

THE RIGHT TO URBAN SPACE

REACHING JUST
ENVIRONMENTS THROUGH
THE EMBRACEMENT OF
DIVERSITY AND DISORDER
IN THE URBAN REALM.

COLOPHON

THE RIGHT TO URBAN SPACE

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EMBRACEMENT OF DIVERSITY
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“There is a shift in perception in the last ten years, to a point where almost every space is a shared space between private and public. I suppose more and more there is a sense that people are losing any right at all in the shared space. What authorities will do, is they’ll say ‘that behaviour is contrary to the shared agreements that we have. You cannot behave this way, you cannot walk this way, talk this way’. **There is a certain very homogenous way of behaving that is enforced by this strange new contract which exists in what used to be a public space**; where anything went. That unfortunately leaves ordinary people in a situation where, if they haven’t for instance got any money in their pocket, they can feel very uncertain [...] in some public areas, they will be excluded.”

Simon Davies, Privacy international (2Doc, 2016)

ABSTRACT

Smoothness is an abstract phenomenon that was recently coined by Boer to articulate the increasing desire for efficiency, perfection and control in the urban environment (2023). This thesis triangulated smoothness within the context of Amsterdam as the imposition of a dominant norm associated with control and order, set within an urban framework that revolves around the accumulation, protection, and representation of capital.

The physical environment represents a spatial translation of existing power structures. As a result, smoothness is easily recognised in the urban context, as evidenced by the way smoothness manifests itself as high-quality, glossy streets that increase the value of adjacent properties, as well as adjacent buildings that always contain high-value housing and/or shops. Furthermore, any dirt or informality is removed, and the primary activities revolve around consumerism.

The result is an increasingly exclusive city that competes for the dominant norm, resulting in unequal opportunities to claim a part of the city, a homogeneous overrepresentation of the dominant norm in the urban realm, and a significant spatial fragmentation of usergroups. This has a significant impact on important city-making processes, as a diversity of norms, understandings, and appropriations is reduced or eliminated. This affects not only important notions of inclusivity, but also our perception and understanding of existing power structures that continue to exist, negatively affecting important democratic processes in society as a whole. This, in turn, serves as the foundation for what Sennett refers to as closed systems (2006), which have the three following counter-effects:

1. Actual loss of participation in community life
2. Total repression of deviants, no place for 'the other,' and no true place for 'us.'
3. Strong relation to violence and the matrix of control

By exploring theories of urban depth, a solution towards Just Cities can be found in the acknowledgement of territories through scales that unlock a variety of spatial conditions that can serve as the spatial framework for otherness to happen. The enriching of local depth structures in addition facilitates the spatial context needed where social life takes place and local culture emerges (Clossick, 2017). In here, dominant norms can both be challenged as well as deconstructed, which carve out place for a counter-narrative, which form an important back-bone in confronting and decomposing existing unequal powerstructures in society.

In-depth socio-spatial analysis reveals a better understanding of where otherness is manifested in the Jordaan and what its spatial conditions entail. Insiderperspectives, in combination with unraveling existing urban depths through mapping public- and private streets, helped in formulating the targeted design interventions that contribute to enriching local depth-structures. The goal of these interventions is to set the territorial conditions that are necessary for the other to make a spatial claim in the public eye. By establishing a spatial adaptation framework, a thorough description of the opportunities and urgencies of specific street types in the neighbourhood is created, which is then followed by the spatial adaptations required to transform the existing territorial settings into one in which the other manifests itself.

Furthermore, theories about the Open City have shaped additional contributions to the neighbourhood, enabling bottom-up strategies that (in)formally reshape our mental and physical understanding of the city. Supportive infrastructure can promote and stimulate city-making processes, potentially leading to situations that do not yet exist or that the designer has not considered.

As a result, an urban environment is generated that allows a diversity of affordances in which a variety of norms can express themselves in the public eye while contributing in important negotiation- and understanding processes of Just Cities. The large variety of territorial settings constitutes a fair distribution of opportunities to make a spatial claim. It therefore offers the spatial conditions necessary for a variety of norms to express themselves, actively promoting the acknowledgement of different norms as well as promotes equal opportunities to make a spatial claim in the urban context.

By actively promoting Open Cities concepts, confrontation and acknowledgement of a variety norms are put central, which serve as the essential foundation for uncovering and restoring unequal power-relationships. These combinations of elements eventually lead to a more Just outcome, in which the city can be comprised of a complexity of layers that are needed in important processes of city-making. The expression of different norms in addition results in a more Just representation of society and offers the just spatial conditions needed to partake in fair democratic processes that shape ourselves, the city and society at large.

key-words:

Territorial depth, Open City, Just City, Smooth City, commoning

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INTRODUCTION AND MOTIVATION

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Personal interest

During my last summer holiday, I was reading the book *Grand Hotel Europa* by Ilja Pfeijffer. In this book, he elaborated his view on the contemporary European city as a tourist, disneyfied destination. And indeed, Mykonos-town, which I was visiting for a day, seemed to be completely disneyfied with its enormous amount of tourist shops, hotels and a strong lack of everyday groceryshops and ordinary people having an ordinary daily routine. It was like visiting a decor, apart from the fact that its visitors did not know they were actively playing a part in this open-air theater show. I started to wonder what this meant for the role of cities, since they were not anymore functioning as a spatial grid to support ordinary life and allow for important social processes to take place, shaping civilized society and our democracies, but rather as static elements focussed on consumerism that actively excluded anyone who did not obey to these rules.

I have always had a strong interest in the intersection between the architectural and urban scales, for I see how the architectonics influence larger processes that are shaped within the urban (social) realm. With this research, I get the opportunity to explore this interrelationship in extensive detail while focussing on fundamental questions that, to me, are crucial for understanding our role as urban designers within society.

Introduction: the role of the city as a democratic arena

The city is an essential component of a well-functioning society. Its public spaces serve as an important societal setting for a variety of activities, including the ceremonial festivities of the multi-cultural city, the movement of people and goods, trade for the commercial city, infrastructure provision, and the setting for community life and livelihoods of the urban poor, such as street vendors or waste-pickers (UN-habitat, 2018). It is in the public space where strangers meet, certain activities are enabled, unfamiliar knowledge is acquired (Sennett, n.d.), tolerance towards the other is built, ideas are exchanged, friction occurs and societal issues are reflected and responded upon. Having enough open public space allows cities and towns to operate efficiently and equitably, and as a common good, it plays a critical role in enabling the fulfilment of human rights (UN-Habitat, 2018). It allows for people to lighten the pressures for conformity, of fitting into a fixed role in the social order, for the anonymity and impersonality provide an environment for more individual development (Sennett, 1970). Therefore, the right to public space is much more than the individual liberty to access urban recourses: rather, it is a right and freedom to change ourselves by changing the city (Harvey, 2008).

Democratic governments rely largely on such exchanges and formations, for this is the physical arena where democratic processes are collectively shaped and can take place. Ensuring good quality, multifunctional and well connected public space which reflects class, gender, age and ethnic differences in how people use these spaces is therefore crucial (UN-Habitat, 2018).

The rise of smooth environments

Over the last decade, however, a new upcoming urban condition has changed the way cities are designed, appropriated, and perceived, taking away important complex layers and space for commoning, individual expression, and collective efforts to re-shape the urban.

From their inception, cities have arisen through geographical and social concentrations of a surplus product (Harvey, 2008: 24). As a result, there is a close relationship between the development of capitalism and urbanisation: capitalists must produce a surplus product in order to produce surplus value. This surplus value must then be reinvested to generate even more surplus value. Real estate has therefore been a highly valued asset for some time, particularly in global cities. In effect, the incentive to continue investing and maintaining the property in perfect condition is strong (Boer, 2023).

The way adjacent urban environments look and function contributes significantly to

the value of property. Because of this, the way the urban is designed and what is supposed to happen is therefore often an important element in contemporary politics, for it guarantees the protection of private property and the allowance to make profit from it simply by owning it (Boer, 2023). As a result, the urban increasingly shifts to ‘perfectly’ designed environments that run smoothly, without disorder.

Through viewing the city as a commodity, commercialism actively shapes the way in which urban spaces are seen and appropriated. With the rising value of property and rising square metre prices, new wealthier user groups start to dominate the urban sphere: those with the commodities to live or consume. This leads to an increase in homogeneosation of the urban environment in terms of demographics and economic activities, thereby strongly interfering with the notion of public for the people who can make use of a public space and feel comfortable in a public space are less likely to be anything other than the dominant norm.

In addition, the perpetual need to find profitable terrains for capital-surplus production and absorption shapes important political structures of capitalism in contemporary societies. Because of this, urbanisation can be viewed as a class phenomenon since surpluses are extracted from somewhere and from someone, while control over their distribution is often concentrated in a few hands (Harvey, 2008). Because of this, an unjust relationship co-exists between important processes to (re)shape the urban and those who have the commodities and opportunities to actively participate in them. As a result, those who cannot comply with these standards are excluded from the process of shaping and important processes of commoning are prevented. As a result, ‘smooth environments’ increasingly start to dominate contemporary cities. Coined by René Boer in 2023, he describes the Smooth City as closely related to an increasing desire for perfection, efficiency and control. In addition, ‘as a hegemonic existence, the values and norms that are part of the smooth city become dominant wherever it has gained the upper hand’ and often work to exclude anything other than the normative conceptions of order and safety. Boer continues to state that, while smooth environments appear to be calm, harmless and peaceful, the process of smoothening can reach very unjust extremes that harm (and sometimes eliminate) important elements that make up a city. Many people do not have access to the smooth parts of the city or benefit from it in the say way others do. In extent, smooth environments tend to depend heavily on non-smooth counterparts elsewhere ‘in a relationship that is more often than not unequal and extractive’ (Boer, 2023: 57). Because of this, the process and eradication of smooth environments threaten the very existence of urbanity, for it leaves little space for multiple kinds of citizens, ways of expressing themselves, ways of life, or possibilities to claim a part of the city and (re)shape it.

In the ongoing process of commodification of contemporary cities, an increasing awareness is needed in understanding how spaces for commoning can be maintained in the urban that give space for different norms that help in understanding and criticising existing power structures. This research aims to understand how smooth environments are manifested, how it affects inclusive environments and Just Cities and unveils how spatial transformation can unlock spatial justice in which space for the other is established and different norms can be expressed and accepted.

PROBLEMATIZATION

XXX
Gemeente
Amsterdam

**Verboden
te blowen.**



How to Amsterdam



XXXX
Gemeente
Amsterdam

No smoking
cannabis in public.



How to Amsterdam

RECA SIGN



YOUR
RABLE
EIGN
MEN"

!!
ECTDOWS
2





Fig. 6 : Demonstration in de Pijp (@

TEGEN HUISBAZEN,
MAKELAARS EN HUN
POLITIEKNOKPLOEG

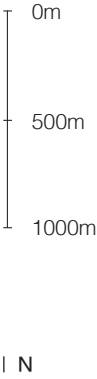
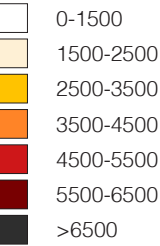
GENTRIFICATION
IS
CLASS WAR



PROBLEM CONTEXT

The city as commodity
The ‘I Amsterdam’ campaign was launched in 2004 to attract tourists, expats, and business investors from around the world (Boer, 2023). The growing number of visitors is strongly related to the rising real estate prices (Almeida-Garca et al, 2002), which have been skyrocketing over the last decade (Fig. 01)

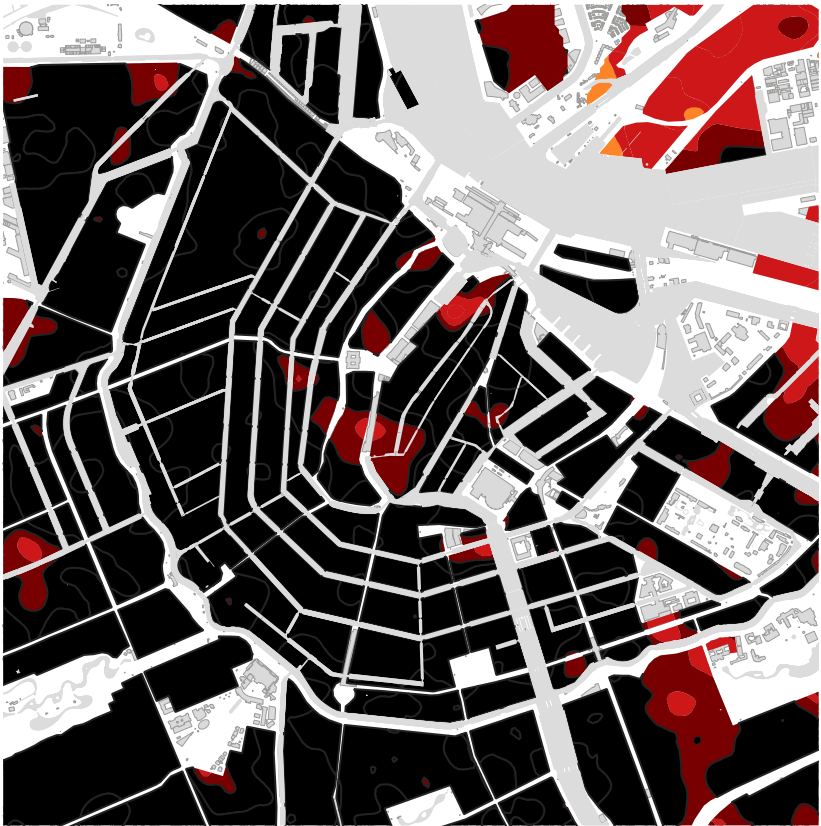
Fig. 01 WOZ-value Amsterdam
(€/ m2)
OI&S



2002



2012



2019

In addition, the increasing amount of visitors contribute significantly to the commodification and smoothing of Amsterdam, not only because of the large amount of consuming they represent, but also because of consistent demands, particularly from the business sector, to make Amsterdam an efficient, convenient, and platable urban environment (Boer, 2023). The changing urban environment causes residents to become alienated and detached from their own neighbourhood. This is especially the case in the historical city center, where local residents are witnessing a significant increase in tourist facilities, resulting in a new tourist homogeneity (van Zoest, Verheul, 2020) that is displacing local shops that contribute to the lives of permanent residents of a neighbourhood. A strong increase in tourist facilities (Fig. 3) and airbnb's (Fig. 5) are examples of the effects of overtourism on the Capital and actively shapes its public spaces, leaving a 'disneyfied' context behind (Hermanides, 2015)



Fig. 02: tourist shops 2008 (Rekenkamer 2016 in Stalenberg, 2018)



Fig. 04: Airbnb apartments offered on website in Juni 2010 (OIS Amsterdam, 2016a in Stalenberg, 2018)

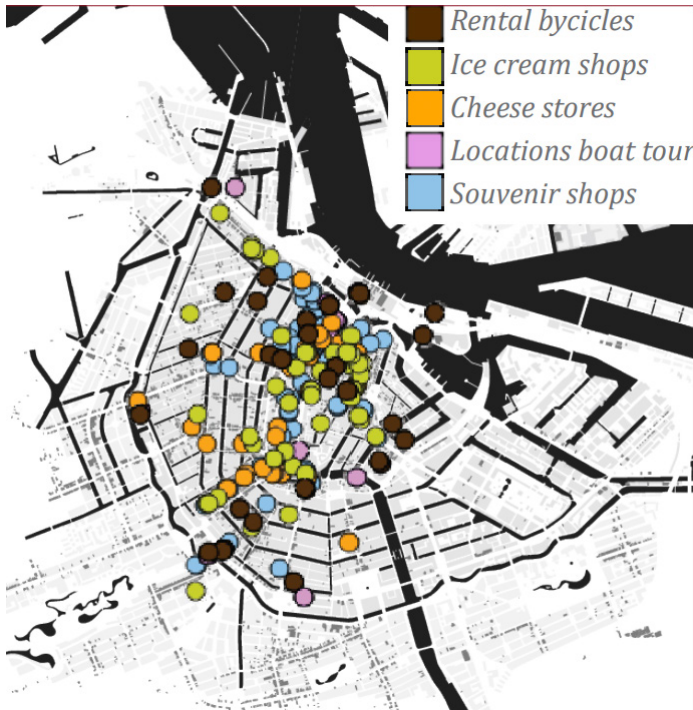


Fig. 03: tourist shops 2015 (Rekenkamer 2016 in Stalenberg, 2018)

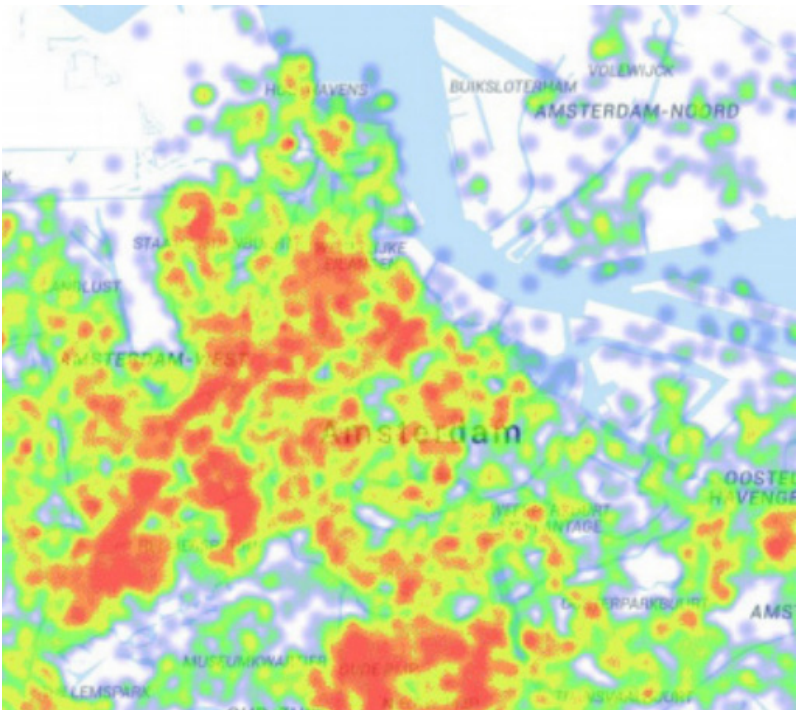


Fig. 05: Airbnb apartments offered on website in Juni 2015 (OIS Amsterdam, 2016a in Stalenberg, 2018)

Neighbourhoods adjacent to the historical city center such as de Pijp and the Jordaan have also been dealing with an extreme increase in WOZ-value (land value/ m²). Privately owned real estate makes it difficult to control or even limit square metre prices, affecting who can afford to sign new contracts. Subsequently, new higher-end shops emerge, and a new, wealthier usergroup begins to dominate the urban sphere, resulting in economic and demographic displacement. In Amsterdam, gentrification processes like these often attract the YUP (Young Urban Professional) and lead in Amsterdam to the 'verjupping' of neighbourhoods, focussing on the spatial transformational effects that the new usergroup has on a local neighbourhood, often focussing on fancy shops, special bakeries or coffee shops and the new design and appropriation of the streetscape. Newspapers such as Het Parool (Fig. 11), De Volkskrant (Fig. 9), and NOS (Fig. 8) have been reporting on how the 'yuppen' (Young Urban Professionals) are actively reshaping the city. As a result, friction occurs to what lawyer, political scientist, and Amsterdam resident Arthur Claassen describes as a battle between the yuppen and the urban romantics (het Parool, 2014). He explains that the urban romantic can tolerate a lot more than the yuppie and has different expectations and needs from the physical urban environment. To illustrate his argument, he uses the example of crime rates that have significantly decreased over the last decade but are perceived as more burdensome. He claims that with the 'verjupping' of Amsterdam, neighbourhoods become more uniform and sterile. As a result, local residents have difficulty in identifying themselves with their physical surroundings. This becomes apparent through a couple of sources.

Yuppenparadijs: hip en hoogopgeleid neemt Amsterdam over

Fig. 11 het Parool, 2015

Wonen in Amsterdam: straks alleen voor de rijken?

Amsterdam veryupt. Vooral in de oude stadsdelen Oost, Centrum en Oud-West komen steeds meer jonge draagkrachtige huizenkopers.

Fig. 8 NOS, 2016



'Het is een blanke kakbuurt geworden met studenten en yuppen'

MARKTKOOPMAN ALBERT CUIJP

Fig. 10 AT5.nl, 2020

Fig 7. Parool, 2014

'De yup neemt Amsterdam over'

Amsterdam is definitief bezet door rijke yuppen

Fig. 9 de Volkskrant, 2001

Activist group 'Amsterdam Defence Force' actively works to prevent the neighbourhood of de Pijp from 'verjupping' through protests, social media, and images (AT5.nl, 2020). They actively convey a double meaning through their active slogan: "alle juppen de pijp uit" (translation: all the yuppies out of the Pijp), namely that they wish the yuppies out of the area and (not-so-literally) that they will die. This confirms the strong aversion of local residents to newcomers and the transformation of a local place that occurs when yuppen start to appropriate the urban space. According to Massih Hutak, a 'yup' is even used as a swear word in Amsterdam-North, his childhood neighbourhood that is currently being gentrified (Trouw, 2020).



Fig. 12 Amsterdam Defense Force (AT5, 2020)

Sophie Straat actively sings about the various gentrification phenomena in her songs about different parts of Amsterdam as part of her graduation project *Het is niet mijn schuld* (translation: it is not my fault). In De Pijp (Fig. 12), she emphasises how this neighborhood's changing environment is now characterised by an image-led tendency and is strongly associated with a more expensive lifestyle, as evidenced by the sentences:

*Eerst kocht ik er een boterham
Nu staat ie op Instagram
Er is veel te veel veranderd
Tot mijn spijt*

*De lucht van de visboer
Herinnert mij aan hoe het was
De markt was van ons
Met een tientje was je er rijk
Maar die vislucht is blijven hangen
En doet mij steeds verlangen
Naar een plein zonder yup en toerist
En al dat gezeik*

*Je hoeft niet meer naar Amsterdam
Het staat toch al op Instagram*

Sophie Straat, 2020

(translation)
*First I bought a sandwich there
Now it's on Instagram
Far too much has changed
To my regret*

*The smell of the fishmonger
Reminds me of what it was like
The market was ours
With a tenner you were rich
But that fishy smell has lingered
And always makes me long
To a square without yuppies and tourists
And all that nonsense*

*You don't have to go to Amsterdam anymore
It's already on Instagram anyway*

She also mentions the spatial dimension of the gentrified neighbourhood and the space that has been 'taken' from her (she felt she owned the market square). By emphasising that you would be wealthy with ten euros, she explains that this is no longer the case and that the context has become significantly more expensive. Her 'longing' for a square or street without a yuppie, our tourist, also reveals who is dominantly appropriating these spaces, and how she perceives herself as 'other' than these.

In the following section of her song, it is clear that she has a strong affinity for the neighbourhood but no longer recognises herself in it, for which she is sorry:

*En toch als er aan mij wordt gevraagd
"Waar kom jij vandaan?"
Dan zeg ik met geschikte trots
"De Pijp, daar ben ik ontstaan"*

*Je hoeft niet meer naar Amsterdam
Het staat toch al op Instagram
Er is veel te veel veranderd
Tot mijn spijt*

(translation)
*And yet when I am asked
"Where do you come from?"
Then I say with due pride
"De Pijp, that's where I originated"*

*You don't have to go to Amsterdam anymore
It's already on Instagram anyway
Far too much has changed
To my regret*



'Smartenlap' (typical style from Amsterdam with specific rhythmic and textual characteristics: 'songs about life' (levenslied))
From Sophie Straat, published in 2020 as part of her Graduation Project: *Het is niet mijn schuld*



Fig. 12 song de Pijp
(Sophie Straat - Topic, 2020)

Gentrification processes such as the one mentioned above are, according to Boer, frequently part of the Smooth city for it is partly about the displacement of former residents and much more about the rapid proliferation of perfection, order, and control in all aspects of urban life (2023). He explains that, within the process of viewing the city as a commodity, the large amount of capital made available to keep urban environments in perfect conditions is one of the main drivers behind an ongoing visual homogenization of similar kinds of streets. The Smooth city, however, distinguishes itself as an upcoming imposing of a dominant norm, which is strongly protected and controlled. This seems to also be the case in Amsterdam, where cameras that were supposed to check if vehicles were allowed to enter an environmental zone in the city centre were recently used by police to check if criminals were entering the city, thereby surpassing privacy rules (van Teeffelen, 2019). In addition, signs in public space clearly communicate the tolerated behaviour, as well as show the consequences if you choose not to obey (Fig. 13).

The rising number of tourists in addition also affects how the local government treats its visitors and the urban fabric. The tourist vision of Amsterdam clearly describes how they envision their future tourist as a 'sustainable' one, who respects the city and takes an active interest in its cultural and historical values (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.).



Fig. 14a-14d explanatory desired behaviour signs, Amsterdam

Amsterdam police used city surveillance cameras without privacy checks: Trouw

Neighbourhoods such as the Red Light District are currently extremely suffering from overtourism, resulting in a decrease in local liveability and a touristified area. Local economies related to intimate businesses are attracting a different kind of public, party-tourists that cause a lot of nuisance. ‘Stay away’ video campaigns aimed at British party tourists was recently launched, which uses ‘shocking images’ to discourage tourists from visiting the city (BBC News, 2023). In addition, the city of Amsterdam actively tries to relocate intimate businesses into a new ‘erotic center’, located at the edge of the city (NOS, 2023). This way, the municipality hopes to gain more control over the activities and reduce the negative effects of party tourists in this area of town. However, many people working in the sex industries in this part of the area, feel like they are pushed out of the city and given the blame for the nuisance that is caused by the tourists. In addition, they emphasise how the sex industries are an important element of the original identity of the neighbourhood and how a replacement of the jobs in a newly designed building overlooks important local socio- cultural and historical aspects. As a result, many people working in the sex industries prefer to work from home rather than in the designed buildings proposed by the municipality, even if this means a more dangerous working environment for them (NPOstart, 2017).



Fig. 15 Design for new erotic center (gemeente Amsterdam)

CONCLUSION

Within existing neoliberal capitalistic urban development structures, cities are increasingly commodified. Because the urban environment influences the value of property, the way the city looks and what is permitted are important drivers behind existing political structures, as they can protect capital accumulation through private ownership.

The combination of increasing land value together with a changing urban environment that is perfectly designed, the city is increasingly shifting towards an exclusive entity for only those who can afford to come here, who obey by the rules and who feel comfortable appropriating the streets. This is evident in Amsterdam through newspaper articles claiming that the city is 'verjupt', as well as various types of media expressing how the city is transforming into an expensive, image-driven environment.

At the same time, we observe a strong control over tolerated norms. This is demonstrated by signs in public spaces instructing visitors on how to behave, stay-away campaigns aimed at negatively-viewed visitors, the illegal use of cameras to monitor illegal local behaviour, and the relocation of intimate businesses to other (less important) parts of the city, out of view. Furthermore, these businesses are assigned to a yet-to-be-built erotic centre, allowing complete control over the activities that take place in and around the plot.

As a result, a dominant norm is imposed, which has a significant impact and influence on the opportunities for a diverse range of people to actively participate in and (re)shape Amsterdam's urban context and public realm. The erasure of a diversity of complex layers into a homogeneous norm has a significant impact on the city's democratic and inclusive nature, as it reduces space for others while also 'flattening' out a variety of norms.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Strongly linked to the commodification of cities, contemporary urban spaces are increasingly transformed into 'smooth' environments, characterized by their inception to reach perfection, efficiency and control (Harvey, 2008 & Boer, 2023). In reaching these new urban conditions, dominant norms are imposed that remove important complex layers that define a place while leaving out space for anything that is other. As a result, cities turn into exclusive entities, endangering their inclusive nature by leaving no (public) space for multiple types of citizens, modes of expression, modes of life, or possibilities to claim a part of the city and (re)shape it.

THESIS OBJECTIVES

This master thesis aims to understand how smooth environments are manifested and what its socio-spatial consequences are on the Just City. By doing so, this research explores alternative ways to 1) understand smoothness as a gradient of publicness in order to 2) understand which spatial transformations can give space for the other while allowing a variety of norms, thereby challenging existing power structures and contributing to important complex layers that make up a city.

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY.

RESEARCH STRUCTURE

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Strongly linked to the commodification of cities, contemporary urban spaces are increasingly transformed into ‘smooth’ environments, characterized by their inception to reach perfection, efficiency and control (Harvey, 2008 & Boer, 2023). In reaching these new urban conditions, dominant norms are imposed that remove important complex layers that define a place while leaving out space for anything that is other. As a result, cities turn into exclusive entities, endangering their inclusive nature by leaving no (public) space for multiple types of citizens, modes of expression, modes of life, or possibilities to claim a part of the city and (re)shape it.

RESEARCH AIM

Through an extensive literature study, this research aims at getting a better understanding of smooth and how it is manifested within the context of Amsterdam.

In addition, this research hopes to unravel what the socio-spatial consequences are of smooth environments and how it affects Just Cities.

Next, this research aims to unravel spatial elements as connected to Just Cities, extracted from literature, that contribute to inclusive environments within the context of a smooth environment.

This research also hopes to understand how smooth can be defined, not as a static element, but rather as a gradience that allows for a variety of norms and activities to take place.

Finally, this research aims to define a (gradient) definition of smooth within the context of Amsterdam that contributes to Just Cities and allows for important social processes to take place, giving space to a diversity of norms.

PROJECT AIM

With this master thesis, this project aims to uncover how smooth environments are manifested in the social-spatial context of Amsterdam.

This project will in addition aim to uncover how the manifestation of smooth environments disrupts or supports social layers within the context of Amsterdam.

Finally, this project hopes to uncover the relation between smooth environments and important social processes of commoning in order to come up with spatial transformations that positively contribute to Just Cities that allows and gives space for a diversity of norms, or the other.

THESIS OBJECTIVES

This master thesis aims to understand how smooth environments are manifested and what its socio-spatial consequences are on the Just City. By doing so, this research explores alternative ways to 1) incorporate different levels of smoothness into an urban environment in order to 2) understand which spatial transformations can give space for the other while allowing a variety of norms, thereby challenging existing power structures and contributing to important complex layers that make up a city.

RESEARCH LIMITS

Although this research is situated within the concepts of commodified cities, this research will not focus on understanding and unraveling existing powerstrutures that are connected to the process of smoothening.

This research will also not try to uncover what a commodified city exactly means and what its specific relation is with the socio-spatial environment, nor will this research try to adjust concepts of commodified cities.

RESEARCH QUESTION(S)

What urban transformations can unlock spatial justice that contribute to Just urban environments that embrace different norms, giving space to the other, within a smoothened environment of Amsterdam?

UNDERSTAND AND EXPOSE

1. How are smooth environments manifested in Amsterdam?
2. What are the socio-spatial implications of smooth environments in Amsterdam?

PROPOSE

3. How can smooth environments be understood as a progression of levels that positively contribute to the diversity of complex layers that comprise an urban space?
4. What spatial transformations can contribute to a Just urban environment, within a smoothened context of Amsterdam?

MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

What urban transformations can unlock spatial justice that contribute to Just urban environments that embrace different norms, giving space to the other, within a smoothened environment of Amsterdam?

METHODS

- LR : Literature Review
- EM : Ethnographic Mapping
- IN : Interviews
- SA : Sociospatial Analysis
- US : Urban Analysis
- RD : Research by Design
- RF : Reflection
- SS : Space Syntax analysis

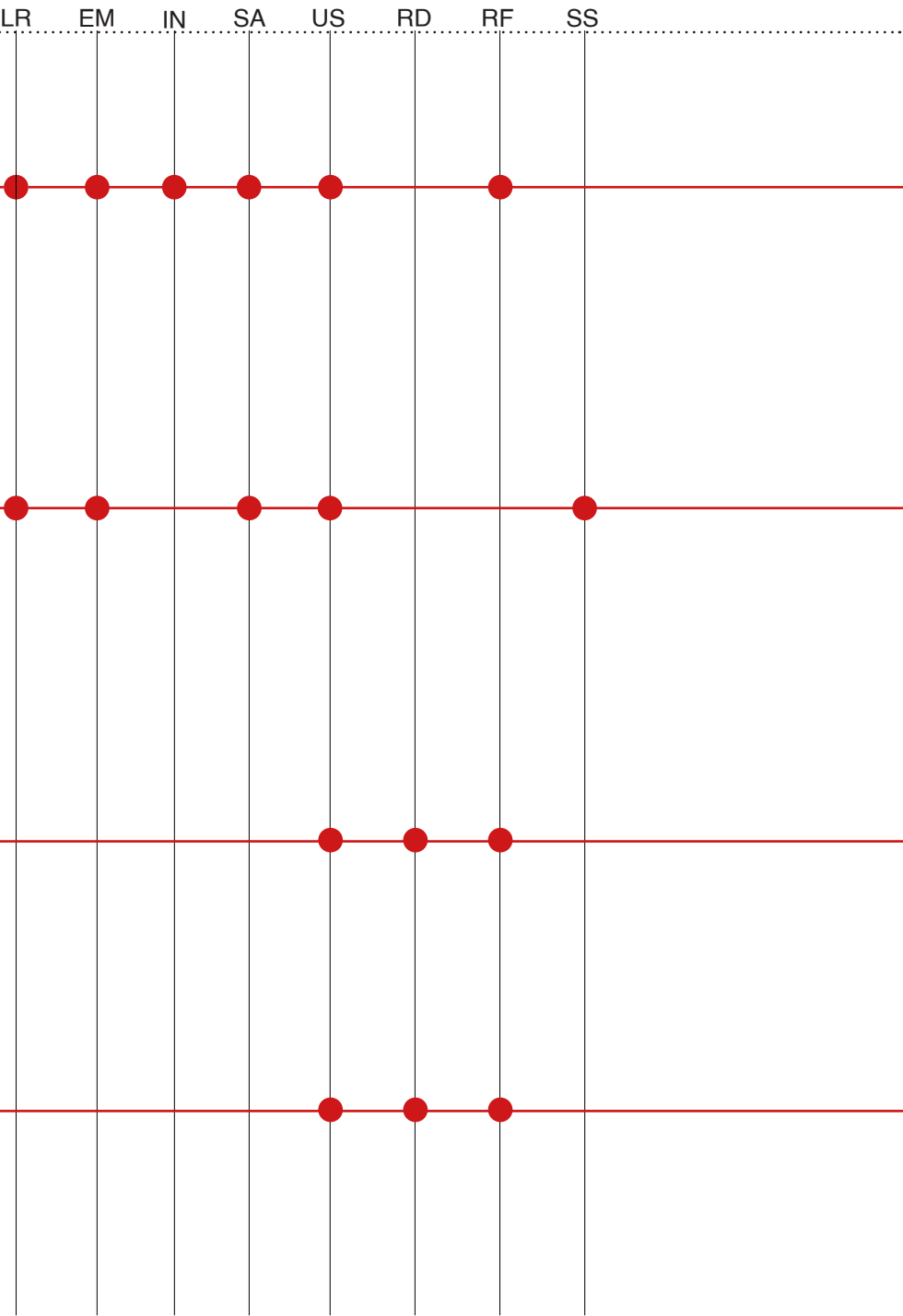
SUB RESEARCH QUESTIONS *approach*

1. How are smooth environments manifested in Amsterdam? ○

2. What are the socio-spatial implications of smooth environments in Amsterdam? ○

3. How can smooth environments be understood through a gradience of levels that positively contribute to a diversity of complex layers that make up a space? ○

4. What spatial transformations can contribute to a Just urban environment, within a smoothened context of Amsterdam? ○



INTENDED OUTCOME

Using a literature review of both academic and informal sources, a new understanding of smooth in the context of Amsterdam will be developed. Furthermore, connotations strongly associated with smooth will be discovered and used throughout the research process (for example, specific spatial aspects that appear to be associated with smoothness can also provide informative input for the socio-spatial analysis).

Next, socio-spatial analysis combined with ethnographic mapping will reveal how the smooth emerges from existing norms (or lack thereof). This will be demonstrated through activity maps, pockets of differences (what is happening in a space that is not designed for?), images, mapping designed spaces (what they look like and what happens in them), and an understanding of who is appropriating urban spaces (and who is the other?).

In addition, potential connections between social processes and spatial elements will be identified. The distinction between ‘smooth’ and ‘unsmooth’ aids the reflective mindset in determining which spatial elements in both environments allow or do not allow social processes to occur.

The application of socio-spatial analysis will reveal important relationships between architectonics and specific activities in smooth and “non-smooth” environments.

In addition, interviews will provide information on the variety of activities and potential trends that are visible but cannot take place in the urban realm as it currently exists.

Next, footage shot by five ‘insiders’ (people living in the Jordaan from various socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds) from a camera will help to determine which spaces are relevant in the Jordaan. Following interviews about these images, spatial elements from the conversations will be filtered to contribute to the spatial dimension of the individuals’ preferred places.

Following that, a new map will be created to highlight existing and problematic spatial conditions in the Jordaan’s urban realm that are inextricably linked to its social life.

A literature review on Just Cities will provide a more in-depth understanding of Just Environments in the context of Amsterdam. Next, spatial elements extracted from these texts will be evaluated within the context of the Jordaan to identify relationships or opportunities.

By reflecting on previous research findings, a better understanding of the social-spatial aspects of smooth is translated into an understanding of the definition as a gradient rather than two opposites (smooth and non-smooth), which includes the positive aspects of smoothness. Diversity will be an important factor in this.

Furthermore, design research will enable the creation of a map that depicts how smooth environments can accommodate differences or informalities.

An additional map will provide insights into the various types of shared spaces that contribute to collaboration and the potential to reshape the urban landscape (L, M, S, and XS scales).

By reflecting on earlier done research, important conclusions are drawn that are input for design alternatives that can unlock spatial justice in the Jordaan. Research by design in return helps by determining where spatial transformations are possible and how they could look like in order to reach the goal of justness and the Open City. This might result in the development of patterns that can be of use in the design process.

Interscalar design solutions (from architectonics to street, block, neighbourhood and city) will be the output as a process that is shaped over time. For this reason, the output will be in an indefinite form: allowing for change and reinterpretation as time passes. This will be demonstrated through architectural and urbanist drawings (including plans and sections), as well as a vision strategies towards open structures at the city and neighbourhood levels.

METHODS USED

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review comprises relevant selections of scholarly articles, books and other sources to unveil important aspects of the research in both theory and context. By making use of a literature review, this research aims to explore the existing body-of knowledge that is applicable in the contextualizing and understanding of smooth environments.

At the same time, policy documents, news articles and non-academic sources will be reviewed that help gain a broader understanding of the context in which the problem is manifested. By doing so, informal insights help in understanding the social consequences of smooth environments, as well as getting a better understanding in the norm as communicated and perceived within Amsterdam.

Limits of method

By reviewing different sources of literature, I will be giving a personal interpretation of the texts read. Because of this, my own body of knowledge and my own body of reference will inevitably shape pieces of information that I find relevant for the research. Because of this, another researcher might come up with conclusions different than mine, based on the different selected texts (based on personal idea of relevance and/or interest). This means that important, critical, theories or texts might be excluded now that could be relevant for the understanding of the context.

ETHNOGRAPHIC MAPPING

In order to understand social patterns, different forms of ethnographic mapping will be conducted to reveal data that cannot be directly found in available research data. Examples of ethnographic mapping are:

Tracing activity; sitting at a specific site for a specific amount of time and write down everything that happens and who is doing the activity. This information can be mapped out according to set up standards (such as: using a dot when someone is standing still/ sitting and using an arrow when someone is moving from one place to another).

Tracing activity through senses; sitting at a specific site for a specific amount of time and write down all the information that comes through the senses (what do I hear/ see/ smell/ feel?). This helps in getting an atmospheric understanding of the site.

Unveiling human activity through traces; this method helps in understanding what people are doing in a (public) space by photographing the traces they leave behind. Getting lost; with getting lost, you are obliged to look for (spatial) information that gives suggestions about a space. It also helps in tracing specific elements that stand out when visiting a site.

Limits of method

Ethnographic mapping is a result that is shaped as a static moment in time. This means that the results of ethnographic mapping are entirely dependent on time conditions. Traces found in public spaces may differ depending on the day (due to weather, holidays, etc.).

Furthermore, the output, as mapped and written down, represents a personal interpretation of the given situation. In this case, I consider information that I believe is relevant or noticeable. As a result, a subjective view and interpretation of the site emerges that corresponds to my personal frame of reference, as well as my view and understanding of the direct context. This method may overlook important aspects of the built environment that are 1) not found in regular data and 2) not

mapped by me. When information is not mapped, it will not be considered in design solutions. This may exacerbate existing power structures that cause injustice.

INTERVIEWS

In order to get a better understanding of existing social layers, interviews will be conducted that open up conversations. From these conversations, a particular emphasis will be placed on spatial elements that comprise urban spaces, in order to determine the role of these objects in existing or missing social processes.

Limits of method

When interviewing, the discussion will be guided by the questions asked. The selection of questions and the interpretation of their responses are thus a selective approach that may highlight important, critical issues at stake. At the same time, the questions asked may lead to design solutions in an area that the questioner is aiming for, while other problems, possibly unaddressed, may persist.

URBAN ANALYSIS

Sociospatial analysis examines the relationships between social processes and built form. This analysis will thus be a hybrid of ethnographic mapping (what are people doing? What are tendencies?) and assessing how the built environment supports or does not support these processes. To determine what to focus on, environmental psychology theories will be used to investigate this interrelation.

This method will be interscalar, with elements on an architectural scale.

Limits of method

Because this analysis also makes use of ethnographic mapping, the results may vary depending on the day or time of research. This has to be taken into consideration.

SPATIAL ANALYSIS

This method uses a morphological analysis approach. This method seeks to understand the role of existing morphologies in the functioning of a region by investigating the site's palimpsest as well as other significant morphological changes or appropriations.

This method will be interscalar, looking for links between both larger and smaller morphological elements.

Limits of method

This method relies heavily on existing maps. As is well known, maps can sometimes misrepresent an existing urban environment because the information is irrelevant to the map's developer. As a result, certain layers that comprise an urban environment may be excluded. When working with existing maps, power relations that contribute to social-spatial injustice may persist.

RESEARCH BY DESIGN

This method uses design to investigate alternative solutions for the problem at hand. Through analysis, model making and producing drawings, this method works with spatial elements to understand how spatial transformations help reach the project goal.

When presenting the analysis, only pertinent information that contributes to the final design decision is retained. Reflection is also used to demonstrate how the design solution has or has not unlocked specific potentials.

Limits of method

This method has a few key points where specific information is kept or left out. These moments are critical to the final design output and are based on the designers' arguments. This allows for a subjective interpretation of the project and its potential solutions, which may overlook or neglect underlying social layers that comprise a space, as well as important (socio-spatial) conflicts. This could result in socio-spatial injustice because the designer works from a personal frame of reference, thereby 'exposing' personal values and beliefs on a site.

REFLECTION

This method is used with the intention of thoroughly reflecting on previous outcomes in order to understand and reposition the problematization within the given research context. This aids in the holistic solution-finding process by incorporating various modes of research and maintaining a critical attitude towards the overall process.

SPACE SYNTAX

This method is used to apply scientifically proven data relationships between built environments and social patterns. This can provide insight into the likelihood that people will take a specific street, based on the designed spatial environment that serves as their information source.

SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

In the ongoing process of commodification of contemporary cities, an increasing awareness is needed in understanding how spaces for commoning can be maintained in the urban that give space for different norms that help in understanding and criticizing existing power structures. Existing literature discussing the need for Open Cities to reach Just environments remain on an explanatory level, highlighting and unfolding the issue at stake, that is sometimes translated into strategic governance strategies. This is also the case in Amsterdam, where pressure on urban space is considered as a problem for which a decrease in visitors could be a solution. Spreading-strategies (and optionable entrance fees for certain neighbourhoods) are parts of the discussion towards change.

Since the concept of Smooth was recently coined, there remains a large knowledge gap on the (spatial) understanding of the phenomenon and its social consequences. In addition, no design strategies have yet been set up that incorporate these phenomena and searches for possible design solutions that work towards a Just City.

This research focuses on the socio-spatial consequences of a smooth environment through both literature studies as well as a strong analysis study. By doing so, the definition of smooth might be adapted according to real-life outcomes. At the same time, a more concrete understanding of the phenomenon becomes possible for the relation between the social and spatial will be extensively analysed. By doing so, possible spatial transformations will be discussed that can unlock spatial justice within smooth contexts by means of design. In this way, this research incorporates two important aspects that are now missing in the current state of the art knowledge on smooth environments, which is:

An elaborated understanding of smooth and its socio-spatial consequences

An exploration in design transformations that contribute to Just Cities that allows for a diversity in norms and makes space for the other.

SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

In the context of commodified cities, the likelihood of smooth environments appearing is high. As a result, opportunities to (re)shape the urban are unequally distributed. At the same time, important liminal spaces that allow for informalities are erased, and important spatial elements describing the spatial script overlooked. This leads to both static and expected appropriation of public spaces, as well as conflicts with the various needs of a public space. In addition, any space for ‘the other’ is removed.

Important frictions are eliminated from the public sphere in a static urban environment where the norm is imposed and controlled. As a result, uncomfortable and confrontational positions that expose existing power structures no longer occur. This inevitably leads to an increase in social injunctions in society as a whole, as well as the prevention of democratic processes.

In the Open City, as opposed to the previously mentioned closed systems, friction is incorporated and allowed into the urban fabric as part of social life. This contributes to important democratic processes as well as inclusivity because it provides a space and opportunity for people with different norms to (re)shape the urban environment, and thus themselves and civilised society.

PROFESSIONAL RELEVANCE

Since the term ‘smooth’ was only recently coined, our understanding of it remains limited. At the same time, no socio-spatial analyses have been conducted to support certain claims and identify opportunities through spatial transformations. In addition, no design output has been proposed that connects relevant theories to the opposite of closed systems.

This study fills a significant knowledge gap by attempting to understand and redefine Smooth, as well as its literal implications for the urban fabric and underlying processes. This research goes beyond what others have done by incorporating design as an important final product: it puts ideas about the Open City into practice.

Recent reflections on the book ‘Smooth City’ by various urban designers usually end with the question: ‘but how do we reach this?’, such as the reflection that was opened up by the Urbanistas on Archined.nl (2023). This highlights the need for a perspective and spatial solutions based on urban design.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Taking into account important theories about the ‘Democratic of Difference,’ this thesis attempts to incorporate an understanding of various identities and norms that exist simultaneously in society. This thesis, however, deals with delicate personal information of the other. Observation, ethnographic mapping as well as local interviews reveal why the other is increasingly disappearing from the public eye.

The other in this study is considered extra vulnerable because they are in a vulnerable position and sometimes conceal feelings of shame over personal (living) situations. Conversations with local people, as well as particular interviews, are therefore anonymously processed in this research. All data is stored in TU Delft’s Onedrive, which only the author and tutors have access to. The data will be deleted one month after the project is completed, at the latest. In addition, no personal information about vulnerable human research subjects is stored.

The specific micro-stories are covered by a consent form, and the subject is always given the option to withdraw from the research at any time.

KEY CONCEPTS

SMOOTH CITY

Coined in 2023 by René Boer, the Smooth City describes the social-spatial phenomena resulting from neoliberal capitalist powerstructures in city-development. Characterized by their inception to reach 'perfection, efficiency and control', the process of smoothening is a very unjust one that leads to closed-systems and spatial injustice. In the smooth context, a dominant norm is imposed, diminishing space for anything other. Because of this, existing powerstructures are maintained and emphasized, with little opportunity to be criticized. This research looks at Smooth Cities from a socio-spatial perspective.

JUST CITY

'Justice' is a difficult concept, for the interpretation of justice is a time-bound and place-based concept, depending on cultural and political context (Verbeek & Delft University of Technology, 2023). According to Dobson, the 'pluralist interpretation of justice opens the way to a 'legitimizing game' in which some versions or interpretations of justice will be recognized and prevail' (1998 in Verbeek & Delft University of Technology, 2023). However, our spatial environment plays a crucial role in existing powerstructures, and in extension, democracy at large. 'There is no space in a hierarchized society that is not itself hierarchized and that does not express hierarchies and social distances,' writes Bourdieu (1993:124 in Newton, 2008). For this reason, justice and space are strongly related to each other. Soja, in particular, emphasised the interconnectedness of social and spatial processes and introduced the idea of spatial justice (2010).

The Just City then represents an ideological understanding of spatial justice, defined by Soja as 'the fair and equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and opportunities to use them' (Soja, 2010). By implying notions of the Just City, a more inclusive urban environment is reached.

This thesis focuses on the spatial dimension of Just Cities, particularly through the lense of (Soja, 2009):

1. A just distribution of benefits and burdens
2. Equal opportunities
3. Protection of individual liberties

The three dimensions are simultaneously part of the Just City concept, and should therefore be addressed together in order to reach the opportunity for formal and informal mechanisms fostering claims for urban justice.

'Just' in this research does not always has to mean 'fair'. In distinguishing the two, theories about 'democratics of difference' of Young (1990) are embedded that acknowledge how group differences exist and certain groups are privileged. This means that, to reach a Just environment, sometimes unequal decisions are necessary to reach general justice, resulting in possible negative individual consequences. She rightfully points out how 'the achievement of formal equality does not eliminate social differences, and rhetorical commitment to the sameness of persons make it impossible even to name how those differences presently structure privilege and oppression' (Young, 1990: 164).

Determining what is smooth and what is un-smooth is inherently related to norms. For this reason, the following literature concerning norms is conducted: Foucault on the subject and Power; focussing on power-relationships in society, how they come into being, how they are expressed and how they are linked to the spatial urban environment (in Newton, 2008)

Next, in order to understand the socio-spatial relation and its contribution to Just environments, a more detailed look will be given into theories on territories, territorial control and spatial perception.

Foucault writes about this through the concept of archeology of thought, which will be looked into in more detail in the theoretical body of this thesis (in Newton, 2008).

Bourdieu elaborates on the specific role of the habitus in the positioning and hierarchy of social classes as evident in western societies. By incorporating theories about the connection between the modal habitus and classification systems, this research aims at getting a better understanding between social hierarchy and urban form (in Newton, 2008).

Habraken extensively discusses the appearance of different-level territories (1998), elaborating from a gradience of public to private. He explains how territories are evident in the public- and private realm. Because of this approach, 'publicness' is directly linked to territories. The understanding of both territories and those who exert control over a territory helps in understanding how to reach just urban environments from a design-perspective.

Hillier and Hanson in addition connect research on expected behaviour of individuals in an urban environment to its direct spatial context in the social logic of space (1984). This can support theories of Habraken by conducting analysis in Space Syntax and reflecting on the outcomes in relation to the opposed territory.

This thesis acknowledges that the reaching of Just environments is not a final end-goal but rather a process that is continuously shaped over time. Because of this, time becomes an important element in the final design strategy. In addition, Sennett talks elaborated about time as an important element in the becoming and transitioning of urban developments in a more just way.

His book the Use of Disorder (1970) is an important input for this research, for it provides relevant insights on urban time as a project aim.

Important insights in the effective use of urban spaces through time is conducted from Everyday Streets.

OPEN CITY

The Open City, first mentioned by Jacobs but taken from Sennett's perspective for this thesis, focuses on the spatial dimensions that contribute to open systems. In doing so, characteristics of the opposed closed system are counterbalanced, opening up a variety of different possibilities that contribute to reaching Just environments. The elaborated description on Open Cities by Sennett gives clear tangible elements that help getting a grasp on the spatiality and the spatial transformations possible to reach this the goal of openness. In here, the **membrane, incomplete form, narratives of development** and **democratic space** play a crucial role. The explanation of these elements will be further explored in the theoretical body of this thesis.

In addition, this research continues with concepts of porosity, first explored by W. Benjamin and obducted from research of Viganò, P in 2016.

Even though Sennett translated the concept of Open into spatial form, some important additional literature helps in understanding and contextualising his theories within the context of Amsterdam.

To make use of membranes in the urban context, a closer look will be taken

at liminal spaces, which Irigaray defines as a threshold that allows for informal activities to take place and continuously move from inside to outside (1991). The liminal becomes apparent on the architectural scale. Next, Tonnelat’s interstitial spaces are valued on a larger, urban scale. The author describes it as a no-man’s land without the usual guarantees of social order and control (2008: 295).

Narratives of development are a difficult process that addresses power dynamics and the likely unequal opportunity for certain marginalised groups to participate equally in decision-making processes. To incorporate development narratives into the design strategy, the following literature will be examined in greater detail. First and foremost, acknowledging the existence of inequality based on differences is an important starting point for the thesis. As previously stated, embracing diversity can help democrats of different backgrounds achieve justice. Furthermore, different narratives and interpretations of narratives will evolve over time, influencing perceptions of the urban and public realm as a whole. As a result, time will play a significant role in the project’s overall design strategy. The book *Everyday Streets* will also be useful in this area of the research (2023).

Finally, in order to gain a better understanding of democratic space, a few theories are tested. First, how we perceive, move, and control space is strongly influenced by the (perceived) territory we visit. As a result, this section of the research incorporates Habraken’s (1998) theories on territories. The contributions of Hillier and Hanson (1984), as previously discussed, also contribute to this understanding.

Next, who has control over urban spaces and how that control manifests itself is investigated using Foucault’s theories on the archaeology of thought, the subject, and power (in Newton, 2008). Control is also strongly linked to tolerated norms, which include determining who is an insider and who is not. Theories on this will be conducted by both Sennett (1970), who explores insider and outsider from an image-led perspective, and Butler, who investigates concepts of performativity, which relate to how behaviour relates to imposed norms and social hierarchies (in Newton, 2008). Young also writes extensively about the Other in *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (1990). She emphasizes on how equality in society does not lead to justice and continues by exploring notions of diversity (the existence of a variety of norms, simultaneously), leading to inclusivity.

DISORDER

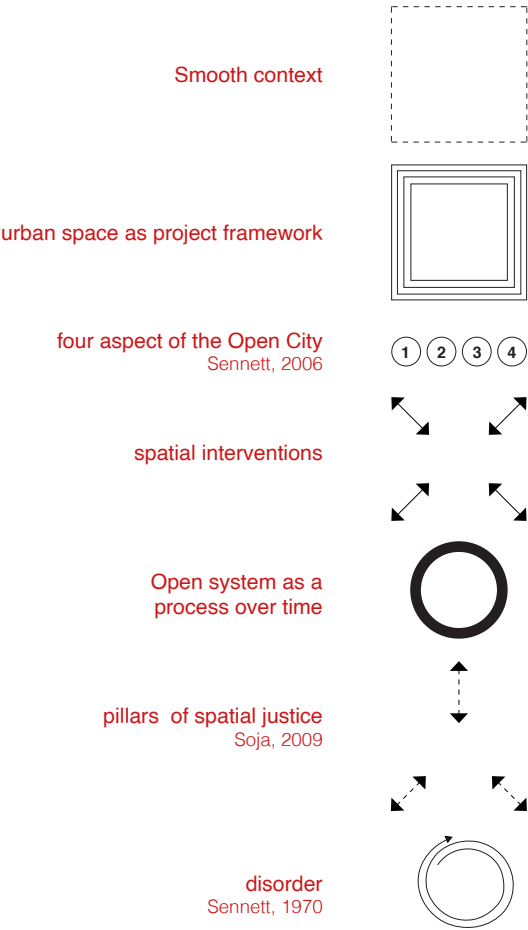
In contrast to smooth, ordered environments, disorder is the result of social friction in the public realm. This friction is important, for it urges one to re-evalaute existing powerstructures. This aids in understanding, responding, and providing space for various narratives and norms, ultimately contributing to Just environments as a process that is constantly (re)shaped over time. Disorder could thus be viewed as a sinusoidal movement that increases at times and decreases at others. According to Sennett (1970: 166), a ‘disordered, unstable, direct social life would lead to structural changes in the city itself as well as the individuals in the social milieu’ and is thus something to strive for.

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Verbeek, T. & Delft University of Technology. (2023, November 20). *Critical Social Science Seminar 3* [Slide show].
Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton University Press.

CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The illustrated framework serves as both a conceptual and an analytical framework. The diagram's interpretation suggests how spatial justice can be applied in the context of a smooth environment. The framework can be decomposed in five parts. First, the conceptual framing situates itself within smooth contexts. This phase is critical in the process of defining smooth and its socio-spatial implications for the urban realm in order to incorporate and contextualise notions of spatial justice. The second phase recognises that the project is situated in a spatial framework that spans multiple scales. As a result, spatial elements within the urban realm will contain aspects and solutions to spatial justice. Third, to mitigate spatial transformations, Sennett's (2006) four pillars of open systems (as opposed to closed systems found in smooth contexts) are used. These pillars will be applicable to a variety of urban scales, from the XS (urban furniture), S (architectonics), M (street interventions) to L (neighbourhood strategies). Fourth, this project uses urban time to define the urban fabric as a process rather than an output, incorporating important concepts such as diversity and space for the other. In order to do so, this project recognises the final output as one possible solution at a specific point in time, which may change due to differing perspectives, discussions, updated power structures, or confrontation. As a result, the fourth phase remains interconnected and interacts with the four pillars described above. As a result, spatial transformations play an important role in the change-making process. The fifth phase defines three dimensions of spatial justice, as described by Soja (2009). Spatial justice can be achieved by factoring in the spatial design output.

This process will inevitably result in disorder, as phase six demonstrates. However, disorder is an important aspect in a just urban environment because it aids in understanding and updating existing power structures. At the same time, both disorder and spatial justice are abstract phenomena that change in response to different perspectives, political shifts, or different appropriations and perceptions of the urban realm. In order to maintain spatial justice, urban time again plays a crucial role in maintaining a critical position towards (marginalised) populations inhabiting and making use of the urban. For this reason, a strong interrelation can again be found with phase three: acknowledging how the urban realm is a process that is shaped over time.



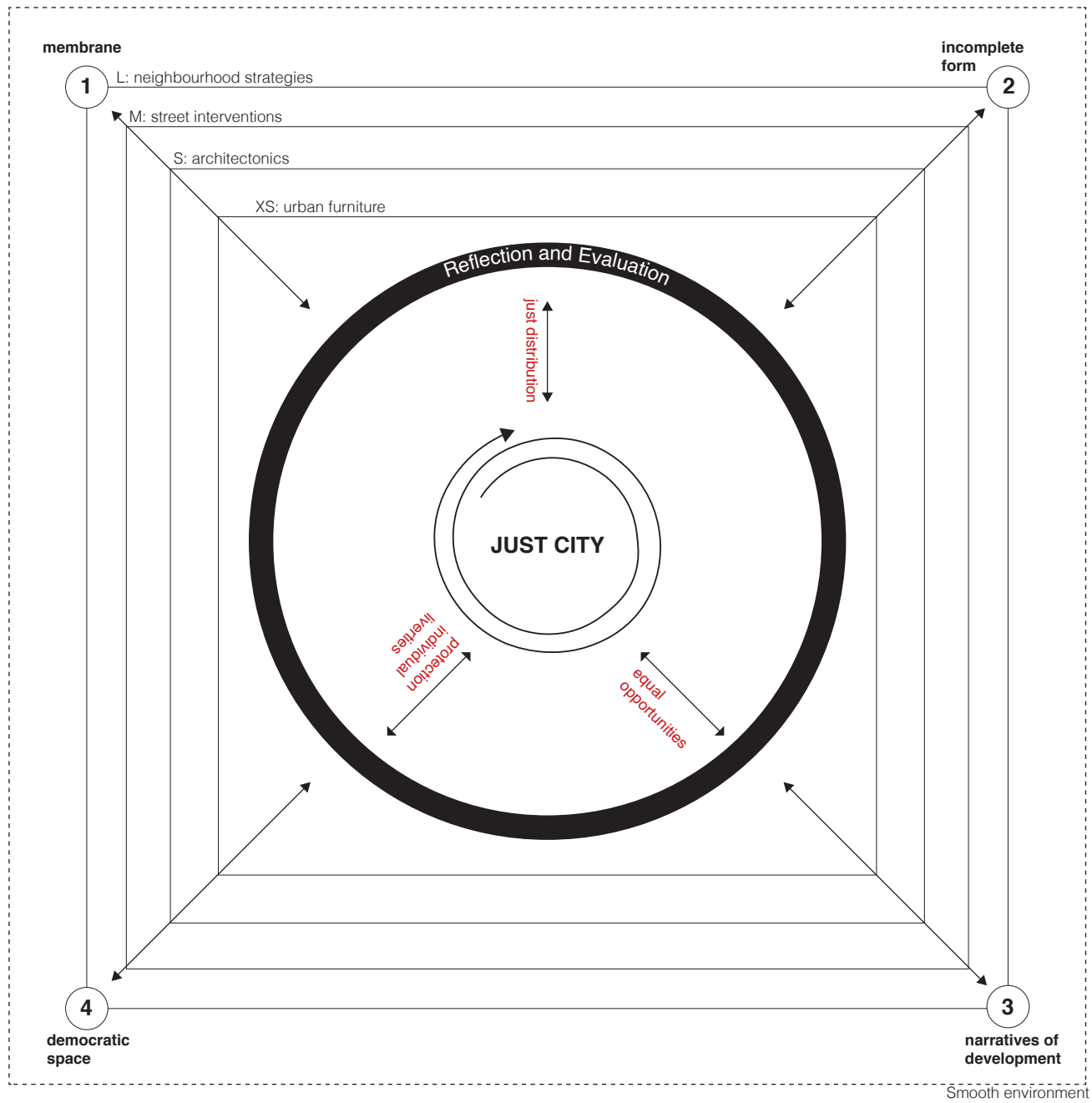


Fig. 16 Conceptual Framework
Self-made

ANALYSIS

CONCEPTUALISING AND UNDERSTANDING *SMOOTH*

as an expression of norms

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand what smooth means in the context of Amsterdam, **this chapter first triangulates smoothness as associated with the imposing of norms, that is framed in a spatial framework that both accumulates, protects as well as represents capital flows.** The found notions then form the back-bone for further socio-spatial analysis to uncover the (spatial) manifestation of smoothness and its consequences for local social structures. This is done by looking into the case-study area of the Jordaan, which has shown effects of smoothness through time. Conclusions from the analysis chapter in addition serve as the base to understand how to move from the existing, closed, system to a more Open and Just urban environment

SMOOTHNESS: AN EXPRESSION OF NORMS

What is considered smooth and unsmooth has everything to do with frames of references, therefore norms. In order to understand how norms come into being and how we perceive and respond to norms, the first part of this chapter will explore the (imposing) notions of norms in the contemporary context of the Netherlands. Next, norms will be connected to power (who has the opportunity to impose or change norms?). Finally, a spatial relationship is found between our understanding and expression of norms and its physical spatial environment.

UNDERSTANDING NORMS: CONTEMPORARY MODES OF SOLIDARITY

According to social sciences, one of the most important aspects why societies exist and function in the first place is because of solidarity: the sharing and redistribution of resources with one another based on the fact that we have something in common (TU Delft Centre for the Just City, 2022). Oosterlynck identifies in the Duty of Care podcast four sources of solidarity identified in the early twentieth century in North-Western Europe:

1. Awareness of interdependence: the recognition that we rely on one another in order to accomplish our goals. Collective benefits accrue from solidarity towards one another.
2. Shared norms and values: the belief that we are morally integrated into a specific nationstate with the same outlook on life, a shared history, and the same (perceived) norms and values.
3. Nurture to struggle: having a shared enemy.
4. Encounter: informal interactions in cities foster feelings of solidarity, because we have an idea or image of the ‘other’.

In the established welfare state, local forms of solidarity have recently been centralised and nationalised (Oosterlynck in Duty of Care Podcast, 2022). However, the way we have been imagining, organising, and institutionalising solidarity has primarily focused on intergenerational continuity of supposedly culturally homogeneous population nations whose living together is largely contained within the nationstate’s clearly defined territorial boundaries. Put another way, the second factor—having a common history, culture, and set of norms and values—is the foundation upon which solidarity is currently shaped and portrayed (for instance, through policies). In a way, this also implies individuals feel like others can be trusted only if they are very much similar. According to Oosterlynck, it is critical to recognise that these norms are based on cultural homogenization. In addition, it is the elite who succeed in superimposing their own way of thinking, their own cultural concepts, onto the majority so that it becomes the norm (Newton, 2008). This is done in such a way that the majority then accepts this as the truth. In the meantime, the elite also successfully conceal the power structures on which

their supremacy is built’ (Newton, 2008: 34). This way of stabilizing the existing social order or norm in society is related to Durkheim’s idea of ‘logical conformity’ (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 471; Durkheim, 1915, p. 17 in Newton, 2008: 34). Because of this, the established norm for socio- ethnic and economic backgrounds, cultural values and the shared history that is the input for contemporary modes of solidarity, are framed and imposed according to the frame of reference of the established order.

THE POWER OF IMAGE AND THE OTHER

With the institutionalized form of solidarity, much less needs to be shared between persons. When this is the case, there is much smaller fund of experiences that individuals can use to understand the character of each other (Sennett, 1970). In framing then a sense of communal bonds, individuals are more likely to focus on how much they are the same rather than what they actually do in their relations with each other.

