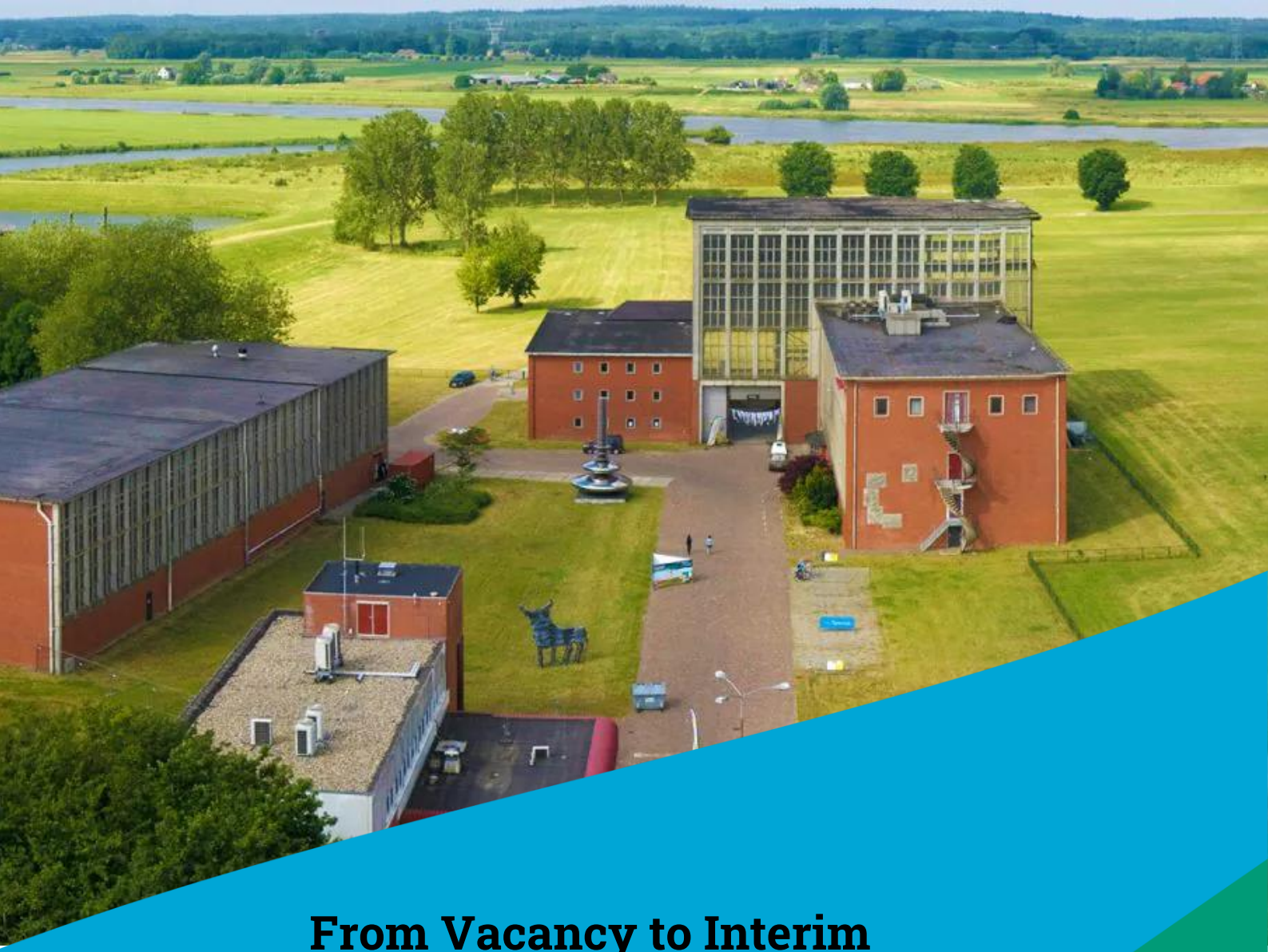

From Vacancy to Interim Use: Tracing the Process of Temporary Urbanism in Dutch Brownfields

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Preface

During my Bachelor in Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences, I developed a strong interest in old industrial buildings, especially in how they can be given a new life through reuse and renovation. While studying at TU Delft, I worked part-time for a technical production company that built festivals and events. Many of these took place on industrial sites that were temporarily available while redevelopment plans were still in progress. Places like the Maassilo and Onderzeebootloods in Rotterdam, or Bajeskwartier and NDSM-werf in Amsterdam, made a lasting impression on me. At the Bajeskwartier in particular, where I helped in the technical organisation of a temporary dance event, I saw firsthand how vacant spaces could be reactivated in creative and meaningful ways. This experience helped shape my interest in temporary urbanism, though it did not influence the data collection or analysis in this thesis.

Over time, I started asking broader questions: why do some brownfield sites stay empty for so long? Why is temporary urbanism possible in some places, but not in others? When I looked for answers in the literature, I found little structure or explanation. That motivated me to take on this research, not just from personal interest, but from a sense that this topic deserved more clarity. We often recognise the value of temporary urbanism, but we don't always understand how or why it works. This thesis is the result of that search. It is part of my graduation project for the Management in the Built Environment track of the MSc Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences at Delft University of Technology.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. E. (Erik) Louw and Dr. Y. (Yawei) Chen. Their expert guidance, patience and enthusiasm transformed my initial fascination with urban (re)development and dance events into a clear, focused study around temporary urbanism. I could not have asked for better mentorship throughout this journey. I am also grateful to everyone who took part in interviews, accompanied me on site visits and generously shared their insights, your contributions were invaluable to this research.

I hope that by deepening our understanding of how temporary urbanism emerges, evolves and potentially anchors and by creatively recognizing its potential for use, we can reduce the vacancy of valuable space.

Willem Janssen

Delft, June 12th, 2025

Abstract

This thesis addresses the question “How and under what conditions does temporary urbanism emerge and develop within the transition phase of Dutch brownfield redevelopment toward long-term use?” While its capacity to activate vacant sites is widely acknowledged, the processes through which it emerges, evolves and anchors remains poorly understood. Through a comparative multiple-case study of four Dutch brownfields, drawing on document analysis, field observations, and eight stakeholder interviews, this research employs a two-stage analytical framework. First, each site’s initial activation is categorized as either unstructured (coincidental, grassroots driven) or strategic (policy-embedded, facilitated). Second, strategic trajectories are traced through the lens of an existing three-phase model Test, Growth, and Development, adding an initial “Coincidental” phase to capture informal grassroots activations. A complementary nine-condition framework (encompassing location, physical and environmental factors, ownership, regulation, finance, socio-cultural context, risk perceptions and interim utilization is then applied to identify enablers and barriers to temporary urbanism.

Findings reveal that three sites (Centrale Harculo, Locatie Sportlaan and Bajesdorp) successfully transitioned through all four phases, progressing from ad-hoc, bottom-up activations to small-scale trials, investment-driven scaling, and ultimately strategic integration into long-term redevelopment. In contrast, Landgoed Steenenburg remained mired in the Coincidental phase for nineteen years, sustained only by informal anti-squat housing and intermittent events, due to financial, ecological, and governance constraints. Across all cases, factors such as site location, regulatory context, ownership structure and socio-cultural dynamics alternately facilitated or hindered temporary uses. Moreover, supplementary conditions, including ownership orientation and site image, proved critical in embedding temporary urbanism within broader development ambitions.

The study concludes that temporary urbanism delivers enduring value only when it is purposefully embedded within formal redevelopment processes. Key prerequisites include a clear long-term vision from the landowner, timely and coordinated decision-making and an engaged intermediary actor to bridge interim activities with permanent development goals.

Keywords: Temporary urbanism, Temporary use, Brownfield redevelopment, Urban development, Adaptive reuse, Transition, Placemaking

Contents

1 Research background: temporary urbanism in brownfield redevelopment

1.1 Fields and sites

Certain sites remain unused and 'stalled' for years while awaiting, or preparing for, redevelopment (Crosby & Wyatt, 2021), even though demand for space to live and work is high, particularly in urban areas. In The Netherlands, various of these sites with a former industrial, institutional, or recreational function are going through a transitional phase after closure of the former function, during which redevelopment has not yet started and vacancy often persists for at least a period of time. In Dutch academic literature, the latter range of locations are often referred to as *brownfields*: disused or abandoned sites that previously served an industrial, public or commercial purpose, capturing a wide range of sites. This contrasts with the international literature, where brownfields are more narrowly defined as contaminated sites (CABERNET, 2007).

Both brownfields and greenfields follow the same broad redevelopment stages, initiation, preparation, execution and handover (Miles, Berens & Weiss, 2003), but brownfields include an extra “phase-out” period once their original use ceases and the site lies vacant or derelict. This marks the start of the transition toward a new function. Unlike greenfields, where agricultural or natural activities can simply give way to construction, brownfields often endure physical decay and social challenges, leading to reduced land values and issues such as vandalism and crime (Chan, Hu & Fan, 2019). Vacancy in this phase can persist for over a decade, representing a substantial portion of a building’s typical 75–100-year life cycle (W/E Advisors, 2013). Moreover, external factors, such as market downturns or stalled permitting, can prolong this phase even further, as seen in “stalled sites” where development is postponed more than a year after permit approval due to financial, strategic or procedural obstacles (Crosby & Wyatt, 2021).

Yet this interim phase also opens up opportunities for temporary use. Through pop-ups, cultural events or interim workspaces, collectively known as “temporary urbanism”, brownfields can be activated in ways that boost local engagement and economic activity (Colomb, 2012). Temporary urbanism can offer benefits across stakeholder groups: owners can reduce maintenance costs and deter vacancy-related degradation, users gain access to affordable space and local residents experience a livelier streetscape, fewer derelict sites and renewed community spirit (Marian-Potra et al., 2020; Brand, 2024, pp. 36–37). Despite these advantages, temporary urbanism remains underutilised across many Dutch brownfield sites, such as Het Kasteel in Almere (Schmidt, 2024), Het Land van Ooit in Drunen (Steenvoort, 2015), the former sugar factory in Puttershoek (Buitendijk, 2022) and major parts of the ENCI site in Maastricht (Mecanoo architecten & Rademacher de Vries, 2023, p.9). This is particularly problematic given the spatial scarcity and ongoing housing crisis (ABF Research, 2024). Long lasting vacancy undermines the continuity of urban development and contradicts the rising demand for space, creating what several scholars have described as a “planning paradox” (Gentili & Hoekstra, 2018; O’Callaghan, 2024).

