Rethinking the Absorption Capacity of Urban Space

How to better organise migration in the city?

Lena Knappers
P5 Report
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Designing for Migration and Mobility*'

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CONTENT

MIGRATION AS SUBJECT MATTER

My engagement with the topic

In 2013/2014, I studied for a semester in Istanbul. At that time, hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees arrived in Turkey's biggest city. Some were meeting each other in the park or sitting on the sidewalk near my house. Inhabitants of Besiktas offered them blankets, tea and food.

Soon after I came back to the Netherlands, the '*migration crisis'* started in Europe.[1] While there was in Holland a lot of commotion about where to receive and house all these newcomers, I hardly saw any refugees or asylum seekers in my everyday life or in public space. The number of migrants in the Netherlands was (and still is) totally different compared to numbers in Mediterranean countries such as Turkey[2] or Italy[3], but if I had to believe the media at that time, our towns, villages and cities were flooded with newly arriving migrants. From that moment on, I wanted to research the organisation of migration in Dutch urban space and understand why I almost never saw or met these people in the city.

Migration is a complex and urgent urban spatial matter

The spatial implications of migration in the Netherlands are currently a literal translation of government policies that focus on zoning, temporariness and exclusion. Asylum seekers are housed on the edge or outside of towns, labour migrants live in segregated 'labour hotels' close to their place of work[4] and internationals students are accommodated in secluded dormitory developments. The diverse flows of migrants to the Netherlands are primarily taken as segregated, temporary housing problems. If refugees, asylum-seekers and other migrants have to be really integrated in our cities and societies a more diverse, long-term, urban approach is urgently needed. In other words, migration is a complex and pressing spatial urban challenge.[5] For this reason, I chose to work for a year on the topic of migration from an urban planner/designer point of view.

Political atmosphere

Since today's formal structures, frames and migrant policies set up by the Dutch government are leading to segregation, a loss of urban vitality and result in not optimal functioning spaces, and since migrant legislation and policies are very volatile – they can change from one day to the other – this project aims to (re)consider migration in its political atmosphere.
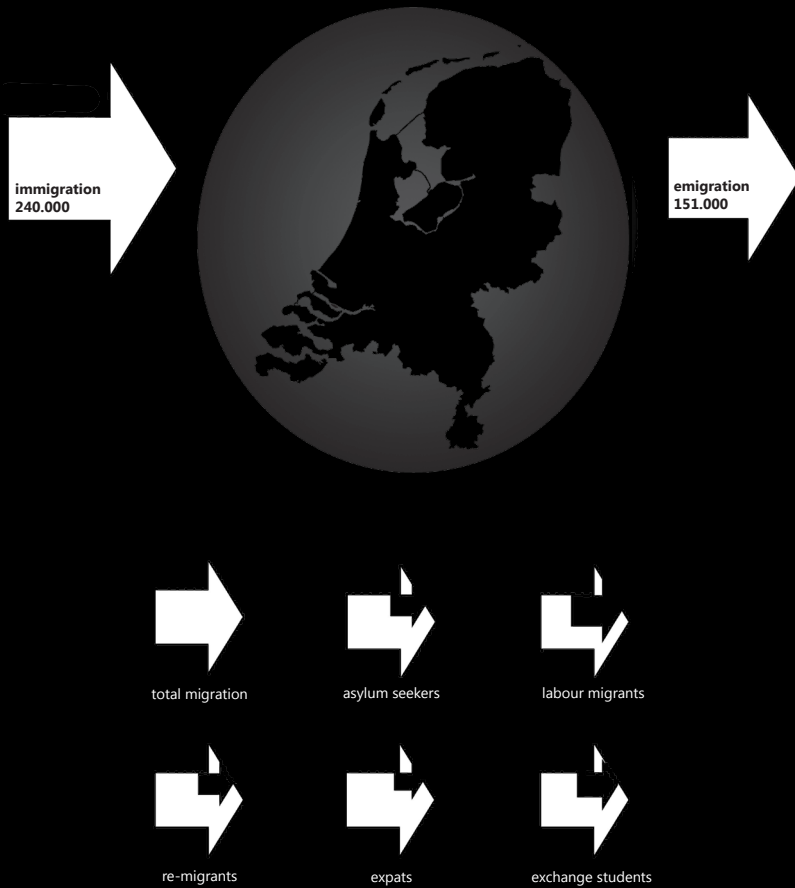
immigration 240.000

emigration 151.000

total migration

asylum seekers

labour migrants

re-migrants

expats

exchange students

fig 1. 'Migration balance' in the Netherlands in 2016. Based on data from CBS. Source: author's own image.

FACTS & FIGURES

Migration in the Netherlands in 2016

In order to give an overview of the numbers of migrants arriving and leaving the Netherlands each year, figure 1 has been made. It shows migration in the Netherlands in 2016.[6] At that time, approximately 240.000 immigrants came to the Netherlands, of which 32.000 were asylum migrants. A large part of immigration to the Netherlands consisted in 2016 of labour migrants, international students and returning Dutch emigrants. In total, 151.000 migrants emigrated, creating a migration balance of 88.000.

It is expected that the migration balance of 2017 will be similar to 2016. However, a slight decrease in the number of asylum migrants is predicted.[7]

Future perspective

Due to extreme population growth in Africa and the predicted effects of climate change, on the long-term many more migrants are expected to come to Europe and the Netherlands.[8] The *United Nations Populations Division* estimates that the population of Africa will rise fourfold from 1.1 billion to more than 4 billion.[9] According to the United Nations in 2014, 60 million people were forced to leave their homes due to the effects of climate change. By 2050 it is calculated that that figure will increase to approximately 200 million by 2050.[10] Even if only a small percentage of these people migrates to Europe, this creates already unimaginable projections for migration in Europe and the Netherlands (Provoost & Vanstiphout).[11] [12]

1ST RESEARCH PHASE

COLLECTING THEORIES

Literature Study

• **Leo Lucassen (historcial perspective)**

• **Richard Sennett (sociological perspective)**

• **Doug Saunders (utopian (?) perspective)**

• **et al...**

COLLECTING DATA

Examining newspaper articles, reports & individual stories of migrants

• **First Observation: Dynamic Nature of Migration**

• **Second Observation: Migration is a Constant Phenomenon in the Contemporary City**

• **Dutch Law: 12 Strict and Distinct Migrant Categories**

• **Remarkably Consistent Solutions for Diverse Groups of Migrants**

• **Third Observation: Government Policies Focus on Zoning, Temporariness and Exclusion**

• **Consequence: Monoculture**

• **Outcomes First Research Phase**

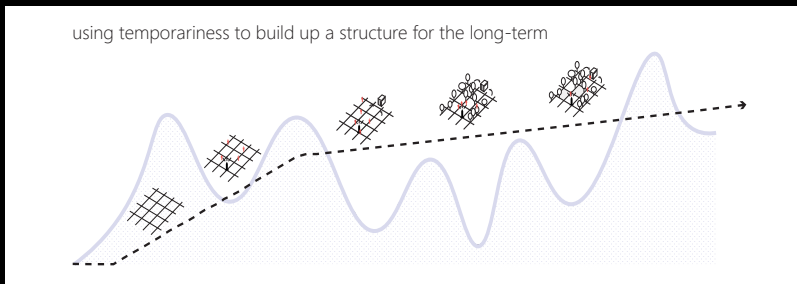using temporariness to build up a structure for the long-term

fig 2. Historical Perspective: migration has been used as an instrument to build up flexible and diverse cities. In history, the comings and goings of various people in a city like Amsterdam, were often intermigled with long-term urban visions. Source: author's own image.

diminish differences   exposure to differences
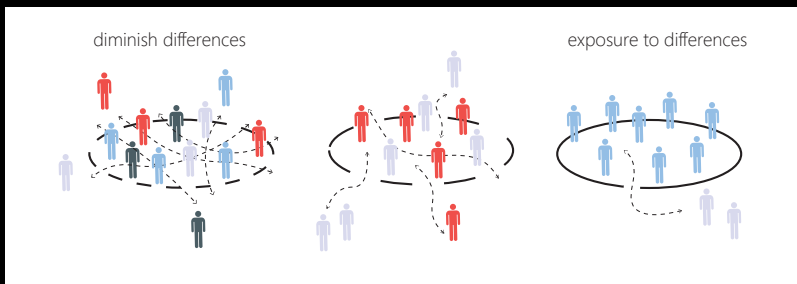
fig 3. Sociological Perspective: public spaces are needed in the city where temporary inhabitants and more permanent citizens can share space, can interrelate and can be exposed to each other Source: author's own image.

city as an emancipation machine

cultural integration

social integration

economic integration

PERMANENT

LONG STAY

MID STAY

SHORT STAY

fig 4. Utopian Perspective(?): parts of the city can work as an emancipation machine and play an important role in the integration of newcomers in society, but also vice versa. Source: author's own image.

COLLECTING THEORIES
HISTORICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL & UTOPIAN PERSPECTIVE

The flows of migrants to the Netherlands are currently, primarily seen as provisional accommodation problems. This leads to missed opportunities, segregation and exclusion. If asylum seekers and other migrants have to be really integrated in our cities and societies, then a different approach to understand this arc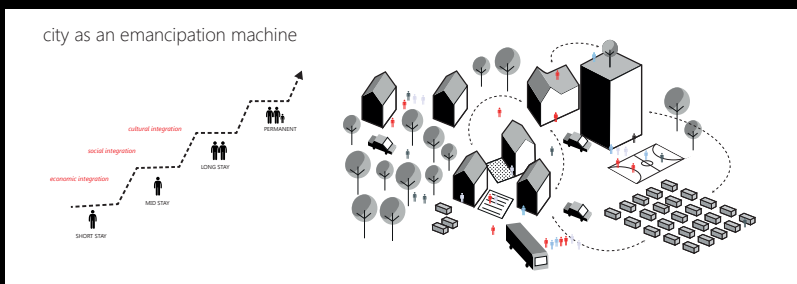hitectural and urban urgency is needed. That is why I have looked from three different perspectives to the topic of migration in relation to urban space.

Historical Perspective
Historian Leo Lucassen (2015) claims that migration is a long-term phenomenon that has been used historically as an instrument to build up cities.[13] He points at interesting perceptions of newcomers, today and in previous ages. The Netherlands, according to Lucassen, have always been a country of (im)migration, and cities have for ages transformed due to newcomers and exiles. Even though, migrants might stay temporarily, their arrival can contribute to city and communities,

> "Cities in the Netherlands in the Golden Age have benefited enormously from migration. ... In the 17th-19th century, immigrants contributed to society. Why would this be different in the future? Many may not understand the meaning of such a comparison over time. Some people argue that back then it was a very different kind of migrant compared to the migrants today, such as Jews from Spain and Portugal, protestant citizens from Antwerp and protestants from France. Rich, talented and enterprising 'immigrants' that everyone would like to have within its borders. Furthermore, they shared a common Judeo Christian\ background, people often add. Very different from the former guest workers and asylum seekers of today. ... However, these successful migrants, often refugees, constituted a quarter of all migrants in the 17th and 18th century. Most of the migrants were low-skilled workers, sailors and seasonal workers, while the large group of Ashkenazi Jews from Germany and Poland would soon become a despised and discriminated proletariat. ... This story is seldom told, because

when earlier times are compared to today, people often measure with a double standard: for earlier periods, we only look at the successful 'good' immigrants, while we restrict ourselves in the present to the problematic 'bad' newcomers. Immigrants are thus reduced to the unskilled Muslims, Antilleans and a single drunken Pole. Highly skilled newcomers from Japan, the United States, Germany or England, or IT-specialists from India play no role in the debate. In this way, the anti-immigration thinking is a good example of a self-fulfilling prophecy: immigrants are people who cause problems and therefore migration is undesired. For 'integration pessimists' it is easy to win the game. But that is cheating, as well as only mentioning the good examples. It is about the right proportion and balance. [My translation].[14]
(Lucassen, 2015).

The current perception of migrants (such as asylum seekers and refugees, but also workers from the East of Europe), as not well educated and coming from a 'backward' culture not influenced by the principles of Enlightenment, does not match the reality. In the Netherlands are about 100.000 knowledge migrants, and each year there are more than 90.000 international students visiting universities.[15] Furthermore, just as in previous ages, migrants help to fill in vacancies (Van der Velde et al, 2015), and revitalise empty regions all over Europe.[16] In cities migrants can help to bring in new crafts and retail activities, and promote internationalisation and transnationalism.[17] [18]

Looking back at history, there is no reason to think that migration is something temporary – it has for ages been a constant phenomenon in the city (Lucassen et al, 2015; de Haas, 2017).[19] Immigrants who arrived in Amsterdam in the 17th -19th century came to live in dense, affordable, ramshackle neighbourhoods, located in pockets in the core or on the edge of the city centre (Ibid). These places usually had a lot of public spaces and the buildings were often dilapidated, but at the same time affordable and 'repairable'. Areas such as the Jordaan, Lastagne and Nieuwe Zijde in Amsterdam for example built up and transformed due to the arrival of newcomers in the 17th century (Kuijpers, 2005).[20] The urban- and building structures of these neighbourhoods which were simple enough to allow constant alteration, made it possible to accommodate a large variety of inhabitants over decades. Today, the Jordaan is one of the most gentrified, popular and expensive neighbourhoods in Amsterdam.[21] In the end of the 19th century, most of the migrants came to live in 'Nieuwe Stad' at

the 'Westelijke en Oostelijke eilanden'. These were socially heterogeneous neighbourhoods.[22] [23]

It is striking that the accommodation solutions that are built for newcomers and temporary inhabitants today are totally different from the way in which history dealt with the arrival of migrants in cities. Instead of using the comings and goings of people to add to and build up an urban structure for the city on the long-term, today's quick fix solutions for migrants can all be broken down immediately and usually don't consider public space. One of the reasons why contemporary cities are less able to absorb diverse types of migrants, might be the fact that current housing solutions for newcomers and temporary inhabitants are too temporary, too fit for purpose and are often separated from permanent developments and different 'turnovers' in the city. This observation leads to the assumption that if migrants have to integrate in society, temporary accommodation solutions need to be intermingled with more long-term urban visions and permanent structures. Once newcomers come to live in more sustainable, well-connected, diverse urban spaces, they can be more easily 'absorbed' and contribute to society.

Sociological Perspective

Historian/sociologist Richard Sennett (2016) argues that in order to better organise migration in the contemporary, global, European city,[24] public spaces are needed where different groups of migrants and long-term residents can share space and can interrelate. Sennett argues that there are currently separated spaces for each of these groups, but very few where people can mix openly and naturally,[25]

> "What is characteristic for our city-building is to wall off the differences between people, assuming that these differences are more likely to be mutually threatening, than mutually stimulating. What we make in the urban realm are therefore bland, neutralising spaces, spaces which remove the threat of social contact: street walls faced in sheets of plate glass, highways that cut off poor neighbourhoods from the rest of the city, dormitory housing developments. ... Our culture is in need of an art of exposure; this art will not make us another's victims, rather more balanced adults, capable of coping with and learning from complexity."
> (Sennett, 1992)

'Walling off' differences between various people leads according to Sennett to a lack of public familiarity and results in so called '*brittle' cities* [26] that

are not able to deal with uncertainty and change. He argues that spaces are needed where diverse people – newcomers and more permanent inhabitants – are exposed to each other in everyday life.[27]

Both the WRR (2005)[28] and the VROM·raad (2006)[29] are optimistic that recognition of the importance of everyday types of social interactions between people from various socio·cultural background could contribute to the development of public familiarity in cities. They note that even minimal forms of interaction can be effective. For instance, regularly perceiving someone without interacting may already contribute to experienced public familiarity (Nio et al, 2008). Moreover, the VROM·raad (2006) emphasizes the importance of developing spaces where exchange between diverse people can occur. Not only public spaces (a square, library or boulevard), but also more private spaces (a community centre, a neighbourhood shopping street or courtyard) could contribute to this.

The challenge for contemporary urbanism is to design both public and private places where people can develop complex identities and where different people, such as migrants and more long·term inhabitants, can be intermingled in a positive and natural way (Sennett, 2017).

Thus, this concept demands more than simply mixing people. Extensive research of knowledge institute Platform 31 (2016) into various case studies in the Netherlands where diverse groups of temporary inhabitants are mixed on the scale of a building block or in small public spaces, shows that simply mixing people on such a scale does not always work.[30] Sometimes 'like·minded' people need to be protected and need more privacy. The COA (central organisation for refugee intake) stresses for example that vulnerable refugees must be protected from the outside world and that asylum seeker centres therefore should be able to be closed in order to give the inhabitants the privacy they need in the first months of their stay in a foreign country (Rijksoverheid, 2017).[31]

This leads to the assumption that in order to create spaces that are better equipped to deal with migration and to foster integration of migrants into society, there are two different goals for what should happen in urban space. On the one hand the effort would be to diminish differences between different people through social exchange in public space, on the other the goal would be exposure to differences, awareness of it (Sennett, 2009).[32] To achieve this, different levels or scales of openness have to be developed. Both places are needed where different inhabitants are mixed and that engage various

people to interact and more private spaces are needed where likeminded people can gather or where one can be exposed to human beings that are different from oneself.

Utopian Perspective (?)

Currently, spatial solutions for migrants as well as bureaucratic inflexibility lead to exclusion of these people from society and city life. Asylum seekers are for instance immediately discouraged to work when they arrive in the Netherlands.[33] But also for some other groups of migrants it is made very difficult to integrate in Dutch society (de Gruyter, 2016).[34][35] Journalist and author Doug Saunders (2011) stipulates in his book '*The Arrival City*' how very strict legislation regarding employment opportunities for newcomers and temporary inhabitants can lead to exclusion and segregation,

> "Preventing people from entering the economy until they become linguistically integrated is a backward way of approaching things: it is putting the cart before the horse. ... Many European countries have these bureaucratic barriers to new immigrants entering the economy and this poses big problems for them. ... Finding ways to tap into the economic potential of inhabitants is crucial, and this can be implemented relatively easily. This will require specific economical regulations to create more employment opportunities (for low entrance jobs, business, start-ups, etc.) This is important because economic integration takes place before social, educational and cultural integration."
> (Saunders, 2011).[36]

Creating possibilities to tap into the economic potential of newcomers and temporary inhabitants is essential for the integration of migrants into society, but also vice versa (Saunders, 2011). According to Heleen Mees (2017) the welfare state in the Netherlands is actively discouraging certain groups of people to integrate. She argues that one of the first things to do to make migration more productive is making the unregulated labour market and low-entrance jobs more accessible.[37] Professor of Economics at the Johannes Kepler University, Friedrich Schneider, agrees with Mees and Saunders and advocates specific policies for migrants such as the possibility for recently arrived refugees to be employed in the 'shadow economy'.[38][39] The shadow economy, according to Schneider includes all market-based legal production of goods and services that are deliberately concealed from

public authorities in order to avoid payments or having meet set standards.[40] Saunders (2015) adds to these ideas, that in order to make migration more productive and foster integration and transition of newcomers and migrants into society, individual qualities of people should be considered. In order to understand the 'instruments' that could stimulate integration of people, various perspectives should be taken into account. Is the short-term or a longer period examined? On the short-term indeed the economic integration of migrants might be the most important, because once one is integrated in the economy, then social and cultural integration follows (Saunders, 2012). On the longer-term, however – for the second or third generation of migrants for example – educational and social integration becomes more important.

In order to develop urban spaces that can function as emancipation machines, offering the networks and freedom for newcomers and temporary inhabitants to integrate in Dutch economy and society and vice versa, local authorities and businesses should examine how amenities and policies can actively offer space to the economic and social dynamics of migration (Saunders, 2011).[41] It is important to note that these amenities and intelligent policy can play a role in the integration of migrants into society, but that it also can work the other way around. The existence of amenities such as schools and community centres and the ability to start a small business can help newcomers and other temporary inhabitants to integrate in society. Besides, amenities such as a multilingual schools, markets and transnational shops can ensure that more permanent inhabitants of the city can come in contact with migration, transnationalism and internationalisation.
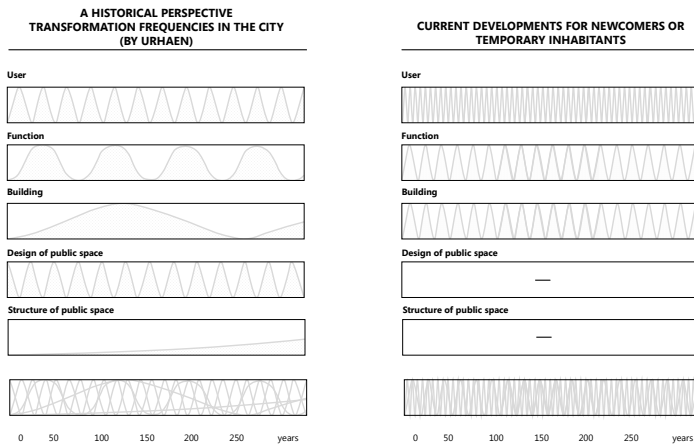
fig 5. Transformation frequencies in the city. Developments in the historic city (Urhaen) compared to current developments for newcomers and temporary inhabitants in the Netherlands. Source: author's own image, based on research of Urhaen.
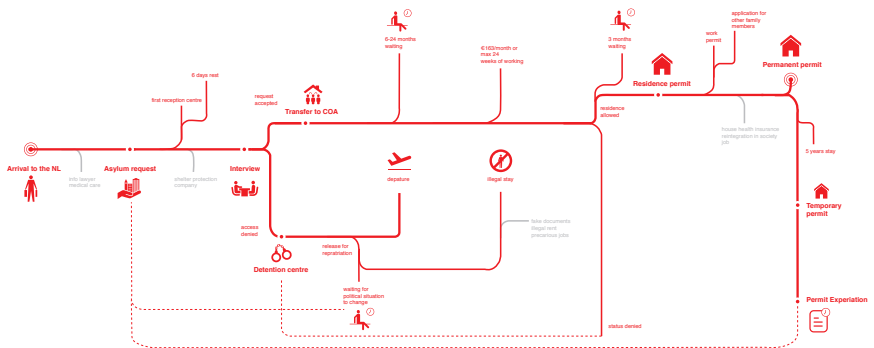

fig 6. In the Netherlands it is made very difficult for newcomers and asylum seekers to get a job. Bureaucratic procedures and isolation result in long waiting times and many lost opoortunities. The scheme shows an overview of the asylum procedure (Rijksoverheid, 2017; Fabrications; 2016).

fig 7. That the mobility of individuals was never higher than today, can be seen at Hongqiao Railway Station in Shanghai. 11.32 million train trips were made to Shanghai during the Chinese New Year. Source: Forbes.
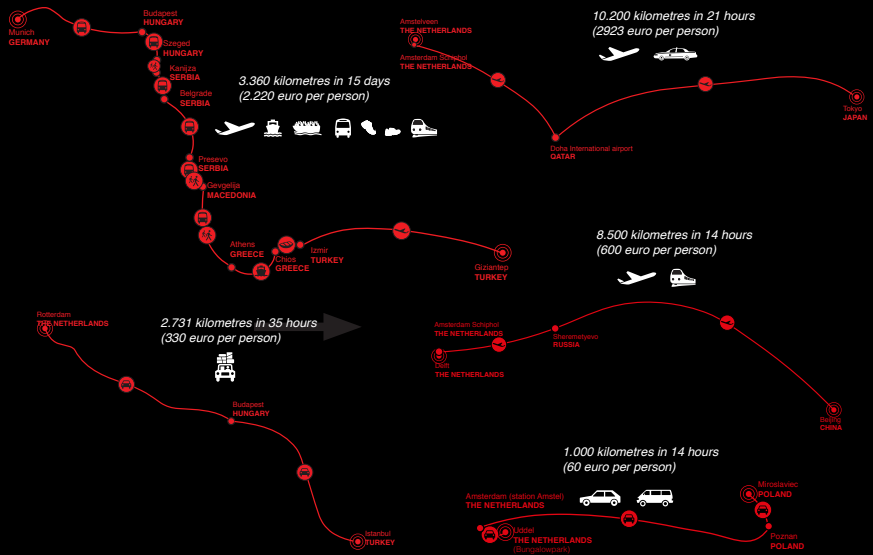

fig 8. Diversity of routes of migrants. Some are more 'time consuming' than others...
Source: author's own, based on personal stories of mirgants in NRC newspaper 2016.