In *The Use of Disorder*, Sennett describes how social researcher Riesman discovered how the feeling of common identity, the ‘us’, is rooted in how people project an image of a collective personality rather than the character of what they shared. Sennett goes on to say that research has revealed how people in groups ‘frame for themselves a belief in emotional cohesion and shared values with each other that has little to do with their actual social experiences together’ (Sennett, 1970: 31). These feelings of solidarity are described by Florian Znaniecki as ‘a community cemented by an act of will rather than acts of experience’ (Znaniecki in Sennett, 1970: 33). The bond of community then is out of sensing a common, similar identity to define a strong ‘us’ and ‘who we are’. This seems to be especially the case during periods of social change and displacement. When a strong common ‘us’ is defined, people feel protected for disorder (Sennett, 1970: 34). People from inside the community feel like they belong to each other, simply because of the fact that they are the same. Since they look similar, the individual assumes that they know everything about each other because they look the same and therefore must be the same, whereas in reality, the ‘insider,’ share very little with each other and matter very little in each other’s lives. This is also evident within the context of Amsterdam, which becomes clear from the september newsletter of Jonas Kooyman in which he describes his personal experience with the yoga studio that he visits weekly as following (2023. translated from Dutch):

Every Sunday morning I visit a hot yoga studio in Amsterdam. In a tightly furnished room heated to 36 degrees, I stare from my mat at my own reflection, surrounded by half-naked, sweating, urban twenty- and thirty-somethings. The lessons are good, the changing rooms luxurious. Yet something strange is going on: in all the years I’ve been coming there, no one talks to each other. Afterwards, everyone showers in silence, changes clothes and disappears back into his or her own life. Every lesson I am surrounded by unknown, anonymous faces.

Surprisingly, it is precisely these types of places – yoga studios, spinning classes, boutique gyms – that pride themselves on their sense of community. Community is the magic word that is eagerly used in marketing. The walls of these pricey, trendy sports locations often contain slightly sectarian sayings about togetherness and forming a movement or tribe. Yet when leaving these types of locations you cannot escape the impression that your presence was nothing more than a check-in on a sports class app.

To be prevented from exclusion in the social world, the individual furthermore act and behave in ways that are consistent with the role with which they identify. Butler refers to this as ‘performativity’ (Butler, 1997a in Newton, 2008). This identified social role is in addition extracted from existing social classification systems within society. Bourdieu emphasises how society is organised by first objectivating the world through classification schemes in order to classify it. This is largely accomplished through the use of dichotomies (high/low, unique/banal, intelligent/stupid) and, according to Bourdieu, can be found in the separation of the elite and the masses. As a result, these divisions are constantly reproduced through education, cultural products, and language, influencing how everyday encounters and interactions are ‘progressively inscribed in people’s minds’ (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 466-475 in Newton, 2008), actively impacting social divisions and social order. These social divisions then become practical principles that help us organise in our social world and our position in the social order, which is closely linked to behaviour and images associated with that order and, once again, is directly linked to the feeling of the insider or ‘us’ and the outsider or ‘the other’. It is important to highlight that these divisions are nothing but a mental construct that impact social structures.

However, groups that are dominated in society position themselves in the social hierarchy as based on the classification system that is imposed to them by those in power; those at the established order that define them, ‘reproducing in their verdict on themselves the verdict the economy pronounces on them, condemning themselves to what in any case is their lot’ (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 471). As discussed, the elite in society largely succeed in superimposing their own mental constructs and ways of thinking onto the majority, so that the majority accepts this as the only legitimate form of thought (Newton, 2008). Bourdieu emphasises that at this time, our social experiences have become a doxa: the notion that people experience society as obvious, the natural and social world appears as self-evident (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 164 in Newton, 2008). In this way, the social order is constantly validated and accepted as true. As a result, dominated groups in society position themselves in the social hierarchy based on a classification system devised by the elite. Meanwhile, the elite successfully conceal the power structures that underpin their supremacy. This is what Bourdieu refers to as symbolic violence (Newton, 2008). Individuals constantly perform socially expected actions, confirming existing norms and values as appropriate (Butler, 1993 in Newton, 2008), and thus ‘reproducing the conditions of power,’ as Mills puts it (Magnus, 2006; Mills, 2003 in Newton, 2008). By speaking about the other in a certain way, one not only assigns a specific class to another, but also to oneself (Newton, 2008). According to Sennett (1970), small groups of people are most uneasy and challenged by perceiving the ‘otherness’ of those around them, for it causes disorder and feelings of discomfort while it challenges them with fixed ideas about one’s own identity.

Bourdieu elaborates on the role of cultural capital, status, and taste in the preservation of the norm in *La Distinction* (1979). He demonstrates how the elite uses these lifestyles and statuses to differentiate themselves from other groups in society, and how lifestyles can also be used to keep other social classes at bay. As previously stated, rising real estate prices have a direct impact on who can afford to sign new contracts, resulting in Amsterdam’s ‘verjupping’. In 2022, Jonas Kooyman referred to this new group of people as *havermelkelite* (translation: Oat milk elites), referring to a lifestyle that frequently includes drinking oat milk cappuccinos. He describes this usergroup as ‘young people riding through the city on their e-bikes, drinking nature wine, eating at the hottest restaurants

and participating in strange, hip sports classes. They convey their status through a certain taste and lifestyle’ (het Parool, 2023). Through his newsletter *Havermelkelite* and his Instagram page @Havermelkelite, it becomes clear how image and lifestyle are an important aspect of their identity (Fig. x).

Cultural capital is important in establishing and maintaining the elite’s dominant position and norm in a society. Dominant groups can easily navigate through life, as their habitus is the one that is legitimised through dominant public discourse. It is important to note that the imposed norm is therefore related to the power to construct and deconstruct the (urban) image and has everything to do with social orders as a result of mental constructs. To conclude, in contemporary institutionalized modes of solidarity in North-Western Europe, the feeling of ‘us’ is very much related to how much we look the same, rather than what we share in experience. This again becomes evident in the context of Amsterdam, for which Kooymans laments the fact that ‘everyone is wearing the same clothes and going to the same restaurants, while Amsterdam used to be a place of individual expression’ (het Parool, 2023). The desire to be similar is a powerful way for individuals to avoid the necessity of looking deeper into each other (Sennett, 1970), so others are judged solely by the way they look in order to be part of the ‘insider’ group. As a result, the norm is closely associated with image-led environments. When such a strong image-led ‘us’ is created, anyone who does not match this particular lifestyle or image, is therefore easily considered as the ‘outsider’ or ‘the other’. The moment this ‘other’ looks or behaves different than the ‘us’, this is quickly seen as a threat, for it can cause disorder and threaten the solidarity on which the contemporary society as well as communities is built. The risk here is that, as a result, people are assessed according to how similar their images are—that is, based on how they behave and look—in order to ascertain whether or not they are trustworthy members of the same social order.

Referring back to the graduation project of Sophie Straat, she explicitly highlights ‘the other’ in one of her songs, *Hey Yvonne* (Fig. X). In this song, she discusses how children of yuppies, who have moved to Amsterdam North, are not allowed to play with ‘the other’, as she explains:

*Ik mag niet buiten spelen met mensen zoals jij
Ze zijn bang dat jullie stelen, omdat jullie anders zijn
Ik mag niet buiten spelen met mensen zoals jij
Ook al waren jullie eerder, eerder hier dan wij*

(translation)
*I’m not allowed to play outside with people like you
They are afraid that you will steal because you are different
I’m not allowed to play outside with people like you
Even though you were here before us*

In here, she explicitly highlights the other as an outsider who cannot be trusted for they are different. At the same time, she emphasised that this child has recently moved into this area, which should make them the ‘outsider’ because they are unfamiliar with the area and have not yet formed any connections with its former inhabitants. The newly moved-in inhabitant positions themselves as a ‘insider’ through dominant norms and imposed power structures, actively distancing themselves from the people who have been living there for a long time.

NORMS AS REPRESENTATION AND ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL

In addition, transformation in lifestyles brings new opportunities for capital surplus absorption (Harvey, 2008b): the extravagante lifestyle of the new urban elite results in massive consumption activities that promote and support the newly introduced lifestyle of the norm. Expensive coffees, 'hot and trendy' restaurants, specific brands for soap and clothes are all examples of how this is exploited and manifested in the urban realm, resulting in personal situations like HENRY (High Income Not Rich Yet), that promote spending. For this reason, portrayed lifestyles of the norm are closely linked to the accumulation, representation and protection of capital flows.

CONTROLLING THE NORM (AND ITS CAPITAL)

When a large number of people dress and behave according to the (imposed) norm, it makes sense to consider how they would then try to mould society in their own image, so that the structure of society would be encouraged to codify this peculiar escape from painful disorder (Sennett, 1970). The moment this 'communal image' is challenged, being it through a confrontation with the other or different norms, important base feelings of solidarity on which contemporary North-Western European societies as well as communities are formed, is threatened. At the same time, it leads to uncomfortable and confrontational moments of disorder that might show existing power structures that cause some form of unequal (social) effects. Or, as Sennett explains, 'conflict and confrontation between friends, enemies, and others are avoided, as they can be a threatening social event that causes disorder' (Sennett, 1970: 35). As a result, we can see how predictable environments of sameness are protected in order to maintain order, protect existing norms and prevent a possible disruption in capital flows.

In his book *The Use of Disorder*, Sennett describes how Tocqueville saw a brutal repression of deviants as an important necessity in order to maintain their collective sameness. The 'poets of society', as he refers to, who challenge the main norms, would have to be silenced so that the sameness could be maintained (1970). The eruption of social tension becomes a situation in which several methods of aggressions become justified to maintain 'order' and safety, again linking to the laws and orders that are framed by the dominant norm. As a result, the environments remain smooth in their operation and friction is avoided. According to Boer, the smooth city is heavily reliant on a 'matrix of control', which can be defined as 'ongoing, collective efforts by those in power, often the (local) government and property owners, to ensure everything remains permanently in perfect condition 'and nothing threatens its efficient operation' (Boer, 2013; 49). Stephan Graham also describes control as an increasing force in cities around the world over the last few decades, referring to the new military urbanism, which can be defined as control exerted over the public domain through the presence of police forces and surveillance systems (Graham, 2010 in Boer, 2023). The current controlling society is described by Bentham as a Panopticon (Newton, 2008). Foucault continues by saying that the Panopticon manifests an ever present controlling gaze that encourages people to engage in normal or expected behaviour. With the strong matrix of control, the perception is generated that general safety is protected, whereas it is only the protection of the imposed norm or the protection of the form of solidarity as discussed above that is being threatened.

When urban environments are completely controlled in the in the way who, how and in what way can make use of urban environments, important modes of frictions that help us reposition and develop as a civilized society, cannot take

place. According to Kai Erikson, a total repression of deviants would 'rob society of a means of defining itself; there must be room for 'them' and for 'us' to exist as well' (Erikson in Sennett, 1970: 42). He refers to the fact that by taking away room for anything that does not comply with the norm, we not only take away important moments of friction that help us critically question existing power relationships, but also takes away space for the 'insider' for they now have to give up complex or conflicting loyalties in order to be part of a particular community.

According to Foucault in 'The Subject and Power' (1982 in Newton, 2008), power is concerned with guiding the possibility of conduct and putting the various outcomes in order. In other words, contemporary power structures are largely defined by what is permitted to occur where and by whom. Because of this, the implication of power is not something which is floating' above society, but is truly anchored within our social realm (Foucault, 1982, pp. 790-792). The control of this is therefore directly linked to democracy, for it allows one to challenge existing norms, beliefs and understandings which shapes future societies. Or, in Foucault's opinion, the importance of freedom then becomes relevant, for people or groups have the opportunity to react on actions of others or can choose between several other forms of conduct (Newton, 2008). He specifically points out how marginalised people could make a valuable contribution to society for their values might challenge the dominant norm. For him, the marginal are those who are 'part of our social world, and who, most of the time, share the same norms and values and actually participate in our society, but are on the fringes thereof' (Foucault in Newton, 2008: 32). According to René Boer, the city of Amsterdam continues to push for smoothness at the expense of marginalised residents and their need for space to be themselves, live their lives, and come together (Boer, 2013).

SMOOTH ENVIRONMENTS: SPATIALIZATION OF NORMS

Our understanding of norms furthermore carries an important spatial dimension to it. Who is considered an 'insider' and 'outsider', based on image, also becomes clear from the representation of that image in the urban realm. In an inclusive city design, 'environments should be created that can be used by all, without the need for specialist adaptation of design', states Hanson (2004, in Martire et al., 2023: 2), referring to the opportunity for a variety of norms to express and manifest themselves. However, when one norm is overrepresented in the spatial context, normative perceptions of inclusivity are negatively influenced. For example, when a woman walks a street that is only used by men, she will be the one that stands out as the dominant norm here would be the man. However, when a man enters an area dominated by women, the opposite effect occurs. In both situations, an overrepresentation of one norm (and the underrepresentation of a variety of others), might in turn affect the willingness and opportunity for others to equally make use of that spatial environment. Tihomir Viderman and Sabine Knierbein state that an inclusive urban city should include a 'collective capacity to negotiate belonging, to appropriate space and to contest structural constraints through practices of improvising and inventing that are part of everyday life' (2019, in Martire et al., 2023: 2).

Our spatial environment plays a crucial role in understanding and exposing different norms. However, the physical environment is a direct representation of power-structures: There is no space in a hierarchized society that is not itself hierarchized and that does not express hierarchies and social distances,' writes Bourdieu (1993:124 in Newton, 2008). The opportunity for expression, and the negotiating and understanding of urban space in turn becomes a result by those who have the most power to do so. It is important to acknowledge that this power

is unequally distributed, therefore the opportunity to express norms and claim urban space is as well. According to Bordieu, space is actively manipulated by a small elite with enough power (due to the accumulation of various forms of capital) to do so, and in a way that only serves to reinforce their position in society (Newton, 2008). 'When speaking about power and its relationship to space, we have to understand that the spatial organisation of a city, a neighbourhood or even a country can be used as a means of maintaining, or even enhancing, the power of the established order' (Newton, 2008: 38). Social hierarchy can thus be achieved through spatial structures, which enforce important power structures through architecture and urban structures and result in unequal opportunities to claim a part of the city or express a variety of norms, for a dominant one is successfully imposed.

As a result, existing spatial environments are an important element in establishing and controlling existing power structures in society. The way the urban looks and how it is appropriated therefore becomes a dominant aspect in the ongoing process of imposing and incorporating dominant norms, affecting important notions on inclusiveness in the urban realm, which becomes clear from a lack of priority of the latter in urban design strategies. In addition, situated in a capitalist framework, the representation of the dominant norm is directly related with the protection, representation and accumulation of capital. The current emphasis in urban planning on building cities as efficient, complete, consistent, and 'whole' utilities frequently results in efficient but static urban spaces in which, according to Kanters, 'processes of becoming are structurally stifled and reduced to sameness' (Kanters, 2016: 58 in Boer, 2023). According to Jane Jacobs, big capitalism and powerful developers tend to produce homogeneity in their determinate, predictable, and balanced forms (Jacobs in Sennett, 2020). The physical translation of dominant norms onto the physical urban context therefore becomes an important element in defining smooth environments.

SMOOTHENING THE URBAN SCRIPT

The process of spatially imposing norms (smoothing) onto an existing environment, strongly influences the spatial conditions of a context. Our physical environment plays a crucial role for understanding feelings of inclusiveness, publicness and gives us important hints on desired local behaviour. Boer links the spatial conditions with local behaviour through the term 'urban script', which he defines as unwritten rules that prescribe what you can or cannot do in a certain environment (2023). Because these scripts are likely unpublished, people must take cues from the design of the urban environment or from the behaviour of others in order to fit to the level of territory without disrupting local atmospheres and rhythms. Important thresholds between different urban zones in addition emphasize the degree of openness of urban spaces. According to Stavrides, thresholds 'may appear as boundaries that separate an inside from an outside', and goes on to say that thresholds can be physical (like a door to a house or a gate) or symbolic (like a price flag on the facade indicating an area where the LGBTQ+ community is accepted) (Stavrides in Boer, 2023). The threshold circumscribes porous urban spaces that make it clear to anyone entering that they are entering a different realm, 'where different organisational forms are in place and specific ways to engage with space are common' (Boer, 2023: 193). A different kind of script is embedded in this new realm, one that is not supported by forms, surveillance, or policing, but is a constant negotiation through an open process of commoning.

Habraken describes how a city is built up from different territories with different

levels of publicness (1998). He asserts that urban space has a territorial hierarchy, and that this hierarchy, which is established throughout the built environment, is strongly related to territorial interpretation and influences how people behave. He mentions lower- and higher level territories, referring to the level of publicness at place, in which we move 'upward' to use spaces of increasingly 'public' character in the order of place.

He furthermore states that 'users of public space may come from either included or higher-level (excluded) territories' (Habraken, 1998: 157). In here, it is important to mention that the public space can be used without exercise of control, by those admitted from outside or a higher-level territory. These guests have a different attitude towards the urban form than those from the included territory, and are always temporary visiting. Habraken emphasizes that the guests need not to be in control of this urban space. He furthermore states that the concept of territorial control does not exist freely in space but is implied as a territorial claim and always occurs at the scale of the body. For example, in the subway, a musician stands against a pillar and places a hat in front of her. People respect her claim on space (new extended depth in territory) and keep a certain distance, only occasionally entering her space to toss a coin. We must be aware that when entering a public space, we are partaking in a game of instant territorial (depth) reconfiguration.

When norms are superimposed on societal structures and spatially manifested in the urban realm, it is likely to assume that in the areas where this happens more dominantly, too much control is exerted over local conditions that ignore important local social structures of the other. When this is the case, important spatial structures informing the local urban script might be erased, affecting the perceived level of territory which one is entering. As a result, the dominant norm is (knowingly or unknowingly) exerting too much control over local territories that negatively impacts important local atmospheres that comprise a community and negatively impact the opportunity for a variety of norms to freely express themselves in the public realm.

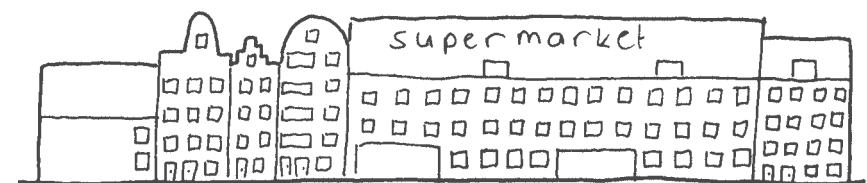


Fig. 17: public territory: main street



Fig. 18: private territory: livingstreet

CONCLUSION: DEFINING *SMOOTH* (AS CLOSED SYSTEMS)

In the process of triangulating smooth, what is considered smooth is strongly related to perceived norms. However, the opportunity to express a norm is unequally distributed, for the elite succeed in super-imposing and maintaining their norm as the dominant in public discourse. This is done in such a way that the majority of the people accept it as the 'truth'. Our spatial environment in addition plays a crucial role in our perception and understanding of norms, for different spatial perceptions affect the opportunity for expression and representation of different norms. However, the physical environment is a direct translation of existing power-structures, for social hierarchy can be achieved through spatial structures. As a result, space is actively manipulated by a small elite with enough power (due to the accumulation of various forms of capital) to do so, and in a way that only serves to reinforce their position in society, strongly impacting the way the city looks and what is tolerated to happen. In addition, situated in a capitalist framework, this is strongly related to the accumulation, representation and protection of capital.

The active spatial manipulation of space strongly affects our understanding of the urban script, for important local elements that define a particular territory are smoothened out according to the spatial needs of the imposed norm. As a result, too much control is likely exerted over local conditions that negatively affect important modes of commoning that define important local atmospheres that comprise a community.

Next, with the institutionalized form of solidarity, much less needs to be shared between persons, increasing the lack of shared experiences that individuals can use to understand the character of different norms. As a result, individuals are more likely to focus on how much they are the same rather than what they actually do in their relations with each other. In effect, when determining who is then part of that norm, the 'us', important conclusions are drawn on the amount of 'sameness' we can detect as well as overlap in cultural capital. The 'other' therefore automatically becomes anyone who does not fit the image of the insider, or does not relate to the frame of reference of the imposed norm. In the contemporary context of the Netherlands, we must acknowledge the fact that the dominant norm as perceived and portrayed in the public eye- and discourse is mostly based on a homogeneous background or frame of reference that is imposed by the elite, for they are successful at maintaining and protecting existing powerstructures. As a result, the values that are part of the imposed norm often work to exclude anything other than the normative conceptions of order and safety, in which several modes of aggression are tolerated.

As a result, cities increasingly shift towards an unequal entity that serves only those with enough power and commodities to claim a part of the city and make it their own. Leading to a hegemonic existence, both in its spatial representation as well as the way its used and the expressed norms, this new urban environment lacks the crucial opportunities to serve as a framework to explore ourselves, the other and society as a whole. In addition, it lacks the needed confrontation and negotitaion in space between a diversity of norms that is needed to confront existing unequal power-structures.

According to Sennett, the fault of building today's cities like this lies in over-determination: both of the city's visual form as well as its social functions, that seem to be organised in a way to reach a regime of power that wants order and control (Sennett, 2006). The result is what he refers to as a closed system, both in societal terms as well as urban form, that does not allow for imagery changes through use

or changing images formed by anticipation, open to surprise. In a **closed system**, (social) structures can neither respond to changing conditions as well as experiment in their processes. This leads in the urban context towards what Sennett describes as Brittle City, or in Boer's words: Smooth Cities, and has three major consequences that affect societies at large (Sennett, 1970):

1. Actual loss of participation in community life
2. Total repression of deviants, no place for 'the other,' and no true place for 'us.'
3. Strong relation to violence and the matrix of control

THE OPEN CITY

A logical way to move from closed systems is by incorporating theories about open systems, initially discussed by Jane Jacobs but taken from Sennett's perspective in this research. He describes an open system as one in unstable evolution (Sennett, n.d.). He argues that closed systems has paralysed urbanism, while the open system might free it, for in the disorder important friction arises that helps us reposition and reformulate powerstructures that in turn contributes to the development of civilized society at large.

The first crucial aspect of the open city is diversity: different socio-, ethnic-, and cultural backgrounds, different identities, different ways of living. 'It is the mixing of such diverse elements in the city that provides the materials of the 'otherness' of visibly different life styles in a city; these materials of otherness are exactly what men need to learn about (..)' (Sennett, 1970: 162) and, I would add, contribute to the functioning of democracies and is essential in the development of the urban. This also means that we have to reconsider how to maintain solidarity in a changing, diversifying context and how the urban can help in reaching that goal.

One of the ways to reach solidarity is through shared spaces, argues Stijn Oosterlynck (Duty of Care Podcast, 2022). Sennett describes in the Use of Disorder how he saw that a diverse community was able to live together simply because of the fact that they shared multiple contact points, therefore were constantly confronted with each other and had to come to communal terms (1970). He argues that it is this multiplicity of contact points that has died out in the contemporary city, where its stead, social activities have come to be formed in a more coherent mold (1970: 57). Young argues how the politicization of public life does not require the creation of a unified public realm, in which its citizens leave behind their individual particular group affiliations, histories or needs in order to discuss a 'common good'. She emphasizes that, in a society differentiated by social groups, political posistions, differences of privilege, and oppressions, the perception of anything like a common good can only be an outcome when public interactions are expressed rather than submerges particularities (1990: 119).

Therefore, different norms should have the opportunity to reclaim and reshape urban space to their needs. In dense and diverse communities, the process of making multiple contacts for survival would inevitably burst boundaries of thinking 'couched' in homogeneous small-group terms. The increase in densities, diversities and power relations in city communities would inevitably lead to a high level of tension (Sennett, 1970). However, because of this, a strong sense of 'needing to deal' with shifting combinations of people and shifting issues over the course of time arise in order to keep daily life going. Sennett describes how he does not imagine any sort of joyous communion in these encounters, but rather a 'feeling of needing to keep in touch, a feeling of having to be involved in a social world' (1970: 165).

The open system would therefore inevitably lead to disorder. However, a 'disordered,

unstable, direct social life would lead to structural changes in the city itself as well as to the individuals in the social milieu' writes Sennett (1970: 166) and is therefore something to aim for.

SPATIAL MANIFESTATION OF *SMOOTH*

and its socio-spatial consequences

Understanding smoothening as the process of imposing and spatializing the needs of the dominant norm onto the urban realm, within a capitalist framework, forms the back-bone for further socio-spatial analysis that helps us uncover how smoothness is manifested and what its consequences are for local social structures. Existing powerstructures and dominant norms are easily recognizable through the analysis of the built structure of a city (Newton, 2008). For this reason, a closer look is taken at the case-study of the Jordaan, which has shown several levels of smoothness through time.

The following chapter reveals how socio-spatial analysis uncovered that smoothness is strongly related to high-quality materiality, traditional housing (that offer the spatial conditions to make a spatial claim) and a strong control on order.

Smoothening in the Jordaan results in unequal opportunities to make a spatial claim, negatively impacting the representation of diversity of norms in the public realm. In effect, local feelings of inclusivity and publicness are overlooked and neglected, for (tolerated) activities and appropriations of the urban appear to be linked to the accumulation and representation of capital. Any form of ‘dirt’ or ‘informality’ in the smooth streets are erased.

Fig. 19 Jordaan area in Amsterdam

Data and cartographic references
Openstreetmap, 2024
Gemeente Amsterdam - Onderzoek, Informatie en Statistiek

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CASE-STUDY AREA: JORDAAN

The spatial organisation of a city can be used to maintain or enhance the established order’s existing powers (Newton, 2008). There is no space in a hierarchized society that is not itself hierarchized and that does not express hierarchies and social distances,” writes Bourdieu (1993:124 in Newton, 2008). The social hierarchy can be achieved through spatial structures, which enforce important power structures through architecture and urban structures.

This becomes evident in the morphological design choices found in the Amsterdam city layout. When we look at the third expansion plans of Amsterdam from 1662 (Fig. 20), we can clearly see a morphological distinction between the 1) famous grachtengordel (the canal structure), which follows a new design-layout that is different from the original polderstructure, 2) the harbours, which are designed to gain as many square metres as possible so that as many boats can dock as possible, and 3) the working-class neighbourhood the Jordaan, which follows the original polder structure. This already demonstrates a social hierarchy through morphology, as the spaces worth money were designed in a different morphological structure than the original plot layout (the polderstructure). As a result, the grachtengordel and harbour were considered as more important than the Jordaan, which initially housed working-class residents.

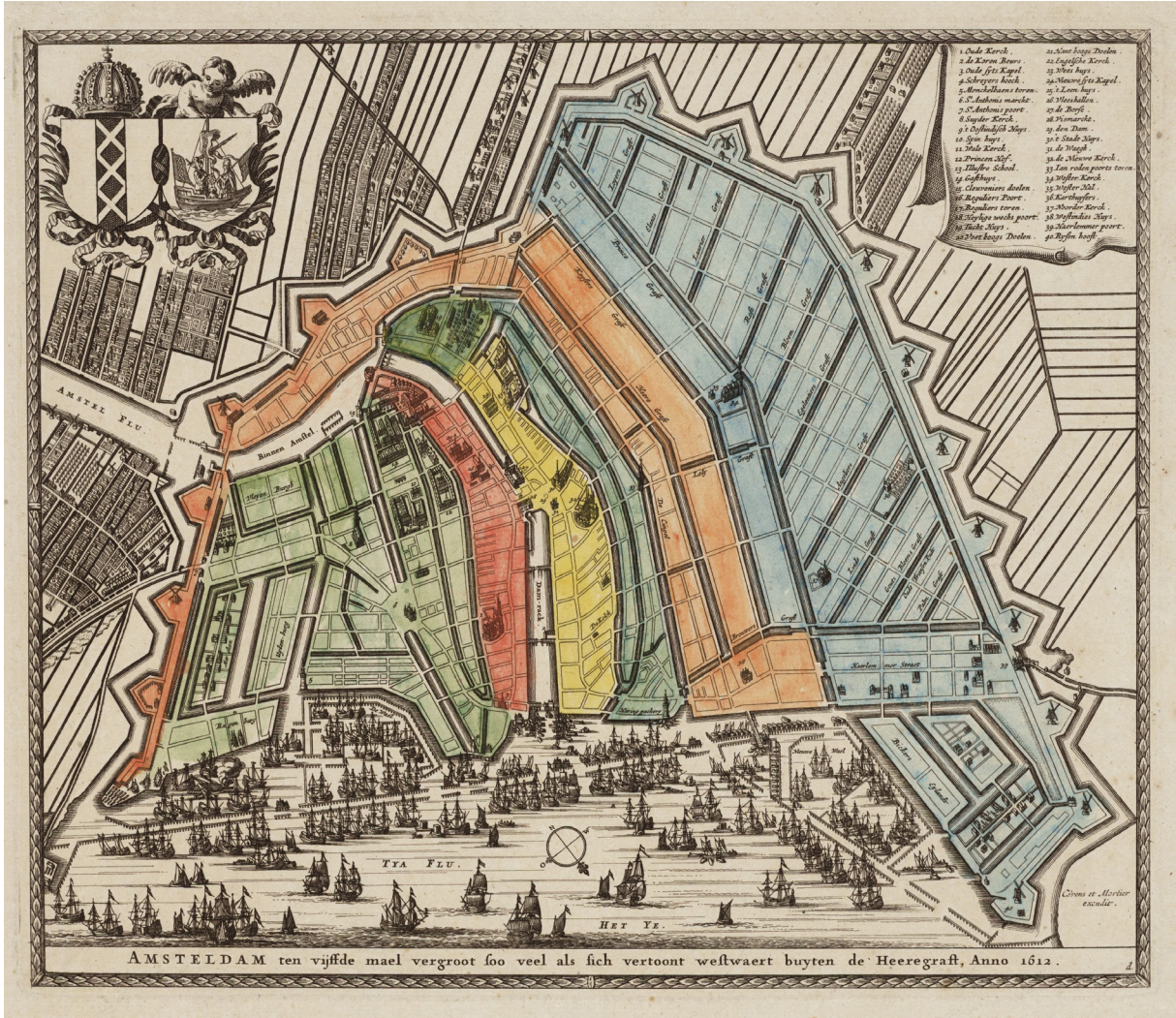


Fig. 20 Map of Amsterdam 1662
Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

The representation of the various neighbourhoods also provides a good indication of the social hierarchy of its original spaces. Figure 21 depicts the Keizersgracht, which features clean streets and well-designed canals that were innovative for the time and were directly linked to important trading economies. The activities that are taking place appear to want to give us the perception of a blossoming, well-established, and successful society, all in well-designed and well-organised environments. We clearly do not see any ‘unsmooth’ counterparts that are directly related to the activities and spatial context, but could cause cracks in the smooth environments shown here. The technique used for this painting is also very smooth, with a keen eye for detail and a very fine and detailed representation of this area of the city. With this painting currently being one of the most important pieces in the Rijksmuseum, the Netherlands’ national museum of art, we can see how the representation of this painting is still regarded as valuable and highly valued. We can find a direct power relationship between then and now, linking to social hierarchies, based on the value that is still attached to it by the dominant norm.

Figure 22, on the other hand, depicts the Jordaan in 1850, which shows a nearly opposite scenario. The urban context here demonstrates a far more messy and dirtier urban environment. ‘Dirt is what is not in the right place’, states Tonnelat (2008: 297) to refer to the mismatch between a place and a person or object. Since the original morphological layout of this part of the city was purely functional and pragmatic, namely to house residents who could work in the city centre, no effort has been made to ‘smoothen’ it out. It seems to merely serve the smooth part of the city. At the same time, the painting technique demonstrates quite literally how little attention was paid to detail, and how the main aspects of this area were about conducting work-related activities and housing in a messy, disordered way. Because of the representation of dirt and disorder, we can assume that this used to be the opposite of the norm or the smooth environment.

Fig. 21. Gezicht op de Gouden Bocht Herengracht vanuit het oosten (1685)
Painted by Gerrit Berckheyde, 1685. Conducted from online archive of the Rijksmuseum



Fig. 22. Goudsbloemgracht 1850
Stadsarchief Amsterdam



Fig. 23. Goudsbloemgracht 1850
Stadsarchief Amsterdam



The Jordaan is now considered to be a hip city district, with many many above-average incomes, fashionable restaurants and trendy cafes (NTR, 2012). ‘Have a nice coffee at café Thijssen or the famous apple pie at Winkel, italian at Toscanini, Spanish at Duende or enjoy the organic market at the Saterdag Noordermarkt’, writes Andere Tijden (2012).

Little of the ‘dirt’ and ‘disorder’ can be detected (Fig. 25). The streets seemed well-designed and calm, and the housing values have increased extremely over the last decade (Fig. 24), showcasing how desired the neighbourhood has become. This suggests that some form of smoothness has been taking place. Therefore, this neighbourhood becomes an interesting case-study area to understand the socio-spatial implications of (imposed) smooth environments on existing urban environments.

Data and cartographic references
Openstreetmap, 2024
Gemeente Amsterdam - Onderzoek, Informatie en Statistiek

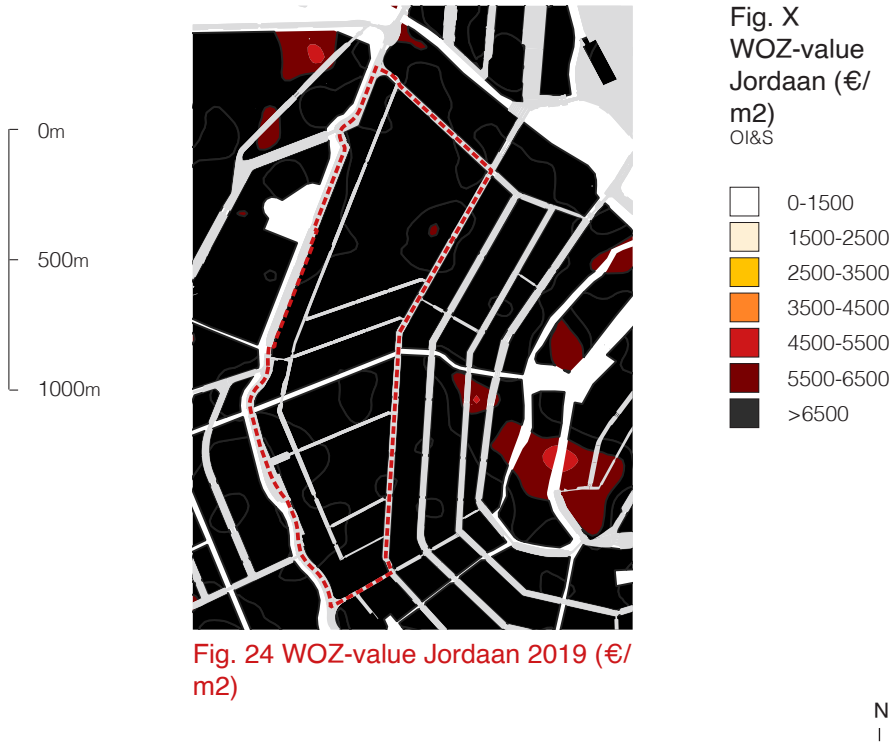




Fig. 25a: street inside Jordaan
Fieldtrip 6.12.2023



Fig. 25b: street inside Jordaan
Fieldtrip 6.12.2023



Fig. 25c: street inside Jordaan
Fieldtrip 6.12.2023

HISTORY

Up until 1600, Amsterdam was situated as a small walled town next to the IJ. When the population increased drastically, due to rising number of available work opportunities, the Third Explanation was introduced to construct the ‘Nieuwe Werck’, now known as the Jordaan.

Originally designed for middle-class incomes, this neighbourhood was used to house people that both worked in other parts of the town as well as give space for craftsmen. However, due to a rapidly increasing population and an extreme shortage in housing, the Jordaan quickly deteriorated. Small houses were illegally added inside courtyards, and existing small rooms were inhabited by large families. Because of this, the Jordaan contained dozens of small corridors and built-up courtyards hidden behind the streets, in which little sunlight entered many living areas.

“However, the condition of the homes we examined can be described as unfavourable, because we can conclude that making the internal sites profitable has led to many homes being placed on small sites” writes Afdeeling Amsterdam van den Volksbond in 1893 (translated from Dutch).

This lead to extreme poor living conditions, resulting in unhealthy and dirty environments. In the years 1869-1872, children under the age of 10 in Amsterdam accounted for 46.9% of all deaths, while in the basement houses this percentage rose to 54.7% (Afdeeling Amsterdam van den Volksbond, 1893). When cholera broke out in Amsterdam in 1832, the Jordaan was hit hardest. In 1832, 1200 Amsterdam residents died from it. In 1848, 2,273 Amsterdam residents died of cholera, and in 1866 another 1100 (Amsterdam.nl, 2020).

Writer Israel Querido lived in the middle of these corridors and forts for several years and wrote a book about them at the beginning of the 20th century, ‘De Jordaan’:

‘The families of the first, second and third floors in front, and the families of the first, second and third floors behind, knew each other’s lives, actions and activities down to the smallest detail. In the dirty and narrow stench corridors of the floors, where men and women openly discharged their contents into buckets and buckets, there was no longer any shame for each other’s fuss.

In animalistic indifference they lived out their instincts raw and fierce, uncovered to anyone who wanted to observe them.’ (translated from Dutch. Amsterdam.nl, 2020).

All rooms in the houses in the Jordaan were used. In 1873, the Jordaan had 800 basement houses that housed 3,372 people (Amsterdam.nl, 2020). The cellars had no daylight, and when it rained, there was a layer of water on the floor due to the rise in the groundwater level. On average, a family of four lived per cellar. Many of the houses were referred to as krot (slum) in the official reports of Afdeeling Amsterdam van den Volksbond of 1893, in which an elaborated review was communicated to the municipality of Amsterdam on the state of the houses in the Jordaan and other parts of the old city center.

“De Jordaan. In deze stadswijk worden zoo verbazend veel sloppen aangetroffen.” (translation: “The Jordaan. There are a surprising number of slums in this city district” (bron verslag Amsterdam, 1893: 17).



Fig. 26 Jordaan 1913.
Archief van de Gemeentelijke Dienst Volkshuisvesting en
rechtsvoorganger / Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

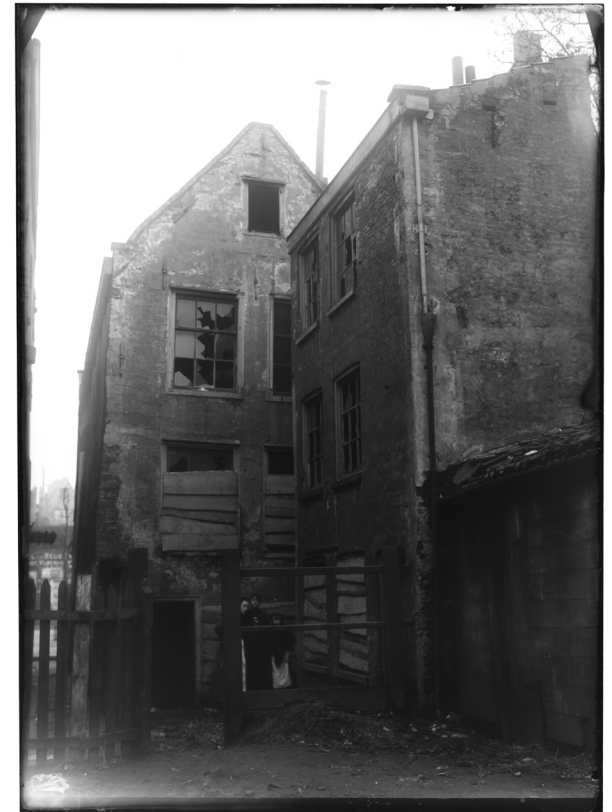


Fig. 27 Jordaan 1913.
Archief van de Gemeentelijke Dienst Volkshuisvesting en
rechtsvoorganger / Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

Fig. 28 Jordaan 1910: Wijdegang
Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

From 1912 on, signs with the text ‘woning onbewoonbaar verklaard’ (translation: ‘home declared uninhabitable’, Fig. 30) were nailed at the facade of buildings with homes that were deemed unsuitable for habitation (Jordaansmuseum.nl, 2022). However, the municipality did little to change the living conditions. Many of the signs placed in 1912 were still there in the 1970s.

In the report of Afdeeling Amsterdam van den Volksbond, they write how ‘**nothing can be made of the slums in these alleys; they are dirty and unsightly, the houses are small and the whole is only suitable for being demolished as a home after expropriation**’ (translated from Dutch).

At the same time, the local government had difficulty controlling this area. The neighbourhood was a closed community, the police the enemy. Often, the army had to come to the area to ‘bring order’, resulting in deaths from time to time (Amsterdam.nl, 2020).

The continuous lack of housing maintenance exacerbated and worsened living conditions in the Jordaan and other parts of the historical city centre. The dilapidated residential areas on the edge of the old city center have been on the list for thorough renovation since 1930. In the 1960s, new municipal policies focused on city development: promoting business at the expense of the residential function of the city center (Duinvoorden, 2023). Large parts of the old city are neglected and await demolition. Its residents are often forced to live at somewhere else, usually at the expansion areas at the edge of Amsterdam (in North, Buislotermeer; West, Guizenveld and Osdorp; and ofcourse the Bijlmermeer) (Duinvoorden, 2023).

On October 20, 1954, the Urban Plan Kaasjager was launched, which proposed the demolition of many large buildings in the old city centre, including the Jordaan. In the new urban plans, larger blocks and more space were supposed to penetrate the urban fabric.

Davis refers to similar urban processes as Haussmannisation, in which populations are removed in order to redevelop parts of the city, resulting in economic profits while also increasing social control (Davis, 2006; Newton, 2008). It could be argued that processes like this are in line with ‘social cleansing’, which focusses on pushing undesired norms out of an urban context by means of regeneration projects.

There was a lot of resistance from various angles. As a result, the plan was ultimately abandoned, and large portions of Amsterdam’s old city centre were preserved. However, some buildings were already torn down by then in the Jordaan, and its inhabitants deported outside of the city center.



Fig. 29: to-be-demolished buildings Jordaan

amsterdamsebinnenstad.nl. Conducted on 16.12.2023 via <https://www.amsterdamsebinnenstad.nl/binnenstad/lamp/sanering.html>

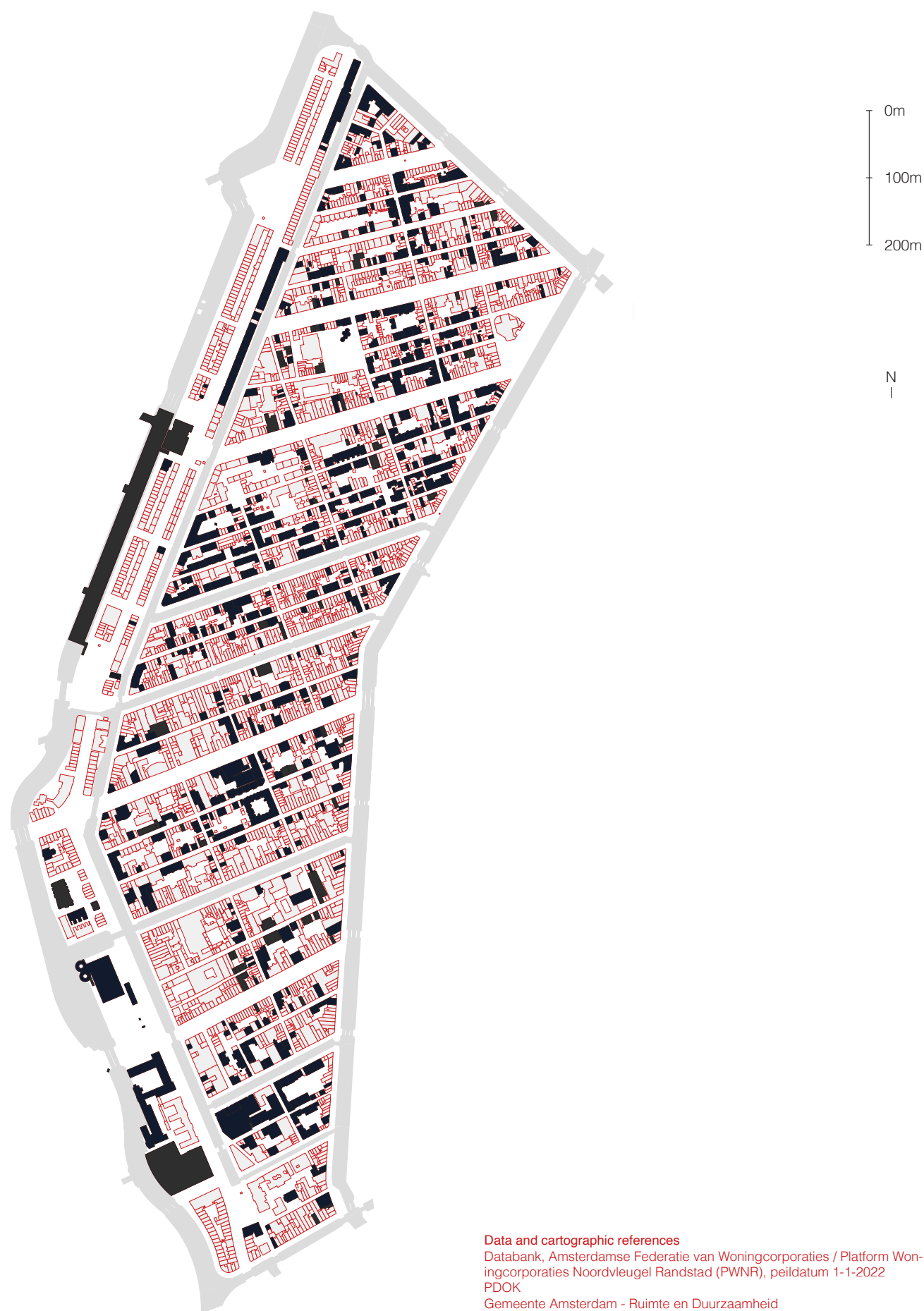


Fig. 30 Jordaansmuseum.nl. Conducted on 23.01.2024 via <https://jordaansmuseum.nl/activiteiten/volkshuisvesting/>

Legend

■ Buildings built after 1960

Fig. 31 Newly constructed buildings in Jordaan



Data and cartographic references
 Databank, Amsterdamse Federatie van Woningcorporaties / Platform Woningcorporaties Noordvleugel Randstad (PWN), peildatum 1-1-2022
 PDOK
 Gemeente Amsterdam - Ruimte en Duurzaamheid

HISTIOGRAPHY

Because the housing conditions were harsh and the total amount of living space was limited, much of the active public life occurred on the streets. Pictures from Amsterdam's Beeldbank show how streets played an important part in the social life of people of all ages.

Fig. 32 Hiltje in de Jordaan: Egelantiersstraat 72
1955
Merk, B. / Stadsarchief Adam



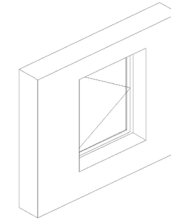


Interestingly, we can see how the design of the physical built environment allowed all these different activities to take place, fostering social structures of the neighborhood.

When taking a closer look to what kind of activities were taking place and where they were taking place, an interesting connection seems to exist between the street and its adjacent buildings. Photographs from Amsterdam's Beeldbank, dating from 1900 to 1950, clearly show how the transition zone from inside to outside (private to public) was a vibrant and important aspect of the streetscape and life. Particularly the facade and its connecting elements, the staircase, the window, and the stoep, influenced the exchange between inside and outside that contributed to the richness and liveliness of the street life in the area. Different media sources, such as the movie 'de Jantjes' from 1934, strongly represent the strong identity of this working-class neighbourhood which was all centered around a strong sense of community, in which everyone looked out for each other. According to the Dutch Museum of working-class districts, this strong sense of community was mostly visible on the streets: 'here, the working-class residents sat, the children were playing football and other games' (n.d.).



Fig. 33 Egelantiersgracht. 1971
Stadsarchief Amsterdam



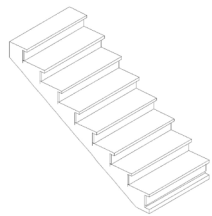
WINDOW



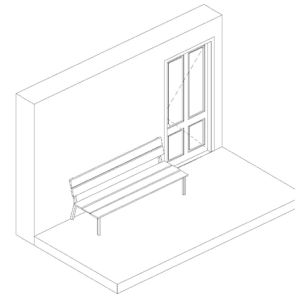
Fig. 34 Opoe de Munck uit het raam. 1957
Alphen, O. Nieuwenhuijzen, K. / Stadsarchief Amsterdam



Fig. 35 Opoe de Munck uit het raam. 1957
Alphen, O. Nieuwenhuijzen, K. / Stadsarchief Amsterdam



STAIRCASE



STOEP



Fig. 36. **1971**: Egelantiersgracht.
Stadsarchief Amsterdam.



Fig. 39. **1971**
Stadsarchief Amsterdam.



Fig. 37 **1972**
Toussaint, D. / Stadsarchief Amsterdam



Fig. 41. **1931**
Angelbeek, C.A.J. van /
Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

Fig. 40. **1931**
Kolthoff, M. / Stadsarchief Amsterdam.



This in-between zone offered the spatial framework for informalities to take place, for which initially no space was designed. Examples are; peeling potatoes (Fig. 42), sitting outside on a chair (Fig. 43) and chatting with neighbours (Fig. 44). We must acknowledge that the poor living conditions and extremely unhealthy dwellings strongly influenced the need to appropriate the street. However, the design of the street and its adjacent buildings resulted in a strong representation of the norm on the street; the local working-class residents used the streets richly, contributing to important local communal structures and the opportunity to claim a part of the city and make it their own.



Fig. 42 **1957**
Alphen, O. Nieuwenhuijzen, K. / Stadsarchief Amsterdam



Fig. 43 **1971**
Stadsarchief Amsterdam



Fig. 44 **19718-1989**
Cor van Weele / Stadsarchief Amsterdam

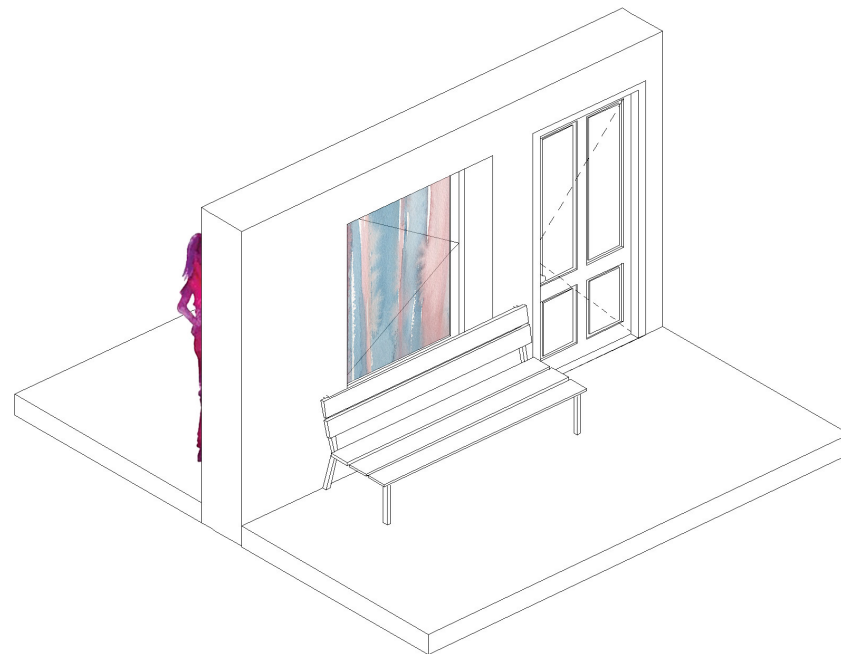
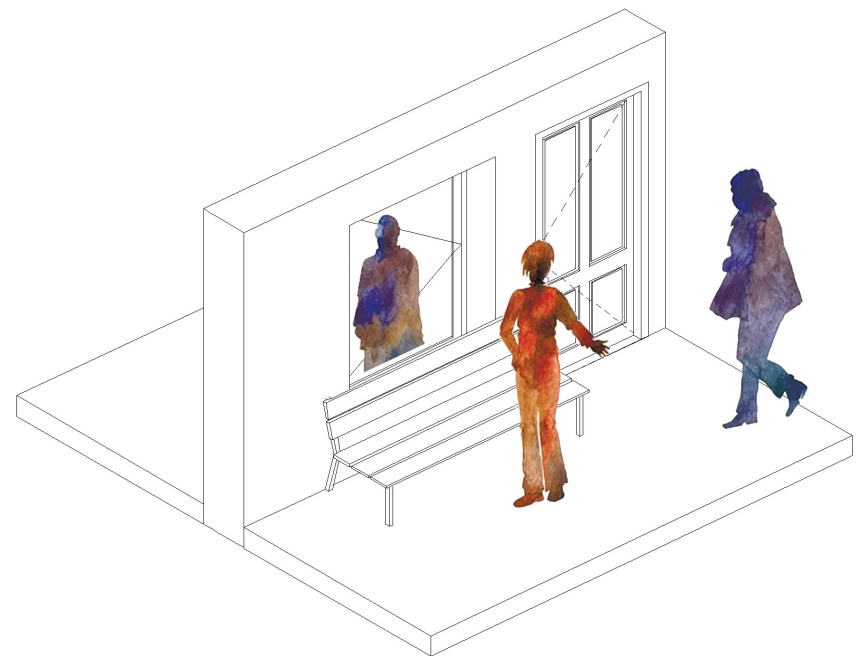
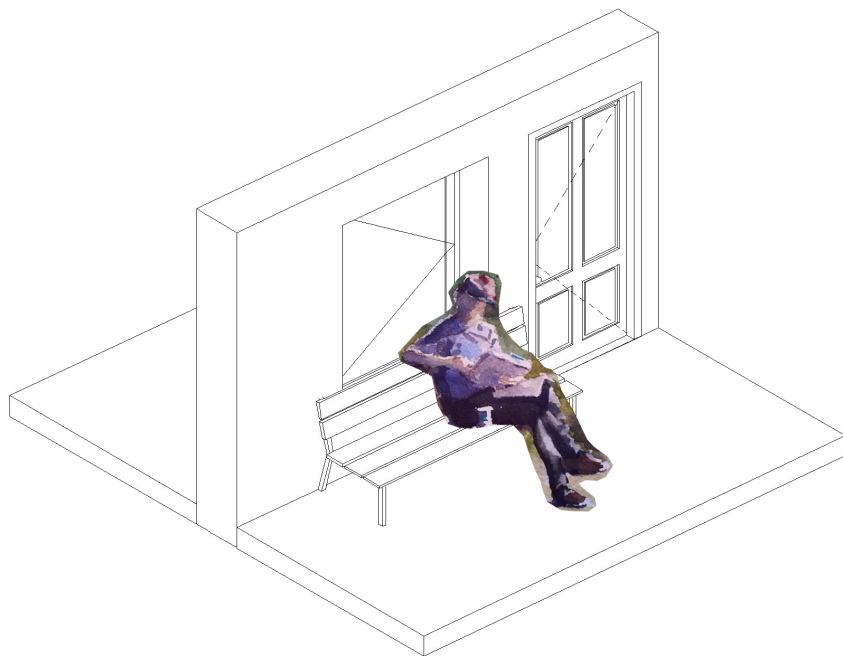


Fig. 45 **facade as membrane: existence of liminal space**

Self-made. Watercolour parts from:

Julie Hill, Etsy.com

Istock (<https://www.istockphoto.com/nl/vector/vector-watercolor-people-silhouettes-gm524884252-92275087>)

THE NORM AND THE OTHER: NOWADAYS

Numurous fieldtrips were conducted to the Jordaan in a timeframe of eight months, between September and April, to understand who the other is, who the norm is and how they are manifested in the urban realm. In addition, small conversations were held with local residents that were approached on the street to gain a better understanding of local social structures and their relation with the physical context. The following chapter will give an overview of important conclusions that help understand what smoothness means in an urban context and what its socio-spatial consequences are.

When visiting the Jordaan today, it becomes very clear how the streetscape is still heavily appropriated in different ways, and the stoep, staircase and window seemed to maintain an important part in this. The images on the right show how there is still a richness in stoep-appropriation, blending public and private and providing interesting interaction moments that allowed for personal encounters and brief conversations. Local Jordanezen confirmed this, stating that the stoep was still used frequently in a more informal setting and as a way to communicate with their neighbours on the streets. During the summer, tables and stairs were set up outside for a 'borrel' (a drink and some food).



Fig. 46 pictures of fieldtrip Jordaan
2024



When examining the various types of street and sidewalk appropriations, as well as the individuals who carry them out, an interesting connection can be found in the role of the facade.

As previously stated, the stoep and facade of the original Jordaan houses remained an important part of the social life as seen on the streets. The various stoep appropriations left social traces and provided me with insight into the people who live in the area and use the public spaces.

However, the ability to use the stoep and have a personal, more informal appropriation of the stoep is heavily dependent on the architecture. Only if the facade was designed in such a way that a gradience between public and private was erected, the persons living in that house took the space to become part of the public realm. The original houses of the Jordaan offer this spatial capacity, allowing one to extend the interior into the public realm and make a spatial claim.

*Diverse appropriation of the stoep, staircase and window.
Traditional Jordanees houses*



Fig. 47 photos from fieldtrip 6.12.2023
2024



Fig. 48: traditional facade
Google Maps. Conducted on 14.01.2024



Fig. 48: traditional facade
 Google Maps. Conducted on 14.01.2024

The area also contains a lot of newly built architecture, which was built as part of the former remediation process of the area. The design of these new structures, however, lack the spatial capacities to express individual´claims onto the street. The facades are designed as thick walls that prevent the opportunity to claim a part of the street. In addition, any interaction possibilities between inside- and outside is removed here.



Fig. 49: facade social housing
 Google Maps. Conducted on 14.01.2024

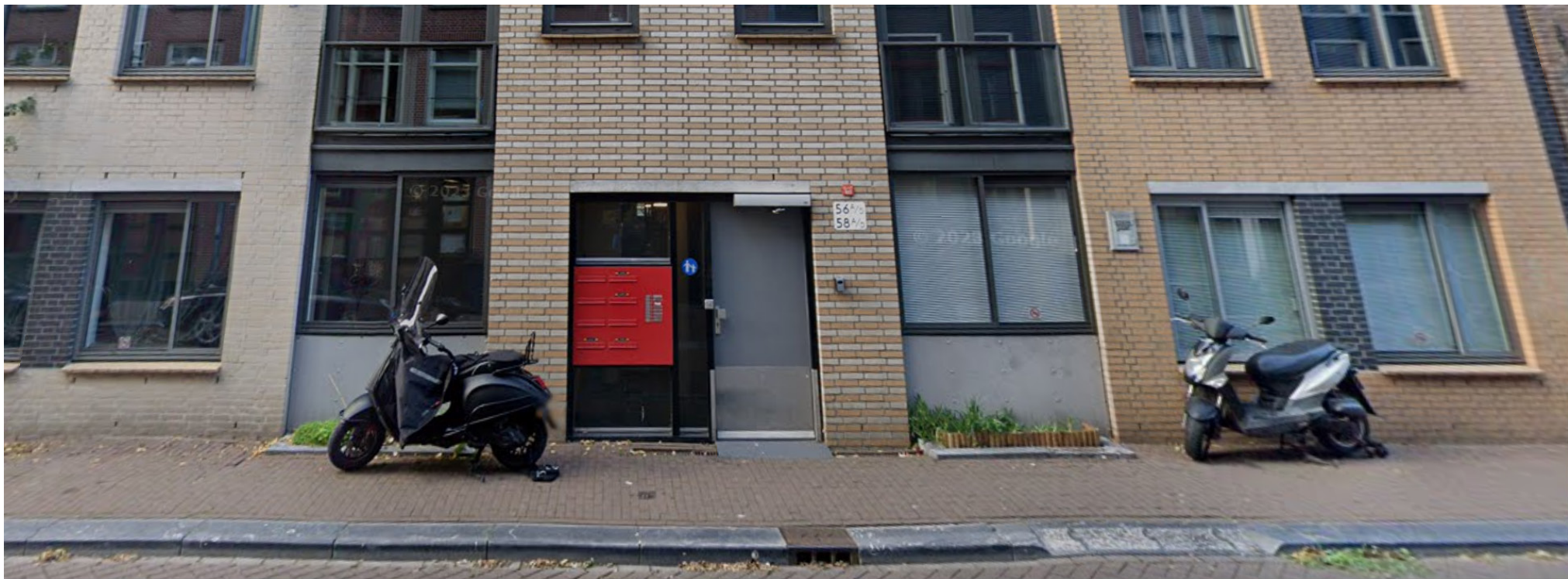


Fig. 49: facade social housing
 Google Maps. Conducted on 14.01.2024

Although the architecture does not allow for the appropriation of the urban realm, different elements and strips are often exposed behind the windows of these facades. This shows the indication for the need to take up space, and interact or communicate in some way with the public realm of the street.

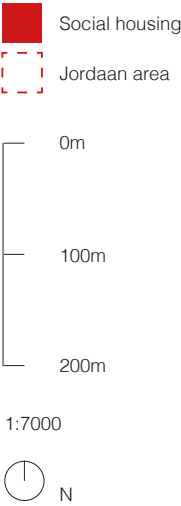


Fig. 50: facade social housing
2023

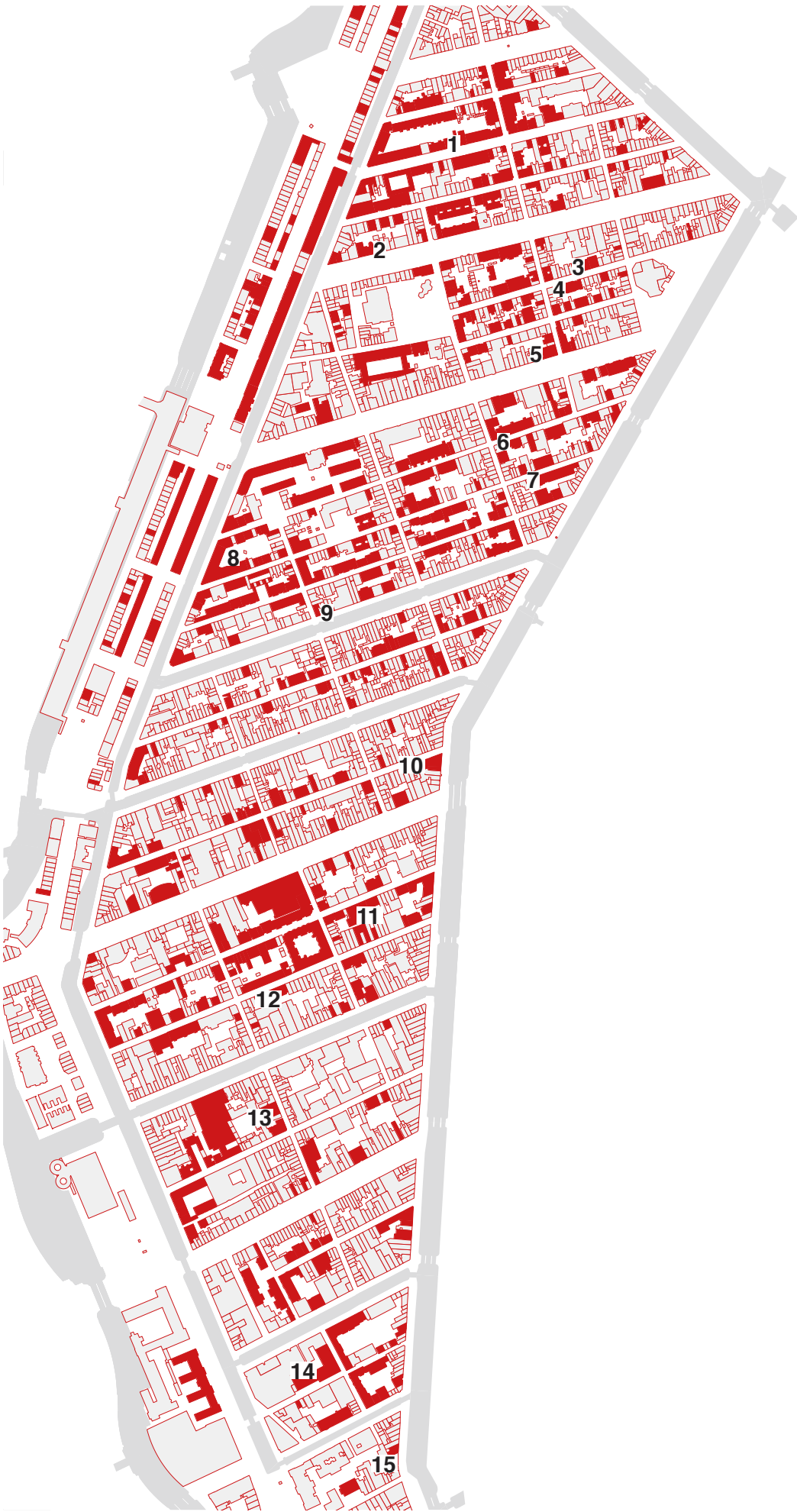


The newly constructed buildings cover most of the social housing blocks in the area. Therefore, those who live in these kind of buildings do not have the opportunity to claim a part of the street anymore. The map on the right demonstrates how this is not a one-time event, but rather a spatial pattern that holds true throughout the Jordaan.