In the 1970s, this paradox gave rise to squatter movements that reactivated vacant buildings and land through self-organised initiatives. These bottom-up responses emerged from public and private inaction and laid the groundwork for what is now known as ‘temporary urbanism’ (Bryson, Mulhall & Song, 2018). Despite the introduction of legal tools such as the Leegstandswet (Vacancy Act) and the option for municipalities to enact a Leegstandsverordening (Vacancy Ordinance), temporary urbanism either fails to emerge or remains marginal in certain brownfields. As Camstra, Ootes and Klouwen (2023, p. 14) note, most Dutch municipalities have not adopted such ordinances, often citing weak enforcement mechanisms or a lack of urgency. Even when implemented, the available instruments rarely translate into proactive vacancy strategies. This leaves a gap between policy intentions and spatial outcomes, especially in complex redevelopment areas where vacancy persists for years.

This signals deeper systemic challenges. Turku et al. (2023) argue that traditional planning systems often struggle to accommodate temporary urbanism, due to the mismatch between its informal, short-term nature and the procedural rigidity of long-term spatial planning. Moreover, interim initiatives are by no means guaranteed to succeed: legal hurdles, funding shortfalls and institutional inertia frequently stall even well-designed projects (O’Callaghan, 2024). As temporary urbanism becomes a more common feature in redevelopment processes, there is a growing need to understand when and how it contributes to meaningful transformation and why in some contexts, it fails to take root.

1.2 The research

This study focuses on Dutch brownfield sites with existing buildings that are in a transition phase. It examines how temporary uses, and the broader phenomenon of temporary urbanism, emerge and develop during the interim period between the closure of a former function and the executional start of permanent redevelopment marked by construction. The central aim is to understand how temporary urbanism is initiated, managed and adapted over time, tracing the sequences through which such developments unfold and gain momentum. To do so, the research investigates which contextual conditions influence the emergence and development of temporary urbanism. These include location, physical condition, regulatory frameworks and, among others, ownership. While not the main focus, ownership is expected to play a particularly influential role in enabling or constraining temporary urbanism, as in the Dutch planning context, property rights and decision-making power are closely tied to the ownership structure, whether full ownership or long-term leasehold. In the Dutch planning system, ownership or leasehold titles determine who holds development rights (Hobma & Jong, 2022, p. 21), also for the transition phase and the appearance of temporary urbanism in it.

To further explore this dimension, the study includes a comparison between Dutch brownfield sites under public and private ownership. This might allow for a better understanding of how different ownership structures influence decision-making, temporary urbanism strategies and the balance between social and commercial priorities. Sites with leasehold arrangements are excluded to ensure a clear comparison between freehold ownership types. Ultimately, this research seeks to deepen our understanding of how temporary urbanism is currently employed in Dutch brownfield redevelopment. Through analysis of the processes, the study provides insights into how temporary urbanism has been harnessed and might inspire, and positively contribute to, future initiation, management and anchoring of temporary urbanism. This supports broader urban and societal objectives, while also helping to mitigate vacancy during a time of increasing spatial scarcity in the Netherlands.

The remainder of this thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework and analytical model. Chapter 3 describes the research design and methodology. Chapter 4 presents the four case studies, followed by a cross-case comparison in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 draws together the main conclusions and outlines how the findings can guide future temporary urbanism strategies in brownfield redevelopment. Chapter 7 discusses the case findings against the theoretical framework, examines their broader implications, addresses limitations, and offers directions for future research.

2 Literature review

This chapter reviews academic literature on brownfield redevelopment and temporary urbanism to provide a conceptual basis for understanding the emergence and development of temporary urbanism during transitional periods. It examines key definitions, roles and influencing conditions and identifies theoretical gaps that inform the research design.

2.1 Brownfield redevelopment

2.1.1 The emergence of brownfields

Brownfields are sites that formerly served industrial, commercial, or public purposes where buildings, infrastructure, or other remnants still persist. In international literature, the term often implies the presence of real or perceived contamination (CABERNET, 2007). In the Netherlands, however, a broader interpretation is commonly applied, where contamination is not a necessary condition (Oliver, Ferber, Grimski, Millar & Nathanail, 2005). This study adopts this broader understanding and considers all decommissioned former industrial, commercial, or institutional sites, such as hospitals, barracks, and water towers, as brownfields, regardless of contamination status.

The rise of industrial brownfields in particular is closely linked to the shift from an industrial to a service-oriented economy after World War II (Lever, 1991). Many Dutch industries relocated to countries with lower labour costs and more lenient regulations, such as those in Eastern Europe, Asia, or Africa (Sugihara, 2019). This structural economic shift left behind large vacant sites, often in poor physical condition. While industrial decline was a key driver, disinvestment and outdated infrastructure also led to vacancy in public and commercial buildings. The underuse of these sites, often combined with limited investment interest, resulted in degradation, safety issues, squatting, and crime, contributing to neighbourhood decline (Chan et al., 2019). Because of the complexity of these sites, including contamination risks and lengthy procedures, developers often preferred greenfield alternatives (Oswalt, Overmeyer & Misselwitz, 2013; Frantál et al., 2013).

Brownfield furthermore reflect broader cyclical processes of urban transformation, in which buildings adapt, or fail to adapt, to shifting societal, spatial and functional demands. Over time, structures become “outdated”, not only through physical wear but also because expectations around performance and energy efficiency evolve. In the Netherlands, the average lifespan of a building is estimated at 75 to 100 years (W/E Advisors, 2013). Concurrently, successive tightening of the Dutch Building Decree (Bouwbesluit) has underscored a growing societal emphasis on sustainability, insulation, and energy conservation. Buildings that no longer meet these increasingly stringent standards are more often deemed obsolete and targeted for large-scale renovation or redevelopment (Rijksoverheid, n.d.).

2.1.2 The transition phase of brownfields

In the decades following industrial decline, a more favourable real estate climate and growing demand for residential and commercial space led to the acquisition of many brownfield sites for redevelopment. This trend coincided with the broader phenomenon of *industrial gentrification*, in which traditional industries were displaced from central urban areas to peripheral zones. These relocations were driven by rising land prices and growing conflicts between industrial functions and emerging residential needs (De Boeck & Ryckewaert, 2020).

As cities seek to reintegrate brownfields into their urban fabric, the process involves more than physical redevelopment. It also requires the creation of places that function socially, culturally and economically. Scholars on temporary urbanism highlight the importance of inclusive and adaptive redevelopment

strategies to avoid outcomes such as neglect, crime, or social exclusion (Wyckoff, 2014; Chan et al., 2019). Unlike greenfield development, brownfield redevelopment includes an additional, often prolonged stage: the extinction phase, where the site's original function is phased out, marking the beginning of the transition phase, a liminal period in which the site no longer serves its former purpose, but redevelopment has yet to begin. Brownfield sites are often burdened with challenges such as negative public perception, fragmented ownership, soil contamination, presence of old and hazardous materials like asbestos, high remediation costs and legal uncertainty. Additionally, successful redevelopment requires effective coordination among stakeholders, adaptive planning tools, and strong community engagement to overcome regulatory, financial and social barriers (Koutra, Bouillard, Becue, Cenci, & Zhang 2023).

The transition phase is pivotal in the life cycle of a brownfield. It ends only when construction for the site's permanent use is completed and delivered. Its duration can vary significantly, often stretching over several years and is shaped by local economic, regulatory and social conditions. During this time, many sites face long-term vacancy (Schmidt, 2024; Steenvoort & Buitendijk, 2022), which may reduce property values and contribute to social issues such as marginalisation or vandalism. Yet, this in-between phase also offers potential: especially when vacant buildings can be temporarily repurposed, allowing sites to be used and provide social or economic value even before full redevelopment begins.

2.1.3 The interpretation of the transition phase

The transition phase in brownfield redevelopment can take many forms, as illustrated in practical case descriptions (Brand, 2024; Gelinck & Strolenberg, 2014; Oswalt, Overmeyer & Misselwitz, 2013). In some cases, the original function gradually phases out but partially persists. In others, the site becomes vacant or stalled (Crosby & Wyatt, 2021), is commercially leased under long-term agreements, or serves as a setting for temporary urbanism. Which trajectory unfolds depends strongly on context. Novosák, Hájek, Nekolová & Bednář (2013) demonstrate that aspects such as location, physical condition, accessibility, environmental burden and ownership structure affect the redevelopment potential of brownfields and may therefore influence the opportunities for interim use. Well-located sites with fewer barriers are more likely to attract temporary functions, while peripheral or polluted sites often remain unused. In addition to spatial and physical conditions, institutional and political factors also shape the transition phase. O'Callaghan (2024) highlights how planning cultures, regulatory frameworks and governance approaches determine the feasibility and form of temporary use. Municipal support, policy flexibility and developer openness all play a role in either enabling or constraining interim activity. Ownership orientation further influences how the transition is interpreted. While private landowners may prioritise income generation or risk minimisation, public actors are often more open to experimentation or social value creation (Oswalt, Overmeyer & Misselwitz, 2004). As such, the transition phase is not necessarily passive, it can be actively shaped through decisions made by landowners, developers and local authorities.

2.2 Temporary urbanism in the transition phase

This paragraph discusses the concept of temporary urbanism and provides an overview of the existing academic literature. This literature is focused on Europe, specifically on the application of temporary urbanism in urban rather than rural contexts with buildings and sites in transition.

2.2.1 Defining temporary urbanism

The literature reflects a wide range of temporary urban practices, from small-scale cultural events and pop-up cafés on industrial sites to large-scale interventions like dance events or temporary parks. These span from low-cost, flexible actions to more structured, investment-driven initiatives (De Smet & Doevendans, 2010). Stevens, Awepuga & Dovey (2019) identify recurring types such as temporary greening (e.g. community gardens), urban infrastructure (sports fields, benches) and commercial activities (pop-up shops, food stalls). Other authors offer complementary insights. Based on over 40 projects in Berlin, Overmeyer (2007) highlights gardening, sports, food and culture as key functions. Blumner (2010) adds parks, playgrounds, art spaces, skateparks, urban beaches, markets, nightclubs, storage, parking, and alternative housing like trailer parks or tent camps. Overmeyer (2007) later includes gastronomy as a separate category, reflecting its growing role in temporary spaces. Residential forms of temporary urbanism form

another category, ranging from legal arrangements such as anti-squat housing to informal or illegal practices like squatting (Pruijt, 2018).

While most literature focuses on inner-city or post-industrial settings, the core principles of temporary urbanism, provisional, adaptive use during spatial transition, are not limited to dense urban areas. This study adopts a broader reading, applying the concept also to peripheral or semi-rural sites where urban governance, landownership and redevelopment ambitions play a role. It thus treats temporary urbanism as a mode of spatial experimentation that may emerge wherever planning remains open or unsettled, including estates, edge zones or former leisure grounds. Importantly, scholars distinguish between isolated *temporary activities* and *temporary urbanism* as a more structural phenomenon. While the former refers to one-off events or pop-ups without long-term ambition, the latter describes (a combination of) temporary uses embedded in transitional contexts to test, support or influence long-term urban development (Bishop & Williams, 2012; Oswalt et al., 2013). Temporary urbanism thus implies a broader process of negotiation or transformation, where temporary uses respond to or help shape ongoing redevelopment trajectories.