FIRST OBSERVATION:
DYNAMIC NATURE OF MIGRATION

Never before was the mobility of individuals higher than today (Upmeyer, 2015). Due to the rise of globalisation and development of internet with its connectivity and communication possibilities, migration has become increasingly diverse, complex and mixed. Migration has a dynamic nature which implies that people have various motivations to leave their homeland, they take various routes (see fig 8), they arrive in various circumstances and settle in different communities. Van Hear (2014) characterises the inherent diversity of migration,[42]

> "Current migration features a bewildering variety of forms and types of movement. The term 'migrant' can encompass highly diverse types of people on the move, both within and between countries: among them are permanent emigrants and settlers; temporary contract workers; labour; professional business and trader migrants; students; refugees; asylum seekers; people who move from rural setting to cities or from smaller towns to larger ones and people who seek safety from conflict within their own countries. Moreover, people often shift between these categories; they may enter a country as a student, tourist or visitor for example, but then overstay, work, ask for asylum, or seek permanent settlement and eventually become naturalised as a citizen. Likewise, internal migrants driven by conflict or in search of opportunity, may in time cross state borders and become international migrants."
> (Van Hear, 2011).[43]

As explained by Van Hear, migration is mixed in various senses: there is a variety of forms of migration and there are various types of migrants. Furthermore, people can switch from type – they can develop new identities in the country of arrival: refugees can become students[44], asylum seekers can become creative migrants[45] and so on.
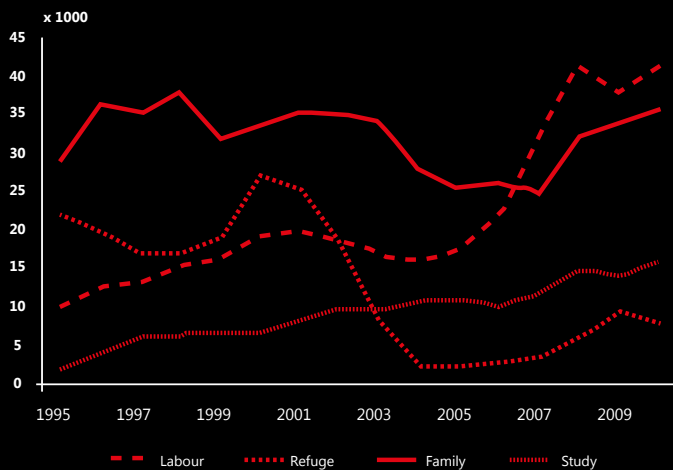
x 1000

45								
40								
35								
30								
25								
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10								
5								
0								

1995   1997   1999   2001   2003   2005   2007   2009

- - - Labour   ····· Refuge   —— Family   ········ Study

fig 9. The in- and efflux of people to and from the Netherlands can fluctuate strongly within a couple of years. In this figure, immigration of people to Holland can be seen according to their sole motivation to migrate - refuge, study, employment or family. Source: CBS.

NO RISE IN GLOBAL MIGRATION
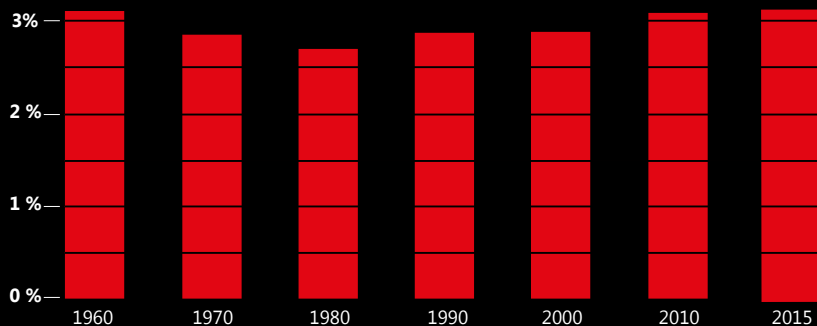Share of migrants in the global population
(Source: Hein de Haas)

3%

2 %

1 %

0 %

1960   1970   1980   1990   2000   2010   2015

fig 10. No rise in global migration, share of migrants in global population (percentage). Source: Hein de Haas.

MIGRATION IS A CONSTANT PHENOMENON IN THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

Although the in- and efflux of different migrant groups (refugees, students labour migrants, family migrants, expats, etc.) to and from the Netherlands can fluctuate strongly within a couple of years,[46] on the long-term migration is a permanent, quite stable phenomenon in the contemporary city.[47] People are constantly coming and going.[48]

That migration remains remarkably consistent on the long-term, can for example be seen in fig 10. For over half a century the number of migrants as a percentage of the world population has remained at levels of roughly 3 percent since 1960 (Hein de Haas, 2014).

- REFUGEES / ASYLUM SEEKERS
  - 'limited welome', only if one can proof that there is big danger or a risk in the country of origion. A person can receive a temporary residence permit for five years;
  - temporary 'accommodation solutions' are organised by the Dutch Central Organisation for refugee intake;
  - 'integration obligation', also for family members;
  - 'language requirement', also for family members. (Rijksoverheid. 2016).

- ILLEGALS
  - not welcome, once arrested, one is returned to country of origion (Rijksoverheid, 2016).

- LABOUR MIGRANTS FROM THE EU
  - welcome - freedom of movement within EU;
  - no 'integration obligation;
  - no language requirement;
  - 'accommodation solutions' are often organised by the employment agency (Rijksoverheid, 2016).

- LABOUR MIGRANTS FROM OUTSIDE THE EU
  - not welcome;
  - a foreigner from outside of the EU is allowed to work in the Netherlands, when one can prove that there is nobody else who can do the job in the Netherlands or in the European Union. It is also examined whether the foreigner has the right requirements;
  - a labour migrant from outside of the EU needs a GVVA permit, which allows someone to work for a period of longer than 3 months;
  - rules for labour migrants from outside of the EU are very strict (Rijksoverheid, 2016).

- START-UPS
  - welcome;
  - the start-up needs to work with a reliable and competent supervisor, the product or service must be innovative and the start-up must have financial means to live in the Netherlands;
  - a residence permit is valid for three years, after three years there is an evaluation moment;
  - a business plan needs to be assessed by the IND and the Council for Enterprise;
  - no 'integration obligation;
  - no language requirement (Rijksoverheid, 2016).

- INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS
  - welcome for the duration of study;
  - students from outside of the EU, need a residence permit, which should be requested by a recognized educational institution. With a residence permit for study, one is allowed to stay for the duration of studies (3 months till 5 years);
  - No 'integration obligation';
  - No 'language requirements' (Rijksoverheid, 2016).

- ACADEMICI
  - welcome in the Netherlands for the duration of research;
  - additional incentive tax regime: tax-free reimbursement of 30% of salary;

- EXPATS
  - welcome - for highly skilled migrants applies a invitation policy;
  - accelerated permit if one fufills salary criterion (30+ years old - €4.371.84, younger than 30 - €3.205.44, European Blue Card holders - €5.122.44);
  - additional incentive tax regime: tax-free reimbursement of 30% of salary;
  - No 'integration obligation';
  - No 'language requirements' (Rijksoverheid, 2016).

- CREATIVE MIGRANTS
  - welcome - if one meets the admission requirements as described for knowledge migrants;
  - one is often struggling with the annual renewal of the residence permit, since the creative class is often working with flexible and short-term contracts (Rijksoverheid, 2016).

- WEALTHY FOREIGNERS
  - welcome in the Netherlands;
  - residence permit for one year. After one year, there will be an evaluation moment. After 5 years, one becomes a 'permanent residence';
  - a foreigner must have a capital of at least € 1.25 billion and should invest this amount in Dutch companies;
  - No 'integration obligation';
  - No 'language requirements' (Rijksoverheid, 2016).

- DIGITAL NOMADS

- TOURISTS

fig 11. Categories of migrants according to Dutch law. Source: author's own image.

DUTCH LAW:
12 STRICT MIGRANT CATEGORIES

The Dutch government categorises migrants by discrete types, based on one single motivation for migration and temporary stay – refuge, employment, study, the search for better living conditions, etc. According to Dutch law there are 12 rigid and strict groups of migrants (Rijksoverheid, 2017). Accommodation, benefits and other provisional solutions such as language course are organised accordingly (van der Velde, 2015). Thus, different groups of migrants are treated as very temporary challenges and divided in separate cohorts.[49]

While according to policy and housing regimes migrants within a category are seen as a homogenous group, people within these groups make their own individual choices. The division of migrants into distinct categories is a too rigid approach which is not responding to the dynamic nature of migration, identification of individuals and flexible urban world.

	REPRESENTATION IN CULTURE & MEDIA	LEGISLATION	SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS	AVERAGE INCOME * per person	SOCIAL RELATIONS WORK
ASYLUM SEEKERS REFUGEES	discourage refugees	- a slight majority are men - 50% single, 50 % has a family - often between 18-39 years old - all educational levels	0 euro per month	- it is not allowed to have a job during the stay in the AZC - often a traditional divison of roles
LABOUR MIGRANTS FROM THE EU	free movement within EU	- a slight majority are men - the majority is single - often between 20-40 years old - all educational levels - the majority is from Poland	1.000 -1.500 euro per month	- short-stay and mid-stay migrants are especially working in sectors where agriculture, horticulture, engineering and manufacturing are strongly represented - individualistic - focussing on likeminded people
LABOUR MIGRANTS FROM OUTSIDE OF EU	restrictive admission policy	- not that much information available, often illegal in NL - often less educated	1.500 - 2.000 euro per month	- au Pairs from Philippines and South Africa - truckers from Moldova, Ukraine and Macedonia - individualistic
EXPATS	welcome expats	- the majority are men - a third of this group is single - between 18-50 years old - higher educated	> 5.000 euro per month	- working for a international company - expats are often employed in business services, trade and healthcare. - 'networkers' - focussing on likeminded people
INTERNATIONAL POSTGRADUATES AND ACADEMIC STAFF	welcome for the duration of the academic programme	- average age is 30+ - higher educated	2.000 - 2.600 euro per month	
CREATIVE MIGRANTS	no official policy	- between 20-40 years old - higher educated	min 2.226 per month	- working in sectors where architecture/design, music an fashion are highly represented. - has an intensive social life, regularly visits cultural facilities, such as festivals and museums
INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS	welcome students	- between 20-30 years old - higher educated - the majority is coming from Germany and China	1000 euro per month	
DUTCH STUDENTS	welcome students	- between 18-26 years old - higher educated	768- 1000 euro per month (a loan that must be repaid)	
WEALTHY FOREIGNERS		- between 25-33 years old	1.200 - 3.000 euro per month	
DIGITAL NOMADS THIRD CULTURAL INDIVIDUALS	no official policy	- between 20-35 years old	1.200 - 3.500 euro per month	- self employed remote workers - independent - individualistic
TOURISTS		- between 30- 60 years old an increasing amount of people who divorce is older than 50 years old.		- friends and family are important
ILLEGALS	encourage or force illegals to leave			- informal jobs in various sectors

fig 12. Matrix. Representation, policies, benefits, accommodation and other provisional solutions are organised per migrant category. Source: author's own, based on data from Rijksoverheid, Volkskrant and CBS.
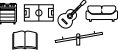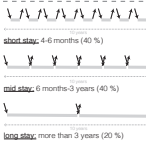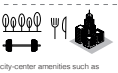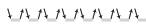
	DURATION OF STAY	TYPOLOGY	LIVING SPACE PER PERSON	COLLECTIVE SPACE/ PRIVATE SPACE	PREFERRED AMENITIES SHARED FACILITIES COLLECTIVE SPACES
ASYLUM SEEKERS REFUGEES	max. 1 year in asylum seeker center	room in asylum seeker center, thereafter appartment with shared facilities - families prefer to live together in a house or maisonnette	S 12 - 28 m2	private room preferred, shared facilities, amenities and social interaction are important	shared kitchen, music room, sports center, space for recreation, library
LABOUR MIGRANTS FROM THE EU	short stay: 4-6 months (40 %) / mid stay: 6 months-3 years (40 %) / long stay: more than 3 years (20 %)	shared appartment - a cheap rent is more important than privacy or quality of living	S 12 - 28 m2	minimal private space for short-term occupancy, emphasis is placed on collective space and shared amenities - cheap rent is more important than quality of living	laundry, shared kitchen, shared bathroom, space for recreation and nearby supermarket
LABOUR MIGRANTS FROM OUTSIDE OF EU	1 - 3 years	no information available, this group is often illegally housed	S 12 - 28 m2		
EXPATS	3 - 8 years	furnished suburban house or furnished appartment	L >60 m2	emphasis is placed on private space -city center amenities and shared facilities have to be nearby - quality of living is more important than a cheap rent	city-center amenities such as parks, restaurants, museums and cinema's
INTERNATIONAL POSTGRADUATES AND ACADEMIC STAFF	approximately 5 years	furnished room (approximately 1 year) or unfurnished appartment or studio	S 12 - 28 m2 M 40 - 60 m2	private room preferred, shared facilities, amenities and social interaction are important	city-center amenities such as parks, restaurants, museums and cinema's
CREATIVE MIGRANTS	approximately 5 years	private apartment	S 12 - 28 m2 M 40 - 60 m2	private room preferred, shared facilities, amenities and social interaction are important	city-center amenities such as parks, restaurants, museums and cinema's
INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS	3 months - 4 years	studio or shared student house	S 12 - 28 m2	minimal private space for short-term occupancy, emphasis is placed on collective space and shared amenities - cheap rent is more important than quality of living	sports center, cultural amenities, supermarket, bicycle repair shop, cafe, laundry, shared kitchen
DUTCH STUDENTS	1 - 7 years	private apartment, a studio or shared student house	S 12 - 28 m2	private bedroom preferred, shared facilities, amenities and social interaction are important	sports center, cultural amenities, supermarket, bicycle repair shop, cafe, laundry
WEALTHY FOREIGNERS			>60 m2		
DIGITAL NOMADS THIRD CULTURAL INDIVIDUALS	3 weeks - 1 year	no permanent home address, wifi and facilities are more important than privacy	S 12 - 28 m2	minimal private space for short-term occupancy, emphasis is placed on collective space and shared amenities	"home is where a strong wifi connection is"
TOURISTS	days - weeks				
ILLEGALS			S 12 - 28 m2		

fig 13. Migrant accommodation becomes often a temporary landing spot to serve an immediate need, without considering the connectivity, 'space value' or local conditions of places. Source: author's own image.

REMARKABLY CONSISTENT SOLUTIONS FOR DIVERSE GROUPS OF MIGRANTS

Quite some attempts to accommodate distinct groups of migrants and newcomers can be observed. There are hotels for Polish labour migrants,[50] asylum seeker centres in former ministry and other buildings, container complexes for exchange students, extended stay hotels for cosmopolitan white collar workers, and so on. These separate buildings with services for a specific group have their own price and quality and are often disconnected from other groups of migrants or more permanent inhabitants[51] of the city. After arriving in the Netherlands, a person is classified into a migrant category and ends up in a for him/her assigned place.

Especially labour migrants and asylum seekers are no integral part of the urban fabric.[52] They are usually housed outside the city in container housing, ancient monasteries or empty military barracks, etc. Housing for other groups of migrants such as students is sometimes more integrated, but emergency solutions for these people usually also exist of insulated container enclaves outside or on the edge of town.

However, accommodation solutions are remarkably consistent for different groups of migrants, as can for example be seen in the overview of housing for various newcomers and temporary inhabitants in the metropolitan area of Amsterdam (see fig 14). Although these housing solutions are for very diverse people, they all look remarkably uniform. I Point at three related observations: zoning & missed programmatic opportunities, quick-fix buildings and segregation.

WENCKEHOF

STUDENTS

1000   1-5 years

ZUIDERZEEWEG

STUDENTS

335   1-5 years

OTTO WORKFORCE

LABOUR MIGRANTS

150   1-3 years

AZC ISAAC BAARTHAVEN

REFUGEES

600   3 months

NDSM WERF

STUDENTS

380   1-5 years

RIEKERHAVEN

STUDENTS REFUGEES

500   1-5 years

OUDE HAAGSEWEG

LABOUR MIGRANTS

70   3 months

BERNARDUS AMSTERDAM

ELDERLY

168   1- 5 years

BIJLMER

STUDENTS

230   1-5 years
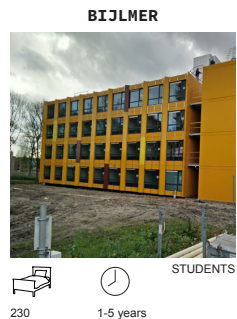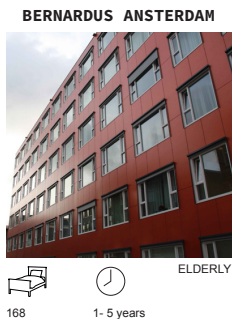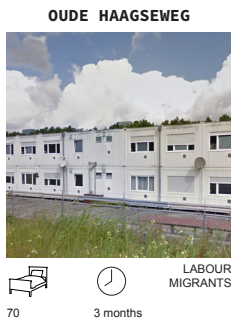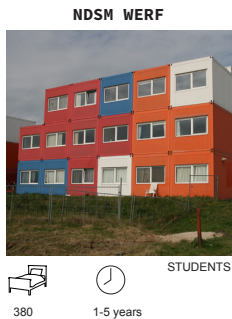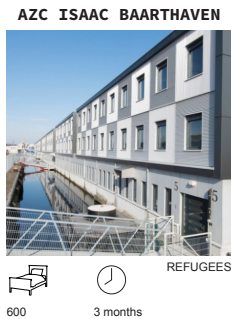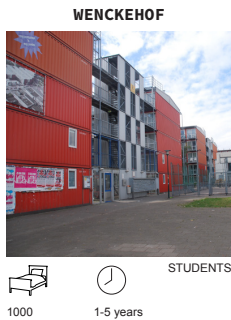
fig 14. Housing solutions for diverse types of migrants in the metropolitan area of Amsterdam.
Accommodation for migrants is remarkably consistent for different groups. Source: author's own image.

HOTEL WESTERDOK
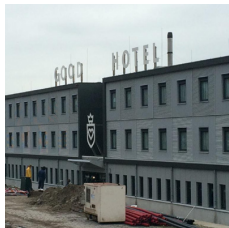
CREATIVE CLASS

288   1day - 6 months

BERGWIJKDREEF

STUDENTS

500   1-5 years

ELEMENT HOTEL

EXPATS

160   1 day - 6 months

BIJLMERBAJES

REFUGEES

1000   12 months

SPINOZA CAMPUS

STUDENTS

700   1-5 years

HOTEL JANSEN

CREATIVE CLASS

166   1 day - 6 months

AMSTERDAMSE BOS

LABOUR MIGRANTS

5 months

RAVEL RESIDENCE

STUDENTS

800   1-5 years

AZC HOUTHAVENS

REFUGEES

500   1 year

MIXED MIGRATION

?

OUTSKIRTS
CITY
CENTER

'WALL OFF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PEOPLE'

NO RISE IN GLOBAL MIGRATION

1960 1970 1980 1990 2000 2010 2015

?

TEMPORARY, QUICK FIX SOLUTIONS

EXCLUSION FROM SOCIETY
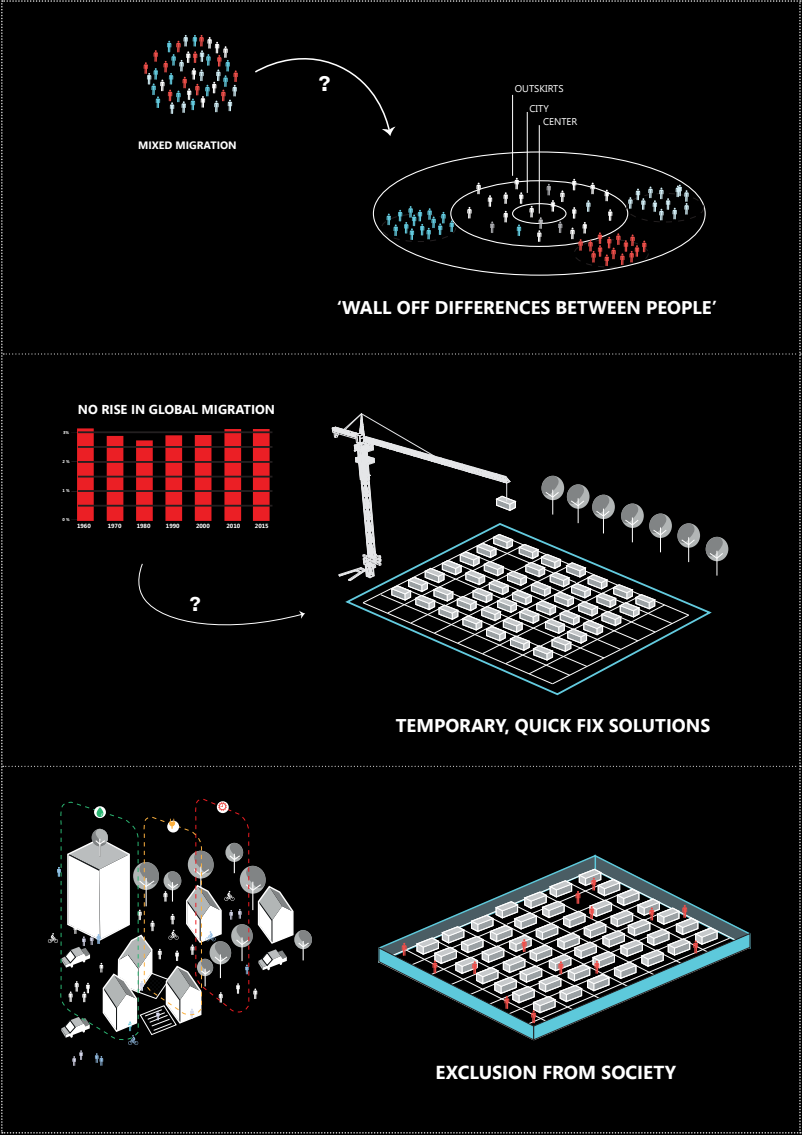
fig 15. Migrant legsilation and government policies focus on zoning, temporariness and exclusion. Source: author's own image.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES FOCUS ON ZONING, TEMPORARINESS & EXCLUSION

Migrant legislation and housing regimes set up by the Dutch government, are based on three different approaches: *zoning & 'walling off differences between people'*, *temporariness* and *exclusion & discouragement*.

Zoning

There are various ad hoc projects for separated groups of migrants. Refugees that have fled their countries at war are hidden from society before gradually being introduced in the social fabric. Illegal immigrants are 'imprisoned' close to frontiers, awaiting deportation. Labour migrants fill necessary vacancies in construction or agriculture and are allocated near their place of work (Lipi & Visser, 2015), e.g. camping sites in Brabant region for Polish agricultural workers. The requirements of international students are an opportunity to build container complexes on university campuses. In all these cases, the policy is to classify by groups and zones.

Also on a smaller scale, legislation ensures that different groups of people are separated from each other. At the location of the biggest asylum seeker centre in Amsterdam, '*AZC Wenckebachweg*', more permanent inhabitants of the neighbourhood, students and asylum seekers are for example in a very artificial way kept apart from each other. They have their own private and public spaces and almost never meet each other. This leads besides social-spatial segregation also to missed programmatic opportunities. The extra support for amenities and programmes that newcomers and temporary inhabitants could create is a potential that has been rarely tapped into. In Stevensberg in Brabant, the arrival of refugee children has for instance prevented the school and sports club in this Dutch village from closing.[53] It appears that migrant legislation and policies do not consider opportunities like this.

Temporariness

Often accommodation for migrants becomes a temporary landing spot to serve an immediate need – think for example of the various temporary emergency shelters and newly opened asylum seeker centres in the Netherlands in 2015.[54] The Dutch government demonstrates that she

considers 'migratory group stays' as temporary. Consequently, housing developments follow cheap construction systems that can be built quickly. The investment of these accommodation solutions should not be too high because sooner or later the provisional project will be taken down. Since the influx of asylum seekers in the Netherlands decreased, in May 2017 it was announced that 45 just recently opened asylum seeker centres will be closed and demolished and that 18 will be reduced in size.[55] This reactive and 'temporary' attitude of the Dutch government is putting a lot of pressure on municipalities and fuelling intense debates about migration, when there is a sudden influx of migrants to the Netherlands.[56]
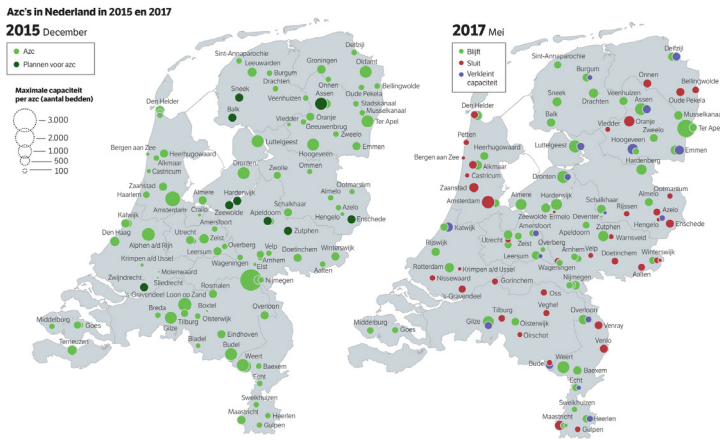
fig 16. Asylum seeker centres in 2015 and 2017. 45 just recently opened asylum seeker centres will be closed and 18 will be reduced in size. Source: NRC & COA

The aesthetics of cheap and temporary construction can acquire multiple meanings. In the case of refugee housing, the sign of austerity projects inhospitality on the part of the host country,[57] where minimum effort has been put in accommodating and facilitating integration, while giving out a message to permanent citizens that taxes are indeed used minimally to solve 'temporary' crises.[58] [59] Under similar conditions, this provisional, cheap nature of building structures offers a space of freedom, appropriation

and exploration to international students, who are happy to acknowledge that the accommodation is a temporary solution from which to move to something better.