Fig. 51 Social Housing



Data and cartographic references
Databank, Amsterdamse Federatie van Woningcorporaties / Platform Woningcorporaties Noordvleugel Randstad (PWNR), peildatum 1-1-2022
PDOK





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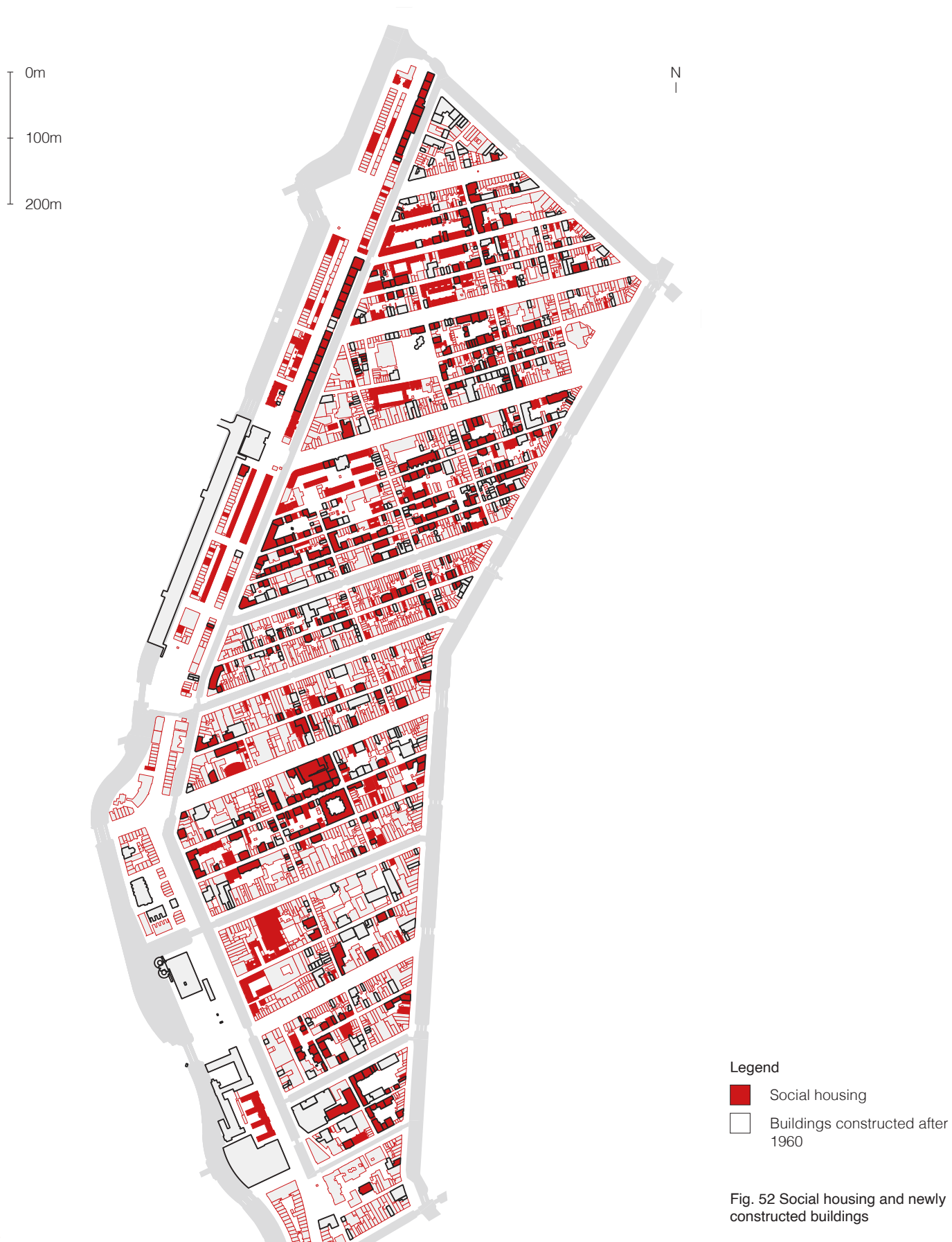
13



14



15



As previously stated, some of the Jordaan's buildings have already been demolished and replaced with new architecture as part of the local municipality's remediation plans of the past Century. When the map of contextualised social housing in the Jordaan is overlayed with the location of the new buildings, a clear link is discovered between the two. In the Jordaan's current structure, the majority of newly constructed buildings serve as social housing. As a result, people living in social housing lack the space and opportunities to (re)shape the urban landscape and contribute to the public realm through pavement and street appropriation.

This also implies that there is an unequal opportunity to reshape the urban. Earlier maps demonstrated the enormous increase in land value of the various houses in the Jordaan. As a result, only those who can afford to buy (original Jordaan) houses in the area have the opportunity to participate in and potentially reshape the city. Not only in spatial form and appropriation, but also in accepted social behaviour, social encounters, and preconceived norms. This in turn strongly affects who we see on the street, therefore general perception of publicness. This particularly stood out to me explicitly when I was walking around the area with a friend of mine from Kenya. At one point, he asked me: 'where are all the black people'? He said he felt awkward in the area because he was the only person on the streets with dark skin. And indeed, only white people seemed to appropriate the street. Looking at the current demographics of the Jordaan however (Fig. x), we can see that only 55% of its inhabitants are of Dutch descent. The remainder have either a Western migration background (29%) or a non-Western background (16%) (kadastralekaart.com, n.d). This demonstrates to what extent the perception of public in combination with spatial conditions result in the opportunity for the dominant norm to take over the streets.

SMOOTH MATERIALISATION

As discussed in the introduction chapter of this report, a strong relation is to be found between capitalist structures and smooth environments: how the urban looks and what is allowed to happen seems to significantly influence the value of real estate. According to Boer, the ‘perfect’ condition of public space is a key part of the appearance of the smooth city (2023: 13), and continues by stating that “designs plays a key role in establishing and maintaining the smooth city” (2023: 48). For this reason, specific attention was paid to the way the urban is materialized. An interesting conclusions was found based on fieldtrips. Certain streets were materialized with high-quality, shiny materials (Fig. 53A), while other streets had low-quality, (literally) unshiny street materialization (Fig. 53C). A harsh distinction even seemed to exist everywhere throughout the neighbourhood (Fig. 53B), that ‘marked’ that the ‘shiny’ street was clearly ending there.

When mapping where the smooth and unsmooth streets are, revealed how this is always linked to the adjacent buildings and program related to the street. The unsmooth streets always contained social housing, whereas the smooth streets always contained traditional housing.



Smooth street
fieldtrip 9.12.2023



Transition smooth street and ‘unsmooth’ street
fieldtrip 9.12.2023



‘unsmooth’ street
fieldtrip 9.12.2023

Fig. 53: smooth-and unsmooth streets



Transition smooth street and 'unsmooth' street
2024



Fig. 54 Transition smooth street to non-smooth street



SMOOTH ACTIVITIES

It was easier to then understand what activities were related to smoothness, for the streets were clearly communicating their identity. Mapping the smooth streets in combination with ground floor programme reveals how the smoothness is very much related to consumerism (Fig.). The stoep appropriation, in addition, is often an extension of the interior of the adjacent buildings, therefore almost always covering additional benches to have a coffee on, a shop stand or the appropriation that is linked to the dominant norm (the one that is able to afford the traditional Jordanese houses). 'The shops and cafés further add to this impression by placing all kinds of objects on the sidewalk, (...) further blending the public domain with commercial activity' (Boer, 2023: 25).



Fig. 55: stoep appropriation smooth streets
2024



MAPPING THE NORM AND THE OTHER: MATERIALITY

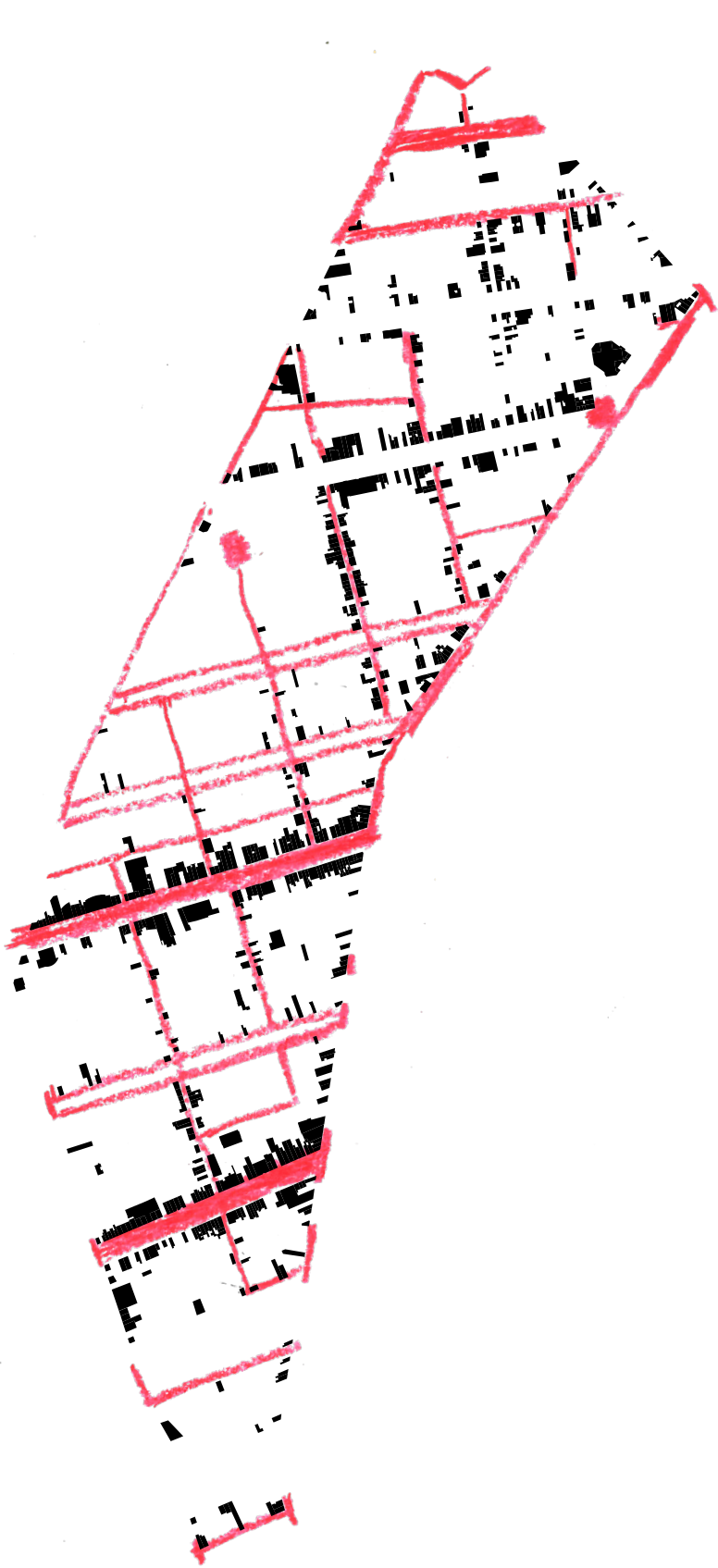
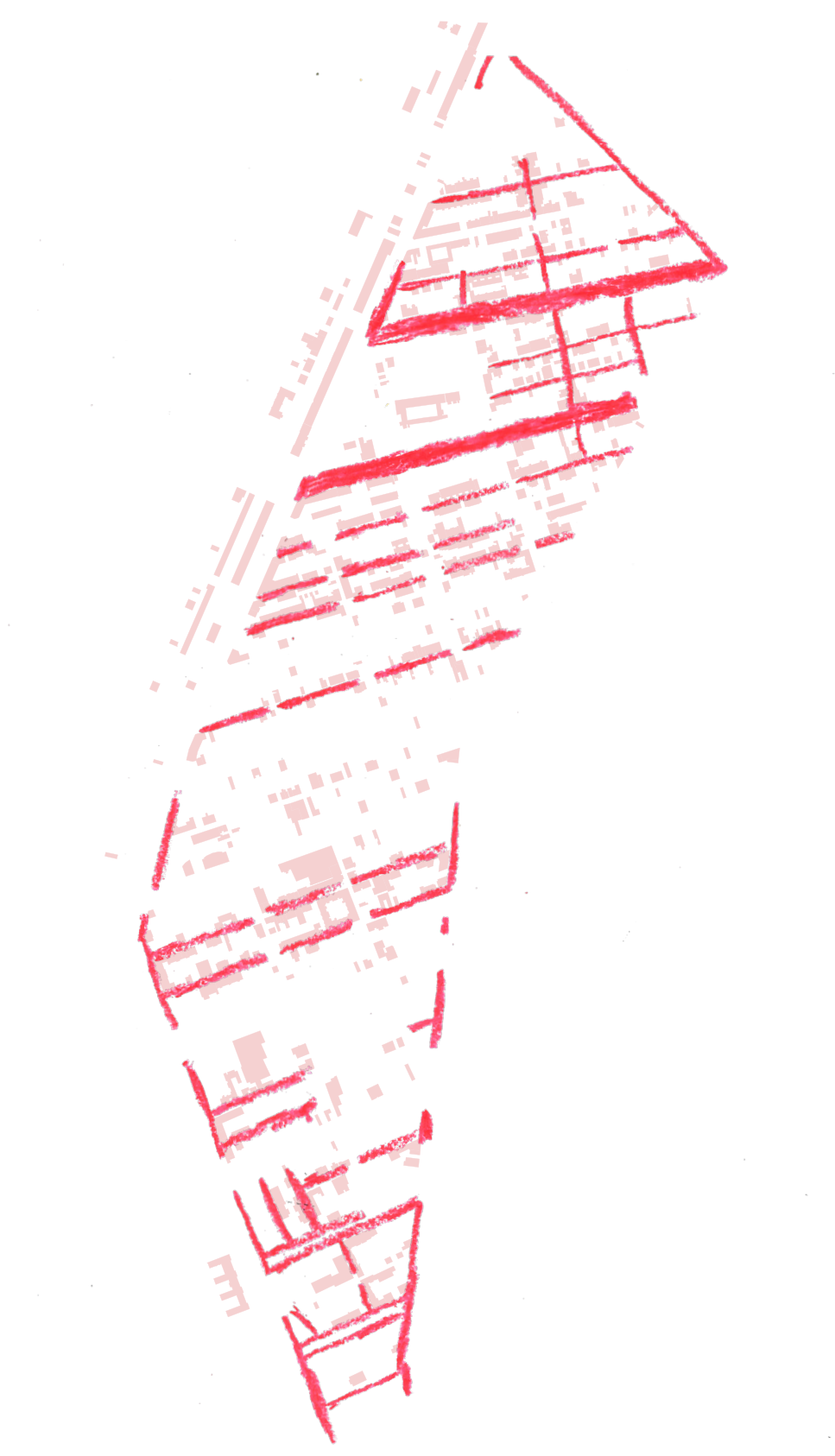


Fig. 56: smooth street and commercial ground floor program
Fig. 57 unsmooth streets and social housing

detail level 1:5000 | N



Because of the clear transition, it was simple to identify where the shiny streets were and where the ‘unshiny’ streets were (Fig. 53 + Fig. 56). This revealed how the shiny streets always contained original Jordaneese houses that were in a very fine condition, whereas the ‘unshiny’ streets always contained social housing (Fig. 55). In addition, the ‘shiny’ streets almost always contained ground floor program other than dwelling, such as coffee bars, shops or boutiques (Fig. 56). A clear relation is found in the Jordaan between ‘smooth’ streets, that contain shops and original Jordaneese dwellings. and ‘unsmooth’ streets, always containing social housing and often lack ground floor program other than dwelling, proving the important point of Boer and that smoothness is related to the opportunity to make capital or to protect it.

Smooth therefore has a specific spatial outlook. With high-quality, well-designed and a coherent appearance, literal transitions are found between the ‘fronts’ and the ‘backs’. The problem context demonstrated how an increase in land value affects how that land is ultimately designed. This is especially true in the context of the Jordaan, where smooth streets are almost always associated with land value, original Jordaan housing, and/or non-residential programmes.

legend

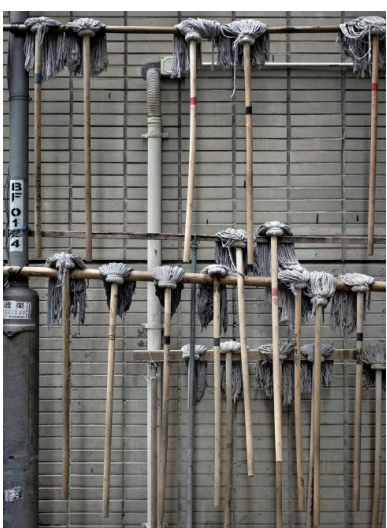
- active ground floor
- smooth street
- social housing
- unsmooth street

UNSMOOTH (INFORMAL) ACTIVITIES

In order to then define what informal activities are related to smoothness, a fieldtrip was conducted to map social traces in the urban realm. Michael Wolf photographs (as part of his ‘back door’ project) the traces he finds of people in public spac, which reveals information about how a space is used. This technique is also used as a research method in the Jordaan. A randomly selected path was walked, and traces found along the way were captured through ptohography, with a particular focus on informal activities.



Michael Wolf, 'Back Door' photoseries (2006)





Jordaan



Fig. 58: walked route in jordaan
9.12.2023

STREET-
SCAPE

1



2



3



4



HUMAN
TRACES





5



6



7



8



STREET-SCAPE

9



Google Maps

10



11



12



HUMAN TRACES





Interestingly, there seemed to be a complete lack of informal traces inside the smooth streets. The traces discovered were either bikes, plants, benches, or signs indicating how to behave. I found few traces of activities that could be linked to ‘dirtiness’. At the same time, it seemed that the urban fabric was only used in ways for which it was designed for. Garbage et cetera that was left-over from the market was quickly cleaned up afterwards, leaving behind a clean and traceless environment. I had no idea what social processes took place there, for I could not find any evidence of it. This strongly suggests that the spaces in the Jordaan can only be used in the way for which they are designed for. Anything other, is not happening or removed. This again proves an important point of Boer, stating that ‘in general, anything or anybody that deviates from the norm, even in its temporary form of the spontaneous or the absurd, is not welcome, and all that is deemed unwanted is in most cases actively and rapidly removed’ (Boer, 2023: 28).

Surprisingly, some level of informality existed alongside smooth streets. Figure 57 shows that where the ‘smooth’ materialisation ends and a new territory begins, informalities emerge. The location of the informal appropriation adheres to the exact transition of smooth-unsmooth (Fig. 57A,B,C).



Fig. 57A transition smooth street with informal claims
2024



Fig. 57B transition smooth street with informal claims
2024



Fig. 57C transition smooth street with informal claims
Google Maps, 2024

CONCLUSIONS

SQ1: How are smooth environments manifested in Amsterdam?

SQ2: What are the socio-spatial implications of smooth environments in Amsterdam?

Smoothness is a new abstract term coined by Boer (2023) to describe an increase in urban environments that strive for perfection, efficiency, and control. This thesis has thus far triangulated a definition of smoothness as being strongly associated with the imposition of norms, resulting in unequal power dynamics and exertive control to protect it. Smooth contexts furthermore embedded in an urban framework that protects and represents significant capital flows.

Since the built environment is a physical representation of existing power structures, a closer look is taken in the Jordaan: a neighbourhood that shows varying levels of smoothening through time. First, the Jordaan's morphological layout demonstrated how this area was conceived to be 'less' important than other parts of the city, such as the Grachtengordel and the docks: places where capital was made or represented. Furthermore, a lack of local maintenance resulted in the neighbourhood becoming a 'urban slum,' negatively impacting local health and safety conditions. The neighbourhood was thought to be a close-knit community where people looked out for one another and the local government served as the enemy. Attempts by the local government to gain control resulted in riots, with death sentences in extreme cases. The regeneration project launched in 1960 was intended to gain control of the area while also addressing local issues such as health, safety, and lack of maintenance. Many protests eventually stopped this from happening, although some buildings had already been torn down by then, and its local residents relocated outside of the city center.

In the existing urban fabric of the neighbourhood, it is exactly in these newly built building blocks where social housing is erected. These new structures lack the architectural qualities required to make a spatial claim. A sharp increase in land value (due in part to the local 'I Amsterdam' campaign, which drew a large number of new visitors, business investors, and expats) has a significant impact on who can afford to live or rent in the area, as well as afford transitional housing with the architectural qualities to make a spatial claim. As a result, there is an unequal distribution of opportunities in the neighbourhood to publicly assert a spatial claim (formally and informally). In addition, the rise in land value constitutes the effects of gentrification, in which new wealthier shops start to emerge, activities are concentrated around consumerism and the user group that can actively participate in forms of city-making are shrunked to the ones that can afford it. Furthermore, smoothness is solely related to materiality: shiny and high-quality streets mark their inception, while shop extensions into the physical realm emphasise the area's primary goal. With a shift in public perception towards exclusivity, the primary concept of smooth streets is centred on creating, protecting, and representing capital of the dominant norm.

As a result, an increasing homogenous usergroup has the opportunity and commodities to make a spatial claim, resulting in spatial injustice and an underrepresentation of diversity in norms in the public realm. This has an impact on important city-making processes, which frequently involve complex interactions between various interpretations and needs for urban space. In the current situation of the Jordaan, a dominant norm is imposed over time that reduces the opportunity for the other (those who live in social housing) to actively claim a part of the city and make it their own.

During the triangulation of smoothness for this thesis, it became clear that in contemporary modes of solidarity in the Netherlands, the 'image' plays an important role in defining who is part of 'us' and 'the other'. When a large, homogeneous usergroup begins to dominate the streets, anything or anyone who is 'other' is

quickly perceived as a threat or an outsider. The lack of informal traces on the smooth streets demonstrated how any form of dirt was quickly removed, and only space for which it was originally designed was tolerated. This constitutes that fact that, even the 'insider' needs to perform to the norms as imposed onto the area, and individual expression or exploration strategies are taken away. Hence, When the 'other' is not given the opportunity to actively participate in that image, it will remain an outsider and will most likely avoid important interactions. When there is no space for the other or informalities in the urban fabric, the likelihood of existing, unequal power structures being exposed is low. This contributes to spatial injustice and has an impact on democratic processes, as variations of norms are reduced or excluded.

To conclude, processes of smoothening are recognised in the Jordaan through numerous ways to the strong imposing of a norm that actively tried and tries to exclude the other out of the perceived public domain of the area. This is accomplished through processes of neglect and regeneration, as well as spatial intervention strategies that currently prevent participation in a public negotiation over space. Furthermore, within contemporary capitalist structures, the Jordaan has always been used to accumulate capital through urbanisation: first by converting the maximum square metres of land into rentable homes, and now through gentrification processes. The representation and activities that emerge in current commodification processes emphasise the character of smoothness: a distinct materialistic outlook and a focus on consumerism. This, in turn, has a significant impact on the perceived sense of publicness because it reduces the city to an exclusive entity, limiting its users to those who are comfortable enough or have the resources to actively participate in city life. As a result, an unequal representation of norms emerges in the public realm of the neighbourhood, negatively impacting the city's inclusive nature because it denies the opportunity for any other norms to express themselves, reduces important modes of confrontation between norms, and eliminates opportunities for exploration, commingling, and negotiation processes that shape the democratic nature of cities.

MOVING FROM CLOSED SYSTEMS TO JUST CITIES

As discussed, Habraken explains how a city can be understood as a sequence of territories, having context-specific elements that inform people how to behave in a certain setting. The specific spatial design, as well as important social traces in the urban realm, affect the perception of a specific territory as a more public or more private one, affecting the individual perception of the urban script. It is during this transition from public to private that new spatial elements reveal new understandings of space, and help establish different relations between the public- and private realms of the urban environment (Panerai, Castex and Depaule, 1977 in Hausleitner et al., n.d.). In addition, changing contextual conditions accommodate a specific set of activities for the level of publicness (local territory) at place: different activities emerge in a public square than in a private living street.

When there are many steps between public and private, there are numerous spatial conditions that allow for a wide range of perceptions of publicness or privateness and can accommodate a variety of activities. On the contrary, when there is a harsh distinction between public and private, only two spatial conditions emerge, allowing only the activities that can take place in these two territories.

This transition can be explained as urban depth, which Clossick explains as 'many structures of civic qualities—both physical and non-physical' (Clossick, 2017: 20), and is, on a micro scale, related to the degree of publicness at place (Hausleitner et al., n.d.) In order to better understand what depth is, Clossick refers to philosopher Gadamer's, who describes depth as the nature of a 'field of play' (Spielraum). Gadamer claims that once a person enters a field of play (an urban setting), all of their actions serve and contribute to the game. The only way to leave the game is if everyone leaves the pitch. The game does not control the actions of its participants, but 'offers a set of structured possibilities (rules, place, objects) within which choices can be made' (Gadamer 1975a in Clossick, 2017: 20). Clossick correctly points out that every individual influences and perceives their immediate urban context, changing, framing, and forming how it operates at different levels. The spatial conditions determine which specific activities can be unlocked, altering both the rules and the outcome of the game known as urban life.

'When the city operates as an open system - incorporating principles of porosity of territory, narrative indeterminacy and incomplete form - it becomes democratic not in a legal sense, but as a physical experience.'

'Participation is an issue that has everything to do with the physical city and its design. Democratic space means creating a forum for these strangers to interact.'

- Sennett, 2006 (in Clossick, 2017)



Fig. 59 Claiming urban space
2024

THE ROLE OF URBAN DEPTH

When there is a richness in urban depth, many different spatial conditions emerge, allowing for new activities to occur while also providing the opportunity to (informally) make spatial claims. In the absence of urban depth, harsh transitions occur, preventing the opportunities described above. According to Sendra, the strong division between public and private space hinders important usage of public space (2020), and Clossick argues that it is precisely in the richness of urban depth in which people live their social lives and local culture emerges (2017: 20). The importance of richness in urban depth is demonstrated in the case of the Jordaan, where the original houses foster an urban depth of at least four steps, whereas social housing only fosters two steps (Fig. 59). The richness of extra steps is where social life takes place, as evidenced by the way these in-between spaces are appropriated and allow for informalities to occur.

The differences between inside and outside in extent affects how encounters between strangers are controlled and generated (Hillier, Hanson: 1989). The ordering of space is thus concerned with the ordering of interpersonal relationships. 'Buildings are not just objects, but transformations of space through objects', writes Hillier and Hanson in the Social Logic of Space (1989: 1), emphasising how architectural elements structure this (social) system of space in which we live, move, interact, and appropriate. In this sense, the architectural conditions of a space affects our everyday experience far more than a preoccupation with its visual properties would suggest. In addition, it is especially the small-scale and face-to-face encounters in a neighbourhood that foster important socially mixed networks (Loopmans, 2000 BRON). According to Loopmans, there appears to be a strong correlation between the designed space and the structure of social networks. As encounter possibilities increase, so does the ability to provide reciprocity between different social groups within a neighbourhood.

On the other hand, Habraken also explains how sometimes a certain territory is misperceived, due to lack of spatial knowledge or social traces. This sometimes results in a visitor of that specific territory to exert too much control over a local area, surpassing its rights as visitors and negatively influencing the urban conditions of people living inside that territory. Reasonable borders between territories are therefore crucial, for they help inform a visitor the delineations of space (v. Dorst, 2005; Scheerlinck, 2010). In addition, when urban depth is lacking, too little spatial opportunities arise to communicate the border.

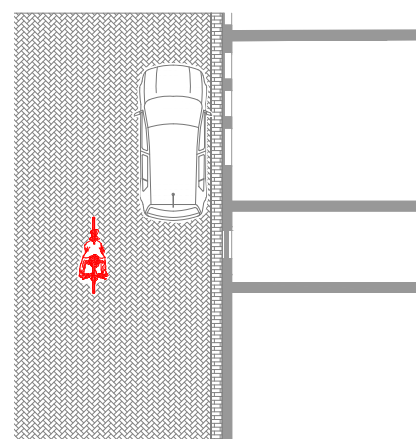
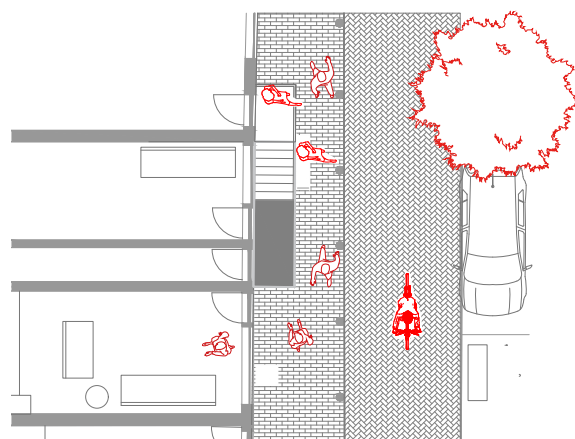
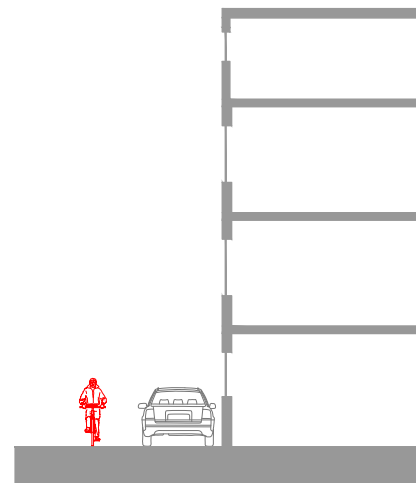
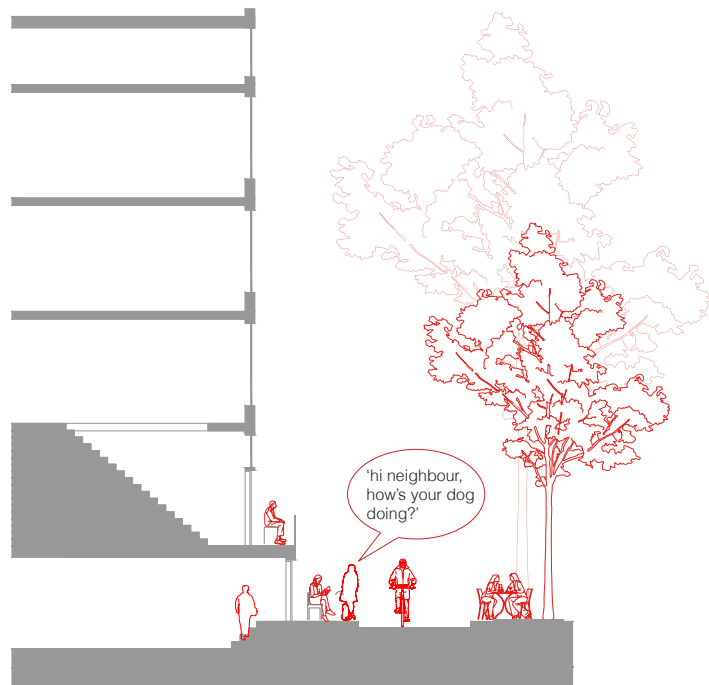
A richness in urban depth is therefore crucial, for it offers different spatial opportunities for a variety of users of the urban to claim a part of the city and make it there own, while allowing the 'insider' of a territory to clearly communicate the perceived publicness. Because of this, the existence and emergence of a variety of norms can be accommodated within the urban realm. As a result, a more diverse and complex urban arena can be shaped that allows for a variety of (informal) activities as well as provides interaction moments between different user groups that enrich social structures and give space for important confrontations to take place.

When the spatial conditions promote a rich transition between private and public, both the inside (personal) space as well as the outside (common) spaces are served in a way that blurs the line between 'in' and 'out' as constructed through design. Because of this, an important intermediate zone is established between private and public that allows for informal activities to take place. Described as liminal by Irigaray (1991 in Ahmed, 2019: 144), these spaces therefore continuously

and simultaneously move from inside to outside: allowing to expand and subtract critical space, according to the different needs of the urban; creating an important bufferzone.

In the liminal, people can reshape and contest rigid spatial structures that activate physical, social and political capacities. '*Only in these cracks is an effective liminal possible, challenging the normative and deconstructing its control. They must appreciate and seek to operate away from conventional rules, not only the legal rules but also rules of normative processes of spatial production. It is in the shadow that they operate a spatial vehicle of subtle resistance, and carve out a place for a counter-narrative, while unnoticed*' (Ahmed, 2019: 153).

In addition, a rich transition from public to private through scales offer a diversity of territories (the spatial context) that can accommodate a range of activities over time, so that the urban design is understood as a process rather than a final design output. This makes it more open for new or different interpretations and therefore more democratic. The urban fabric in this case moreover suggests an interactive relation with its users rather than a fixed situation that represents existing norms and power structures. With an interactive urban environment, a constant negotiation between norms, users and power is forcing the urban to reflect contemporary modes of thinking and affects our understanding of the urban as well as society. 'With different interventions and interactions, people can be better prepared to establish different forms of exchange, use and collective management of the public realm' (Sennett, Sendra, 2020: 102). As a result, a more just distribution of benefits and burdens of urban development and social life can be shaped that enables forms of city-making through scales and across actors that partake in important processes of city-making.



private — 1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — public

public — 2 — 1 — private

Fig. 60 urban depth

SPATIALIZING THE OPEN AND JUST CITY

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS

SQ3: How can smooth environments be understood as a progression of levels that positively contribute to the diversity of complex layers that comprise an urban space?

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand to what extent urban depth can help in opening up the smooth urban fabric of the Jordaan, a closer look is taken at the understanding and manifestation of different depths in the current urban context. A better understanding through scales becomes crucial for understanding what different territories (spatial conditions) allow for different activities to take place, in order to get an answer to the following question:

What are the spatial conditions in which the other makes a spatial claim and manifests itself?

This will help in understanding which spatial conditions through scales can be manipulated so that the other manifests itself in the public eye.

The streetscape offers an interesting starting point for this, for it is always publicly accessible. Because of this, different norms have the opportunity to emerge in the public realm. The differentiation of territories strongly accommodates the contextual needs that different norms have, while participating in public life. For example: a specific mainstreet might feel really public, for a high amount of people and flows affect the feeling of being able to move anonymously, there is a lot of diversity in people, program and activities and the street layout suggests a more open space. On the contrary, a back-ally might feel more enclosed, therefore more private. The lack of people makes one completely aware of your presence, so you cannot move through the street unnoticed. Visual connection with private interiors, in combination with private street claims strongly affect the perception of publicness in this area and leaves you strongly marked as a 'guest'.

Understanding the streetscape as a variety of urban depths can help in accommodate the territorial settings needed on a neighbourhood level to facilitate the needs of the other to publicly make a spatial claim.

In order to map this, the following elements are of importance to determine the depth-level (Hausleitner et al., n.d.):

1. Predicted pedestrian flows (how likely it is for a pedestrian to choose a street): affecting how many people are making use of a street, influencing the feeling of public or privateness
2. Ground-floor program: affecting the relation between building activities and street appropriation
3. General program that is not related to dwelling (also of the other floors): affecting the need for an 'outsider' to enter the street
4. Street layout: affecting our spatial understanding of a street as well as the feeling of intimacy or anonymity

Next, structural depth on the micro scale could be interpreted as one that not only requires a sequence of spaces (that eventually are similar to each other, or different), but also a change in visual field (Hausleitner et al., n.d.). Publicness therefore is not only confined to the accessibility of a place, but also of that which is out of view. Referring to 'occluded surfaces', Gibson (1979 in Hausleitner et al., n.d.) explains how much of public life remains hidden, accessible to local communities but not necessarily to the public.

For this reason, it becomes interesting to try to uncover depth-structures of the Jordaan from an insider perspective. By doing so, a better understanding is generated in territorial conditions that are linked to specific depths in the area. It

furthermore helps in getting a better understanding of existing depth-structures (or lack of) in the neighbourhood.

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS JORDAAN

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS

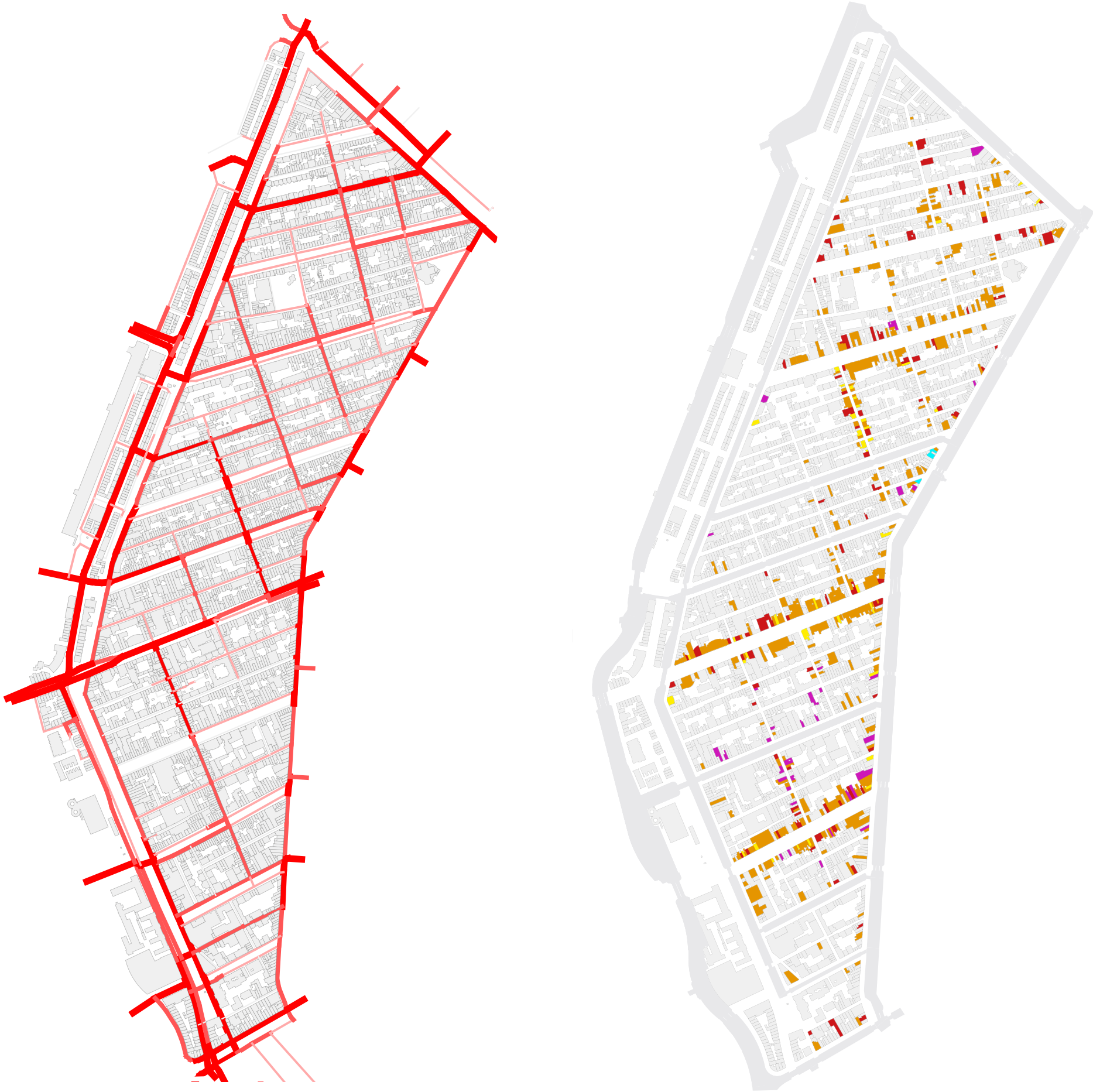
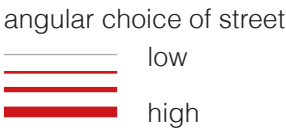








Fig. 61 SpaceSyntax analyses - 800m
Fig. 62 Commercial ground floor program
Fig. 63 Community-related ground floor program



Data and cartographic references
PDOK
Google Maps Streetview (2024)

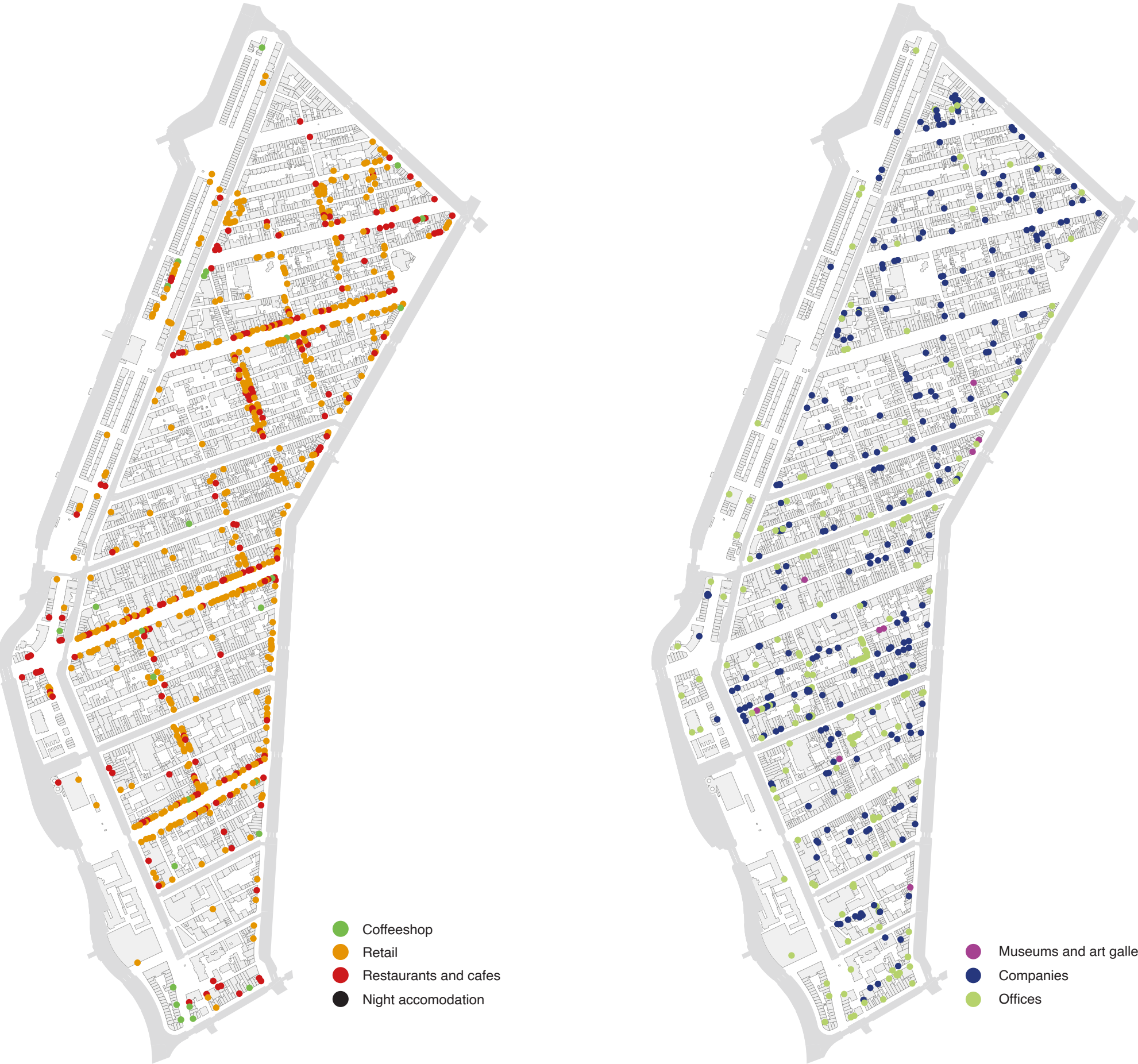
legend



	Planning class*	Description/ example uses
	Shop	General retail, hairdressers, travel agents, post offices, dry cleaners, supermarkets, discount stores
	Restaurants and cafés	Units selling food and drink for consumption on the premises
	Drinking establishments	Pubs and wine bars, not including nightclubs
	Food and drinks takeaways	Units selling food and drinks for consumption off the premises
	Community ammenities	Doctor, education, dentist, physiotherapist, sport center, school
	Public building	Building with supporting role for (local) social communities

*based on planning chart of Clossick in her research on urban depth in a London Highstreet (2017).
Ensambled by making use of Google Maps streetview (2024) in combination with fieldwork.

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS JORDAAN



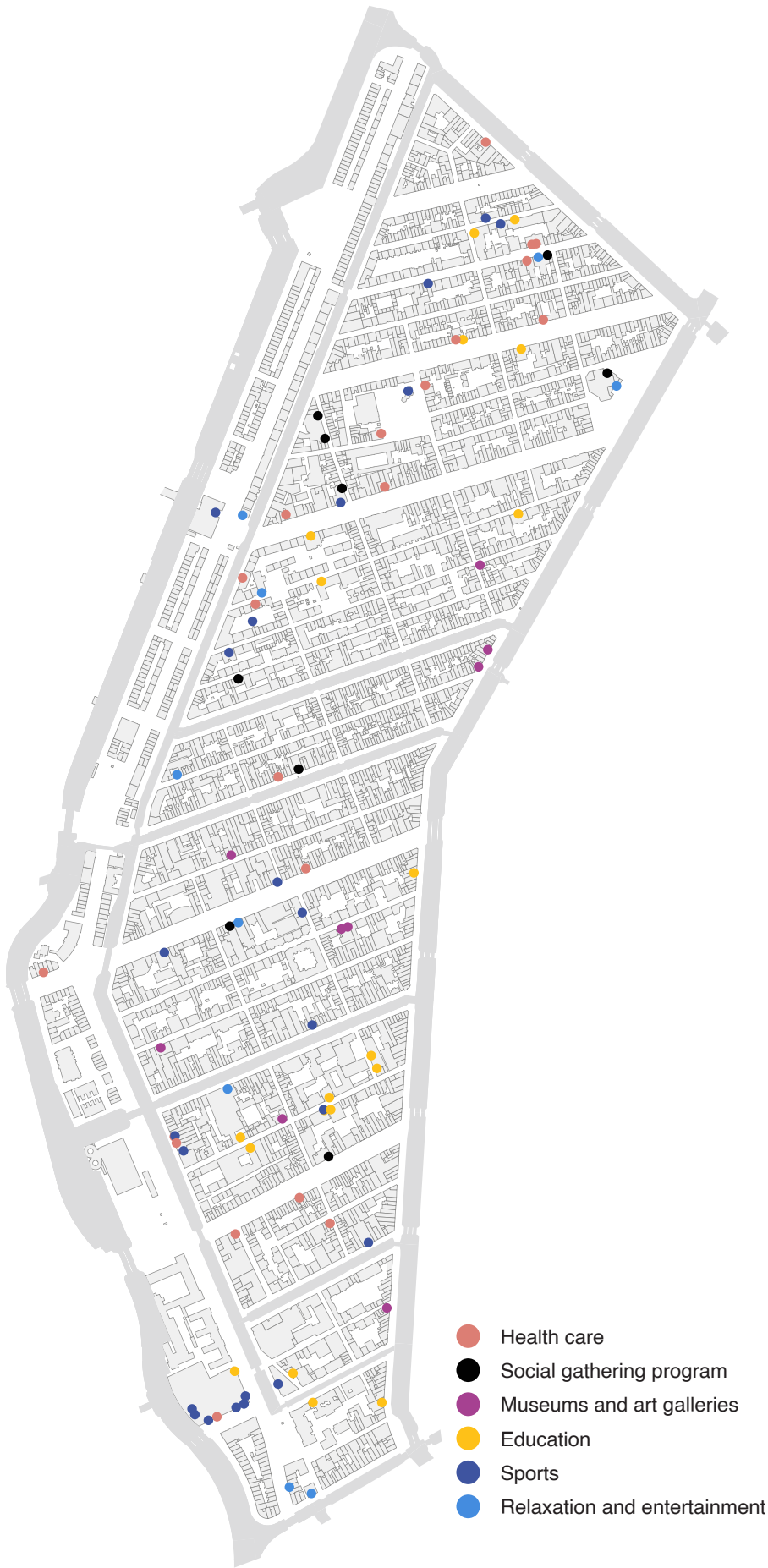
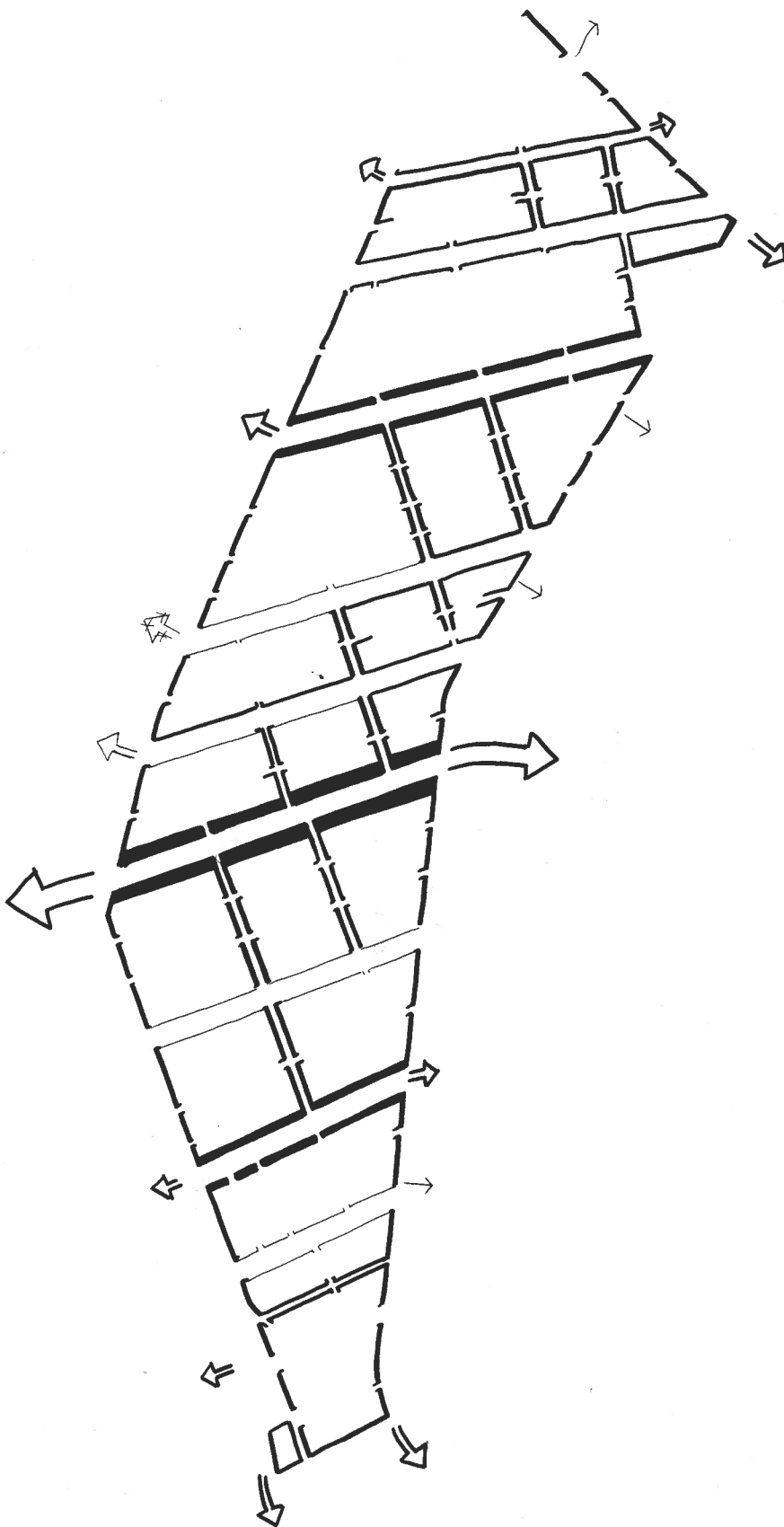
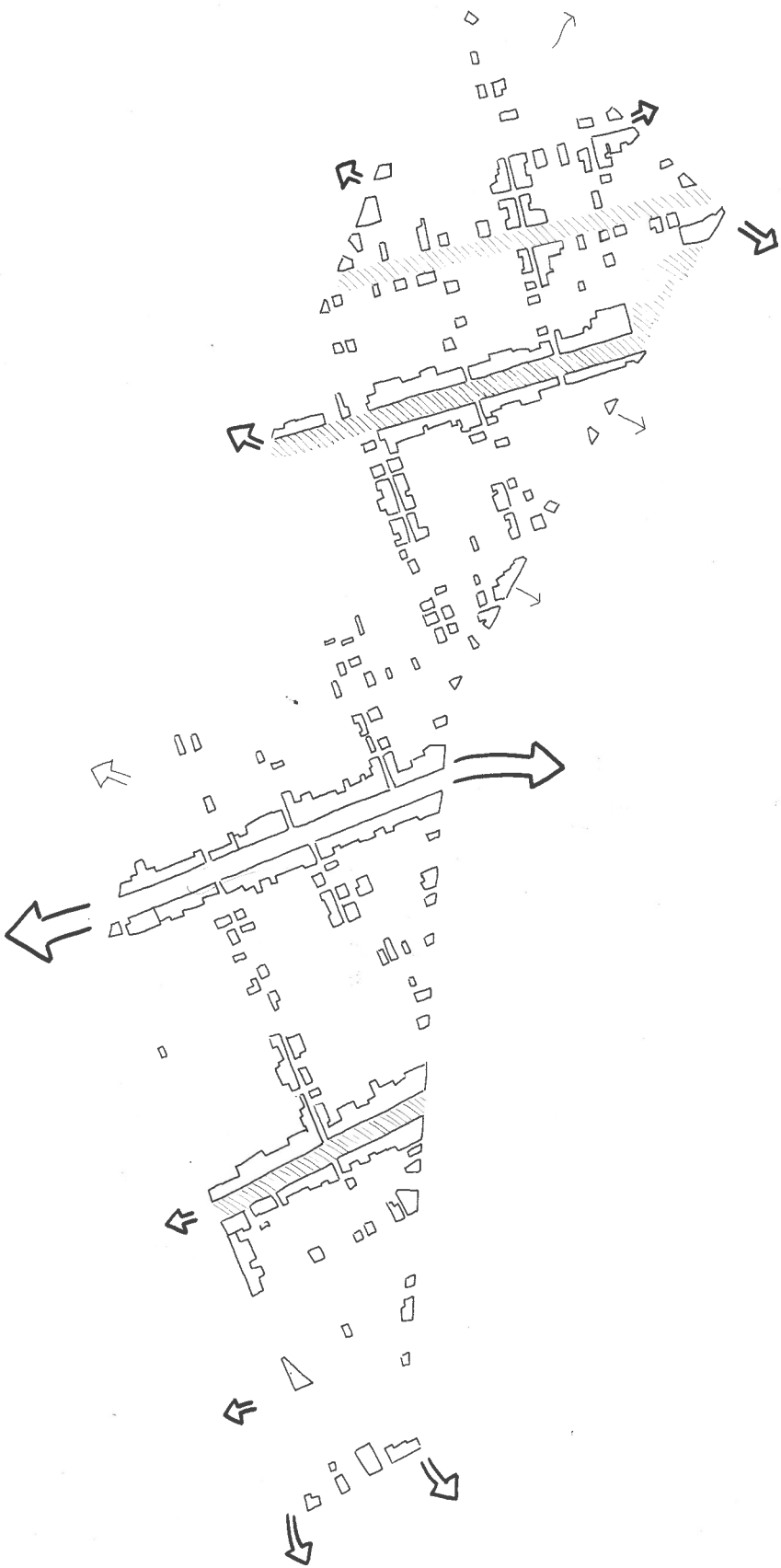


Fig. 64 Building program - commercial
Fig. 65 Building program - local businesses and offices
Fig. 66 Building program - ammenities for local

Data and cartographic references
Gemeente Amsterdam - Ruimte en Duurzaamheid
PDOK



PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STREETS JORDAAN



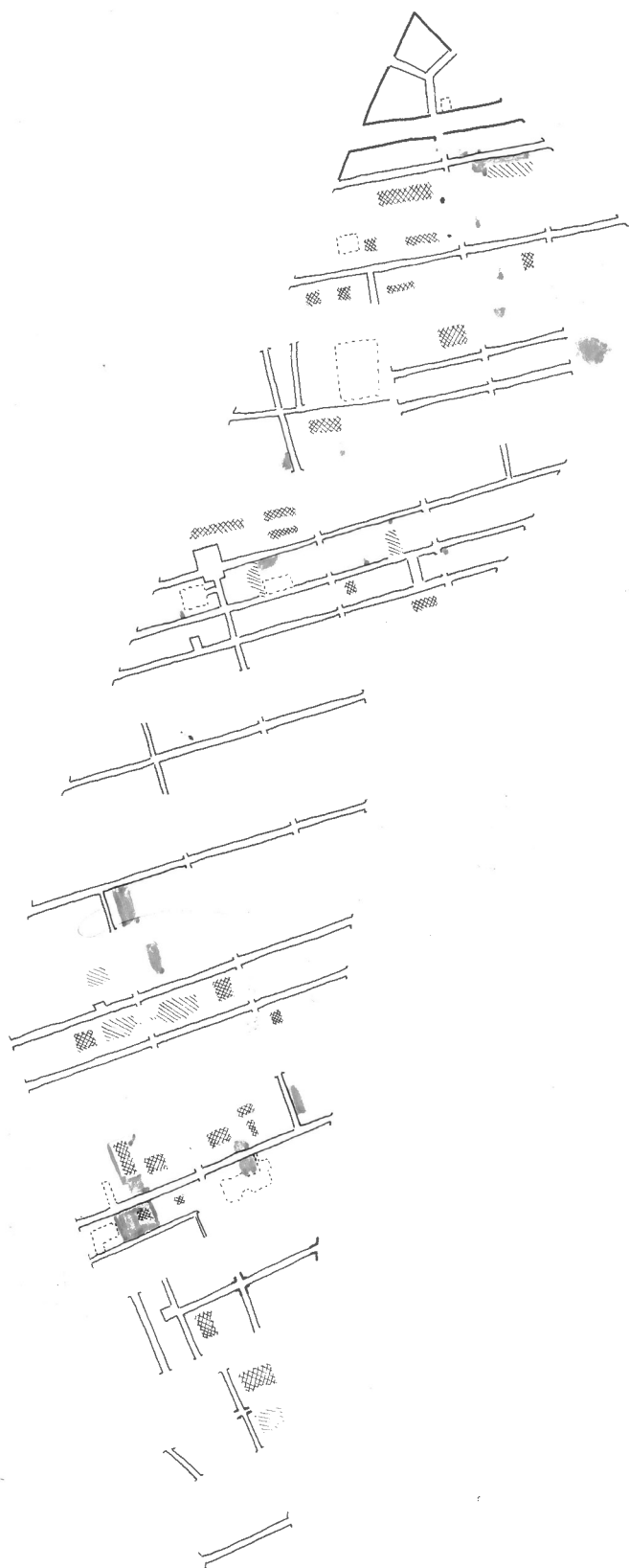
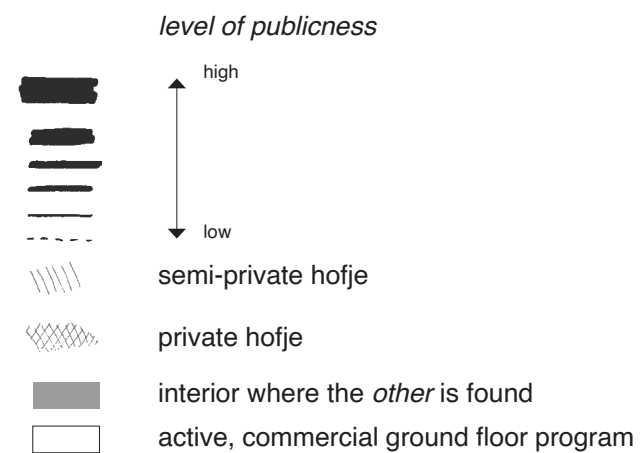


Fig. 67 active ground floor program, public streets/
squares, main connection points

Fig. 68 public streets

Fig. 69 private streets

legend



detail level 1:5000 | N

CONCLUSIONS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STREETS

The following map depicts the public streets in the Jordaan as well as active, commercial ground floor program. Interestingly, there is a strong relationship between these very public streets and existing smooth streets, implying that the smooth streets are very public in terms of activity and flow.

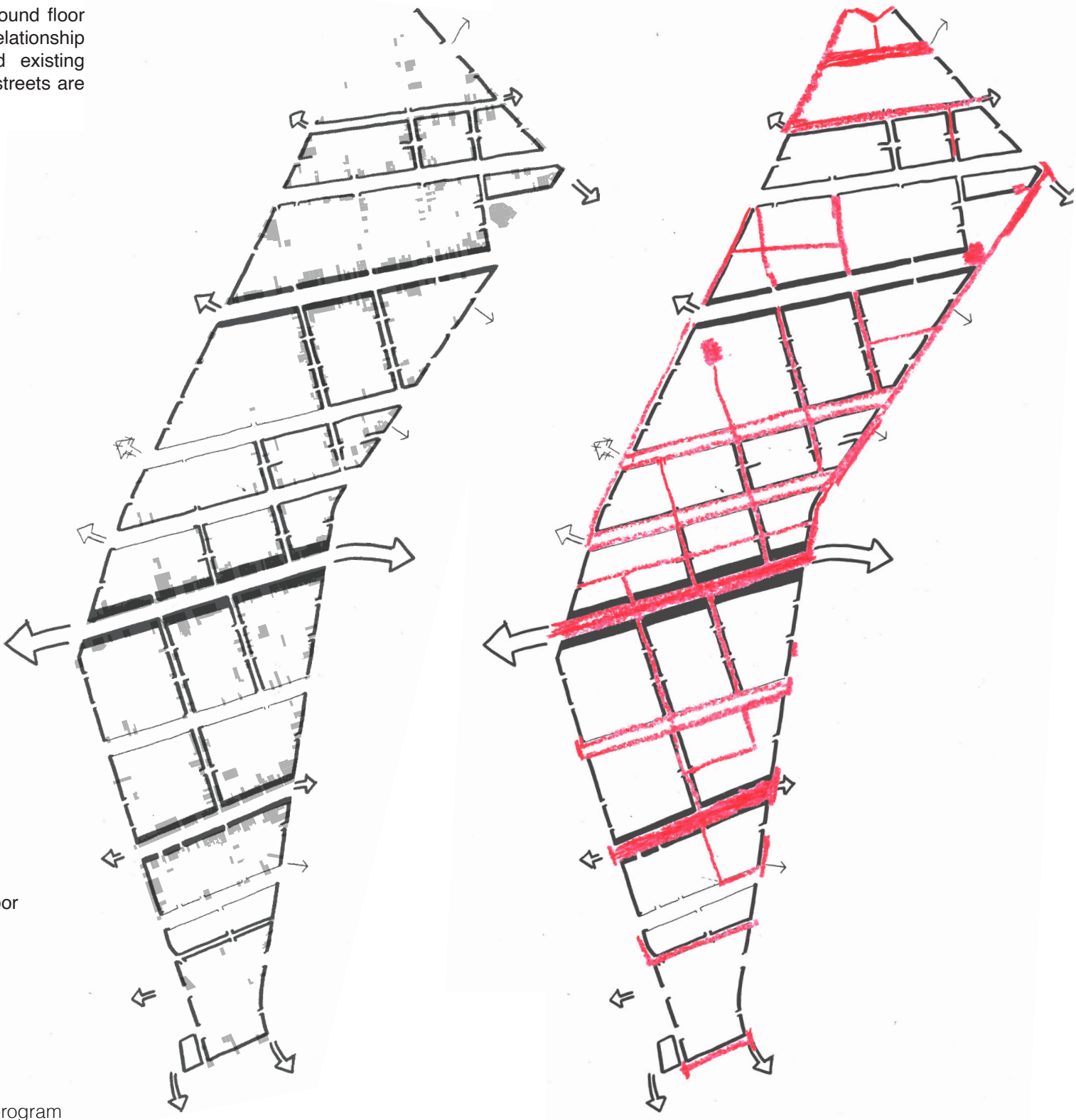


Fig. 70: public streets and active ground floor (commercial) program

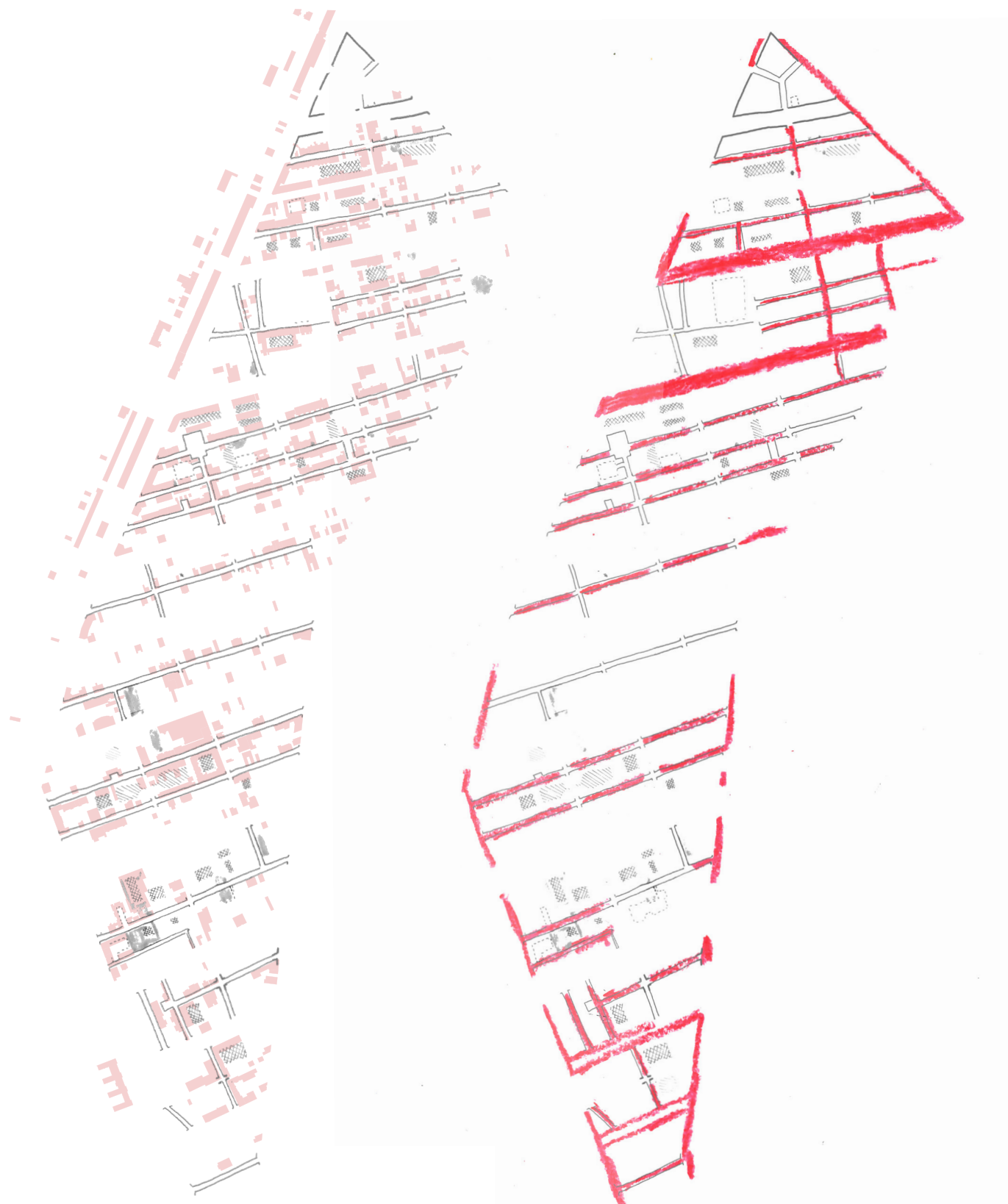
Fig. 71: public streets and smooth streets

legend

- smooth street
- public streets
- active, commercial ground floor program

detail level 1:5000

| N



The following map depicts the private streets in the Jordaan as well as social housing structures. Interestingly, these two seem to be strongly connected to each other (social housing mostly situated in private streets). An overlap furthermore occurs between these private streets and the unsmooth materialized streets.