2.2.2 The emergence of temporary urbanism

Temporary urbanism, as defined in the previous section, emerged from the squatting movements of the 1970s and 1980s (Oswalt, Overmeyer & Misselwitz, 2013). According to Pruijt (2018), these movements were largely a response to deindustrialization and a lack of investment interest from property owners, which led to widespread vacancy and deterioration of buildings. In many cases, these neglected properties were occupied illegally by squatters while awaiting demolition or redevelopment. Temporary urbanism thus arose as a grassroots reaction to the inability of both public and private sectors to adequately respond to pressing spatial needs, giving rise to forms of self-organised occupation and use (Bryson et al., 2018). West Berlin played a particularly prominent role in this early development, serving as a hotspot for alternative urban practices (Honeck, 2017). From the 1980s onwards, some squatted spaces began to acquire legal status, and policymakers gradually started to recognise temporary urbanism as a potential tool for revitalising underused urban areas (Honeck, 2017). What began as an activist strategy slowly evolved into a more institutionalised and accepted practice, involving not only citizen initiatives but also municipal authorities, architectural firms, development agencies and private actors (Patti & Polyak, 2015).

2.2.3 The initiation and development of temporary urbanism

Temporary urbanism can emerge informally, spontaneous, bottom-up activations that arise in response to vacancy, often disappearing as quickly as they appear or gradually formalizing over time (Sand et al., 2023). Yet these coincidental interventions sit alongside more deliberate, policy-driven approaches. To capture this full spectrum of initiation and oversight, Andres and Zhang (2020) distinguish three governance modes:

- **Bottom-up**: grassroots initiatives by community groups or individuals outside formal planning;
- **Top-down**: programs initiated and managed by public or private institutions;
- **Hybrid**: institutional frameworks (e.g., placemaking strategies or vacancy managers) that both enable and integrate spontaneous, community-led actions.

Most real-world cases fall somewhere in between. As noted by Colomb (2017) and Turku et al. (2023), hybrid forms are especially common, shaped by negotiation and degrees of control.

Some classifications focus more on the tactics used. Authors distinguish between:
– *Guerrilla Urbanism*: informal and often unauthorised interventions (Oswalt et al., 2013);
– *Pop-up Urbanism*: short-term cultural or commercial uses (Bishop & Williams, 2012);
– *Tactical Urbanism*: low-cost actions that test long-term solutions (Lydon & Garcia, 2015).

A complementary typology is offered by Oswalt et al. (2013), who identify nine trajectories of temporary use, from short-lived (*stand-in*, *impulse*, *free-flow*) to longer-lasting forms (*pioneer*, *consolidation*, *coexistence*) or more disruptive ones (*parasite*, *subversion*, *displacement*). These pathways describe how temporary uses interact with long-term redevelopment: some dissolve, others influence or even conflict with future plans.

Finally, Andres and Kraftl (2021) propose a functional perspective:
– *Activation* (revitalising spaces);
– *Adaptability* (testing spatial or social functions);
– *Development* (supporting long-term transformation).

Taken together, these frameworks show that temporary urbanism is not a singular practice but a plural, adaptive field shaped by actors, governance and spatial context. Understanding these variations is key to assessing how temporary uses emerge and what role they play in urban transformation.

2.2.4 The effects of temporary urbanism on redevelopment

Academic literature tends to frame temporary urbanism as a flexible and adaptive strategy that can support urban redevelopment by influencing underused areas, encouraging innovation and engaging local communities. Stevens and Dovey (2023, p. 34) note that most case-based research highlights intended benefits, often portraying temporary use as a creative and responsive tool within stalled or uncertain planning contexts. The most frequently cited effects include increased visibility and investment appeal of vacant sites (Oswalt et al., 2013), strengthened community ties through participatory or co-produced initiatives (Andres & Kraftl, 2021) and improved perceptions of safety through reactivation of derelict space (Madanipour, 2018). Temporary urbanism may also contribute to placemaking, understood as a process that reshapes how people experience and relate to space through temporary yet meaningful activities (Stevens & Dovey, 2023).

Placemaking itself has become a central theme in the literature on temporary urbanism, though the term remains loosely defined. Based on a broad literature review, Ellery, Ellery and Borkowsky (2021) describe it as the transformation of physical environments to foster belonging and usability, shaped by shared experience and evolving identities. Temporary urbanism, particularly in its more socially embedded forms, is often credited with catalysing such transformation. It can activate sites, build local momentum and create new narratives around spaces that had become marginal or inaccessible. In many cases, temporary uses become informal testbeds for future programmes or contribute to shifting perceptions of what is possible, acceptable, or desirable in a given place.

Yet despite these commonly cited benefits, recent studies have raised important critiques. Outcomes are far from guaranteed and depend heavily on context. Bragaglia and Rossignolo (2021) question whether temporary urbanism offers more than surface-level change, suggesting it can function primarily as a symbolic gesture, useful for image-making or speculative value increase, without addressing deeper structural challenges. Tonkiss (2013) describes it as a byproduct of 'austerity urbanism', filling the gaps left by shrinking public planning capacity. Brenner (2015) further argues that temporary urbanism can reproduce neoliberal patterns of governance, where the state relinquishes responsibility in favour of fragmented, short-term interventions delivered by non-state actors. These critical perspectives point to a range of potential risks. Temporary urbanism may lead to displacement or exclusion, particularly when rising visibility or cultural value accelerates gentrification (Madanipour, 2018). It can also contribute to the commodification of public space, where formerly open or marginal places become marketable assets (Bragaglia & Rossignolo, 2021). Furthermore, as temporary urbanism becomes institutionalised, grassroots actors may find themselves excluded from decision-making processes, with curated or commercial initiatives taking precedence. Even when well-intentioned, temporary urbanism does not always serve inclusive or transformative goals.

Ultimately, Stevens and Dovey (2023) argue that its impact is shaped less by physical form than by institutional, legal and governance conditions. Ownership models, planning frameworks, actor coalitions and regulatory flexibility all influence whether temporary urbanism succeeds, evolves or fades. Understanding its effects therefore requires examining not only spatial outcomes, but also the institutional processes and power relations through which it is enabled or constrained. These insights stress that temporary urbanism cannot be viewed in isolation. It is part of broader redevelopment processes, shaped by the legal and organisational context in which it unfolds.

2.2.5 The facilitation of temporary urbanism

Temporary urbanism is often framed as a flexible and adaptive strategy, but whether it actually emerges in brownfield redevelopment depends on a range of context-specific conditions. These include legal frameworks, ownership strategies, institutional capacity, and the broader planning culture. Turku et al. (2023) describe temporary urbanism as an iterative process, where temporary initiatives evolve through ongoing testing, learning and adaptation. However, this dynamic process can only unfold when the right conditions are in place. As Andres & Zhang (2020) note, temporary initiatives require not only physical space but also institutional openness and regulatory flexibility.

Facilitation is therefore key, but not always straightforward. O'Callaghan (2024) stresses that timing, political will and administrative support are critical. Even with formal policy support, strict zoning, lengthy procedures or risk-averse owners can limit what is allowed. In some cases, landowners, whether public or private, may prefer vacancy over temporary use due to strategic, financial or legal concerns. Moreover, as temporary urbanism becomes more integrated into policy and development strategies (Colomb, 2012), its experimental character may erode. Institutionalisation can bring visibility and support, but also risks of commodification, standardisation, or exclusion of grassroots actors (Bragaglia & Rossignolo, 2021). In some cases, conflicts arise over who controls the space and which interests are prioritised. In this complex field of interests and constraints, successful implementation often depends on strong partnerships and a shared vision between key actors, as noted by the experienced organisation Project for Public Spaces (2021).[1]

2.3 Conditions shaping temporary urbanism

Literature on brownfield redevelopment often highlights contextual conditions, such as ownership, legal frameworks, contamination and location, that shape whether and how sites are redeveloped (e.g. CABERNET, 2007; Frantál et al., 2013). These factors are typically framed as barriers or drivers, either obstructing or facilitating transformation. While this vocabulary originates in long-term redevelopment, several recent studies suggest that the same conditions also influence temporary urbanism during transitional phases. This discussion builds on existing theories of temporary urbanism (e.g. Andres & Kraftl, 2021; Stevens & Dovey, 2023) and draws on empirical research in post-industrial settings (e.g. Brand, 2024; Gelinck & Strolenberg, 2014). These studies show that recurring themes such as ownership dynamics, spatial characteristics and regulatory flexibility help explain how temporary initiatives emerge and evolve, even when no permanent redevelopment has started. However, in temporary urbanism, such conditions may operate more ambiguously. For instance, legal uncertainty might block construction but open space for interim use, while strict policies may streamline redevelopment but leave little room for experimentation. For that reason, this review uses the terms *enabling* and *constraining*, allowing for more gradation than the classic barrier/driver binary. The following sections review nine commonly cited conditions and examine how each may shape, limit, or enable temporary urbanism in brownfield contexts.

2.3.1 Location

The location of a brownfield plays a role in shaping both its redevelopment prospects and, directly or indirectly, the potential for temporary urbanism. Urban sites often benefit from proximity to infrastructure and amenities, but may also face obstacles such as fragmented ownership, outdated utilities, or high remediation costs (Novosák et al., 2013). Peripheral sites may offer more space and fewer environmental constraints, yet often struggle with limited visibility and weak public transport connections. These factors can slow redevelopment and reduce the likelihood of temporary urbanism. Location also influences the type and intensity of temporary activity that can emerge. Sites with good accessibility, such as those near public transport, arterial roads, or active neighbourhoods, are more likely to support informal visits, attract interest

[1] Project for Public Spaces (PPS) is a nonprofit organisation based in New York City, dedicated to creating and sustaining public places that foster community life. Founded in 1975, PPS has worked with over 3,500 communities in more than 50 countries. It is internationally recognised for its expertise in placemaking and community-based design (Project for Public Spaces, 2021).

from users or operators, and become part of daily urban flows. In contrast, isolated or hard-to-reach sites often require targeted programming or policy support to activate temporary use.

International research underlines the role of spatial connectivity in redevelopment. In the U.S., Lange and McNeil (2004) found that brownfields near infrastructure hubs, such as airports or city centres, tend to be redeveloped more quickly. Longo and Campbell (2007) observed similar patterns in England, noting that sites in economically stronger regions with good infrastructure had higher redevelopment rates, regardless of whether they were urban or rural. Frantál et al. (2013) likewise found that regenerated brownfields in the South Moravian Region were more likely to be located in municipalities with high development potential, as indicated by proximity to regional centres, major roads, and strong local infrastructure. Conversely, peripherality and weak connectivity were found to act as structural barriers to regeneration. Although these studies focused on permanent redevelopment, their findings suggest impact on the transition phase and feasibility of temporary urbanism within it.

