shops, libraries, schools and office buildings were vacant and instead of spending time on new construction, they adapted these vacant buildings. Another alternative was the temporary use or reuse instead of permanent change to vacant buildings as they have fewer restrictions in building regulations. In 2015, Platform31, a think tank in the Netherlands,

ran studies to analyse barriers to changes in building leases and they found temporary reuse more efficient to plan and fund. The third alternative was to postpone demolition plans to offer refugee housing to create flexible housing units that occupy as easy to assemble, transport and reconstruct.²⁹ These three categories of migrant housing since 2015, will be further studied within the case studies at the neighbourhood level. With the current housing shortage in the Netherlands and an increase in the global conflicts and emergency situations, this need for housing will continue to proliferate and there is an urgent requirement for urban strategies to deal with the same.

25 Alfas Fremin and Frank Wassenberg, "A Home Away from Home," in *The Routledge Handbook of Housing Policy and Planning* (Routledge, 2019). 26

26 Ibid.

The European Parliament (2017) gave the responsibility to the local governments to look after the recognition of migrants and their integration into society. In March of 2016, the EU and Turkey agreed that all migrants that tried to cross between Turkey and Greece without necessary authorisation would be returned. The implementation of this agreement and the closing of the Balkan route resulted in a decrease in the number of refugees entering the EU countries. The Dutch residence

27 Fremin and Wassenberg, *Home*. 26

28 Fremin and Wassenberg, *Home*, 28

29 Fremin and Wassenberg, *Home*, 28



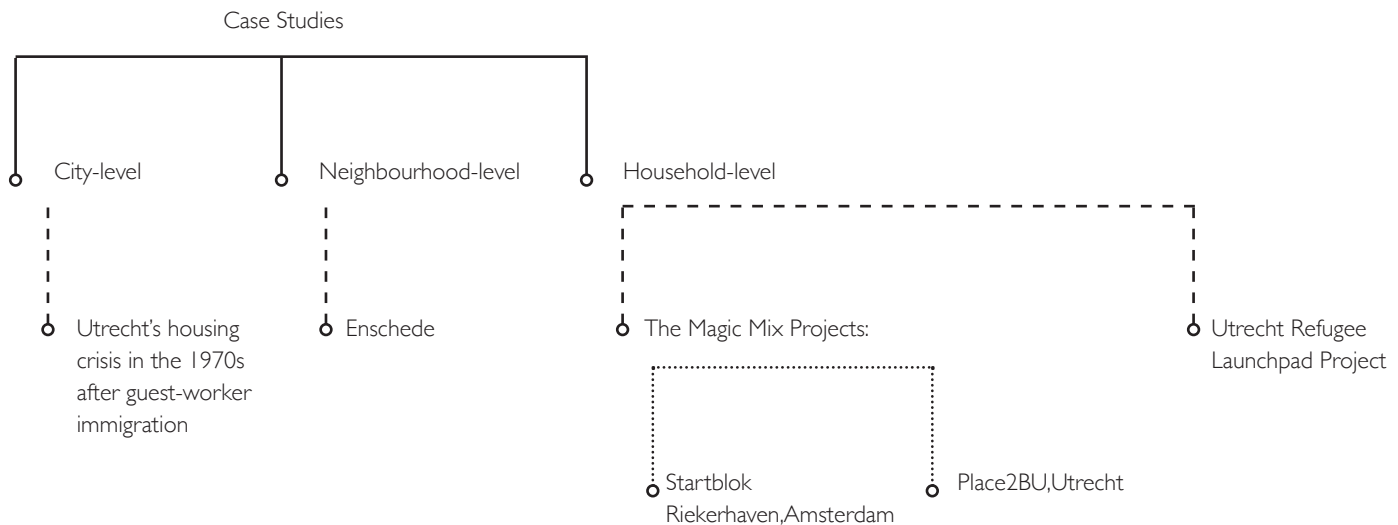
2

Case Studies

Approach towards the Case studies

This study focuses on the three major periods of immigration in the Netherlands. The three periods correspond to the different scales at which integration policies are implemented. These include the urban city-level scale about the arrival, housing and infrastructure facilities. This determines their position within the larger environment. The 1970s guest-worker recruitment and the subsequent housing shortage in Utrecht will indicate urban level changes in integration methods for the immigrating population. The second scale is that of the neighbourhood where the people in the neighbourhood can mingle with the newcomers. With the 1990s and the family reunification process and the study of

post World War II neighbourhoods of Enschede will analyse neighbourhood level practices of the newcomer within a foreign landscape and ways to create community. The third and final scale is that of the buildings, studied using the recent “European refugee crisis” and the integration policies implemented at the household level stage through the study of Platform31’s Magic Mix project and the Utrecht Refugee Launchpad Project. The combination of different people provided at the housing level can be a powerful tool for newcomers to absorb and adapt to their surroundings.



Aspects studied:

Urban Housing Strategies

Different types of migrants

Access to amenities

Access to recreation

Utrecht's housing crisis in the 1970s after guest-worker immigration

Walls and moats crossed by bridges restricted the urban growth of Dutch cities until the late nineteenth century. Thus, growth within the town occurred through densification. In the later stages of the nineteenth century, the demolition of walls and construction of several bridges allowed access to outskirts of the city.³⁰ The growth of the city now was not physically curtailed. Larger groups of people started moving to the cities. Housing became the key social issue when large groups of people arrived after the Second World War from the Dutch colonies. The guest-worker immigration from countries like Turkey and Morocco in the 1970s caused a large influx of people who needed immediate housing solutions. Most countries tried to create access to social housing, with many immigrant workers renting in these social housing schemes or buying derelict houses due to financial difficulties.³¹ Allocation procedures for social housing schemes sometimes resulted in concentrations of immigrant populations in specific segments of the cities. Housing provided by employers was of three types: the casa-style, large-scale collective houses and dispersed houses.

- The dilapidated casa-style houses were mansions converted into boarding houses with numerous barracks built in the garden to accommodate large numbers of guest workers. When the factories closed, these houses were shut down and they pushed residents to find

housing elsewhere.

- The large-scale collective housing schemes were built by factory owners. They even housed their workers as passengers on boats, others built barracks in isolated locations away from the urban centres.
- The steel factories preferred the dispersed housing type in Utrecht, wherein workers moved between factories. They did not house the workers centrally; so they gave them a choice of recreational activities. Over time, strict rules, overcrowding, lack of privacy, and lack of choice within the buildings caused them to seek alternative housing.³²

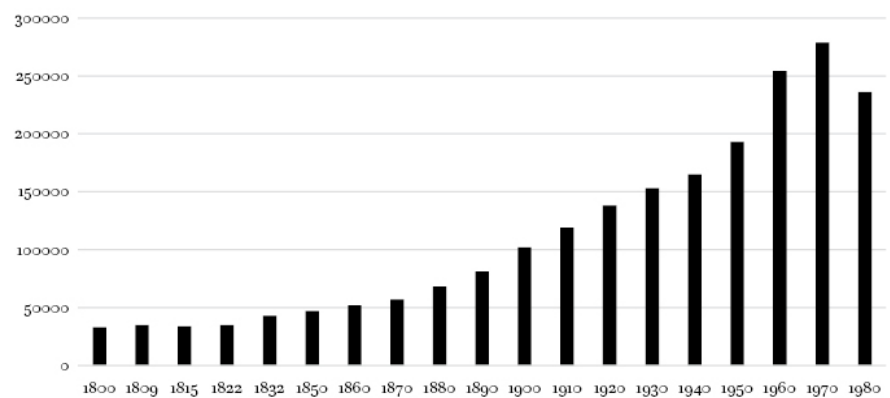


Figure 2.1
Census data. CBS, "Population of the city of Utrecht 1800–1980," *Rats, Rooms and Riots: Usage of Space by Immigrants in the Dutch Town Utrecht 1945–1970*. March 15 1967. Accessed April 10 2022, https://brill.com/view/journals/jmh/7/3/article-p244_244.xml