What is projected as temporary structure, often works reversely with housing acquiring a permanent role of accommodation for fluctuating migrant groups. Provisional container housing for 1000 students at the 'Weespertrekvaart Midden area' in Amsterdam was built to stand for less than 5 years, but is now already standing for more than 15 years.[60] The 'Labour Hotel' for Polish labour migrants in Diemen was developed as a temporary structure for a duration of 5 years, but the municipality agreed to extend this period first to 10 and now to 15 years.[61] There are many more examples. Even more significant, because of the idea that the accommodation solutions for different groups of migrants are for the short-term, these projects are usually built without taking into account the surrounding public space, connectivity or long-term city development. However, in reality, these complexes are often standing for a longer time than planned in first instance.

Exclusion

Often migrant settlements exhibit a large degree of isolation from 'indigenous' urban life. Migrant accommodation in the Netherlands is often for one specific group and separated from city life and more permanent inhabitants.[62] Legislation is even actively aimed at discouraging newcomers to integrate in society (Volkskrant, 2015).[63] Writer Rodaan al Galidi – himself an example of refugee who lived for 9 years in different asylum seeker centres all over the country and who transformed into a permanent citizen and respected artist – described for example in his book *'Hoe Ik Talent Voor Het Leven Kreeg'* (2016) how asylum seekers centres are often excluded from city and society,

> "Asylum seeker centres are a separate universe, located entirely outside of society. People are born here, there are people who marry, and endless stories. The only thing people see are bodies carefully shuffling with plastic bags. ... The way in which an asylum seeker centre works, is a very smart and thoughtful way to ensure that you are not making any contact with the surrounding society." [My translation].[64]
>   (Rodaan Al Galidi, 2016).

In the same vein, a Polish labour migrant characterizes his life and the isolated location of the 'Polish Labour Hotel' where he is living in an interview

with the municipality of Amsterdam,

> "Life is a bit boring. Working, working, working, working and watching television with my roommates. There are no residents in the direct surrounding area. Our labour hotel is far from the city and amenities. Therefore, I only go to church (Pauluskerk in Amsterdam). [My translation].[65]
>   (Jacek, 2014).[66]

As French social philosopher Etienne Balibar (2004) has stated, exclusion, or even 'apartheid' is one of the most urgent problems in contemporary Europe today. Urban life and democracy are in decline, when societies are organised based on the inclusion of some, and the exclusion of others.

The fist 2 years, you don't see your wife and children
It can take more than two years before your family can come to NL

Expect 'sober' living conditions
Even when you have a residence permit, you can be housed in container accommodation, that has to be shared with others.

18 months: you really need to have a lot of patience
This period may be extended by another 3 months.

You have to pay
If you have equity or income, you may need to pay a part to contribute to the costs of you accommodation

15 months: you need more patience
The total time limit within which the IND has to decide on your asylum application is extended to 15 months.

You probably have to stay in emergency accommodation
Because there are not enough asylum seeker centres, there is an option that you have to stay in emergency accommodation (tents / sport halls).

7 months - you have to be patient...
The waiting time for the asylum procedure is approximately 7 months in 2016.

fig 17. Legislation and policies for asylum seekers are aimed at discouraging people to come the Netherlands by excluding newcomers from society. Source: data from Volkskrant 2016 & brief Dijkhof. 'Asielbeleid straalt uit: vluchteling u moet hier niet zijn'.

Asylum Seeker Center in Sint Annaparochie in the Netherlands. Source: COA.

Asylum Seeker Center in Katwijk in the Netherlands. Source: COA.

Asylum Seeker Center in Leersum in the Netherlands. Source: COA.

Asylum Seeker Center in Dronten in the Netherlands. Source: COA.

Asylum Seeker Center in Luttelgeest in the Netherlands. Source: COA.

Asylum Seeker Center in Ter Apel in the Netherlands. Source: COA.

fig 18. Zoning - as part of the research, all the locations of asylum seeker centres in the Netherlands in 2016 were investigated. In this figure: asylum seeker centres in Annaparochie, Katwijk, Leersum, Dronten, Luttelgeest and Ter Apel. COA, googlemaps.

Accommodation for Labour Migrants in Wezep in the Netherlands. Source: Platform, 31.

Flexhotel in Warder in the Netherlands. Source: Platform 31.

Labour Hotel in Zeewolde in the Netherlands. Source: Platform 31.

Reulsberg Short Stay in Horst in the Netherlands. Source: Platform 31.

'Otto World' in Weeze, (Labour Migrants work in the Netherlands). Source: Platform 31
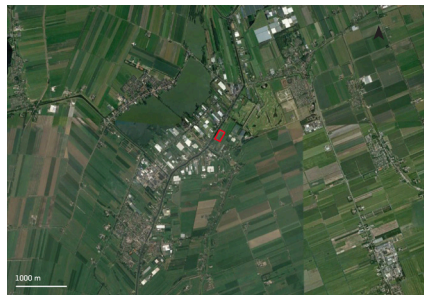
Labour Camping in Ter Aar in the Netherlands. Source: Platform 31.

fig 19. Zoning - the locations of so called 'labour hotels' for Eastern European labour migrants in the Netherlands were researched. In this figure, 6 labour hotels are shown in Wezep, Warder, Zeewolde, Horst, Weeze (DEU) and ter Aar. Source: Tempo Housing, googlemaps.

THE FICTION OF T

Initially built to stand for 5 years to house international students - already standing for more than 14 years...

Initially built as a structure for m asylum seekers, but already th

fig 20. What is projected as a temporary structure often works reversely, with housing acquiring a permanent role of accommodation for fluctuating migrant groups. Source: Keetwonen, Tempohousing, Space Boxes.

TEMPORARINESS

max. 5 years accommodating
ere for more than 11 years

Initially built for 5 years, housing students -
already standing for more than 13 years...

GOVERNMENT POLICIES FOCUS ON ZONING, TEMPORARINESS & EXCLUSION · case study · asylum seeker center in Zaanstad

ZONIFICATION
This complex is located at a vacant spot in an industrial area, without any other residents...

SEGREGATION
Asylum seeker centers are often fenced and separated from city life. Public spaces are exclusively aimed at the project's own residence, reducing its vitality

TEMPORARY MONOCULTURE
Asylum seeker centers are often designed for the short-term to function as efficient as possible, resulting in evironments without vitality

fig 21. Case Studies: asylum seeker centre in Zaandam & Labour Hotel Diemen. Source: author's own image.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES FOCUS ON ZONING, TEMPORARINESS & EXCLUSION · case study · labour hotel Diemen

SEGREGATION
The area is spatially closed off from other parts of the city

ZONIFICATION
This complex is located in an old office park. There are no residents living in the surrounding area of the complex.

TEMPORARY MONOCULTURE
These 'tempo housing' buildings were built to stand for less than 5 years, but the municipality agreed to extend this period to 15 years. Because it is designed for the short-term to function as efficient as possible, this results in an evironment without vitality.

fig 22. Asylum seeker centre at the border of the Netherlands and Germany. Source: der Spiegel.

fig 23. Modular, flat pack container accommodation, used in the Netherlands for 'emergency housing solutions'. Source: Bauhu.

CONSEQUENCE:
MONOCULTURE

The migrant policies, frames and accommodation solutions implemented, are too rigid, provisional and exclusive. This leads to exclusion and missed opportunities and results in a monoculture that can be considered negative for urban space.

This monoculture is causing a loss of urban vitality and potential, as can be seen in the photograph of an asylum seeker center at the border with Germany (fig 22.) or in the picture of a *'Polendorp'* in Swifterbant in Zeeland[67] (fig 24).

fig 24. In a small village, 4 kilometres away from Swifterband are only labour migrants from Eastern Europe living. They are coming to this place to do seasonal jobs in agriculture. There are no facilities in the village and they almost never meet other people. Source: Volkskrant.

fig 25. Alternative for Monoculture: Mixed Use Worlds. Source: NDSM.

fig 26. 'Chaotic Storage System' - Systematization of Mixed Use World. Source: Amazon.

OUTCOMES OF 1ST RESEARCH PHASE

An alternative for the monotonous and exclusive environments where migrants are currently received and housed, is a '*mixed use world*' where space can be shared between various people and where encounters, exchange and negotiations can be simulated. Creating and stimulating mixed use is the only way to achieve more sustainable urban development and to create urban spaces that a better equipped to deal with demographic fluctuations or change.

Thus, in contrast to the monotonous world that is created for different migrants today, a more flexible and porous urban development is proposed in this thesis. An interesting metaphor is the '*chaotic storage system'* used by webshops like Amazon and Bol, in which random products are deposited at random places. This is leading to more efficient use, but also ensures that the absorption capacity or the amount of storage has been doubled since they use this system.[68]

In sum, two tensions can be recognised in Dutch urban space. First, there is the tension between the dynamic nature of migration – migration as ongoing flow - and the rigid institutional and governmental practices offered as solutions. Second, a tension can be noticed between migration as a constant phenomenon in the current city, and the temporary, quick-fix housing options developed for migrants. The diverse flows of migrants to the Netherlands are primarily taken as temporary housing problems. This leads to exclusion and missed opportunities and results in a monoculture that can be considered negative for urban space. Consequently, if refugees, asylum-seekers and other migrants have to be really integrated in our cities and societies a more diverse, long-term, urban approach is needed. This leads to the hypothesis of the project that we need to rethink the absorption capacity of urban space.
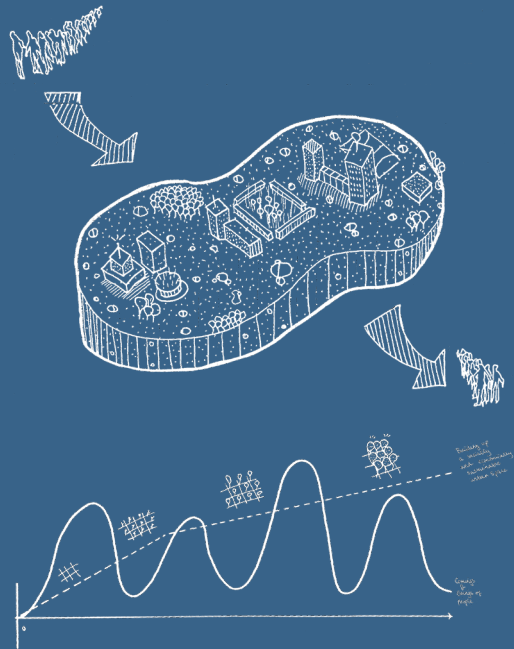
fig 27. Conceptual Sketch 1st Research Phase - we need to rethink the
absorption capacity of urban space. Source: author's own image.

THESE PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES LEAD TO THE PROJECT AIM

- To develop a diverse, long-term approach to better organise migration in urban space

- To propose guidelines for an alternative development strategy that can build up a diverse, porous and resilient urban space

- To carve out an arrival space for migrants at a concrete location in Amsterdam, spurring interaction between temporary inhabitants and more permanent citizens

STUDENTS, MIGRANTS, INDUSTRIAL 'TERRAIN VAGUE'

fig 28. Former prison complex transformed into a temporary asylum seeker centre, a temporary container village for 1.000 international students and empty business buildings along the Weespertrekvaart canal. Source: Gemeente Amsterdam.

FORMER PRISON COMPLEX AND AREA

Amsterdam

Particularly in a metropolitan area like Amsterdam, which has a great appeal to many types of migrants and where the housing prices are rising and sustainable living spaces is scarce – integral, strategic solutions for temporary forms of staying are necessary. Amsterdam has difficulties in housing quite some different groups: research fellows, assigned refugees, exchange and regular students, young people, flexible workers, who are all in need for temporary occupations in the Dutch capital. For instance, there is an urgent need for approximately 1.700 accommodations for Eastern European migrant workers who are currently working in industries or in the agricultural sector in the region of Amsterdam.[69] Furthermore, Amsterdam has the ambition to house 2.400 status holders by the end of 2017.[70] Besides, the Amsterdam authorities calculated that still 7.400 student rooms have to be built in the next 4 years.[71] This number is based on current expectations and does not consider the increase of international students who are coming to Amsterdam, because of the rising number of English bachelor and master programmes in the city. If we take these international students into account, almost 18.000 student rooms have to be built in the coming years.[72] [73] In the vision document for Amsterdam 2040 much is written about making Amsterdam an attractive metropolitan area that welcomes investment, entrepreneurship, artists and researchers to settle and participate in, and contribute to the richness of the city. The idea being that all of these activities will generate more migration, transnational urban lifestyles and temporary forms of staying.[74] The question is then: how can the Dutch capital prepare itself for all these demographic fluctuations, changes and requirements?

Bijlmerbajes and WPM area

The former prison complex Bijlmerbajes and the surrounding WPM area in Amsterdam southeast have been taken as a case study to investigate practices and elaborate guidelines for an alternative development strategy that can build up a diverse, porous and resilient urban space that is better equipped to deal with migration and short-stays. From August 2016, the prison complex is housing up to a thousand asylum seekers.[75] Next to this complex from the 70s, students are living in 'Wenckehof', the largest container village of the world, made of 1000 recycled and stacked shipping containers.[76] Adjacent to the container village, a partly vacant business complex is located. The choice for this location as a case study to develop the project is based on analyses.

fig 29. Inhabitants of the asylum seeker centre 'Wenckebachweg' are playing football. Source: author's own.

fig 30. Football field located at the entrance of the asylum seeker centre. Source: author's own.

fig 31. Former Bijlmerbajes prison complex and container village. 1.000 students and up to 1.000 asylum seekers are living right next to each other. They almost never meet. Source: author's own image.

fig 32. A badly lit tunnel is the only access point for pedestrians and cyclists to the area. Source: author's own.

fig 33. A closed area of exclusion. Source: author's own.

ANALYSIS 1:
CLOSED AREA OF EXLCUSION & SEGREGATION

The current situation at the Bijlmerbajes and surrounding WPM area can be seen as an almost literal translation of migrant legislation, protocols and policies. At the location 1000 international students and up to 1000 asylum seekers are living next to each other in very segregated, quick-fix housing solutions.

Almost 15 years ago, when there was an enormous housing shortage for students in Amsterdam – just like today – a container village was developed which would stand for a maximum duration of 5 years. Consequently, the housing development followed a cheap construction system that could be realised quickly and almost no investment or attention was placed to the public space or more long-term development. The complex was built on a short-term quick-fix of a challenge perceived as temporary.[77] However, the container village for students, is today already standing for almost 15 years. Since the public space, connectivity and long-term perspective were not considered in first instance, this development is causing a loss of urban vitality, safety and potential.[78] The same problem can be observed when one looks at the temporary asylum seeker centre in the former Bijlmerbajes prison complex. Because the accommodation of the asylum seekers is only taken as a temporary housing problem, the 'space value' or public space where these people are housed are not taken into account. A badly lit tunnel is currently the only access point to the area where the in total 2000 newcomers and temporary inhabitants are living (fig 32).

In addition, the asylum seekers and students in the area are kept apart from each other and almost never meet. Thus, the football field located at the entrance of the asylums seeker centre is exclusively aimed at the project's own residents and is controlled by a guard (see fig 29.).[79] It is forbidden for students and schoolschildren, living in the neighbourhood, to make use of this space.

The observed temporary, quick-fix housing solutions, lack of public space and segregation result in a closed area of exclusion.
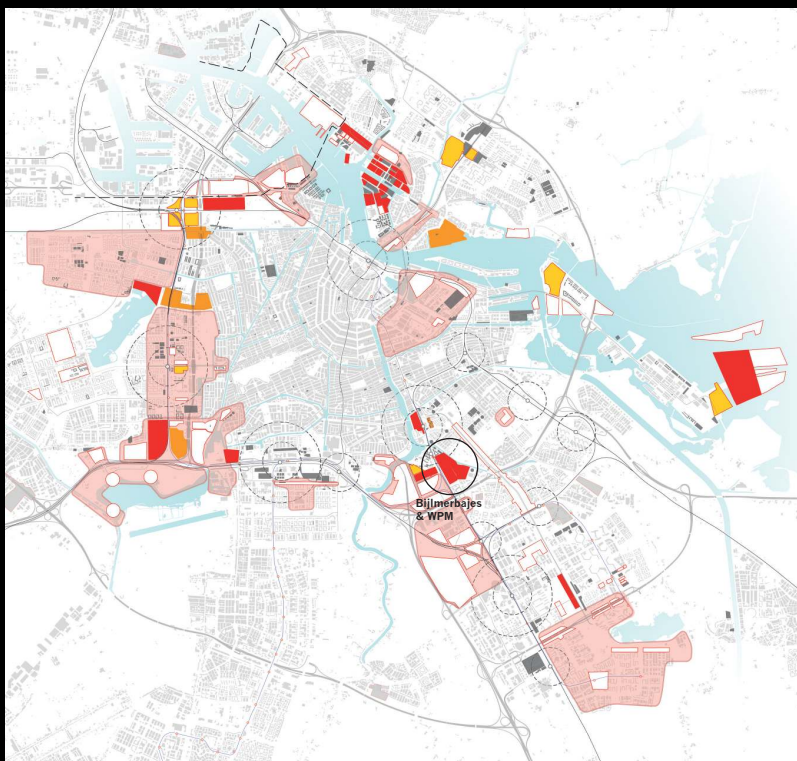
Ruimte voor de Stad
Koers 2025

LEGENDA

- Lopende projecten (RvdS nov. 2015)
- Projecten buiten de gemeente Amsterdam (RvdS nov. 2015)
- Versnellingslocatie 2014 Tranche 1 (investeringsbesluit)
- Versnellingslocatie 2014 Tranche 2 (strategiebesluit)
- Voorstel Nieuwe projecten 2016 Tranche 3
- Gebiedsuitwerking 2016 gericht op Nieuwe Projecten 2017-2018
- Strategische ruimte voor de stad ten behoeve van gebiedsontwikkeling na 2020
- Pas-op-de-Plaats convenant 2009
- OV-knooppunten

Gemeente Amsterdam

Koers 2025
Ruimte voor de stad
Versie januari 2016

fig 34. 'Ruimte voor de stad' - places where the municipality of Amsterdam is planning to build 50.000 houses in the coming 10 years. The WPM area and Bijlmerbajes are part of this zone. Source: gemeente Amsterdam.

Place for Change, Densification and Experiment along Ring Road A10

In the coming 10 years, Amsterdam is planning to build 50.000 houses at locations around the ring road A10. Because of all these locations, there is place for densification and transformation.[80] Beforehand, this zone next to the ring road was neglected, but today this area is considered a place with potential, allowing for experiments and new initiatives. In contrast to the increasingly expensive and saturated city centre, the areas next to the ring road A10 have a potential for new urban and architectural forms.[81]

The Bijlmerbajes and WPM area are located in this zone. Since the area will be in transition in the coming years, this is a good location to experiment with an alternative, diverse and long-term approach to deal with migration in urban space, while at the same time examining possibilities of transformation and densification of this area.

fig 35. WPM area and Bijlmerbajes are located in the zone next to the ring road A10. Since the site will be in transition in the coming years, this is a good location to experiment with alternative ways to organise migration in urban space. Source: Rijksoverheid, 2017.

fig 36.Vision 2040 for the metropolitan area of Amsterdam. Source: Gemeente Amsterdam.

fig 37. The famous architecture office OMA together with FABRICations and LOLA landscape have already developed a masterplan for the transformation and densification of the Bijlmerbajes area. The plan was presented in September 2017. This thesis has been developed parallel to their design process and could therefore function as an alternative development strategy to the huge and 'homogene' development they propose. Source: Rijksoverheid, 2017.

ANALYSIS 3:
As the City Grows and Homogenises, Amsterdam Needs People with Diverse Backgrounds and Talents

In the Vision document for Amsterdam 2040, much is written about the number of houses or the amount of square meters that must be build in the coming years at proposed locations next to the ring road A10.[82] Looking at the content and visualisations of this vision, it seems that as the city plans to grow, very uniform developments are proposed. Architecture firm 'Fabrications' together with Rene Boer (2017) claim in their research for the *International Social Housing Festival*[83] that the Dutch capital is homogenising increasingly and emphasize Amsterdam's need for people with diverse talents and backgrounds.

In order to respond to this requirement, the former Bijlmerbajes and WPM area can be used as a test case to develop an alternative strategy that can build up a diverse urban space where various migrants, newcomers and temporary inahbitants can arrive and can contribute to the city.
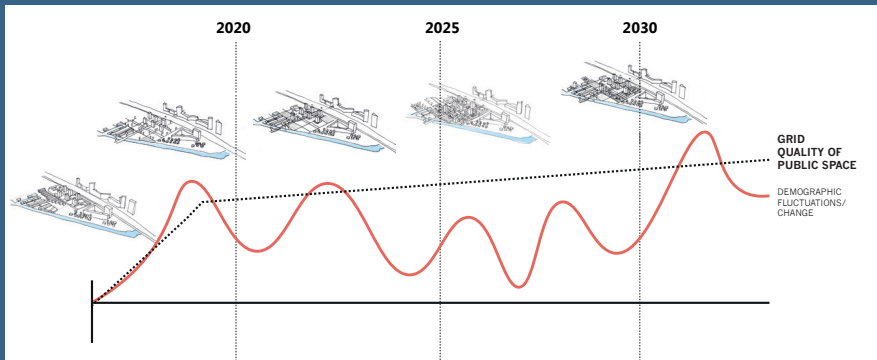
fig 38. Even though people are coming and going and might only stay temporarily in the area, they will add to building up a high-quality, resilient and porous public space for the city on the long-term. Source: author's own image.
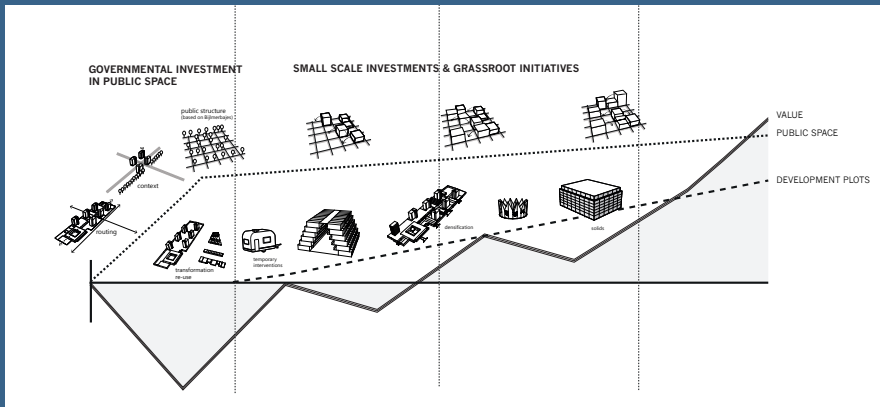
fig 39. The development strategy consists of organised, small scale investments and grassroot initiatives, but is at the same time based on governmental investments in public space in very beginning of the process. Source: author's own image.
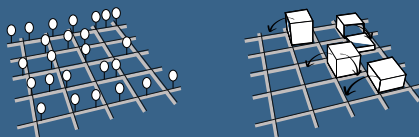
fig 40. Governmental investments in grid of public space - grid can be filled in with diverse temp & perm programmes. Source: author's own image.

MY ALTERNATIVE FOR WPM AREA: ORGANISED PUBLIC SPACE

- **GOVERNMENTAL INVESTMENT IN GRID**
- **GRID CAN BE (TEMP & PERM) FILLED IN**
  - * **Organised small scale investments**
  - * **Grassroots initiatives**
  - * **Diverse programmes (several stakeholders)**
  - * **Encounters, exchange and negotiations**

The WPM area and Bijlmerbajes have been taken as a case study to research practices and propose guidelines for an alternative development strategy that can build up a diverse, porous and resilient urban space. This strategy consists of orchestrated small-scale investments, grassroots initiatives and diverse programmes based on a governmental investment in public space. On the next pages, the proposed strategy, main intervention and related scales will be explained and elaborated.

L - BICYCLE ROUTE
opening the closed area of exclusion

M - GRID
based on Bijlmerbajes pattern

HOTELCITY

DEVELOPMENT PLOTS

S - DEVELOPMENT SCENARIOS FOR THE PLOTS
seemingly impenetrable structures that may allow
new encounters to take place

fig 41. Three leading scales. Source: author's own image.

DESIGN BASED ON 3 LEADING SCALES

The alternative strategy is based on 3 scales that are leading. On a city scale, a new bicycle infrastructure is proposed, enabling everyday types of social interaction between different ethnic groups across the often-invisible boundaries that crisscross the Dutch capital. The bicycle route will cut right through the former Bijlmerbajes complex and area next to it and will connect various places, collective meeting places, places for play and leisure. In this way, the closed area of exclusion can be opened to its surroundings and the rest of the city.

On the scale of the Weespertrekvaart Midden, a grid based on the Bijlmerbajes pattern is presented. It will be used to densify the existing area, building up a high-quality space for the city on the long-term, while at the same time being able to facilitate very diverse programmes. The grid is divided in two parts, creating a *'short-stay city'* where various newcomers and temporary inhabitants can be received and prepare their integration into society, while the area next to it will become an '*experimental area*' with a lot of freedom for the city. The users and inhabitants of the two zones can benefit from each other's presence.