2.3.2 Physical condition

The physical condition of a brownfield site affects both redevelopment and the feasibility of temporary use. Sites with contamination, such as asbestos, heavy metals or industrial waste, or severe structural decay often require remediation before any form of activity is allowed. This increases cost and complexity, limits early access, and delays both planning and implementation (Barton & Grant, 2011). Contaminated or unsafe sites are generally less flexible in terms of future use: while housing may no longer be viable, functions with lower environmental sensitivity, such as logistics, may still be possible.

In contrast, sites in stable or relatively clean condition allow for earlier activation and offer more options, including interim functions. Where existing buildings are structurally sound, temporary uses can be introduced with minimal investment, reducing vacancy and maintaining site visibility during transition. Frantál et al. (2013) note that contamination and large site size, often assumed to be major barriers, do not necessarily prevent redevelopment if the site is located in an attractive area and has uncomplicated ownership. This suggests that physical constraints can be offset by enabling spatial or institutional conditions. The physical state of a site therefore shapes not only long-term redevelopment decisions, but also the opportunities, or constraints, for temporary urbanism to emerge in the early stages of reuse

2.3.3 Environmental conditions

Environmental factors such as soil contamination, air quality, and ecological regulations influence both redevelopment and the feasibility of temporary urbanism. Sites with an industrial past often require remediation, which increases costs and delays (Frantál et al., 2013a). While contamination is typically seen as an obstacle, it does not always prevent reuse, especially for sites in high-demand areas (Novosák et al., 2013). In the Netherlands, proximity to Natura 2000 areas can further complicate planning. Under the Environmental Planning Act (Omgevingswet), projects must comply with strict nitrogen emission rules, often requiring calculations and mitigation (Informatiepunt Leefomgeving, n.d.). These requirements have led to delays and legal challenges, adding uncertainty to both temporary and permanent development trajectories (Hofs, 2025).

Such constraints limit which temporary functions are allowed or viable. For example, ecological zoning may restrict public access or require buffering, while noise zones or emission rules can make events or temporary housing more difficult. At the same time, environmental conditions can be used as a starting point for low-impact or climate-adaptive strategies. Brownfields may serve as testbeds for renewable energy, urban greening, or nature-inclusive design (Marian-Potra et al., 2020). In this way, environmental conditions can act as both constraint and opportunity, shaping what kinds of temporary uses are possible during the transition phase.

2.3.4 Ownership structure

Ownership plays a significant role in shaping both the redevelopment process and the potential for temporary urbanism. It determines who has the authority to act, initiate partnerships, allocate space, and influence the pace and direction of transformation. In the Dutch context, development rights are closely tied to ownership or leasehold titles, which apply to both temporary and permanent uses (Hobma & Jong, 2022).

Public ownership is generally associated with greater procedural transparency and alignment with policy frameworks. This can support socially inclusive uses, but often entails slower decision-making due to bureaucratic processes or political sensitivity. Private owners typically operate with more discretion and speed, allowing them to respond quickly to market opportunities or experiment with short-term activation. However, this flexibility may also lead to a preference for commercially driven functions over social or community-oriented uses. In cases of fragmented or shared ownership, redevelopment becomes more complex. Conflicting goals, stalled talks, or unclear responsibilities can stall both interim and long-term activity (Novosák et al., 2013; Huisman, 2021). Ownership structure therefore not only defines legal control, but also shapes the conditions under which temporary urbanism can emerge during a site's transition phase.

2.3.5 Laws and regulations

Legal frameworks influence the feasibility and form of temporary urbanism in brownfield redevelopment. While spatial planning in the Netherlands is nationally regulated, municipalities have discretion in how they apply national instruments. This creates both opportunities and constraints for temporary urbanism (Boeve, 2022). For instance, municipalities differ in how they apply temporary instruments in practice: some have more experience with temporary urbanism or faster procedures, while others may be more hesitant due to earlier negative experiences or unfamiliarity with such initiatives (Boeve, 2022).

Between 2008 and 2024, the Spatial Planning Act (Wro) was the main legal framework, with land use governed by the *bestemmingsplan*. Temporary urbanism could be made possible through exemptions or plan modifications, but these tools were typically limited to five years. Prolongation often relied on *overgangsrecht* (transitional law), offering limited legal certainty (Ten Brinke et al., 2011). Standard procedures could take up to 26 weeks, making it difficult to coordinate temporary interventions with dynamic planning processes. In 2014, a shift occurred when the maximum duration of temporary *omgevingsvergunningen* was extended to ten years, with a shortened decision period of eight weeks. This allowed municipalities to more easily facilitate time-bound initiatives, such as cultural or commercial temporary urbanism, without changing the underlying zoning (Damen & Van Egmond, 2014).

In 2024, the Environment and Planning Act (*Omgevingswet*) replaced the Wro and introduced the *omgevingsplan*, which integrates various spatial and environmental regulations into one instrument. It allows municipalities to accommodate temporary urbanism more directly. In addition, the *buitenplanse omgevingsplanactiviteit* (BOPA) offers a legal route to permit temporary functions that deviate from the *omgevingsplan*, without requiring a formal amendment. While this offers greater flexibility, its application varies and can cause uncertainty in early implementation phases (Buitelaar, 2021). Municipalities also apply private legal tools, such as contracts or temporary lease agreements, to structure responsibilities, conditions, and timeframes. Another available instrument is the *leegstandsverordening*, which enables municipalities to require owners to report vacancy and enter into consultation about potential temporary use. Although seldom used, it has served in some cases to initiate temporary urbanism (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021a). Lastly, the *Leegstandswet* regulates the temporary rental of vacant residential properties. Since this instrument applies specifically to housing, it falls outside the scope of this research, which focuses on non-residential forms of temporary urbanism (Rijksoverheid, 2024).

2.3.6 Finance

Finance is a recurring factor in brownfield redevelopment and often shapes how and when temporary urbanism is applied. High upfront costs, such as for remediation, demolition, or infrastructure, can make it difficult to establish a viable business case, particularly for sites with low immediate market value or environmental constraints (Barton & Grant, 2011). In such cases, temporary urbanism may be used to improve the financial outlook by reducing vacancy-related costs, generating modest income, or maintaining public interest during periods of uncertainty (Heurkens, Hobma, Verheul, & Daamen, 2020). When market conditions alone are insufficient, brownfield redevelopment often requires blended financing models, combining private capital, public subsidies, or public-private partnerships, to spread investment risks and stimulate interest (Skála et al., 2013; Oliver et al., 2005). The CABERNET framework (Oliver et al., 2005) classifies brownfield sites into three categories based on financial viability.

Category A sites are financially attractive and typically redeveloped through private investment with minimal public involvement. Temporary urbanism can occur in these settings, for example, as part of branding or early activation, but is not usually needed to enable redevelopment.
Category B sites are marginally viable and often depend on public-private partnerships to share investment risks. In these contexts, temporary urbanism may be used more strategically: to activate the site, test uses, or demonstrate long-term value.
Category C sites are financially unviable without significant public funding. Here, temporary urbanism may help generate public visibility, justify investment, or support social goals while redevelopment is postponed or re-evaluated.

In this way, financial conditions influence not just whether temporary urbanism takes place, but also what role it plays. In B- and C-sites, temporary initiatives are often used to manage uncertainty, engage stakeholders, or create momentum. While temporary urbanism cannot resolve underlying financial barriers, it can contribute to phased transformation by bridging gaps in funding, time, or political support.

2.3.7 Social-cultural

Social and cultural conditions shape how brownfield redevelopment is perceived and experienced by local communities. These factors influence the degree of public support, the level of engagement, and how well a site integrates into its surroundings. In the Dutch context, the *Omgevingswet* encourages participation early in the planning process, aiming to incorporate local needs and values into spatial decisions. When communities are involved, this can foster trust, create a sense of ownership, and lead to outcomes that reflect the area's social fabric. Temporary urbanism introduced during the transitional phase can play a meaningful role in this process. Temporary cafés, cultural events or social functions may reintroduce activity into neglected areas and stimulate interaction among users. If well aligned with local interests, these uses can improve social cohesion and strengthen the link between redevelopment and everyday life. However, poorly integrated temporary functions may also generate friction, particularly if they are perceived as exclusive or as precursors to gentrification (Madanipour, 2018).

Municipalities influence these dynamics through their planning choices and the extent to which they enable inclusive forms of temporary urbanism. Clear communication about long-term goals and early engagement with local groups can reduce resistance and promote more equitable outcomes (Tintěra, Ruus, Tohvri, Kotval, 2014). Overall, the social-cultural context shapes not only how temporary initiatives are received, but also how redevelopment unfolds over time. When addressed deliberately, it can contribute to more inclusive, responsive and locally embedded urban transformation.

2.3.8 Risk (within conditions)

Risk does not function as a standalone condition but cuts across multiple dimensions, legal, financial, institutional, and amplifies or constrains their effects. In brownfield redevelopment, perceptions of risk can shape whether and how temporary urbanism is considered feasible or acceptable. These risks generally fall into two overlapping categories. The first concerns long-term redevelopment risk, such as uncertainty around remediation costs, market demand, and planning procedures. These risks can delay investment, limit flexibility, or lead to overly cautious approaches, especially in sites with complex legal or environmental histories (Novosák et al., 2013; Barton & Grant, 2011). The second type relates to temporary urbanism during the transition phase. Here, risk manifests through liability concerns, such as damage, injury, or fire hazards. Under Dutch law (Article 6:174 BW), landowners remain responsible for safety and may be held liable even without fault (Rijksoverheid, 2018). This legal exposure can lead to hesitation among owners or municipalities, particularly when prior experiences with temporary use were negative or poorly managed.

Reputational or political risks, for instance with sensitive user groups or controversial events, further add to this reluctance.

In this way, risk operates as an embedded dimension within other structural conditions. It does not determine outcomes on its own, but shapes how ownership, regulation, or financing are interpreted and acted upon. Managing risk, whether through permits, contracts or clear agreements, is therefore essential to enabling temporary urbanism in brownfield contexts.

2.3.9 Utilization in transition phase

How a site is used during the transition phase can shape both the feasibility and direction of its transition. Utilization is not just an outcome, it can also be a contextual condition. Pre-existing use, interim leases, or informal arrangements may restrict access or limit what types of initiatives can follow during the transition. Developers often favour commercial uses, such as festivals, pop-up offices or retail, that generate short-term income (Brand, 2024; Gelinck & Strolenberg, 2014). However, these can sideline socially inclusive or community-based initiatives. High-impact events may push out smaller uses, cause nuisance or raise safety concerns, reducing suitability for future residential functions (Madanipour, 2018; Baras, 2015). If temporary use mainly serves affluent users or tourists, it may fuel gentrification and weaken local ties (Bragaglia & Rossignolo, 2021). Yet when multiple temporary uses operate together, they often generate powerful synergies. An anchor use, such as a pop-up café, festival or community kitchen, can act as a focal point that draws people, media attention and even small-scale investors; adjacent initiatives then “hitch on,” sharing footfall, facilities or marketing channels and collectively raising the visibility and appeal of the entire site. These positive spill-overs help to diversify the user base, distribute costs and generate informal networks that persist into the permanent redevelopment phase, strengthening both social cohesion and economic resilience (Oswalt et al., 2004, p. 53).