30 Marlou Schrover, "Urban Migration Histories," in *The Routledge Handbook of the Governance of Migration and Diversity in Cities* (Routledge, 2018). np

31 Ronald Van Kempen, "Segregation and Housing Conditions of Immigrants in Western European Cities," in *Cities of Europe*, ed. Yuri Kazepov (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2005), 190–209, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470694046.ch9>. 191

32 Schrover, Urban Migration, np

In the early 1970s, Utrecht became a major industrial centre for the country, with factories such as Demka, who built several low-cost dwellings. Most temporary guest workers lived in cramped, dispersed, private lodging of poor quality. The number of guest workers increased and there was a need for growth in the housing market, but it was not accessible to the guest workers as they were discriminated upon as a group of people with lesser social and financial standing. The rental sector of housing was important for this guest worker population and the people were deemed emergency renters as they had no other choice.³³ In the later stages of the 1970s, the housing market allowed them to rent properties. There were three categories of neighbourhoods that allowed guest workers to rent.

- The older concentration near city centre housed a large population of Turkish and Moroccan migrants.
- The edge of the city, when the rental sector opened up, comprised low-rise apartments with two mosques and a series of ethnic facilities compared to the old concentration neighbourhoods. It was more inclusive.
- The last category included the other neighbourhoods where smaller groups of guest workers lived.

In the 1970s and 1980s, there were no integration policies in place for the guest workers. When they arrived in the Netherlands, they gave them a Dutch meal, a map of Utrecht and residences controlled by landladies. These residences were as close to one another as possible so that the guest workers would not get lonely. The article, "Rats, rooms and Riots" while discussing living standards, stated that, "70 percent functioned excellently, 28 percent had adjustment problems and 2 percent had to be sent back."³⁴



Figure 2.2
L.H. Hofland, "Interior of a House, in Which Ten or More Moroccan Guestworkers Lived after a Fire." *Rats, Rooms and Riots: Usage of Space by Immigrants in the Dutch Town Utrecht 1945–1970*. March 15 1967. Accessed April 10, 2022, https://brill.com/view/journals/jmh/7/3/article-p244_244.xml

33 Schrover, *Rats, Rooms and Riots*, 270

34 Marlou Schrover, "Rats, Rooms and Riots: Usage of Space by Immigrants in the Dutch Town Utrecht 1945–1970," *Journal of Migration History* 7, no. 3 (November 12, 2021): 244–71, <https://doi.org/10.1163/23519924-00703003.254>

Employers could recruit only if they provided housing, but if the workers arrived without recruitment, the employers were not responsible for housing. The guest workers had to be single when they arrived, so as not to burden the stock of family houses, unlike countries like Germany, where they could bring their families. The Ministry of Social Affairs, like the Catholic Party, believed it would be a good idea for the guest workers to bring their families, but the Ministry of Justice was against it, as they thought it might have led to permanent settlement. Multiple restrictions were in place to protect families of immigrants against deteriorating housing conditions.

Until the 1980s, there were no laws for the assimilation and the wellbeing of the guest workers. The Dutch government and the employers delegated work to Catholic charities³⁵ for protecting the guest workers from Morocco and Turkey as they had left their families and felt isolated.³⁶ General welfare organisations did very less and the gap between the immigrants and non-immigrants increased.

The children of the guest worker were placed in concentration schools that taught their native language along with Dutch and the schools were placed away from where they lived and increasing segregation from other children in the neighbourhood.³⁷ Moreover, guest workers in Utrecht changed housing and jobs frequently

and moved because they wanted to be housed together. Many people were not willing to rent to guest workers and slum lords benefitted by letting large groups of guest workers live together. The estimate was that there were 7.6 people per household at the time of the peak of the housing shortage, it was a fire hazard, extremely dirty and neighbours complained about noise and rat plague.

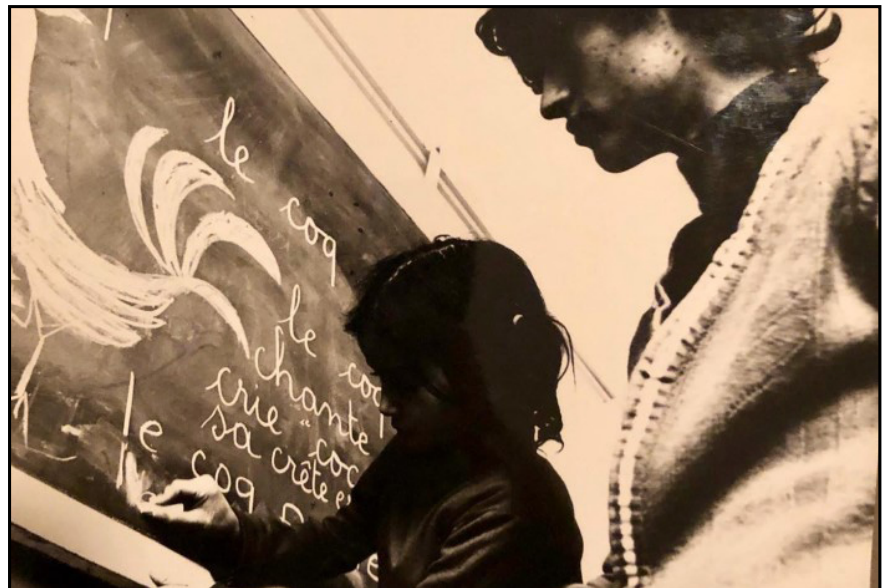


Figure 2.3
Nadia Bouras "Pupils at the Bouchra School learning French." "Taught to Go Back 'Home'? A School for Moroccan Children in Amsterdam. November 30, 1967. Accessed April 10, 2022, https://www.morocoworldnews.com/2019/11/287841/school-moroccan-children-amsterdam?fb_comment_id=2697828803611316_2720648634662666

³⁵ Ibid.

Institutions like the catholic Institute for Social Work and the Utrecht Provincial Social Caritive Care Centre supported the Committee for foreign workers in Utrecht

³⁶ Schrover, *Rats, Rooms and Riots*, 257

³⁷ Schrover, *Rats, Rooms and Riots*, 258

Despite the housing shortage, the guest workers kept arriving and many deteriorating houses had to be closed down when they were being housed and forced to find alternatives.³⁸ The guest workers were filling places in industries that were seen as unacceptable for native Dutch populations. The policies created for them did not safeguard their right to good quality housing, only that they required a roof over their head. The government wanted to curb the creation of ghettos and frictions between the native population and the guest workers. When many guest worker groups decided to stay in the Netherlands, the housing condition was no longer viable for them and as such demonstrations were held in cities such as Rotterdam and Amsterdam. Alongside this, the government did not want to curb the family reunification process and thus the number of guest workers, they realised at this point was not going to reduce.³⁹

People stayed in garages and attics of households when boarding houses were closed down. The workers who had to move out lived under bridges or were placed in guest workers 'warehouses' and would cook in the kitchens and corridors and policy changes were required. The boarding house ordinance changed permits of lodging organisations only allowing 20 per house. Many Turkish guest workers started acting as realtors so that the guest workers would be able to buy properties as their family would move in



Figure 2.4

Rob Croes, "180 Illegaal in ons land verblijvende gastarbeiders in hongerstaking in Mozes en Aaronkerk uit protest tegen gepubliceerde overgangsregeling voor illegalen." Wikimedia commons, May 08, 1980. Accessed April 10, 2022, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:180_Illegaal_in_ons_land_verblijvende_gastarbeiders_in_hongerstaking_in_Mozes_e,_BestanddeelNr_930-8209.jpg

38 Schrover, *Rats, Rooms and Riots*, 261

39 Schrover, *Rats, Rooms and Riots*, 262

in the 1970s. Many of their families were large and needed large houses but these were hardly available and when available the rent was too high.⁴⁰ This was the beginning of the urban-scale crisis in the Netherlands with regard to the guest workers and their families.