Fig. 72: private streets and social housing
Fig. 73: private streets and unsmooth streets

legend

- social housing
- unsmooth street
- private street

STREET TYPES

The design of the built environment also provides important information about our perceptions of publicness. As a result, the street's design (street layout) can suggest the street's role and position within the neighbourhood's larger urban depth structure.

A catalogue of different street types is created that resemble specific characteristics found in various parts of the area. In here, specific attention is paid to the following elements:

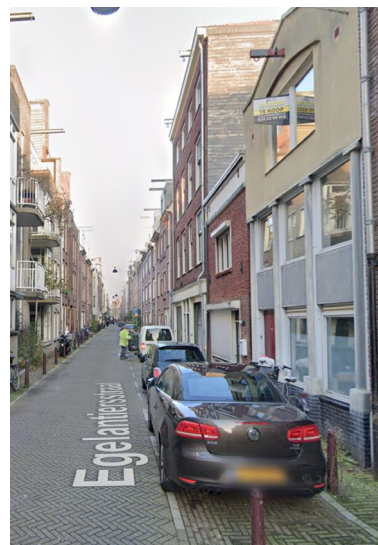
1. Street lay-out: width of the street, traffic flows, division of spaces, vertical and green elements, spatial structures, design and usage of the stoep
2. Architectural style: design of the facade, position and height of the entrances, position and height of the adjacent windows.
3. Ground floor programme and how it interacts with the street

This is accomplished through the use of a 1:200 section and plan that highlight the street's spatial characteristics and dimensions, as well as Google Maps images that provide a realistic understanding of the street. Additional spatial elements are furthermore extracted from existing situations to understand what spatial principles and characteristics can be found in the particular street type.

Egelantiersgracht
(Googlemaps.nl, 2024)



Egelantiersstraat
(Googlemaps.nl, 2024)



TRAFFIC STREET

The traffic street comes out as the most public street in the public-private analysis and functions as the main road inside the Jordaan that connects to other parts of the city. With a mix of traffic lanes and high flows, this street serves as an important connection street. The ground floor programme is mostly public, with shops, gyms, and occasionally public buildings.

The street is wide in size: a wide arterial road forms the main backbone of this street, around which all other activities move. The sidewalk functions as an important extension of the ground-floor program, providing space for shops to display additional merchandise. The ground floor’s design provides plenty of direct views and window space, making it an appealing location for shops: there is a lot of direct contact with the street. In addition, it offers space for parking of cars and bikes.

The architecture is expansive: with an average of 4-5 high floors, this street is magnificently enclosed. Because the homes are typically on the first floor, there is no direct visual connection to private settings, resulting in a public buffer between public and private spaces. When a home is built directly on the street, the entrance is raised slightly to provide a privacy buffer. Because private activities are hidden from view, this contributes to the street’s public feel.

Differences in materials, height difference of the sidewalk and vertical elements such as posts and trees further mark the different traffic flows and give spatial definition to the role of the different street

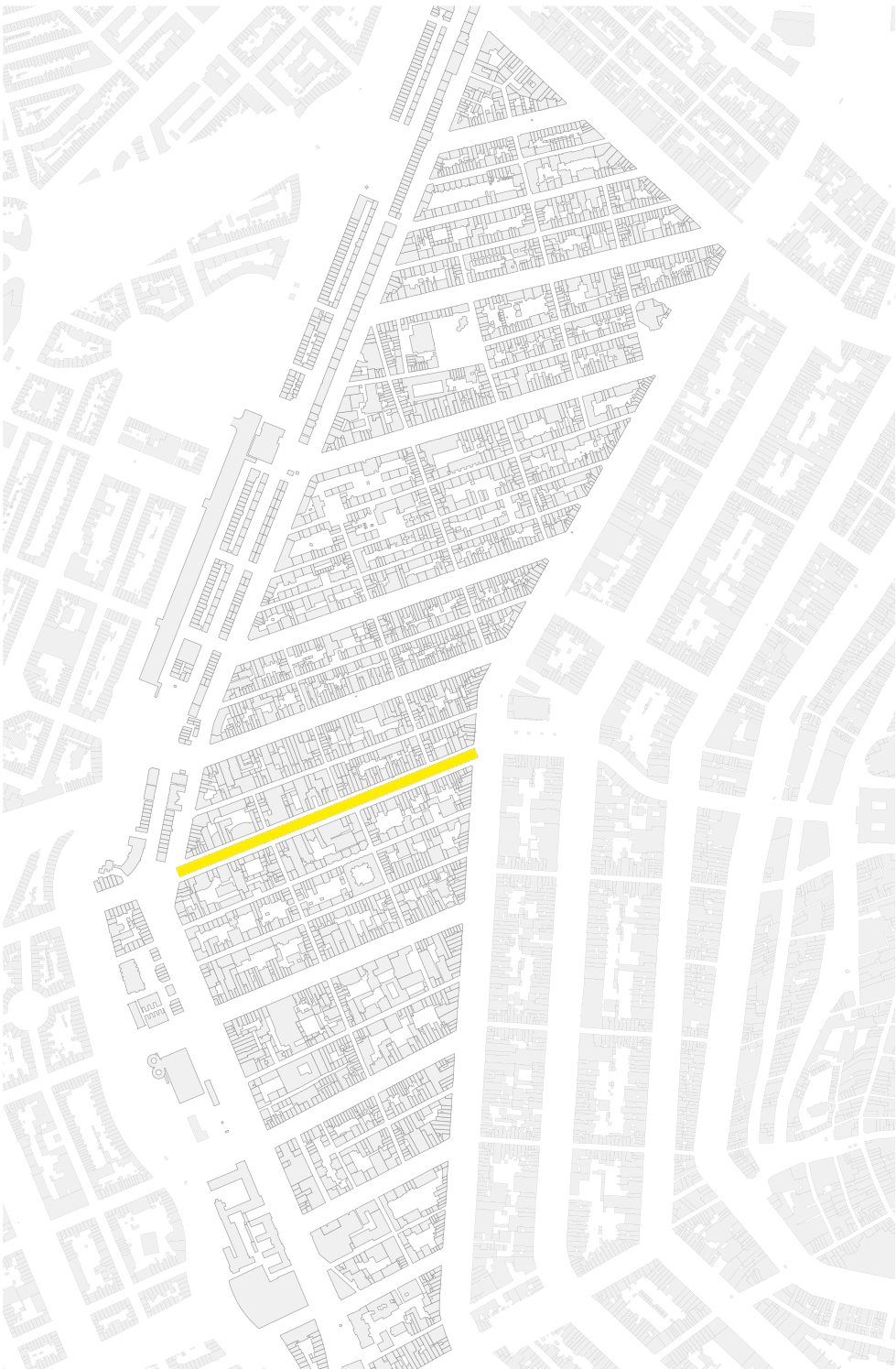


Fig. 74 location traffic Street





Rozengracht
Conducted from Google Maps, 3.05.'24



Rozengracht
Conducted from Google Maps, 3.05.'24



Rozengracht
Conducted from Google Maps, 3.05.'24



Fig. 75 Traffic Street (1:200)

TRAFFIC STREET

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS



large-scaled architecture
Author, 2024



ground floor offers direct relationship with street, dwelling is above
Author, 2024



range of activities and traffic
Author, 2024



difference in materialisation communicates different purposes of the street
Author, 2024



stoep mostly functions as extension of the commercial program
Author, 2024

MAIN STREET

This type of street attracts a wide range of target groups, both within and outside the neighbourhood. This street appears public due to its wide sidewalk design, parking spaces, car lanes and wide intermediate lane. In addition, the wide central lane sometimes forms the context for a change in public activities: market are held at the Westerstraat and Lindengracht twice a week.

The ground floor layout varies by main street, depending on the architectural design that surrounds the street (whether there is a direct visual and physical connection with the ground floor) and how many ‘flows’ pass through the street (which influences whether or not a store is visited frequently).

The central reservation of the more public streets of this type demonstrates how the urban design facilitates public functions: benches for resting, parking spaces, or extra space for a terrace are examples that emerge in the Elandsgracht and Westerstraat respectively. The stoep in these streets primarily serves the functions on the ground floor, which are typically shops or small restaurants. There is a strong visual and physical connection with the interior.

When the main street is more private, the layout of the central reservation becomes more adaptable to local needs: parking spaces and a larger playground can be found on the Palmgracht and Lindengracht. The sidewalk is also used more privately here, with benches and plant pots. The central reservation in private streets is occasionally decorated in a more private manner, such as with personal plant pots.

The central section of the street is some distance from the homes, creating a natural buffer zone between the public and private domains. A height difference has been used to emphasise this, such as with a raised entrance.

Material differences, sidewalk height differences, and vertical elements such as posts and trees all help to distinguish different traffic flows and define the roles of the various lanes within the streets.

In all cases, the street’s edges are proportionally larger than the rest of the neighbourhood, with high ceilings (roughly 3-3.5m) and 4-6 stories. Furthermore, the main streets are always accessible by car and have mixed uses.



Fig. 76 location main street



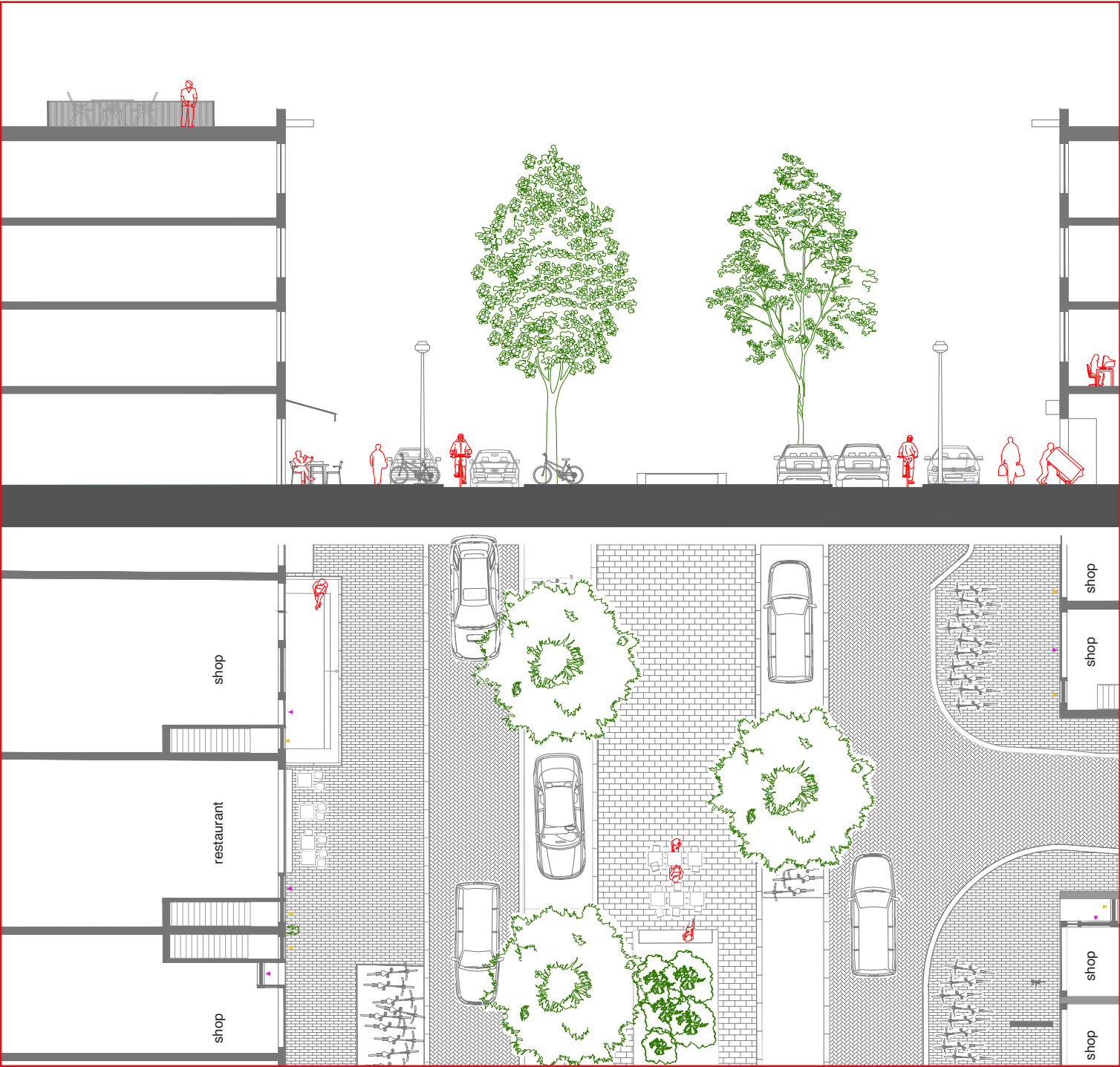


Fig. 77 section main street (1:200)



Elandsgracht
Conducted from Google Maps, 12.06.2024



Lindengracht
Conducted from Google Maps, 12.06.2024



Elandsgracht
Conducted from Google Maps, 12.06.2024

MAIN STREET

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS



sunblind offers spatial element required to set a more intimate terrace on the stoep
Author, 2024



height difference emphasizes more intimate and private character of the space in front of the shop (and offers the opportunity to sit down)
Author, 2024



informal appropriation of the stoep (reading a book, making use of own chair)
Author, 2024



central part of the street as extension of local needs of public space (differing from more public to more private)
 Author, 2024

EDGE STREET

The edge streets are situated at the edge of the Jordaan and follow a particular street layout. The street is relatively narrow, with a small sidewalk along the houses, a one-way car lane, followed up by parking lots alongside the canal.

The sidewalk here usually serves as a connecting element between streets, but is also sometimes used as an extension of shops that are situated on the ground floor program. Since the sidewalk is directly next to the houses, there is little space between the more public flows and the private life. Architecture at the edge therefore often has staircases that lays the ground floor a little bit higher from the street. Little immediate relations are found between the level of the street and the interior. Because of this, only little mixed-use is found in the edge streets: only there where the architecture allows for a direct visual relationship. In addition, the street is only enclosed from one side. The stoep sometimes functions as an extension of the ground floor program or dwelling, but is often only used as a sidewalk: the stoep is quite small (1-1.5 m), and often does not offer the extra space needed in front of a house to appropriate. In addition, the small stoep makes it difficult to ‘stay’, for you are immediately blocking the paths of others. Therefore, these streets function more as a place to move through than a place to stay. The space alongside the canal is mainly used as parking lots, which are sometimes freed up for a local terrace. Differences in materials, height difference of the sidewalk and vertical elements such as posts and trees further mark the different traffic flows and give spatial definition to the role of the different street

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS

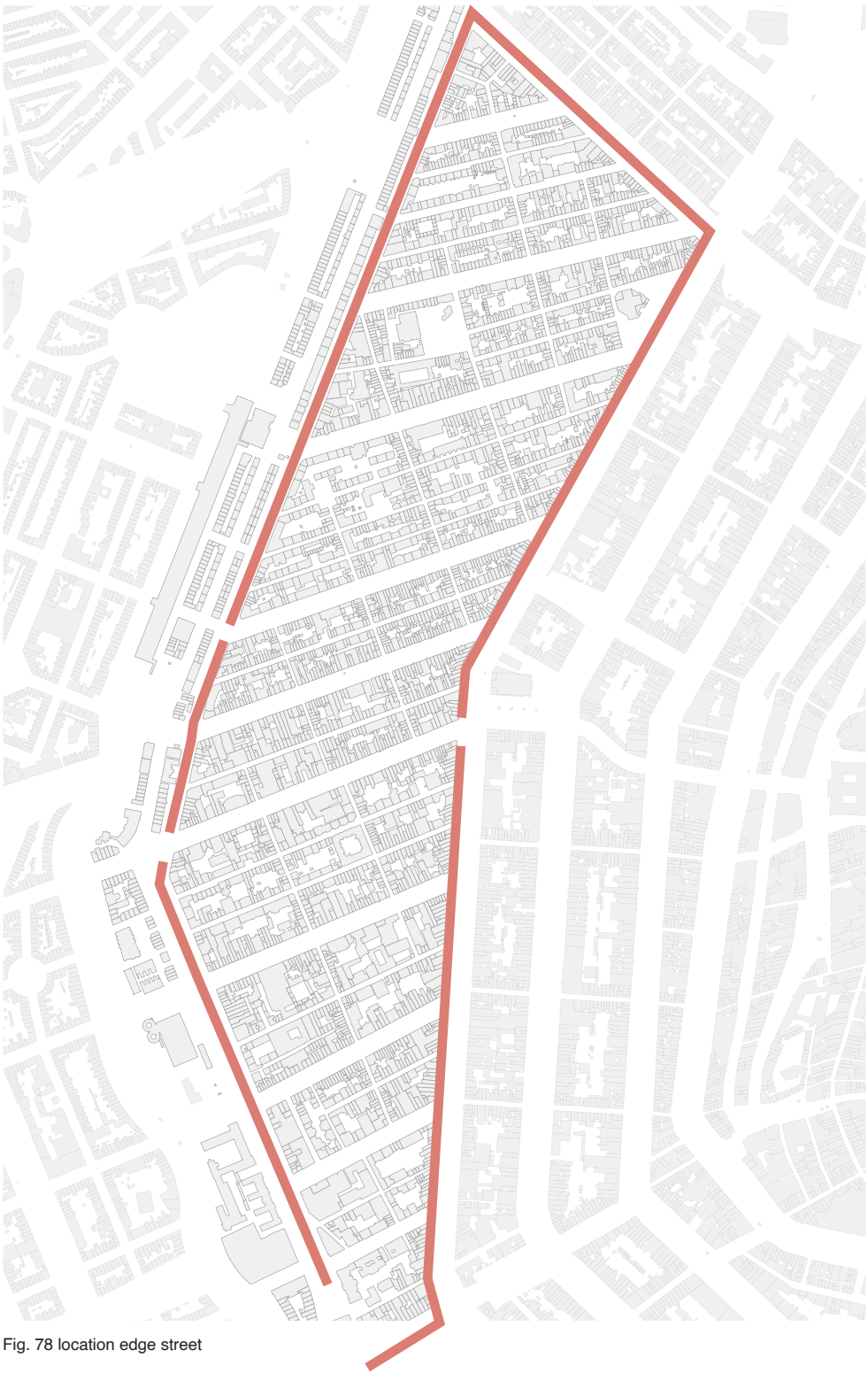


Fig. 78 location edge street

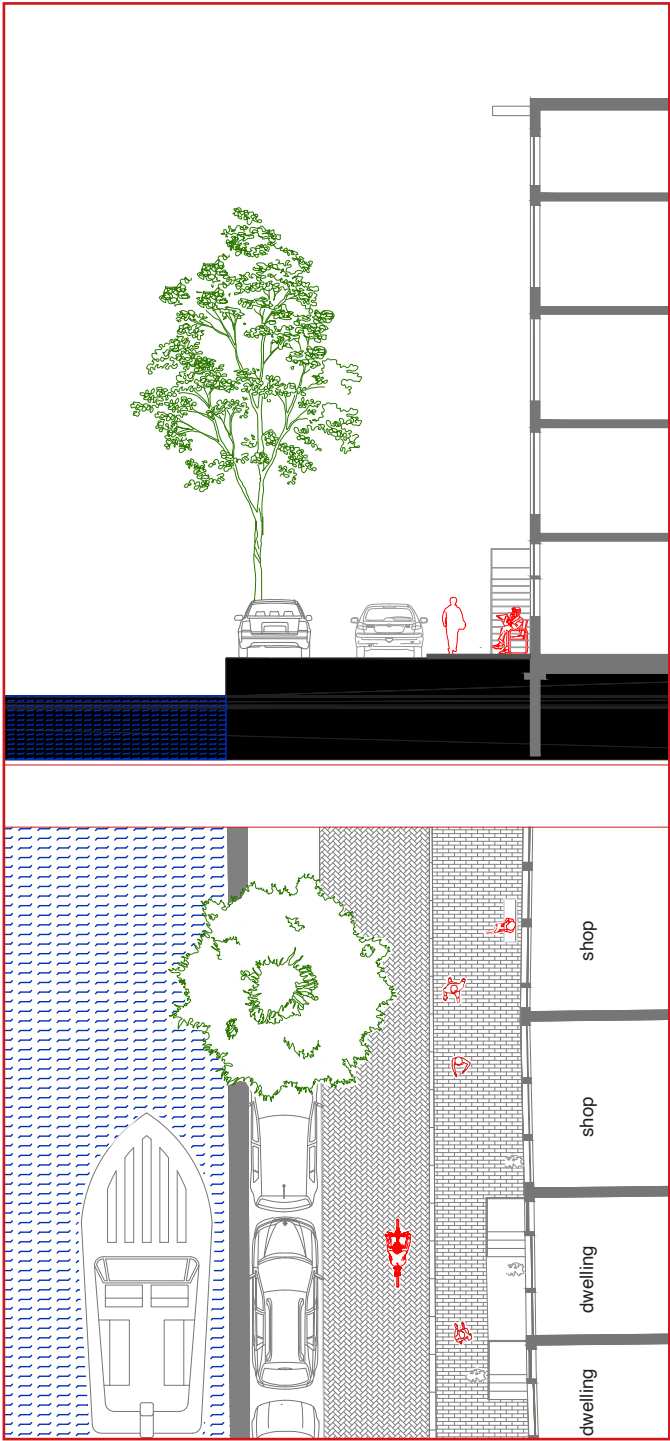


Fig. 79 section edge street (1:200)



Prinsengracht
Conducted from Google Maps, 5.05.'24



Prinsengracht
Conducted from Google Maps, 5.05.'24



Prinsengracht
Conducted from Google Maps, 5.05.'24



Informal appropriation of steps
2024



staircase as way to seperate private spheres from the public eye
Conducted from Google Maps, 5.05.'24



Conducted from Google Maps, 5.05.'24



commercial use of parking spot in edge street
Conducted from Google Maps, 5.05.'24



commercial use of stoep in edge street
Conducted from Google Maps, 5.05.'24



facade offers spatial conditions that facilitate local shops (direct relationship with the street)
Conducted from Google Maps, 5.05.'24

CANAL STREET

The canal street distinguishes itself by the presence of a canal that divides the two adjacent streets.
The waterway, combined with the green elements, adds a high level of quality to this street while also providing a spacious framework that makes it appear more public.

The outline of its adjacent streets is similar to those of the edge streets, with 5-6 floors-high mixed-use buildings that occasionally provide visual connection with the interior spaces.
To maintain a clear distinction between public and private spaces, the spatial design of this street focuses on rised entrances and a small patch of different materialisation in front of the house to indicate the extension of more private spaces.

The road primarily serves as a connecting element, whereas the stoep occasionally provides spaces to stay via terraces or individual appropriation by its local residents.

The extension of the interior, combined with the wide layout, high architecture, and distinct separation between public and private areas, makes this street semi-public and easy to read as a visitor.
The quay is sometimes used informally to sit along the water because parked cars take up a lot of valuable space.

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS

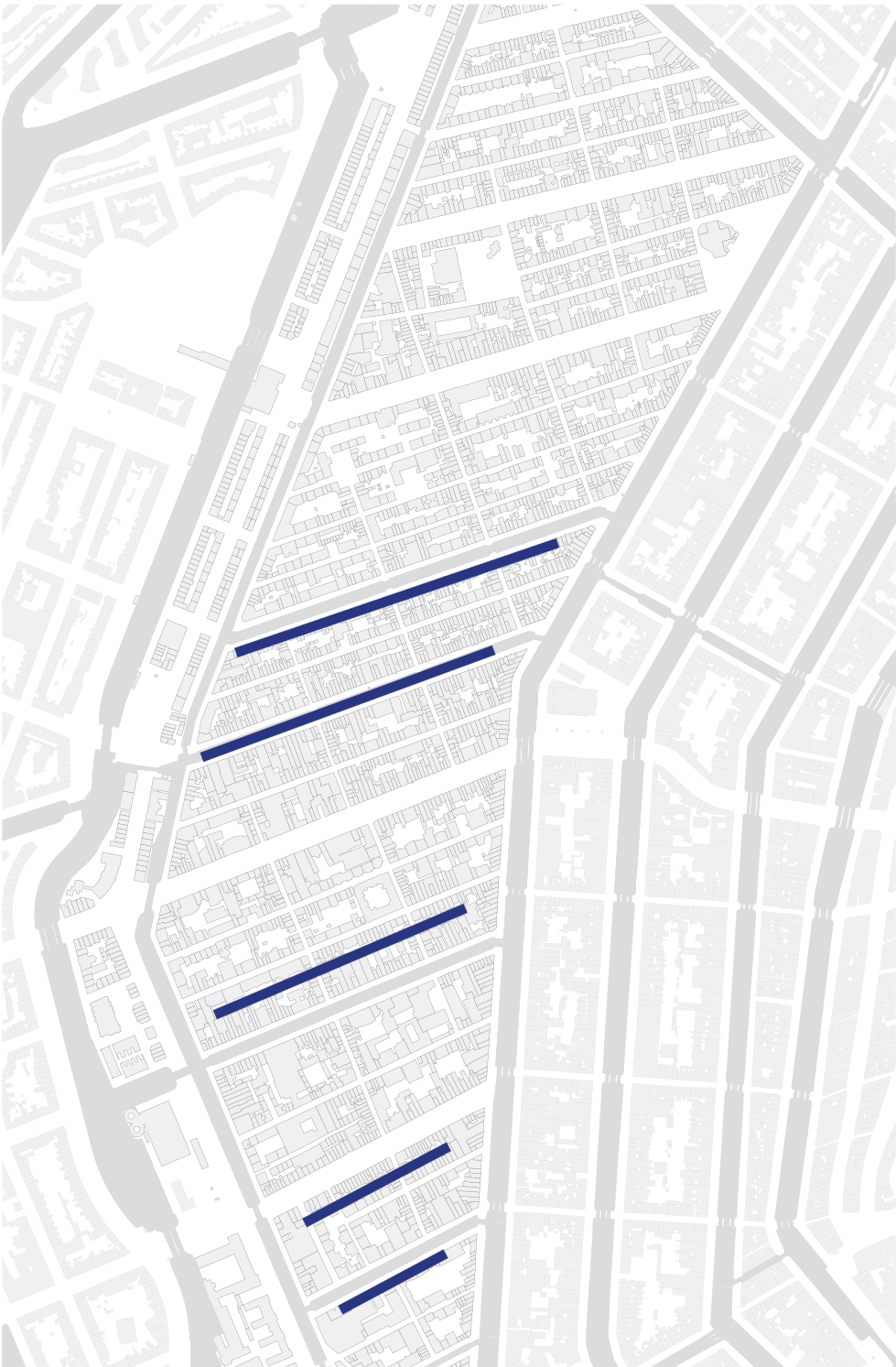


Fig. 80 location canal street



| N

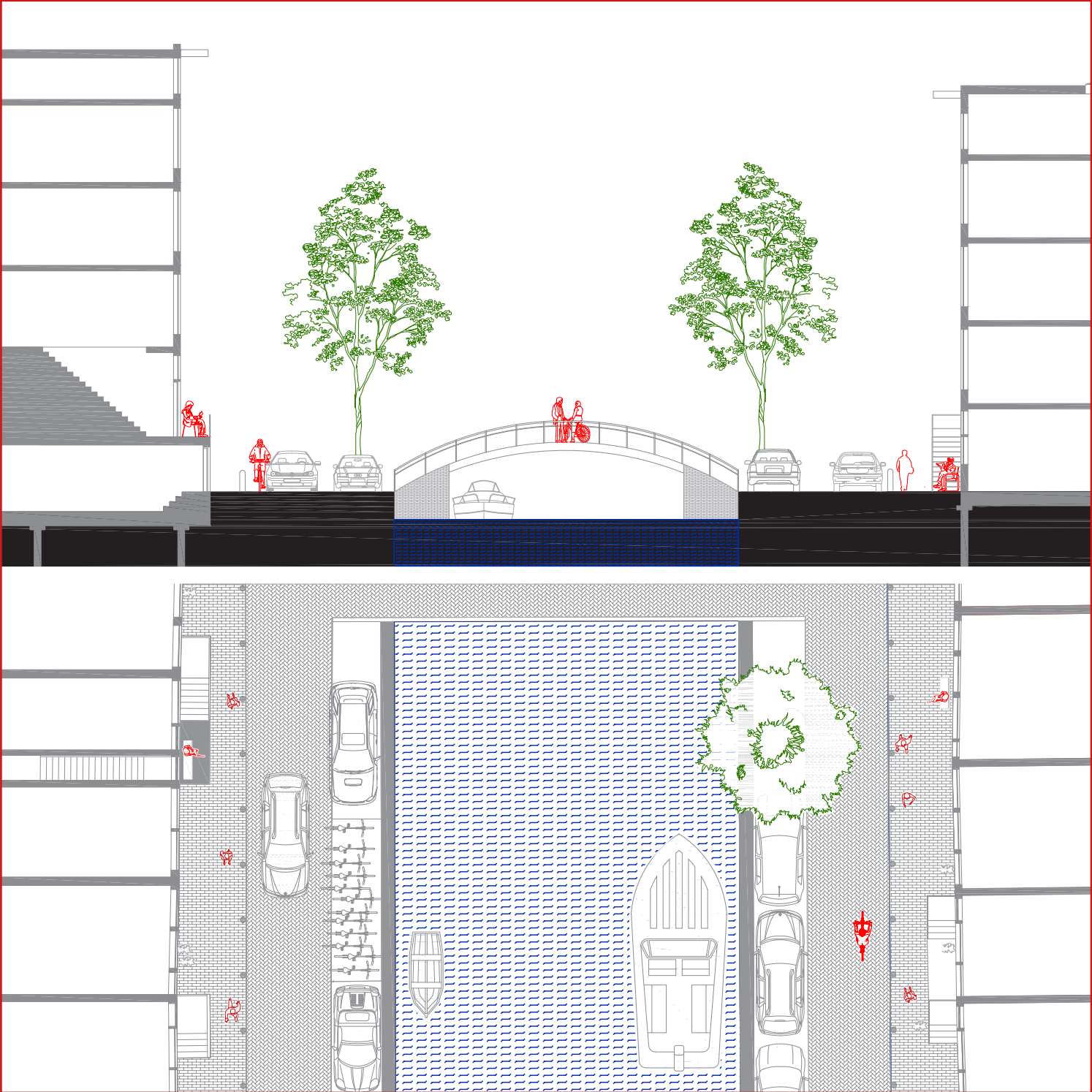


Fig. 81 section canal street (1:200)



Elegantiersgracht
Conducted from Google Maps, 8.05.'24



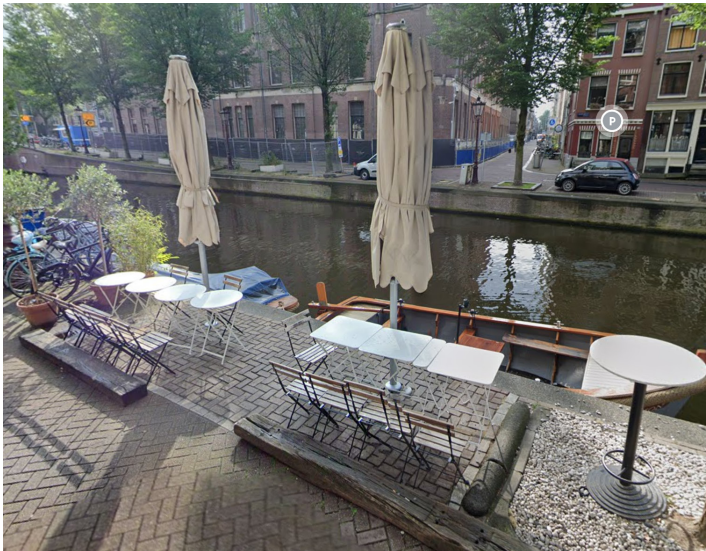
Egelantiersgracht
2023

CANAL STREET

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS



Wide layout canal street
2024



large-scaled architecture
2024
Bottom: commercial use of quay
Conducted from Google Maps, 8.05.'24



Top: informal appropriation of quay
2024
Bottom: change in materialisation to mark more private territory in front of house
Conducted from Google Maps, 8.05.'24

Top: person making use of elevated platform in front of house
2024
Bottom: elevated entrance to dwelling offers as a buffer for private activities from the public eye
Conducted from Google Maps, 8.05.'24

MIXED-USE LIVINGSTREET

This street signifies itself through the small-scale layout. The streets are relatively narrow: approximately eight metres wide. A central car road takes up the majority of the space, leaving two metres of stoep on both sides. The architecture here all leads directly to the ground floor. Direct visual connection to interior spaces, combined with direct street entrances, reduces the public-private buffer zone. As a result, the stoep plays an important role in accomplishing this. Informal and formal appropriation of the stoep mark the activities behind the facade.

In the mixed-use livingstreet, much of the ground floor is used for commercial activities, with the stoep serving as an extension of that. Extra benches to drink coffee or local stands support the local shop.

A difference in height, materialisation and the placement of small poles furthermore mark the difference between the car road and the stoep.

Since the stoep is relatively small, it often feels crowded, packed and rushed in the street types that have a significant high amount of pedestrian flows. The small-scaled architecture and the small-scales elements such as lamps hanging in-between the buildings, give this street a more private understanding of space.

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS



Fig. 82 location mixed-use living street



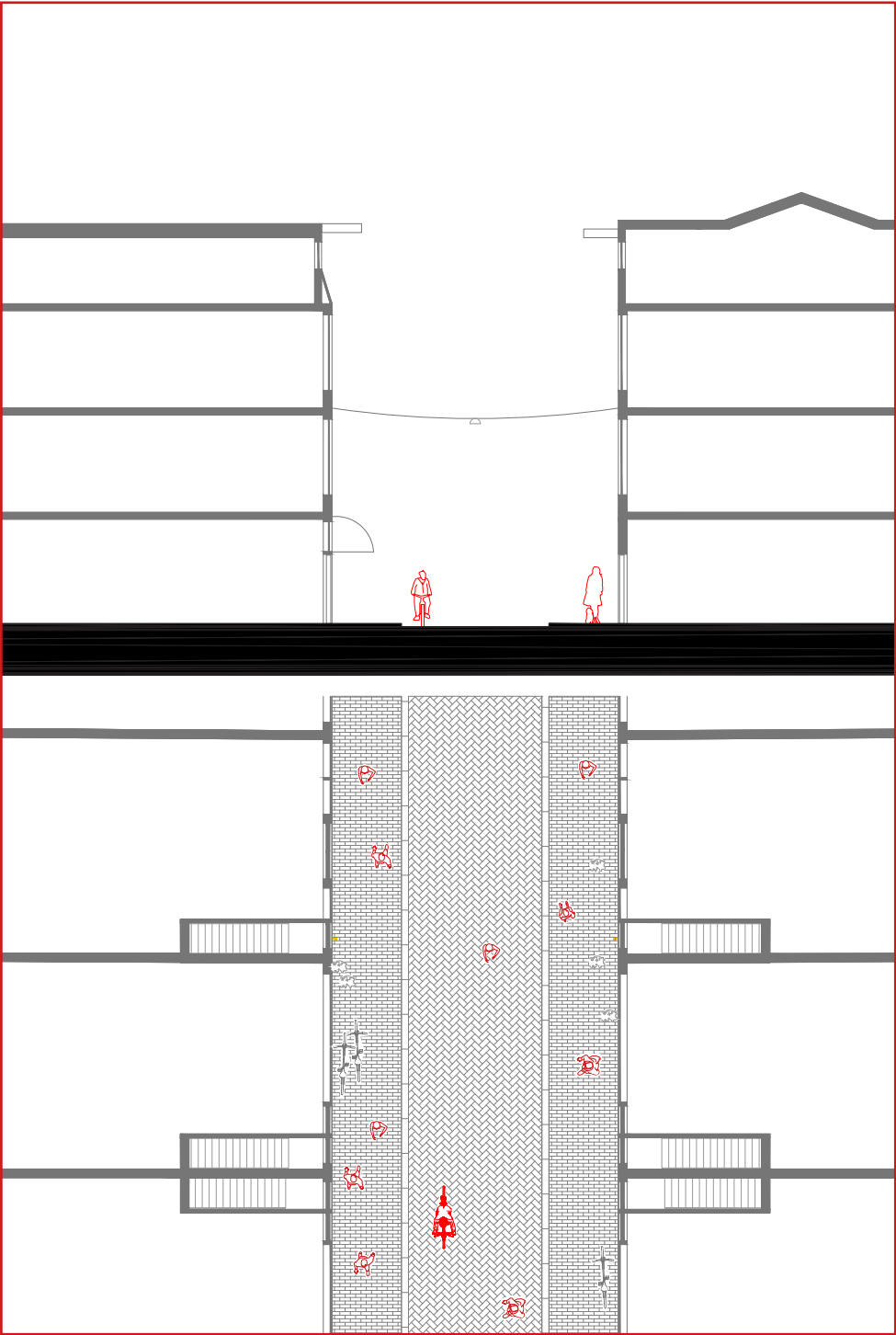


Fig. 83 section mixed-use living street (1:200)



Tweede Leliestraat
Conducted from Google Maps, 5.05.'24



Mixed-use living street
2023

MIXED-USE LIVINGSTREET

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS



mixed-use livingstreet: understanding spatial composition
2024



appropriation of stoep as extension of ground floor program + informal appropriation
2024



LIVINGSTREET

The living street follows the same spatial layout of that of the mixed-use livingstreets, but lacks the additional program and height differences. The street here follows the same height, but works with material differences to mark the different uses of the street. Furthermore, small poles keep cars from getting too close to the homes, while also providing an informal understanding of these spaces as extensions of the interior.

These types of streets frequently have a high concentration of car parking. The streets have either social housing, traditional housing, or both. The streets lack green elements. The informal appropriation in combination with small-scales architecture and a direct relationship with the interior spaces and the lamps hanging in-between the building provide the spatial elements needed to perceive this streettype as private.

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS



Fig. 84 location living street



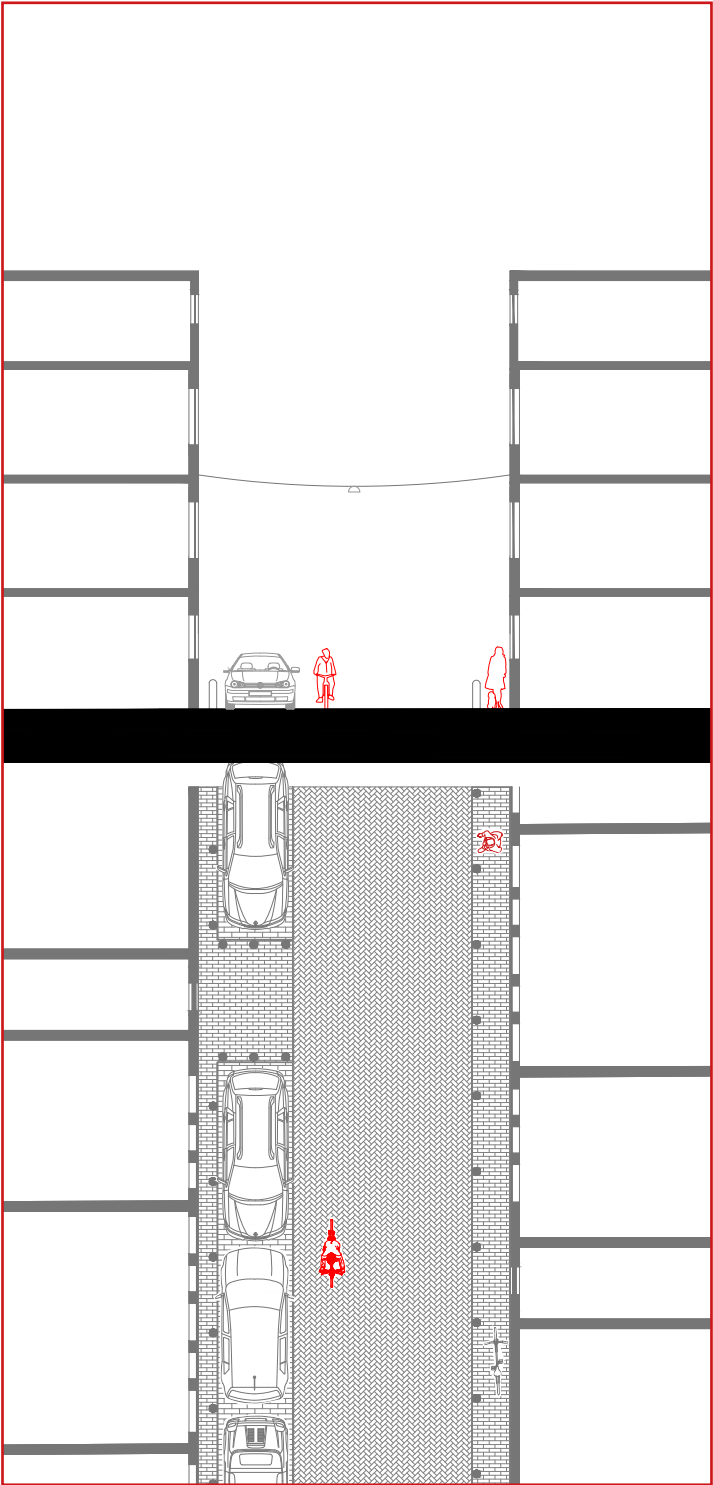


Fig. 85 section living street (1:200)



2024



2024



spatial understanding living streets
2024



(in)formal use of stoep and balconies
2024

BACK-ALLY

The back-ally lies far away from the very public transit street, and is marked as the most private one. Accommodating dwellings alongside, the back-ally feels very private due to a change in materialisation, a small ally that you sometimes need to go through to access it, informal appropriations as well as small-scales architecture, green elements and lamps hanging in-between the buildings.

Interestingly, these spaces occasionally provide programmes on the ground floors that do not require public attention, such as a local gin brewery, a small local pub, or a small firefighter station. Being out of the public eye, these street types seem to offer some extra protective spatial conditions for more private needs and program of the neighbourhood.

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS

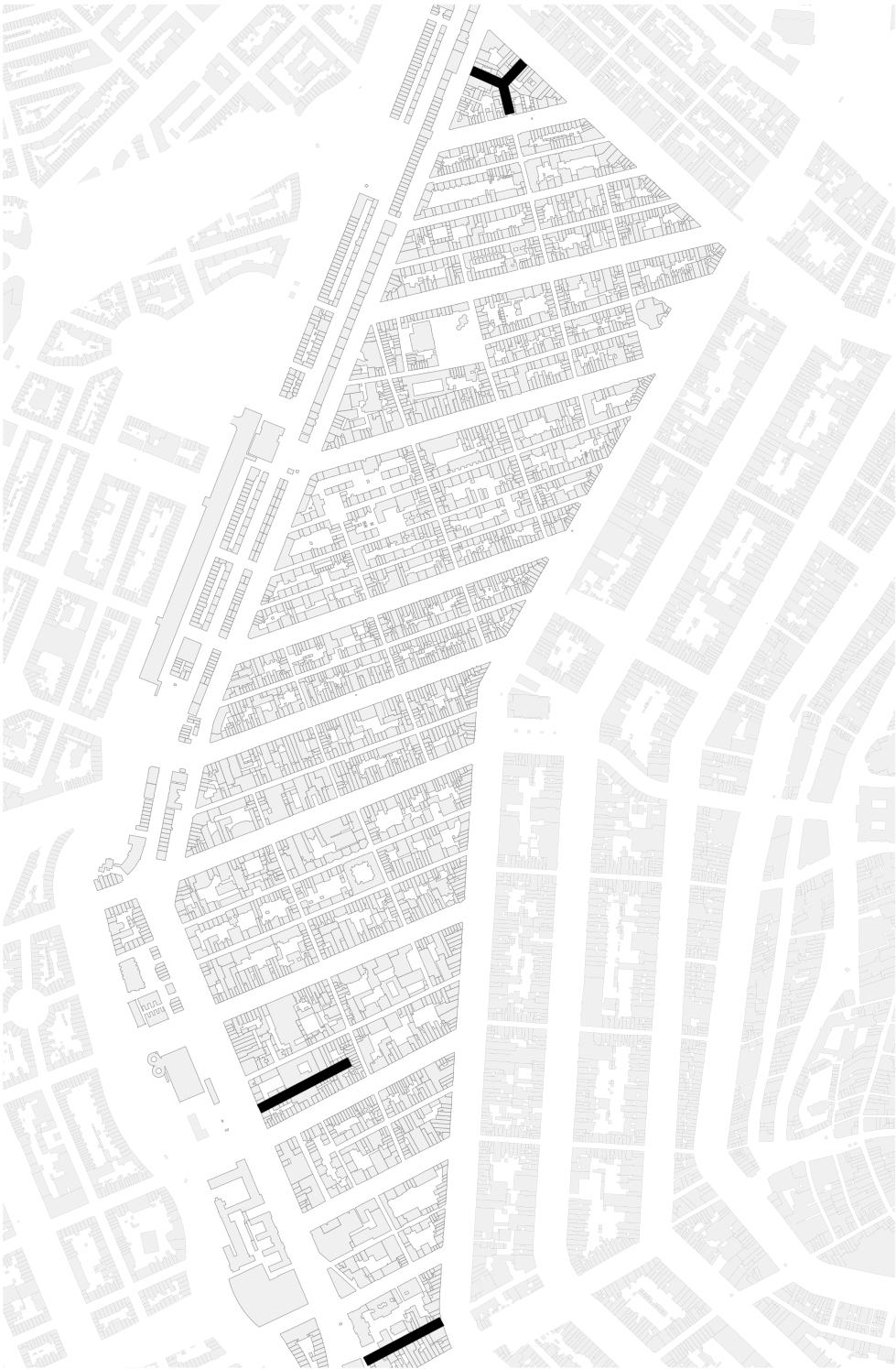


Fig. 86 location back-ally



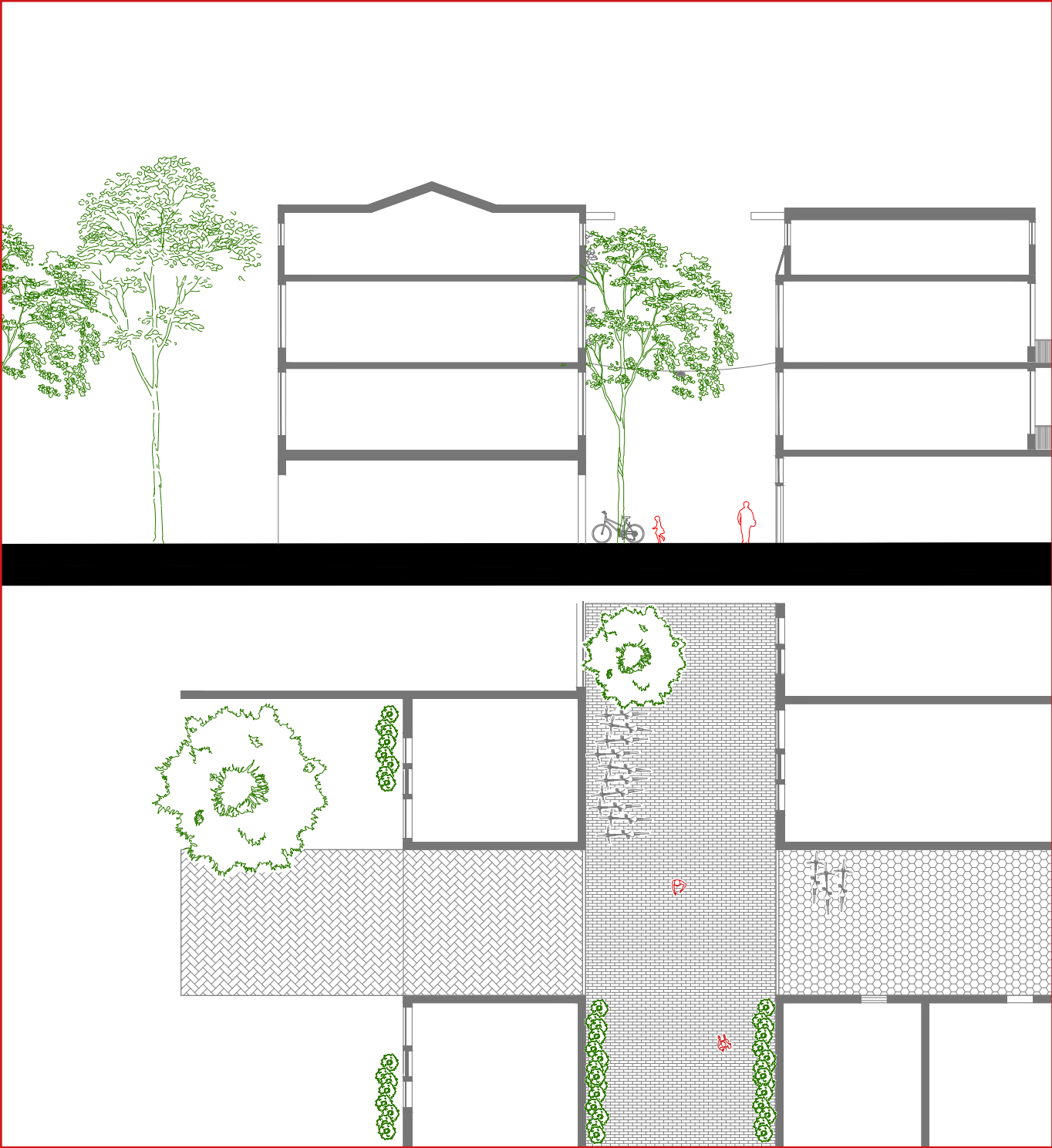


Fig. 87 section back-ally (1:200)



2024

BACK-ALLY

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS



garage- and closed doors in back-allies
2024



small ally marks strong differentiation between the very private street
and the back-ally
2024



Fig. local firefighter station
2024



Fig. local gin distillery
2024

SUB-CONCLUSIONS

The following map depicts the streets that are designed as public streets (medium-rise architecture, wide street lay-out, raised entrances to the dwellings, important access street). Interestingly, the outer edge as well as important connection streets here form the public back-bone of the neighbourhood in terms of design.

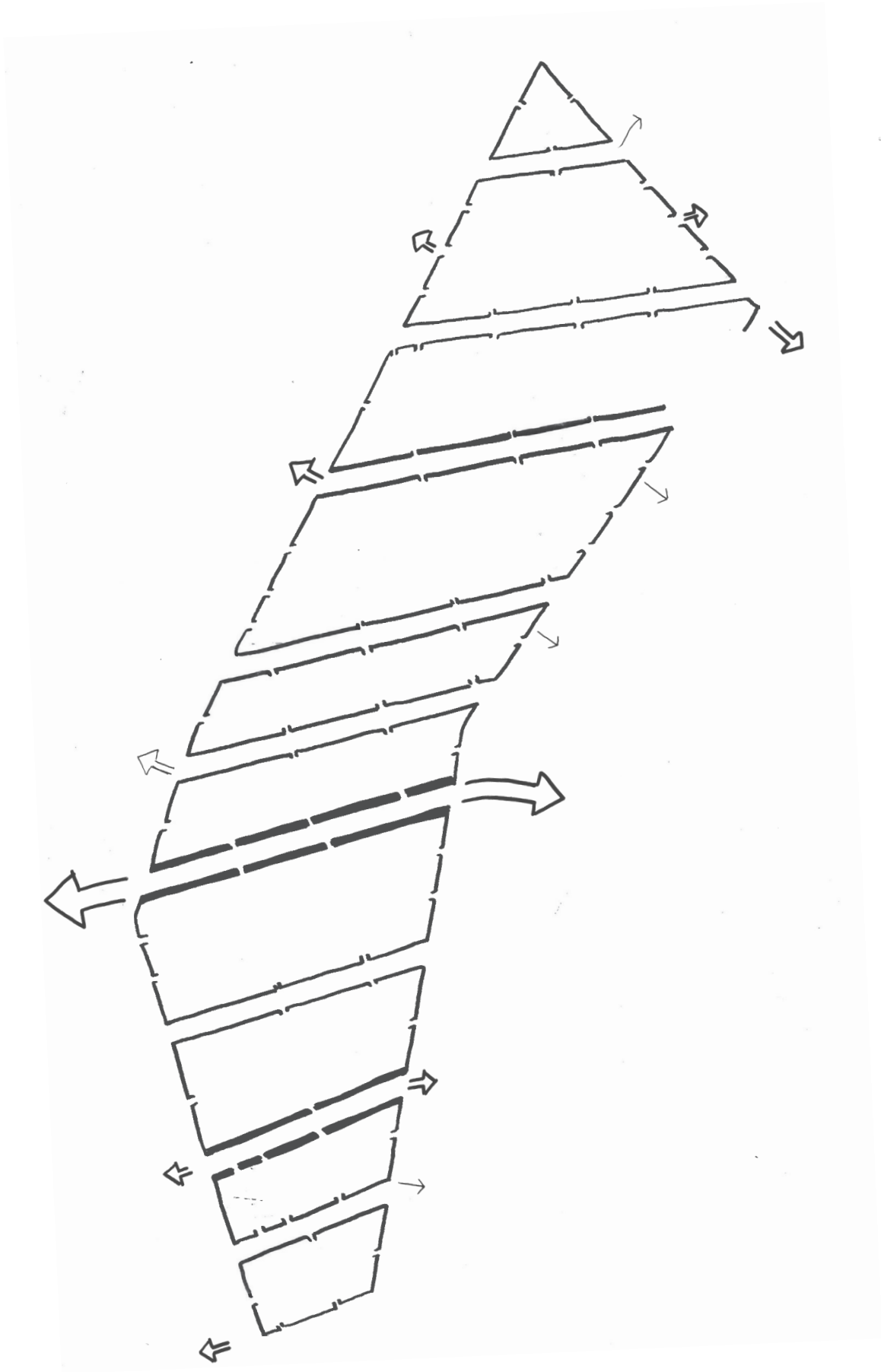


Fig. 88: public streets in terms of design

detail level 1:5000 | N

The following map depicts the streets that are designed as private streets (small-scaled architecture, entrances of dwellings directly at the street, small street layout, no important access streets)

Here, it becomes clear how the inner network of the Jordaan is really private in terms of design.

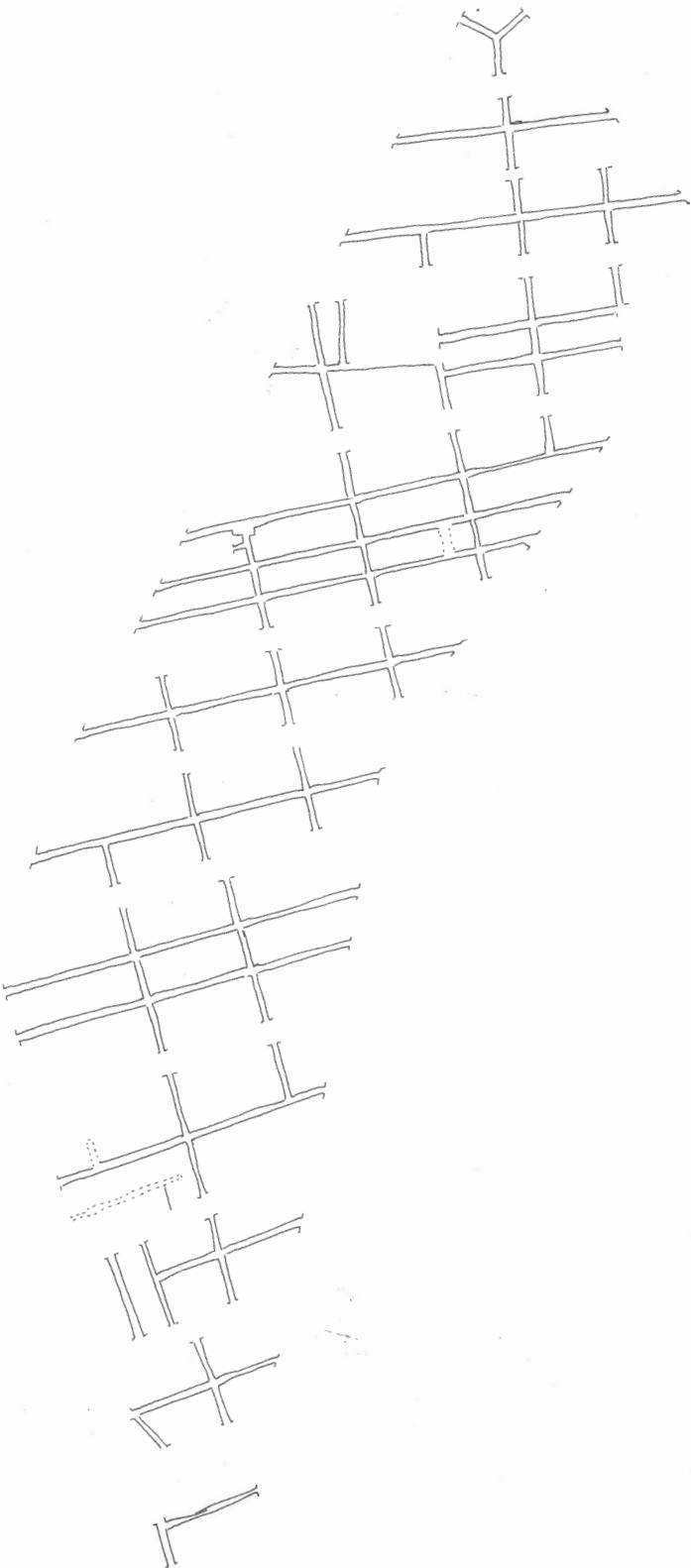


Fig. 89: private streets in terms of design

detail level 1:5000

| N

SUB-CONCLUSIONS

Through analysing the spatial characteristics of different streets, a categorization of street types is made up that represents similar spatial understandings throughout the neighbourhood.

Some streets are designed for more public appropriation by offering a wide layout, larger-scaled architecture with a direct visual relationship with the ground floor, and is linked to connective networks while supporting different modes of transit. Examples like these public streets are the transit street and the main streets.

Then, streets like the canal street and edge street offer a more broader understanding of public and private. When there is insufficient space between the more public road and the private house, these streets spatially respond by providing levelled ground-floor entrances, a difference in materialisation in front of the house and the more public street: this provides a spatial understanding of the more private zone.

The livingstreets and back-allies also have a very private spatial understanding, thanks to the small-scaled architecture, the direct visual relationship with the interior spaces, the narrow lay-out of the street (removing the buffer zone from public to private), and private elements such as hanging lamps between the buildings.

Our spatial understanding of a street strongly determines how we behave in a place. The clear separation in the more public streets between the private and public zones helps us understand that outsiders cannot use the space right in front of the houses, or blocks our public view from private activities. Because of this, local residents feel secure enough to appropriate the street as an extension of their house, actively contributing to enriching local depth-structures.

Whenever a street becomes public while its spatial conditions remain more private, some disruption in understanding the urban-script may occur.

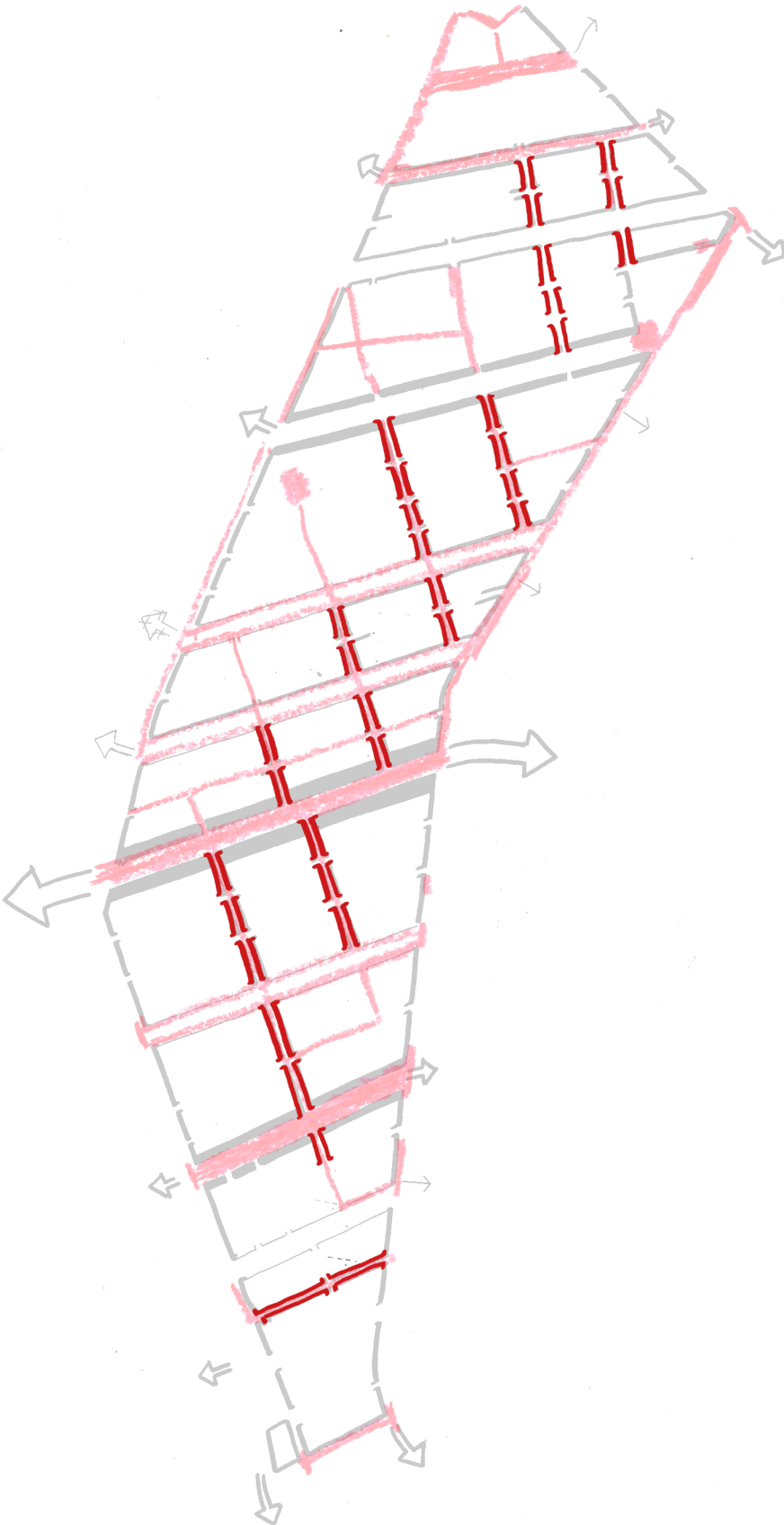
This is the case in most of the mixed-use livingstreets, that are designed as livingstreets but have turned very public (active ground floor program and a large flow of pedestrian traffic). This occurs primarily in smooth streets, which take on a more public character while remaining within a more private spatial framework. As a result, individual measurements are taken from local resident to communicate the desired behaviour in the street or cut off any form of interaction between the private spheres and the public streets. Examples are hanging up signs in the public space as well af blocking visual connections with the street through closed curtains. As a result, a more harsh transition occurs in these streets between public and private, and local depth structures are reduced. In addition, the clear distinction between private and public results in, which Young claims, 'the exclusion of important bodily aspects of human life from the public sphere'. The way private and public interact on smooth streets is thus much more an exclusion by public institutions, rather than a personal choice to decide what to expose and what to keep hidden (Young, 1990:119).