On a small scale, flexible plot structures are proposed. While in the plots will be a lot of freedom, the borders of these plots must meet a few technical conditions, creating seemingly impenetrable structures that may allow new encounters to take place and will add to the quality of public space.

fig 42. Mama Agahta runs a bicycle training programme for migrant women in Amsterdam. Source: Mama Aghata.

fig 43. "A bicycle is the ultimate symbol of Dutch culture and when you are cycling you are part of that culture." Source: Fadi Hindash

fig 44. Once a week, a group of migrant women in the Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam learn how to ride a bicycle. Source: Mama Aghata.

fig 45. Asylum seekers learning how to ride a bicycle in former prison complex Bijlmerbajes. Source: unknown.

fig 46. "Amsterdam, bicycle capital of the world". Source: Guardian.

CYCLING AS FREEDOM

An interesting finding of research into the networks of specific ethnic groups in the Dutch capital is that all these groups make use of areas in the *ringculture*. This is the zone next to the A10 highway that consists of event halls, party venues, parks, allotment gardens, sport facilities, shopping centres, motel chains and green areas – 'spaces of mass culture' as Neutelings (1988) calls them. The Bijlmerbajes and WPM area are also part of this ringculture.

Since a lot of these spaces in the south-eastern part of the ring are closed, isolated and are only accessible by car, a bicycle ring is proposed, parallel to the A10, which could like the green landscapes surrounding Amsterdam (the Amstelscheg, Amsterdamse Bosscheg and Waterland) and which could connect the various spaces, collective meeting places and places for play and leisure in this ringculture (see fig 47). Thus, the proposed infrastructure could open the closed Bijlmerbajes and WPM area.

Newcomers or temporary inhabitants who arrive at the WPM location, such as the migrants who are received in the asylum seeker centre, will be given second-hand bicycles and lessons,[84] and have in this way immediate access to the city. Fadi Hindash, himself an example of a refugee who transformed into a permanent citizen and artist describes in an interview how important cycling can be for newcomers in the Netherlands,[85]

> "Sometimes people do not understand how important cycling can be for integration. Once newcomers or temporary inhabitants have bicycles, their lives become a lot easier in the Netherlands. They can do quick grocery shopping or drop off their children at a day-care. Even more important, they feel part of society. A bicycle is the ultimate symbol of Dutch culture and when you are cycling you are part of that culture."
> (Fadi Hindash, 2015).

In sum, by proposing a bicycle infrastructure on city scale, the closed area of exclusion could be opened and newcomers and temporary inhabitants who arrive at the WPM area will have immediate acccess to the city and Dutch culture.

Legend:
- Bijlmerbajes
- WPM area
- Green landscapes
- Bicycle infrastructure
- Sports parks
- Allotment gardens
- Campus
- Cemeteries
- Leisure parks
- Event halls/Hotels etc.

WATERLAND

AMSTERDAMSE
BOSSCHEG

AMSTELSCHEG
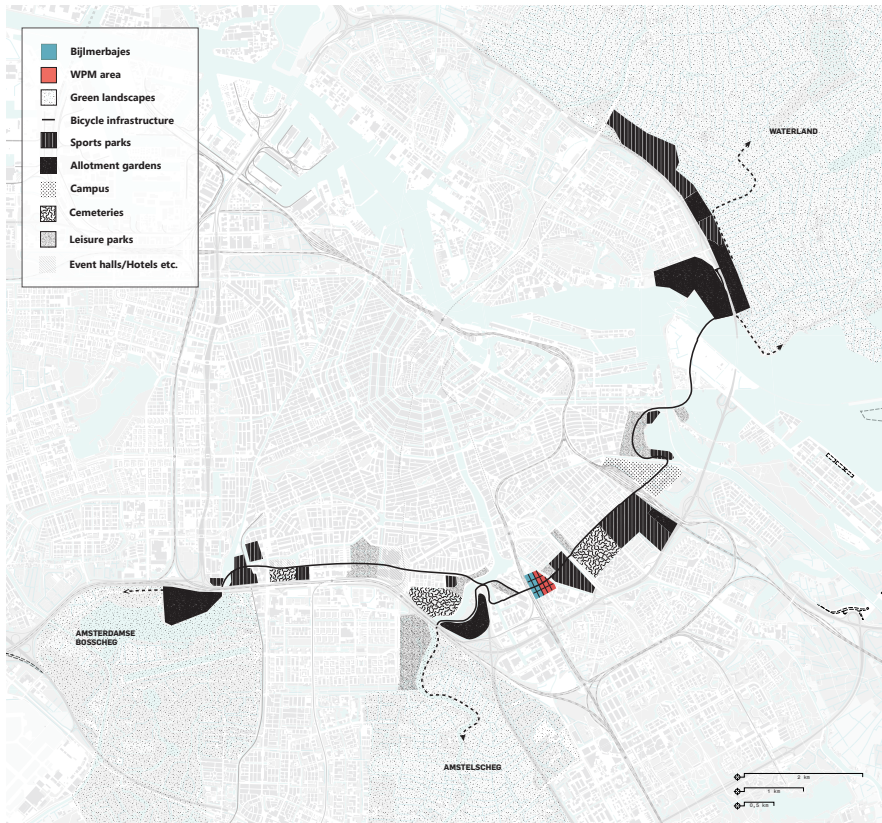
fig 47. The proposed bicycle infrastructure connects several places in the ringculture. It
would cut right through the Bijlmerbajes and area. Source: author's own image.
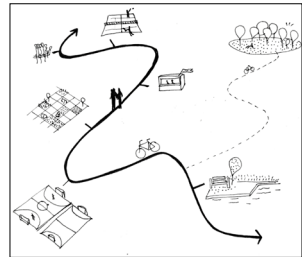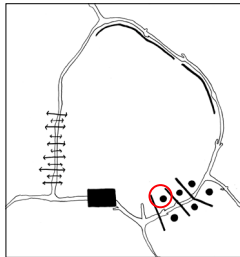
fig 48. A lot of different users could make use of the bicycle ring. Source: author's own image.
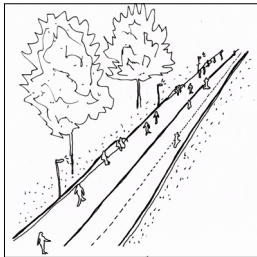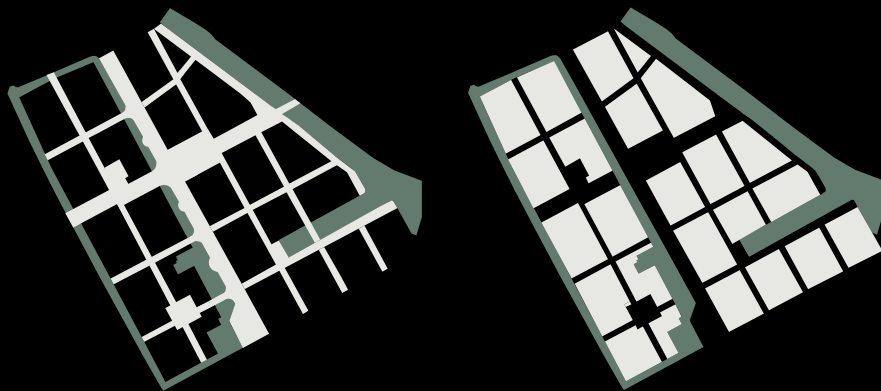
fig 49. Grid is strong structure, but in separate plots contingency, creativity and community. Source: author's own image.

fig 50. San Michele in Venice. This cemetry island consists of several fields with graves and a very stong grid structure of public space. Source: Minor Sights.

MAIN INTERVENTION:
GRID AS DURABLE PUBLIC SPACE

A grid based on the Bijlmerbajes pattern plays an important role in the development of the WPM area. This grid will connect the former prison complex to the 'empty' area next to it, and will be used to create an urban space that can accommodate very diverse programmes (temporary and more permanent; public and more private ones) while at the same time building up a high-quality public space for the city on the long-term.

The grid has a robust quality, stable continuity and will be perpetuated for the future. In the plots that are formed by the grid is great freedom, flexibility and space for experimentation. An inspiring reference image for this idea is a photograph of San Michele in Venice (fig. 50). As can be seen in the picture, on the island, a strong framework of public space has been developed, formed by beautiful cypress trees and various stone walls and boundaries. In the fields, formed by the framework of public space are graves. Over time, more graves and building structures can be added; sometimes some graves are removed. Thus, this division between a strong framework of high-quality public space and plots that can be filled in, provides a flexible and resilient structure.

The aim of proposing a durable grid structure of public space at the Bijlmerbajes and WPM area, is that even though people come and go and might only stay for a short time in one of the plots, they can be accommodated in a complex and diverse urban space, which as such can contribute to the city on the long-term. Thus, the grid provides a structure in which temporariness and permanence can be connected.

Within the map: AZC, existing business buildings, Development plots 'experimental garden', Hotelcity

Scale markers: 10 m · 50 m · 100 m
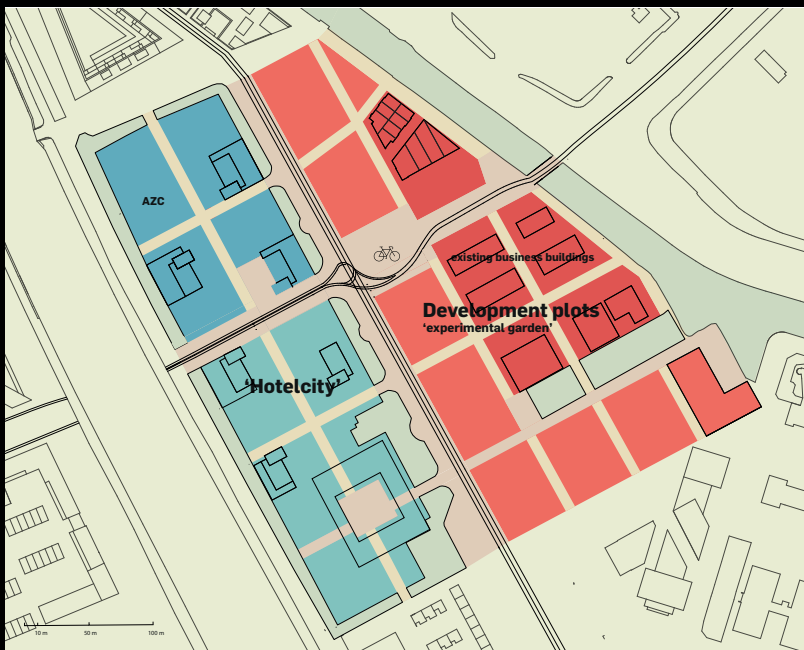
fig 51. Architect of the Bijlmerbajes, Koos Pot-Keegstra, said in an interview that the starting point for her design was the concept of a 'Hotel City' or 'Short-stay city', where new inhabitants could be received and prepared for their integration into society. Source: IGLO 1986.

BACK TO THE FEMALE (?) IDEAL OF BIJLMERBAJES

The former prison complex Bijlmerbajes, opened in 1978, was fascinatingly designed as a 'humane prison' without bars over the windows. The idea behind this huge prison complex was that it could function as a small city with different neighbourhoods and various functions, facilities and collective spaces. Encounters and exchange between prisoners and inhabitants of Amsterdam were stimulated. It was thought that in this way prisoners could be prepared for a 'normal' return into society (Mitchell, 1980). This was called a resocialisation programme.

In the 70s, former head of the Dutch planning office dr. M. A. Petersen believed that modern prisons should not differ that much from other institutes or buildings that accommodated for example elderly, students, patients or tourists (Petersen, 1978). Therefore, when the government was looking for someone who could design a new large prison complex in Amsterdam, it was especially in search of architects who were skilled in designing small units and who did not necessarily have knowledge about the design of prisons. In the end, the architect couple J. W. H. Pot & J. F. Pot-Keegstra was chosen to make the new complex in Amsterdam. Their expertise was designing small living spaces and buildings for students, single woman and elderly (Mitchell, 1980).

Shortly after the couple was selected, Pot died. His wife Pot-Keegstra made a design for the Bijlmerbajes, as one of the first female architects in the Netherlands. Pot-Keegstra described in an interview with IGLO that the starting point for her design was the idea of a 'Hotel City', a place with small private rooms, a lot of collective spaces, pavilions and amenities, where new 'inhabitants' could be received and be prepared for their reintegration into city and society.

While in the beginning, the Bijlmerbajes was a very idealistic human prison, over time, a lot of adjustments were made to the building and outside spaces – bars were for example placed before the windows, barbed wire was used and fences were raised. The original concept of the prison complex seemed to be hidden increasingly. The Bijlmebajes became a closed fort instead of a 'Hotel City'.

From August 2016, up to 1000 asylum seekers are housed in the Bijlmerbajes. Even though, today there are a lot of protests against housing newcomers in this former prison complex, the area has a lot of unused potential that has rarely been tapped into. If the interventions that have been made in the past years would be demolished or are transformed, such as for example the 5-meter high prison wall, an interesting urban structure remains. The concept of a 'Hotel City' could revive and could be used to carve out an 'arrival space' for newcomers and temporary inhabitants in the city.

Hotel City & Experimental Development Plots – stimulating encounters and exchange between newcomers and more permanent citizens of Amsterdam
While the former Bijlmerbajes will transform into a 'Hotel City', the 'empty' area next to it could become an experimental site with a lot of freedom for the city, where diverse temporary and more permanent programmes could find their place. Companies, institutions or individuals could for example lease, rent or develop space in this area.
In the first phases of development, in the northern part of the Bijlmerbajes still an asylum seeker centre will be located with place for 600 inhabitants. In the rest of the Bijlmerbajes different forms of short stay and various facilities will be accommodated. The municipality can collaborate with the foundation 'Socius Wonen'[86] and housing corporations such as 'De Key'.[87]

The two areas (former prison and empty area) could become a zone where can be experimented with new economic and social policies. At the same time it could also become a place where certain policies are spatially or temporarily eliminated – all in an attempt to create a zone that could be uncoupled from regular migrant legislation to create a place where people can arrive and together and actively can become part urban space. The ideal would be that users and inhabitants of the two areas could benefit from each other's presence. It could for example be made attractive for institutions, companies and inhabitants of the experimental area to provide newcomers and residents of the 'Hotel City' with opportunities beyond current restrictions.

fig 52. A prisoner in her cell in 1979 versus an asylum seeker in his
private living space in 2017. Source: Agnes Schreiner & NRC.

HOW TO GET THINGS STARTED...

- **Financial Investment in Grid**
- **Investment in Green: Life Quality**
- **Investment in Social Venturing**
- **Investment in Transformation Bijlmerbajes**

  Permeability / Experiment
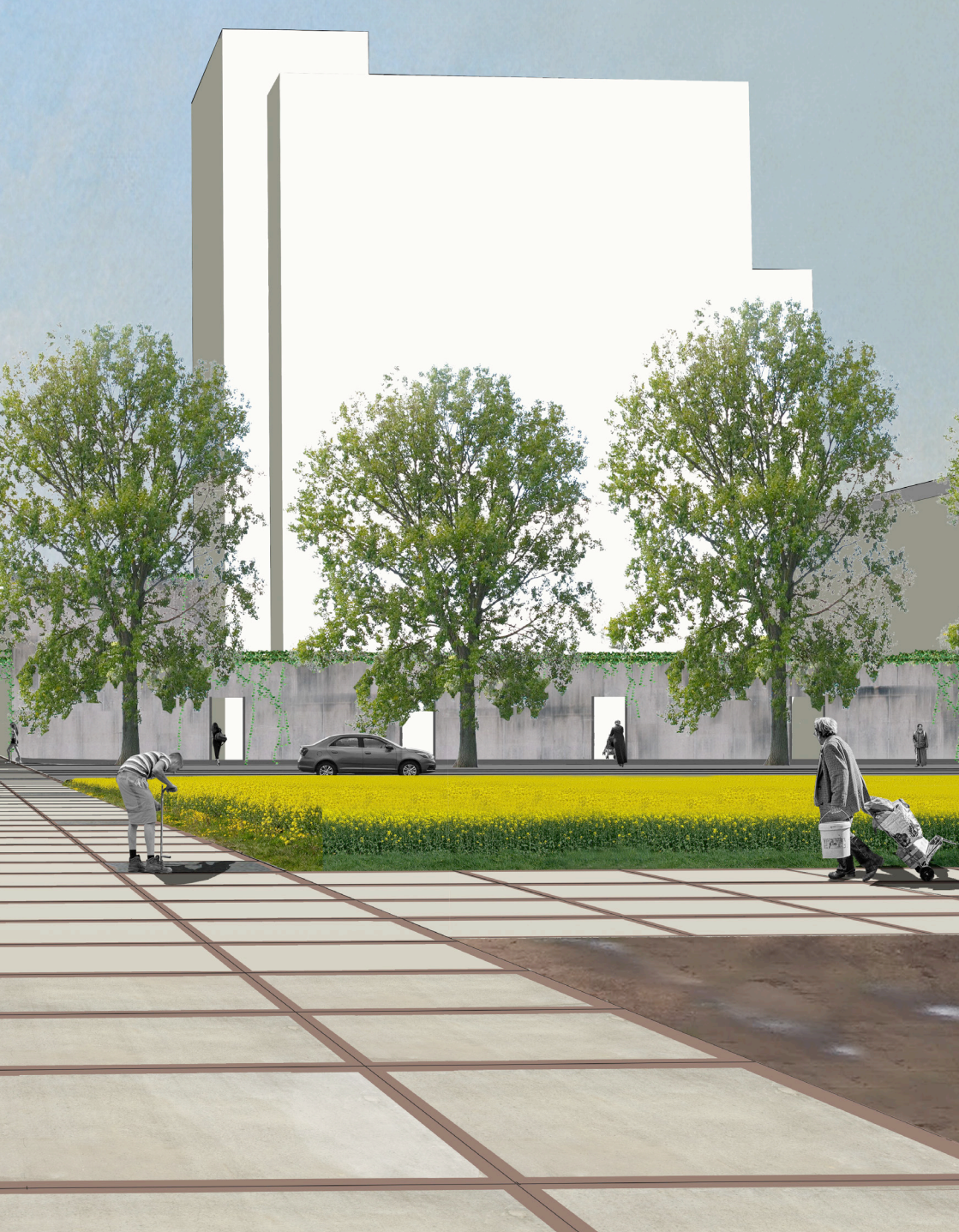
fig 53. Dobbelmanterrein Nijmegen by Marlies Rohmer Architects + Urbanists. Source: Marlies Rohmer.

fig 54. Square of European Promise. Source: Jochen Gerz.

FINANCIAL INVESTMENT IN GRID

Since the grid and central public space play an important role in the development of a porous, diverse, and resilient urban area and in the success of the project, in this public structure must be invested from the very beginning. Two reference projects for the materialization of public space are 'Dobbelmanterrein' in Nijmegen and the 'Square of European Promise'[88] in Bochum in Germany. In both projects, a transformative, durable and fascinating patchwork of various materials has been created as pavement for the central public space. Lightning and trees are integrated. While 'Dobbelmanterrein' can be used as reference project because of its pragmatic and efficient use of sustainable materials in public space, the 'Square of European Promise' is an inspiring reference project because of its durable materialisation and the symbolic value. From 2004 - 2015, 14.726 people from all over Europe participated in the square project by making a promise. The promises were not published, but the names of those who particpated have been inscribed in the stone floor of the square. These 14.726 people have become part of this artwork and urban space. 63 basalt panels cover the square with their names.

Investment in this public space grid and in the central public square at the WPM area will be partly done by the municipality of Amsterdam. Since the project aims to foster integration of migrants into society and vice versa, funding from the central government and European Union could be received.

- **UIA – Urban Innovation Action (European subsidy for integration of migrants in European cities)**
- **AMIF – European Asylum Migration Integration Fund**
- **Funding from the Dutch central government for experiments in order to increase social cohesion and public familiarity in neighbourhoods (WRR & VROM)**

In the appendix a description can be found about the infrastructure and different froms of shared space in the grid of public space.

Crataegus persimilis 'Splendens'	Malus 'Evereste'	Gleditsia triacanthos 'Sunburst'	Malus 'Mokum'	Magnolia denudata	Populus canescens
Albizia julibrissin	Albizia julibrissin Ombrella	Tilia henryana var. subglabra	Tamarix tetrandra	Prunus serotina	Alnus glutinosa 'Laciniata'
Prunus yedoensis	Catalpa bignonioides	Robinia ps. "Semperflorens"	Pauwlonia tomentosa	Prunus Cerasifera Nigra/ Dulcis/Autumnalis	Betula Utilis

fig 55. Investment in green - various species (form, age, colour, costs, flexibility). Source: author's own image.

INVESTMENT IN GREEN: LIFE QUALITY
VARIOUS SPECIES (FORM, AGE, COLOUR, COSTS, FLEXIBILITY)

Already existing trees in the area – like the 30-year old poplars, standing along the Bijlmerbajes canal, are preserved. Subsequently, it is examined which trees will be planted in which place.

In the area next to the location, plane trees have been planted along the Weespertrekvaart canal. These trees will be extended in the area, connecting the location to its surroundings. The central public space with bicycle infrastructure will be characterised by a wide variety of small trees which will blossom in different seasons in various colours (see fig 56). Some of these trees such as the '*magnolia denudata*' or '*prunus serotina*' can grow very old – more than 100 years.[89]

From the very beginning, birches will be placed in the small streets and all unused and empty spaces. Bleak emptiness will be transformed into fields full of birch trees. These trees are small, have a relatively short life-span and can be easily removed or relocated, when necessary. They have a wonderful seasonality and create from the beginning a certain quality in the area.

When a tree in the framework of public space has to be moved or removed after some time, due to development or change, a measurement is used, based on *Orange County Development policies,*[90] to decide how much replanting must be done or how much must be paid to compensate for the loss of the tree.
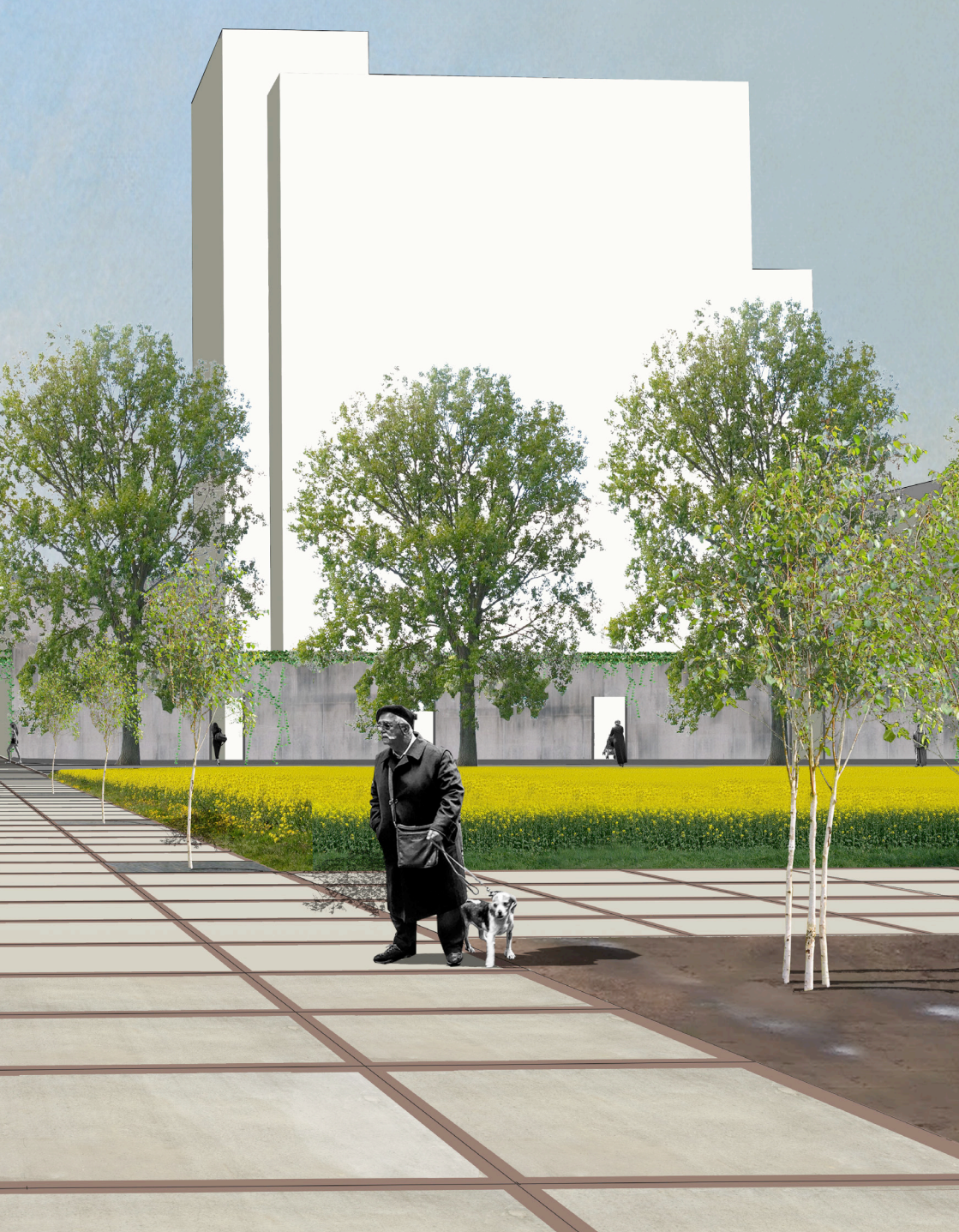
fig 56. Balon Flee Market in Turin. Source: cities of migration.

fig 57. Porta Palazzo in Turin. Souce: cities of migration.

fig 58. Bazar Vest in Aarhus. Source: author's own image.

fig 59. Peckham Highstreet in London. Source: LSE Cities.