At the end of this guest worker recruitment process, many Southern European workers returned back to their countries but the Turkish and Moroccan workers remained. The family reunification process was solidified. With family reunification increasing in the late 1970s and early 1980s, this demand on housing increased further. There were integration policies introduced to cope with this increase and many were implemented within the regions of the city where the families lived. This will be studied in the neighbourhood-level analysis of Enschede.



Figure 2.5
Peter Martens, "Asked and stayed. Guest workers between Vecht and Eem 1960-1980." *If then is Now*, February 02, 1967. Accessed April 10, 2022, <https://ifthenisnow.eu/nl/agenda/gevraagd-en-gebleven-gastarbeiders-tussen-vecht-en-eem-1960-1980>

⁴⁰ Schrover, *Rats, Rooms and Riots*, 269

Aspects studied:	
	Location within the urban context
	Meeting spaces
	Boundaries between neighbourhood and home
	Cultural differences between natives and newcomers

The Case for Enschede: Neighbourhood-level study

Enschede is a city in the east of the Netherlands and along with its neighbouring areas and cities from the region referred to as Twente Stad. The city's history dates back to the fourteenth century and the growth and development of the region began with the eighteenth and nineteenth-century textile and manufacturing industry boom.⁴¹ The new housing estates built, as described by Eda Unlu Yücesoy, were for a very particular type of inhabitants.⁴² It held a strict separation of functions and socio-economic segregation of the inhabitants within the estate. In the 1920s, single-family houses with spacious green spaces were built for the upper working class while row houses with limited facilities were built for the lower working classes. At the end of the second world war, the city was almost destroyed. They tried to redevelop the old districts and build new ones to ease the housing crisis. They realised this as a series of small neighbourhoods with mid and high rise buildings with large green spaces. The guest workers arrived in Enschede and at the beginning of the process of settlement in the Netherlands in the 1970s, the working class lived in barracks or dormitories built near factories where they worked. The family reunification process led to a deeper attachment of the Turkish population with the Dutch social housing schemes, which by this time were overloaded as there was a housing shortage.^{43 44}



Figure 2.6
Eda Ünlü Yücesoy, "Post WW II Residential Development in Enschede."
2006. in. *Everyday urban public space: Turkish immigrant women's perspective* (Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 2006), 76

⁴¹ Yücesoy, urban public space, 68.

⁴² Ibid.

industrial growth attracted a substantial number of migrants from regions such as Friesland and Drenthe in the Netherlands. Alongside worsening conditions of living where the working class and poor neighbourhoods had high pollution levels and the lack of basic services and a severe housing crisis, there was a need for urgent redevelopment of the city.

⁴³ Yücesoy, urban public space, 77.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

As their financial status was lower, the only available housing units in the city were the ones available in the post war neighbourhoods (the one left by the working class as they moved to the newer neighbourhoods)

Since the 1990s, there has been a steady increase in the city's population through the family-formation process of Turkish immigrants.^{45 46}

Ethnicity and culture, according to Yücesoy, are influential factors in the perception of urban space. Differences in beliefs and cultures, traditions and values, and varying financial capabilities, can lead to the change in using public and private spaces. The restrictions of various religious groups that practice stricter constraints on privacy will use their private and public realm differently. For example, Muslim groups will have different public and private space boundaries from native Dutch populations. In all the aforementioned frameworks of work, culture and religious tradition, the conceptualisation of the usage of space is different and is embedded in their social relations, according to Yücesoy. Helpful insight is given by Charles Tilly, who states that culture is treated as a shared understanding and representation as actors who operate within this framework that has been constructed by generations of people before them.⁴⁷ This leads to strategies to change of use of this private space. This social responsibility is seen through the exhibition of regularities, the attribution of behaviour and identity and connections within groups in society.



Figure 2.7
Aerial view of the city of Enschede, and the distance between the city centre and post-war neighbourhoods that housed the Turkish immigrants, by author, 2022

45 Yücesoy, urban public space, 78.

46 Ibid.

Large scale unemployment as the textile manufacturing industry in the region were shut down, lead to the out-migration of large groups of population.

47 Yücesoy, urban public space, 79.

People seek to find comfort in their private space and it expresses certain cultural understandings that are transmitted from one generation to the next.⁴⁸ Cultural practices of daily life reflect on the physical space. This is demonstrated in Yücesoy's study of Turkish women's system of practices in the public and private realm where she defines an immigrant's identity and what is then adapted in the new context and what the next generation will carry as their traditional cultural practices. Community relations wherein people exercise considerable pressure upon each other to conform to an approved opinion or image which may differ from their native counterparts. Notwithstanding that, the women worked outside their homes and thus commuted daily, they rarely exited the circle of their family and neighbours. Strong family ties remain prevalent in their lives and most people developed certain patterns and rituals in their everyday life when they first move to the new country.⁴⁹

The neighbourhood had an important role in their everyday life. The spatial activities within the framework of the post-war neighbourhoods where the green space was used for short walks to get air or visit the homes of their Turkish neighbours and family members who also live within these quarters in the shopping centre or the weekly market. Those who learn the language as a part of the immersion process, take part in

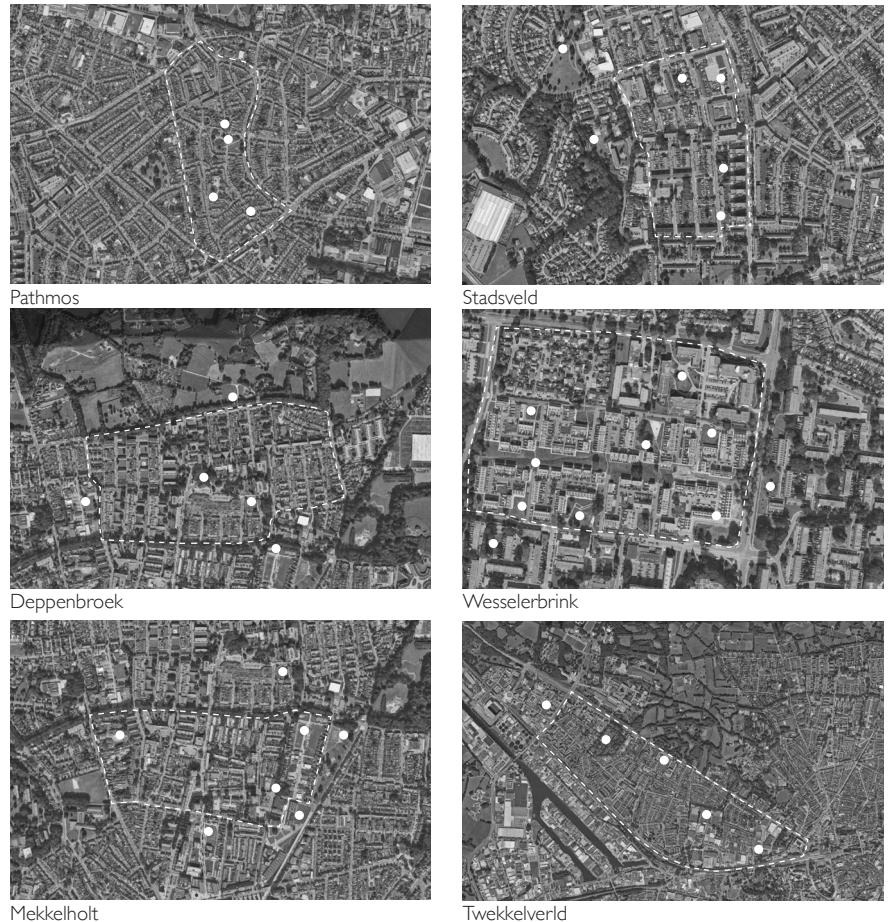


Figure 2.8
Aerial view of the post-war neighbourhoods that housed the Turkish immigrants, by author, 2022

⁴⁸Yücesoy, urban public space, 61.