Fig. 90: streets with conflict local urban script

- streets of conflict (private design but turned public)
- smooth street
- public streets

detail level 1:5000

| N





cutting off urban depths through closing off private spheres from public eye
2024

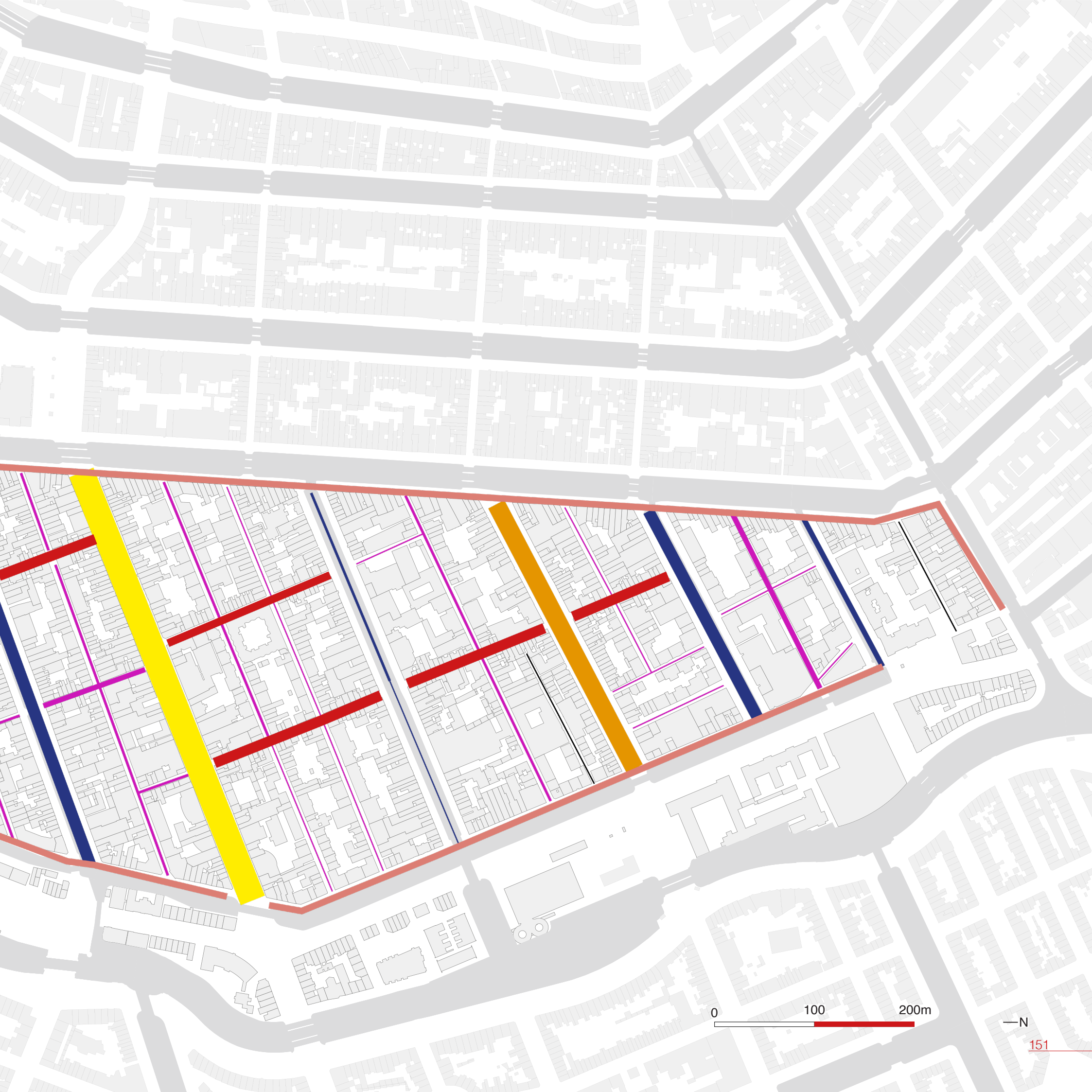
STREET PROFILES

and level of publicness

LEGEND

- transportation street
 - main street
 - edge street
 - canal street
 - mixed-use living street
 - living street
 - back ally
- level of publicness

Fig. 91: street profiles and their level of publicness



0 100 200m

—N

UNDERSTANDING URBAN DEPTH: REALITY CHECK

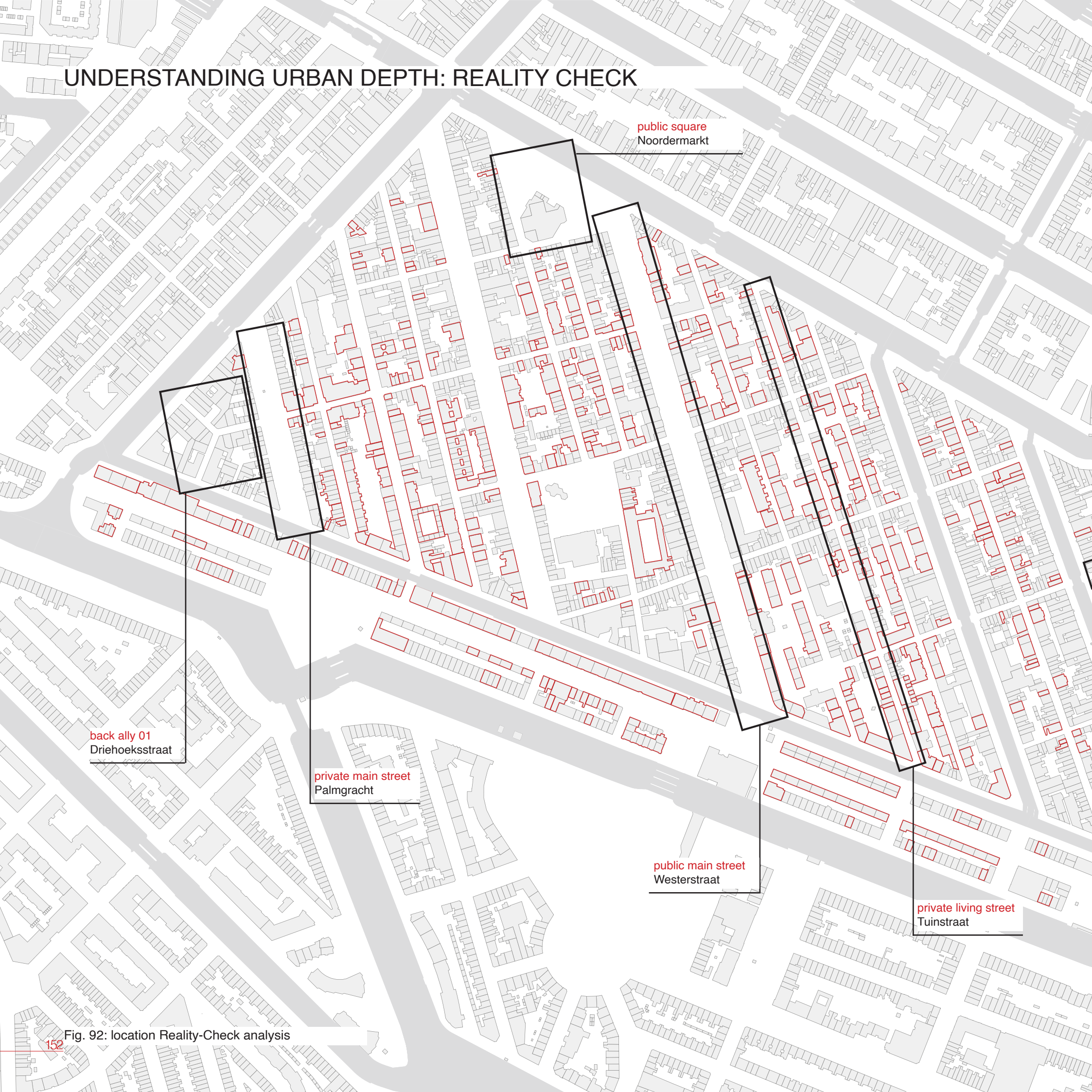
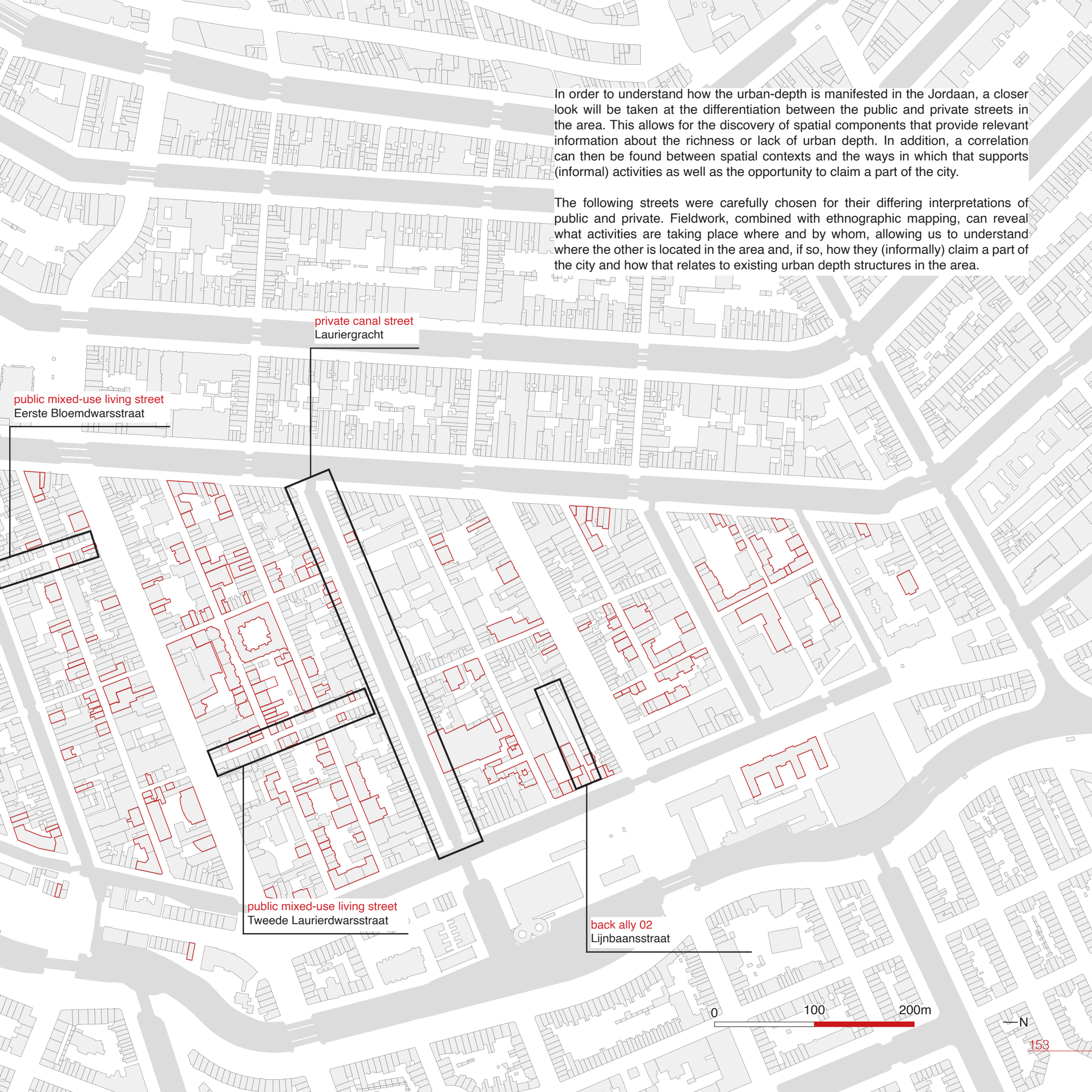


Fig. 92: location Reality-Check analysis

In order to understand how the urban-depth is manifested in the Jordaan, a closer look will be taken at the differentiation between the public and private streets in the area. This allows for the discovery of spatial components that provide relevant information about the richness or lack of urban depth. In addition, a correlation can then be found between spatial contexts and the ways in which that supports (informal) activities as well as the opportunity to claim a part of the city.

The following streets were carefully chosen for their differing interpretations of public and private. Fieldwork, combined with ethnographic mapping, can reveal what activities are taking place where and by whom, allowing us to understand where the other is located in the area and, if so, how they (informally) claim a part of the city and how that relates to existing urban depth structures in the area.



public mixed-use living street
Eerste Bloemdwarsstraat

private canal street
Lauriergracht

public mixed-use living street
Tweede Laurierdwarsstraat

back ally 02
Lijnbaansstraat

0 100 200m

— N

REALITY CHECK

This reality check is done by means of creating soft maps, inspired by the work of Jan Rothuizen as well as methods of ethnographic mapping. Through fieldwork, specific elements and activities are tracked by making marks on a printed map (Fig. x) and explaining the situation (Fig. x). In addition, locally held interviews give a better insight in the appropriation and understanding of the place, that form a new informative top-layer.

This way of representing an area is by no means a complete objective one, nor is it maybe very representative, for it is a subjective understanding of the place in a specific moment in time. Nevertheless does this way of representing offer meaningful and helpful inside information of the location that are of value and should be embedded in the process of understanding and unlocking ways for the other to rightfully claim a part of the city.

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS

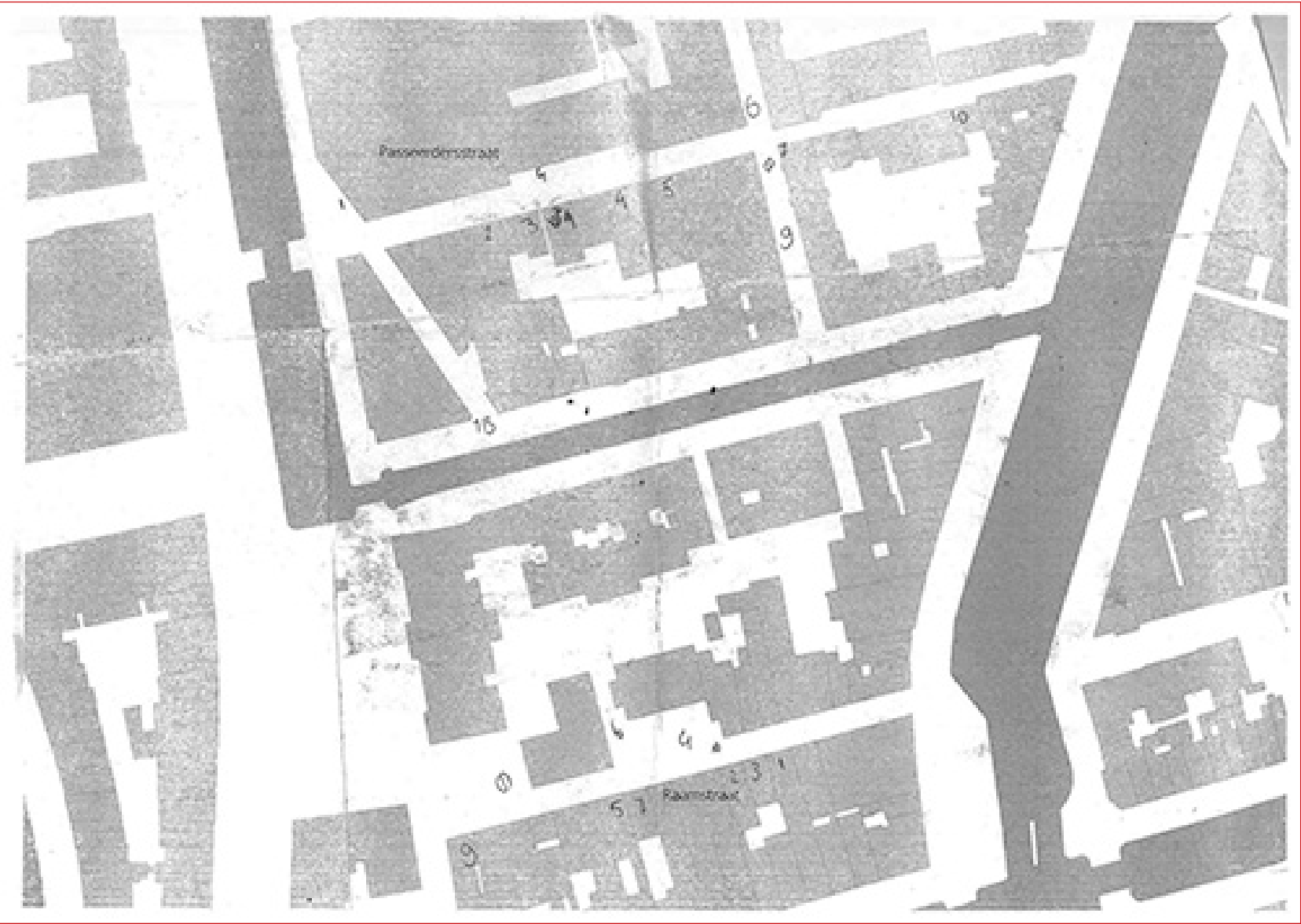


Fig.93 fieldwork map and notes

4. fysio-therape, achteringang
5. meksha hair artist
6. inkeessant voor afsluiten

'the other' duidelijk aanwezig in deze straten.

7. uitgebreide claimen van straat

8. mini-moestuin

9. gesprek op straat tussen buurtes

10. veel sociale huur, veel

'opvrolijken' van balkons etc.

10. vrouw heeft gesprek 'door het raam'

Raamstraat: re: ai consultancy

1. Achteringang Xmenia (bedrijfs)

2. achteringang café George

3. opslag? + iets met theater/kleine komedie

4. potentie plein, nu leeg

5. kroeg

6. gez. binnenplaatsje van iets

7. Cape Town Social Club

8. Tribes, & Chantal Janssen magazine

9. RAAM koffie to go + take-away

10. guys staan te roken, zeggen 'vraag'

straatje waar weinig gebeurt

Nog nooit iemand bezig in zijn plan

Lauriergracht:

1. man zit op bankje een boekje te lezen

2. open bibliotheek

3. galerie fontana

4. oude vrouw loopt met boodschappen

5. rondvaartboot

6. toneelmakerij

↓

7. A. theatergemeenschap: repeteren hier.

Verkeide Rachida. Soms lastig met

inladen voorzettingen.

B. Sociale huur om de hoef

C. kinderdagverblijf

Straat wordt nog veel gebruikt met mooi weer.

stoeptjes etc. buiten. Rustige straat.

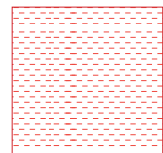
8. 'warme bakker' bedrijf

9. Wandu café

10. verzorgingshuis de Uylenburgh

↳ privaat

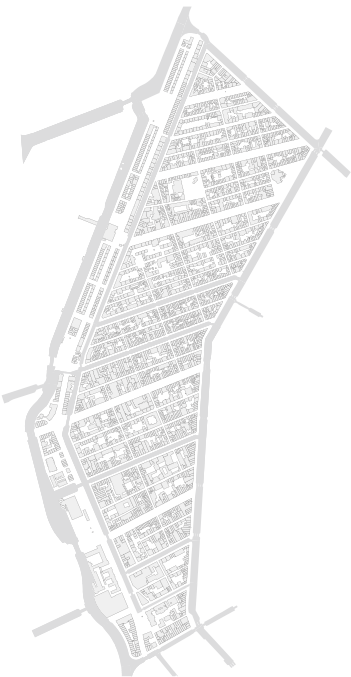
— analytical description



place where 'the other' is found

Fig.

LOCATION



N

Street type

level of publicness

where the other is found

on street

behind street (courtyards etc.)

in building

absent

Date of visit:

Time of visit:

Weather conditions:

photos that indicate some form of informality	photo	photo
photo	photo	photo

Soft Map entailing socio-
spatial elements of a
particular territorial depth

DRIEHOEKSSTRAAT



N
Back ally

where the other is found

- behind street (courtyards etc.)
- in building

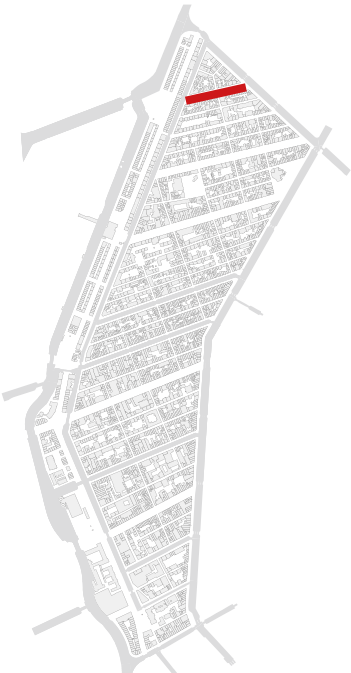
Date of visit: 05.03.2024
Time of visit: 14:15
Weather conditions: cloudy

1



2





N

Private Livingstreet

where the other is found

■ on street

Date of visit: 05.03.2024
Time of visit: 14:30
Weather conditions: cloudy

PALMGRACHT



2



2024

1

3



4



"I am always busy to maintain the different greenery here in front of my house. I know that my neighbours like that"

"The stoep is really nice and wide here"

"The in-between central part of this street really well by all."

children play
ers born

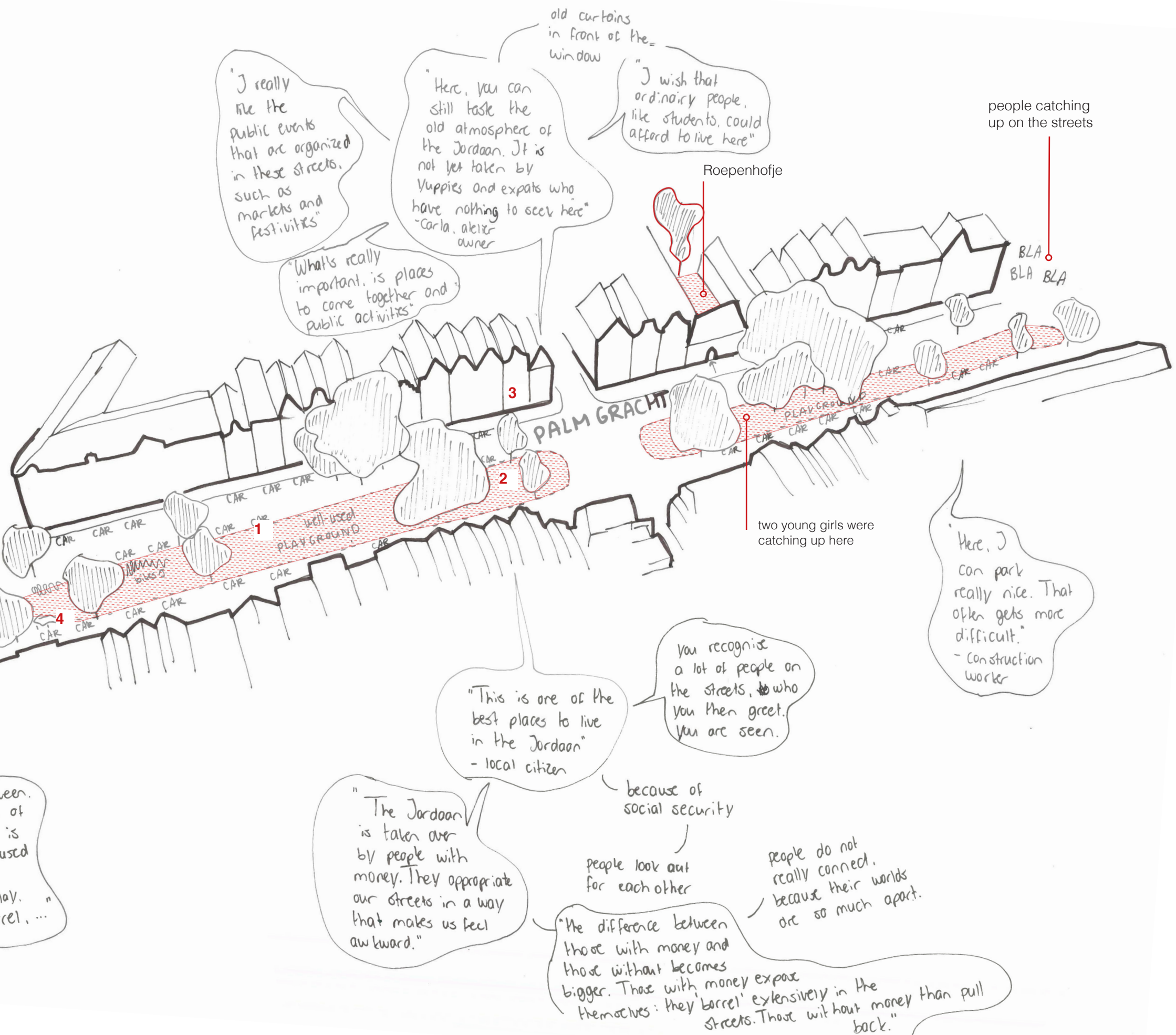
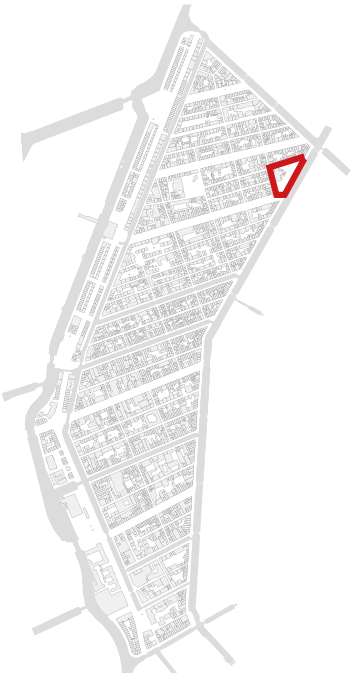


Fig. 95: Soft-Map Palmgracht

NOORDERMARKT



N
Public square

where the other is found
on street
in building

Date of visit: Wednesday 06.03.2023
Time of visit: 12:00
Weather conditions: sunny



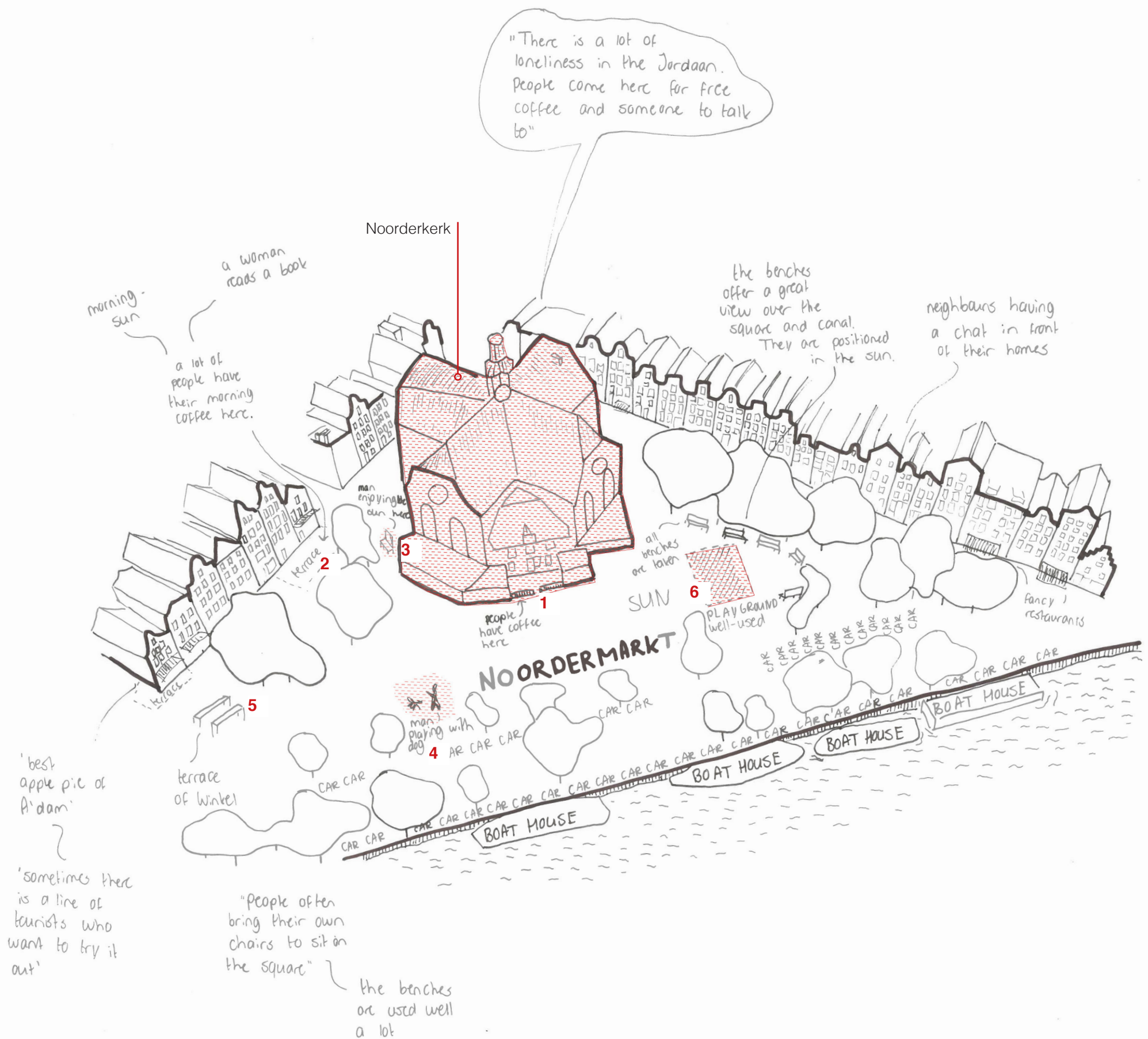
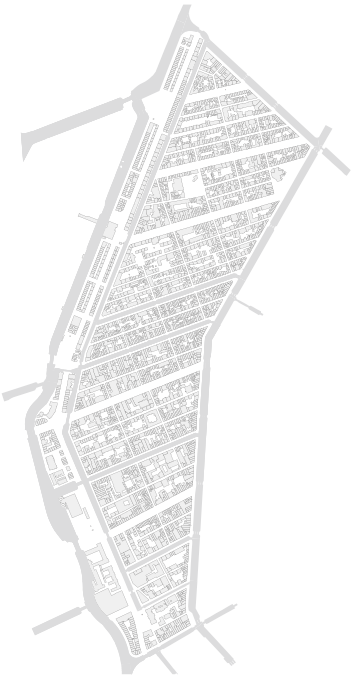


Fig. 96: Soft-Map Noordermarkt

SOFTMAP ANALYSIS

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS



N
Main street

where the other is found
in building

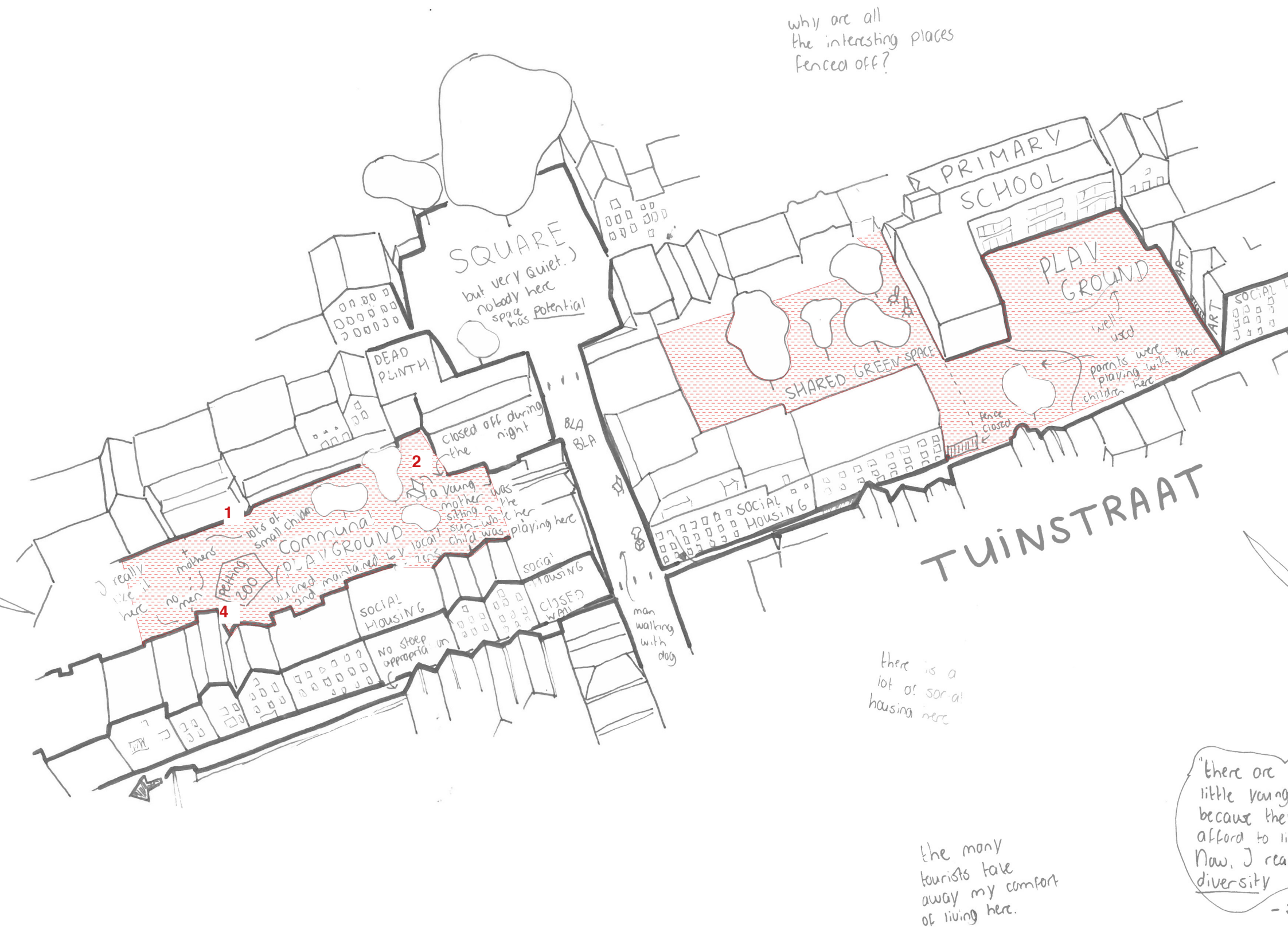
Date of visit: Wednesday 06.03.2024
Time of visit: 12:30
Weather conditions: sunny

WESTERSTRAAT



SOFTMAP ANALYSIS

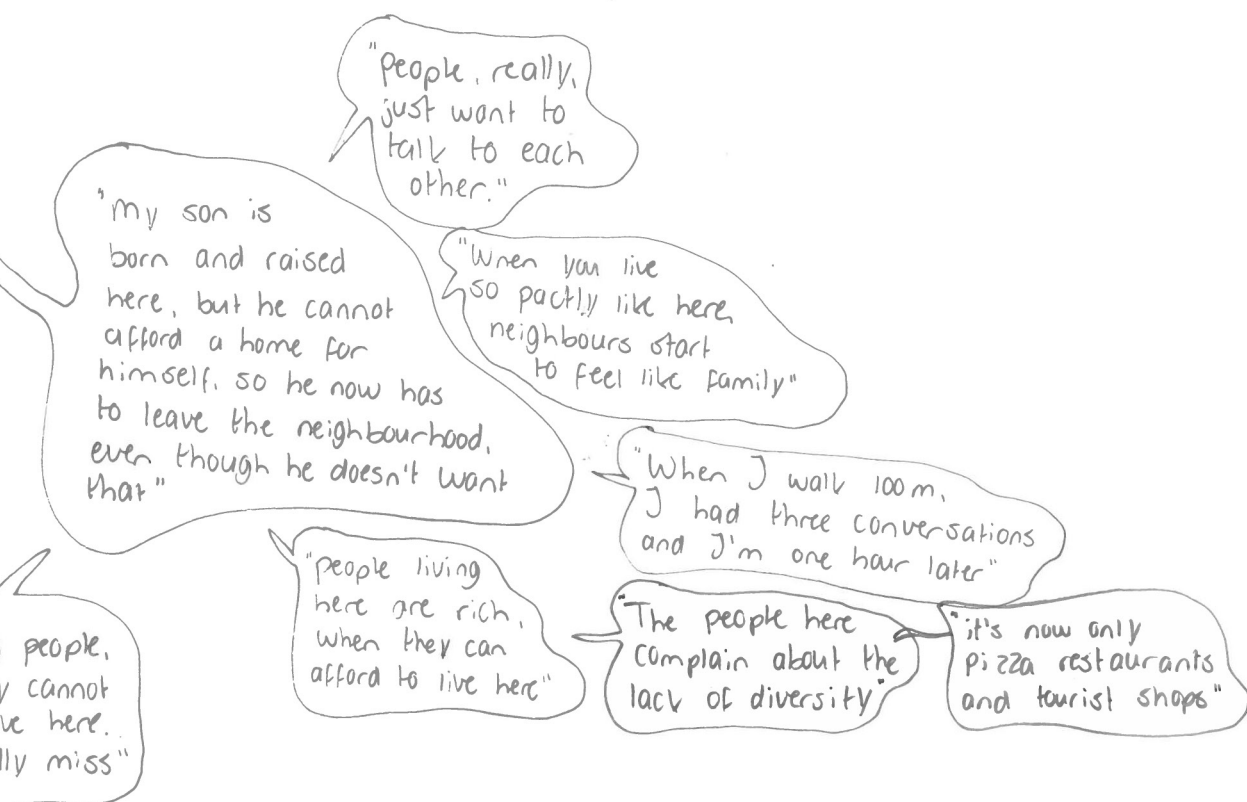
TUINSTRAAT



Date of visit: 06.03.2024
Time of visit: 14:00
Weather conditions: sunny



N
Private Livingstreet



Sam,
local citizen in Tuinstraat
for over 30 years

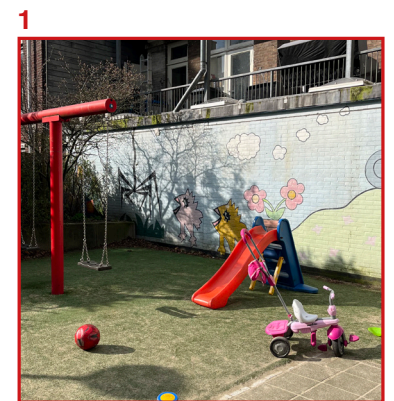
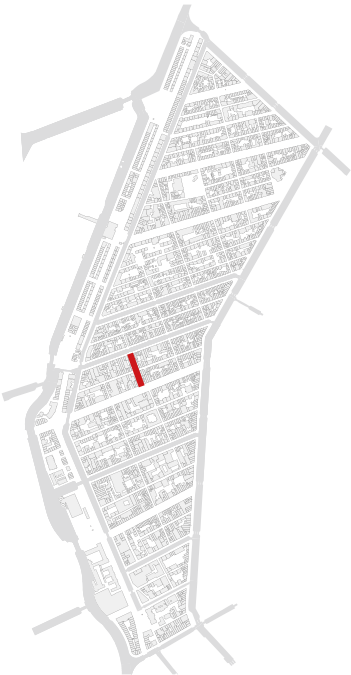


Fig.98: Soft-Map Tuinstraat

EERSTE BLOEMDWARSSTRAAT



N
mixed-use living street

- where the other is found
- on street
 - behind street (courtyards etc.)
 - in building

Date of visit: Wednesday 06.03.2023
Time of visit: 15:00
Weather conditions: sunny

1



2



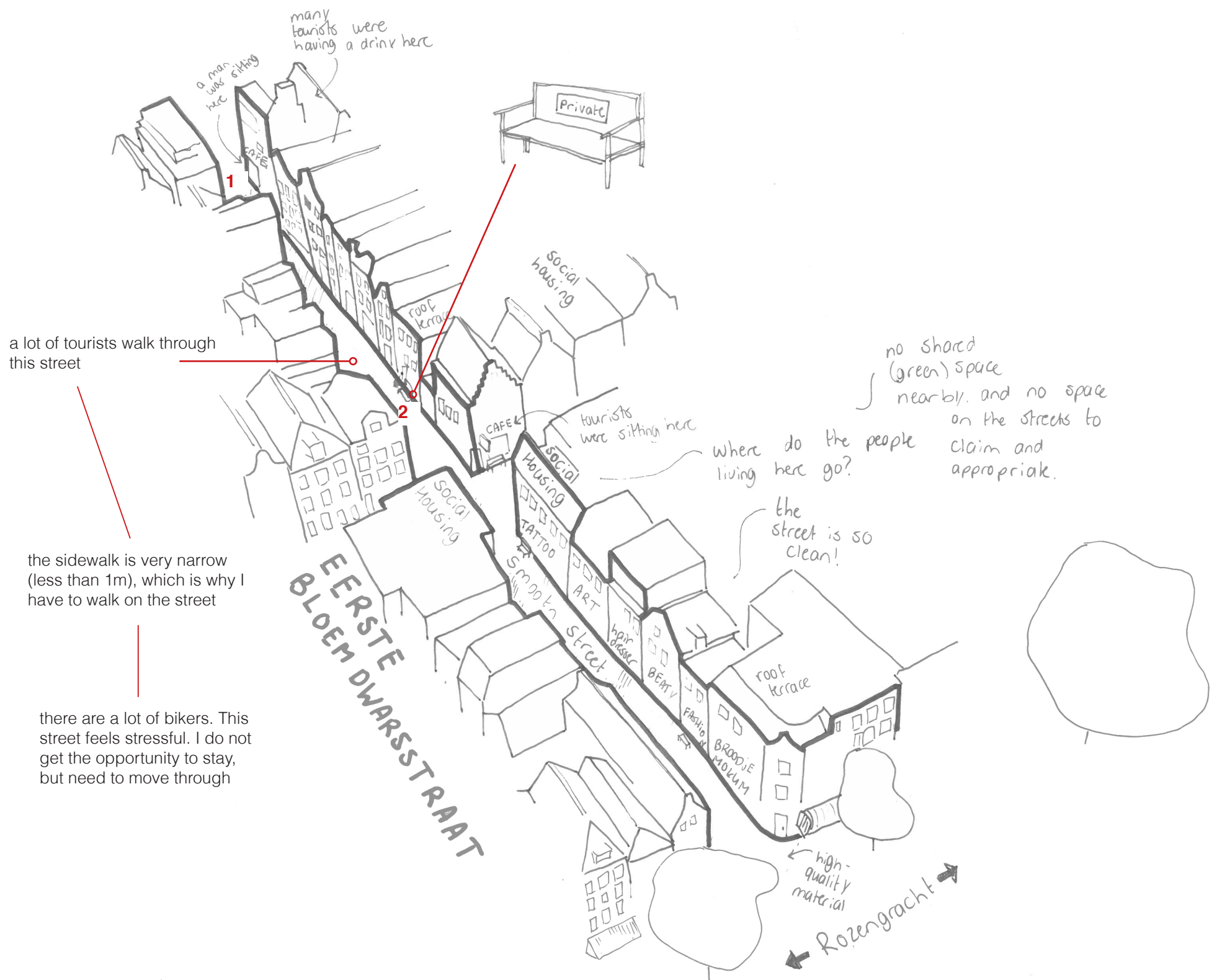
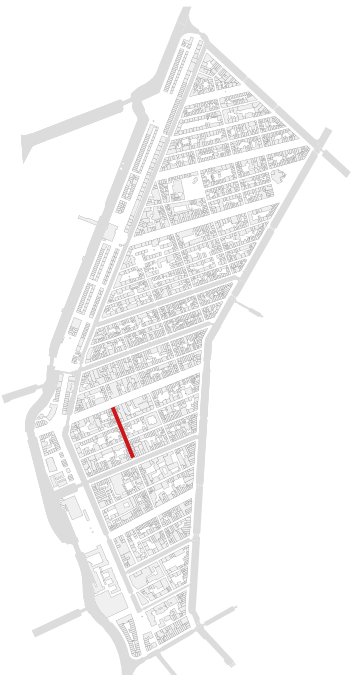


Fig. 99: Soft-map Eerste Bloemdwarsstraat

TWEEDE LAURIERDWARSSTRAAT



N
mixed-use living street

Date of visit: 06.03.2024
Time of visit: 17:00
Weather conditions: Sunny

1



2



3



4

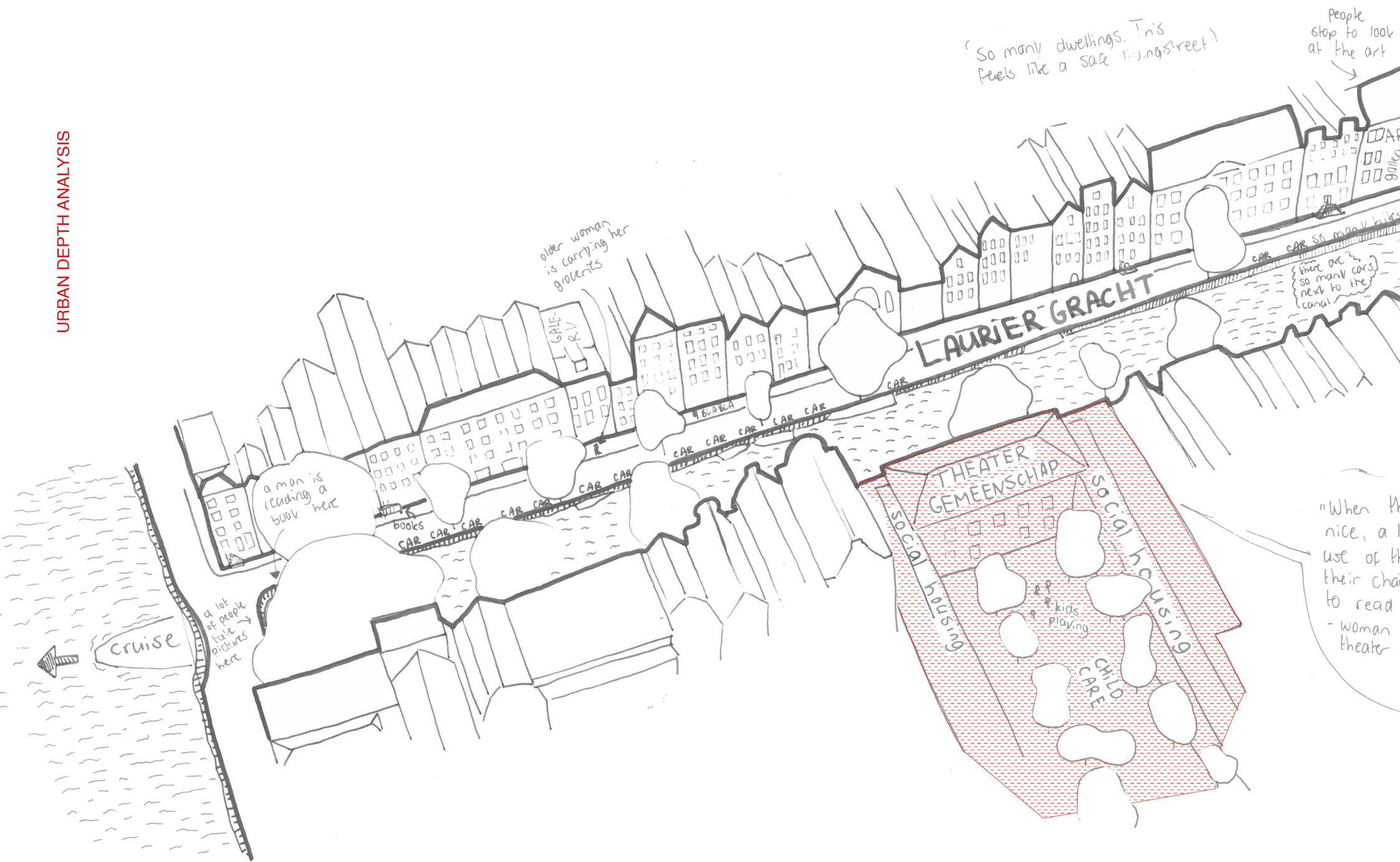


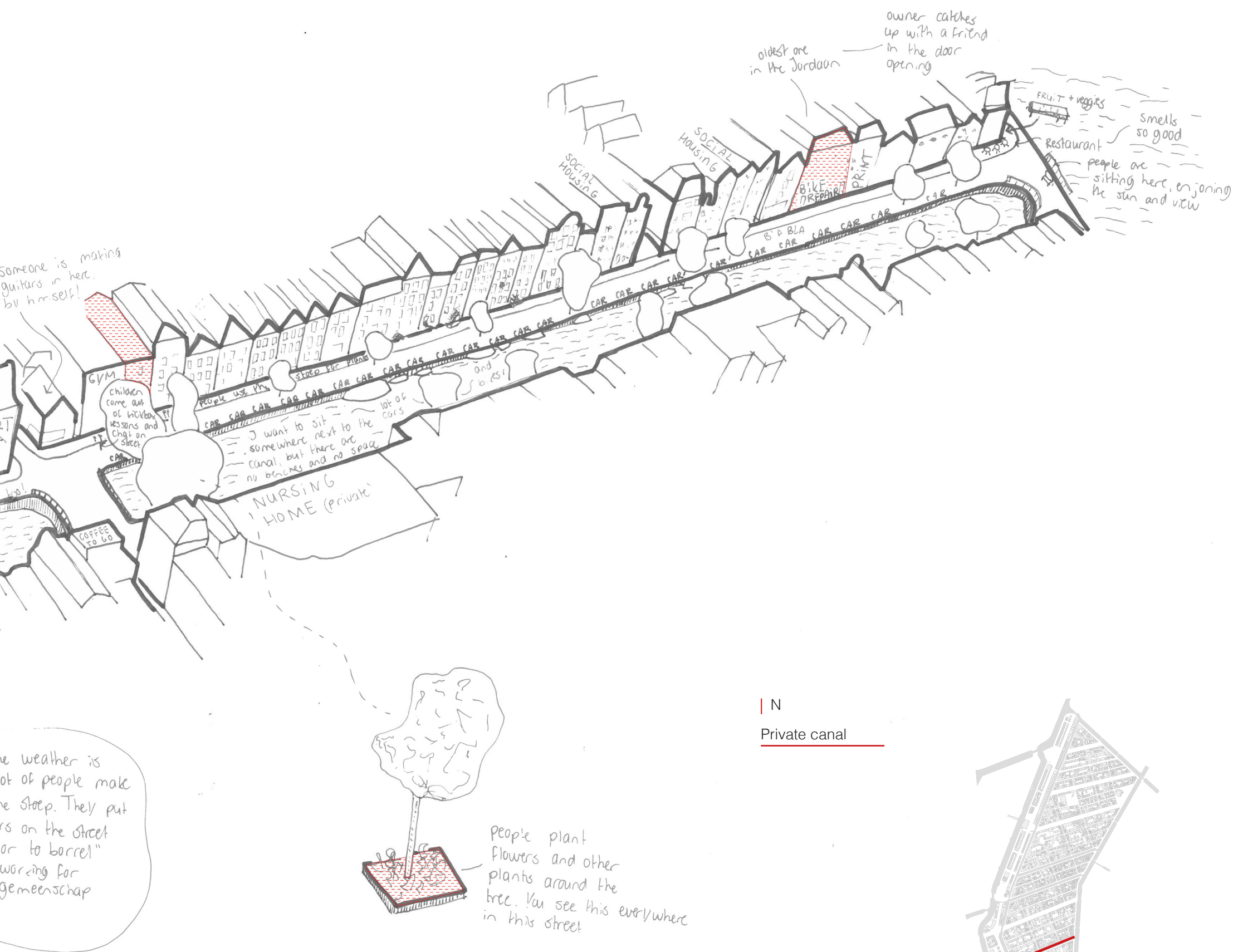
5



LAURIERGRACHT

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS





| N
Private canal

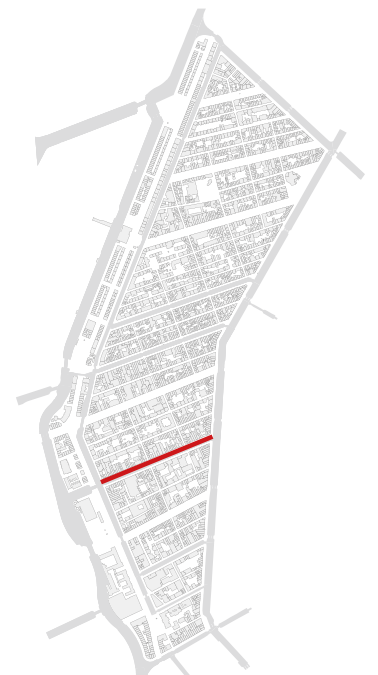
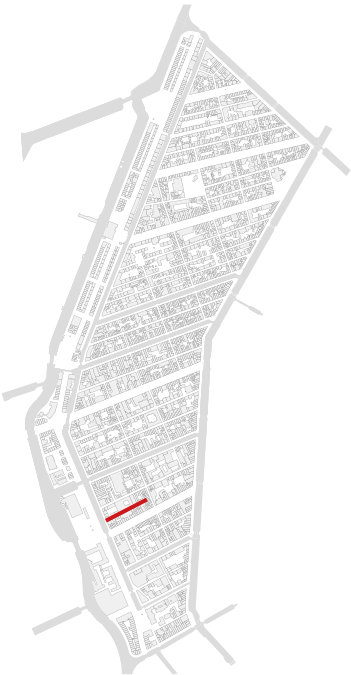


Fig. 101: Soft-map Lauriergracht

Date of visit: 06.03.2024
Time of visit: 16:00
Weather conditions: sunny

LIJNBAANSSTRAAT



N
Back ally

Date of visit: 06.03.2024
Time of visit: 16:15
Weather conditions: sunny

1



2



3



4



5



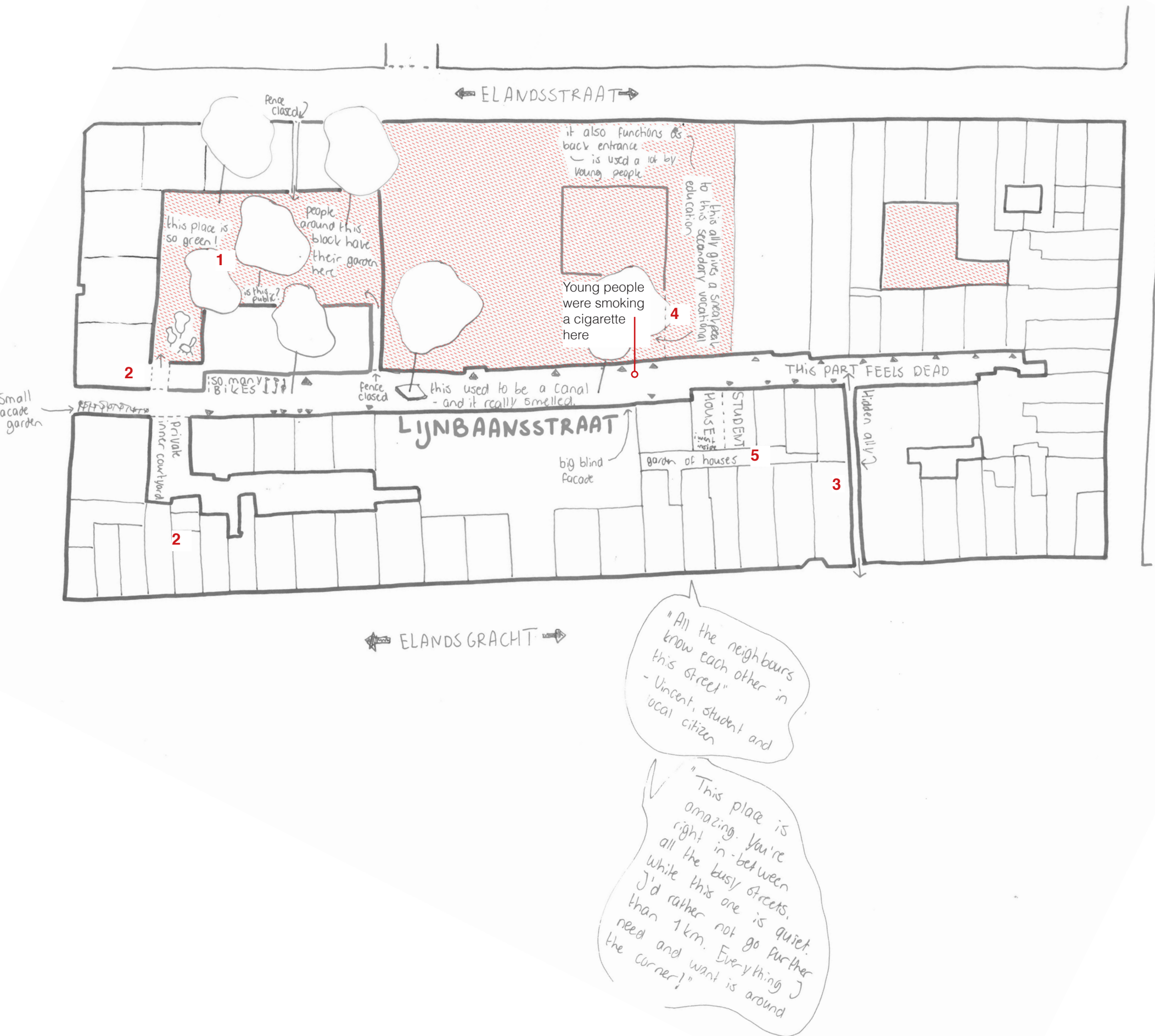


Fig. 102: Soft-map Lijnbaansstraat

PASSEERDERSTRAAT



N
Living street

- where the other is found
- on street
 - behind street (courtyards etc.)
 - in building

Date of visit: Wednesday 06.03.2024
Time of visit: 15:00
Weather conditions: Sunny

1



2



3



4



5



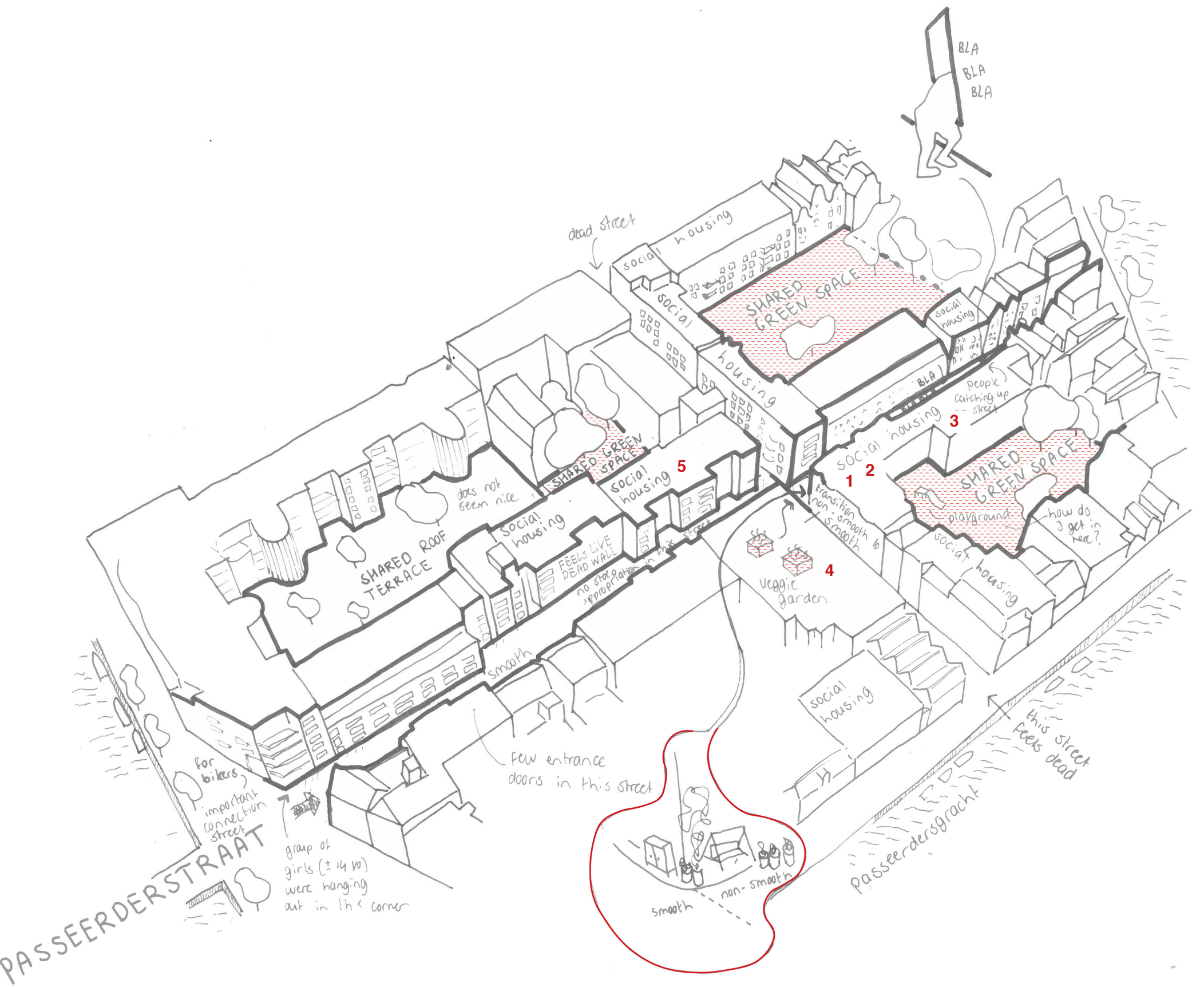


Fig. 103: Soft-map Passeerdersstraat

INSIDER PERSPECTIVE

As part of the ‘insider perspective’ three local residents in the Jordaan were given a camera and asked to photograph their most favourable spaces. The results were then discussed one-on-one with the residents, who explained why these specific locations are of importance to them. The purpose of this analysis is to 1) gain a better insider perspective on the neighbourhood, 2) understand where the other can be found and what otherness might imply in order to 3) abstract specific spatial elements that contribute to the neighbourhood’s local social structures. In addition, a better spatial understanding of existing urban depths can be formulated through the insider perspectives.

URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS



Pictures taken by three local residents



INSIDER PERSPECTIVE

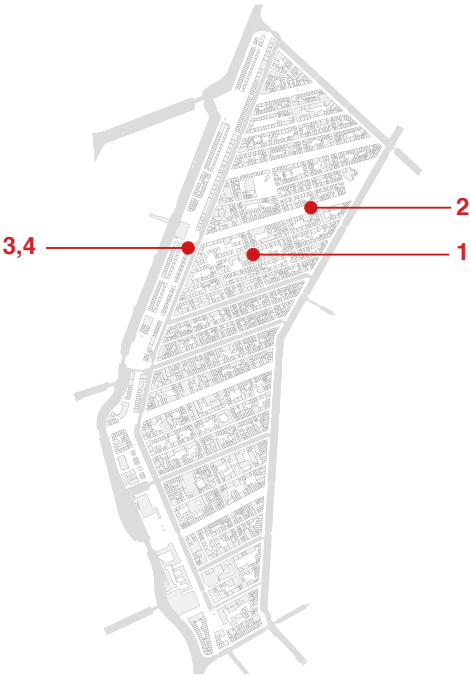
URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS



EMIN BATMAN
22 Y/O

WESTERKADE, JORDAAN
BORN AND RAISED IN ADAM

LOCAL RESIDENT IN
SOCIAL HOUSING



01



02



03



04



this is my
first own home
in Amsterdam

I planted these
bushes so that look
at greenery instead
of cars

I try to claim the
stoep by putting a
bike here

the parked cars
prevent me from
doing that

during the summer,
I just put my table
in-between the cars,
next to the canal



sometimes it feels
like the cars have
more right to the
street than I do!

the cars are never
from the people inside
the social housing block,
but from more fancy
parts of the neighbourhood

the cars in front of
my house block my
view on the canal.
This prevents me from
making use of the street
and takes away my
living pleasure

Fig. 105: insider picture 01

it also functions
as a curtain for
me, to shield my
private life from
the public streets

I planted these
bushes in front of my
house, so I don't have
to look at the cars
that are directly in front
of my house



so that those living
in the street can
use the street as an
extension of their
living space

I really want to
get the opportunity
to claim the space
in front of my
house

Fig. 106: insider picture 02

I also really like the view on the church and the spatial composition of the street

Everytime I need to go somewhere, I go through this street

because it's very lively!

My favourite Moroccan snackcourt is here (which is one of the main reasons why I like this street so much)

The turkish dry-cleaner, the Moroccan snackcourt, the Dutch drugstore ... these are all elements that I really admire in the Jordaan

This street is very 'white'. There is not much diversity



Fig. 106: insider picture 03

This photo is taken
at the fabric market
in the Jordaan

There are a lot of elderly
and Jordanese here

This market is here
every Monday, and I
visit it almost every week

it's really lively,
and I like that!

not to buy fabrics,
but mostly because I
like the coziness and
activities that are going
on here

This market has a special
meaning for me, for my father
made my graduation toga
from the fabrics that I bought
here



I cannot buy a Turkish
pizza for €1.50 anymore in
the Jordaan

Many expensive shops have
emerged in the Jordaan,
making the neighbourhood
more expensive

However, markets like the
Noordermarkt are really
verjupt (gentrified). A
baguette costs almost €6,-
which is really expensive

INSIDER PERSPECTIVE

CONVERSATIONS WITH JORDANEZEN

I sat down in Café Papeneiland around 2pm on Saturday the 9th of December. I decided to order a warm gluhwine and just sit in the corner, to wait until the Jordanezen showed up. I had just taken my book out of my bag when the man next to me started to talk to me. He asked where I was from, what I was doing, what I was reading, .. We started to have a long conversation. He was a born and raised Amsterdammer, but did not anymore live here. He often came to Amsterdam to just sit in this café to have a drink and a small chat with anyone who was open to talk. I told him how surprised I was by the many conversations I have had so far in the Jordaan: in several shops, on the street, in this café, .. he told me that this is a very regular thing indeed.