INVESTMENT IN SOCIAL VENTURING

Along the central public space with bicycle infrastructure and in the main street of the 'Hotel City', special zones for entrepreneurship are created, where people can start a small business. These zones will be characterised by a mix of registered formal and informal vendors. Newly arrived migrants have the right to 'exchange' goods in these areas. 30% is reserved for enterprising newcomers and social workplaces for Amsterdam's new project 'Amsterdam Werkt'.[91] These programmes will be located at the corners of the zones.

In the different phases of development, various spatial structures or reference projects could be used to create and build up these special social-economic zones. In the first phase of development, street stalls could for example be placed in the areas, making it possible to organise various local markets. Two interesting reference projects are the 'Oogstmarkt' in Rotterdam[92] or the 'Balon Flee market' in Turin[93].
As the project evolves, another possibility would be to create an urban structure – for example a linear greenhouse, giving people the opportunity to 'fill in' this structure with more permanent shops or working spaces. Inspiring reference projects are Porta Palazzo in Turin, the 'greenhouse market' in Haarlem[94] or Bazar Vest in Aarhus[95]. In Bazar Vest migrants can build a small shop of recycled material in a large covered hall. Thus, they have a great freedom and do not have to take into account all kinds of building regulations and requirements.
On the long-term the zones could develop into a 'high street' with various shops and retail activities.[96]

The number of square meters of the special social economic zones and calculated programmes are based on Bazar Vest and the other reference projects.

fig 60. Impression of central boulevard in WPM area. The 5-meter-high Bijlmerbajes wall will be opened, rennovated and covered with plants. Bridges connect the former prison complex to the area next to it. Source: author's own image.

INVESTMENT IN TRANSFORMATION BIJLMERBAJES

In order to build up a porous, resilient and diverse urban space at the area and to create a 'Hotel City' in the former prison complex, it is important to invest in the transformation of the Bijlmerbajes. In the 70s, the prison complex was still a very idealistic human prison, but over time more and more adjustments were made to the buildings and especially the outside spaces. Barbed wire was used, fences were raised and a big prison wall was developed. In order to be able to go back to the ideal of the Bijlmerbajes of a 'Hotel City', the first thing that has to be invested in is opening the 5-meter-high wall, allowing the grid of public space and bridges to connect the former prison complex with the area next to it. The wall can be opened on several strategic places and has to be cleaned, rennovated and can at some places be covered with plants.

The proposed permeable wall ensures that the island character and 'privacy' of the complex are preserved, but also guarantees that the 'Hotel City' is connected to its surroundings.

Experiment/Permeability - Asylum Seeker Centre

It is important to bear in mind that nothing is as volatile as government policies. Every 4 years a new government is elected and completely different policies on migration can be conducted. An asylum seeker centre with place for 600 inhabitants will in the proposal still be located in the northern part of the Bijlmerbajes. According to regulations a centre for asylum seekers must be able to be completely closed off from its environment in order to protect its inhabitants (COA, 2017).

By making use of the permeability of the Bijlmerbajes wall and 'simple' design elements such as a 'lifting bridge', the asylum seeker centre can indeed be closed off, but can at the same time be opened to its surroundings. In this way, not only experiments can be done with opening-up the asylum seeker centre at certain periods during the day, week or month – allowing people from the outside to make use of the playground or short-cut route that is then being created – but at the same time the permeability of the wall and 'in-between spaces' such as the lifting bridge could respond to policy's unpredictability. If there might be no need for an asylum seeker centre in the future, the area can just be connected to its surroundings.

FOLLOW UP...

- Area Organiser Will Orchestrate Initiatives, Small-Scale Investments & Diverse Programmes
- Plots are Free & Conditional
- Conditions: All Plots Support the Overall Plan
- All Plots Need Permeable Borders to Mark Quality of Public Space
- Technical Conditions - Boundary & In-Between Zone
- Development of Different Scenarios
    * *Birches + Objects*
    * *Community Block*
    * *Individual Houses*
    * *Solids*
- Imaginary Scenario of What it Could Look Like

AREA ORGANISER

10 m   50 m   100 m

€ € €

UIA Urban Innovative Actions (European subsidy for integration of migrants in European cities)

Funding from the Dutch central government (WRR, 2005; VROM 2008).

AMIF (Asylum, Migration, Integration Fund) (European Fund)

Municipality Amsterdam

COA - Centraal Orgaan Opvang Asielzoekers

Area Organiser

Governmental investments in grid of public space

Subsequently, an area organiser will connect the various stakeholders and orchestrate diverse programmes, small-scale investments and initiatives.

ROC TOP

'Amsterdam werkt voor iedereen'

Expertisecentrum Flexwonen

Associations

Local entrepreneurs

Businesses

Developers

Inhabitants

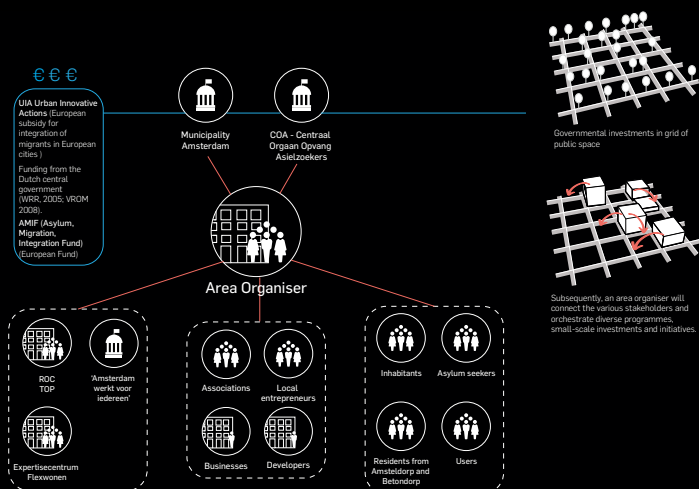Asylum seekers

Residents from Amsteldorp and Betondorp

Users

fig 61. Process - organisation and involved stakeholders. Source: author's own image.

AREA ORGANISER

WILL ORCHESTRATE INITIATIVES, SMALL SCALE
INVESTMENTS & DIVERSE PROGRAMMES

The municipality of Amsterdam will invest in the grid of public space (in pavement, lightning, green, social venturing, transformation of Bijlmerbajes etc.). Since the project aims to foster integration of migrants into society and vice versa, extra funding from the central government and European Union could be received that can be used to invest in this structure of public space. COA, the central organisation for refugee intake, will organise an asylums seeker centre with place for 600 people in the northern part of the Bijlmerbajes.

Subsequently, plots formed by the grid structure of public space can be filled in with diverse programmes and can be leased, rented or developed by various companies, institutions and individuals. These users and developers of the plots are obliged to support the overall plan and to make a positive contribution to public space.

An 'area organiser', located in the main building of the former Bijlmerbajes complex, will orchestrate the diverse programmes, small-scale investments in public space and all the initiatives in the area. This organiser consist of a team of professionals who form a bridge between the various stakeholders - the municipality, COA, asylum seekers, inhabitants of the 'Hotel City', users, associations, companies, businesses, inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhoods, etc.- and at the same time takes care of the spatial organisation of the area, ensuring that a certain unity, human scale and quality is created and preserved in public space. Besides, the area organiser linkes newcomers or temporary inhabitants of the 'Hotel City' to institutions, companies and individuals in the 'experimental area'.

fig 62. Possible infills for the plots - temporary & more permanent; and cheap & more expensive ones. Source: author's own image.

PLOTS ARE FREE & CONDITIONAL

Diverse programmes and developments can be facilitated in the plots in the '*experimental area*'. In order to give an overview of possible infills, a scheme has been developed showing potential temporary and permanent, and cheap and more expensive interventions.

In the first phase of the development, the plots will most probably be filled with temporary programmes such as container units, caravans, rapeseed flowers, festivals and markets. Innovative lease constructions and re-used units can ensure that temporary housing can be profitable. Over time, more permanent programmes could fill the plots, such as flexible and sustainable building structures as 'solids'.[97] However, an important guideline for the developments in the area is that there must be a certain balance between temporariness and permanence. The area organiser will take care of this. If for example, the majority of the plots is filled with permanent programmes, then still some of the plots must provide space to temporary and cheap interventions.

Cheap
Minimal Investment

1
- Re-used modulair housing units &
  innovative lease constructions
- Herbs and flower fields
- Festivals and events

3
- Solid Light or Solid Re-use
- Plots filled with cherry blossom
  trees, birch trees or apple trees
- Playground, skatepark

Temporary

Permanently

2
- Newly built container housing
- Urban farming & allotment gardens
- Ice skating place, pop-up restaurant

4
- Solid - destination-free casco unit
- Parks or water square
- Permanent urban structure such as theatre

Expensive
Investment
Organisation/Maintenance

fig 63. An obligation based on UK's Section 106 Agreement makes sure that users and developers of the plots are obliged to invest in the grid of public space. Part of this investment will be used by the 'area organiser' for the organisation of various experiments, extra plantation of trees, lightning or construction of pavement, etc. In these two impressions can be seen how the pavement of public space could possibly be transformed/replaced over time. Source: author's own image.

CONDITIONS:
ALL PLOTS SUPPORT THE OVERALL PLAN

To ensure that the grid structure of public space can build up into a high-quality space for the city on the long-term – even though developments occur in the plots and diverse people might come and go and make only temporarily use of the plots – a planning obligation will be used, based on Section 106 Agreement from the United Kingdom.[98] This obligation will guarantee that temporary use or developments in the plots will make a positive contribution to the public space. Users and developers of the plot are obliged to invest in the framework of public space (about 15-20% of their investment or rental income). Part of this investment will be used to develop borders between the plots and public space. These borders have to meet a few technical conditions. The other part of the investment will be used by the area organiser for the organisation of social programmes, experiments, maintenance, rennovation of pavement, extra plantation of trees, lightning, etc.
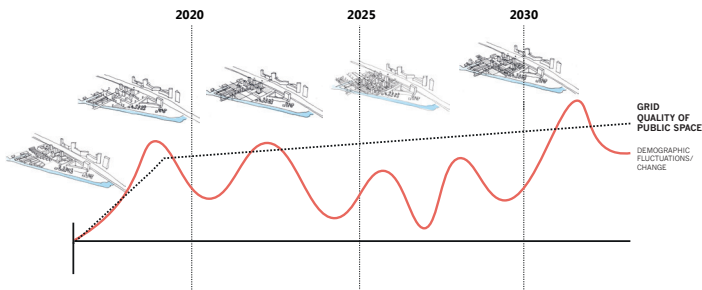

fig 64. Even though developments occur in the plots and diverse people and programmes might come and go in the area, a planning obligation will be used to make sure that the public space can be built up into a high-quality structure for the city on the long-term. Source: author's own image.

Development plots
'experimental test-site'

'Hotelcity'

10 m   50 m   100 m

fig 65. Painting: the Tale of Genji. 'Seemingly impenetrable structures that may allow new encounters to take place'. Source: Harvard Museum.

fig 66. Grid plan in Ouagadougou in 1930. The grid plan which separates public street life and more private plots, dates from antiquity, but is also a very modern structure and is originated in multiple cultures. Source: Mittelhozer.

ALL PLOTS NEED PERMEABLE BORDERS TO MARK THE QUALITY OF PUBLIC SPACE

The grid plan, clearly and spatially separating public street life and more private interiors, dates from antiquity, but is also a very modern structure and is originated in multiple cultures. The borders between public space and more private interiors of the grid play an important role in the proposal of guidelines for a development strategy that can build up a diverse, porous and resilient urban space.

In order to be able to accommodate very diverse and sometimes even contrasting programmes in the plots, while at the same time developing a high-quality public space for the city on the long-term and stimulating encounters, exchange and exposure between various people, technical conditions have been developed for these borders between the plots and public space grid. These technical conditions will result in several 'seemingly impenetrable structures' or hybrid spaces between the public and private.

GUIDELINES FOR
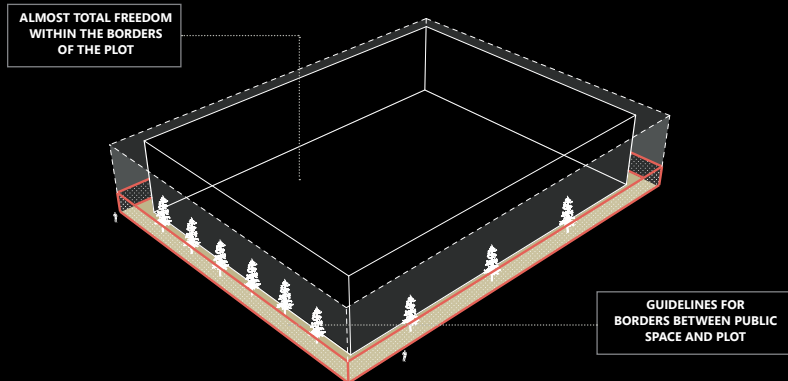BORDERS BETWEEN PUBLIC
SPACE AND PLOT

fig 67. While the border between the plot and public space must meet a couple of technical conditions, within this border is almost total freedom. Per side/facade of the experimental plot, the following rule applies: 50% of the in-between zone of the border can be built, but at least 50% of the in-between zone must remain open. Source: author's own image.
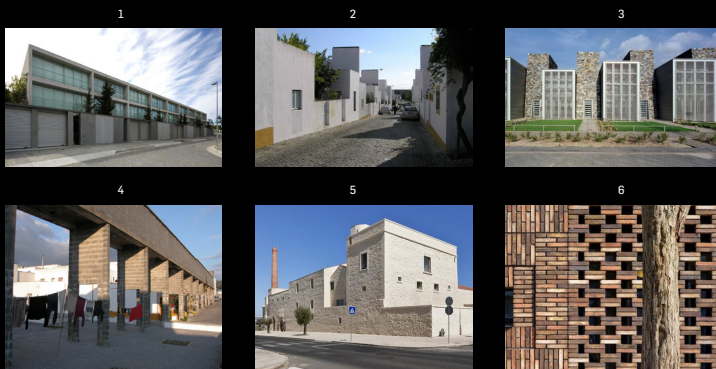

fig 68. Reference projects used as inspiration for design of technical conditions for the boundary and in-between zone of the plot (1: Quinta da Avenida by Souto de Moura, 2: Quinta da Malagueira by Alvaro Siza, 3: 'Wild Wonen' by Marlies Rohmer, 4: Quinta da Malagueira by Alvaro Siza, 5: Das Bernardas by Souto de Moura, 6: Fusion by Marlies Rohmer.). Source: Archdaily, Dezeen, Torcao.

TECHNICAL CONDITIONS:
BORDERS & IN-BETWEEN ZONES

The technical conditions that the borders between the public space and plots have to meet are the following:

• The border has to be made of a spatial boundary of minimal 3 meters and an 'in-between zone' of 3 meters;
• The spatial boundary must be made of selected bricks and must have a certain degree of porosity;
• Per side/facade of the plot 50% of the in-between zone can be built, but the other 50% of the zone must remain open.

Although these requirements are imposed on the borders between the plots and public space, there is almost total freedom in the area within the border. The conditions for the borders make sure that an urban space can be developed in which different levels of openness and new forms of public-private space can be made and that can accommodate very diverse programmes, while at the same time establishing a high quality structure for the long-term.

Birch trees + objects   *Community block*   *Individual houses*   *Solids*
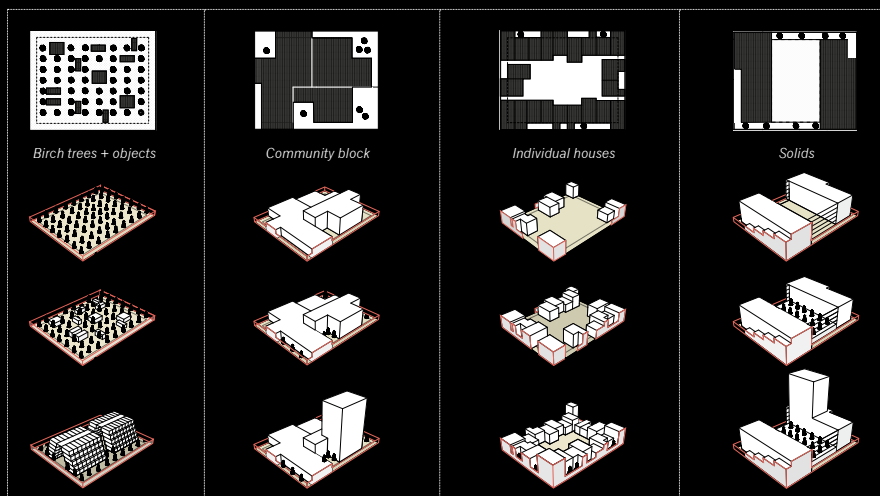
fig 69. Four different development scenarios have been made, depending on different stakeholders. Source: author's own image.


fig 70. Impression of WPM area. The four scenarios can be used as reference or guidelines for developments in the area. The boundary between the plot and public space can have different functions. Source: author's own image.

DEVELOPMENT OF DIFFERENT SCENARIOS
DEPENDING ON VARIOUS STAKEHOLDERS

One might wonder how the process of developing these borders is going to work exactly and how seemingly impenetrable structures between the plots and public space can be build up. That is why four different development scenarios for the plots have been made, depending on various stakeholders. These scenarios can be used as guidelines or reference for a number of experiments and developments in the area. In addition, the scenarios show that the function of the border can be different in several situations.
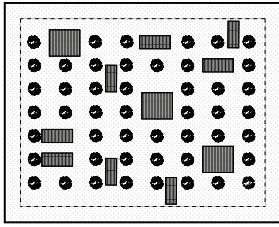
BIRCH TREES + OBJECTS

Stakeholders: municipality, plots can be leased or rented by individuals, local businesses or associations
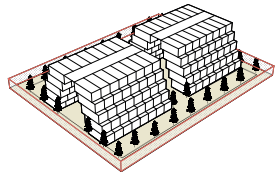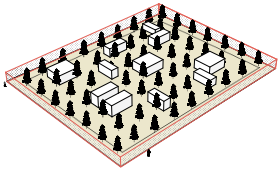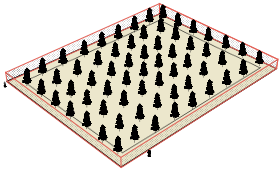
In the first development scenario for the plot, it is assumed that the municipality will remain/be the owner. Thus, the municipality will develop a 'permeable' brick wall between the public space and plot, following the technical conditions that apply. Besides, she will fill the complete plot with birches, so that from the very first moment a certain quality is created. The colours and seasonality of the birches are wonderful.While in the beginning the young birches need each other to be able to grow and be protected, later some should be cut because otherwise they will choke each other. Since the birches are inexpensive, small, easy to move and have a relatively short life-span, they can be easily removed or relocated when developments or change occur.[99]

The municipality can rent or lease parts of the plot to people and all kinds of small initiatives. Small objects, temporary housing or caravans could find their place in the plots. If more permanent or big objects will be developed in the plot, birches can be cut. A measurement will be used to decide how much replanting must be done or how much must be paid to compensate for the loss of the trees.

The plots where already (empty) business buildings are located, can be developed according to this scenario, since the municipality is owner of these buildings and land.

In the second development scenario, a housing association such as 'De Key'[100] could collaborate with the municipality of Amsterdam to develop a plot into a 'community block' and create a brick wall and in-between zone.

In this concept, the in-between zone could function as a public/private space that can be shared by different inhabitants of the block or in some cases even between people from the neighbourhood. The technical conditions that apply to the border have to be taken into account, so at least 50 % of the in-between zone at every side of the plot must be open. In addition, 25 % of the area within the border, adjacent to the zone must also be open. This can become a shared community space.

There can be played with different levels of 'permeability' of the wall: in some places the community space can be private, and in other places it could be opened to the framework of public space.

An inspiring reference project for this development scenario is 'Startblok Riekerhaven' that has already been built in Amsterdam.[101] 250 young refugees and 250 young people live in one block, have private, individual rooms, but share different outside spaces and kitchens.[102] Amsterdam is interested in this kind of new forms of co-living where different groups of temporary inhabitants can share space. Therefore, the concept might be an interesting experiment for the area.
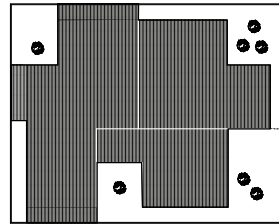
COMMUNITY BLOCK
SHARED PUBLIC/PRIVATE SPACE
Stakeholders: municipality, housing association such as 'De Key'
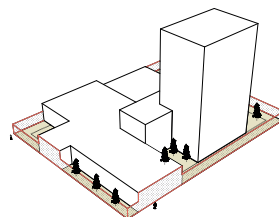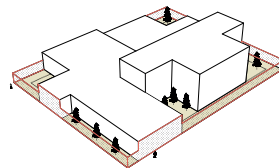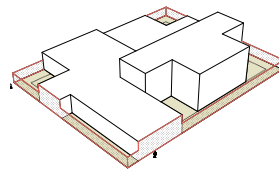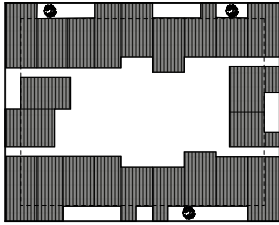
INDIVIDUAL HOUSES
Stakeholders: individuals
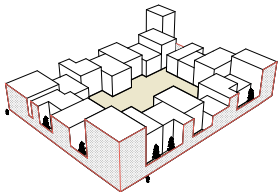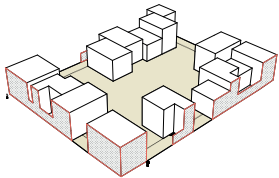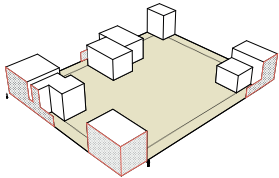
In the third development scenario, different people can develop their own house in the plot. The plot has been divided in smaller parcels. Again, the technical conditions that apply to the border between public space and plot have to be taken into account.

There are two options when a person wants to build his/her house. People can either develop their house directly on the street. In this case, they have to make the façade of the house of selected bricks and the corners of the plot have to be filled first. But people can also choose to make a permeable wall of the same brick material of 3 meters and an in-between zone and place the house behind it. In this case, more flexible buildings regulations or informal/ immediate construction is allowed. There is a lot of freedom – the house can for example be made of prefab or other materials.

A certain percentage of the plot (at least 50% per side of the plot) has to be assigned to this last 'set-back-option'. Besides, on the short side of the plot, one must take into account a 2-meter alley that can give access to the inner area or courtyard. In addition, the houses developed in the plot must have a minimum height of 3 floors.

In the fourth scenario, a plot can be developed by a developer or corporation. Since a relatively 'large-scale' development can be created, the boundary and in-between zone in this concept serve as tools to maintain a certain human scale and quality in public space.

At least 50% of each façade must have the 3 meter setback (zone), while the other 50% can be directly on the street. The facades that are directly placed on the street have to be made of brick material, while the facades with the setback have a lot of freedom. Balconies are also counted as parts of the façade that protrude.