⁴⁹Yücesoy, urban public space, 90.

activities at the community centre and organise events for the elderly. In contrast to this, there is a large group of marriage immigrants who have a poor grasp of the Dutch language and so stay away from the city centre and consolidate their everyday practices in their neighbourhood and the neighbourhood centre- the language barrier as the most common reason for dependence of the immigrant populations on each another.⁵⁰

Most third-generation Turkish groups were educated in the Dutch schooling system and had more immersive experiences, resulting in more heterogeneous social circles. This manifests in their urban movements which can be seen as primarily outside the boundaries of the neighbourhood. The religious restrictions imply greater constraints on the location and level of social exchanges. From grocery stores inside mosques to the special activities held in the community centre, the people benefit from community building practices as integration within the new setting.⁵¹ This fits the framework of the post-war neighbourhood's concept of social ties based on the publicness and privateness constructed socially and manifested in structured patterns of social encounter. Most peer groups of first generation immigrants, meet several times a week in their home as the main socialising space where they can freely practice their values.⁵² Reliability, neatness and decency are the three most valuable characteristics of a Turkish home, according to Yücesoy.



Figure 2.9
Eda Ünlü Yücesoy, "Engagement in neighbourhood market, Wesselbrink"
2006. in. *Everyday urban public space: Turkish immigrant women's
perspective* (Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 2006), 156

⁵⁰Yücesoy, urban public space, 90.

⁵¹Yücesoy, urban public space, 97.

⁵²Yücesoy, urban public space, 102.

A single-family home is considered the most desirable.⁵³ Strong familial ties are reflected in staying close to their home. The private realm of the house can be converted into an interpersonal space by introducing visitors and gatherings. Separation of the guest from the private sphere of the home, the living quarters from the sleeping quarters and enclosed kitchens with separate bathrooms are important factors in making their homes seem workable around their rituals in private space. The home reflects the identity of the inhabitants through various habits, the closeness of the curtains (an aspect that would not be present in the Dutch home) for privacy, the display of identifiable moments in the living room and this use of the space in front of the house as an extension of the home, a semi-private space to increase contact with neighbours and develop informal relationships. These will be further studies in detail with respect to mixing different groups of people at the building level.

	Contact with own ethnic group	Contact with the Dutch
Amsterdam	45	25
Rotterdam	40	11
The Hague	50	24
Utrecht	42	26
Eindhoven	42	25
Enschede	51	30

Figure 1.1

Percentage of Turks who have contact with the neighbourhood. In Eda Ünlü Yücesoy, "Everyday urban public space: Turkish immigrant women's perspective," 156. Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 2006.

	Education		Income		
Amsterdam	68	4	55	35	10
Rotterdam	59	4	54	37	8
The Hague	70	3	59	30	11
Utrecht	68	6	63	25	12
Eindhoven	62	3	61	33	6
Enschede	69	3	47	41	12

Figure 2.10

Eda Ünlü Yücesoy, "Comparing Socio-Economic Positions of Turks in Dutch Cities." 2006. in. Everyday urban public space: Turkish immigrant women's perspective (Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 2006), 76

⁵³ Ibid.

The long term tenancy programs in the post WWII neighbourhoods allow for the creation of stable social circles where they can define their own identity within an otherwise heterogeneous world around them. Within the house, there is a firm separation in dwelling space that is different from the Dutch dwelling traditions. The role of the woman within the walls of the home determines the layers of privacy placed between the outside public realm and the living quarters occupied by the women in the family.

The Magic Mix Projects: Household-level study

Many urban renewal projects in deprived neighbourhoods, according to Igor Costarelli, Reinout Kleinhans and Silvia Mugnano, are based on the idea of the social mix of people from different walks of life. Mixed neighbourhoods help to tackle the negative effects of a segregated region and improve liveability⁵⁴ and social cohesion and provide low-income households with the opportunity to diversify their social network.⁵⁵ Most social housing in the Netherlands is provided by housing associations- private organisations that have done so since the early 20th century.⁵⁶ The question of rental affordability is impertinent and the influx of refugees and asylum seekers since 2015 pushes toward stronger questions regarding allocation of affordable social housing in the larger cities where a large part of the migrant population lives. Several housing associations tried to accommodate this plurality in lifestyles, social status, and ethnicity. The Magic Mix was a typology of social housing that was based on temporary small scale residential initiatives with the social mix at the forefront of the idea of creating interaction and social cohesion. The housing complexes had a major focus on ethnic minorities and low-income households for housing diversification.

Kearns and Forrest in "Social Cohesion and Multilevel Urban Governance" said that

social cohesion has four dimensions: common values, social contact, social capital and territorial belonging with the former two being the most important.⁵⁷ The Magic Mix projects provide residence to certain groups of people for fixed periods, some to mix Dutch residents like mixing ex-homeless people or Dutch students. This helped with the integration process and status holders. All status holders must integrate under the Dutch government's measures for level of integration that include income and education levels alongside social components mentioned above. Under the norm of social control, the programme can support interaction through specific criterion for this integration. The social programme also institutes a ratio of 50/50 between Dutch students and status holders.

There were eight Magic Mix projects throughout the Netherlands and can be divided into different groups based on the type of housing, location, number of residents and scale of the project and the shared facilities.⁵⁸ For the purpose of this study we focus on Startblok Riekerhaven, Amsterdam and Place2BU, Utrecht.

54 Igor Costarelli, Reinout Kleinhans, and Silvia Mugnano, "Reframing Social Mix in Affordable Housing Initiatives in Italy and in the Netherlands. Closing the Gap between Discourses and Practices?," *Cities* 90 (July 2019): 131–40, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2019.01.033>.131.

The history of the social mix in Western Europe dates back to the creation of welfare states and easy and affordable housing for all, against social polarisation as a result of growing social inequality.

55 Costarelli, Kleinhans and Mugnano, *Social Mix*, 132.

56 Costarelli, Kleinhans and Mugnano, *Social Mix*, 133.

57 Ade Kearns and Ray Forrest, "Social Cohesion and Multilevel Urban Governance," *Urban Studies* 37, no. 5–6 (May 2000): 995–1017, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980050011208>. np

Aspects studied:	
☐	Quicker construction
☐	Forced social interaction
☐	Increased space for private practices
☐	New ritualistic practices

Startblok Reikerhaven, Amsterdam

Startblok Reikerhaven is one such Magic Mix housing project in Amsterdam. It comprises 565 prefabricated housing units that house 18-27 years olds with half the tenants being asylum seekers and half being Dutch. The integration of these newcomers within the city is considered an important aspect of the design of the complex with facilities to learn Dutch, etc.⁵⁹ The project is also a form of self-managed housing wherein all tenants handle the maintenance of the complex. The short-term aim was also to provide quick housing solutions for the large influx of migrants in 2015 at a lower rental rate. This was done through the use of prefabricated housing units from another site in Amsterdam. The vacant plots developed for the Magic Mix housing initiative meant that they could produce different configurations and scales to suit different social mixes. These can also be linked to circumstantial housing, healthcare and political reform with the influx of large groups of migrant populations entering the country at a certain period.⁶⁰ This flexibility of layout also assured that the designers could provide maximum social proximity between the inhabitants using what Costarelli, Kleinhans and Mugnano called the door-to-door configuration at a smaller scale, per floor and building. There was also a condition provided at the beginning that

selected tenants would invest a certain number of hours towards social activities. The complex consists of 9 buildings with 463 studio spaces and 102 two and three-bedroom units. There are areas called 'living groups' that share hallways and common areas and thus creating opportunities for refugees and Dutch residents to live together. On top of this, there are shared facilities, such as