Thus, evaluating utilization means looking beyond activities themselves to the actors involved: Artists, entrepreneurs and residents each bring distinct goals and needs (Oswalt et al., 2013). Aligning temporary uses with the local context and long-term vision is essential for an inclusive, sustainable redevelopment.

2.4 Conclusions of the literature review

Temporary urbanism is increasingly recognised in both academic and policy contexts as a relevant strategy for activating brownfield sites during periods of vacancy and uncertainty while awaiting a new function. It is often credited with generating interim value, cultural, social, or economic, by bridging the gap between decommissioning and redevelopment (Colomb, 2012; Oswalt et al., 2013; Andres & Kraftl, 2021). However, while much of the literature focuses on its visible outcomes, such as placemaking, enhanced land value, or increased redevelopment momentum, there is still limited insight into the processes through which temporary urbanism emerges and evolves.

Although nearly any brownfield site offers potential for temporary urbanism, some still remain underused for extended periods, limiting their social and economic contribution to the urban environment (Chan et al., 2019; Oswalt et al., 2013). It remains difficult to explain why some sites remain vacant for years while others are temporarily activated. The reasons are highly context-specific and not easily captured in existing literature. Studies on brownfield redevelopment already point to structural barriers such as legal uncertainty, ownership complexity or low market demand (Frantál et al., 2013; CABERNET, 2007). While typically discussed in relation to permanent development, these same conditions also shape the potential for temporary urbanism, sometimes constraining it, sometimes enabling it. This study takes up that line of inquiry by examining how such conditions influence temporary urbanism during transition phases.

As temporary urbanism has evolved from an activist-driven practice to a more institutionalised approach, now involving municipalities, private developers, architects and vacancy managers, it raises new questions about actor dynamics, coordination and the tools used to govern temporary urbanism. These aspects remain underexplored in current literature. This observation aligns with the call by Stevens and Dovey (2023) for more in-depth, process-based research into how temporary urbanism unfolds, how it interacts

with local spatial and institutional conditions and how its role shifts over time. They further highlight the importance of comparative research across diverse international contexts to tease out general patterns from case-specific nuances and to clarify the strategic deployment of temporary uses within wider redevelopment processes. Building on their agenda, this study adopts a process-based perspective to explore the emergence and evolution of temporary urbanism during the transition phase of brownfield redevelopment, with a dedicated focus on the Dutch context.

This study offers a first step toward understanding how temporary urbanism unfolds within different settings and under varying institutional conditions, specifically investigating how contextual conditions, such as ownership structures, physical conditions and finance, shape the facilitation, development and eventually the outcomes of temporary urbanism:

"How and under what conditions does temporary urbanism emerge and develop within the transition phase of Dutch brownfield redevelopment toward long-term use"

This main question is explored through the following sub-questions:

1. To what extent do the development patterns of temporary urbanism in different cases reflect or deviate from the proposed four-phase model?

2. Under which contextual conditions does temporary urbanism emerge in brownfield redevelopment sites?

3. How do ownership structures and involved actors influence the development of temporary urbanism?

4. What role does temporary urbanism play in shaping the site's long-term redevelopment?

By examining how temporary urbanism is facilitated, how it develops over time and how it influences long-term redevelopment, dimensions still scarcely addressed in academic literature, and delivers key insights for anticipating, guiding, and strategically supporting temporary activation in brownfield redevelopment.

3 Research method

3.1 Type of study

This research adopts a multiple case study design to examine how temporary urbanism is facilitated and evolves during the transition phase of brownfield redevelopment. Given the limited Dutch research on this topic, an exploratory approach was appropriate (Scheepers, Tobi & Boeije, 2016). Case studies are well suited for complex, context-dependent phenomena and allow for in-depth analysis across varied settings (Yin, 2018). Comparing multiple cases strengthens explanatory power by revealing both shared patterns and site-specific dynamics. This approach is crucial given that some temporary initiatives dissipate quickly while others persist or become integrated into long-term development (Schönau & Van Hardeveldt, 2009), and, as Stevens and Dovey (2023) emphasize, these varied outcomes hinge on shifting local conditions. Through cross-case analysis, this design pinpoints the specific contextual factors that drive the emergence and evolution of temporary urbanism.

3.2 Case selection

3.2.1 Selection criteria and Rationale

Four cases were selected, reflecting a diversity of former site functions, including energy production, healthcare, incarceration and entertainment. While the cases vary in size, location, timeline and spatial characteristics, these contextual differences were not used as formal selection parameters but are considered in the analysis.

Although not all selected sites meet the narrow international definition of “brownfields” as contaminated former industrial land, they align with the broader Dutch interpretation used here: decommissioned institutional or industrial sites with a prolonged vacancy period prior to redevelopment. All four cases show a clear transitional phase in which temporary urbanism played a role. Comparing publicly and privately owned cases allows for analysis of how ownership structure influences the framing, facilitation and long-term role of temporary urbanism. This allows for a direct comparison of how ownership type influences the emergence, governance and purpose of temporary urbanism during transitional phases. Sites with shared ownership or leasehold arrangements were excluded to ensure analytical clarity and reduce complexity. The following selection criteria were applied:

1. **Ownership Structure**: Only cases with either full public or full private ownership during the transition were included, allowing for a direct comparison of how ownership type shapes redevelopment and temporary use strategies.
2. **Recent Transition**: All sites had to still be in an active transition phase in 2025, with temporary urbanism having been present within the past five years. This ensures that all cases reflect comparable social, political and economic conditions, and limits variation in planning context or market dynamics.
3. **Access to Key Informants**: To ensure a balanced perspective, sufficient sources needed to be available to reconstruct the process in detail. In addition to accessible documents, at least one key stakeholder, typically an owner or developer, a municipal official, a vacancy management company, or an initiator of temporary use, had to be willing to participate in an interview.

Selected cases:

1. **Centrale Harculo, Zwolle** *(Private ownership)*

A 51-hectare former power plant site along the IJssel River. Decommissioned in 2012 and sold in 2023 to developer REALES. Temporary uses such as art events were introduced early to manage perception and add interim value. Final redevelopment includes housing (500 houses) and creative workspaces in preserved buildings.

2. **Former Haga Hospital, The Hague** *(Public ownership)*

A 3.2-hectare hospital complex phased out between 2012–2021 and transferred to the municipality in 2023. Temporary use includes shelters and community functions. A permit was issued in 2024 for a five-year temporary programme. Final plans foresee 400 dwellings, with a mix of social, mid-range, and market housing.

3. **Land van Ooit, Drunen** *(Public ownership)*

A 42-hectare former theme park owned by the municipality since 2007. Temporary use emerged gradually through informal access. Redevelopment is phased and includes housing, care functions, and the reuse of heritage elements. Final programme includes a medical campus, hospitality, and 56 private homes.

4. **Bijlmerbajes, Amsterdam** [2]*(Private ownership)*

A 7.5-hectare former prison site, decommissioned in 2016 and sold to a consortium in 2017. Temporary use included asylum shelters and creative spaces (e.g. Lola Lik). Redevelopment involves 1,350 homes and mixed-use functions, based on circular reuse. Completion is expected around 2027.

The table below presents the overview of the selected cases, consider that the ownership classification in this study is based on legal land ownership during the transition phase, rather than the original function of the site or the party executing the redevelopment.

[2] The author was previously involved in temporary events at the Bijlmerbajes. This informed the initial research interest but had no influence on case selection, data collection or analysis. The disclosure is made for transparency.

Case	Ownership during transition[3]	Transition start	Former use	Intended future use	Temporary uses	Phase in transition
Centrale Harculo, Zwolle	Private	2015 – 2025 ->	Power plant	Residential district with cultural and hospitality functions	Restaurant, café, art exposition	Planning completed, preparing construction
Former Haga Hospital Sportlaan, The Hague	Public	2012 – 2025 ->	Hospital	Mixed urban residential area with healthcare and social facilities	Homeless shelter, small businesses, student housing	Established temporary use, pending final plan
Land van Ooit, Drunen	Public	2007 – 2025 ->	Theme park	Estate with care homes, hotel, residential district and nature integration	Public park, anti-squat housing	Under phased development
Bijlmerbajes, Amsterdam	Private	2016 – 2025 ->	Jail	Urban district with housing, creative workspaces and care services	Club, café, art expo	Construction ongoing, final building in plan

Table 1: Brownfield redevelopment cases and their selection criteria (own work)

3.2.2 Cases not included and research sensitivities

Several potential case studies where no temporary use followed decommissioning were initially identified for contrastive analysis. However, representatives declined interview requests, often citing concerns about negative publicity and reputational risk (personal communication, March 2025). These cases were therefore excluded. This reflects a broader trend observed during the research: interviewees often showed caution in participating, likely due to media attention or sensitivities around temporary use, public image, or redevelopment controversies. Such dynamics may have affected both access and the openness of responses, shaping the information available across the case studies.

3.3 Methods and techniques

This study used three complementary data collection methods: document analysis, semi-structured interviews and field observations. The combination allowed for cross-case comparison and enhanced reliability through triangulation. Given the context-dependent nature of temporary urbanism (Stevens & Dovey, 2023), a comparative case study approach was appropriate for identifying recurring patterns across different settings. Case studies enabled in-depth analysis of complex, site-specific processes. While multiple perspectives were important, individual interviews proved most suitable, offering role-specific depth, flexibility in questioning, and confidentiality. A focus group approach was considered but dismissed due to practical constraints and the risk of dominant voices limiting open input. Each case drew on a combination of documents, interviews and site observations. This multi-source approach supported triangulation and is summarised per case in Appendix B, which presents the representative data sources underpinning the empirical analysis.

[3] Ownership classification in this study is based on legal land ownership during the transition phase, rather than the original function of the site or the party executing the redevelopment.

3.3.1 Document analysis

Document analysis formed the starting point for each case and continued throughout the research process. Sources included policy reports, planning documents, zoning plans, vision statements, developer communications and news articles. These were selected based on relevance to the site's transition, public accessibility, and explicit references to temporary urbanism or redevelopment goals.

The documents provided context on site history, redevelopment plans, governance settings and early signals of temporary use. They were used to reconstruct timelines, identify key stakeholders (see Appendix A), and inform case-specific interview selection. Additional documents were consulted later to follow up on developments raised during interviews or to clarify unclear events. Together, this material formed a consistent foundation for triangulating and enriching the case narratives.