An interesting, recently developed and sustainable concept for this scenario could be a so called 'solid' - a building of casco free units.[103] Tenants can get the ultimate freedom of choice and can decide if they will use a unit for living, working, recreation or other funtions. New residents can give the units new destinations.
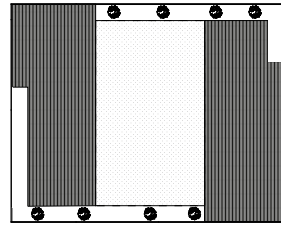
SOLIDS
Stakeholders: corporation or developer
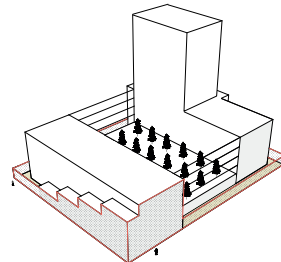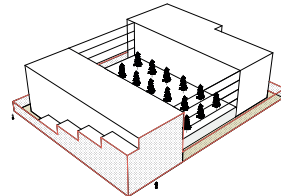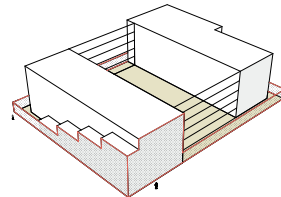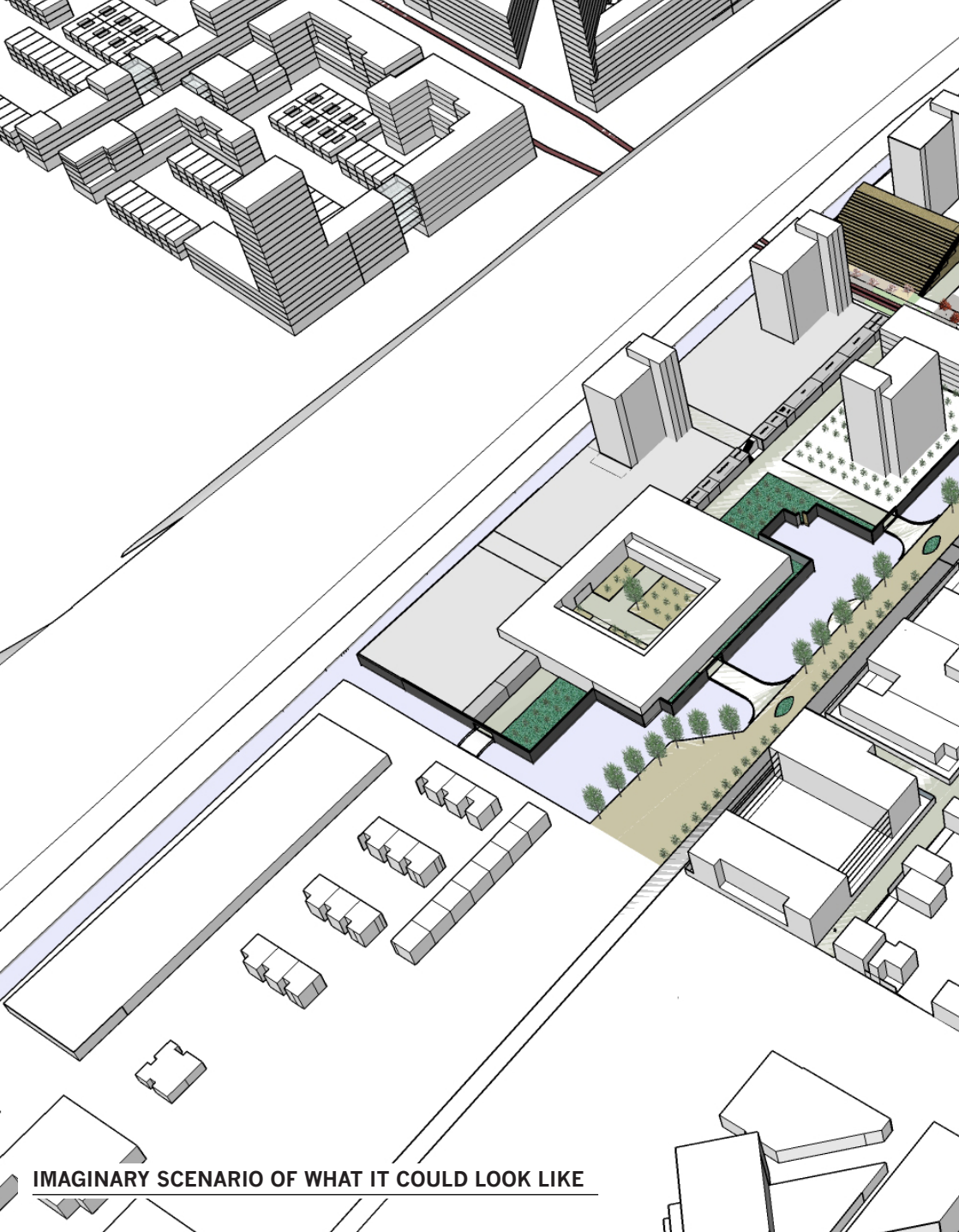
IMAGINARY SCENARIO OF WHAT IT COULD LOOK LIKE
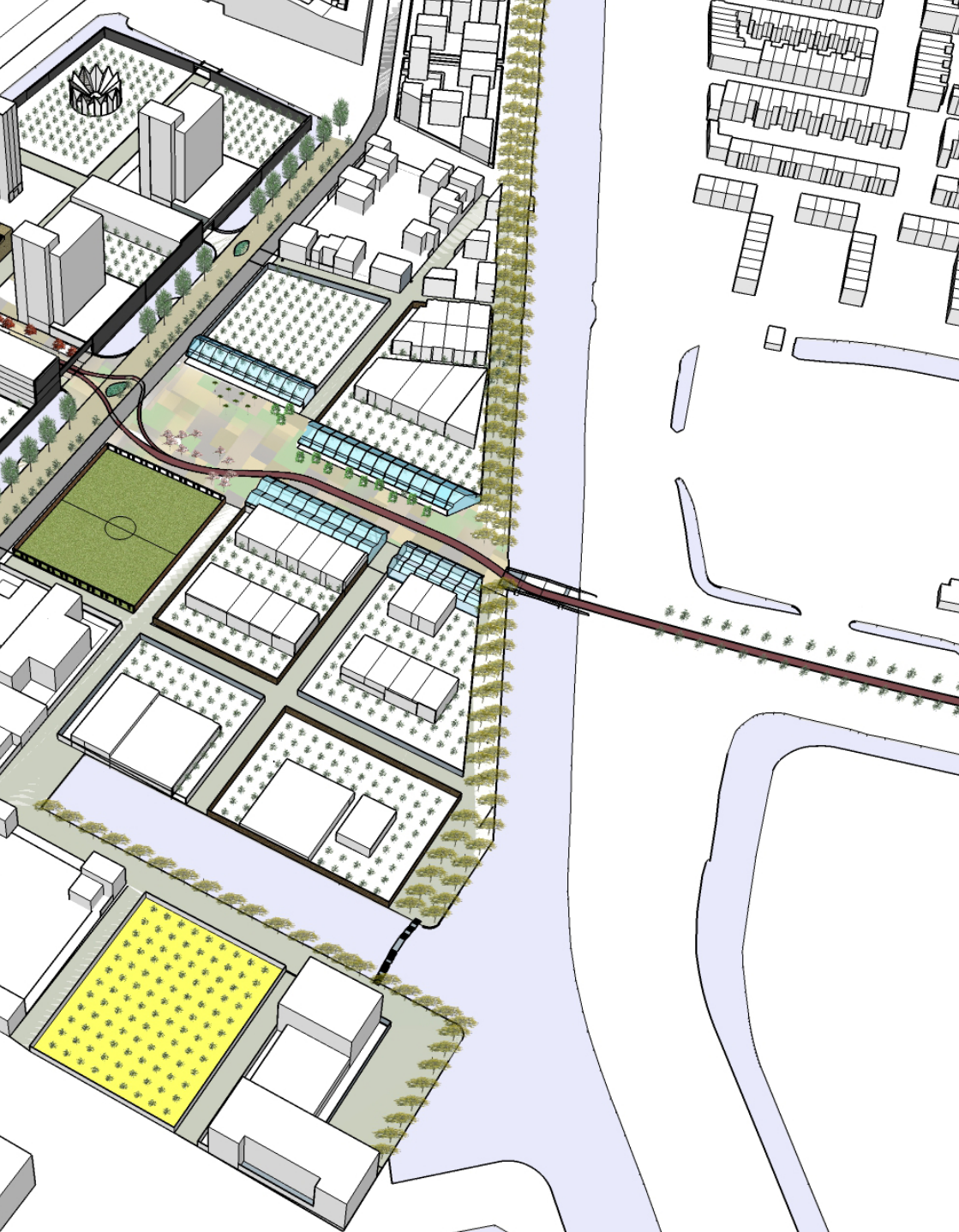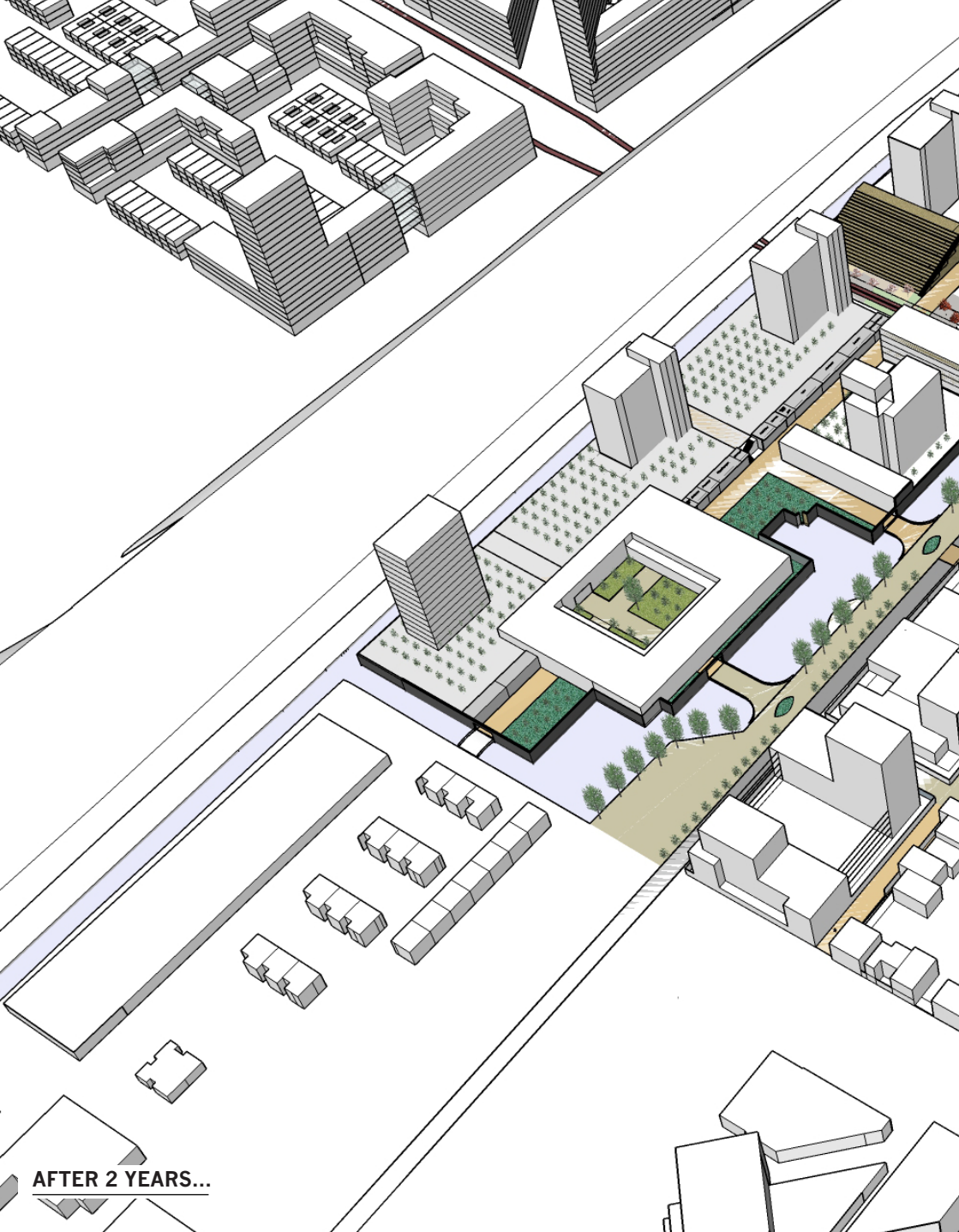
AFTER 2 YEARS...
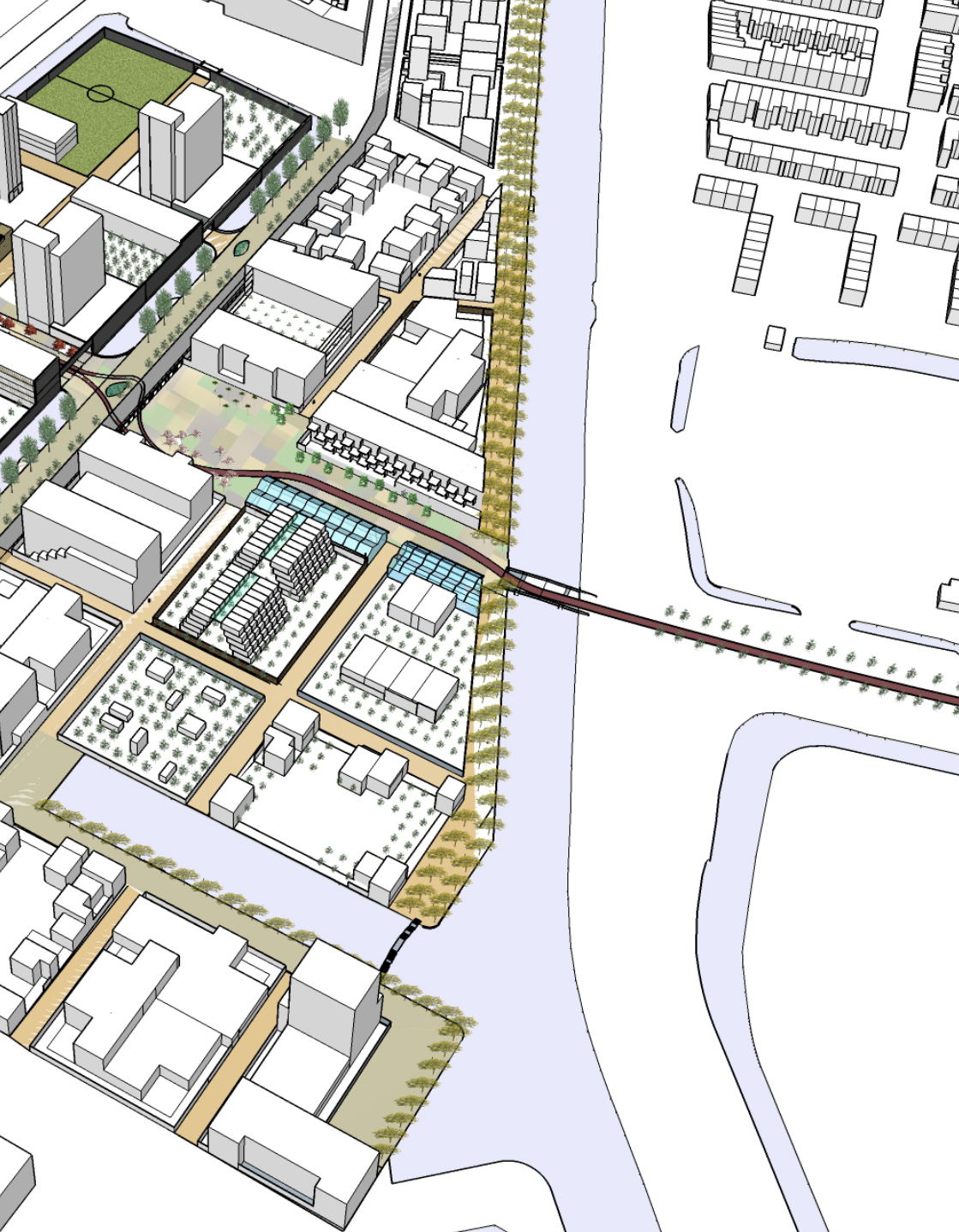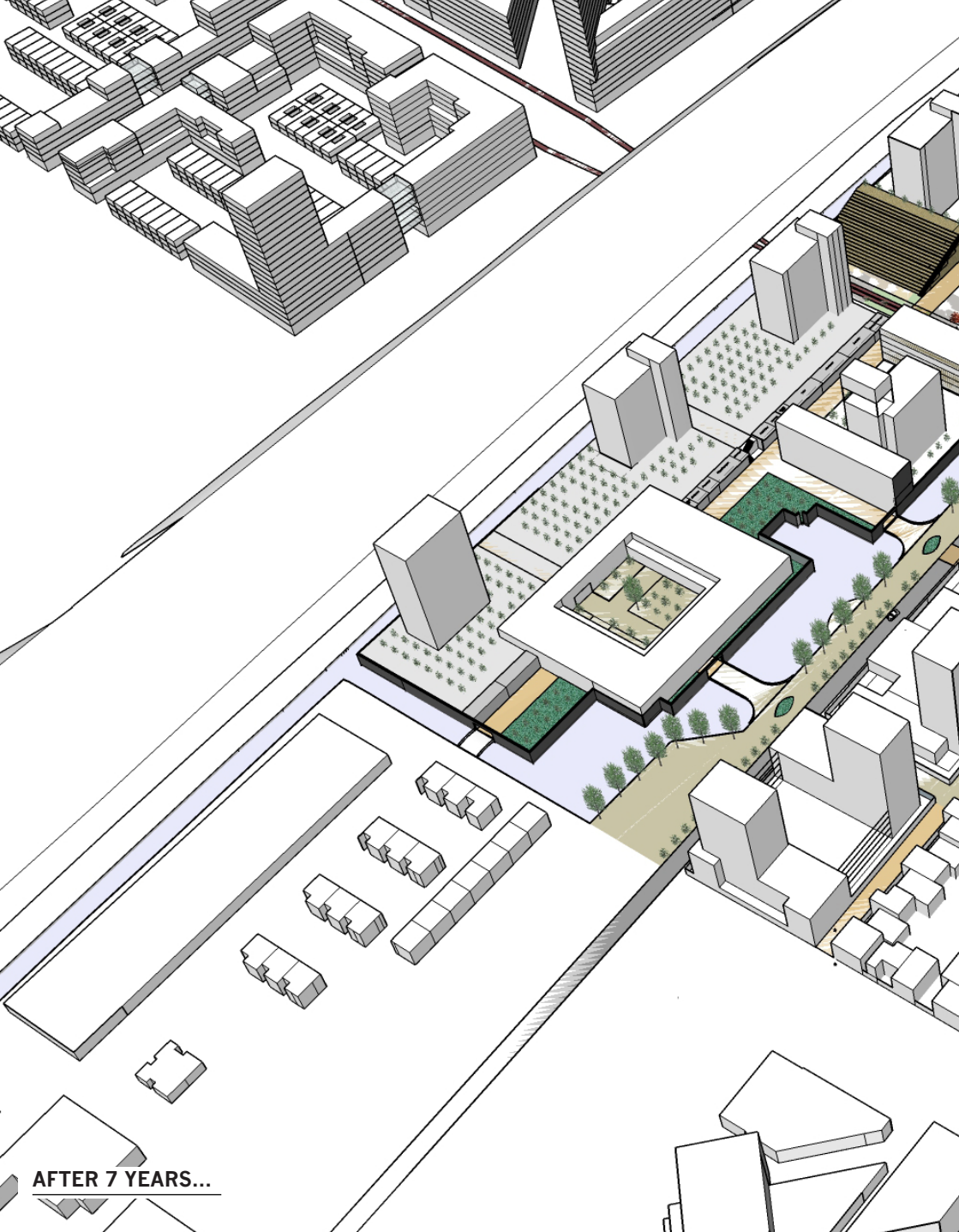
AFTER 7 YEARS...
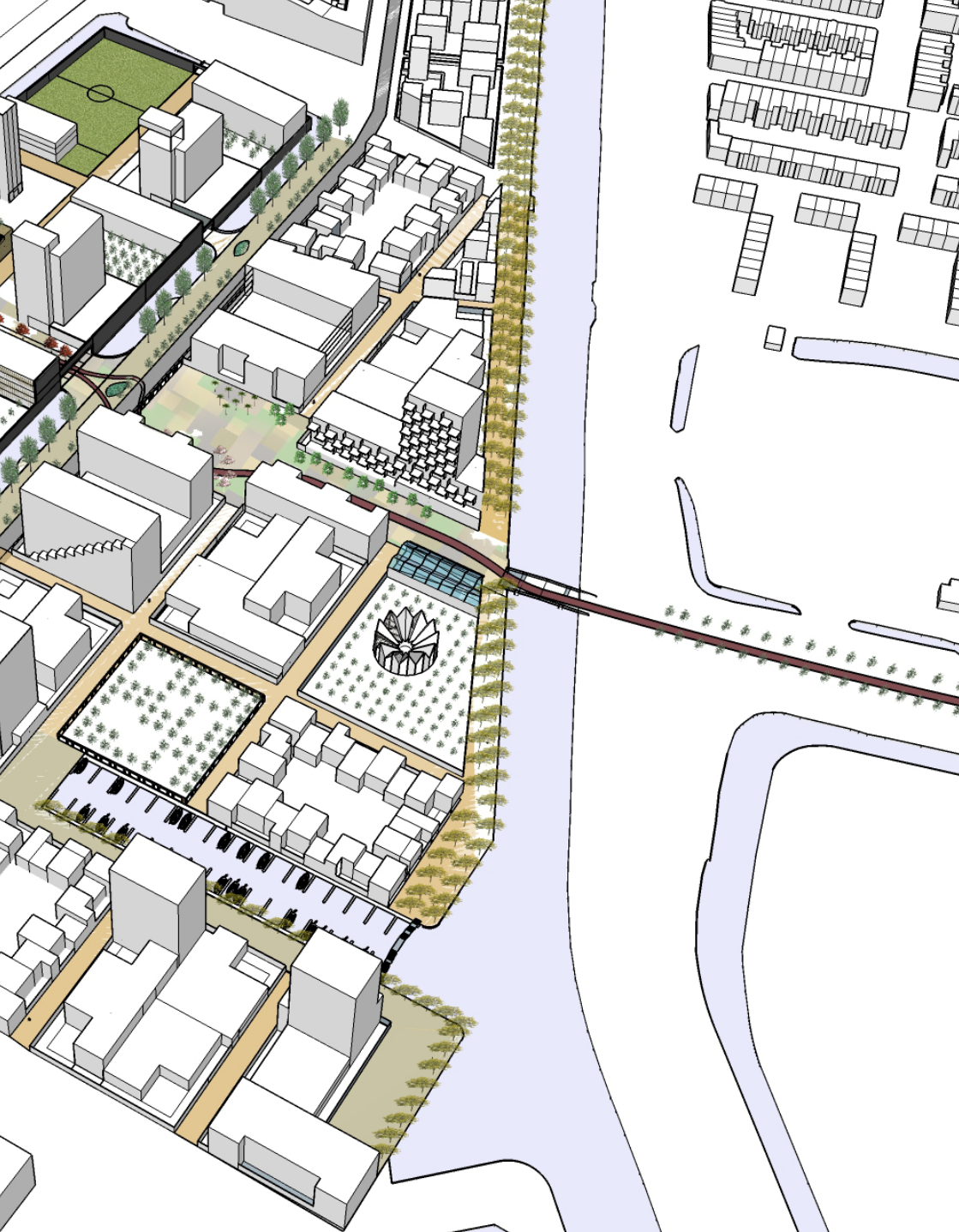
fig 71. Impressions of what it could look like
and how the proposed urban structures could
evolve in time. Source: author's own images.

IMAGINARY SCENARIO OF WHAT IT COULD LOOK LIKE

The proposed guidelines, suggestions and design ideas lead to an imaginary, future scenario for the Bijlmerbajes and WPM area. In the impressions on the next pages, it has been visualised how the public space grid could look like and how this urban structure might build up and evolve in time.

Materiality plays an important role in the imagined grid of public space. Investments in durable materials, lightning and trees and the development of permeable boundaries between the more private plots and public spaces can ensure that even though some of the plots can be filled with very contrasting or very temporary programmes, the public space keeps its quality, unity and human scale over time.

Another important feature for public space is economy. In order to offer space to economic and social dynamics and to stimulate encounters and exchange in public space, entrepreneurialism is stimulated. A special social economic zone has been proposed along the bicycle route and it could for example be made attractive for inhabitants of the area to do all kinds of 'low-entrance jobs' in public space, beyond current restrictions.

In addition, public space needs smart living. The flexibility, experimental freedom and presence of diverse stakeholders in the experimental area could create all kinds of initiatives and creativity, and besides stimulates participation in public life.
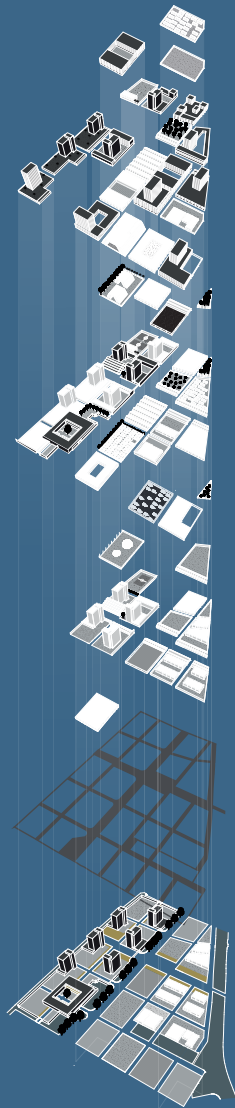
fig 72. The grid provides a flexible
structure. Source: author's own image.