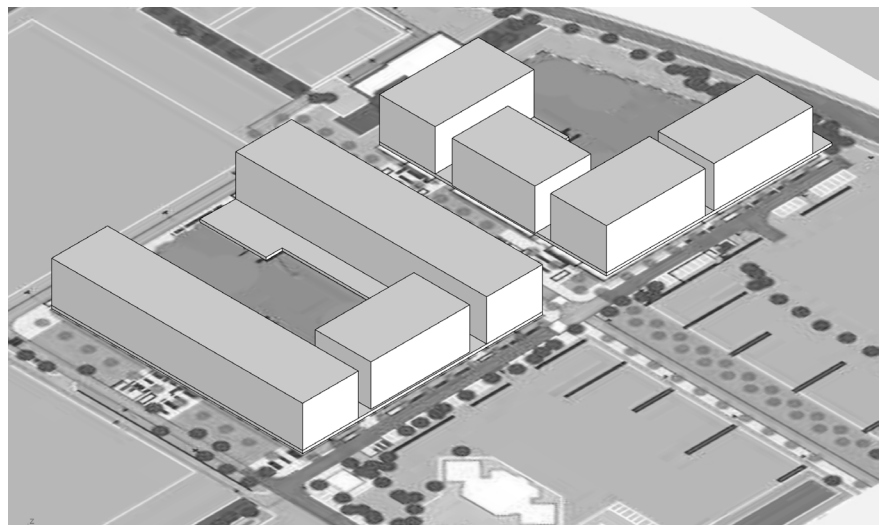


Figure 2.11
Startblok Reikerhaven, Amsterdam, isometric view of the site of
Startblok Reikerhaven, by author; 2022

⁵⁹ Costarelli, Kleinhans and Mugnano, *Social Mix*, 137.

⁶⁰ Costarelli, Kleinhans and Mugnano, *Social Mix*, 138

laundromats, common rooms, cooking facilities and tables for communal uses. Most refugees are male and to balance out the gender ratio in Startblok Reikerhaven the gender mix among Dutch residents is kept equal.

Within this larger framework, the concept of the home and the household is important. Kyohee Kim and Peer Smets stated that the home is based on both material aspects (tangible items such as furniture and food) and immaterial aspects (such as social or cultural circumstances).⁶¹ The UN-Habitat associates housing with issues such as affordability, security, amenities and location while the concept of the home revolves around the people who live within the home, described by Kim and Smets as social and emotional aspects of housing, a sense of belonging and identity within the larger urban realm. Migrants may experience discrimination and social limitation as they are non-native and they may feel safe only within the four walls of the home. Migrants face both a temporal and physical shift in their sense of home and therefore attempt to reproduce their original home in the new context.⁶² Thus, the home can be understood as a continuous process of 'homing,' the ritualistic practices that create aspects of the home within this new setting. Kim and Smets state that many homing practices like filling their space with objects that remind them of their homes such as furniture, adornments and traditional 'knick-knacks' are a usual practice among migrants. This coupled with the need to cultivate new

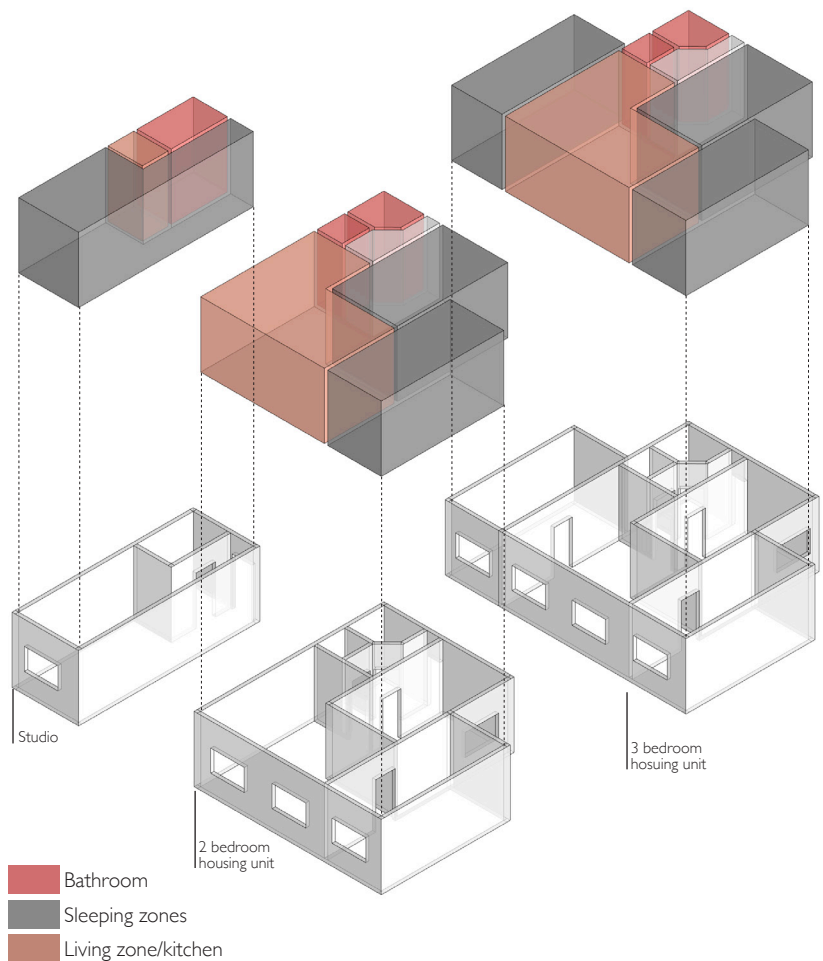


Figure 2.12
Startblok Reikerhaven, Amsterdam, Isometric of functions within the housing units, by author, 2022

61 Kyohee Kim and Peer Smets, "Home Experiences and Homemaking Practices of Single Syrian Refugees in an Innovative Housing Project in Amsterdam," *Current Sociology* 68, no. 5 (December 2020): pp. 607-627, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392120927744>, 608.

62 Kim and Smets, Home Experiences. 609.

relationships within this foreign environment, within the framework of Startblok Riekerhaven can be seen as an exercise of social bonding and support.

The study conducted by Kim and Smets on Syrian refugees' homemaking practices in Startblok Riekerhaven concluded that availability of private space was one of the positives of the housing programme. The shift from living in refugee camps to having private space is perceived as very advantageous. Small practices such as the cooking of food that produces smell within a larger setting are seen as negative. Using container houses was a negative, as they make their private space still feel like a refugee camp. Container homes also do not have the best building materials as they are quickly put together. Poor noise and sound insulation between units created an uncomfortable living situation and, coupled with poorly managed communal spaces and dirty communal kitchens create unwelcome collective spaces. Similar to the considerations of ethnically grouped housing practices in Enschede, the Syrian refugees in Startblok Riekerhaven stick together to create a sense of family. Most houses are furnished by the refugees to host guests. Despite the structure having communal spaces, as it gives a level of control over this living area and offers them comfort to reproduce a sense of home. Small practices like taking off shoes while entering the home space are important considerations.

Costarelli, Kleinhans and Mugnano also stated that the homemaking practices are not as evident in the communal spaces as they are in the private spaces. Most interviewees said that the common rooms were not very well used due to cleanliness and the creation of a loosely knit community and not initiating group activities. Smaller individual activities like doing the laundry and cleaning the common room are badly managed as individuals (both refugees and Dutch residents) are busy with their personal lives. This hindered the building of deeper relationships.