After an hour of two, a couple of Jordanezen entered the café and sat down at the same round table as me. I quickly got into a conversation with Tilly, a woman who was born and raised in the Jordaan and still proudly lived there. She visited this café every week ever since she was seventeen. I talked about the Jordaan with her; what it used to be and what it still is. I told her how amazed I was by the role of the stoep, the staircase and the window. She told me that this is still the case: in the early days, the same as today, people will put chairs and tables on the stoep and borrel there. Tilly told me that all kinds of public do this: yuppen, expats and true Jordanezen. The only difference is the kind of drink: yuppen, for example, would often drink champagne.

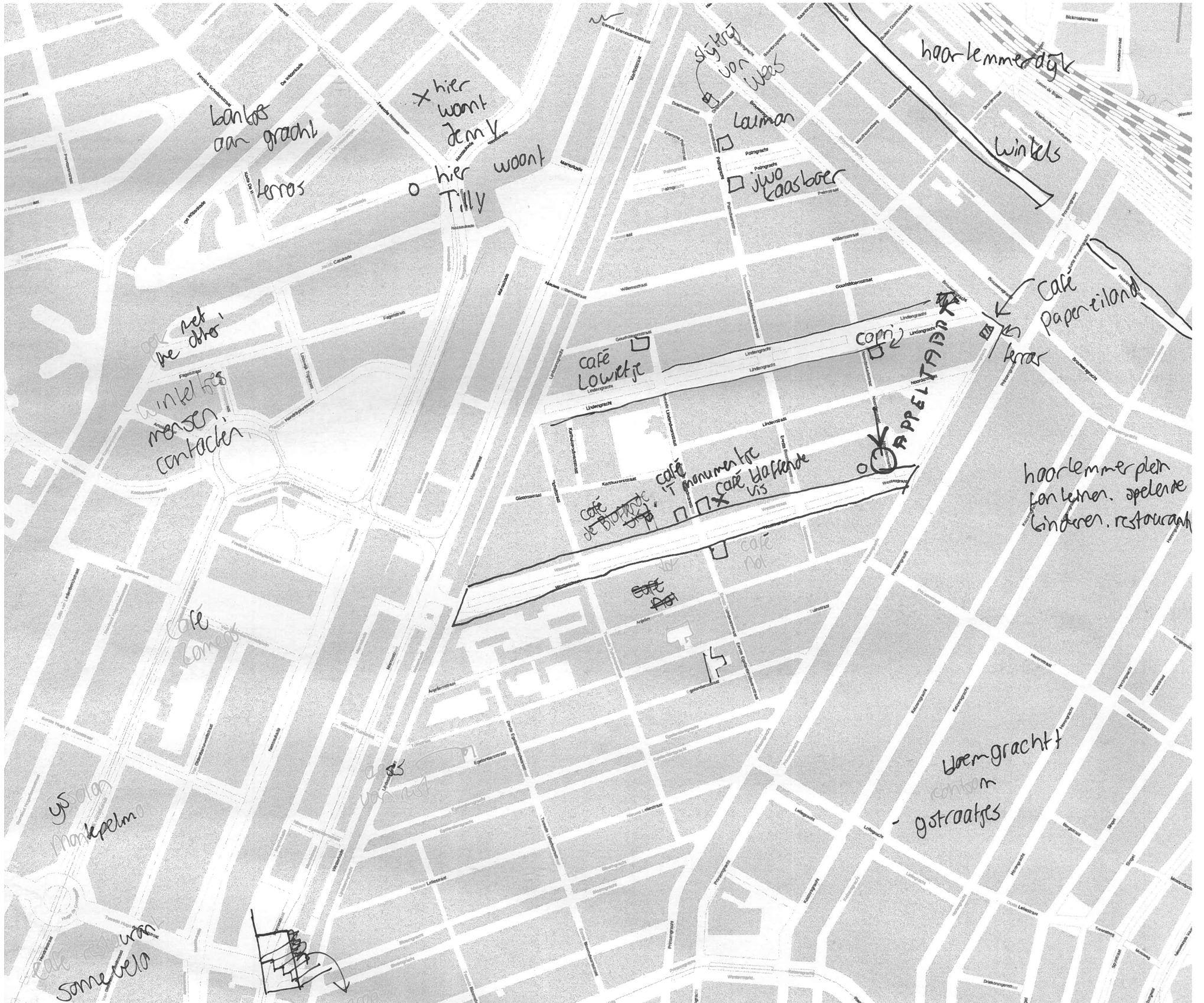
I quickly found out how important the borrel is, here in the Jordaan. People would go to either the kroeg, or use the stoep to borrel. I was amazed by the variety of people inside the Papeneiland café. The man I was talking to earlier was clearly from good come-off, but he mingled very easily with the rest of the public. Every person that sat down at the same round table as me was involved in conversations that were going on, including some people from London, a young girl from Amsterdam, the Jordanezen, the café owner, the man and me.

When asked what important places are in the Jordaan, the people at the table all referred to almost only kroegen, such as the one we were sitting in. They continually told me that it is not so much about the place; but rather about the people, the conversations they had, the stories that were shared. When I asked them which where the places where they got into a conversation with others, they told me that it was often on the streets and in the kroegen. I remembered walking down the Jordaan and, indeed, seeing people bumping into each other on the streets and having a short conversation.



top: Fig. 104: conversation with Jordanezen at Café Papeneiland, Jordaan (AMS)
right: Fig. 105: map with notes of Jordanezen

Fig. 47 sketch over map: 'what are important aspects of the Jordan?' according to Jordanezen



CONCLUSIONS URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS

What became evident from interviews as well as fieldwork, was that the streetscape is indeed a very meaningful and important element in the social structure of the Jordaan. Many small conversations and interactions take place on the street. ‘I walk a hundred metres, and I’m already an hour later. Constantly chatting up with my neighbours’, told Sam me in a conversation about the area. I noticed how many different kinds of people constantly have a small talk with each other, ask how they are doing but also invite the other over for coffee. This was also confirmed by a local expat I spoke to who lives in Driehoeksstraat. ‘My neighbours often invite me over for tea’, she explained. I also heard it on the streets a couple of times. I even experienced it myself, for it is difficult to just sit down somewhere without having somebody walking up to you to ask who you are and what you are doing, out of interest. Sam continued by saying that ‘most neighbours know each other here’ (in Tuinstraat).

This demonstrates the importance of the streetscape in the maintainance of local social structures of the neighbourhood, as well as the opportunity to interact and be confronted with a variety of norms. The street therefore functions not only as an urban mean to connect different spatial elements (houses, squares, buildings, program, ..), but moreover: people. The role of the street therefore shifts from one to move through to one that accommodates the opportunity to stay, interact and appropriate. The spatial configuration of elements in a street, as well as the perception of publicness of a street becomes a dominant aspect in the flourishing of a diversity of social structures in the area.

With land value sky rocketing over the last decade, a new group (the dominant norm) has however started to dominate the public streets: the urban rich. As became apparent from different conversations on the streets throughout the area with local residents that live in social housing, a strong clash seems to emerge between different usergroups of the Jordaan, having to do with wealth. A very describing situation quite well explains the difference. ‘Borrelen’ is a very appreciated Dutch activity. It means that, around four o’clock, people sit outside and have an alcoholic drink with something to snack alongside it. In the Jordaan, the borrel is a very important and popular activity for a lot of different people with a Dutch background. This activity is located both in local pubs, but also on the streets: people will put their chairs and tables outside on the street for the borrel for the street facilitates the spatial conditions to do so. The urban rich borrels with fancy rosés and champagne, the ‘original’ Jordaanse people borrel with a beer and bitterballen. According to the local pastor, there remains a lot of shame among many people in social housing over their personal living situation. Because of this, a particular group from social housing chooses not to not invite others over to their own homes. This is confirmed by Leo Kapitein, who organizes events in the local church for local residents: “Amsterdam residents often prefer to meet each other in the “public space” rather than inviting people to their homes. Sometimes shame about how they live plays a big role in this” (Kapitein, 2024). This emphasizes the importance of the public street network as well as public program to accommodate the social structures of the other. The extravagante lifestyles of the urban rich, exposed in public on the streets strongly contradicts with the lifestyle of ‘the other’ as well as the original identity of the neighbourhood (being an ‘urban slum’). When the urban rich then makes a spatial claim in the public eye, the other tends to pull back to more private urban settings, for it can be perceived as ‘awkard’ and confronting when seated next to this usergroup.

of streets are commodified. Whenever the financial recourses lack, the streets often do not offer the opportunity to stay, for it emhpasizes the message ‘you belong for you can buy’ as well as lacks the urban furniture that facilitates activities that are not based on consumerism. This in addition can be a confronting and awkward situation for the other, for there remains the situation of the urban poor as well as the original identity and understanding of their place in the neighbourhood. This becomes clear from, among other things, the lack of benches, but the surplus of terraces. ‘This is the only bench in the entire street’ (Westerstraat), said two elderly women annoyed to me, who sat down there to have a chat, while many seating spaces are available for those who are able to buy a drink (Fig. 108, Fig. 109). Boer emphasised how the many shops and cafés almost force the public to consume something if they want to do anything else than just walking by (2023: 27). This again clashes with the original identity of the neighbourhood as well as the living situation of the urban poor that is evident in this area and their understanding of the place, affecting their opportunities for making spatial claims.

Next, as become apparent in chapter two, smoothness is strongly related to consumer-related activities. With an increase of smoothness, an increasing amount



Lack of urban furniture to sit on in public street
2024



Commercial urban furniture in public street
2024

In addition, as became clear from fieldwork and interviews, sometimes urban space is literally lacking to claim. Lots of parking lots are taking up a large part of total amount of square meters in the area, however 'the cars are never from the people who live inside the social housing, but always from people who live in more fancier places in the neighbourhood', states Emin. Informal claims often happened in or around parking lots, especially when there was no stoep to appropriate (Fig. x). As a form of protest, Emin (local resident in social housing in the Jordaan) bought a big cargo bike to claim a parking spot in front of his house. 'I think it is unfair that the cars can enjoy the street more than I can do', he states, and continues: 'by claiming space in this way, I now have the opportunity to sit outside on a bench with my friends when I want to. My neighbours really support me in doing this, and say that I am doing a good job taking up the parking lot.'





Emin claims parking lot in Jordaan
(personal picture of Emin, 2023)
informal claims in parking lots in Jordaan
2024

The combination of the 1) unequal opportunities to make a spatial claim in the public eye, the 2) strong contrast between the original identity of the neighbourhood and personal living situations and lifestyle of the other with the extravagant lifestyle of the urban rich, the 3) increasing focus on consumerism and lack of space or opportunity to appropriate the public streets without financial resources results in an increasing homogenization of people that has the ability and feels comfortable enough to appropriate the public spaces inside the Jordaan. This in turn affects the perceived feeling of publicness for the other and results in a vicious cycle in which the other feels less and less secure to make a spatial claim for diversity in the streetscape is lacking and they are the ones who stand out. This confirms why me and my Kenyan friend only saw white people appropriating the streets, and him feeling uncomfortable in the area.

As a result, we can see how the other manifests itself in a different, more private, urban depths of the Jordaan: the *safe spaces*.

Examples from private settings are:

- 1. Particular buildings with a social role: the local church, the local mosque, community centers and some local pubs.

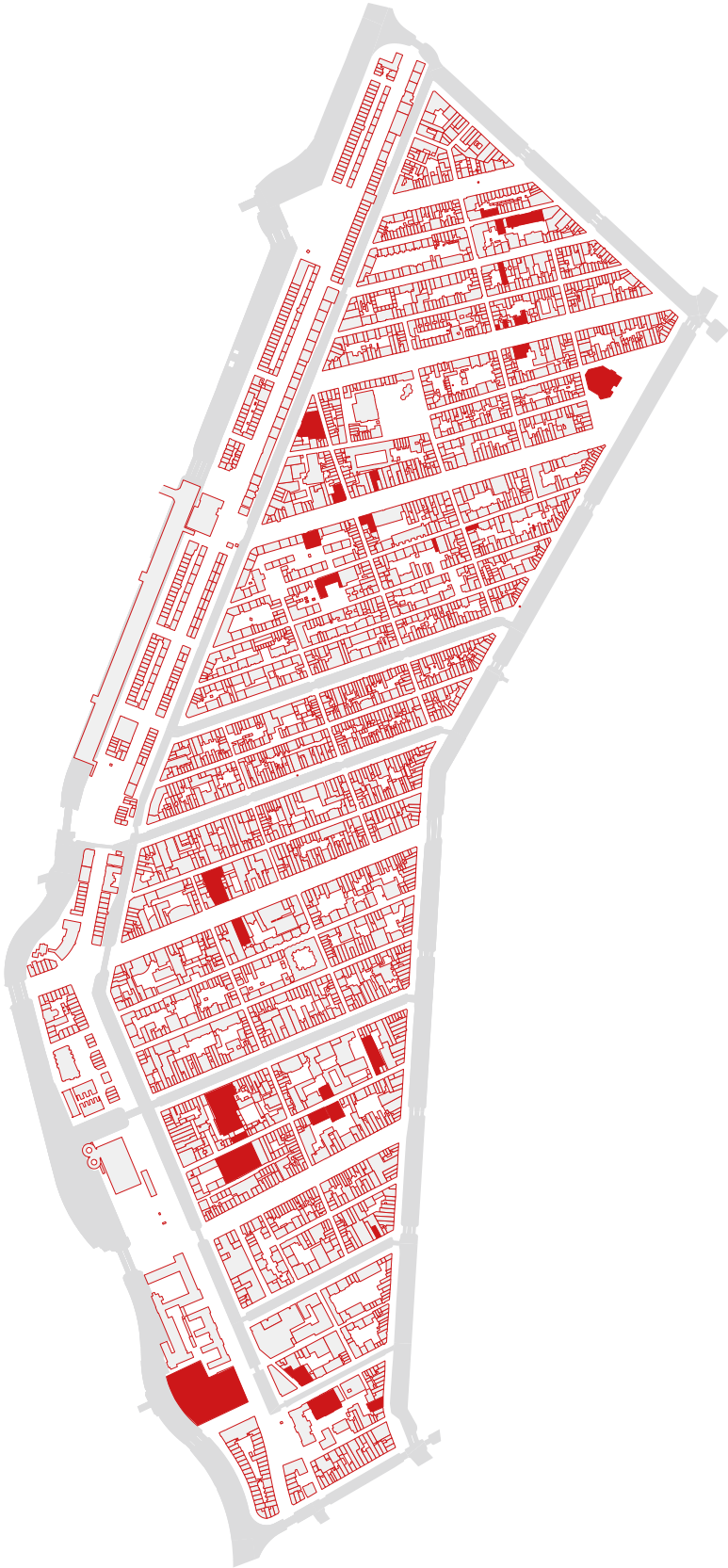


Fig. 106 Places where the other gathers - buildings

Data and cartographic references
Databank, Amsterdamse Federatie van Woningcorporaties / Platform Woningcorporaties Noordvleugel Randstad (PWNRR), peildatum 1-1-2022
PDOK
Gemeente Amsterdam - Ruimte en Duurzaamheid

Legend

Buildings in which the other gathers

1:10 000

I N



Jordanezen in Café Papeneiland
(own picture, 2023)



Local Mosque
2024



Local Church
2024

2. Inner courtyards

Interestingly, there exists a lot of inner courtyards in the Jordaan, called ‘Hofjes’ in Dutch. Throughout history, hofjes have had a particular social role in the urban fabric, for they were always built for the marginalised. ‘Social housing’ from back in the day, used to be situated around the hofje, and the hofje would serve as an important semi-public square that facilitated the needs of the other while providing the spatial conditions for more informal appropriation:(translated from Dutch) “within the building blocks, an intricate structure can be discerned. These so-called hofjes traditionally defined the microcosm of the building block, where people lived and worked, where there were orchards, cattle were kept, and where stables and warehouses stood next to the tiny rental houses” (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.).

There are nineteen courtyards, fairly well spread out, in the urbanized polder landscape of the Jordaan (Floet, 2015). It was a common practice in the Jordaan to allocate the land over the full depth of the building block, from street to street. Courtyards therefore often have two entrances. They are accessed by gates or inconspicuous in or between the buildings. Anyone who visits a courtyard is subtly made aware that one is leaving the public space and is now entering a private domain. The architecture has created a barrier for the visitor here: it is expressly intended that he or she feels some hesitation before entering; after all, it invades the privacy of the residents (Floet, 2015). It was often decided not to let ‘image’ and ‘effect’ coincide: the entrance door for example could suggest that the courtyard is locked, but is actually open for public during the day (Fig. 116).

Images and drawings and explanation texts of the municipality of Amsterdam about the gangen and hofjes in the Jordaan showcase how the indoor alleys likely hosted spaces for residents to work their profession and gave the spatial context for informal activities to occur. The local government tried to keep the ‘gangen’ out of the neighbourhood by strongly issuing regulations that prohibited the construction of corridors with rental houses on the main canals (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.). As part of the regeneration strategies in the 1960s, many of these ‘gangen’ were demolished, and much of the space that used to serve for informal activities disappeared: ‘an entire history of habitation was wiped out, centuries-old structures and buildings were ruthlessly demolished’, writes the local government of Amsterdam in their explanation of the old system of gangen and hofjes (translated from Dutch, Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.). Now, less than a quarter of that old system remains.



Steeg (ally) in Jordaan (1905)

J. Huijssen / Stadsarchief Amsterdam



Steeg (ally) in Jordaan (n.d.)
Municipality of Amsterdam



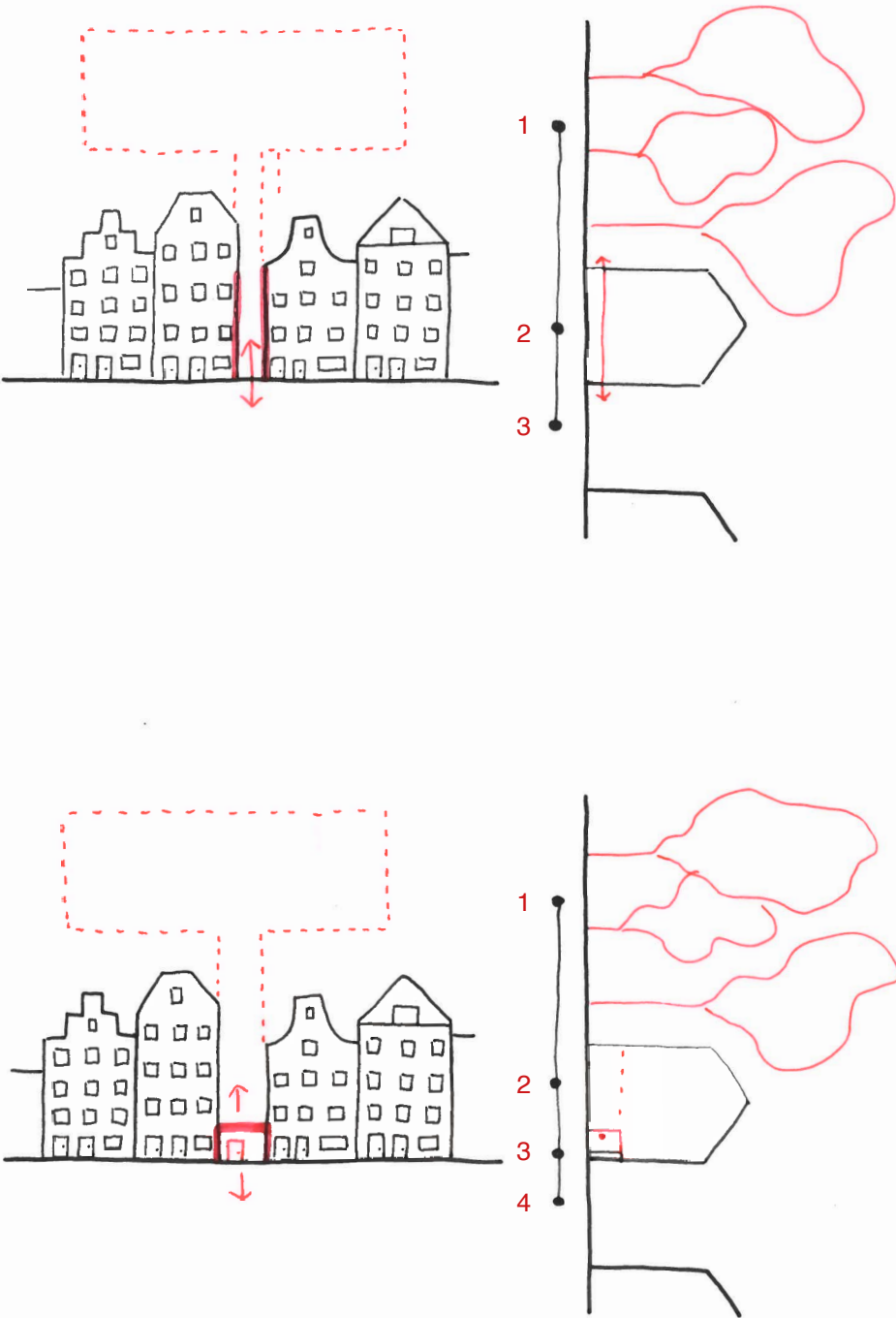
Example of hofje
Scan from 'Hofje: (on)zichtbare bouwstenen van de Hollandse stad 1400-2000' by W. Floet (2015)



Entrance to hofje in Jordaan
2024

The urban elements of the hofjes played, and still play, an important role in the local social structure of the neighbourhood that is more out of the public eye and serves more informal appropriations. This is still the case, for the hofjes are sometimes used to garden, have chicken and bunnies or it is transformed into a playground for children (Fig. 120). Sometimes, local infrastructure is even added to support the private, social depths of the neighbourhood, such as a toilet (Fig. 119)

CONCLUSION URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS



Top: Fig. 106 urban depth structure with hofjes: gates
 Fig. 107 urban depth structure with hofjes: entrances in wall
 Right: Fig. 108 Places where the other gathers - hofjes

Data and cartographic references
 PDOK
 Gemeente Amsterdam - Ruimte en Duurzaamheid

Legend
 Hofjes

1:9 000

| N



1



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



Top: Fig 109 toilet in hofje
Left: Fig. 110 informal appropriations of the other inside hofjes
2024

3. Informal or community-supportive ground floor program in very private streets

In some very private streets, particular ground floor program is transformed into a more 'informal' one, which became clear from many fieldtrips. Examples are: carftsmansshops, shops that facilitate the local community (Louman, the 'famous' butchery, or a local bakery) as well as quite random shops (Fig. 121). 'I used to work as a street maker my entire life. Every time I had to re-street someone's backyard, I often got leftover stuff that they gave to me. At one point, I really did not know what to do with it all, so I just decided to open my own shop here. I am now retired and spent my days in the shop drinking coffee,' - local resident that opened up his garage sale. Interestingly, it is at these exact places where social interaction also seems to take place (Fig. x). Local residents pop by to see how the shop-owner is doing, and small conversations emerge. In addition, it is often unclear that a shop actually existis in the building, for the facade does not show. However, the 'insider' of the neighbourhood knows that a shops exists there, for they are familiar with the rhythms of the streets and the different activities taking place.

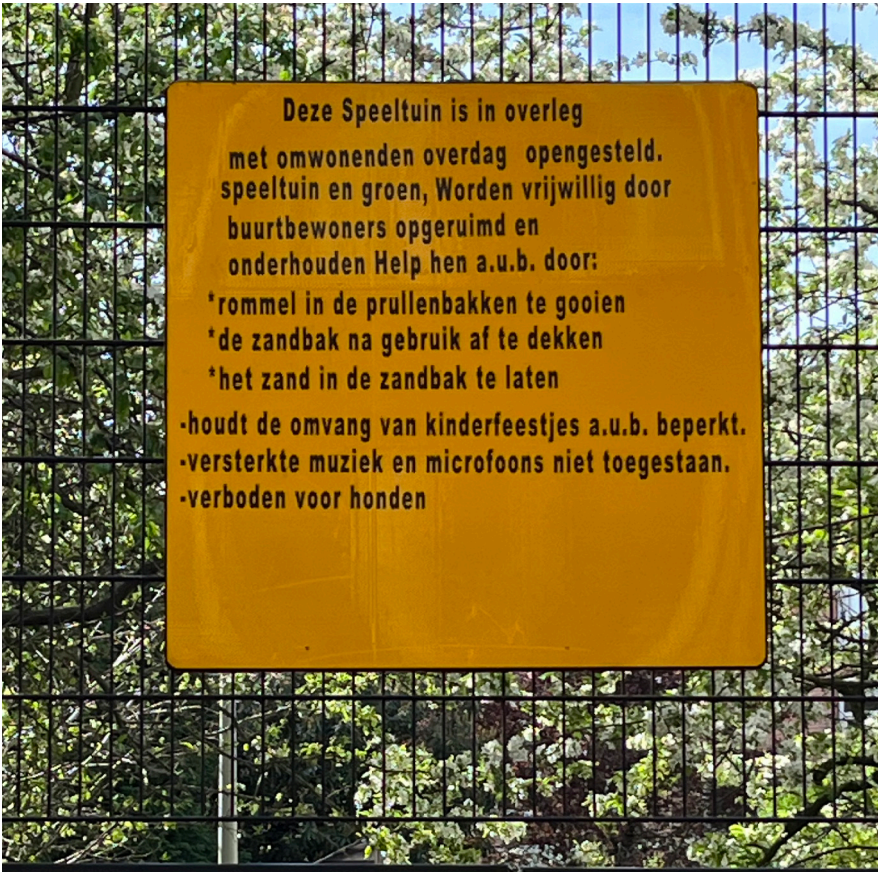
In the Tuinstraat, a ground floor program is transformed into a tool lending garage. A local resident told me that this also functioned as an important 'social hub', where neighbours meet each other and catch up (Fig. 121).





Manifestation and informal appropriations of the other inside ground floor program
2024

What the safe spaces have in common, is that they are out of the direct public eye, inside the very private depths of the urban realm and that the other is in control of the amount of access, activities, rules, appropriation and design layout of these spaces. Interviews in addition revealed how these spaces are completely maintained by local residents (Fig. x), and that they are highly appreciated. In here, the other feels confident enough to claim a part of the city and make it their own.



Appropriation inner courtyard by local residents
2024

Next, the smooth streets are considered to be the very public streets, due to the ground floor program, the high amount of pedestrian flows, the street design and the activities taking place on the street, strongly affecting the overall diversity of the users of the street that results in a decrease of perceived publicness for the other. An increase in smoothness therefore pressures the ‘safe’ spatial context in which the other feels confident and secure enough to make a spatial claim. ‘The streets are stolen from us by the yuppies’, a local resident told me at the Palmgracht during a fieldtrip. **In response to this increase, the private depths of the neighbourhood are increasingly shut off by the other in order to protect the safe spatial context** (Fig. 124). This in turn strongly affects the overall richness of depths in the neighbourhood, for the transition from public to private is ‘harsneded out’. Where this transition space (the ‘gang’) used to be an important element in local structures and offered the spatial opportunities for different activities, these opportunities are erased by shutting down the differentiation in territories (Fig. 123). The strong separation between public and private is one of the factors that hinders the use of public space (Sennett, Sendra, 2020: 100). This in addition leads to the isolation of different groups of people, which limit interaction moments and prevents important processes of city-making, while existing powerstructures seize to exist and, likely, will even increase for confusion and realisation remains absent. The strong decision between

CONCLUSION URBAN DEPTH ANALYSIS

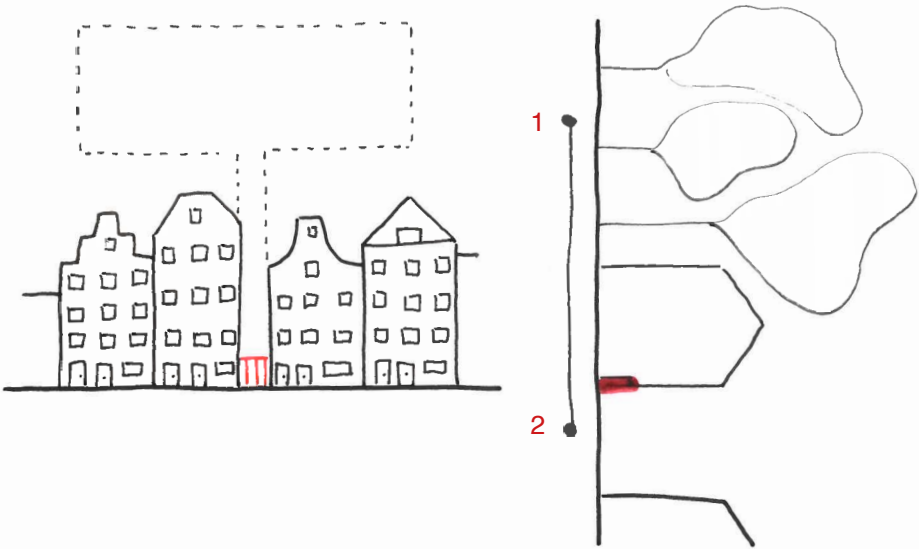
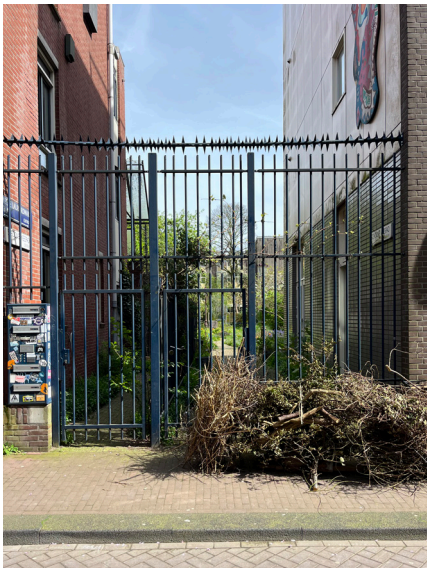


Fig. 111 new urban depths
Own pictures, 2024



closing off allies and hofjes
2024

Data and cartographic references
PDOK
Google Maps Streetview (2024)
Municipality of Amsterdam - Ruimte en Duurzaamheid

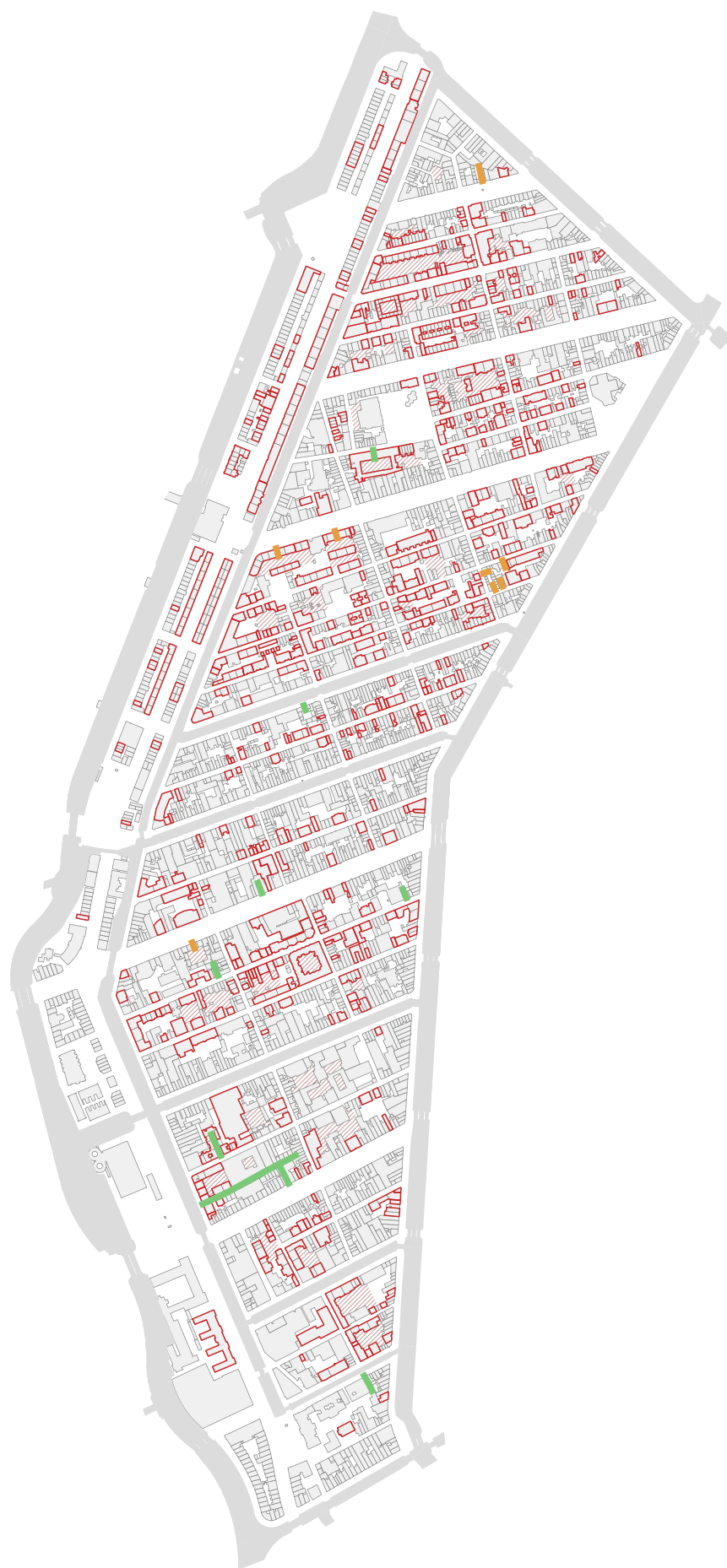


Fig. 112 public allies

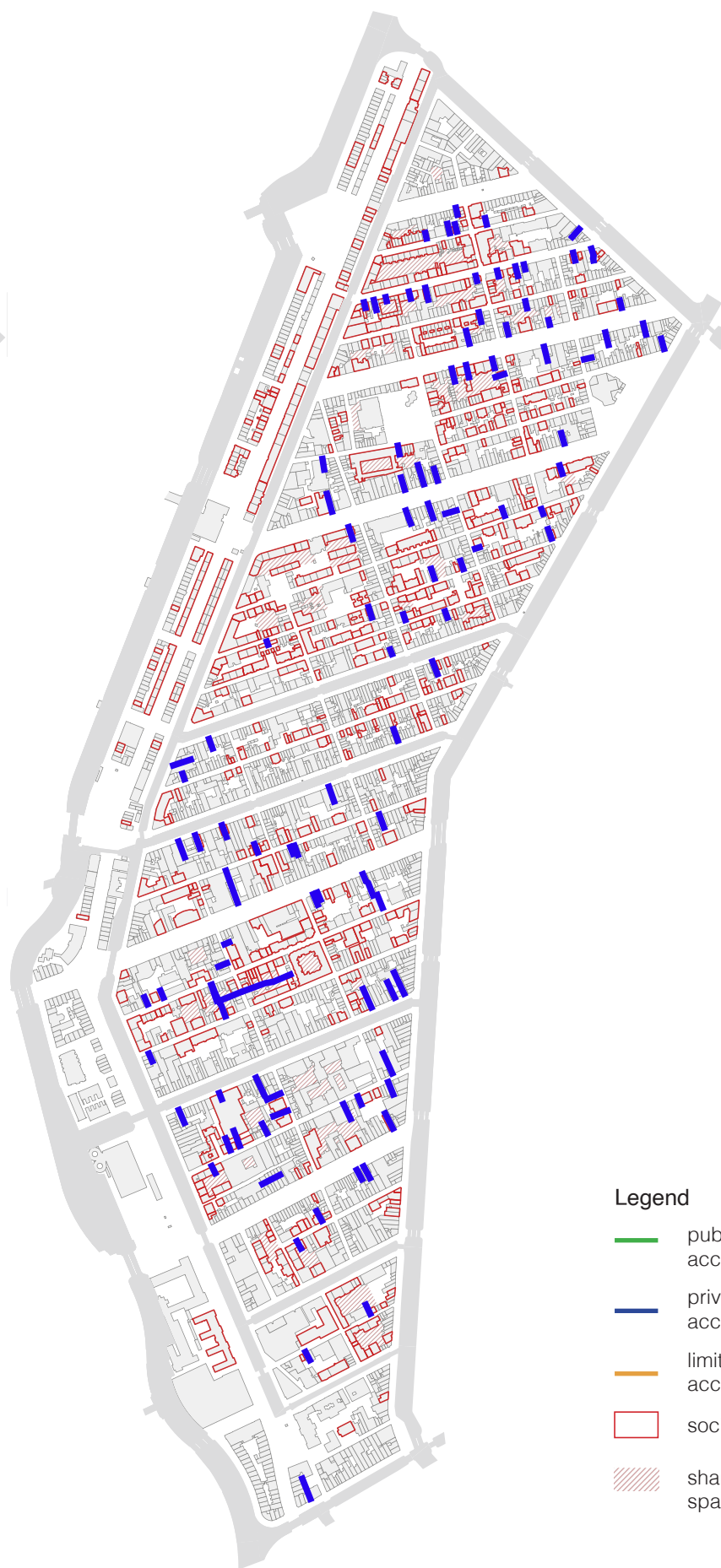
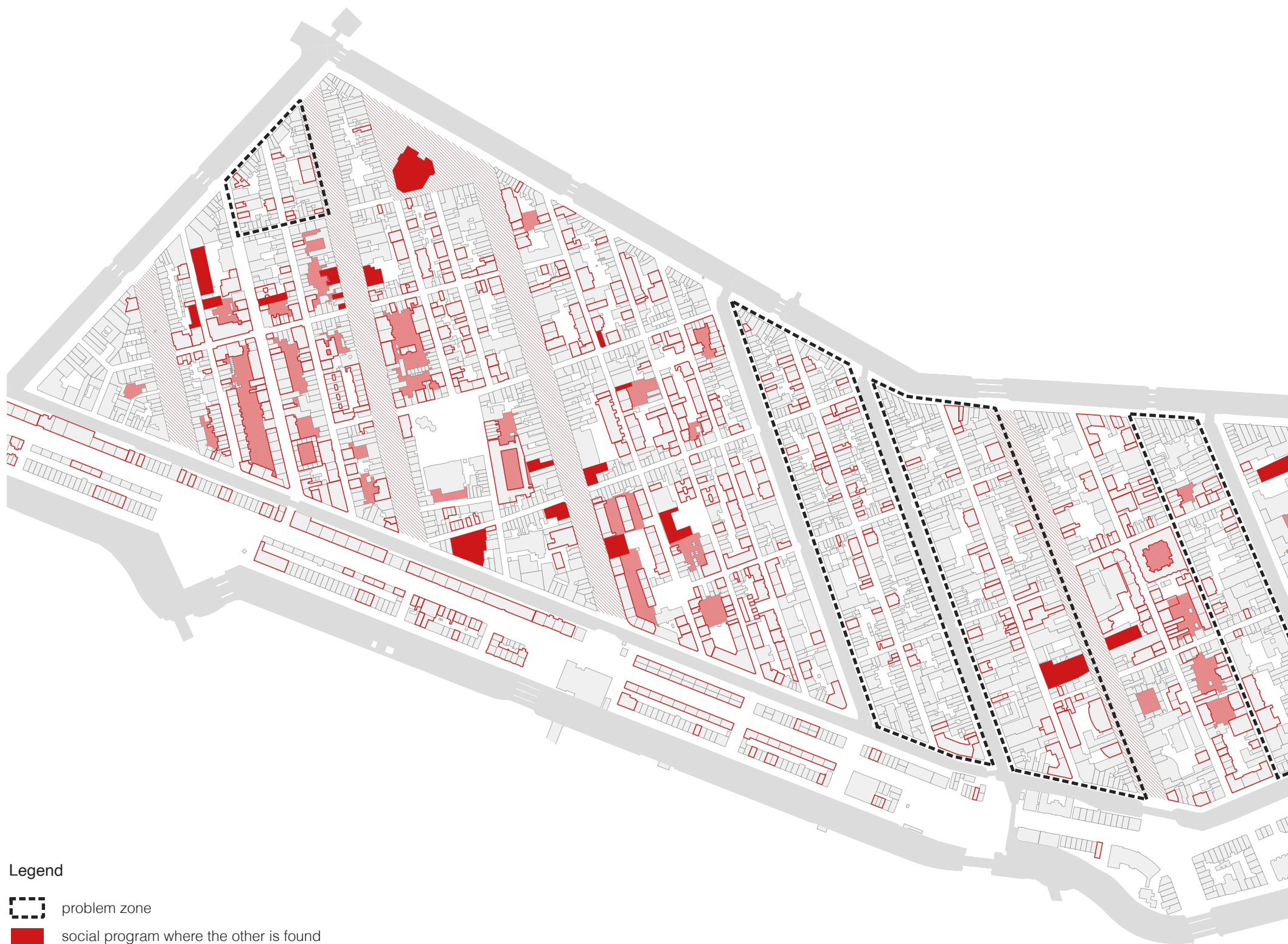


Fig. 113 private allies

Legend

- publicly accessible ally
- privately accessible ally
- limited accessible ally
- social housing
- shared green space





Legend






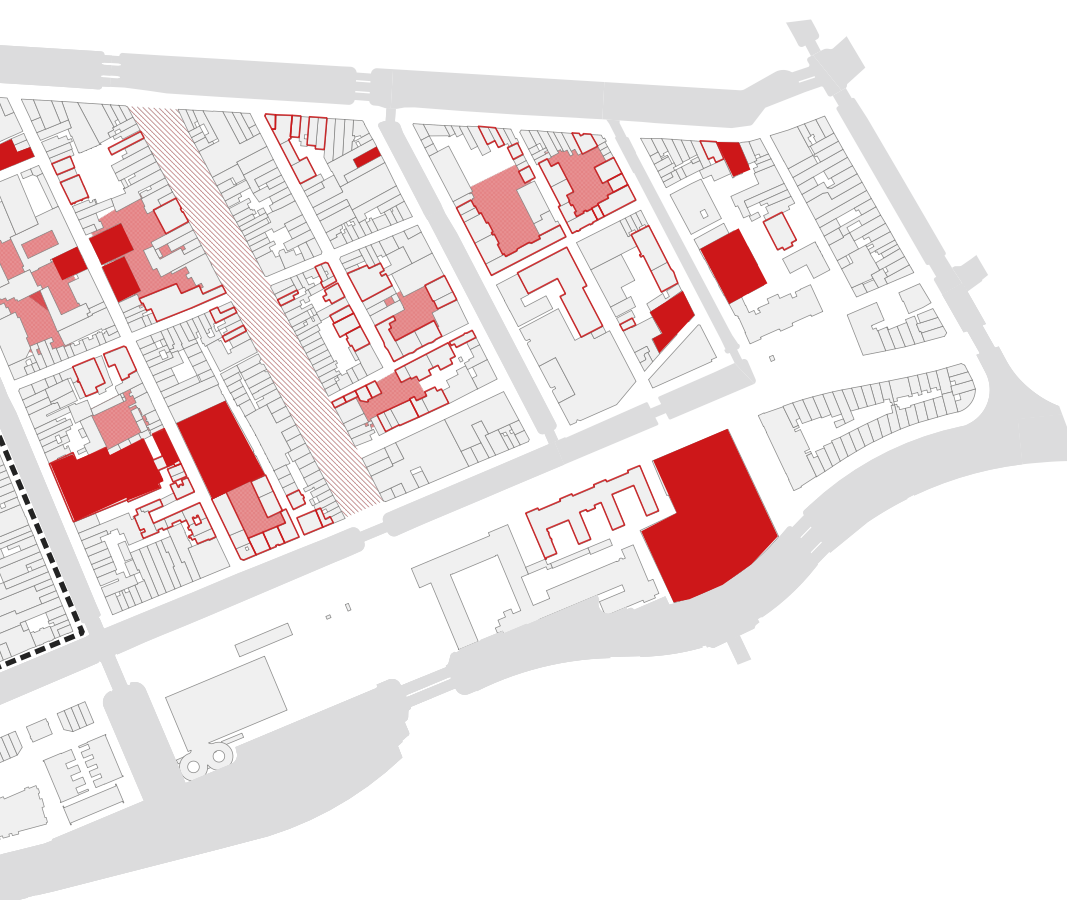
-  problem zone
-  social program where the other is found
-  social housing
-  location where the other is partially found
-  shared inner courtyard (private, semi-private and public)

Fig. 114 places where *the other* withdraws themselves to and problem zones



Next, **not everyone has equal access to these more private spaces in the Jordaan** (Fig. 127 met ‘problem zones’) and still depends on the role of the street. When the streetscape does not function as a spatial framework for social networks, urban depth is missing and important opportunities for interaction as well as appropriation are erased. In extreme cases, this results in isolation of the other and leads to extreme feelings of loneliness. Which is confirmed by numbers (allecijfers.nl, 2024) as well as the local pastor of the Jordaan, who tries to maintain contacts and know what local social problems of the Jordaan are present.

Loneliness in the Jordaan (age between 18-65 years old)



AlleCijfers.nl, 2024 (extracted from numbers of the RIVM)

According to Oosterlynck, shared spaces play an important role in fostering solidarity among individuals (2022). In the case of the Jordaan, however, we can see how the spatial claims of the urban rich in shared spaces result in a sense of shame and confrontation for the other, influencing their willingness and ability to make a spatial claim in public. The Jordaan can be considered a closed system due to the strong separation between different usergroups and the harsh transitions between public and private, which result in a lack of urban depth.

For this reason, the following chapter will look at what spatial transformations are required to help open up the fabric in such a way that the other has the opportunity and security to stake a claim in the Jordaan’s public realm. This will be accomplished by conducting extensive opportunity mapping and communication about specific spatial interventions, with real-life evidence and theory serving as the foundation.



DESIGN

SPATIALIZING THE OPEN CITY

SQ4: What spatial transformations can contribute to a Just urban environment, within a smoothened context of Amsterdam

Analysis and theoretical understandings of smoothness revealed how territorial misunderstandings, as well as unequal opportunities and spatial conditions, result in underrepresentation of the other in the Jordaan’s perceived public realm, leading to usergroup isolation and socio-spatial injustice. The following chapter will consider what spatial interventions can be synthesised that offer the potential to unlock urban richness in the Jordaan and offer the spatial conditions necessary for the other to make a spatial claim in the public eye. The following components, derived from important conclusions drawn from the analysis chapter and an in-depth understanding of existing depth-structures in the Jordaan, play a critical role:

1. Equal opportunity to make a spatial claim in the public eye: covering architectural aspects as well as opening up physical space to appropriate.
2. Setting the spatial conditions in which the other feels secure enough to make a spatial claim, covering important elements of urban depth structures and understanding of territories.
3. Providing spatial and legal opportunities for informal activities and manifestations to occur
4. Setting arena for important moments of confrontation, disorder and friction between a diversity of norms

To achieve this, two design strategies are implemented, ranging from top-down to bottom-up implementations:

1. Introducing a spatial adaptation framework (top-down strategies)
2. Accomodating infrastructure to support bottom-up strategies

Various fields are the primary source of input for understanding which interventions might work or not.

- 🕒 information conducted from observations
- 🗨️ information conducted from interviews and conversations on the street
- 📖 information conducted from theory

and will cover the following scales:

- XS urban furniture
- S architecture
- M street design
- L neighbourhood strategy

1. SPATIAL ADAPTATION FRAMEWORK: TRANSFORMING LOCAL TERRITORIAL CONDITIONS

Top-down strategies

“Designing disorder means designing urban interventions that are flexible, adaptable and open to constant change; which encourage the emergence of informal, spontaneous and unplanned uses of the public realm; which stimulate cultural expression; and which create an atmosphere of tolerance toward difference and the unknown through the construction of common places where people can interact and share interests and experiences” (Sendra, 2020: 52).

In order to generate the spatial conditions in which the other manifests itself in the public eye, changes need to be made in the physical outlook of the urban fabric, acknowledging the important aspect that a city needs to be built up from a variety of urban depths that constitute a variety of spatial claims to take place.

In order to do so, particular changes can be done under specific circumstances: not every spatial intervention can happen anywhere, and not every spatial intervention will have the desired output everywhere.

In order to streamline a strategic set of design interventions that open up the fabric, a spatial adaptation framework is set up that 1) describes the delicate spatial context in which 2) opportunities for transformation are possible, in order to 3) deal with local emergencies as well as 4) come up with new design outputs that lead to a more Just and Open environment.

In addition, a small spatial catalogue is set up that provides the spatial understanding of physical interventions that can help change the urban setting and local perception of territory, in order to activate a more informal way of appropriation as well as the physical arena for the other to appropriate. The spatial principles are extracted from theory as well as observations and interview and are constantly focusing on the main question: ‘how to set the spatial conditions in which the other manifests itself in the public eye?’. The resulted catalogue of interventions is aiming towards a more Open urban fabric, and is therefore classifying the several outputs under the four spatial pillars that lead to a more Open Fabric as described by Sennett (2006):

1. Membrane (transition zones)

Enriching existing depth structures

An important spatial distinction that helps us engage actively with changing contexts of time lies in the difference between borders and boundaries. To explain the difference, Sennett refers to the difference in the structure of biological cells: the difference between a cell wall and a cell membrane. The cell wall’s main function is to hold things in like a container, whereas the membrane (being porous and resistant) letting matter flow in and out of the cell. Important exchanges take place with the membrane-shell. The difference between the wall and the membrane is the ‘openness’ as a main condition: not so simply let it flow freely, but to combine both porosity as well as resistance.

In his opinion, the Open City needs borders, wall membranes, that allow for important exchanges to take place. ‘The boundary establishes closure through inactivity, by things petering out, not happening; to say that the edge-as-border is a more open condition means it is more full of events in time’ (Sennett, n.d.). The idea of a cellular wall, both resistant and porous, can be extended through scales: from the building block to the zones in which different communities of a city meet and is based on the notion that people can interact with it.

2. Incomplete form (porosities)

Setting the spatial conditions that are open for new interpretations

As discussed before, open-determined form in human society is often the result of regimes of power that seek permanent control. ‘Rigidity is equated, usually falsely, with the regime’s security’, argues Sennett (n.d.). In urbanism, however, rigidity can be equated with a pure, solid, defined (closed) form. Porosity was first used in 1925 as a metaphor by Walter Benjamin to describe Naples that contained spaces that were simultaneously individual as fully, commonly, shared (Viganò, 2016). Sennett argues that in modern urban planning, porosity is lacking, and closed boundaries seem to be often the rule, which comes to fruition in the development of for example big highways that cut through city parts. In the Jordaan, this becomes evident in the harsh separation between territories.

Asserting the value of incomplete built forms is a political act according to him, for it confronts the desire for fixity and recognizes that the public realm is a process. This means to see value in the incompleteness, for it allows different changes and appropriations of the space over time.

3. Narratives of development (informal appropriation)

Setting the spatial conditions that allow for informal appropriation

‘All good narratives have the property of exploring the unforeseen, of discovery; the novelist’s art is to shape the process of that exploration’ (Sennett, 2006: 3). A story reading in a book would not be interesting if we knew the plot from the start. At the same time, urban stories can develop and change over time. Urban spaces should allow for changing narratives, for it gives it space for exploration.

The urban fabric for this reason should offer the capacities for change, so that different interpretations of the urban can be explored and manifested. Because of this, it is important to design for spaces that are open for flexibility rather than designing for one designated activity. ‘Architect, urban designers and planners must learn to work with uncertainty. It is necessary to think carefully about the different stages of the design process and the possible outputs of each step, furthermore, these steps should not be part of a linear process to achieve a single end, but instead be a nonlinear process that can restart or go back to a previous stage at any time’ (Sennett, Sendra, 2020: 104). In here, urban time plays a key-role: the interventions are rather focussed on understanding what their meanings mean through time and to what extent they are flexible or open for different interpretations, so that the output becomes an output of constant negotiating between a diversity of norms.

In order to set the stage for this negotiating, the focus on and acknowledgement of urban depths plays a crucial part, for it offers the varying territorial settings that can accommodate a variety of (informal) appropriations and norms through time.

4. Democratic space (space for different norms to interact)

Setting the spatial conditions for a rich diversity of norms in the public realm that come in contact with each other

In diversifying cities, in which people belong to many different kinds of communities at the same time, the problem of citizen participation is how people can feel connected to others. Democratic space can be translated as a forum for these strangers to interact. In order to reach this, it is important to generate spaces of overlap: where different norms are manifesting and come into contact with each other. In doing so, a forum is created where confrontation and disorder might arise: affecting our understanding of justice and, where necessary, adjusting existing power structures.

2. SOCIO-SPATIAL STRATEGIES: PATHSWAY TO CHANGE

Bottom-up strategies

In order to then allow informalities to take place, additional infrastructure, design outputs and spatial interventions can help in the other to feel comfortable enough to make a spatial claim, from a bottom-up approach. ‘Creating these environments implies concentrating infrastructure around existing community spaces and providing the spaces with greater capabilities. This can turn them into alternative spaces that escape the imposition of order and top-down forms of decision making. They become counter-spaces that can deal with conflict and have a changing nature that permits constant reassembly’. And: ‘building the public realm as an open system - as a process - implies, first, building interventions that create conditions for social interactions to take place’ (Sennett, Sendra, 2020: 102-103).

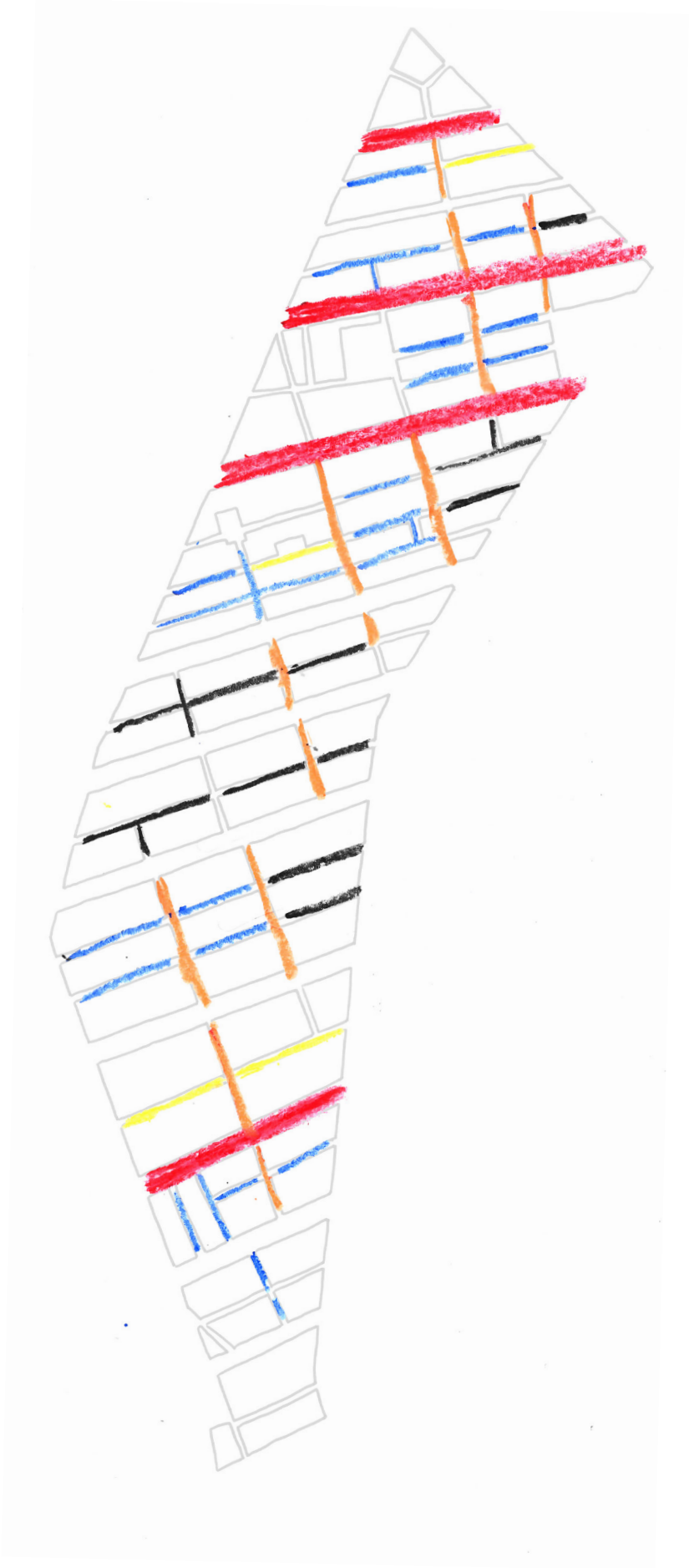
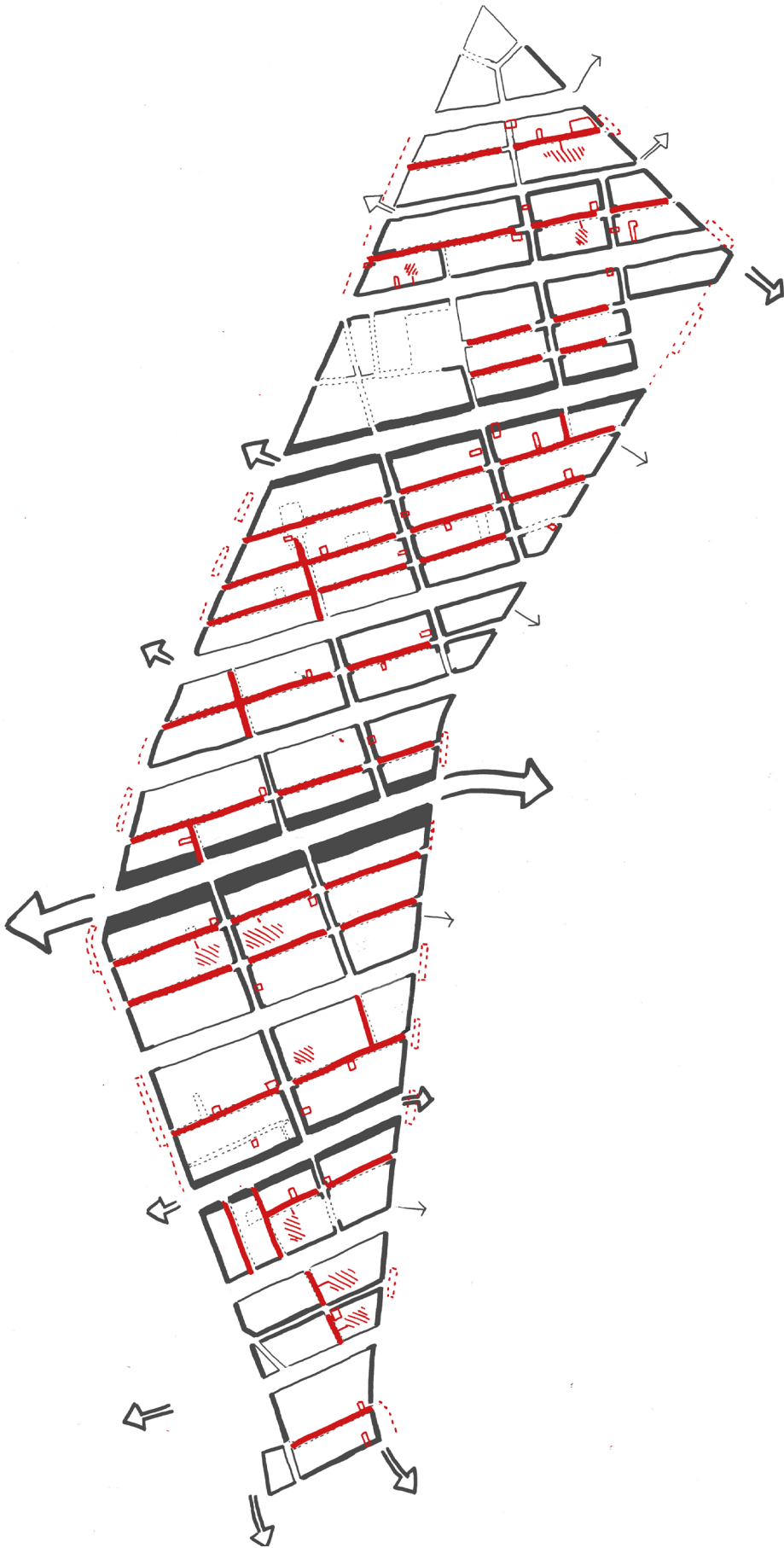
This can be done by first **offering plasticity to the transition from public to private that encourages people to claim a part of the city in the territorial setting in which they feel comfortable with.**

Next, the open structure should have the **‘capacity to host activities that interact directly with the street and open spaces, bringing life to the street’**, such as community centers, outdoor kitchens, storage spaces, places for small businesses or covered public spaces to sit and relax together (Sennett, Sendra, 2020: 101).

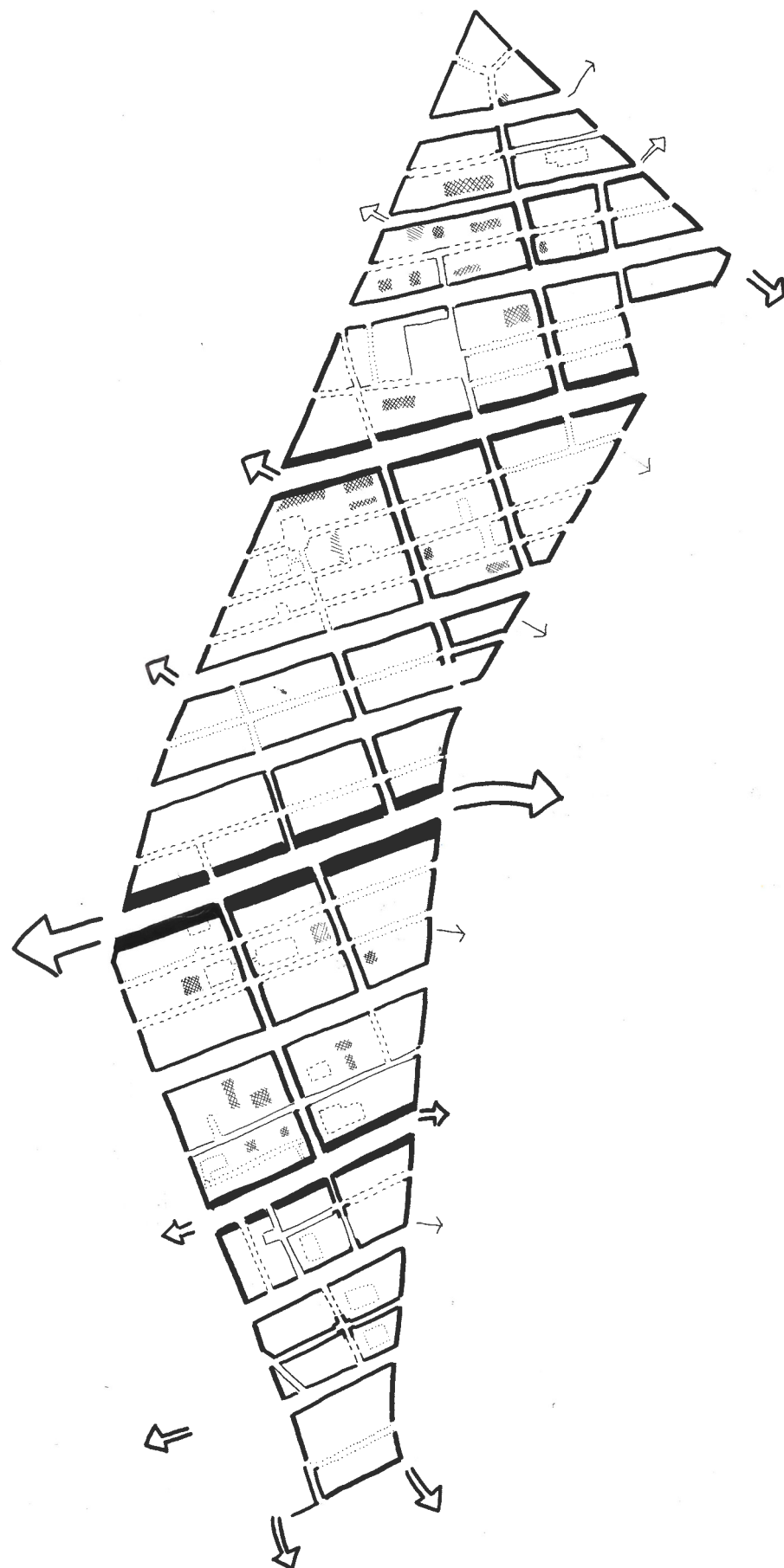
The third and final important capacity that this new structure should contain is **the opportunity for social contact** (Sennett, Sendra, 2020: 100). The street network plays an extremely important role in the local social structures of the Jordaan, especially for the other. Understanding and fostering the public space as modes of connection implies thinking of the street network as a meeting place for people. It therefore should adapt knowledge gathered from observations and interviews to incorporate knowledge about how spaces are used and what particular community assets, objects in public space, green spaces and other material aspects of the built environment can foster the opportunity for the other to comfortably interact with others. This means **creating collective infrastructure that provoke negotiation processes, agreements, collective awareness, different forms of interaction or conflict in the public realm** (Sennett, Sendra, 2020: 103).

‘As a result, an urban fabric is created that has the capacity to host diverse uses, even those not imagined by the designer’ (Sennett, Sendra, 2020: 103), and contributes to important processes of city-making that is made up from complex layers of networks, appropriations, understandings and constant negotiations.