CONCLUSION

This thesis project examined theories and practices of migration in Dutch urban space and observed that two tensions can be recognised. First, there is the tension between the dynamic nature of migration – migration as ongoing flow - and the rigid institutional and governmental practices offered as solutions. Second, a tension can be noticed between migration as a constant phenomenon in the current city, and the temporary, quick-fix housing options developed for migrants. The diverse flows of migrants to the Netherlands are primarily taken as temporary housing problems. This leads to exclusion and missed opportunities and results in a monoculture that can be considered negative for urban space. Consequently, if refugees, asylum-seekers and other migrants have to be really integrated in our cities and societies a more diverse, long-term, urban approach is needed. In other words, migration is a complex and pressing spatial urban challenge.

The former prison complex Bijlmerbajes and the surrounding WPM area have been taken as a case study to investigate practices and elaborate guidelines for an alternative development strategy that can build up a diverse, porous and resilient urban space. This strategy consists of orchestrated small-scale investments, grassroots initiatives and diverse programmes based on a governmental investment in public space as an organised and designed grid related to three scales.

The strategy leads to an imaginary, future scenario for the WPM area, inspired by the 1970s ideal of the Bijlmerbajes. The project proposes to (re)open the former prison complex and to (re)create a Hotel City, where newcomers and temporary inhabitants can be received and prepare their integration into society. The 'empty' area next to the former prison complex is transformed into an experimental area with a

lot of freedom where companies, institutions and individuals can rent, lease and develop space.

The two zones (prison and empty area) are connected by a grid structure of public space and can together function as free-zone for experiments with new social and economic policies and practices. In this way, a place is carved out where newcomers, temporary inhabitants and more permanent residents of Amsterdam can together and actively become part of urban space. The intervention of a grid public space connects temporary stay and use with more long-term developments and permanent structures.

On the one hand, this thesis can be seen as a visionary project, inspired by the fundamental ideal of the Bijlmerbajes aiming to foster integration and transition of migrants into city and society and vice versa. On the other hand, the proposal offers a series of realistic and pragmatic design ideas and suggestions based on existing European policies and reference projects, that can be used as a quick-start for debate to reconsider migration in today's political atmosphere.

The most important insight of this research and design project is the idea that temporariness and permanence need an organised public space to manage demographic fluctuations and change. The three-scaled grid provides a flexible structure. Even though people come and go and might only stay for a short time, they need to be accommodated in a complex and diverse public space, which as such contributes to the city as a whole and long-term creation. Thus, temporariness presupposes stability, and the other way around.
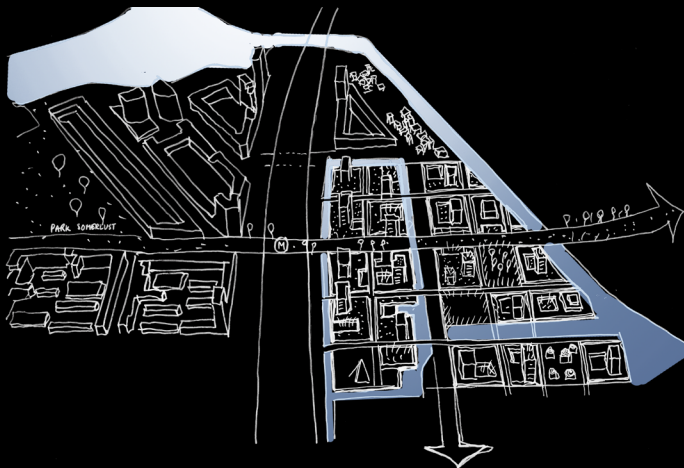
fig 73. Sketch during the design phase. The Bijlmerbajes and area are connected by a grid of public space. The plots can be filled in by diverse temporary and permanent programmes. Souce: author's own image.

REFLECTION
ON PROJECT IN FRAMEWORK URBANISM/TU DELFT

Research and graduation studio

The research has been carried out within the Design as Politics graduation studio *'A City of Comings and Goings – Designing for Migration and Mobility'*. Graduation projects within this studio are supposed to investigate the spatial dimensions of migration. Cities are more and more characterised by a coming and going of people, population growth and contraction, the emergence and disappearance of amenities and enterprises, and a constantly changing racial profile. Society is exposed to change and increasing flexibility. In the Design as Politics graduation studio, students are challenged to develop new perspectives, new solutions and research on how to design for uncertainty and movement, instead of merely designing for certainty and settlement.

In my research, I have tried to understand the current organisation of migration in Dutch urban space, as well as the possibility to increase the *absorption capacity* of cities. Current developments for migrants are too rigid, too temporary, too segregated and often lead to a loss of urban vitality and missed opportunities. This results in a monoculture that can be considered negative for urban space.

In order to understand the current status quo of developments for migrants, part of the research is dedicated to the analyses of migratory flows in relation to architecture and urbanism in the Netherlands and partly in Europe. The research consisted of a Design as Politics theory seminar at the Berlage Institute, a workshop week about different forms of migration in the contemporary European city at the Aarhus school of Architecture, Design as Politics seminars and workshops and qualitative research. These analyses have been used to rethink the current organisation of migration in urban space. This rethinking is also based on texts and literature originating from various cultural backgrounds: from philosophy to sociology, from psychology to politics, from architecture to economics, providing useful inspiration into alternative ways to address migration in the city. These ideas have been translated and tested on the WPM area in Amsterdam, elaborating guidelines for an alternative developement strategy.

Research and concepts

In order to provide a framework to the research, the relation between certainty and uncertainty or between rigidity and flexibility in Dutch city and society has been given as a starting point. An example of this is for instance the tension that can be observed between the dynamic nature of migration on the one hand and rigid urban policies and housing practices set up by the Dutch government on the other hand. Dynamic nature implies that people have various motivations to leave or stay, that they take various routes, they arrive in many circumstances and communities, they develop different qualities and perspectives after they have arrived, and have different durations of stay at various places. Institutions however put emphasis on the sole motivation to migrate – refuge, employment, study, etc. – and often deal with very strict migrant categories (Van Hear, 2014). Entitlements, assigned zones, accommodation and other provisional solutions are organised accordingly. Different groups of migrants are treated as temporary, and are divided as separate cohorts. This is a too rigid approach which is not responding to the dynamic nature of migration, identification of individuals and flexible urban world.

Part of this tension is caused by the rigid socio-spatial separation in the city between temporariness and permanence, between diverse migrant categories and more long-term inhabitants, and between the public and private. Recognizing these separations in the city has helped to categorise the research findings and conceptualise principles for the design. The essence of this project lies in an attempt to make the abovementioned tension productive by creating an alternative development strategy that could gradually build up a diverse, porous and resilient urban space for the city on the long-term. By making use of this strategy, an experimental arrival place for diverse migrants can be carved out, where interaction between newcomers and permanent inhabitants in the city is stimulated.

Research and location

This graduation project has been carried out on the Netherlands and Amsterdam, and has been tested on the WPM area in the south-eastern part of the Dutch capital. When I visited this area a couple of months ago, I was immediately fascinated by the fact that up to 1000 asylum seekers are living in the famous former Bijlmerbajes prison complex, right next to a container

village with 1.000 stacked living units for international students. The two groups of migrants are totally separated from each other, without sharing any facilities or public spaces. They are excluded from society and almost never meet each other.

From that moment on, I wanted to understand if the WPM area and the observed zoning, missed programmatic opportunities and segregation of the migrant groups could be seen as an example of the organisation of migration in Dutch urban space and what could be a possible alternative approach to deal with the comings and goings of various people in the city.

As some of the developments for migrants, such as accommodation solutions for refugees and asylum seekers, are organised on the national level, and since a lot of the themes of the project are western-European phenomena, multiple developments have been analysed throughout the Netherlands and in some cases even in other European cities. The outcomes of the research are therefore not only the analysis of a case, but the analysis of a trend which described how cities in the west have become 'brittle' and are often not able to deal with the arrival of newcomers or demographic fluctuations and change. Amsterdam is therefore not the only city facing these issues, but they take place in a lot of European global cities. Therefore, the conclusions, ideas and designs of this thesis could function as a reference and inspiration for urban spaces with similar issues.

Research Methodology

To get a better understanding of the spatial implications of migration in the Netherlands, and in particularly in Amsterdam, the start of the research consisted of examining newspaper articles, online newsreels and reports. This exploration provided a wide range of issues that were related to the organisation of migration in urban space, varying from mixed migration, mono-functionality, segregation, exclusion, temporary quick-fix housing or zoning and missed programmatic opportunities. This wide variety of issues led to a problem statement and hypothesis. The claim of the research was that the tension between the dynamic nature of migration and the static, institutional and governmental solutions can be made productive from the perspective of a rethinking of the 'absorption capacity' of cities. This rethinking was based on and defined by the following main and sub-research questions:

How to facilitate the integration of mixed types of migrants into society and vice versa, while at the same time building up a more socially and economically sustainable urban space for the long-term?

- How can a porous urban space be build up - an intense and complex place where people from different backgrounds, durations of stay and religions come and go?
- How can everyday types of social interactions between people from various social-cultural backgrounds be accommodated and how could this contribute to the development of trust and public familiarity in urban space?
- How can temporary occupations be intermingled with more long-term urban visions and developments?
- How can a sustainable, well-connected public space be developed that even though people might come and go and only stay shortly, can mean something for the city as a whole and the long-term creation?
- What facilities, education provision and intelligent policy could facilitate the integration of migrants in society and vice versa?

In order to answer these questions, an extensive literature study has been carried out. The first goal of this research was to understand the theoretical concepts related to the issues and problems regarding the organisation of migration in urban space. These theories helped to position the problem definition into a broader discussion but also to discover potential strategies to rethink the absorption capacity of urban space. This rethinking is for example partly based on the idea that migration has been used as an instrument to build up flexible and diverse cities (Lucassen et al, 2015), on the notion that amenities and innovative policies can play an important role in the integration and transition of people in urban space (Saunders, 2012) and on the idea that more public spaces are needed in the European city where permanent inhabitants and newcomers could meet, share space and interrelate.

Since the project tries to better understand the spatial implications of migration in the city, it has to be understood from the perspective of different stakeholders. Therefore, multiple interviews and talks have been done, including with people from academic, design, and governmental background. Besides, literature and personal stories of migrants, such as writings of Rodaan Al Galidi and Emily Dugan, have given observations as well as in-depth analysis. This has provided a very valuable insight into the

needs, demands and power of various stakeholders, allowing me to combine my own conclusions with those of others.

From both the qualitative and literature research, challenges were distilled. These challenges provide the main motivation for the definition of an alternative urban development strategy that could build up a porous, diverse and resilient urban space that offers the freedom and networks for diverse groups to integrate into society and vice versa.

Research and design

The project has taken the Bijlmerbajes and area as a case study to investigate practices and elaborate guidelines for an alternative development strategy, examining possibilities for densification of this area. This resulted in a imaginary future scenario for the Bijlmerbajes and WPM area. The outcome is a visionary, yet realistic proposal that could be immediately implemented on the site, creating a free-zone where migrants can actively participate in the urban environment and where various experiments could be done that might influence or can give new insights 'from below' for the organisation of migration in urban space. Besides, from the very beginning, a high quality structure of public space is developed at the site. Even though, the proposal for a '*city of comings and goings*' could fail or could not work in the way it was intended to, still a robust, diverse, and complex public space remains for the city on the long-term.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank my mentors, Rients Dijkstra whose guidance, dedication and professional knowledge helped me develop and refine the entire project, and Wouter Vanstiphout for his inspiring ideas that always led to further explorations. Many thanks as well to Michelle Provoost for her input and guidance in the first phase of my research project and for the interesting workshop week in Aarhus.

Further I thank *Crimson* for providing me with new insights and information about migration in western European cities. Thanks as well to Mike Emmerik who organised the Design as Politics graduation studio, and who was always there for feedback. In addition, I would like to thank one of my previous teachers, Luisa Calabrese, whose impact upon my formation as a designer indirectly influenced this project.

Finally, I am grateful to my parents for giving me the opportunity to study in Delft and for being there for me, unconditionally. To Jelte, Gerrit and all my friends for their support during the past year.

Endnotes

1. See 'Kan Nederland 90 duizend asielzoekers aan?' https://www.volkskrant.nl/politiek/kan-nederland-90-duizend-asielzoekers-aan~a4229116/. Date of access 20-05-2016.
2. See 'Istanbul heeft meer Syrische vluchtelingen dan heel Europa' http://dutchturks.nl/istanbul-heeft-meer-syrische-vluchtelingen-dan-heel-europa-zegt-david-miliband/. Date of acces 07-10-2016.
3. See 'Italie eist hulp met migrantenstroom, maar wil de rest van Europa?' https://nos.nl/artikel/2181722-italie-eist-hulp-met-migrantenstroom-maar-wil-de-rest-van-europa.html. Date of access 06-07-2017.
4. See 'Poldendorp is gemakkelijk schoon te houden' https://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/polendorp-is-gemakkelijk-schoon-te-houden~a4496266/. Date of access 22-05-2017.
5. See 'The Refugee Crisis is a City Crisis' https://www.citylab.com/equity/2017/10/the-refugee-crisis-is-a-city-crisis/544083/?utm_source=nl__link3_102717&silver-id=MzEwMTkyMjY4NzM4S0. Date of access 27-10-2017.
6. See 'Bijna kwart miljoen immigranten verwacht in 2016' https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2015/51/bijna-kwart-miljoen-immigranten-verwacht-in-2016. Date of access 10-10-2016.
7. See 'Is Europese opluchting over afname migratie voorbarig?' https://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/is-europese-opluchting-over-afname-migratie-voorbarig~a4523003/. Date of access 24-10-2017.
8. See 'Reken maar op miljoenen migranten naar Europa' https://fd.nl/blogs/1118027/reken-maar-op-miljoenen-migranten-naar-europa. Date of access 09-09-2016.
9. See 'United Nations Population Division' http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/. Date of access 09-11-2016.
10. See 'Climate Change Induced Forced Migrants: in need of dignified recogniction under a new protocol' http://www.mediaterre.org/docactu,Q0RJLUwtMy9kb2NzL2N-saW1hdGUtbWlncmFudC1wcmludGVkLXBvc2l0aW9uLWRlYy00wOQ==,1.pdf. Date of access 07-11-2016.
11. See 'A City of Comings and Goings' https://hetnieuweinstituut.nl/en/city-comings-and-goings. Date of access 07-10-2016.
12. See 'Uit zelfbehoud moet Europa helpen Afrika tot een succes te maken' https://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/uit-zelfbehoud-moet-europa-helpen-afrika-tot-een-succes-te-maken~a4521866/. Date of access 16-10-2017.
13. See 'Hoe heeft massa-immigratie Nederland rijk gemaakt? http://www.universiteit-vannederland.nl/college/hoe-heeft-massa-immigratie-nederland-rijk-gemaakt/. Date of access 05-12-2016
14. "Steden in Nederland in de Gouden Eeuw hebben enorm geprofiteerd van migratie. ... Immigranten in de 17e-19e eeuw droegen veel meer bij aan de samenleving. Waarom zou dat dan nu in de toekomst anders zijn?... Velen zullen de zin van zo'n vergelijking in de tijd wellicht niet inzien. Het ging toen toch om een heel ander soort migranten, zoals joden uit Spanje en Portugal, protestantse Antwerpenaren en hugenoten? Rijke, getalenteerde en initiatiefrijke 'inwijkelingen' die iedereen wel binnen zijn landgrenzen zou willen hebben. Bovendien deelden ze een gemeenschappelijke joods-christelijke achtergrond, wordt daar dan vaak nog aan toegevoegd. Heel anders dan de ex-gastarbeiders en asielzoekers van nu. ... Die succesvolle migranten, vaak vluchtelingen, vormen in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw een kwart van alle buitenlanders. Het merendeel van alle migranten bestond uit laaggeschoolde arbeiders, zeelieden, en seizoenarbeiders, terwijl de grote groep Asjkenazische joden uit Duitsland en Polen algauw een veracht en gediscrimineerd proletariaat zou gaan vormen. ... Dat dit

verhaal zelden wordt verteld, komt omdat er in vergelijking met vroeger met twee maten wordt gemeten: voor eerdere periodes kijken we alleen naar de succesvolle, 'goede'
migranten, terwijl wij ons in het heden beperken tot de problematische, 'slechte'
nieuwkomers. Immigranten worden daarmee verengd tot laaggeschoolden moslims,
Antillianen en een enkele dronken Pool. Hooggeschoolde nieuwkomers uit Japan, de
Verenigde Staten, Duitsland of Engeland, of IT-specialisten uit India spelen in het
debat geen enkele rol. Op die manier is het anti-immigratiedenken een goed voorbeeld
van een selffulfilling prophecy: immigranten zijn mensen die problemen veroorzaken
en daarom is migratie ongewenst. Zo is het natuurlijk een koud kunstje voor de integratiepessimisten om de wedstrijd te winnen. Maar dat is vals spel, net zo goed als het
eenzijdig oplepelen van goede voorbeelden. Het gaat om de juiste proporties en een
evenwichtige balans." (Lucassen, 2015, p. 17, 18).
15. See 'Number of International Students' https://www.studyinholland.nl/education-system/key-figures. Date of access 15-12-2016
16. See ' Inwoners Stevensbeek blij met vluchtelingen' http://www.hartvannederland.
nl/top-nieuws/2015/inwoners-stevensbeek-blij-met-vluchtelingen/. Date of access
07-12-2016.
17. A good example of this is Citta Futura. Riace – once an almost abandoned village,
which was in danger of becoming a ghost town as people left to northern Italy for jobs
during the economic growth – has today secured its own future by offering homes and
jobs to migrants who arrive in the village. At this moment over 400 hundred refugees and migrants from twenty-five nationalities are living in Riace and make up one
quarter of the total population. Welcoming refugees allowed the village to preserve
basic public services such as schools, as well as shops and businesses that had
almost all vanished. See 'A Different Approach to Migration', https://designaspolitics.
nl/2015/12/16/a-different-approach-to-migration/, date of access 07-10-2016
18. An interesting example of an urban project that helps migrants to bring in new
crafts and retail activities is 'Porta Palazzo' in Turin in Italy. With over one thousand
merchants and 700 street vendors, Porta Palazzo is a commercial hub whose opportunities have always attracted newcomers to the city. The regular influx of new cultural
communities also makes the market an urban lab for cultural integration. Unique to
the Porta Palazzo market is its mix of registered, formal and informal vendors. Since
1935, irregular migrants have had the right to 'exchange' goods on the market by a
special city statute. Since 1998 the Porta Palazzo has been the focus of Turin's major
economic development strategy, called 'The Gate'. Its overal message was to convince
residents to stay in the neighbourhood and invest in its future, while investing in their
own futures – hence the project's motto, 'Living Not Leaving'.
19. See 'Nederland is altijd een migratieland geweest' http://www.vijfeeuwenmigratie.
nl/cgm/profdr-mja-rinus-penninx. Date of access 19-01-2017.
20. See 'Jordaan, Amsterdam. Over het ontstaan van de naam Jordaan in Amsterdam.'
http://historiek.net/geschiedenis-van-de-jordaan-amsterdam/66344/. Date of access
22-02-2017.
21. See 'Yuppenparadijs: hip en hoogopgeleid neemt Amsterdam over' http://
www.parool.nl/binnenland/yuppenparadijs-hip-en-hoogopgeleid-neemt-amsterdam-over~a3851842/. Date of access 02-03-2017.
22. See ' Binnenlandse migratie naar en uit Amsterdam' http://www.vijfeeuwenmigratie.nl/sites/default/files/bronnen/cgm-workingpaper2.pdf. Date of access 05-05-
2017.
23. See 'Van 'gemengde' naar 'gelede' wijken.' Wagenaar
24. See 'The European City in the Age of Globalisation' https://belgeo.revues.
org/6100. Date of access 11-05-2017.
25. See 'Interview with Richard Sennett – We don't have public spaces where immigrants and long-term residents can mix' http://publicspace.org/en/post/we-don-t-
have-public-spaces-where-immigrants-and-long-term-residents-can-mix. Date of access

20-03-2017.
26. See 'The Open City versus Brittle City' https://www.richardsennett.com/site/senn/UploadedResources/The%20Open%20City.pdf. Date of access 07-10-2016.
27. See lecture of Richard Sennett at the Argus Night of Philosophy on the 15th of June 2017. http://www.dearchitect.nl/architectuur/nieuws/2017/5/night-philosophy-2017-met-richard-sennett-e-101173367.
28. See 'Vertrouwen in de buurt' https://www.wrr.nl/publicaties/rapporten/2005/04/19/vertrouwen-in-de-buurt. Date of access 30-05-2017.
29. See 'Stad en stijging – Sociale stijging als leidraad voor stedelijke vernieuwing' http://www.rli.nl/sites/default/files/stadenstijging10-2006advies.pdf. Date of access 30-06-2017.
30. See 'De Magic Mix' http://www.platform31.nl/publicaties/de-magic-mix. Date of access 03-03-2017.
31. Interview with Ankie van den Berg, location manager of the asylum seeker centre Wenckebachweg in Amsterdam during the open day in September. http://www.parool.nl/amsterdam/2000-bezoekers-voor-open-dag-asielzoekerscentrum-bijlmerbajes-~a4383166/
32. See 'Quant – the public realm' http://www.richardsennett.com/site/senn/templates/general2.aspx?pageid=16&cc=gb. Date of access 05-03-2016.
33 See 'Asielbeleid straalt uit: vlucheling, u moet hier niet zijn' https://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/asielbeleid-straalt-uit-vluchteling-u-moet-hier-niet-zijn~a4248316/. Date of access 20-02-2016.
34. See 'Integrate Refugees with Help Not Pity' http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/63052. Date of access 07-11-2016.
35. See 'Promotieonderzoek: Inburgeringseisen helpen de integratie niet' https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/09/19/promotieonderzoek-inburgeringseisen-helpen-integratie-niet-13087958-a1574054. Date of access 12-07-2017.
36. See 'tIP Lecture 06/07: Doug Saunders on Attractive City' http://deltametropool.nl/nl/tip6_attractive_city. Date of access 05-05-2017.
37. See 'Maak van Nederland een Kansenmaatschappij' https://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/maak-van-nederland-een-kansenmaatschappij~a4440376/. Date of access 09-09-2017.
38. See 'Laat vluchtelingen zwart werken!' https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/02/23/laat-vluchtelingen-zwart-werken-1591460-a1375936. Date of access 02-02-2017.
39. See 'Refugees should work in the shadow economy' http://www.whatdesigncando.com/2016/03/17/refugees-should-work-in-the-shadow-economy/. Date of access 07-03-2017.
40. Porta Palazzo in Turin is an interesting case study regarding policies that enable migrants to work in the shadow economy. Unique to Porta Palazzo is for example its mix of registered, formal and informal vendors. Since 1935, irregular migrants have had the right to 'exchange' goods on the market by a special city statute. See 'http://citiesofmigration.ca/good_idea/the-porta-palazzo-flea-market/'. Date of access 14-09-2016. See 'Attractive City – Migration is the most significant and misunderstood global event of our era'
41. See 'Doug Saunders on Attractive City' http://deltametropool.nl/nl/tip6_attractive_city. Date of access 08-08-2017.
42. See 'Mixed Migration' http://compasanthology.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/VanHear-MixedMigration_COMPASMigrationAnthology.pdf. Date of access 09-10-2016.
43. See 'Mixed Migration - Policy challanges' http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/primers/mixed-migration-policy-challenges/. Date of access 09-10-2016.
44. See the autobiography of Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Infidel, My Life 2010.
45. See Rodaan Al Galidi.

46. See 'Migranten, vreemdelingen en vluchtelingen: begrippen op het terrein van asiel en migratie · CBS' https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/achtergrond/2012/43/migranten-vreem-delingen-en-vluchtelingen-begrippen-op-het-terrein-van-asiel-en-buitenlandse-migratie. Date of access 07-10-2016.

47. See 'Myths of Migration: Much of what we think we know is wrong' http://heinde-haas.blogspot.nl/2017/03/myths-of-migration-much-of-what-we.html. Date of access 04-04-2017.

48. See 'Inaugural Lecture Prof Hein de Haas' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z8x3HIh9Zpo. Date of access 10-10-2016.

49. See 'Migranten, vreemdelingen en vluchtelingen: begrippen op het terrein van asiel en buitenlandse migratie' https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/achtergrond/2012/43/migrant-en-vreemdelingen-en-vluchtelingen-begrippen-op-het-terrein-van-asiel-en-buitenland-se-migratie. Date of access 11-11-2016.

50. See 'Polenhotels beginnen al aardig in te burgeren' https://www.volkskrant.nl/archief/-polenhotels-beginnen-al-aardig-in-te-burgeren~a2937125/. Date of access 28-11-2017.

51. The average Dutchman is moving one in the 10 years. See 'Hoe vaak verhuizen mensen gemiddeld in hun leven' http://www.pbl.nl/vraag-en-antwoord/hoe-vaak-verhu-izen-mensen-gemiddeld-voor-hun-leven. Date of access 21-11-2016.

52. See 'Het is lastig integreren wanneer je bent afgesloten van de wereld' https://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/-het-is-lastig-integreren-wanneer-je-bent-afgesloten-van-de-wereld~a3585328/. Date of access 11-12-2017.

53. See 'Inwoners Stevensbeek blij met vluchtelingen' http://www.hartvannederland.nl/top-nieuws/2015/inwoners-stevensbeek-blij-met-vluchtelingen/. Date of access 05-05-2016.