Figure 2.13

"Vluchteling Naast Starter: Is Het Experiment Geslaagd?," NRC, 2016.
Accessed April 10 2022, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2021/08/27/vluchteling-naast-starter-het-experiment-a4056303>.

Aspects studied:	
☐	Quicker construction
☐	Forced social interaction
☐	Increased space for private practices
☐	New ritualistic practices
☐	Speckled Housing

Place2BU, Utrecht

Not unlike Startblok Riekerhaven, Place2BU also consists of stacked prefabricated rectangular boxes on the outskirts of Utrecht, completed in 2018. This project was a collaboration between the housing associations Mitros and Portaal and social organisations including the COA-the Central Organisation for Asylum Seekers, a Dutch semi-governmental organisation that is responsible for the caretaking of refugees when they first arrive in the Netherlands.⁶³ These prefabricated units were 490 in number and formed four residential towers, with each modular unit measuring 21 square meters. Between the residential towers was a communal building that housed offices and common living rooms and kitchens. At the entrance, some smaller dwellings house people from a social institution where they lived with the guidance of social workers. The project included Dutch residents who are between the age of 23-28/30 years and were mixed with status holders and people from the social organisation. The people from this organisation were maintained at minor problems and not major complex ones to prevent creating burdens on the young population of the project. For lower stimulus environment requirements of some people from the social workers, there were a set of eight homes built as a later addition.



Figure 2.14

Van Ginkel Finishing. "image of the fabrication of Place2BU, Utrecht,"
 Van Ginkel Finishing: Place 2BU, Utrecht. 2022. Accessed April 10 2022,
<https://www.vanginkelafbouw.nl/portfolio-item/place-2bu-utrecht/>.

⁶³ Dorsman, *Magical Housing*, 36

Within the modular prefabricated unit, there is a kitchen, laundromat and living space. Each resident may live within the unit for a maximum of 11 years and all status holders are selected by the COA. The election process to live in a community facility is also judged by multiple bodies and as mentioned by an interviewee in the "Gemengd wonen met statushouders 2019," people with psychological and physiological trauma cannot be selected for living in most Magic Mix housing projects around the Netherlands. On top of the selection process, many people who are admitted into the project are given advance information about their living situation and the stipulations for social gatherings and what they can expect once within the system. Over time, the selection procedure has been tightened such that the residents themselves work well together and rule out people who will not contribute to the community.⁶⁴

Social opportunity is utilised here through forced interaction between different residents.⁶⁵ Most residents have kitchens but also have to share a communal kitchen and large living space. Thus, they are forced to contact one another. Place2BU also has a permanent social manager who maintains the function of the organisation. It also contained smaller communal functions, like a study space or movie room, which is shared between residents. This mix of people is further brought together through the use of hallways and

each hallway has a community builder or 'gang maker' or 'initiators' who attempt to allow the social function of the building to be optimised,

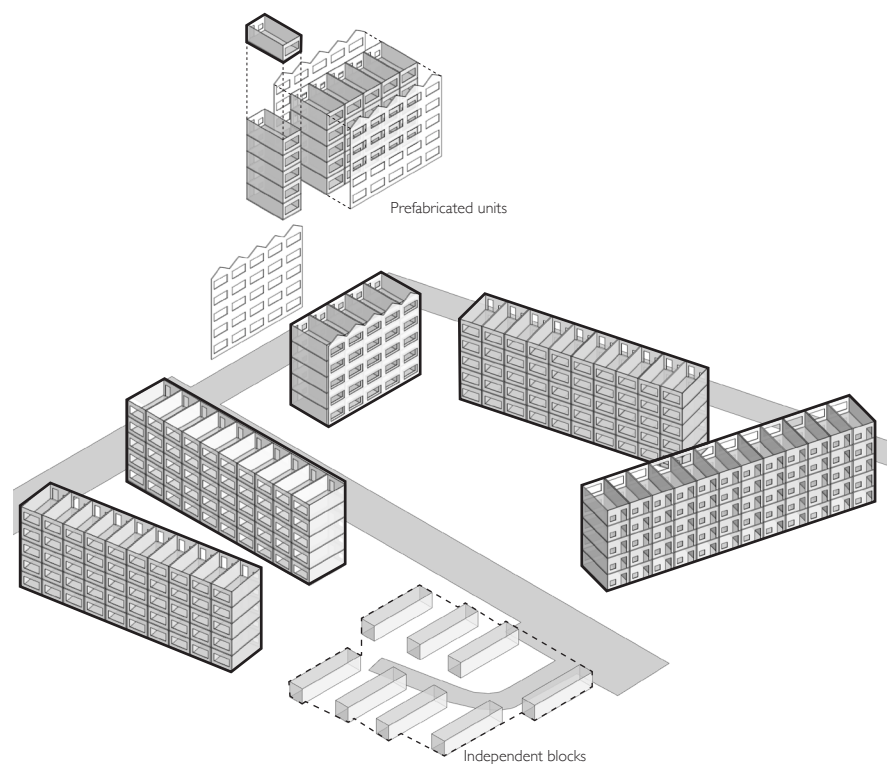


Figure 2.15
Place2BU, Utrecht, Axonometric View of the Site of Place2BU and the types of building units, by author; 2022

⁶⁴ Kirsten Tinnemans, Alfonso Maria Eugenio Fermin, and M.F. Davelaar; *Gemengd Wonen Met Statushouders: Een Kans Voor Ondersteuning van Statushouders Bij Integratie En Participatie*, 2019. 8

⁶⁵ Dorsman, *Magical Housing*, 51

similar to the housing established in Amsterdam at Startblok Riekerhaven. All residents are members of the residential association and are responsible for contact with external parties and the organisation of commissions and selection of new residents.⁶⁶ The interaction and social activities were seen as having positive effects on the beneficiaries who feel welcome and valued and had more contact with neighbours and practice their language skills and create a community. In the larger projects of Magic Mix, the mixing of groups in spatial order aims to promote social integration. They provide deliberate speckled housing. This speckling is done concerning origins, backgrounds and age. Large groups of status holders placed together and physically separated showed that they do not promote interaction. The layout of the housing complex is important to prevent inconveniences in the future. The central building and outdoor spaces host gardening and sports activities and meetings and parties and communal meals. Maintenance of these spaces is up to the residents, but they cannot be held responsible for their fellow residents and professional managers are required.

While many Magic Mix projects are placed in various contexts, this one, in particular, is placed on the outskirts of the city of Utrecht and connected to a train station. There are problems related to the urban setting from street lighting and green spaces around the site which caused