3.3.2 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used to gain deeper insights into the processes behind temporary urbanism that could not be derived from documents alone. For each case, at least one key stakeholder was selected, preferably more, to ensure a balanced perspective. Four actor types were targeted, based on the stakeholder roles identified in the diagrams in Appendix A:

1. **Owners or developers** (for redevelopment strategy),
2. **Municipal officials** (for public policy and procedures),
3. **Initiators of temporary use** (for motivations and barriers),
4. **Vacancy managers** (for operational insights, where applicable).

These roles were identified through document analysis and by snowball referrals from earlier interviewees. Interviews were guided by a topic list based on the analytical framework (see Section 3.4) and conducted either on-site or remotely. Questions followed the design principles of Scheepers, Tobi & Boeije (2016), emphasising clarity, neutrality and relevance. Earlier interviews informed later ones, allowing for thematic refinement. All procedures complied with the ethical standards outlined in the Data Management Plan in §3.7.

Interviews were conducted in Dutch with Netherlands-based stakeholders, appendix D provides an overview of the performed interviews. Full transcripts are not included due to privacy considerations, but data handling, such as recording, transcription and anonymisation, is described in the Data Management Plan (see section 3.7). Quotations in this thesis are based on recorded and transcribed material, with selected sections translated into English by the author and in line with the applicable ethical protocols.

3.3.3 Field observations

Field observations were used to complement documents and interviews with spatial and experiential insights. They focused on the physical condition of the site, the visibility and character of temporary uses, and their integration within the surroundings. Observations addressed spatial and visual aspects not captured in documents. Observations were non-participatory and covert in nature (Tayie, 2005), meaning no direct interaction took place. This reduced observer bias and respected ethical boundaries, especially in sensitive or informally occupied areas. Notes focused on spatial layout, signage, accessibility and signs of permanence or improvisation. No identifying photographs were taken, in accordance with the approved Data Management Plan. Although field observations are inherently a snapshot in time, this limitation does not affect their usefulness, as they served as a complementary method to assess spatial and visual aspects.

3.3.4 Additional document analysis

In some cases, new developments or unexpected actor dynamics emerged during interviews. To account for this, a follow-up round of document analysis was conducted to verify and enrich the empirical basis. These materials included updated planning documents, press releases, and municipal records.

Occasionally, interviewees also shared internal, non-public documents to clarify recent developments or decision-making processes. These additions helped refine the case narratives and offered a more complete understanding of how temporary urbanism unfolded in each context.

3.4 Analytical frameworks

This study applies two analytical frameworks to investigate how temporary urbanism emerges and evolves during the transition phase of brownfield redevelopment.

3.4.1 Process phase framework

This study uses a process phase framework, that is used throughout the analysis to trace how temporary urbanism develops within different planning and governance contexts

The framework builds on the Three-Phase Model developed by Twynstra Gudde and publicly introduced by Schönau & Van Hardeveldt (2009), which is a redevelopment strategy for municipalities with limited means. The model inks municipal policy goals to tangible spatial transformation by using temporary uses to seed what can ultimately become the site's permanent function. At each phase, structural interventions, investment levels and target audiences are scaled up to test which redevelopment approach will succeed. The three phases are:

1. **Test Phase**: Create an attractive, low-cost environment to counter vacancy. Temporary uses are made easily accessible to diverse user groups to gauge interest and viability.
2. **Growth Phase**: Develop and manage a coherent concept. The property owner invests in basic infrastructure and amenities, expanding and professionalizing the project's identity and offerings.
3. **Development Phase**: Complete the transition to long-term redevelopment, finalizing the practical build-out in line with policy objectives and stakeholder vision.

Overall, the model leverages short-term activations of existing buildings as stepping stones toward comprehensive area transformation.

Meijboom (2011) employed the original Three-Phase Model retrospectively as an analytical lens on Dutch area-transition cases. She found that most sites did not progress through all three phases, only two did, while confirming the model's relevance for both public and private actors. Although practitioners understand the theoretical phasing, its practical use remains confined to a few high-profile projects (Chemelot Campus, Strijp-S, Enka), with international experts and smaller Dutch initiatives (e.g. vacant lots or single buildings) offering further support. These mixed results inspired my decision to apply a similar lens to brownfield redevelopments, assessing whether the same phase distinctions emerge in processes that have already run their course.

Because the Three-Phase Model was conceived as a strategic, policy-driven tool, using it as an analytical lens will overlook informal or spontaneous temporary uses, those that arise before formal redevelopment or without developer involvement. Such coincidental activations can quickly disappear, remain marginal, or gradually formalize (Sand et al., 2023). To capture both planned and unplanned pathways, this research adopts a two-step process-phasing analysis. First, each case is classified by its mode of emergence, coincidental (spontaneous, unplanned) or strategic (actively facilitated and policy-embedded), to clarify differences in intent, actors and governance at the outset. Second, is described using the framework, which is expanded with an extra phase prior to the three phase model:

1. **Coincidental Phase** – Ad hoc, grassroots activations sparked by vacancy, organized by informal actors with minimal, short-term permissions and negligible funding, lacking overarching strategy or coordination, and with no clear pathway provided by the owner, offering little to no prospect of evolving into the site's long-term use.

This expanded four-phase framework allows for more complete comparison between cases, whether they follow a strategic path or emerge from informal and improvised beginnings.

3.4.2 Nine-condition contextual framework

To support a consistent and comparable analysis, this study breaks down each case context into nine conditions. These are based on recurring themes in the literature (see Section 2.3) and reflect key factors such as location, ownership, and regulation that may shape the emergence of temporary urbanism. The framework allows context to be interpreted not as a static backdrop, but as a set of interacting conditions that vary across cases. Table 1 presents the full framework, including the conditions, their interpreted effect per case, and a short explanation.

The framework was used throughout the research process to organise data and guide interpretation. Interview notes, document analysis and field observations were categorised according to these nine conditions, supporting both within-case and cross-case analysis. In each case chapter (Chapter 4), the conditions are discussed under the heading *Context shaping temporary urbanism*. This narrative discussion is used to provide background and identify relevant dynamics that may have enabled or constrained temporary urbanism. That interpretation follows in Appendix C. Each condition was classified as mostly enabling, mostly constraining, or mixed. The label "mixed" indicates that the condition showed both enabling and constraining influences during the transition phase, either at different times or for different actors. These labels reflect the researcher's interpretation of how each condition shaped temporary urbanism during the transition phase. A condition was considered enabling if it facilitated activation, experimentation or continuity; constraining if it delayed or blocked a temporary use; and mixed if its influence shifted or was internally contradictory. While the labels are based on qualitative interpretation rather than objective measurement, they provide a structured way to assess differences across cases and to trace recurring patterns in how conditions influenced temporary urbanism. Finally, the framework remained open to additional conditions, such as ownership orientation or image and perception, if these had a demonstrable influence not captured by the original nine.

Case:	Effect on temporary urbanism	Explanation
Conditions v	*Indicates whether the condition mostly enabled, mostly constrained, or both enabled and constrained temporary urbanism.*	*Summarises how the condition shaped opportunities or limitations for temporary urbanism during the transition phase.*
1. Location		
2. Physical condition		
3. Environmental conditions		
4. Ownership structure		
5. Laws and regulations		
6. Finance		
7. Social-cultural		
8. Risk (within conditions)		

9.	Utilization in transition phase
Additional conditions	
10.	….

Table 1: Contextual framework with 9 conditions shaping temporary urbanism (own work)

3.5 Data Analysis

The empirical material, documents, interviews and field observations, was analysed thematically and structured using the two analytical frameworks described in Section 3.4. Interview transcripts and notes were manually coded according to emerging themes and aligned with predefined contextual categories. Document content and observation notes were used to cross-check timelines, actor roles and site-specific developments. The analysis followed an interpretive and comparative approach. Within each case, findings were used to reconstruct the development of temporary urbanism over time, focusing on actor roles, key decisions, and shifts in governance or use. These reconstructions formed the basis for the within-case narratives. Subsequently, cross-case comparison supported the identification of patterns and variations across cases. The nine-condition framework was used to interpret how contextual factors shaped opportunities or constraints, while the four-phase model helped assess whether and how cases followed a strategic or coincidental trajectory.

Coding was conducted by the researcher without the use of software. Themes were identified both deductively (based on the nine contextual conditions and phase model) and inductively (through repeated cross-case review). Coding across data sources allowed for triangulated verification of actor roles, phase development and contextual influence. Interpretations were refined iteratively and linked back to the theoretical models for validation and refinement. As part of the within-case analysis, the study also presents a representative overview of temporary uses per site (see Appendix B). This selection of cases is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive. These are categorised using the typology by Andres and Zhang (2020), distinguishing between bottom-up, top-down and hybrid forms of temporary urbanism. Initiatives were only classified as hybrid if informal actors and institutions actively co-shaped their development over time. Where documentation was limited, classifications were based on the researcher's interpretation of actor roles and governance setting. Second, to analyse the type and contribution of temporary uses, the study applied seven use categories derived from the literature (e.g. Stevens & Dovey, 2023; Overmeyer, 2007) and adapted to the Dutch context (Brand, 2024). These are:

1. **Cultural** – Art exhibitions, studios, creative spaces, cultural events;
2. **Culinary & Hospitality** – Temporary cafés, food trucks, gastronomy initiatives;
3. **Sports & Recreation** – Skateparks, fitness areas, informal play spaces;
4. **Social & Community-Oriented** – Social services, education, care-related functions;
5. **Commercial** – Markets, pop-up shops, co-working spaces, small businesses;
6. **Residential** – Temporary or alternative living arrangements;
7. **Green & Open Space** – Urban farming, parklets, greening interventions.

These categories were used in Chapter 4 to classify and compare temporary initiatives, offering an additional lens to understand their spatial, social and economic role in transitional areas. The findings for each case are based on a triangulation of documents, interviews and field observations. While not all temporary uses may have been visible, accessible, or documented at the time of research, the identified examples should be understood as representative of the most established or observable forms of temporary urbanism present on-site. These were selected and interpreted in line with the contextual and phase-based frameworks, ensuring consistency and comparability across cases.

3.6 Summary of empirical strategy

Table 2 summarises how each sub-question is addressed through specific data sources, expected insights and analysis methods. It links the analytical focus of the research to the empirical approach.