54. See 'Opeens overall opvang voor asielzoekers' http://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/bin-nenland/opeens-overal-opvang-voor-asielzoekers. Date of access 19-12-2016.

55. See 'AZC van Oud Pekela staat in één week bij het oud vuil', https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/05/01/azc-van-oude-pekela-staat-in-een-week-bij-het-oud-vuil-8484514-a1556653. Date of access 28-05-2017.

56. See 'COA en VNG pleiten voor flexopvang voor asielzoekers' https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/05/13/coa-en-vng-pleiten-voor-flexopvang-voor-asielzoekers-a1558534. Date of access 13-05-2016.

57. See 'Problematisch dat je deze mensen gebruikt om andere af te schrikken'' https://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/-problematisch-dat-je-deze-mensen-gebruikt-om-an-deren-af-te-schrikken~a4286906/. Date 09-09-2016.

58. See 'Asielbeleid straalt uit: vluchteling u moet hier niet zijn' https://www.volksk-rant.nl/binnenland/asielbeleid-straalt-uit-vluchteling-u-moet-hier-niet-zijn~a4248316/. Date of access 20-02-2016.

59. See 'IND ziet Europese trend: landen schrikken asielzoekers af via social media' https://www.volkskrant.nl/politiek/ind-ziet-europese-trend-landen-schrikken-asielzoek-ers-af-via-sociale-media~a4248350/. Date of access 05-03-2017.

60. See 'Wenckehof'http://www.tempohousing.com. Date of access 08-08-2016.

61. See 'Labour Hotel Diemen' http://flexwonen.nl/labour-hotel-diemen/. Date of access 07-10-2016.

62. See 'Polendrop is gemakkelijk schoon te houden' http://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/polendorp-is-gemakkelijk-schoon-te-houden~a4496266/. Date of access 04-04-2016.

63. See 'Asielbeleid straalt uit: vluchteling u moet hier niet zijn' https://www.volksk-rant.nl/binnenland/asielbeleid-straalt-uit-vluchteling-u-moet-hier-niet-zijn~a4248316/. Date of access 02-02-2016.

64. "AZC's vormen een apart universum dat volledig buiten de samenleving ligt. Er worden mensen in geboren, er zijn mensen die huwen, en oneindig veel verhalen. Maar het enige wat mensen zien zijn lichamen die voorzichtig schuifelen met plastic zakken. ... De manier waarop een AZC werkt is een heel slimme en doordachte manier om

ervoor te zorgen dat je vooral geen contact maakt met de omliggende samenleving."
(Rodaan Al Galidi, 2016).

65. "Het leven is wel een beetje saai. Werken, werken, werken, werken en tv kijken met mijn huisgenoten. Er zijn geen omwonenden in de directe omgeving. Onze huisvesting is ver van de stad en voorzieningen. Ik ga daarom alleen naar de kerk (Pauluskerk)." (Jacek, 2014).
66. Gemeente Amsterdam. 2014. Eu-migranten, netwerken en ondersteuning in Amsterdam. An interview with Jacek, a Polish construction worker.
67. See 'Polendorp is gemakkelijk schoon te houden' https://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/polendorp-is-gemakkelijk-schoon-te-houden~a4496266/. Date of access 22-05-2017.
68. See 'Inside Amazon's Chaotic Storage Warehouse' http://twistedsifter.com/2012/12/inside-amazons-chaotic-storage-warehouses/. Date of access 07-10-2016.
69. See 'Stadsregio Amsterdam - huisvestingsplaatsen nodig' http://flexwonen.nl/category/arbeidsmigranten/stadsregio-amsterdam/. Date of access 01-01-2017.
70. See 'Studentenwoning voor studerende vluchteling' https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/07/28/studentenwoning-voor-studerende-vluchteling-3440331-a1935, date of access 11-09-2016.
71. See 'Huisvesting blijft ver achter bij toestroom van vluchtelingen' https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/07/04/huisvesting-blijft-ver-achter-bij-toestroom-van-vl-3088549-a1505126, date of access 11-09-2016.
72. See 'The Class of 2020' http://classof2020.nl/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/AmsUniversityCapital-140226.pdf, date of access 11-09-2016.
73. 'Internationale studenten boos over slechte huisvesting UvA' http://www.parool.nl/amsterdam/internationale-studenten-boos-over-slechte-huisvesting-uva~a4339010/, date of access 11-09-2016.
74. See 'Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040: economisch sterk en duurzaam' https://www.amsterdam.nl/wonen-leefomgeving/structuurvisie/, date of access 19-05-2016.
75. See 'AZC Wenckebachweg (Oost)' https://www.amsterdam.nl/bestuur-organisatie/volg-beleid/vluchtelingen/asielzoekerscentra-0/azc-wenckebachweg/. Date of access 03-10-2016.
76. See 'Living in a steel box: are shipping containers really the future of housing?' https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/oct/09/living-steel-box-shipping-containers-future-housing. Date of access 03-10-2016.
77. See 'Wenckehof, in eerste instantie een tijdelijke complex' http://bewonersvereniging wenckehof.nl/index.php. Date of access 28-11-2016.
78. See 'Extra toezicht bij studentencomplex Wenckebachweg' https://www.parool.nl/amsterdam/extra-toezicht-bij-studentencomplex-wenckebachweg~a4242025/. Date of access 10-02-2017.
79. Interview with Ankie van den Berg, location manager of the asylum seeker centre Wenckebachweg in Amsterdam during the open day in September. http://www.parool.nl/amsterdam/2000-bezoekers-voor-open-dag-asielzoekerscentrum-bijlmerbajes-~a4383166/
80. See 'Ruimte voor de stad' https://www.amsterdam.nl/bestuur-organisatie/volg-beleid/koers-2025-amsterdam/. Date of access 01-01-2017.
81. See 'Met de A11 wordt de A10 een boulevard' https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2014/10/31/met-de-a11-wordt-de-a10-een-boulevard-1431926-a743841. Date of access 10-09-2017.
82. See 'Amsterdam in 2040: Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040' https://www.amsterdam.nl/bestuur-organisatie/volg-beleid/structuurvisie/. Date of access 05-11-2017.
83. See 'International Social Housing Festival' https://socialhousingfestival.com. Date of access 21-06-2017.
84. See 'Mama Aghata' http://mama-agatha.com. Date of access 05-05-2017.

85. See 'Docu over fietsend integreren in Zuidoost naar filmfestival VS en Engeland' https://www.parool.nl/kunst-en-media/docu-over-fietsend-integreren-in-zuidoost-naar-filmfestivals-vs-en-engeland~a4131872/. Date of access 08-05-2017.

86. See 'Socius Wonen' http://www.socius-wonen.nl. Date of access 18-09-2017.

87. See 'De Key' https://www.dekey.nl/#!PageID=4308&content=&contentid1=&contentid2=. Date of access 09-09-2017.

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91. See 'Amsterdam Werkt' http://amsterdamwerkt.nl. Date of access 06-08-2017.

92. See 'Rotterdamse Oogst Markt' http://rotterdamseoogst.nl/home/. Date of access 06-08-2017.

93. See 'Porta Palazzo and the Baloon Flee Market' http://citiesofmigration.ca/good_idea/the-porta-palazzo-flea-market/. Date of access 06-08-2017.

94. See 'Haarlemse kassenmarkt' https://www.haarlemmerkweektuin.nl/nieuws.html. Date of access 07-08-2017.

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101. See 'Startblok Riekerhaven' http://www.startblok.amsterdam. Date of access 06-05-2016.

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APPENDIX - PRINCIPLES FOR DESIGN

HOTELCITY VERSUS EXPERIMENTAL GARDEN

The bicycle infrastructure will connect two proposed zones in the Weespertrekvaart Midden area - a hotelcity and an experimental garden. The orginial idea for the Bijlmerbajes of architect Koos Pot-Keegstra was to create a hotelcity - an urban space with a lot of collective spaces, amenities and small private rooms, where people could stay temporarily and be prepared for their integration into society. In the area next to the Bijlmerbajes will be a lot of freedom for the city. This will become a experimental garden, where diverse programmes could find their place. Companies, institutions, universities and individuals could for example develop a plot in the experimental area. The inhabitans and users of the two zones could benefit from each other.
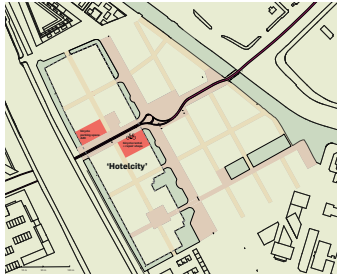
CYCLING AS A TOOL TO HAVE ACCESS TO THE CITY

Newcomers and temporary inhabitants of the hotel city can receive or rent a second-hand bicycle with a lock and will have in this way immediate access to the rest of the city. Instead of the closed areas of exclusion where a lot of migrants are received today, newcomers arrive in an openly accessible urban space that will offer them the urban networks and connections to the city they need.
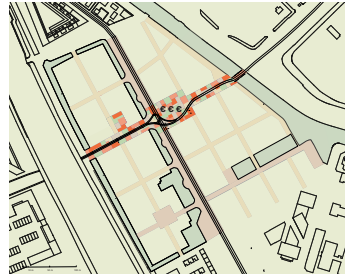
PATCHWORK - CENTRAL PUBLIC SPACE FOR THE LONG-TERM

Since the bicycle route and the central public space along it play a very important role in the transformation of the Weespertrekvaart Midden area into a porous urban space, in this public structure (pavement, lightning, furniture) must be invested from the very beginning. The investment will be partly done by the municipality of Amsterdam. Since the hotelcity and the asylum seeker centre of the COA (the central organisation for refugee intake) are located along the bicycle route and since the project aims to foster integration of newcomers into society and vice versa, fundings from the central government and European Union could be received. The UIA - Urban Innovative Actions Funding is for example an European susbsidy for sustainable urban development projects that aim to integrate refugees and migrants in urban space.

DEVELOPMENT PLOTS IN EXPERIMENTAL GARDEN

The grid provides a high degree of freedom and flexibility. Various programmes and developments can be facilitated and developed in the plots. In order to give an overview of possible infills of the plots in the experimental garden, a scheme is developed, showing potential temporary and permanent, and cheap and more expensive possible interventions. In the fist phase, a lot of the plots will most probably be filled with temporary programmes such as temporary container units, caravans, rapeseed flowers, festivals and markets. Innovative lease constructions and re-used units can ensure that temporary housing can be profitable. Over time, more permanent programmes could fill the plots - such as flexible and sustainable building structures as solids.

DEVELOPMENT PLOTS IN EXPERIMENTAL GARDEN

In order to be able to accommodate these very diverse programmes (temporary and more permanent and public and more private ones), while at the same time building up a public space for the city on the long-term and creating a certain unity and human-scale, guidelines have been developed for the borders between the development plots and framework of public space.

AREA ORGANISER

In the area, different experiments can be done based on these four development concepts in order to find out what might work and what doesn't. A quartermaster will arrange the experiments and make sure a certain balance is established between temporariness and permanence, and cheap and expensive programmes. Local stakeholders, the neighbourhood, the municipality and future inhabitants will be involved in the various processes in the area. Besides, newcomers and the more permanent inhabitants of the neighbourhood are linked to each other through a platform of initiatives.

SPECIAL SOCIAL ECONOMIC ZONE ALONG BICYCLE ROUTE

Along the bicycle route and central public space and in the mainstreet of the hotelcity, are special zones for retail and entrepreneurship developed. Small shops and street stalls could find their place in these spaces, attracting various people to the area, creating urban vitality. A certain percentage of the zone is reserved for enterprising newcomers and social workplaces for the city of Amsterdam.

POLICY BASED ON SECTION 106 AGREEMENT

To ensure that this public space can build up into a high quality space for the city on the long-term, even though programmes and people might come and go and only make temporarily use of the plots - a planning obligation will be used, based on Section 106 Agreement from the United Kingdom. This obligation will guarantee that temporary use or developments in the plots will make a positive contribution to public space. Users and developers of the plots are obliged to invest in the framework of public space (about 15-20% of their investments or rental income). This investment will be used for the plantation of trees, maintenance or for the construction of sustainable pavement, etc. In addition, part of this investment is also used to develop borders between the infills of the plot and the framework of public space.


PLANTING SCHEME

Already existing trees in the area - like the 30-year-old poplars standing along the Bijlmerbajes canal - are preserved. Subsequently, it is examined which trees will be planted in which place. In the area next to the location, the 'Kop Weespertrekvaart', plane trees have been planted along the Weespertrekvaart canal. These trees will be extended in the Weespertrekvaart Midden area. The central public space with bicycle infrastructure will be characterised by a wide variety of small trees, which will blossom in different seasons. From the very beginning, birches will be placed in the small streets and unused and empty spaces. These trees are small, have a relatively short life-span and can be easily removed or relocated when necessary. They have a wonderful seasonality and create from the beginning a certain quality.

RESPONDING TO POLICY'S UNPREDICTABILITY

It is important to bear in mind that nothing is as temporary or unpredictable as policies of the government. Every 4 years a new government is elected and completely different policies on migration can be conducted. In the strategy an asylum seeker centre with place for 600 inhabitants is still located in the area. According to regulations a centre for asylum seekers must be able to be completely closed off from its environments in order to protect its inhabitants. The strategy makes use of a lifting bridge and other design elements, so that the asylum seeker centre can indeed be closed off, but at the same time can be opened and connected with its surroundings. If there might be no need for an asylum seeker centre in the future, this area can just be merged in the grid plan.
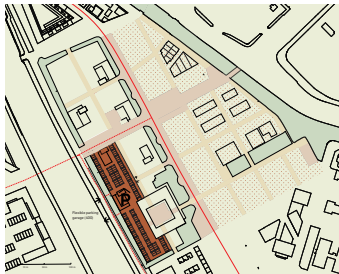
FLEXIBLE, DEMAND-DRIVEN PARKING SPACE

The plan provides parking space which can grow/shrink with the demand. Through proper monitoring of the actual use, the use of a flexible parking garage and encouraging shared use, a sustainable urban space is developed. Inhabitants of the hotelcity and visitors of the area can use the parking garage, adjacent to the rail road. This space could in the future also be used for other purposes. Parking in the experimental garden must be solved in the plots itself. Either one of the plots can be transformed into a modulair parking garage or the parking spaces have to be integrated in the developments in the plots. It is forbidden to park in the streets, but loading/unloading is allowed. The use of bicycles is stimulated.


CAR-FREE ZONE / DESTINATION TRAFFIC

The former Bijlmerbajes complex which is transformed in a hotelcity will be a car-free zone. The public space focuses on pedestrians and cyclists. People who have parked their cars in the garage in the southern part of the former bajes have immediate access to the Kalverstraat and the site. The area next to the hotelcity can be reached by car, but here too the car is subordinate to pedestrians and cyclists.

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APPENDIX - INFRASTRUCTURE
DIFFERENT FORMS OF SHARED SPACE
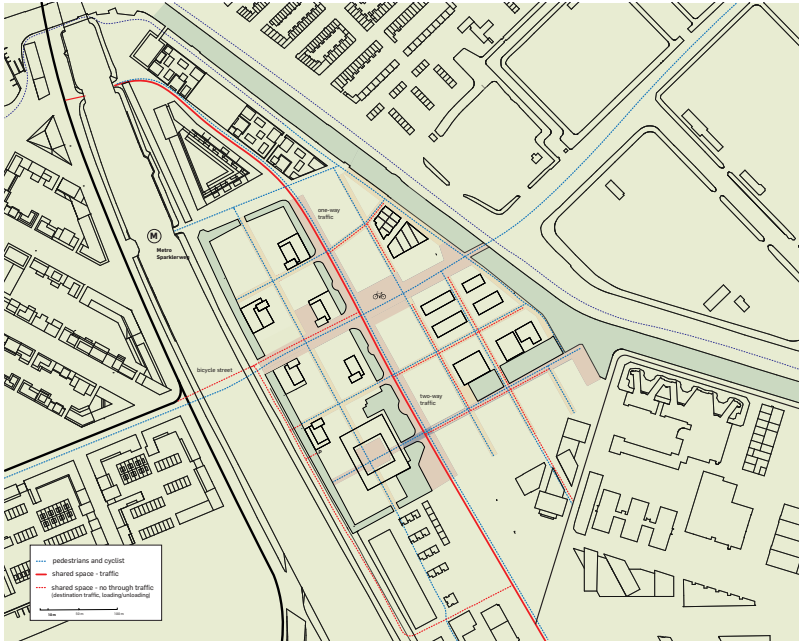
On a large number of streets in the public space grid, the shared space principle has been applied. The boulevard adjacent to the Bijlmerbajes canal is an important route, connecting areas outside of the ring road A10 to the city centre. This boulevard is accessible to pedestrians, cyclist and destination-traffic and connects the Bijlmerbajes and 'experimental area'.

The new bicycle infrastructure connects the Amstelstroomlaan and the Kruislaan. This can be seen as an important public space for the city. A part of the infrastructure is accessible to cars, however, cyclists have priority (making use of a so called 'fietstraat'). A parking garage is located in the southern part of the Bijlmerbajes and can be reached by a route along the railway.

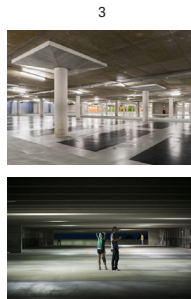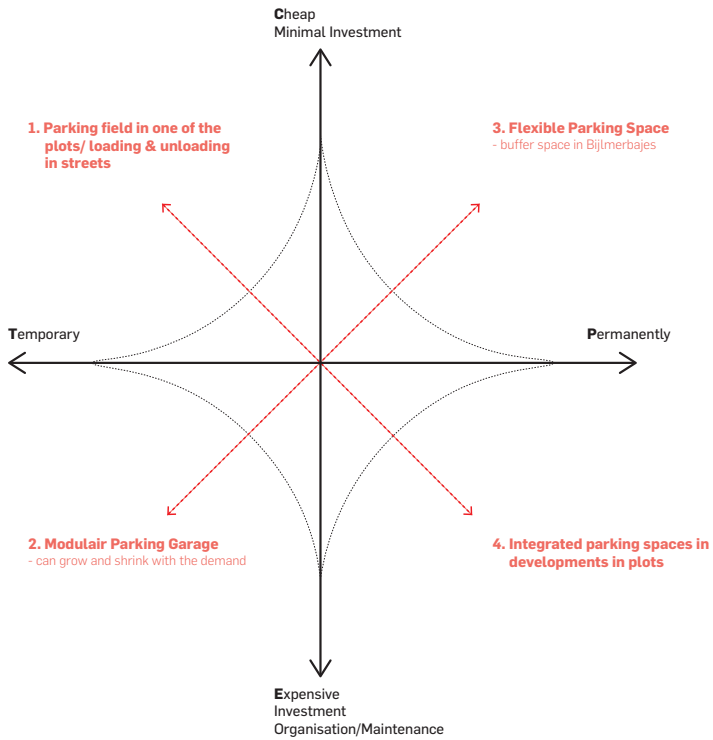Central boulevard. Source: author's own image.

'Fietsstraat' source: Dura Vermeer.

APPENDIX - FLEXIBLE PARKING SPACE
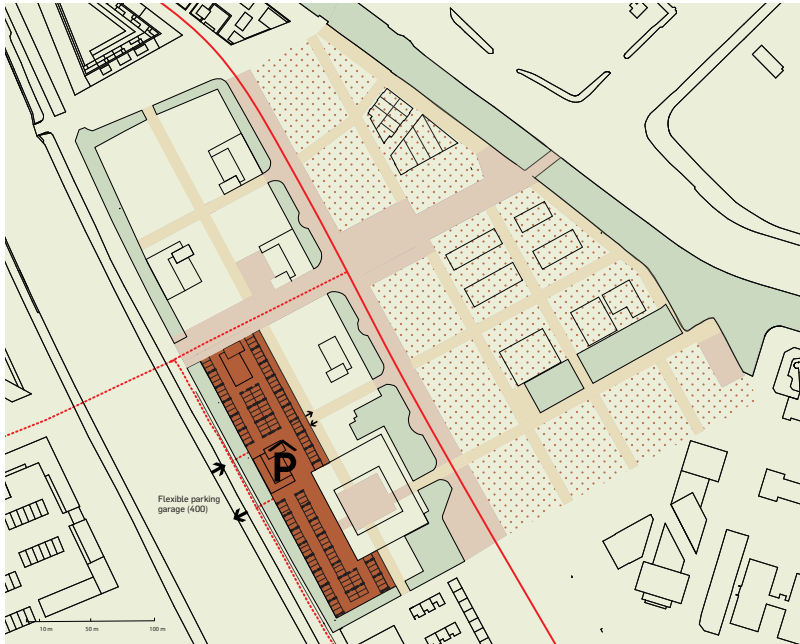
Flexible parking
garage (400)

10 m   50 m   100 m

The plan provides parking space which can grow/shrink with the demand. Through proper monitoring of the actual use, the use of a flexible parking garage and encouraging shared use, a sustainable urban space is developed. Inhabitants of the 'Hotel City' and visitors of the area can use the parking garage adjacent to the rail road. This space could in the future also be used for other purposes.

Parking in the 'experimental area' must be solved in the plots itself. Either one of the plots can be transformed into a modulair parking garage or the parking spaces have to be integrated in the developments in the plot. It is forbidden to park in the street, but loading/unloading is allowed.

Cheap
Minimal Investment

1. Parking field in one of the plots/ loading & unloading in streets

3. Flexible Parking Space
- buffer space in Bijlmerbajes

Temporary

Permanently

2. Modulair Parking Garage
- can grow and shrink with the demand

4. Integrated parking spaces in developments in plots

Expensive
Investment
Organisation/Maintenance

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

APPENDIX - REFERENCE PROJECTS FOR POSSIBLE TRANSFORMATION BIJLMERBAJES TOWERS ON THE LONG-TERM
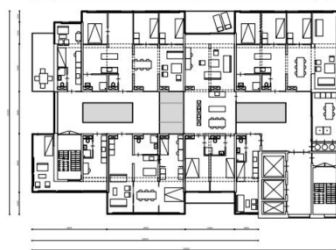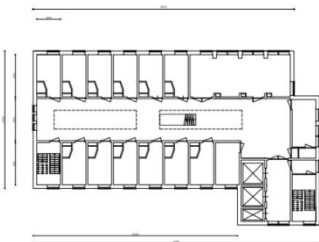

Possible transformation Bijlmerbajes by Rijnboutt. The existing Bijlmerbajes towers could be partly preserved and transformed.
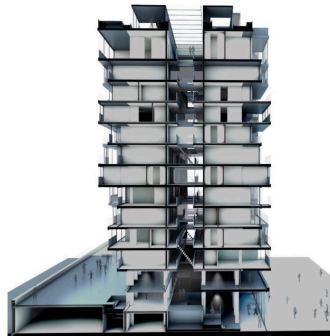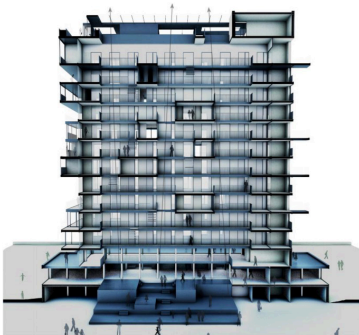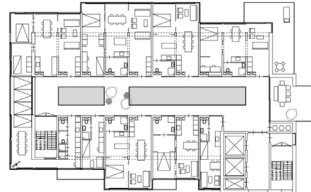

Possible transformation Bijlmerbajes tower by Bram van de Heuvel. Source: Academie van de Bouwkunst.
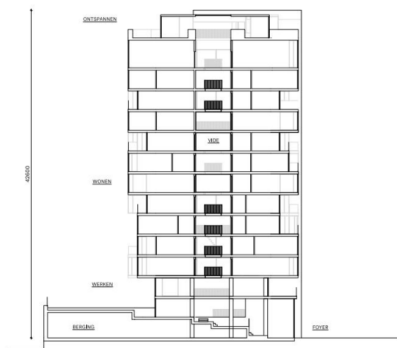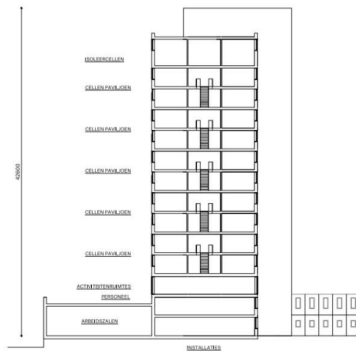
Transformation Bijlmerbajes tower by Bram van de Heuvel (image on the left: existing - image on the right: proposed). Source: Academie van de Bouwkunst.

Possible transformation Bijlmerbajes tower by Bram van de Heuvel (image on the left: existing - image on the right: proposed). 'A wide variation of apartments is possible.' Source: Academie van de Bouwkunst.

Floor plans of presented transformation of Bijlmerbajes tower by Bram van de Heuvel. Source: Academie van de Bouwkunst.

APPENDIX - FIELD WORK/ CASE STUDY
BAZAR VEST IN AARHUS

Reference Project: Bazar Vest in Aarhus. Source: author's own image.