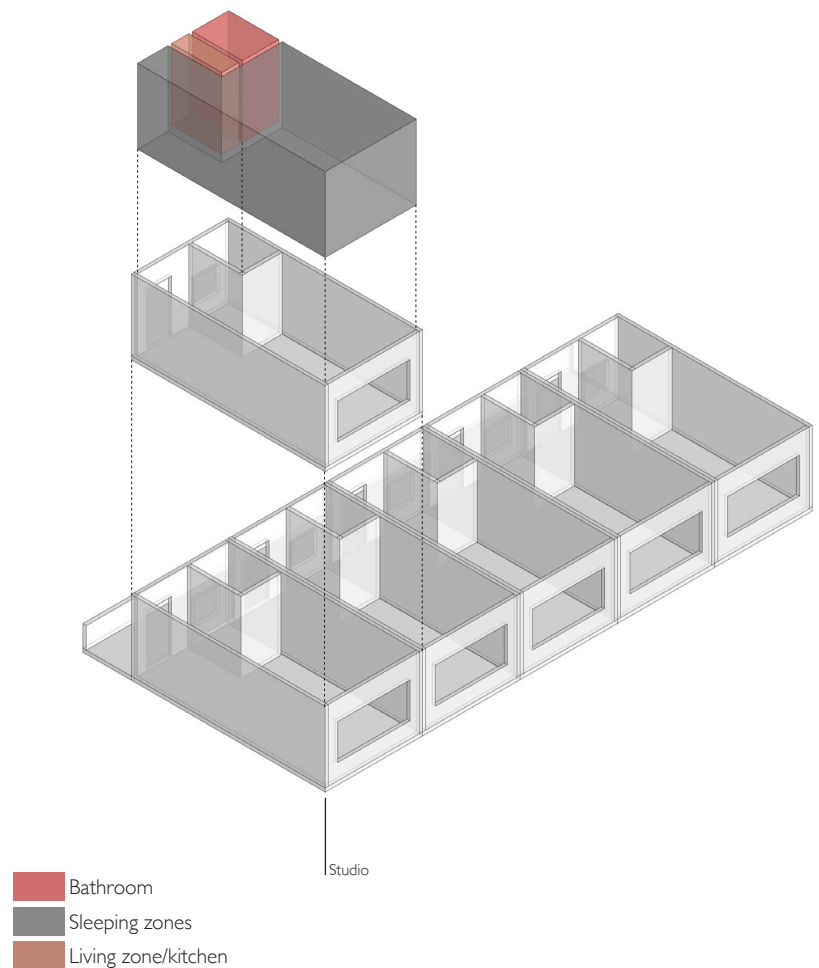


Figure 2.16
Place2BU, Utrecht, Axonometric of functions within the housing units, by author, 2022

⁶⁶ Tinnemans, Fermin, Davelaar, "Gemend Wonen met Statushouders." 20

residents discomfort. The remote location means that the neighbourhood is inward-looking in the city. The new status holders do not meet people from the areas as they are still waiting to be developed. All activities are organised in the wider neighbourhood to prevent isolation with salaries and artistic activities in the neighbourhood.⁶⁷

The scale of the project is so large and the facility so extensive that people can spend quality time within the project.⁶⁸ Large-scale projects also imply a certain sense of anonymity, which has consequences for their feeling of safety and well-being. The communal square with barbecues attracts people from outside the complex, which can cause a lot of noise and a feeling of insecurity in new residents.⁶⁹ The optimum number of people for healthy residential communities is 120 and with a large project like Place2BU, 500 acts as a number too great to form a close-knit community with insufficient coherence. Also, the need for quicker housing solutions meant a reduced quality of housing that led to noise pollution, insulation problems and leakages. The residents suffer from these consequences. Another point mentioned as a conclusion to the design and quality of living in the evaluation report made by Portaal and Mitros stated that the little variation in housing types caused a high turnover of residents and urgent seekers.⁷⁰

Aspects studied:

Optimum mix of Groups

The Theory of Change

Social division between the neighbourhood and the housing project

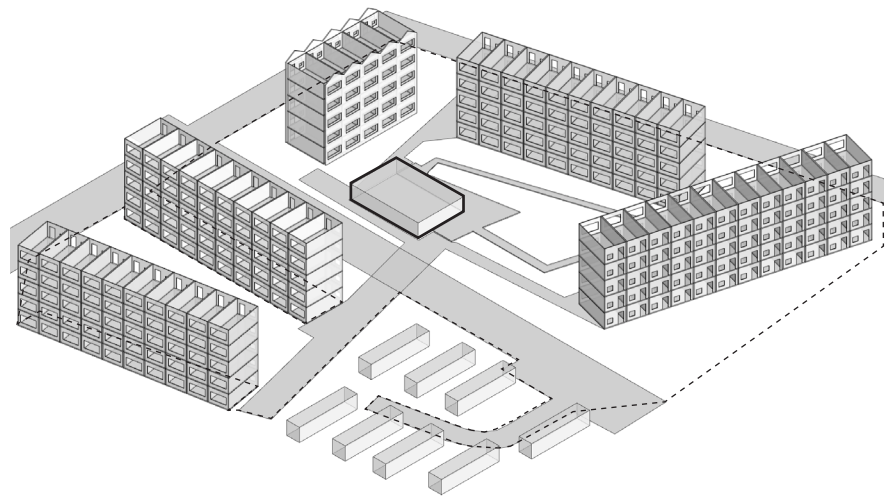


Figure 2.17
Place2BU, Utrecht, isometric view showing shared spaces within
Place2BU, by author, 2022

⁶⁷ Tinnemans, Fermin, Davelaar, "Gemend Wonen met Statushouders." 14

⁶⁸ Tinnemans, Fermin, Davelaar, "Gemend Wonen met Statushouders." 25

⁶⁹ Jennifer Scholl, Daphne Bressers, Anemoon van Dijk, Ben Schouten, "Evaluatie Place2BU: Lessen vanuit Portaal en Mitros na 4 jaar gemengd wonen," 9

⁷⁰ Scholl, Bressers, Dijk, Schouten, "Evaluatie Place2BU," 8

Utrecht Refugee Launchpad Project: the Theory of Change

The Utrecht Refugee Launchpad project or the Plan Einstein project was a problem-solving initiative for asylum seekers taken by the city of Utrecht and its partners from 2016 to 2019 during the so called 'European Refugee crisis.' It addressed three major problems that included building community cohesion, labour market activation and the well-being of asylum workers.⁷¹ This took an approach similar to that of the Magic Mix building programme. They focused on the assimilation of newcomers from the beginning and looked at their well-being in the city. The project housed asylum seekers and local young people in the district of Overvecht and was carried about in three major steps: co-housing, co-learning and individual care. The co-housing and co-learning facility was called 'Plan Einstein,' and developed social networks between the local community and the newcomer. Existing reception approaches created boredom, anxiety and worsening mental health in asylum seekers and Plan Einstein also worked on reversing these conditions.⁷²

While there were many attributes to Plan Einstein, for this study we will focus on the co-housing aspect of the project and the analysis portrayed in the evaluation report performed based on 'the Theory of Change'. This was a principle-based evaluation to respond to the flexible and contingent nature of Plan Einstein, intended to explain and bring about the changes anticipated through the project and the means

required to achieve it. The Theory of Change in this programme envisages community building and personal support as the two cornerstones for the development of the project.⁷³



Figure 2.18
Sarah Spencer; "Place2BU," Five Lessons from an Urban Experiment in Asylum Reception. February 3, 2020, Accessed April 10 2022, <https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/2020/five-lessons-from-an-urban-experiment-in-asylum-reception/>.

⁷¹ Utrecht U-RLP, accessed March 7, 2022, <https://uia-initiative.eu/en/operational-challenges/utrecht-urp>.

⁷² Caroline Oliver, Karin Geuijen, and Rianne Dekker; "Social Contact and Encounter in Asylum Seeker Reception: The Utrecht Refugee Launchpad," *Comparative Migration Studies* 8, no. 1 (August 27, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-020-00187-0>.

⁷³ Oliver, Dekker, Geuijen. Utrecht Refugee Launchpad, 30

The co-housing stream, run by Socius (the housing association that also runs Startblok Riekerhaven) was the first step in the meeting process between the local tenants and asylum seekers. It incorporated a self-organising model called 'zelfwerkzaamheid.' Self-organised and managed models allow for connections between tenants and refugees and neighbourhoods with an organic and bottom-up approach.⁷⁴ It also allows for psychological ownership of the project and creates belonging.⁷⁵ The 38 selected residents were young students, responsible for renovating and managing the 'incubator space.' The incubator space was a shared common space including a kitchen, living room, and workspace intended to create a welcome atmosphere and meaningful encounters for better integration of migrants. These spaces also provided neutral ground for interaction without surveillance and restriction that helped create social contact and enabled people to meet. It was based on a co-design approach with the user's interaction in mind.