Sub-question	Main content	Data collection	Expected outcome	Data analysis
1. How do different trajectories of temporary urbanism develop, and to what extent do they reflect or deviate from existing phase models?	- Typologies of temporary urbanism - Strategic vs. spontaneous emergence - Process and phasing over time	- ***Documents***: planning documents, news articles, area visions - ***Interviews***: initiators, municipal officials, developers - ***Field observations***: site condition, activity pattern	- Reconstructed trajectories per case - Classification into structured/unstructured - Comparison with theoretical phase models	- Timeline reconstruction - Within-case coding - Model-based comparison
2. Under which contextual conditions does temporary urbanism emerge in brownfield redevelopment sites?	- Institutional, legal and physical conditions - Enabling vs. constraining factors - Local planning and risk culture	- ***Documents***: zoning plans, policy reports - ***Interviews***: all stakeholder types - ***Field observations***: site access, visibility, spatial barriers	- Overview of key contextual conditions - Interpretation as enabling, constraining or both - Structured input for comparative framework	- Thematic categorisation using 9-condition framework (§3.4.2) - Cross-case comparison
3. How do ownership structures and involved actors influence the development of temporary urbanism?	- Role of owners, developers, municipalities - Actor coalitions and governance models - Influence on timing and access	- ***Interviews***: owners, developers, municipal officials, vacancy managers - ***Documents***: ownership changes, governance reports	- Identification of actor roles per phase - Insight into decision-making, selection and exclusion - Mapping of formal/informal governance - Classification of individual initiatives as top-down or bottom-up (Appendix B)	- Role-based coding - Actor-process mapping - Stakeholder timeline analysis
4. What role does temporary urbanism play in	- Strategic vs. incidental use - Relation to	- ***Interviews***: developers, municipal	- Understanding of temporary use as prelude, testbed or	- Interpretive coding - Cross-case

shaping the site's long-term redevelopment?	redevelopment vision - Symbolic, economic and social contribution	officials - ***Documents***: redevelopment visions, long-term planning frameworks	image-building - Clarity on alignment or disconnect with permanent programme	synthesis - Narrative role assessment

Table 2:Overview of Sub-questions, Data Collection Methods and Analysis Strategy (own work)

3.7 Data Management Plan and Ethical Considerations

This study followed TU Delft's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) rules and its Data Management Plan (DMP). An ethics application, complete with the DMP, information sheet and consent form, was approved in January 2025 before any data were collected.

Participation was fully voluntary. Everyone received clear details about the study's purpose, how their information would be used and their right to privacy. Participants signed consent forms and could leave the study at any time without any consequences. No direct quotes appear in the thesis without the participant's permission.

All data, audio recordings, interview transcripts, survey answers and field notes, were handled as follows:

- **Anonymisation and confidentiality**
  Names and any identifying details were removed. Pseudonyms replaced real names and only the researcher could link codes back to identities.

- **Secure storage and backup**
  Data were encrypted and stored temporarily on TU Delft OneDrive, then backed up each night to the university's Project Data Storage (U:) drive. Access was limited to the researcher and supervisors. Personal identifiers will be deleted six months after the project ends; anonymous data will stay on record for ten years.

- **Data sharing**
  Aggregated, non-identifiable results and maps will be included in the thesis appendices and, where possible, uploaded to the TU Delft Education Repository under open access for ten years.

These steps protected participants, kept data safe and ensured that all materials are managed responsibly.

4 Results

This chapter presents the findings from the four case studies and explores how temporary urbanism developed during the transition phase of brownfield redevelopment. It outlines how temporary uses were introduced, how they evolved over time, and which actors and conditions influenced this process. Each case is discussed individually, followed by a cross-case comparison to identify recurring patterns and key differences.

Each case description follows the same structure. First, the site's closure and redevelopment plans are outlined. Then the temporary uses are described and classified using the typology from Section 2.2, to clarify their role and purpose. Finally, the nine conditions introduced in Section 2.3, such as location, ownership, and regulation, are used to examine what helped or hindered the development of temporary urbanism. The chapter concludes with a cross-case analysis, comparing how different conditions influenced the outcomes.

4.1 Nieuw Harculo, formerly Centrale Harculo, Zwolle

Figure 1. Centrale Harculo mid-2019 [Photograph]. Reprinted with permission (2024).

The former Centrale Harculo, was a power plant located in a green area on the outskirts of Zwolle (hereafter: Centrale Harculo), commonly referred to as the IJsselcentrale, sits along the IJssel River on the southern edge of the city. Constructed between 1951 and 1955, the plant served as a key energy provider for the region for many years. The site covers approximately 51 hectares and was in ownership of energy company ENGIE Energie Nederland N.V. (hereafter: ENGIE) until 2023.

4.1.1 Towards a transition phase

From 2012 onwards, the plant was no longer in permanent active use and functioned only as an emergency backup facility. Due to outdated technology and declining profitability, ENGIE began planning the plant's decommissioning and exploring possible redevelopment scenarios for the site. Demolition was deemed necessary due to the buildings' deteriorated condition, the presence of asbestos and radioactive insulation and their general perceived unsuitability for reuse. ENGIE concluded that repurposing elements such as the chimneys, storage tanks and central hall was unfeasible because of the high costs associated with maintenance and conversion (ENGIE et al., 2021b). The plant had already been permanently decommissioned in 2015, marking the start of the site's transition toward a new function. A demolition permit under the 1988 Nature Conservation Act was granted to ENGIE and officially published on 15 April 2016 (Rechtbank Overijssel, 2017).

4.1.2 The concretisation of the transition

The early phase of the transition was defined by demolition efforts, which served as a first step toward preparing the site for future redevelopment. The demolition permit began with the removal of hazardous materials like radioactive slag wool and asbestos. However, major demolition was delayed by public opposition. Legal action from the Cuypersgenootschap Foundation and Bond Heemschut, two Dutch heritage organisations, aimed to prevent the demolition of the former power plant complex as a whole, including the hijshal and the removal of significant artworks from the services building, which contained pieces from the post-war reconstruction period, Although the court ruled in ENGIE's favor (Rechtbank Overijssel, 2017), the case prompted the company to reconsider its plans and explore partial preservation.

In response, ENGIE partnered with BOEi, a non-profit specializing in adaptive reuse of industrial heritage. They agreed to preserve four auxiliary structures, the cooling water building, service building, warehouse

and hoisting hall. BOEi entered talks to acquire these buildings (pending zoning changes) and was also commissioned to initiate temporary urbanism in the buildings and on the site.

Following the completion of demolition works on the non-reusable parts of the power plant December 31st 2018, BOEi began gradually implementing a dual-track redevelopment strategy:

- **Defining the end-use:** To determine the long-term function of the remaining structures, BOEi and ENGIE initiated a participatory process with local stakeholders. This trajectory not only informed the preferred future uses of the buildings but also revealed public interest in short-term, temporary use. Suggested functions included: public meeting places, educational and research facilities, hospitality, workspaces, creative hubs, arts and culture and small-scale events (ENGIE, Municipality of Zwolle, Floris Property Fund, TwynstraGudde, KuiperCompagnons, 2020).
- **Implementing temporary urbanism:** Since the final function of the preserved buildings was not yet defined, the transition phase provided room for experimentation. Temporary activities were introduced to activate the area, test possible long-term uses, improve public visibility and help offset some of the fixed costs (interview developer, March 5, 2025). The first strategic temporary use that emerged from this process was the Requiem for the IJsselcentrale. This event marked the end of the demolition and the beginning of the reuse of the remaining structures of the power plant.

A comprehensive area vision was later developed by ENGIE, the Municipality of Zwolle, Floris Property Fund, TwynstraGudde, KuiperCompagnons, and Buro Ontwerp & Omgeving (2021a), which explored several potential redevelopment scenarios:

- **Energy garden and sustainable energy:** Renewable energy generation and storage, including solar fields, aquathermal systems, shallow geothermal energy and a neighbourhood battery.
- **Sustainable residential neighbourhood:** An energy-neutral district powered by smart grids and innovative energy systems.
- **Recreation and meeting space:** A multifunctional environment for leisure and culture, including hospitality venues, a city beach and infrastructure for events, strengthening Zwolle's relationship with the river IJssel.
- **Nature development:** Redesign of floodplains with a strong emphasis on ecology and biodiversity.

Ultimately, ENGIE decided to prepare the site for residential redevelopment. Although this transition lay outside its core business in energy, the company chose to remain actively involved throughout the transformation process. As stated by the interviewed developer (March 5, 2025), this choice was driven by a desire to ensure responsible decommissioning and to top up the site's future value by remaining engaged until concrete redevelopment plans could be realised. The current redevelopment plan includes both the preserved buildings and the broader site. Permanent functions for the preserved structures are as follows:

- **Cooling water building** → Centre for art and culture, with exhibition space and creative workshops (Cool Water).
- **Service building** → Multi-tenant office facility with a work café and daytime hospitality.
- **Warehouse** → Studios and workspaces, potentially combined with a sports facility.
- **Hoisting hall** → Residential building with 26 apartments and commercial space on the ground floor.

The broader 51-hectare site, cleared through demolition, was identified as suitable for residential development. In 2023, ENGIE sold this land, including the surrounding dike, floodplains and jetties (with the exception of the remaining buildings and the electricity distribution station), to the developer REALES. The approved plan includes approximately 500 dwellings, from exclusive to affordable units, designed with respect for the area's existing characteristics. As of March 2025, the municipality approved the spatial 35 development plan and construction is expected to begin in the summer of 2025 (Gemeente Zwolle, 2025). The transitional phase will conclude once the development is complete and the site assumes its final urban function.

4.1.3 The context shaping temporary urbanism

This section analyses the contextual factors that shaped temporary urbanism at Centrale Harculo, using the nine-condition framework introduced in Chapter 3. While all conditions were systematically reviewed, the focus here is on those most relevant to this case. Their influence is described in narrative form, based on site-specific dynamics. The classification of each condition, whether mostly enabling, constraining, or mixed, is presented in Appendix C, along with any additional factors that emerged as particularly influential.

Location

Centrale Harculo is a 51-hectare post-industrial site located on the southern edge of Zwolle, directly along the IJssel River (see figure 2). Its peripheral position in a green, semi-rural zone, bordering a Natura 2000 protected area, meant limited visibility and accessibility for casual visitors. This relative isolation reduced the likelihood of nuisance or opposition from nearby residents but also constrained spontaneous public engagement. At the same time, the open space and tranquillity offered a setting well suited for lowthreshold, small-scale experiments and temporary programming during the transition phase.