In order to reach this, explorative designs are generated per new street type that showcase how the spatial elements as described in the spatial adaptation framework may ‘land’ in a specific urban setting to then understand how informalities might be unlocked through time. This is done with location-specific data and careful zoom-ins.



HYPOTHETICAL URBAN DEPTH STRUCTURE



First, conclusions from depth-structures formed the main source of information in understanding where strategic design interventions could add to a richer depth-structure (Fig. x). Context-specific spatial interventions were mapped out to understand where what kind of intervention could exist. In addition, the spatial characteristics of street types are analysed to explore how a different usage of street types can contribute to a richer depth-structure (Fig. x). In here, close attention is paid to street-design and the local opportunities or urgencies for transformation.

This would eventually lead to a richer hypothetical depth-structure (Fig. x).

(left to right)
Fig. 115 Intervention-map
Fig. 116 Hypothetical urban depth map
Fig. 117 New street types map

| N detail level 1:5000

legend

entrance to hofje

opening up/ adding sheet pile wall

opening up parking lot

transform ground floor to informal/ community supportive program

opening up hofje

level of publicness

high

low

semi-private hofje

private hofje

interior where the *other* is found

livingstreet+

community street

smooth Street+

plug 'n Play street

hofjes street

211

1. SPATIAL ADAPTATION FRAMEWORK: SPACES OF TRANSITION *LAYOUT*

street type	description	crucial aspects that define spatial condition of street type	urgencies
<div><div>current street type</div><div>amount of publicness</div><div>proposed street type</div></div>	Short description of existing street with existing urgencies and possibilities	Description of elements that are of importance to be able to transform existing street type in proposed street type	Existing urgencies of current street type
<div>map that shows where current particular street type can transform into new street type</div>			

urban depth: (private to public)

opportunities

Available opportunities that this particular street type offers

spatial elements

that enrich the depth structure that is needed for the other to manifest itself in the public eye

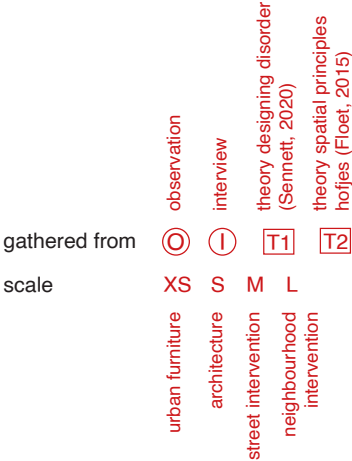
Categorized under four spatial principles of the Open City (Sennett, 2006):

1. Membrane
(transition zones)

2. Incomplete form
(porosities)

3. Narratives of development
(informal appropriation)

4. Democratic space
(space for different norms to interact)



LIVING STREET+

street type	description	crucial aspects that define spatial condition of street type	urgencies
-------------	-------------	--	-----------

living street
living street+

The private living street already contains spaces where the other can manifest itself, like: shared green spaces or some form of social program. In order to create the spatial conditions in which the other then manifests itself in the public eye, it is interesting to take a look at specific living streets that offer the opportunities to extend the ‘backdoor’ realm onto the streets. This can be done through offering specific infrastructure on the street that supports the shared green spaces, or make sure that ground floor spaces can be used in an informal manner. The street here can serve as **an addition to the existing spaces of gathering, to support and strengthen the local social structures**: but into the more public realm of the Jordaan. The living street is specifically interesting for it already offers the spatial enclosure and understanding of a more private community street.

1. private (low to medium score on Space Syntax map), so it can be partially cut off from traffic

2.availability of shared green space;

3.small-scaled street layout that offers architectural opportunity to transform ground-floor program into (informal) program

4. existence of social housing alongside street
- 1.adding infrastructure in public realm that supports local activities in shared green space

2.adding infrastructure in public realm that supports local social gathering

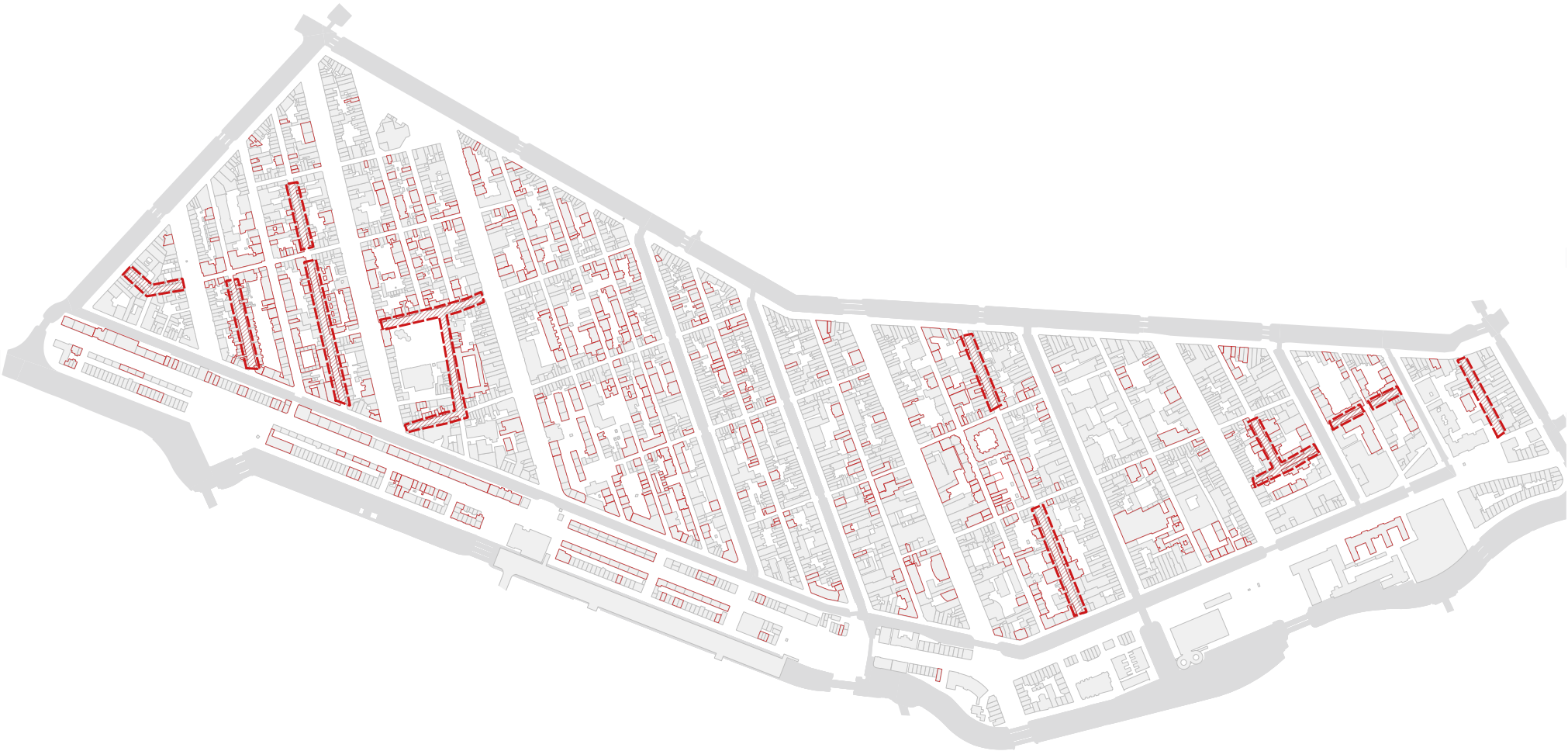


Fig. 118 living streets that have the opportunity for transformation to Livingstreet+ types



Fig. 119: Livingstreet+ and shared green spaces

shared green spaces



Fig. 120: Livingstreet+ and program other than dwelling

Program other than dwelling



Fig. 121: Livingstreet+ and space syntax

angular choice of street

low
high

LIVING STREET+

opportunities

- 1.partly cutting off streets from traffic, so it becomes a semi-private street
- 2.transforming streetscape into social gathering space
- 3.transforming streetscape into social supporting hub
- 4.strategically spatial transformation of ground floor program so it offers opportunity for informal businesses/ program that supports local social structures (craftsmanship, commercial program that supports local community, etc.)

Important disclaimer

This street is extremely vulnerable for forms of gentrification. To protect the existing community as well as prevent forms of gentrification, a couple of measurements are important to keep into account to protect the area:

Freezing the social housing stock in the street prevents buy-outs and the emergence of new dwellings with higher rent that push out the other in the street. Having strong regulations on who gets to appropriate the ground floor program of specific buildings in the street. Only program that supports local social structures or has an informal character is allowed here. This might need to be evaluated through time.

The transformation of ground floor program from dwelling into something else should be limited to a maximum of 10% of the total amount of ground floor square meters. This number might change over time, according to real-life perceptions and needs of the street, but the main purpose of the street should stay dwelling. When it is taken over by informal businesses, the appropriation and perception of the street shifts from dwelling to something else. This also affects the role of the street and its ability to support local social structures. In addition, when too much ground floor program shifts into a different program, the facades will become ‘blind facades’ during the night, affecting perceived safety and affecting perceived forms of publicness.

spatial elements catalogue

that enrich the depth structure that is needed for the other to manifest itself in the public eye

1. Membrane

(transition zones)

- T2 1A: difference in materialisation marks new territory (M)
- T2 1B: difference in height marks different territory (M)
- T2 1C: vertical objects mark new territory (M)
- T2 1D: green elements emphasize the more private territorial depth (M)
- T2 1E: small lamps hanging in-between the buildings emphasize the more private territorial depth (XS)
- T2 1E: opening up hofje for public (L)
- T2 1F: emphasising transition zone by employing a door in a brick facade (S)
- T2 1G: emphasising transition zone with narrow ally (S)
- T2 1H: assure visual connection with ground floor to emphasize the more private territorial depth (S)
- T2 1I: assure a distance of 2 meters from the dwellings as a public-private buffer to prevent individual blockings of depths (by closing curtains for example) (S)

2. Incomplete form

(porosities)

- T2 2A: opening up hofjes and allies to the public (L)
- T1 T2 2B: cutting off the street from traffic: increasing the opportunity to appropriate the entire street (L)
- T1 T2 2C: transformation of parking spaces into an extension of the local street space (L)
- 1 2D: opportunities for ground floor to to transform into informal shops (M)
- 1 2E: enable opportunity for local residents to appropriate the stoep and the street how they envision it (L)

3. Narratives of development

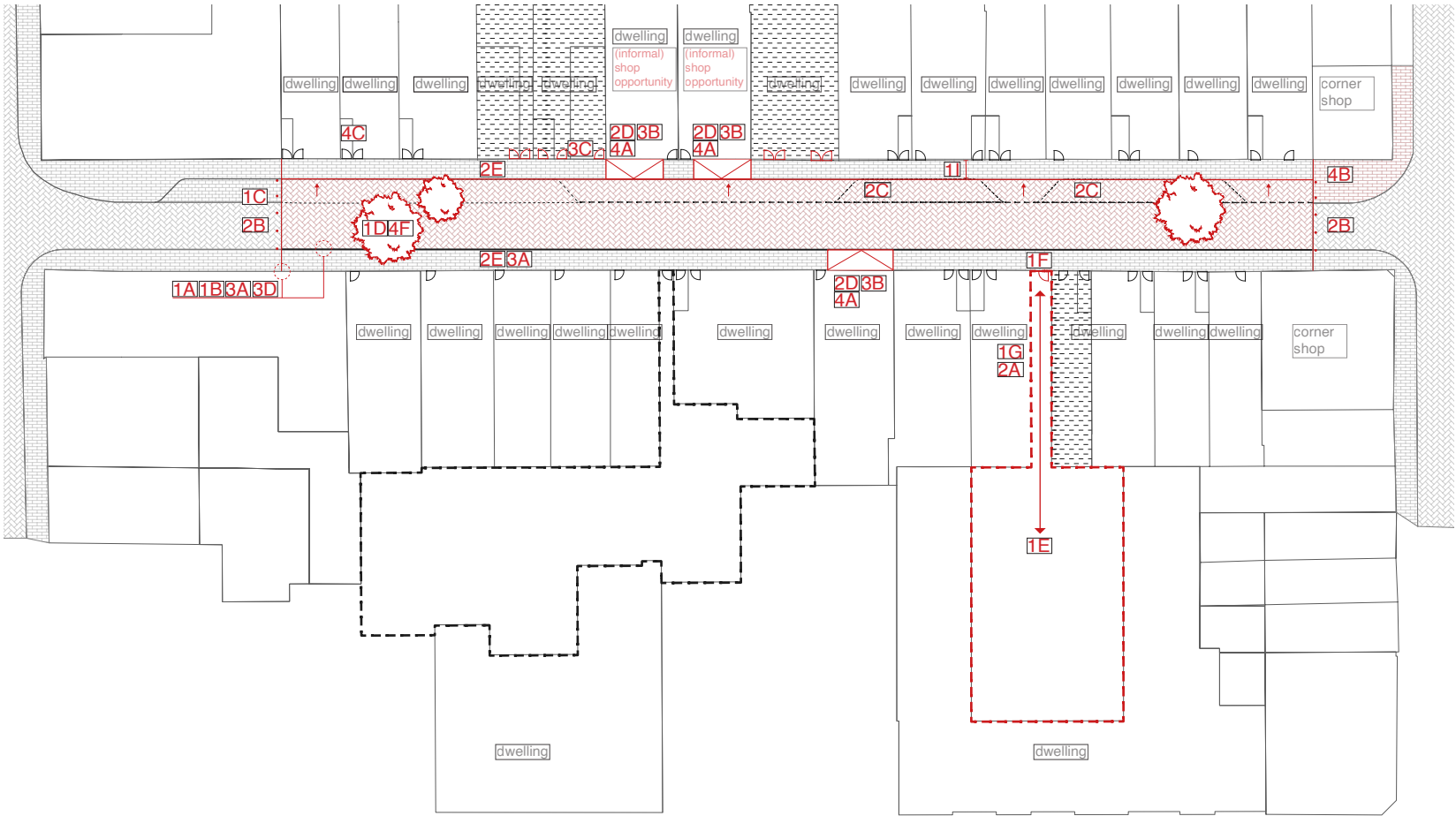
(informal appropriation)

- T2 3A: difference in materialisation marks new (more private) territory (M)
- 1 3B: opportunities for ground floor to to transform into informal shops (L)
- T2 3C: ensure entrances on the street side, also of social housing buildings (M)
- T2 3D: difference in materialisation marks new territory (M)
- T1 T2 1 3E: facilitate infrastructure that supports informalities (XS)

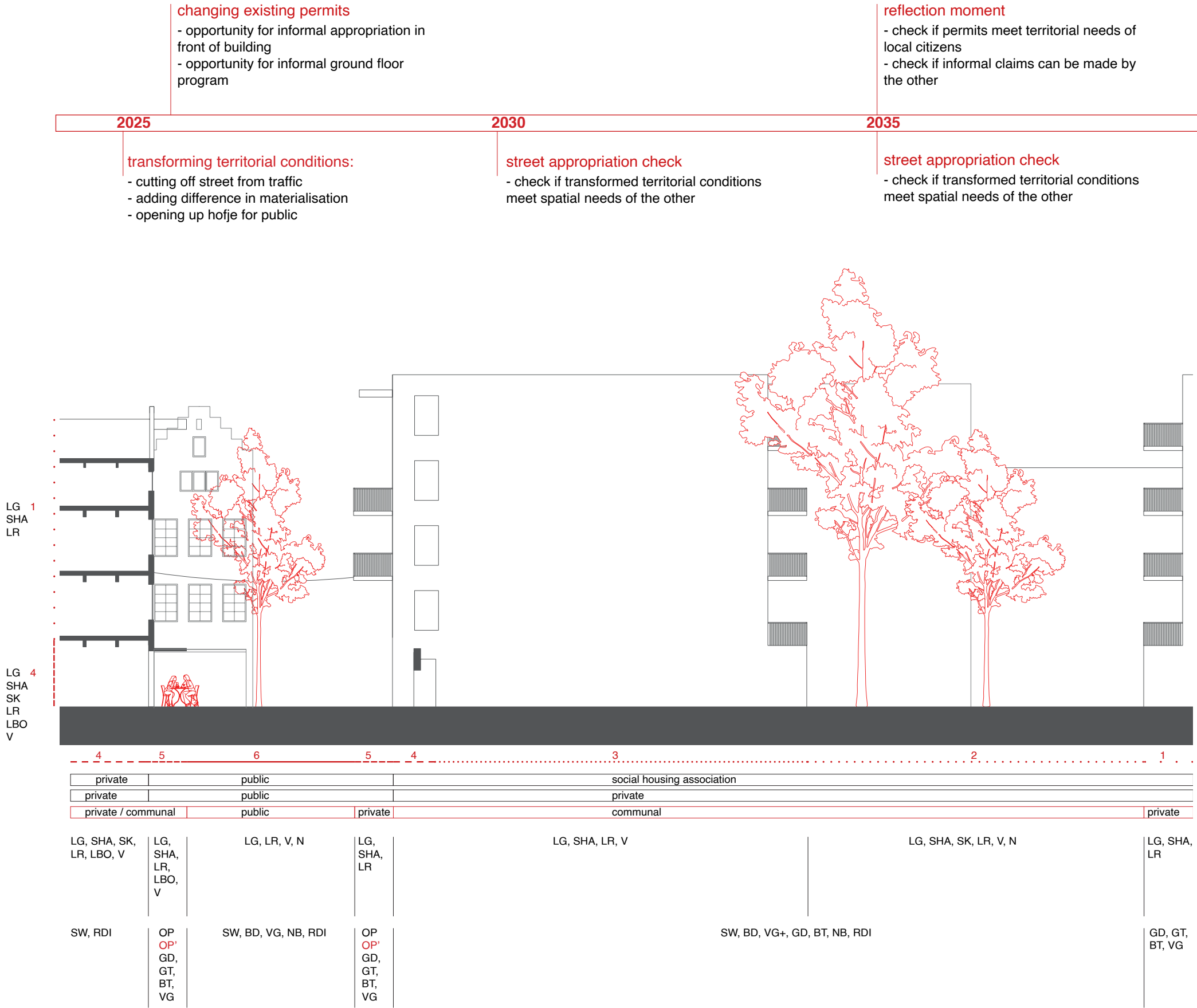
4. Democratic space

(space for different norms to interact)

- 1 4A: opportunities for ground floor program to to transform local ground floor into informal shops (L)
- 1 4B: accomodate extra space in front of corner-shops to facilitate a seating area (M)
- T1 T2 4C: ensure vertical depth: maintaining low-scale architecture (maximum of four floors) that promotes interaction on different levels (S)
- T1 4D: facilitate infrastructure that supports informalities (XS)
- T1 T2 4E: facilitate infrastructure that supports social gathering (XS)
- T2 1 4F: add green elements so the overall quality of the street is increased and more likely to used (M)



LIVING STREET+



	start informal claims <ul style="list-style-type: none">- streetscape is claimed by local residents- local infrastructure, offered by the local government, supports social processes	spatial confrontation <ul style="list-style-type: none">- different users have different needs of the urban	critical reflection <ul style="list-style-type: none">- conflicts represent larger societal powerstructures. New policies and permits move towards more inclusive measures	spatial negotiation <ul style="list-style-type: none">- street is used as a space for commoning for a variety of norms, along each other, while respecting each others needs
2040		2045	2050	2055

STAKEHOLDERS

LG	Local Government
SHA	Social Housing Association
SK	Stichting Katrijn
LR	Local Resident
LBO	Local Business Owner
PNH	Province of North Holland
V	Visitor
N	National organisations supporting bottom-up

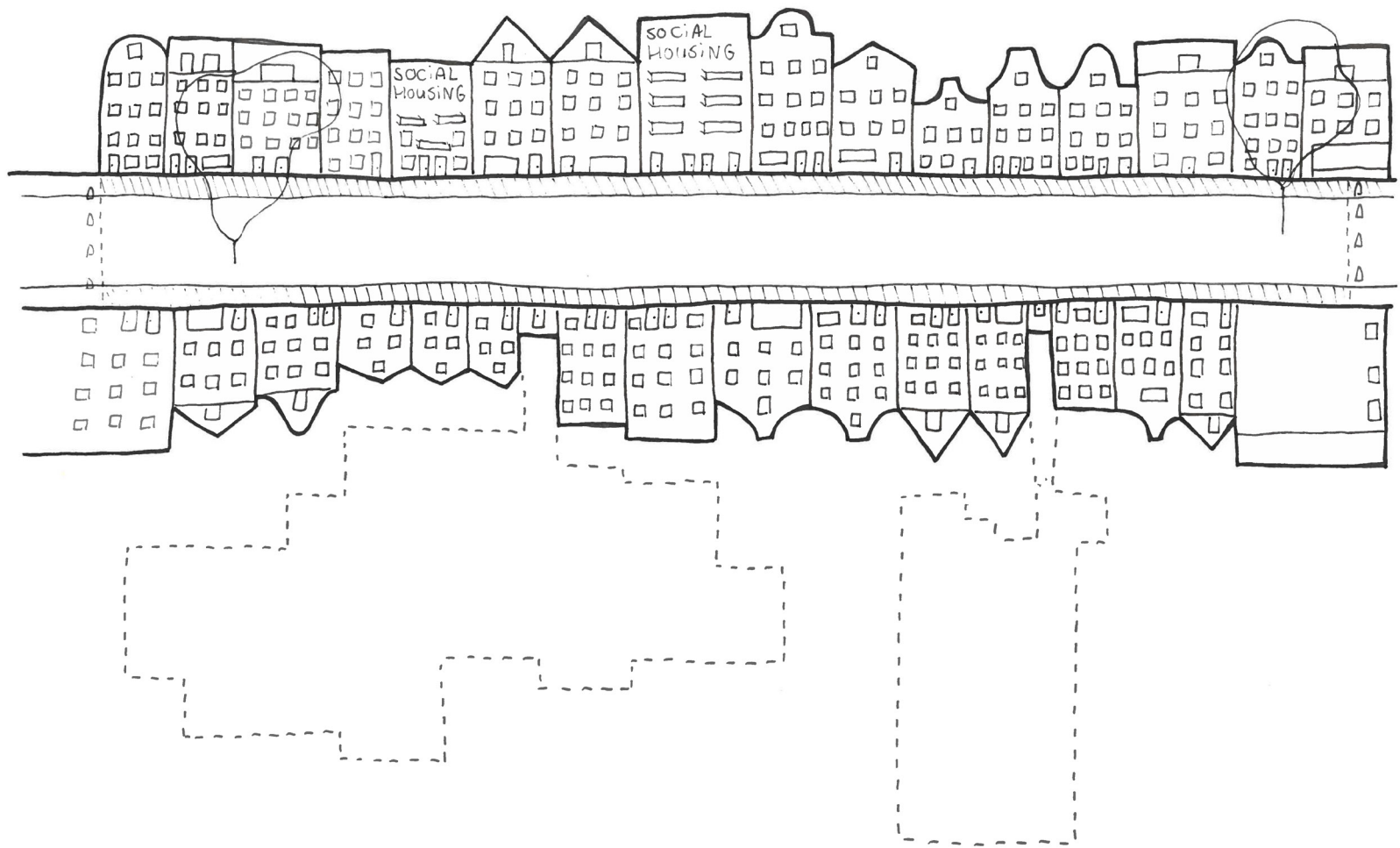
PERMITS

Existing	
Proposed edit	
OP	Object permit (with the exception of facade benches, planters, shop range for a shop
OP'	No object permit for the zone in the permeable zone in front of the building; allowance for (informal) appropriation of this zone

SUBSIDIES

		description	permitted by	eligible for
SW	Subsidieregeling bewonersinitiatieven stadsdeel Centrum <i>residents' initiatives</i>	subsidy for residents' initiatives (neighborhood parties, neighborhood BBQs, residents' initiatives, basic facilities)	local government (LG)	Residents, residents' groups, (voluntary organizations and/or entrepreneurs with a connection with the neighborhood (in Amsterdam))
BD	BurenDag <i>Neighbourhood Day</i>	financial contribution for organizing a neighborhood activity	Oranjerfonds	Local residents in the Netherlands that would like to organize a small-scale neighbourhood event
VG	Vergroen je Buurt (up to 500 euros) <i>greening up the neighbourhood</i>	private individuals and organizations can apply for a subsidy to improve or make it more fun adding greenery in their neighborhood.	local government (LG)	Local residents of Amsterdam
VG+	Vergroen je Buurt (more than 500 euros) <i>greening up the neighbourhood</i>	private individuals and organizations can apply for a subsidy to improve or make it more fun adding larger-scaled greenery in their neighborhood.	local government (LG)	Local residents of Amsterdam
GD	Groene Daken en Gevels <i>green roofs and facades</i>	private individuals and organizations can apply for a subsidy for the installation of green roofs and facades.	local government (LG)	Local residents of Amsterdam
GT	Geveltuin <i>facade garden</i>	request a facade garden of 30 centimeters wide for free: the municipality will remove tiles and sand, prepare the ground for planting with soil and you can place plants, flowers and shrubs in a narrow strip along your house.	local government (LG)	Local residents of Amsterdam
BT	Boomtuin <i>Tree garden</i>	opportunity to 'adopt' the area around a tree to make mini gardens around the trees in the street, managed by local residents	local government (LG)	Local residents of Amsterdam
NB	Nieuwe Bomen <i>New Trees</i>	this subsidy is intended for Amsterdam residents and organizations that have a tree in their garden or in a... want to plant a shared garden.	local government (LG)	Local residents of Amsterdam
RDI	Ruimte voor duurzaam initiatieven <i>Subsidy for sustainable initiatives</i>	Organizations can apply for a one-off subsidy to set up, organize, research and implement an area-oriented sustainable initiative	local government (LG)	Local residents of Amsterdam

LIVING STREET+

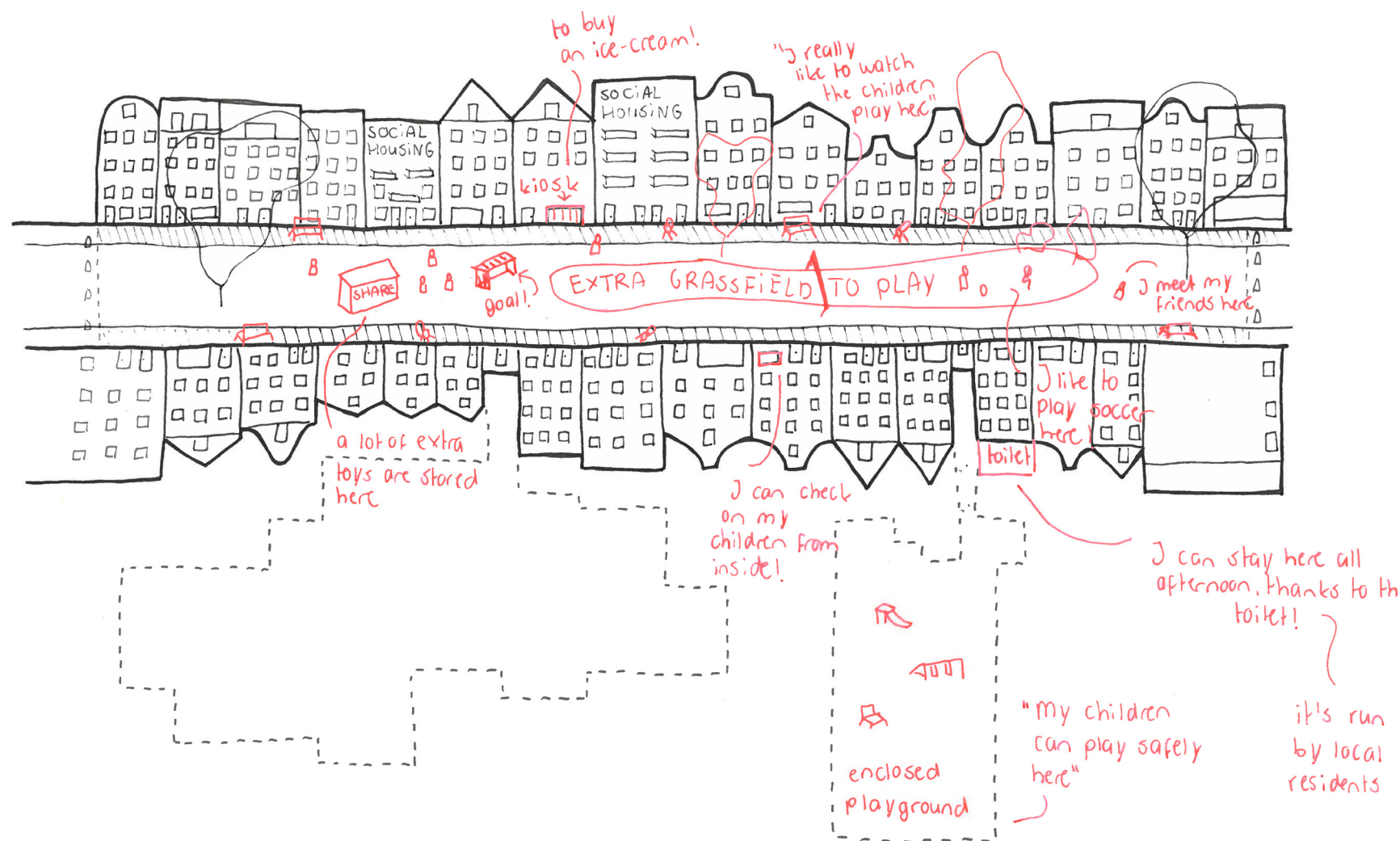


124: New situation without bottom-up interventions

difference in materialisation marks different territories
vertical objects mark net territory
green elements emphasize the more private territorial depth
opening up hofje for public
marking different territories by using door and continued facade
visual connection with ground floor
semi-private hatch in front of dwellings as important buffer zone from public spheres
cutting street off from traffic
opportunities for ground floor to transform into informal shops
transformation of parking spaces into an extension of the local street space
entrances on street side
add vertical depth
add green elements for increasing overall quality of the street



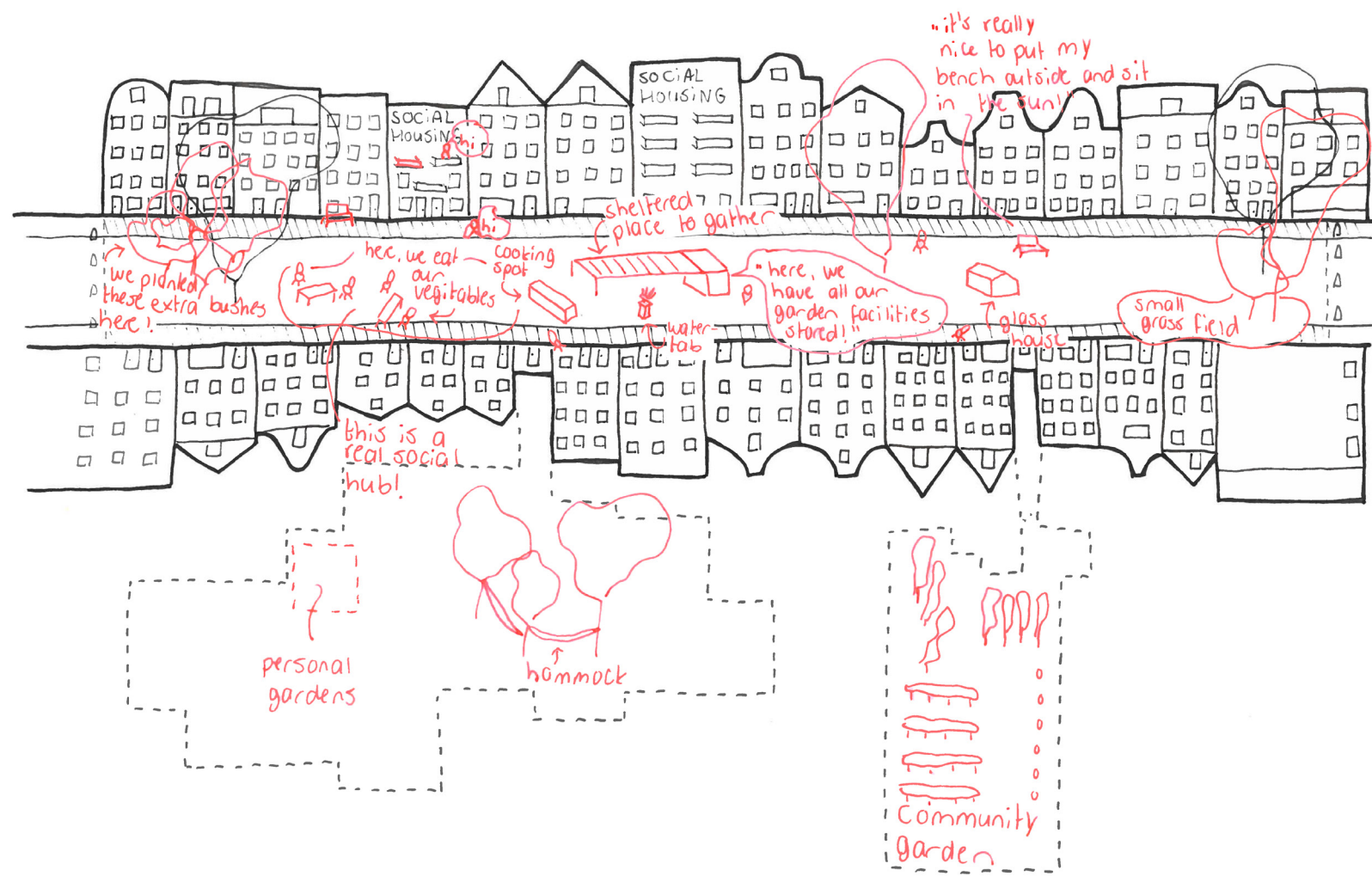
LIVING STREET+



125: New situation with bottom-up interventions (example 01: street as a playground)

hofje is transformed into enclosed playground
extra grassfield in the street facilitates space for soccer, tennis etc.
supportive infrastructure facilitates additional public games
supportive infrastructure facilitates local activities (added toilet)
ground floor is transformed into local kiosk
benches facing the sun facilitate the opportunity to sit down and enjoy the street scenery
extra activities are taking place in the street, due to the opportunity to play
stoep in front of the houses is claimed and appropriated by its residents

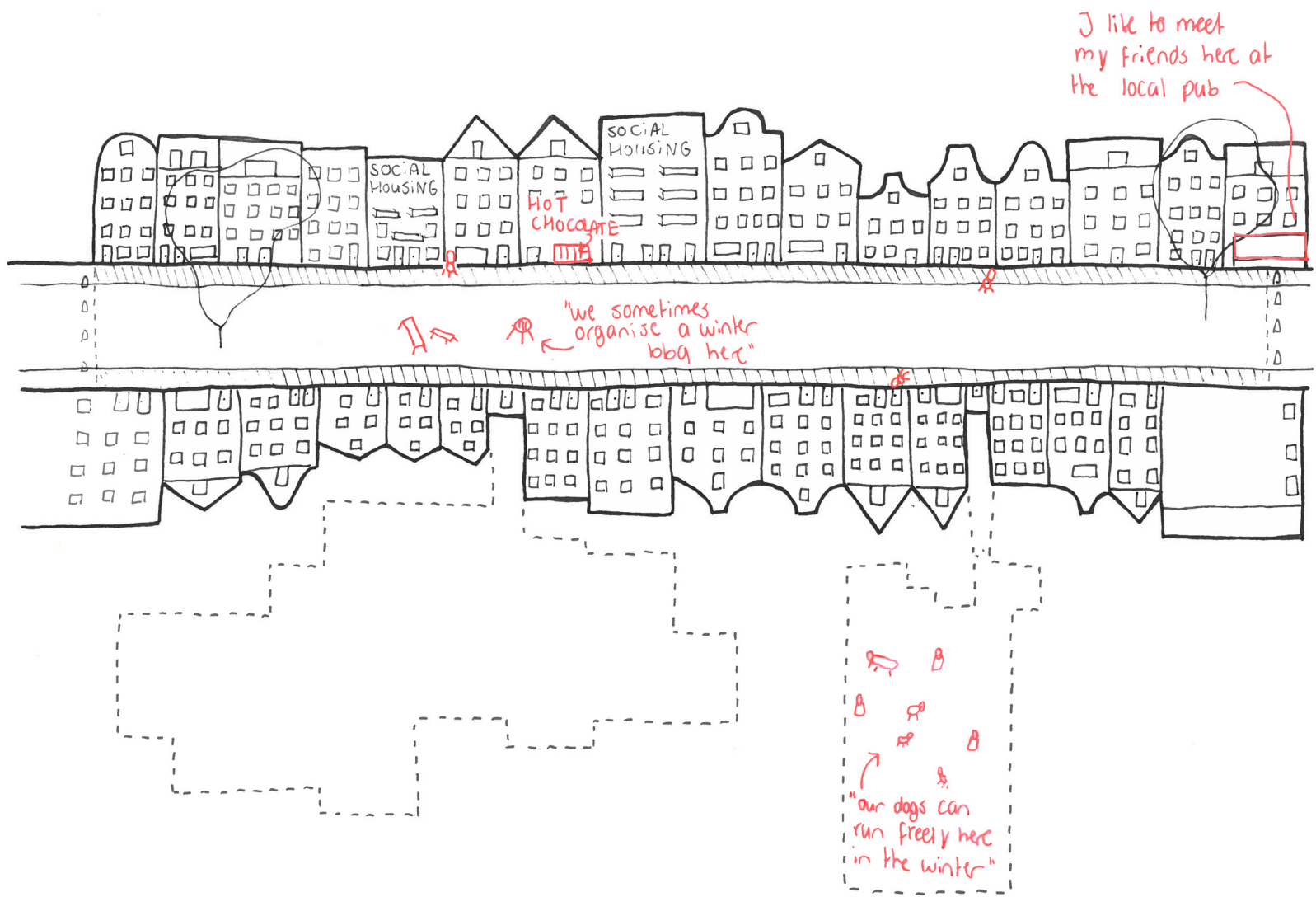
LIVING STREET+



126: New situation with bottom-up interventions (example 02: street as an extended garden)

hofje is transformed into local community garden
additional urban furniture supports the option for social gatherings
additional greenery is planted inside the street
benches facing the sun facilitate the opportunity to sit down and enjoy the street scenery
supportive infrastructure facilitates local activities (outdoor kitchen, sharing facilities box, water point, glass house)
existing hofje now offers space for more private gardens and hammocks
stoep in front of the houses is claimed and appropriated by its residents

LIVING STREET+



127: New situation with bottom-up interventions (example 03: winter situation)

hofje is used as open place for dogs to run freely
street is relatively empty
local cornershop takes important role in social gatherings
ground floor is transformed into local kiosk (that sells food and hot chocolate)
additional urban furniture supports the option for social gatherings
supportive infrastructure facilitates local activities (outdoor bbq)
stoep in front of the houses is claimed and appropriated by its residents

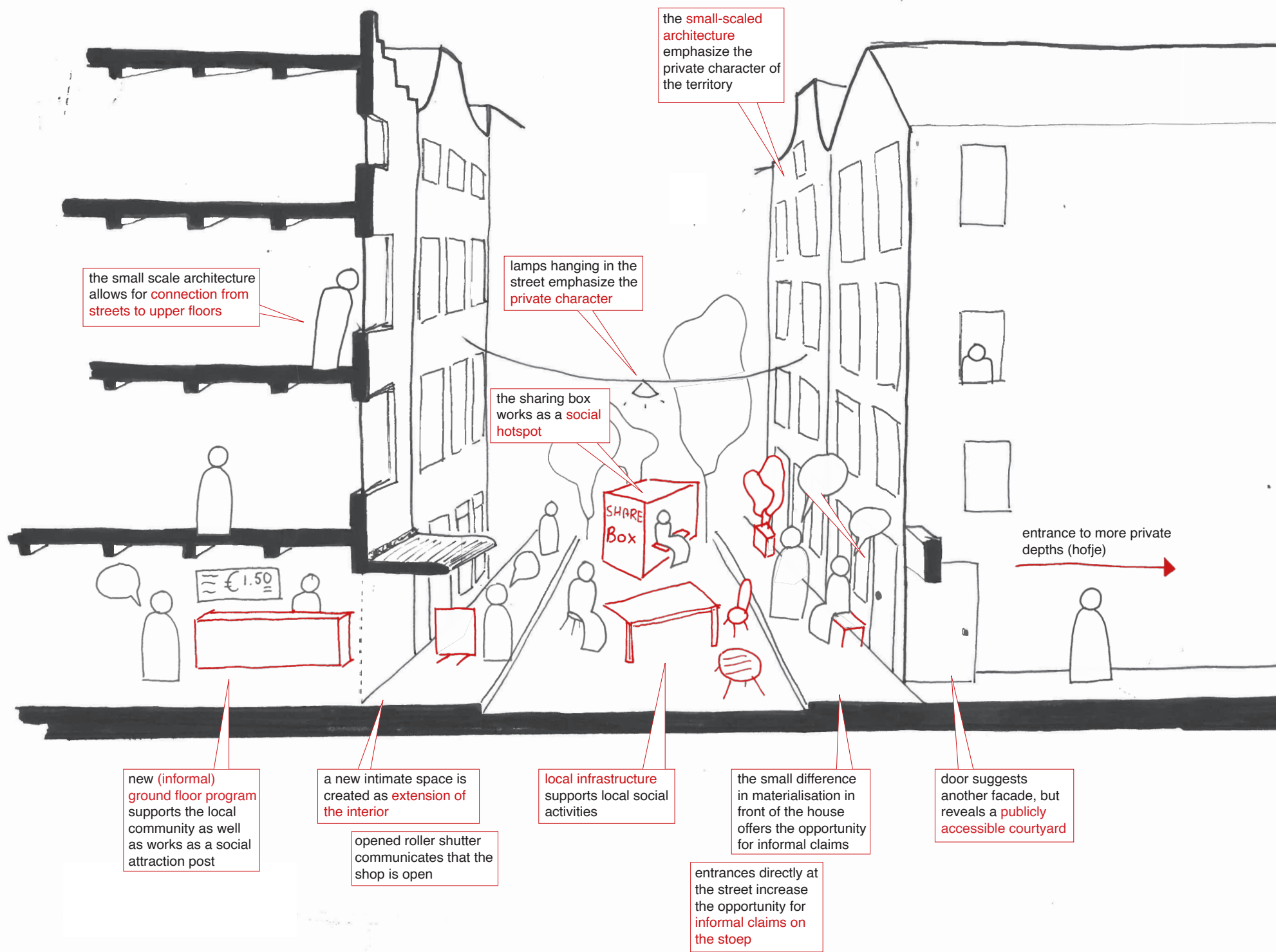


fig. 127: hypothetical section after bottom-up appropriation of Livingstreet+



COMMUNITY STREET

street type

description

crucial aspects that define spatial condition of street type

urgencies

(mixed-use) living street
Community street

Some of the existing living- and mixed-use streets contain community-supporting programs, such as schools, community centers, sport facilities etc., but lack the public space that supports it. As a result, much of the local community activities are taking place inside or behind fences/walls. By cutting these more private mixed-use livingstreets with community programs from traffic, the activities of the local community interiors can be extended into the public realm, so that the street can be understood as a small-scaled square that fosters and contributes to local social activities while providing the public arena for encounters between a variety of user groups.

- 1. semi-private (low to medium score on Space Syntax map), so it can be partially cut off from traffic
- 2. availability of community supportive program
- 3. medium-scaled architectural scale, emphasizing public character of the street
- (4. existence of social housing alongside street, as a plus, but not as a necessity)

- 1.adding infrastructure in public realm that supports local activities in shared green space
- 2.adding infrastructure in public realm that supports local social gathering
- 3. strategically adding ground floor program that does not contain consumerism activities (community center)
- 4. including social housing alongside by adding vertical depth
- 5. all entrances on street-side
- 6.partly cutting off streets from traffic, so it becomes a semi-private street and supports pedestiranized area
- 7. enlarging public space in the street as much as possibly, so the interior of the community-supportive program can be extended into the public realm

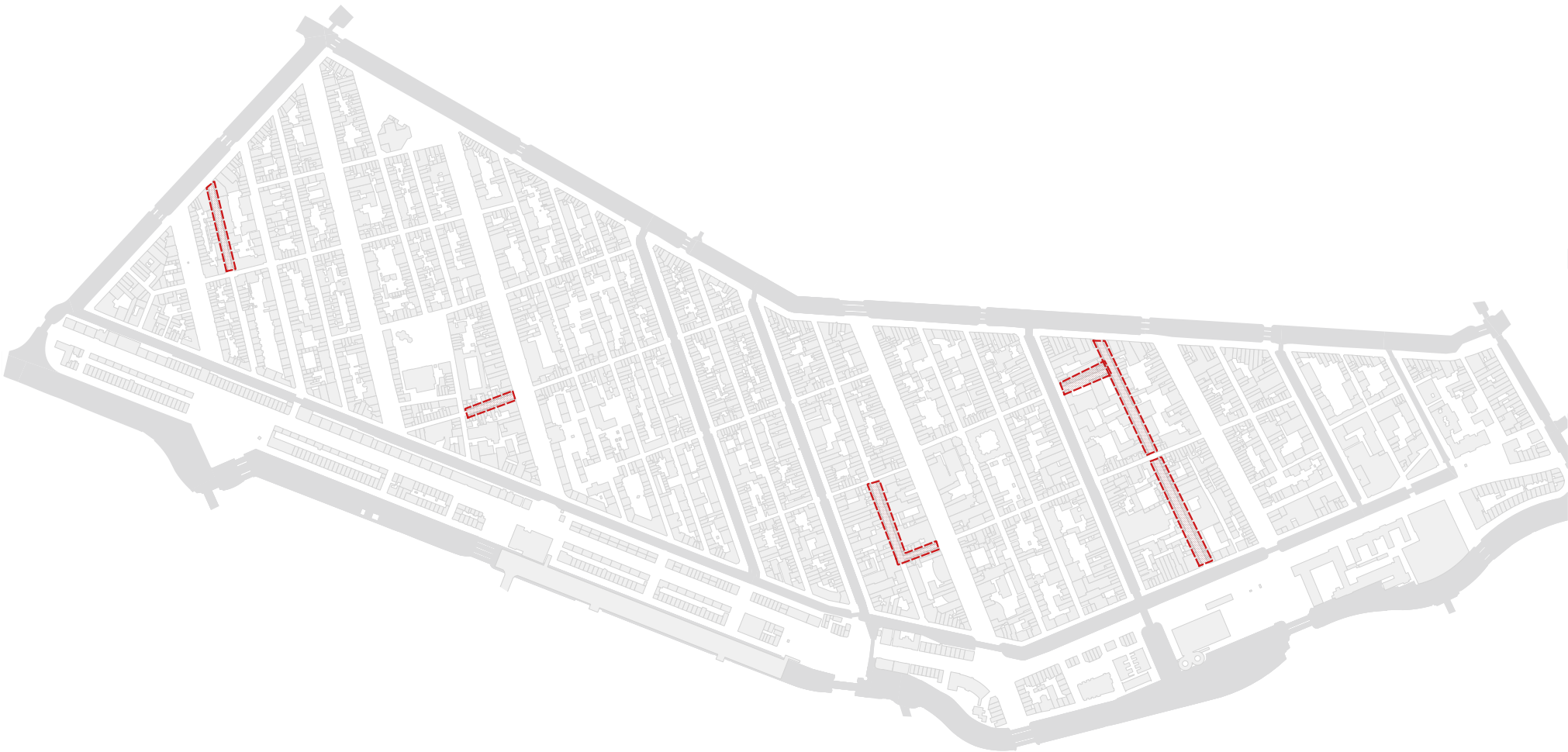


Fig. 128 streets with community program that offer opportunity for transformation into community streets

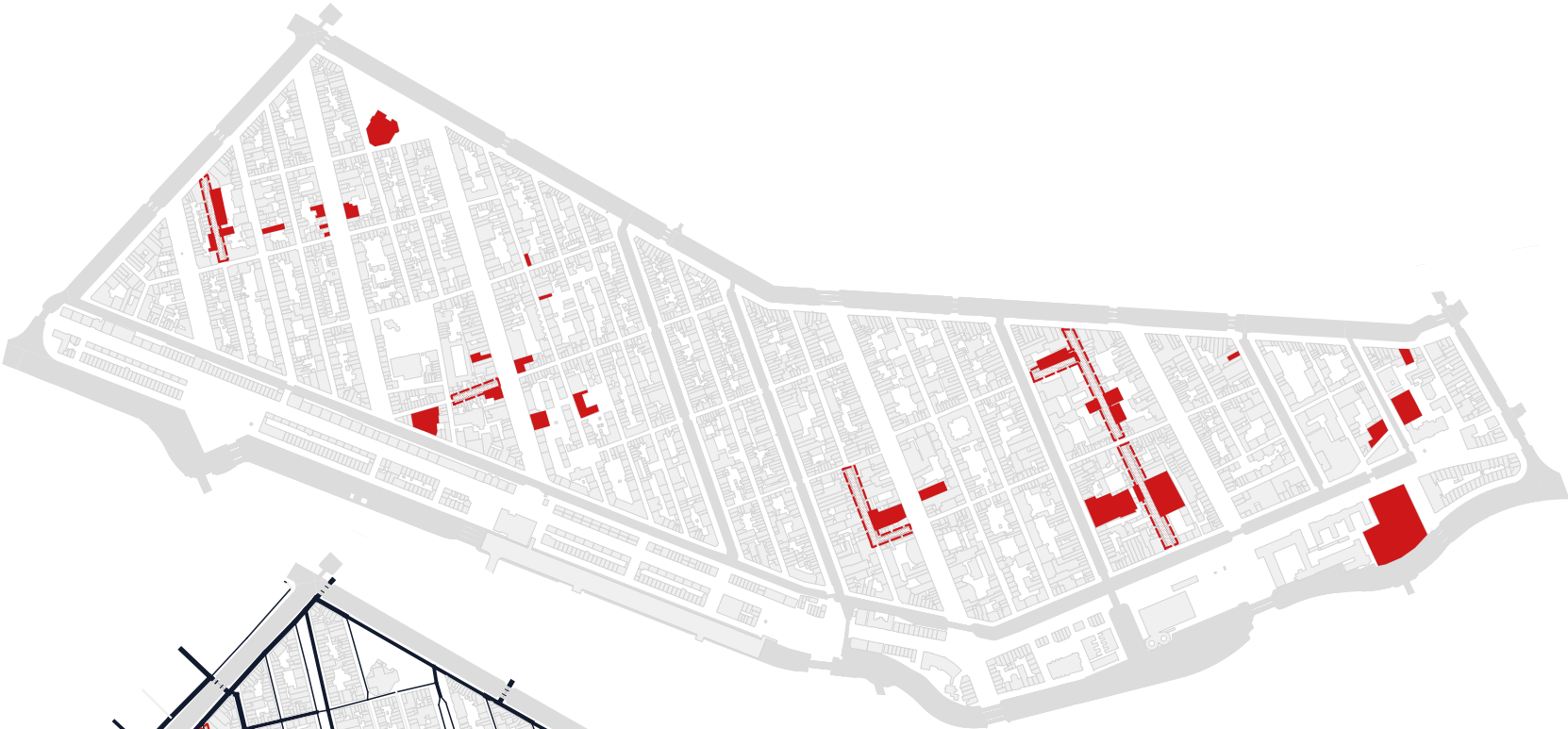


Fig. 129: Buildings with social meaning

■ Buildings with program that supports local community

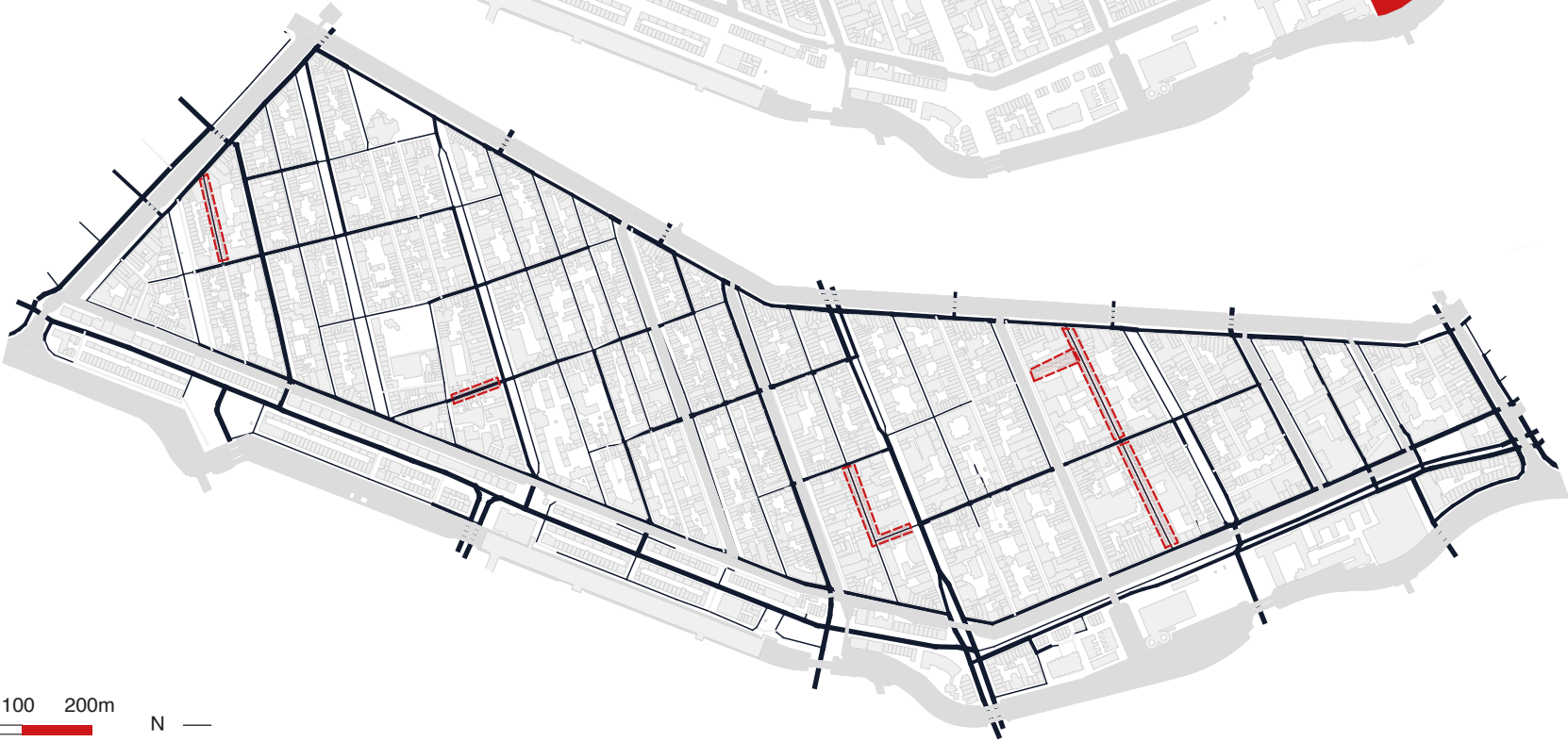


Fig. 130: Livingstreet+ and space syntax

angular choice of street

— low

— high

COMMUNITY STREET

opportunities

- 1.transforming streetscape into social gathering space
- 2.transforming streetscape into social supporting hub

Important disclaimer

This street has a supportive character towards local social structures while contributing to the encouragement of interactions between a diversity of norms. Because of this, the public activities in this street should mainly be focussed on non-commercial activities, so that it becomes possible for a variety of users to make use of this street. Because of this, a mix of commercial and non-commercial needs to be protected. The following measurements are important to keep into account to protect the character of the street: Freezing the social housing stock in the street prevents buy-outs and the emergence of new dwellings with higher rent that push out the other in the street. Maintaining a balance of commercial - non-commercial program, so that the exterior spaces maintain the perception of public without having the need to consume to participate in public life Offering infrastructure that supports public activities that are not linked to consumerism (outdoor sports facilities, sharing box with toys, playground in front of schools, urban furniture for social gatherings, etc.) Having strong regulations on who gets to appropriate the ground floor program of specific buildings in the street. Only program that supports local social structures or has an informal character is allowed here. This might need to be evaluated through time. In addition and in careful consideration of local citizens (especially social housing), some commercial shops might be an interesting addition, for it attracts a different kind of user: should not dominate.

spatial elements catalogue

that enrich the depth structure that is needed for the other to manifest itself in the public eye

1. Membrane

(transition zones)

- T2 1A: difference in materialization marks new territory
- T2 1B: difference in height marks different territory
- T2 1C: vertical objects mark new territory
- T2 1D: green elements emphasize the more private territorial depth
- T2 1E: assure a distance of 2 meters from the dwellings as a public-private buffer to prevent individual blockings of depths (by closing curtains for example), or;
- T2 1F: difference in materialization allows extension of interior program onto the street

2. Incomplete form

(porosities)

- T2 2A: cutting off the street from traffic: increasing the opportunity to appropriate the entire street
- T1 T2 2B: transformation of parking spaces into an extension of the local street space
- T1 2C: opportunities for ground floor to to transform into informal ground floor shop
- T1 T2 2D: opportunities for ground floor to to transform into community-supportive program
- T2 2E: enable opportunity for local residents to appropriate the stoep and the street how they envision it
- T1 T2 2F: enable opportunity for local program to extend onto the streetscape
- T1 2G: maintain open space for small-scaled structures to appear

3. Narratives of development

(informal appropriation)

- T2 3A: difference in materialisation marks new (more private) territory
- T1 3B: opportunities for ground floor to to transform into informal shops
- T2 3C: ensure entrances on the street side, also of social housing buildings
- T2 3D: difference in materialisation marks new territory
- T1 T2 3E: facilitate infrastructure that supports informalities

4. Democratic space

(space for different norms to interact)

- T1 4A: opportunities for ground floor program to to transform local ground floor into community-supporting program
- T1 T2 4B: accommodate extra space in front of community program to facilitate public appropriation
- T1 4C: ensure vertical depth: maintaining low-scale architecture (maximum of five floors) that promotes interaction on different levels
- T1 4D: activate roofscapes
- T1 4E: facilitate infrastructure that supports informalities
- T1 4F: facilitate infrastructure that supports social gathering
- T2 4G: add green elements so the overall quality of the street is increased and more likely to be used

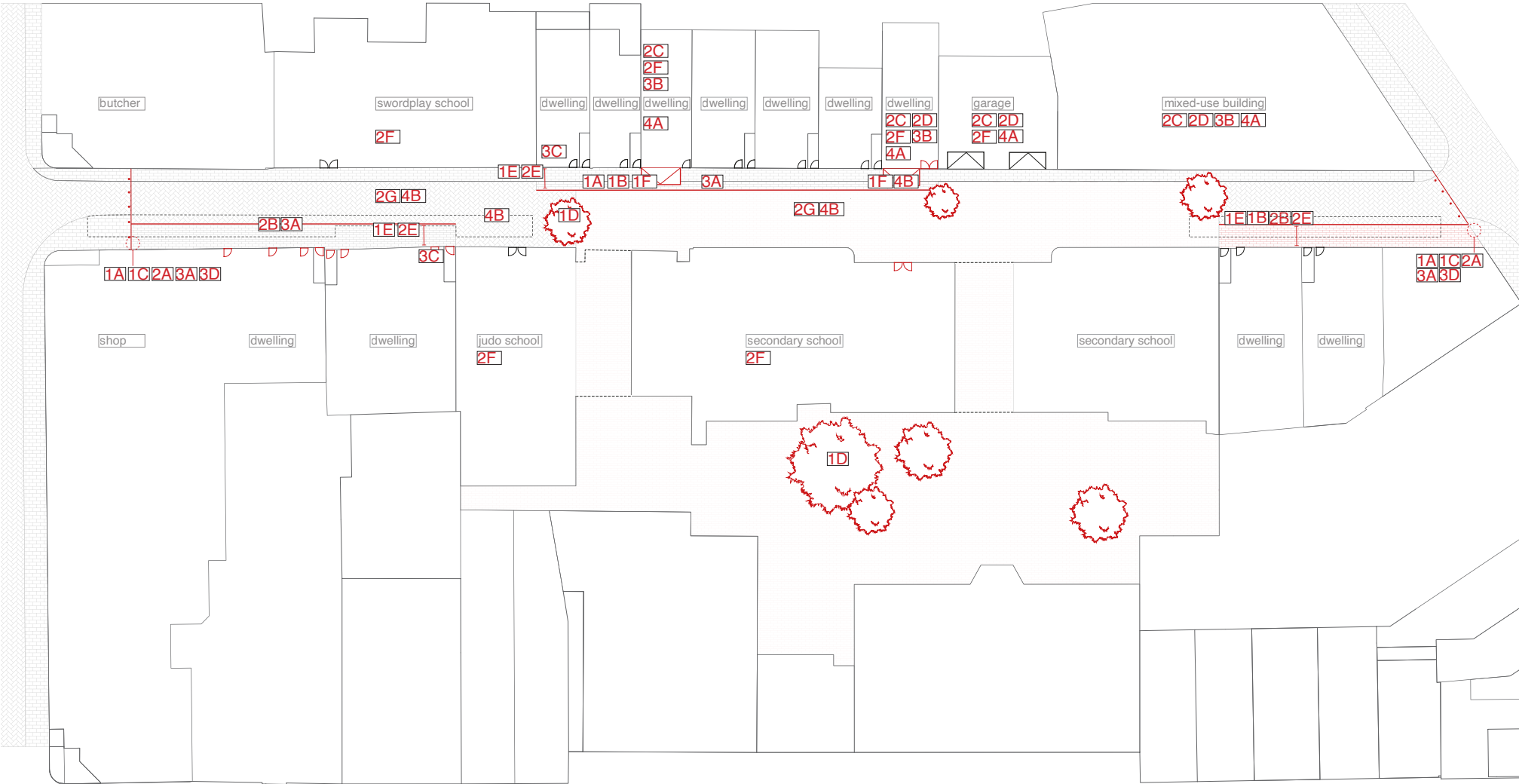














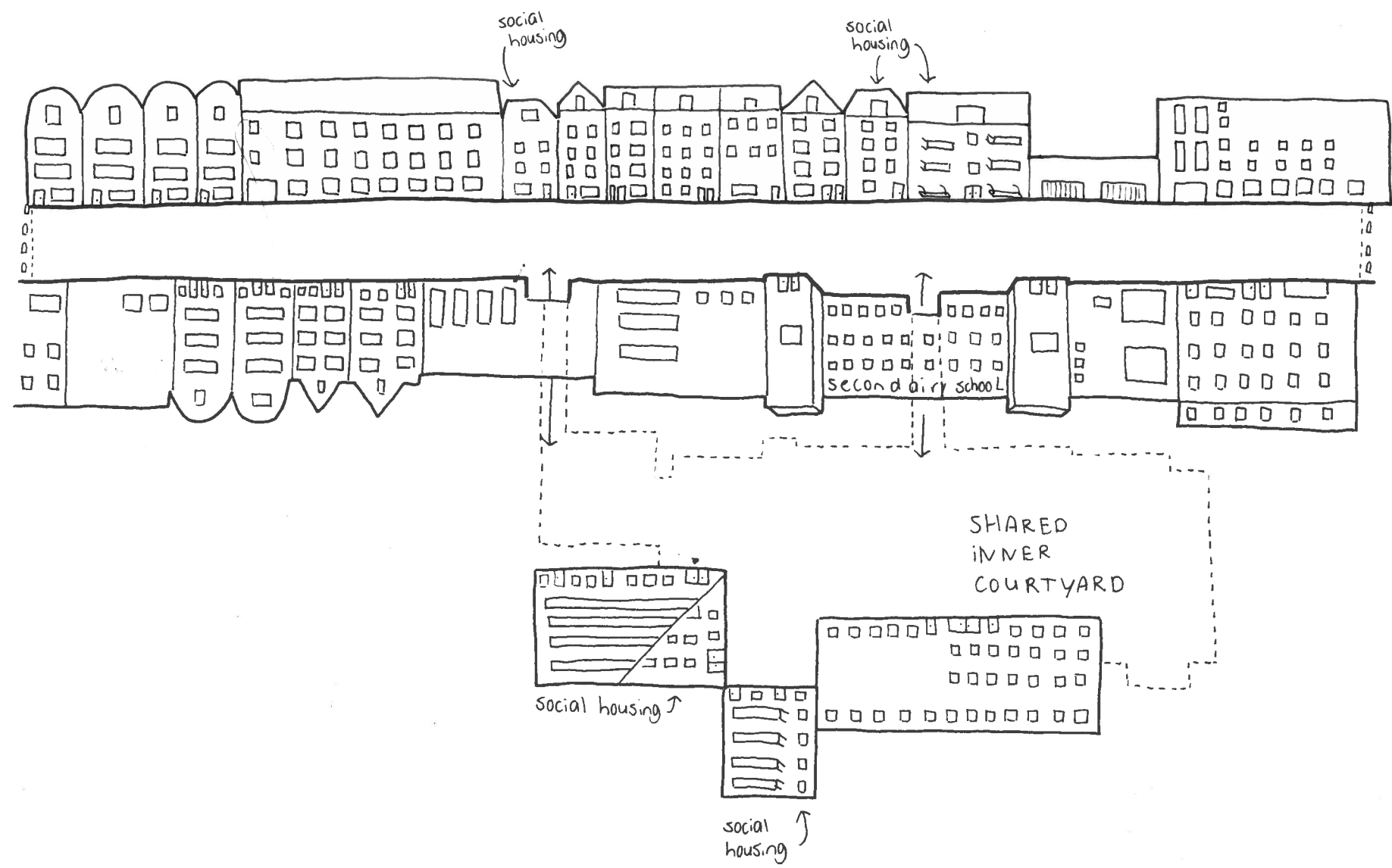


Fig. 131: Technical section Community Street legend
(1:500)