Many of the indoor public spaces in the neighbourhood were not open for use and thus hindered the forging of relations.⁷⁶ The incubator spaces were visible from the outside but were not accessible to the public of the neighbourhood, which prevented the outside community from actively participating within the community of the building (which comprised of students and migrants).

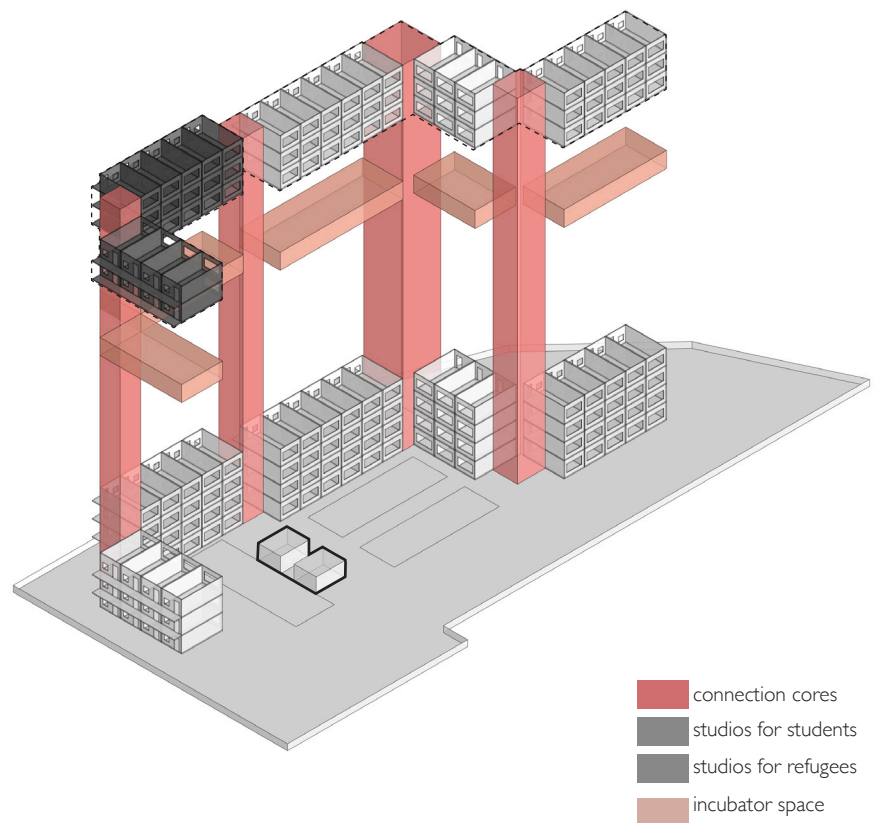


Figure 2.19
URP-Plan Einstein, Utrecht, Isometric view of the site in Overvecht showcasing the various uses of space, by author, 2022

⁷⁴ Layla Kramer; U-RLP Manual: the Adventures of Socius at Plan Einstein (2019), 6

⁷⁵ Kramer; the Adventures of Socius, 11

⁷⁶ Oliver; Dekker; Geuijen. Utrecht Refugee Launchpad, 10

The tenants lived above this incubator space and receive compensation for their participation in communal activities. The spatial arrangement prevented the creation of meaningful relationships. Conceptually, it was based on adjacent living instead of actual mixed colliding with the building complex divided to accommodate the young residents (students) on one side and the asylum seekers on the other. The number of young residents was much lesser than the number of asylum seekers and created a skewed spectrum for interaction.⁷⁷ Each room for the students ranges from 16.4 square meters to 32.3 square meters and was divided between three floors and ten to eighteen residents per floor. Meanwhile, the duration of stay (18 months) was decidedly shorter than that of the Magic Mix projects (8-11 years) which allowed for fewer interactions. The time frame for integration was also pushed which forced people to have hurried interactions and thus created shallow relationships.

Within this larger context of the neighbourhood, the initial introduction of the asylum seekers was a negative attribute and slowly changed through the course of the analysis as the asylum seeker centre opens. The evaluation report created by Socius also stated that the centre's physical design should be inviting for outsiders and open beyond working hours so that the neighbours feel welcome inside and thus increasing communication and breaking

boundaries and thus initiating casual encounters. The design of the environment surrounding the centre like the fences and car park should also be inviting.⁷⁸ Small gestures such as these that make the new neighbourhood more appealing may lead to increased use of communal space (also witnessed in the Magic Mix Projects) giving a sense of the feeling of security and comfort that well-maintained surroundings can provide to a newcomer and greater chance for community encounters.



Figure 2.20

Communal areas in Place2BU," Part of the Vacant Office Building Was Temporarily Transformed by Plegt-Vos. 2022. Accessed April 10 2022, <https://vaspro.nl/portfolio-vaspro/plan-einstein-utrecht/>.

⁷⁷ Oliver; Dekker; Geuijen. Utrecht Refugee Launchpad, 44

⁷⁸ Oliver; Dekker; Geuijen. Utrecht Refugee Launchpad, 15

Location and Access

Location within the urban context

The type of migrants

Access to work and amenities

Access to recreation

Assimilation

Meeting spaces

Boundaries between neighbourhood
and home

Cultural differences between natives
and newcomers

Speckled Housing

Optimum mix of Groups

Bottom-Up Approach

Well maintained spaces

Controlled social interaction
conditions

Increased space for private practices

New ritualistic practices

The Theory of Change

Social integration between the
neighbourhood and the housing
project

3

ConclusionFramework for integration

The migrant housing crisis is an imminent problem that has occurred in the country over the last few decades. As seen from the above case studies, the integration and assimilation of immigrants into the landscape of their new homes plays an important role in their mental and physical wellbeing. These can be observed within three points of attack for the study. While many of these points have worked successfully, some have not, as witnessed by the case studies.

- Location and Access:

In the urban scale where access to healthcare, educational and social facilities is paramount. The social relations of the immigrant, whether they are migrating as an individual or within a family unit, play an important role in this integration process. The Utrecht guest worker case study focused on the individual migrant and indicated how their housing situation can play an important part in the way they perceive their new life. Locations of social housing project determines their access to resources and allows them to build social relations, making them feel more at home. The later stage of the Utrecht study also focused on the needs of the family unit and demonstrated how access to amenities for the women, the children and the elderly within the family structure also created segregation using territorial and cultural segregation.

- Assimilation:

Assimilation may also be achieved at the neighbourhood level. The first step within this was to allow them access to people from their community, but as seen in the case of Enschede, this can lead to isolation from their host community (the Dutch in this case). The varied grouping of people from different walks of life established by the Magic Mix project can create a head start for the immigrant community. But many of these

relationships can be seen as shallow and do not transfuse into their everyday lives. As demonstrated by the Utrecht launchpad case study, only placing two groups of communities within a building may not be enough as they may still be divided and the number of interactions will be limited. Methods to depend on these relationships should be taken through the architecture where various meeting points instead of singular communal spaces may be undertaken, such as multiple kitchens and living spaces.

- Bottom-up Approach:

The relationship between the host community in such mixed housing projects is an important point to consider wherein the host community should be able to help make this transition easier. The hosting of community gatherings and events that bring people together is the third form of association but as witnessed through the Magic mix case study, many factions of the housing organisation would organise such functions unless given sufficient remunerative benefits. This kaleidoscope of communities should be able to sustain themselves with enough functions within the complex to provide security and comfort to the new residents such that they do not feel like they live among a group of strangers in a strange land.

This framework stated above may allow for more efficient uses of the housing projects implemented as more and more people migrate to the large cities of the world, crossing borders to find solace and a better way of life and a higher standard of living. Whatever the reason for migration may be, they help to create the urban kaleidoscope as mentioned by Murphy that makes the city heterogeneous and vibrant. It is important to make these immigrants feel at home when they arrive, and the framework makes their transition smoother into a new environment.



4

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ev yaratmak <----> maak een huis
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