- | | | |
|--|---|--|
|  transition in materialisation |  opportunity for (in)formal ground floor shop |  existing material street |
|  new end of stoep
<i>(2m in front of dwelling)</i> |  existing (in)formal ground floor shop |  new material street |
|  existing end of stoep |  new green element |  existing material stoep |
|  removal parking lot |  existing ground-floor entrance |  new material stoep |
| |  new ground-floor entrance |  existing social housing |
| |  new vertical object
(to block traffic and emphasize new territory) | |

COMMUNITY STREET

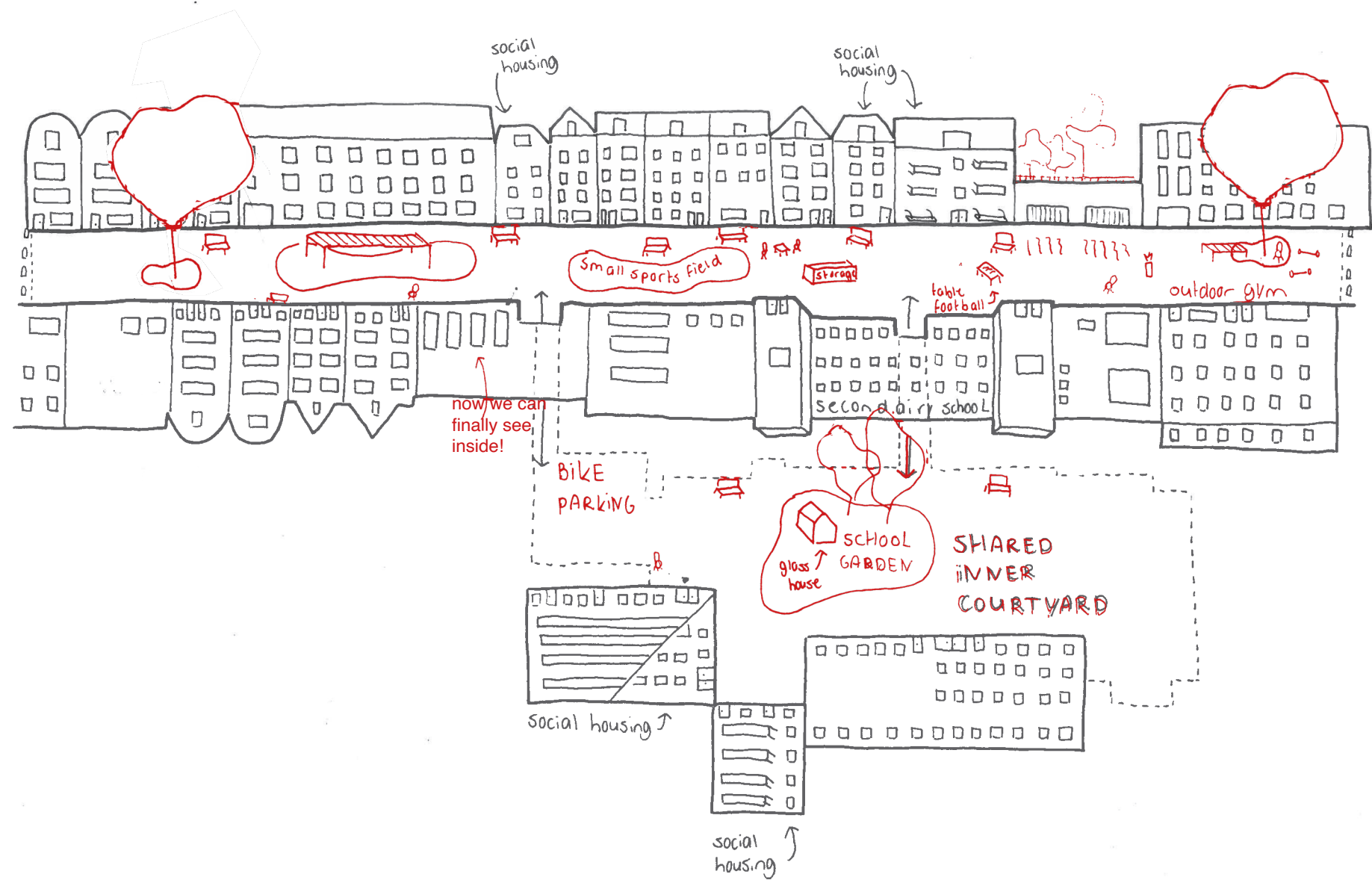


132: New situation without bottom-up interventions

difference in materialisation marks different territories
vertical objects mark net territory
green elements emphasize the more private territorial depth
relocating entrance to hofje
street becomes extension of school: as a public playground
visual connection with ground floor
semi-private hatch in front of dwellings as important buffer zone from public spheres
cutting street off from traffic
opportunities for ground floor to transform into informal shops
transformation of parking spaces into an extension of the local street space
entrances on street side
add vertical depth
add green elements for increasing overall quality of the street
street as extension of local public program
opportunity for community center to locate here
new entrances of social housing located at inner courtyard



COMMUNITY STREET



133: New situation with bottom-up interventions

street as extension of local public- and community program
inner courtyard is transformed into shared inner courtyard
hofje is transformed into local community garden
additional urban furniture supports the option for social gatherings
additional greenery is planted inside the street
benches facing the sun facilitate the opportunity to sit down and enjoy the street scenery
supportive infrastructure facilitates local activities (outdoor kitchen, sharing facilities box, water point, glass house)
stoep in front of the houses is claimed and appropriated by its residents
street is actively used as a public sport ground
a community center on the ground floor of social housing offers free coffee
commercial coffee place is opening up: parents can get a cup of coffee while waiting for their children
mixed norms appropriate, live and perceive this street alongside of each other



SMOOTH STREET+

street type	description	crucial aspects that define spatial condition of street type	urgencies
smooth street <div></div> smooth street+	<p>Existing smooth streets offer the programmatic opportunities that attracts a variety of norms. This enlargers interaction moments between users and norms, as well as promotes a diverse appropriation of smoothened parts of the city in a more inclusive way.</p> <p>By introducing non-commercial program and providing affordable ground-floor program spaces, a more diverse range of activities (otherness) can be unlocked that supports and attracts the other. The streetscape in addition can contribute to local program by offering the necessary public space design that supports and emphasizes the public character of the street, while providing spaces for social gathering and interaction.</p>	<p>1. very public (high to highest score on Space Syntax map)</p> <p>2. defined as smooth street, based on activities and materialization</p> <p>3 .mixed-use livingstreet</p> <p>(4. existence of social housing alongside street, as a plus, but not as a necessity)</p>	<p>1. enable affordable ground-floor spaces that can locate community-supportive program</p> <p>2. strategically adding ground floor program that does not contain consumerism activities (community center, local workshop spaces, local church, etc.)</p> <p>3. enable opportunity to appropriate stoep in front of ground floor program</p>



Fig. 134 smooth streets that have the opportunity for transformation to smooth street+ types



Fig. 135: Smooth street+ and smooth streets

smooth streets



Fig. 136: Smooth street+ and commercial ground floor program

Restaurants and cafés
Drinking establishments
Food and drinks takeaways



Fig. 137: Smooth street+ and space syntax

angular choice of street
low
high

SMOOTH STREET+

opportunities

- 1.transforming streetscape into sequence smoothness and informalities
- 2.adding infrastructure in public realm that supports local social gathering
- 3.enlarge stoep in front of community-supportive or more informal program, to emphasize interior activities while allowing interior to extend into the public realm
- 4.transforming streetscape into social supporting hub
- 5. adding vertical depth; activate roofscapes, adding interaction

Important disclaimer

This street functions as an important sequence of both smoothness as well as otherness to take place. Because of this, interaction between a diversity of norms can be facilitated and fostered. In order for this to work, the role of the stoep plays a crucial role. The difference in materialization as well as the legal framework that supports otherness to happen in the public realm remains a necessity. The moment the spatial design of the street or the legal framework supporting it is erased, the likelihood for this street to function like an important combination of smoothness and otherness will not maintain, and the dominant norm will most likely take the upper-hand, resulting in homogeneity in its users and activities that affects important feelings of publicness and inclusivity.

spatial elements catalogue

that enrich the depth structure that is needed for the other to manifest itself in the public eye

1. Membrane

(transition zones)

- T2 1A: difference in materialization marks new territory
- T2 1B: difference in height marks different territory
- T2 1 1C: assure a distance of 3 meters in front of ground floor program, to offer opportunity to extend interior program into public realm
- T2 1D: visual connection with ground floor program emphasizes interaction between inside- and outside
- T2 1E: private spaces are situated on higher floors or elevated, to emphasize public character of the street while protecting private territories

2. Incomplete form

(porosities)

- T2 2A: opportunities for ground floor to to transform into community-supportive/ informal program
- T1 T2 2B: enable opportunity for local program to extend onto the streetscape
- T1 T2 2C: maximize stoep-space in front of community-supportive program to maximize opportunity to extend local program into public realm
- 1 2D: maximize stoep-space in front of community-supportive program to maximize opportunity for social gathering

3. Narratives of development

(informal appropriation)

- T1 3A: opportunities for ground floor to to transform into informal shops or community-supporting program
- T1 T2 1 3B: enable opportunity for local program to extend onto the streetscape
- T1 T2 1 3C: maximize stoep-space in front of informal and community-supportive program as much as possible to allow informal appropriation
- T2 3D: locate all entrances on the street-side

4. Democratic space

(space for different norms to interact)

- 1 4A: opportunities for ground floor program to to transform local ground floor into community-supporting program
- T1 4B: accommodate extra space in front of community program to facilitate public appropriation
- T1 T2 4C: ensure vertical depth: maintaining low-scale architecture (maximum of four to five floors) that promotes interaction on different levels
- T1 4D: facilitate infrastructure that supports informalities
- T1 1 4E: facilitate infrastructure that supports social gathering
- T1 1 4F: maximize stoep-space in front of informal and community-supportive program as much as possible to maximize opportunity for social gathering

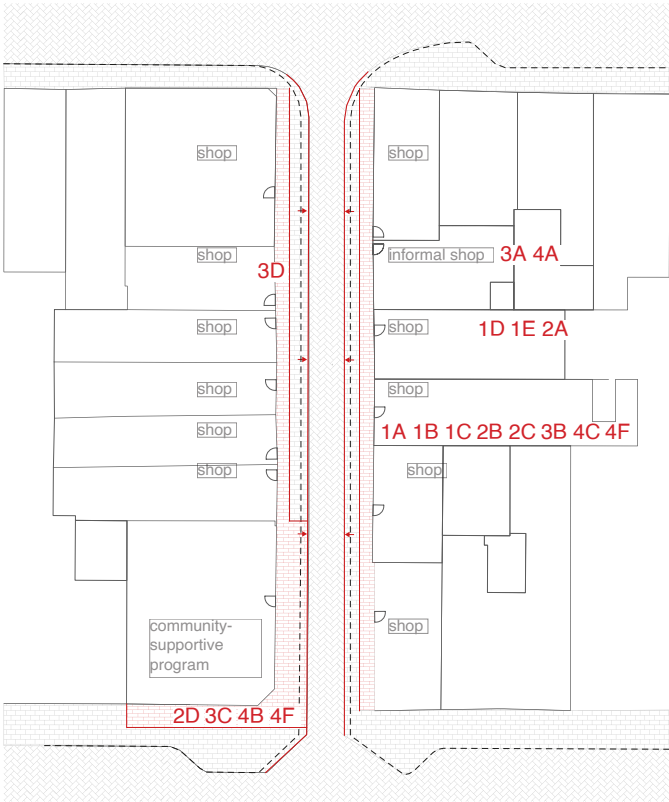


Fig. 138: Technical section Smooth Street+ (1:500)

legend

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|
| — | transition in materialisation | | existing material street |
| — | new end of stoep
(3m in front of shop) | | existing material stoep |
| ↑ | expanding stoep | | new material stoep in
front of shop |
| --- | former edge of car road | | |
| ⌋ | existing ground-floor
entrance | | |



SMOOTH STREET+



139: New situation without bottom-up interventions (example 03: winter situation)

- difference in materialisation marks different territories
- visual connection with ground floor
- dwellings are situated on higher floors to protect private depths
- enlarging stoep
- opportunities for ground floor to extend onto the stoep
- entrances on street side
- opportunity for community center to locate here (corner)



SMOOTH STREET+



BOTTOM-UP INTERVENTIONS

140: New situation with bottom-up interventions (example 03: winter situation)

local cornershop takes important role in social gatherings
ground floor is actively used, also with informal program
additional urban furniture supports the option for social gatherings
supportive infrastructure facilitates local activities (outdoor bbq, public art display, ..)
stoep in front of the houses is claimed and appropriated by ground floor program
pockets of otherness are situated on the ground floor



PLUG ‘N PLAY STREET

street type

description

crucial aspects that define spatial condition of street type

urgencies

very public

mains treet
plug ‘n play street

Some of the existing living- and mixed-use streets contain community-supporting programs, such as schools, community centers, sport facilities etc., but lack the public space that supports it. As a result, much of the local community activities are taking place inside or behind fences/walls. By cutting these more private mixed-use livingstreets with community programs from traffic, the activities of the local community interiors can be extended into the public realm, so that the street can be understood as a small-scaled square that fosters and contributes to local social activities while providing the public arena for encounters between a variety of user groups.

- 1. semi-private (low to medium score on Space Syntax map), so it can be partially cut off from traffic
- 2. availability of community supportive program
- 3. medium-scaled architectural scale, emphasizing public character of the street
- 4. existence of social housing alongside street, as a plus, but not as a necessity)

- 1.adding infrastructure in public realm that supports local activities in shared green space
- 2.adding infrastructure in public realm that supports local social gathering
- 3. strategically adding ground floor program that does not contain consumerism activities (community center)
- 4. including social housing alongside by adding vertical depth
- 5. all entrances on street-side
- 6.partly cutting off streets from traffic, so it becomes a semi-private street and supports pedestiranized area
- 7. enlarging public space in the street as much as possibly, so the interior of the community-supportive program can be extended into the public realm



Fig. 141 streets with community program that offer opportunity for transformation into community streets

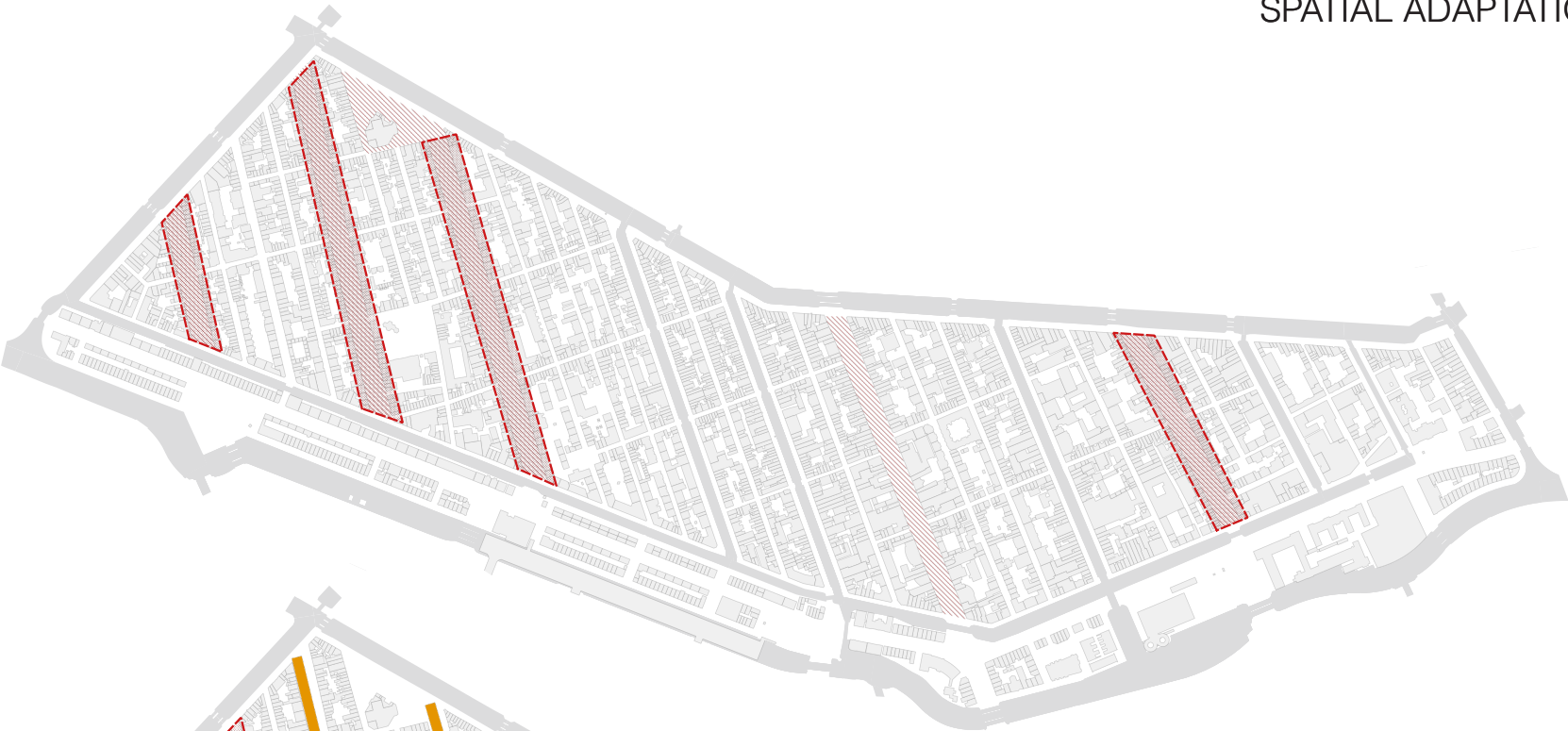


Fig. 142: Plug 'N Play street and public spaces where the other is partially found

public spaces where the other is partially found



Fig. 143: Plug 'N Play street and main street types

Main street

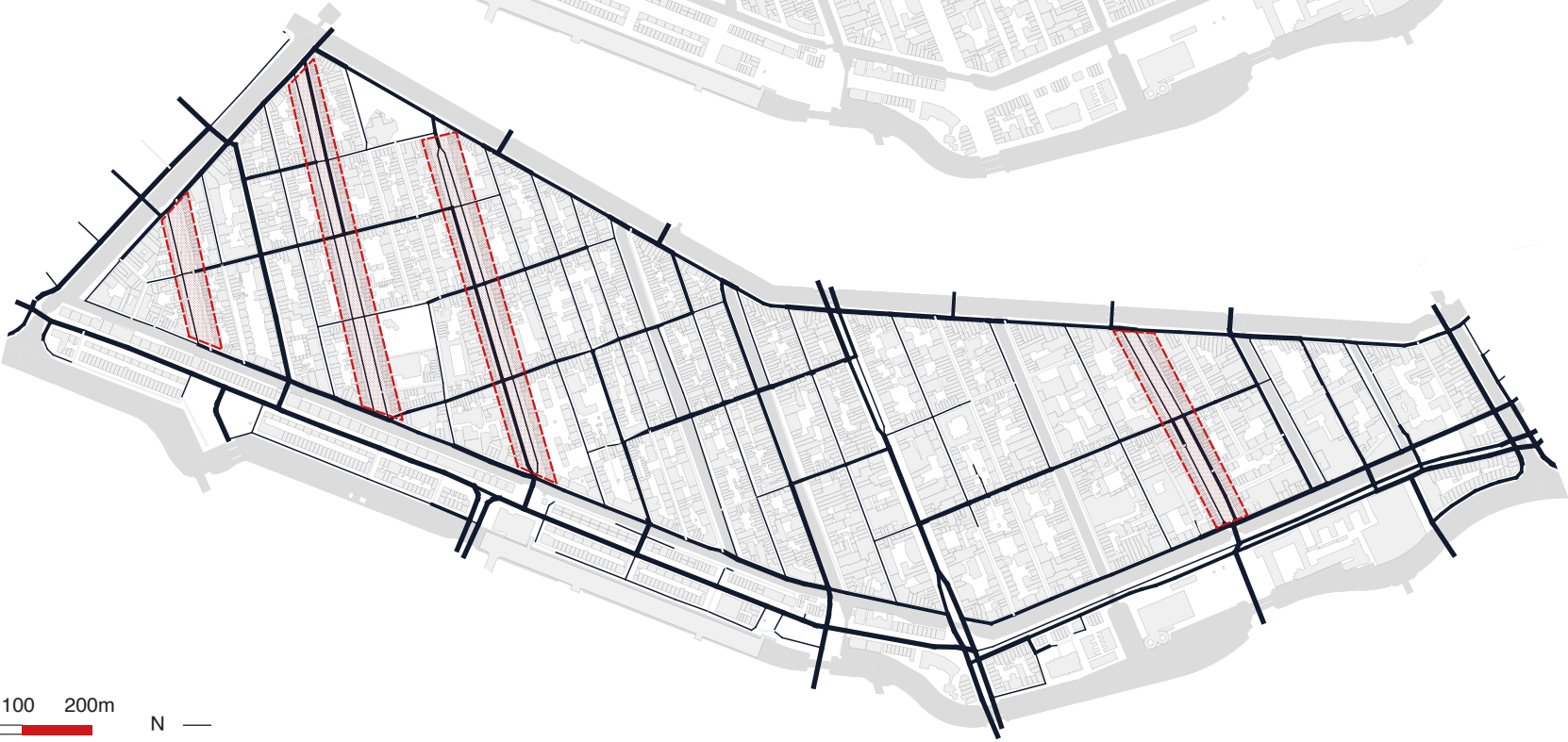


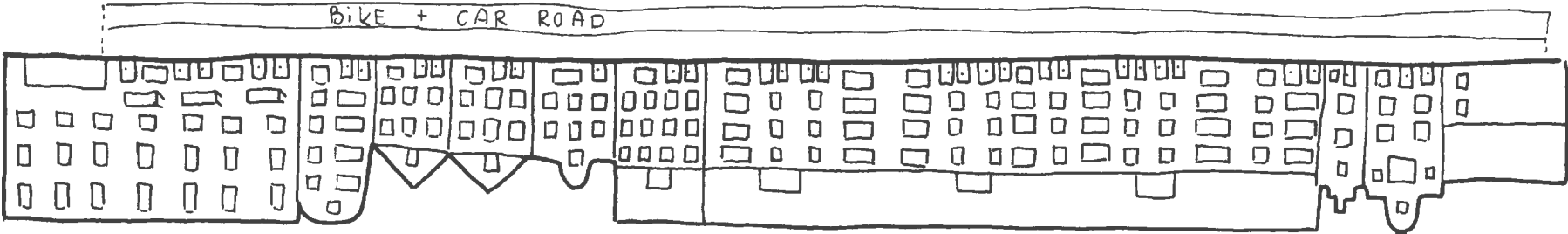
Fig. 144: Plug 'N Play street and space syntax

angular choice of street

low

high

PLUG 'N PLAY STREET



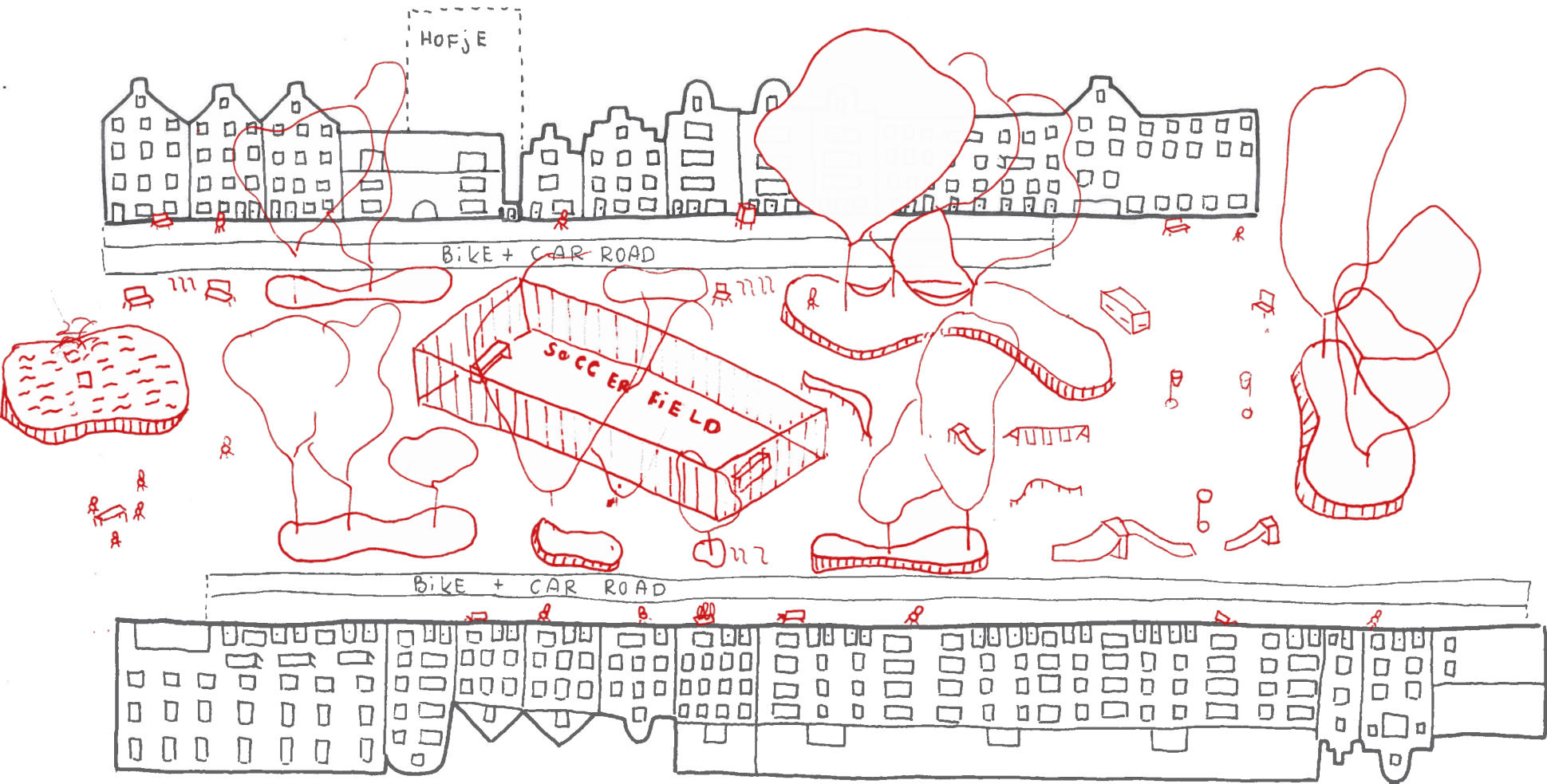
BOTTOM-UP INTERVENTIONS

145: New situation without bottom-up interventions (example 03: winter situation)

difference in materialisation marks different territories
green elements emphasize the more private territorial depth
central core offers spatial set-up for larger scales public activities
semi-private hatch in front of dwellings as important buffer zone from public spheres
add vertical depth
add green elements for increasing overall quality of the street
street as extension of local public program
raised entrances of dwellings to protect private depths
opportunity for commercial and community supportive profram on ground floor



PLUG 'N PLAY STREET



146: New situation with bottom-up interventions

street as extension of local public- and community program
additional urban furniture supports the option for social gatherings
additional greenery is planted inside the street
benches facing the sun facilitate the opportunity to sit down and enjoy the street scenery
stoep in front of the houses is claimed and appropriated by its residents
street is actively used as a public square
a community center on the ground floor of social housing offers free coffee
larger-scaled infrastructure supports public life that needs more space (soccer fields, skatepark or even a festival square)
mixed norms appropriate, live and perceive this street alongside of each other

CONCLUSIONS

What spatial transformation can work towards Just urban environments that embrace different norms, giving space to the other, within a smoothened environment of Amsterdam?

Smoothness is an abstract phenomenon that was recently coined by Boer to articulate the increasing desire for efficiency, perfection and control in the urban environment (2023). This thesis triangulated smoothness as the imposition of a dominant norm associated with control and order, set within an urban framework that revolves around the accumulation, protection, and representation of capital.

As a result, cities increasingly shift towards an unequal entity that serves only those with enough power and commodities to claim a part of the city and make it their own. Leading to a hegemonic existence, both in its spatial representation as well as the way its used and the expressed norms, this new urban environment lacks the crucial opportunities to serve as a framework to explore ourselves, the other and society as a whole. In addition, it lacks the needed confrontation and negotitaion in space between a diversity of norms that is needed to confront existing unequal power-structures. This, in turn, serves as the foundation for what Sennett refers to as closed systems (2006), which have the three following counter-effects:

1. Actual loss of participation in community life
2. Total repression of deviants, no place for 'the other,' and no true place for 'us.'
3. Strong relation to violence and the matrix of control

To move from closed systems, this thesis has incorporated theories about the Open City (Sennett, 2006), described as an open system that is in unstable evolution. In the Open City, disorder is promoted that incorporates important modes of friction between a diversity of norms that help us reposition and reformulate powerstructures structures, which in turn contribute to the development of civilised society at large.

In order to synthesize spatial adaptations in the existing urban fabric that contribute to open systems, this master thesis first explored how smoothness is manifested by looking into the case-study area of the Jordaan, which has shown significant levels of smoothness through time. This becomes clear from its morphological inception that follows the original polder-structure, representation of the neighbourhood, lack in maintenance that turned the area into an 'urban slum' as well as desire to gain control by introducing an urban regeneration plan in the 1960s that was supposed to tear down the entire neighbourhood and relocate its residents. In the contemporary situation, smoothening is expressed through an extreme control on tolerated behaviour, Disneyfication processes, commodification processes, while local pop media emphasizes the negative side-effects of gentrification processes in the city. The Jordaan in particular shows strong levels of commodification over time, resulting in a strong increase in land-value that goes along with gentrification processes that attract high-end shops and a new usergroup: the urban rich. Socio-spatial analysis revealed how smoothness spatially manifests itself through high-quality and shiny materials that increase the value of adjacent properties, as well as adjacent buildings that always contain high-value housing and/or shops. Furthermore, any dirt or informality is removed, and the primary activities revolve around consumerism. As a result, opportunities to appropriate and claim the urban are unequally distributed, concerning those who have the power, commodities or spatial opportunities to do so. This results in an increasing homogeneous overrepresentation of the dominant norm in the urban realm, and a significant spatial fragmentation of usergroups.

In addition, the overrepresented extravagant lifestyles of the urban rich in the public realm of the neighbourhood strongly contradicts with the original identity of the neighbourhood as well as with its local residents that are situated in the social housing structures. This affects the willingness and comfort of the other to publicly claim a part of the city, for some are feeling a lot of shame over their personal living

situation. As a result, we can see how the other manifests itself in a different, more private urban setting of the Jordaan: the safe spaces. What the safe spaces have in common, is that they are out of the direct public eye, inside the very private depths of the urban realm and that the other is in control of the amount of access, activities, rules, appropriation and design layout of these spaces.

An increase in smoothness pressures the 'safe' spatial context in which the other feels confident and secure enough to make a spatial claim. In response to this increase, the private depths of the neighbourhood are increasingly shut off by the other in order to protect the safe spatial context, resulting in isolation of different groups of people. In addition, not everyone has equal access to the safe spaces, causing extreme feelings of loneliness in the neighbourhood.

By exploring theories of territorial depth, a solution is found in the understanding of the city as a sequence of territories (Habraken, 1998) that spatially define our understanding of the physical urban realm and activate our appropriation-opportunities as well as behaviour in the urban realm. Specifically, urban depth structures contribute to the total number of transition zones from public to private that, depending on their changing spatial conditions, facilitate different norms and activities. The richer an urban depth structure (meaning: the more steps exist from public to private), the more opportunities arise for otherness to take place. In addition, the richness of extra steps is where social life takes place and local culture emerges (Clossick, 2017). In here, dominant norms can both be challenged as well as deconstructed, which carve out place for a counter-narrative, which form an important back-bone in confronting and decomposing existing unequal powerstructures in society.

Observation, ethnographic mapping, interviews and insider-perspectives in addition informed existing depth-structures and has taught where the other is manifested and what spatial conditions exist to social structures and activities. Overlapping this insider-information with existing understandings of street typologies, gave opportunities for targeted and location-specific design interventions that contribute to changing the territorial context that is needed for the other to manifest itself publicly. Translated into a spatial adaptation framework, an in-depth description formulates urgencies and opportunities that can help enrich local depth- structures. Here, particular conditionalities are discussed, for different design interventions need different understandings of space or have a different output.

Furthermore, theories about the Open City have shaped additional contributions to the neighbourhood, enabling bottom-up strategies that (in)formally reshape our mental and physical understanding of the city. Supportive infrastructure can promote and stimulate city-making processes, potentially leading to situations that do not yet exist or that the designer has not considered.

The bottom-up needs of a place may change over time, due to changing norms, understandings, usergroups or lifestyles. For this reason, urban time plays a crucial role in understanding important mechanisms of city-making. The spatial framework recognises this need by providing a richness of depths across scales to accommodate the territorial settings required for a diversity of norms to express themselves over time.

As a result, an urban environment is generated that allows a diversity of affordances in which a variety of norms can express themselves in the public eye while contributing in important negotiation- and understanding processes of Just Cities. The large variety of territorial settings constitutes a fair distribution of opportunities

to make a spatial claim. It therefore offers the spatial conditions necessary for a variety of norms to express themselves, actively promoting the acknowledgement of different norms as well as promotes equal opportunities to make a spatial claim in the urban context.

By actively promoting Open Cities concepts, confrontation and acknowledgement of norms are also included, which serve as the essential foundation for uncovering and restoring unequal power-relationships.

These combinations of elements eventually lead to a more Just outcome, in which the city can be comprised of a complexity of layers that are needed in important processes of city-making. The expression of different norms in addition results in a more Just representation of society and offers the just spatial conditions needed to partake in fair democratic processes that shape ourselves, the city and society at large.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Throughout the various aspects of the overall research project, there are numerous opportunities for additional research. This includes expanding the theoretical, methodological, and design aspects of the research.

The understanding of norms and their expressions is now investigated through an elaborated theoretical underpinning. In here, the way norms come into being and are imposed play an important role in the formulation of them for this research. Hence, links to spatial understandings of norms are a result of the theoretical understanding of their appearance. Fieldwork has shown, however, that observation and a better understanding of local depth structures can provide an additional understanding of norms.

The Jordaan has demonstrated that, under certain spatial conditions, diverse norms make equal spatial claims while maintaining mutual respect for the claims of others and for themselves. Examples from fieldwork include semi-public playgrounds, where mothers and fathers from various norms shared the same enclosed urban space while respecting each other's needs. The appropriation varied, and when I sat down to read a book for two hours, I did not feel "out of place." Different appropriations and understandings of space expressed by various norms were all tolerated and occurring concurrently. This suggests how norms are, indeed space-bound, but moreover, how the need of particular spatial conditions can result in the fostering of a diversity of norms and appropriations in peace. The enclosed playground, which was surrounded by noise-proof buildings, as well as the emphasis on a place for small children to play, communicated the space's specific urban condition and the desired behaviour for that setting. Because of that, I was able to read my book in there without disrupting the urban script, even though my norm, needs and understanding differed from the parents. Additional research could focus on the spatial needs of a specific urban depth, as well as how they align with the needs of a variety of norms, all of which simultaneously and equally stake a claim to that territory.

Furthermore, many of the successful safe spaces were the result of local residents taking ownership of the area. Further research could revolve around understanding ownership in the urban realm, as well as how urban depth can resonate and foster different levels of ownership in the urban realm.

To gain a better understanding of the current needs of urban depths, a local design workshop could be implemented, allowing local residents to respond and express their concerns about the environment in which they live. Furthermore, future research could include a more robust feedback loop that helps to redefine the changing contextual understandings and needs of urban depths in a specific location. Further research could include comparing existing design frameworks in similar cases to gain a better understanding of potential opportunities and constraints. The design aspect could be further investigated by documenting best practices, success factors, and limitations in similar cases and spatial conditions. This allows for the exploration of new elaborated views on urban depths as well as urban design interventions, which can then be formalised and integrated into the spatial adaptation framework. Furthermore, it could lead to an increased impact on inclusive design interventions at the local level.

REFLECTION

ON RESULTS & OUTCOMES

How do you assess the value of the transferability of your project results?

The increasing effects of commodifying urban structures results in the appearance of smooth environments, both in the way they look as well as in the way they function. This thesis triangulated smoothness as the imposing of norms within a framework that drives around the accumulation, protection, or representation of capital. This process results in exclusive urban environments that serve only those who fit into the dominant norm or have the power and commodities to contribute to the general understanding of norms, and in which otherness is removed or kept out of the public view. This in turn affects important democratic processes, for spaces for ‘commononing’, negotiating, and conflict in the public realm are diminished or erased, and different user groups of the city are isolated and fragmented.

Although processes of smoothening are not a new phenomenon, the explorative nature of this research thesis contributes to the spatial understanding of the manifestation and its socio-spatial consequences of smoothness in order to unlock (spatial) solutions towards a more inclusive and Just city. The spatial understanding and conditionalities of the urban fabric therefore served as the backbone for moving towards this final aim.

A link was found between theoretical claims and real-life evidence. Coming from theory, a complete ‘smooth’ environment was expected in the case-study area (Fig. 137). Extensive fieldwork, however, revealed how the imposing of norms was different and more complex layered than initially anticipated. In line with theoretical assumptions, smoothness indeed was linked with high-quality materiality, program and user groups. However, by just viewing smoothness as one particular spatial entity that is a result of capitalist structures, important layers are overlooked that comprise the understanding of a neighbourhood and their social networks. Solutions towards Just cities therefore can not be found in the counter-smooth, or by simply viewing the urban as a dichotomy of smooth or non-smooth.

This research demonstrated how the built environment rather is built up from a sequence of territories that make up our understanding of the spatial context through which we move and make up our lives. The design of the urban directly influences the way we behave, feel and act in a certain place, for it informs us of the local urban script: unwritten rules that prescribe what you can or cannot do in a certain place (Boer, 2023). A rich transition from the private realms to the public realms in addition contributes to changing spatial conditions that help in the important communication of local territories. Referred to as urban depths, these different conditions allow a variety of activities to take place for a variety of user groups. It is exactly in the rich transition from public to private where otherness or informality can be shaped, and form the physical arena in which local communities are comprised (Clossick, 2017). Smoothening processes demonstrated how an unequal distribution of opportunities to make a spatial claim developed, resulting in extreme social fragmentation, isolation, and the transformation of public streets into exclusive entities. The fixed design of ‘what is allowed and tolerated to happen and in what way’ also eliminates important alternative understandings of urban space. The combination of the two results demonstrates that smoothness is not a fixed entity, but rather a process of flattening out local depth-structures in order to impose a more harsh transition that excludes imaginary or spontaneous alternatives.

To move from this closed system, this thesis looked at ways to enrich local depth-structures, so that informality and the opportunity for a variety of norms to publicly

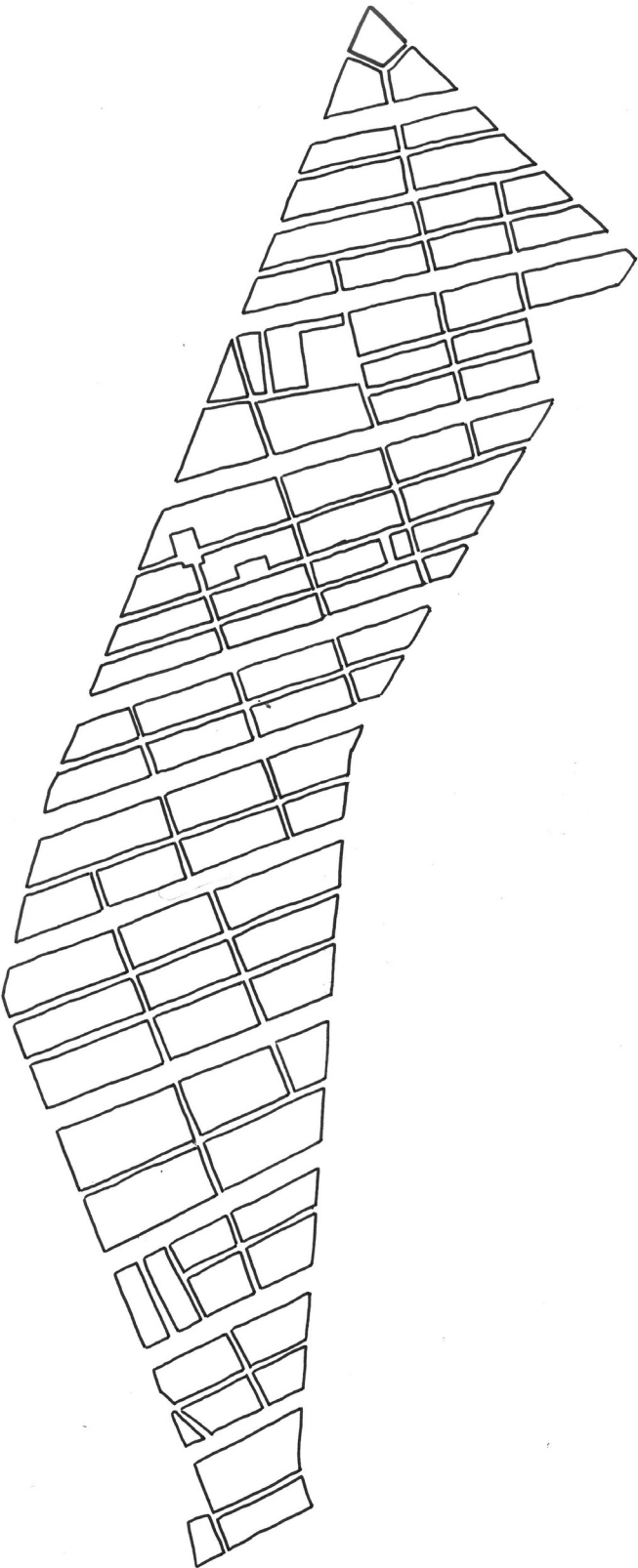


Fig. 147: Expected depth-structure
detail level 1:5000

I N
□ edge smooth street

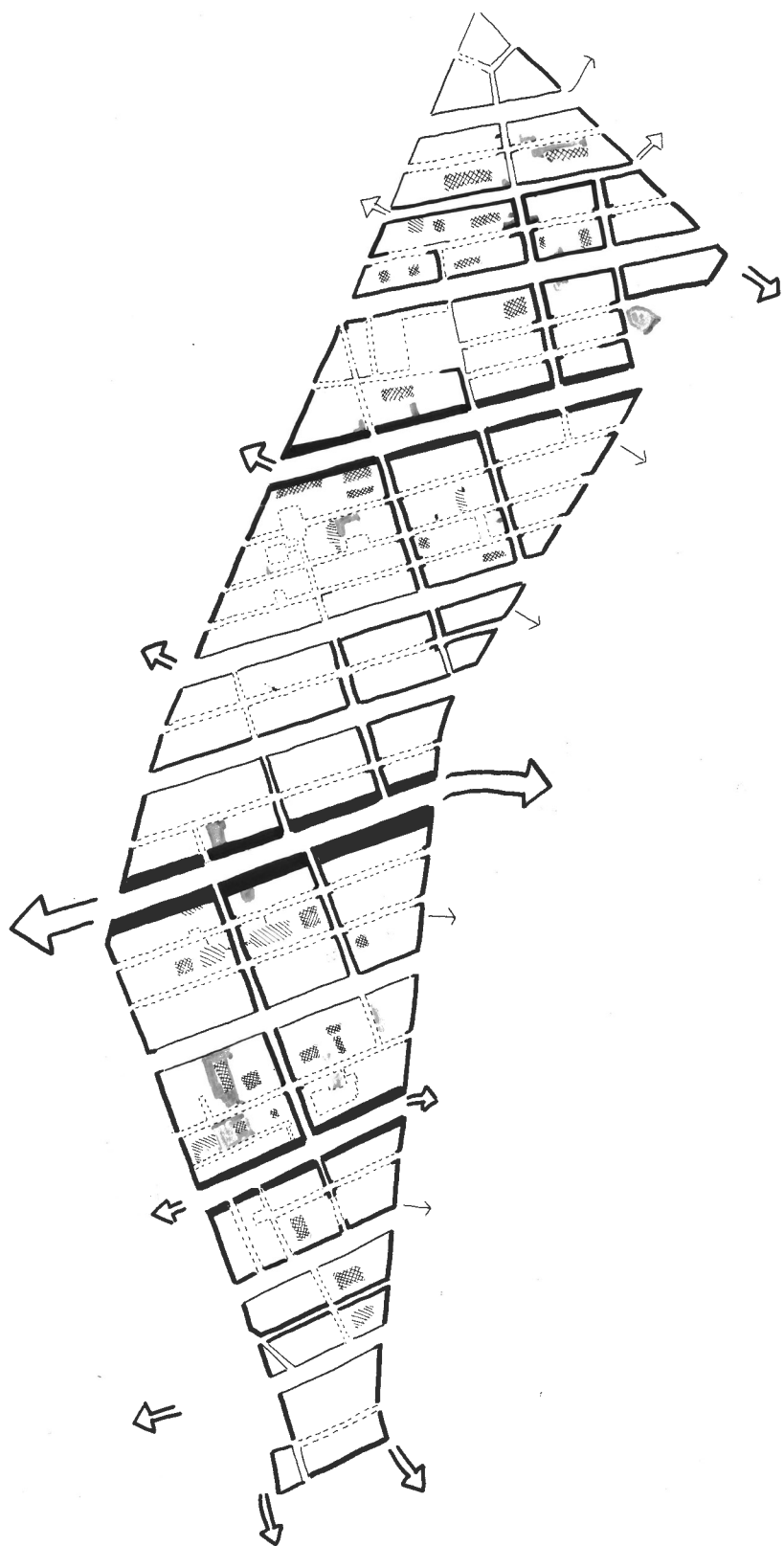


Fig. 148: Existing depth-structure
detail level 1:5000

make a spatial claim persist. Extensive observation, ethnographic mapping, morphological analysis, data-analysis (program, usergroups, Space Syntax) and spatial analysis formed the main source of information for generating an updated understanding of local depth-structures in the area (Fig. x). However, since otherness is often removed from the public eye, a more thorough understanding of depth-structures needs a in-depth insider-analysis. This research is limited to only few interviews and conversations with human subjects on the street, as well as time- and place-bound related observations. Conclusions from insider-perspectives in this research are therefore limited and do not cover a reasonable understanding of the exact needs and depths of local social networks.

More discussions about local social structures may reveal additional information. This could be obtained through local (design) workshops, additional conversations with local residents, interviews with people who are influential in local social networks, and actively participating/organizing in public events.

The conclusions drawn from urban depth analysis aided in abstracting design principles that contribute to the richness of depth structures through scales. The spatial adaptation framework is then applied to determine where the spatial transformations can occur, which is site- and context-specific, and determined by the existing opportunities and needs of the location. This leads to a new proposal for urban depth structures in the neighbourhood (Fig. 138), which promotes more private, in-depth activities and appropriations. Careful attention is paid to the transition between territories, through scales, for this strongly influences the perception of the local urban script and determines our ability and opportunity to actually express a norm or make a spatial claim.

By incorporating richness into contemporary depth-structures in the Jordaan, this study discovered new territories that can provide the spatial framework required for otherness to occur while actively participating in public life alongside other norms. This allows for different perspectives on the urban, as informality is encouraged and reflected upon. In modern urban development strategies, a final design output is typically provided that spatially imposes norms: 'we determine what is allowed to happen in this place, in what way, and by whom'. By setting a rich variety of territories ranging from public to private, this form of imposition is as much removed as possible, for it allows individual and bottom-up interpretations and usages of the urban environment. This may imply that a particular street is occasionally underutilised or overutilized, but this thesis emphasises that it is precisely this breathing mechanism over time that allows us to understand and critically reflect on modes of commoning, which frequently reflect larger societal concerns.

For this reason, urban time is important, because it takes time for people to feel comfortable enough to adapt, and different needs and uses of urban spaces change over time. The urban framework should support such changes and allow for various interpretations and negotiations over time. Strategic points of reflection could be embedded to determine whether the designed territory actually supports local structures, as well as what a place's local needs are at any given time.

Furthermore, many of the successful safe spaces were the result of local residents taking ownership of the area. Further research could focus on understanding ownership in the urban realm, as well as how urban depth can resonate and foster different levels of ownership.

An additional urban timeline can furthermore can help in reviewing and updating understandings of territories. Reflection moments, captured in public events, can

help open up conversations with local residents of different norms that contribute to an updated understanding and spatial output of a specific street or part of a neighborhood. Design workshops in addition can help in bettering the urban conditions that are needed for otherness to happen. This in turn might result in a revised legal- and financial support. Additional stakeholder analysis could also serve as a catalyst for enacting the changes required to reshape local territorial conditions, as well as assisting in determining who is preventing informality and otherness from occurring.

KEY-TAKEAWAYS

How can the project findings inform the disciplines of urban design?

When focusing on a different urban area, a few key conclusions emerge that can aid in determining how future urban developments can be shaped to produce more just and inclusive outcomes.

First, it is critical to recognise how the urban requires a **sequence of territories**, as this contributes to the richness of activities at the scales required for local individuals to equally make a spatial claim and shape the urban, and thus society at large. The streetscape is an interesting starting point for this because it is the first and most visible public entity in any city and is used by everyone in an urban setting. By distinguishing a rich variety of publicness and privateness through streets, different roles of streets can be assigned that support local social networks and their activities by offering the spatial conditions for individual appropriation and interaction. This research indicated the importance of well-designed streets that fit to their **level of publicness**, and how they can either support or break apart social structures of the neighbourhood. By emphasising various street types, levels of publicness, and how they can function, a more mixed, well-used, and diverse streetscape can emerge, influencing public life and allowing a diverse range of users to express themselves in the public realm. This is crucial, for it helps us understand, confront, and update existing power structures for a variety of norms need to negotiate over space.

An in-depth understanding of the local context is required to determine which street should serve whom, in what way, and with what type of programme or level of publicity in an existing context. In here, specific attention must be paid to what gets designed space and what is actively kept out of public view, informing designers and policy makers on the dominant or imposed norm and the ability to support the **counter-narrative** that lies beyond their frame of reference.

In the current context, analysis of local **depth-structures** is critical for this reason, as they provide the primary source of information for later determining strategic design transformations that eventually lead to a more diverse and inclusive public (street) network. To accomplish this, two major components are required: 1) information gathered from observations, ethnographic mapping, fieldwork, socio-spatial analysis, morphological analysis, programme analysis, and historical analysis, and 2) information retrieved from insider perspectives. In here, a very explicit understanding of spatial design and its opportunity to enrich depth-structures are the key-component in unlocking opportunities for otherness to take place. This can be accomplished through conversations, interviews, public events, or key figures who play an important role in local social networks. This research showed the value of photographs (and more particularly: photography from an insider) as well as mapping. Furthermore, documentaries can assist in framing various urban settings

and their distinct atmospheres. The small-films in addition could function as a mediator in conversations between the designer, policy-makers and local residents, for depths become easier to discuss. Reflections and suggestions to films, photos and maps in addition work as a catalyst tool between different stakeholders in both understanding a site as well as working towards a new output.

The sequence of territories in **new urban development** projects can be implemented from the beginning of the design process. In this section, reference cases with similar contexts can be examined in order to implement existing design outcomes that have proven to be effective. Additional design implementations can be considered that thrive in urban environments and support commoning and negotiation processes. For this reason, observation can be a valuable source of information, as it reveals behavioural tendencies that do not always have the necessary spatial conditions to be expressed properly. Street typologies require special attention, as distinguishing between them aids in a better understanding of depth structures in the neighbourhood and prevents misinterpretations of local territories. Public debates among various user groups about the role of the city, the meaning of neighbourhoods, and the needs of public space contribute to a better understanding of what the urban environment should support. Additional design competitions and experiments could provide the necessary testing grounds to determine how spatial perspectives can support these needs. Constant feedback loops should remain an important component of policy timelines because they aid in reviewing and updating existing knowledge on depth structures. When an urban structure is porous, informal interpretation and re-structuring can occur, resulting in an important source of information on socio-spatial needs and opportunities.

Finally, this thesis emphasises the emergence of smoothening as an unjust process that remains within ideological concepts that prioritise economic sustainability and profit over democratic and inclusive values. In reaching more Just urban environments, core beliefs on the role of the city and its importance for society at large need to be critically reflected upon and integrated in spatial design strategies. While a richness in depths and territorial conditions allows for a more diverse and inclusive environment, the process of achieving a more democratic urban environment is far more complex and starts with the more philosophical question:

what is the role of urban space, and who has the right to it?

This also resonates with a critical review on the opportunities for a **variety of norms** to live and appropriate the urban. This study emphasised the distinction between those living in social housing and the urban wealthy. A significant gap remains between the two, acting as a polarising force that prevents interaction and results in an unequal distribution of opportunities to stake a spatial claim. A more diverse city starts with the opportunity for a more mixed group of people to live in a place and take ownership of it. This means attracting and providing the space for the middle class to live in the city and start making it their own as well.

ON ACADEMIC AND SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

COURSE RELEVANCE

What is the relation between your graduation project topic, the studio topic, your master track (A/U/BT, LA, MBE), and the master programme (MSc AUBS)?

This project interacts with different scales, through literature as well as through social-spatial analysis. By incorporating important spatial elements within the urban realm, this thesis incorporated connections between architectural form and social processes. For this reason, urban fabrics was a logical studio selection from the start, for it focusses largely on social-spatial analysis. In here, rather than only coming from theory, this studio approach helps in getting important informational input from the physical, contemporary context. Because of this, a more legitimate understanding of existing issues in the urban can be detected and responded upon. At the same time does a more thorough theoretical body give the in-depth understanding of the processes that become evident in the physical urban realm and help envision alternative, but realistic, design outcomes.

This project specifically focusses on elements to Open Up a city, counterbalancing the existing closed-systems that characterise Smooth environments. By specifically looking into urban depth theories, this thesis revolves around the understanding and adaptation of territorial settings that offer the change in spatial conditions necessary to make an urban claim. Because of this focus, this project perfectly fits within this years’ theme of the Urban Fabrics studio: porosities. At the same time, an interscalar approach gives relevant insights that help in looking for possible spatial transformation that can unlock spatial justice. In addition, the phenomenon of Smooth Cities as described is an urban phenomenon, but becomes relevant to the scale of the body for this is where the urban is lived and perceived. For this reason, a link is also made to architectural scales. The tracks of both architecture and urbanism can, however still evident, be impossibly seen as two separate entities for they strongly interrelate with each other. This also becomes clear from this thesis, that shows how information from both disciplines overlap and (re)inform each other. This works improving and leads to a better understanding and design solutions.

The distinct focus on aspects of the urban (both in its social processes and its form as well as the interrelation between the two) clearly defines this project within the boundaries of the master programme MSc AUBS. At the same time, this project recognizes the fact that the urban is built up from multidisciplinary elements, such as economical, sociological and ecological. Including aspects of these in the research help in getting a more broad understanding. However, a distinct urban design proposal, focussing on spatial transformations in the urban fabric, confine the project into the limits of the master track.

SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

How do you assess the academic and societal value, scope and implication of your graduation project, including ethical aspects?

In the increasing commodification of cities, the likelihood of smooth environments appearing is high. As a result, opportunities to (re)shape the urban are unequally distributed. At the same time, important spaces that allow for informalities are erased, and important spatial elements describing the spatial script overlooked. This leads to both static and expected appropriation of public spaces, as well as conflicts with the various needs of a public space. In addition, any space for ‘the other’ is removed. Important frictions are eliminated from the public sphere in a static urban environment where the norm is imposed and controlled. As a result, uncomfortable and confrontational positions that expose existing power structures no longer occur. This inevitably leads to an increase in social injustice in society as a whole, as well as the prevention of democratic processes.

This thesis explored ways to understand how existing closed systems can be opened up through spatial design interventions, that eventueally lead to more Just environments. This is relevant, for our physical urban environment plays a crucial role in the complex processes of city-making. When this can be done in a Just environment, meaning with a Just distribution of opportunities, the protection of individual norms as well as a Just distribution of burdens and benefits, this would positively influence important democratic processes that shape the opportunity to explore ourselves, be confronted with otherness and shape society at large.

ON RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

ON ETHICS

One of the project's many goals is to realise and systemize knowledge and experience at the community level, so it is critical to maintain the authenticity of their voice and avoid distorting it in order to achieve other goals. This study recognises the vulnerability of marginalised groups in society, who frequently find themselves on the wrong side of the spectrum. Feelings of shame also contribute to withdrawal patterns, making it difficult to properly include their perspectives. As a result, the security of their inputs is critical. This research did its best to achieve this by maintaining anonymity and properly storing collected data. Consent forms also aided in the development of a transparent agreement in which one party could withdraw from the research at any time.

Theories of justice of difference emphasise the importance of recognising existing differences between usergroups, because only just outcomes can be achieved when some groups are treated differently, giving them a better chance of achieving fair outcomes. This means that special attention is given to the marginalised, as they frequently lack the power or commodities to resonate with the urban realm in the same way that the dominantly successful do.

The act of mapping is furthermore a projection of power-knowledge (Corner, 1999). Therefore, one should be aware of the cautions that the projection of depth-structures entails, as well as carefully consider one's own role in this process of doing so. Mapping can be destructive in the sense that it ignores or overlooks important insider perspectives, but it also provides an intriguing opportunity to discover new knowledge and work towards new solutions that may not yet exist in the urban environment. 'As a creative practice, mapping precipitates its most productive effects through a finding that is also a founding; its agency lies in neither reproduction nor imposition but rather in uncovering realities previously unseen or unimagined, even across seemingly exhausted grounds' (Corner, 1999: 1). The process of mapping thus has the potential to remake, rethink, and reshape existing territories. Not every map accomplishes this. 'Make a map, not a tracing,' say philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in Corner (1999), referring to the process of only mapping what is already known rather than revealing anything new. In this case, actively involving local residents throughout the mapping process can reveal new understandings of the area, providing critical knowledge on depth-structures and potential enrichment. Known as counter-mapping, this becomes a political tool 'to understand struggles, conflicts, identities and sense of place in different territories' (Hernández, 2023). The knowledge translated into the maps coming from insider-perspectives in addition exposes their local territorial understandings while communicating their needs and understandings of the territories. Switching mediums can help enrich information translated onto maps, for it offers different ways to communicate the understandings and needs of a place.

SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

This study fills a significant knowledge gap by attempting to understand how to move from a smooth urban condition to a Just one. This research goes beyond what others have done by incorporating design as an important final product: it puts ideas about the Open City into practice.

Recent reflections on the book 'Smooth City' by various urban designers usually end with the question: 'but how do we reach this?', such as the reflection that was opened up by the Urbanistas on Archined.nl (2023). This highlights the need for a perspective and spatial solutions based on urban design. This research in addition links to existing theories on public streets (BRON BIRGIT), urban depths (BRON CLOSSICK), territories (BRON HABRAKEN) and (imposed) norms (BRON NEWTON). The outcome, however, is translated as a site-specific design strategy that showcased how alternatives can be reached that lead to more Just and inclusive environments, which is not yet been explored in such detail. This helps in opening up important discussions among urban planners, designers, academics and in politics in determining 'what should a city be and how should it look?'.

RESEARCH BY DESIGN

What is the relation between research and design in your graduation project?

Moving on from a theoretical phenomenon, urban design was chosen as the starting point to investigate how a more inclusive and just outcome can be achieved in contemporary urban contexts that are the result of commodifying processes. Understanding the design of the local fabric was thus a critical component of the entire project, as it served as the foundation for understanding the relationship between human patterns, social networks, and the role of our physical environment. The extensive analysis of design proposals and design outcomes assisted in formulating critical transformations that are required in specific depths or transition zones to aid in the communication of local scripts. The thorough understanding of design also contributed to the ability to enrich local depth-structures, which served as the foundation for otherness to occur.

Design iterations helped to raise new questions, which necessitated additional research. This is relevant when considering future urban developments ('How do we want to live, why, and how can design support this?'). During the design process, new alternatives that support a common goal can be considered. As a result, design has served not only as a final goal or end product, but also as an important means of repositioning, assisting in the framing of the research questions needed to answer the problem statement. This in addition helped in revealing new opportunities, urgencies and made the solutions more specific.

ON METHODOLOGY

How do you assess the value of your way of working (your approach, your used methods, used methodology)?

What additional methods can be of use in a different urban context in the process of understanding and mapping depth-structures?

In order to reach the main objective of this thesis, a thorough investigation on processes of smoothening remained central. This started by raising the question 'what is smooth'. The theoretical framework helped in understanding the conditionalities under which smoothness was contextualised, which is an important first step for

this might change over time as well as through both cultural- and geographical differences.

The understanding of smoothness as the imposing of norms helped in understanding who and what is valued and who and what is not. This becomes quite clear from the urban fabric by particularly looking for what gets designed space, and what is actively removed from (public) view. Morphological design choices, materiality, social traces, activity, usergroups (or lack of) and program contribute significantly in understanding what the norm is and what any form of otherness is. Historical analysis in comparison with contemporary structures in addition helps in understanding shifting norms, and the process of removing or oppressing particular norms.

By viewing the urban environment as a sequence of territories, the appearance of a variety of norms becomes evident. This research particularly emphasized how the dominant norm was associated with public realms of the city, whereas forms of otherness were associated with private realms. The process of formulating, grasping and mapping the different depths concentrated around fieldtrips. Extensive observation, ethnographic mapping in combination with photography and Space Syntax analysis revealed a more public understanding of the sequence between public and private in the Jordaan. In order to graph the private depths, insider perspectives are crucial. This research made use of interviews, conversations with human subjects on the streets as well as the active interaction of local residents and letting them map out important elements in their neighbourhood. By giving away a camera to people living in the area, a more personal portrayal of the neighbourhood is conveyed that helps in understanding both the meaning of the area for its citizens as well as links social structures to spatial elements. This research so far only ended up with one final outcome, which does not resonate with a better general understanding of the space, but did reveal interesting insights that would not have come up from observation and conversation strategies. A more quantitative approach, but from an insider perspective like this, could help in better portraying the meaning of specific spaces for social networks. Overlaps in specific spaces in the neighbourhood in addition could serve as an important source of information that can be spatially analysed to understand what the spatial conditions are that contribute to an overall value of the space.

Photography as well as small films in addition can work as a catalyst for local conversations, that open up different aspects of the neighbourhood or help in comforting human subjects to speak about the area, for it is easier to understand and grasp than the (formal) distance of a map.

Other ways to abstract insider-information is through the organizing or attending of local public events that attract a variety of norms, to help open up conversations about the area.

Finally, design principles were extracted from conclusions on existing depth-structures that formed the main source for determining where what particular spatial transformations can take place. The proposed plan therefore is a response to an existing context. However, as discussed, sometimes particular depths might be uncovered, social traces and networks lacking or overlooked or particular behavioral tendencies might not be expressed while evident. For this reason, the urban should mostly function as a porous system that allows different interpretations of the urban, to also allow appropriations and usages that the designer might not think about at all. This research focussed on the enriching on depths to reach this, but alternatives might be found in the organizing of public events that provoke processes of commoning

and negotiation. Design experiments (partially closing off a street, adding specific urban furniture, contributing new infrastructure) can furthermore work as a test-ground that facilitates other understandings and means of the urban. Reflection moments, discussion groups, less legal objection as well as open communication with local residents furthermore inform an updated understanding of how the urban could function. This can be enriched with design challenges and interdisciplinair discussions on the role of a (particular) urban area.

An additional stakeholder analysis could help to identify opportunities for location-specific and targeted design interventions. It would furthermore highlight existing power relationships (who has power over what type of space), assisting in determining who and where to contact in order to change the power and space dynamic. Finally, many spatial interventions take place in public spaces, but they are made possible by bottom-up strategies. Subsidies, creating ‘space’ for the other, and providing the necessary infrastructure to support informalities are all linked to the existence or absence of legal boundaries. An in-depth review of legal documents could serve as a catalyst, allowing for interesting opportunities to arise by utilising or tweaking rules governing what is permitted to occur in the public realm. Since the research is currently limited to only the spatial manifestation, a successful outcome might be blocked due to a lack of legal support.

ON PROCESS

How does one deal with uncertainty, which is a significant factor in the professional field of urbanism and a key component of the overall graduation trajectory?

An important method that helped cope with stress and uncertainty during the graduation process was with the ‘from don’t know to workflow’ method, as as described in the New Urban Design Guide (van der Veen, Sand: 2022, unpublished). Here, they describe how to structure an iterative process such as the design- or graduation process (FIG X). A constant iterative loop is established by clearly defining a workflow that includes moments of convergence and divergence. Methods and exercises can be established during the process to achieve a better focus and a stronger, more direct path to the final (design)outcome. Using this method, you can allow for iteration and reflection in a structured manner, thus controlling the process and minimising room for surprises or stress.

In addition, switching between several methods of working helped in gaining a better understanding of the problemfield from various angles, while activating different parts of my brain, which in turn worked as a catalyst for thinking processes. The Dual Coding Theory, which holds that our memory has two distinct processing systems: verbal and nonverbal, describes this process. Learning occurs faster and improves when both systems are used consistently and coherently in relation to each other (Pavio, 1969).

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