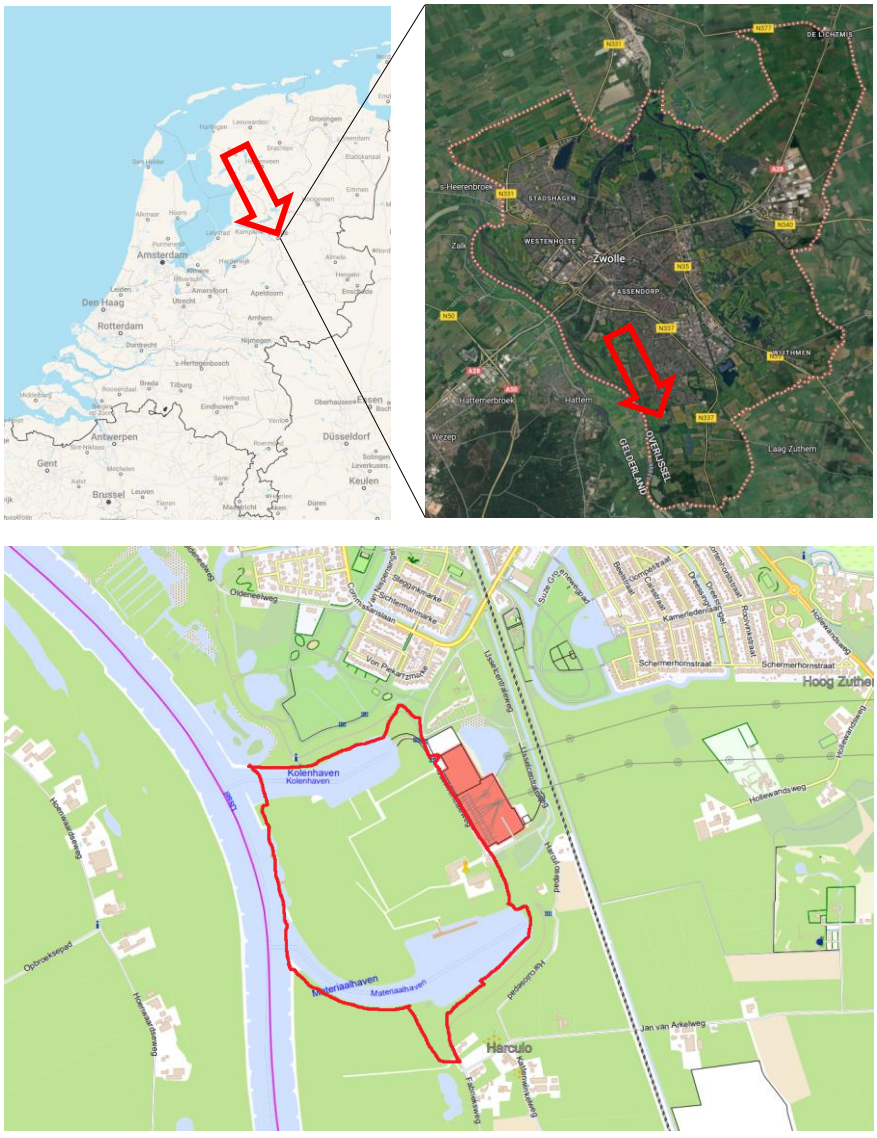


Figure 3: Google Maps location of Centrale Harculo, shown at three spatial levels: the national scale (Netherlands), the regional context (Zwolle area), and the detailed cadastral layout of the site and its surroundings. From Google Maps, by Google (n.d. -a) [https://www.google.com/maps/...]. Edited by author. Copyright by Google.

Physical condition

Figure 2. Asbestos remediation at Centrale Harculo [Photograph]. Reprinted with permission from RPS (2018).

The condition of the site's buildings varied widely. The main power plant was contaminated with asbestos and radioactive insulation, making reuse impossible without major remediation (see figure 3). The majority of remainings like chimneys, storage tanks and the central hall were too costly to maintain or convert (ENGIE et al., 2021a). The soil was also polluted with substances like pentachlorophenol (PCP), banned since the 1990s. Remediation, including asbestos and soil removal, was planned while parts of the building remained and targeted for completion by late 2017 (RTV Focus Zwolle, 2016). In contrast, auxiliary buildings like the warehouse and hoisting hall were structurally sound but outdated, requiring removal of obsolete infrastructure before temporary use. A unique issue arose with the cooling water building, the basement was filled with waist-high sludge that experts initially believed couldn't be pumped out, rendering that space inaccessible in the short term (Collectie Harms Rolde, n.d.).

Environmental conditions

Environmental risks also played a key role. The site's proximity to the protected Natura 2000 area (see figure 2) required careful monitoring of noise levels, nitrogen emissions and disturbance of local ecosystems. This sensitive setting led to strict restrictions on large-scale festivals or late-night events follow (interview developer, March 5, 2025). This estate supports a rich ecological heritage: protected nesting sites host bird species such as the great spotted woodpecker, nuthatch, and northern goshawk; four monumental trees stand within its bounds; many woodlands were planted around 1900 and thus qualify as historic forest stands; and Bosgroep Zuid Nederland places strong emphasis on preserving the avenue structures, wooded banks, and the castle forest (Schmitz & Aarts, 2019).

Ownership structure

Ownership of the site became increasingly fragmented throughout the transition. Although ENGIE remained the sole owner until 2023, various parts were gradually transferred to other stakeholders. In 2021, the cooling water building and adjacent land were sold to artist Ronald A. Westerhuis (RAW), who converted it into a cultural centre. In 2023, BOEi acquired the remaining buildings, while the broader terrain was transferred to project developer REALES. Notably, BOEi is a semi-public organisation that operates without a profit motive, focusing instead on the preservation and adaptive reuse of heritage. Unlike many conventional developers, BOEi's mission is socially and culturally driven, which significantly influenced the inclusive and experimental character of the temporary use strategy at Harculo. This phased transfer of ownership resulted in two temporary use managers: RAW for Coolwater and BOEi for the rest.

Laws and regulations

From 2015, temporary urbanism at Centrale Harculo operated under the Spatial Planning Act (Wro), with the site retaining its industrial zoning. This allowed small-scale, non-permanent activities, such as cultural events and exhibitions, to proceed without formal rezoning or permits, as long as they remained within zoning boundaries. Larger or longer-term uses would have required coordination with the municipality, though such initiatives were not pursued during the transition. Legal and administrative barriers were relatively limited. More than formal legislation, it was local policy flexibility that enabled temporary urbanism. The municipality of Zwolle's area vision explicitly embraced adaptive, phased development, stating: "The vision is a framework, not a straitjacket… it allows space to flexibly respond to unexpected developments and new opportunities" (Gemeente Zwolle, 2021, p. 8, translated by author). This policy stance legitimised temporary urbanism as part of the broader transition strategy. However, external factors, particularly COVID-19 restrictions in 2020–2021, temporarily constrained public programming, slowing momentum during that period. In sum, Harculo's temporary use was supported by permissive zoning, pragmatic governance and a flexible planning framework that welcomed incremental redevelopment.

Finance

Financially, the site offered no direct revenue stream. No structural subsidies were available, and most temporary initiatives were facilitated at little or no cost. Despite these limitations, both BOEi and RAW considered temporary urbanism a strategic tool to engage the public, activate the site, and test future functions. In the interview with the developer (March 5, 2025), it was mentioned that subsidies had played a modest but positive role in enabling temporary use. One example is a 2022 municipal subsidy scheme introduced by the City of Zwolle, which offered partial reimbursement of energy costs for social, cultural, and community-based initiatives. According to the developer, this modest support directly benefited several temporary use initiators on the site, helping to make their activities financially feasible (Gemeente Zwolle, 2022). Another source indicates that for the Koelwaterhal, specifically the ENERGY exhibition, RAW received a subsidy of €80,000 to support the composition and setup of the installation (Eikelboom, n.d.). This financial support contributed to the feasibility and initiation of temporary urbanism.

Social-cultural

In social and cultural terms, the local community played a limited role in the early phases of the transition. Although there was little direct public involvement initially, heritage organisations did resist the demolition of key structures through legal channels. While their efforts were ultimately unsuccessful, they led ENGIE to engage with BOEi, a non-profit agency specialised in the adaptive reuse of industrial heritage, to explore preservation options. Structured public participation only gained momentum from 2019 onwards, through workshops and public consultation sessions that informed the area vision. Risk (within conditions) From a risk management perspective, safety was a central concern. Particularly in the early stages, when ENGIE was still the site owner, the area remained closed to external parties due to potential hazards. Only once hazardous materials had been removed and parts of the site were made safe and accessible did temporary uses become feasible (personal communication with project manager ENGIE, March 18th, 2025)

Utilization in transition phase

Temporary urbanism at Harculo developed from scattered, one-off events, such as police training and an IJsselbiënnale installation, into a more structured and publicly accessible programme. From 2019 onwards,

recurring uses like Bennies pop-up restaurant, art exhibitions and open days gradually made the site more visible and usable. These functions contributed to a basic level of infrastructure (like toilets and electrical) and public familiarity, which may have made it easier for other initiatives to follow (interview developer, March 5, 2025). As shown in Appendix B, later activities, such as yoga sessions, food 38 trucks and workshops, took place in a setting that was already partially programmed and known to a local audience. While not all uses were directly connected, the presence of consistent, accessible functions appeared to support a gradual broadening of temporary urbanism on the site. Table 10 in Appendix C summarises the contextual conditions shaping temporary urbanism.

4.1.4 The process of temporary urbanism

This section analyses how temporary urbanism developed at Centrale Harculo. The process did not follow a fixed plan, but evolved over time through changing forms of activation and coordination. Following the twostep approach from Section 3.4.1, the analysis first distinguishes between a coincidental and a strategic phase of initiation and then identifies four phases of development. Temporary urbanism began coincidentally, through informal, unstructured activity without long-term goals and gradually shifted toward a more strategic approach with clearer objectives and alignment with redevelopment. The four phases, Coincidental, Testing, Growing and Developing, were derived inductively from the case and help trace this shift. Figure 4 presents both the two-stage distinction and the four-phase structure. The following sections examine each phase in more detail.

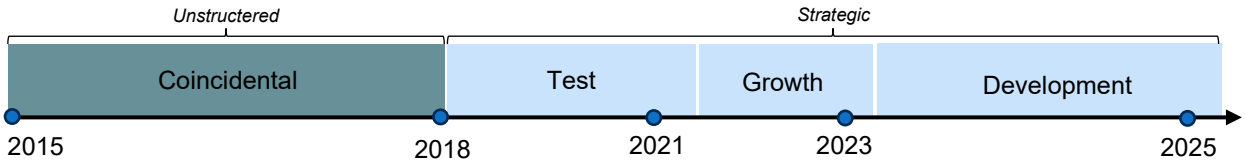


Figure 4: Timeline with four phases of temporary urbanism in transition of Centrale Harculo (own work)

4.1.5 Phase I: Coincidental phase (2015 – 2017)

Between 2015 and end of 2017, the site saw only incidental temporary use, mostly by coincidence. During this time, ENGIE was the sole owner and focused on decommissioning and demolition, viewing temporary urbanism as incompatible with its primary task of safely dismantling the plant and preparing the site for sale. As the plant was gradually shut down from mid-2015, safety regulations kept the site closed to third parties, making temporary urbanism impossible. Even during demolition (Sept 2016–Nov 2018), ongoing risks kept the site off-limits. Despite this, two bottom-up initiatives occurred:

- **Training site (2015–2018):** Dutch police and military units occasionally used the grounds for training, with no compensation charged.
- **IJsselbiënnale (2017):** The art route featured a sculpture on-site as part of its exploration of people–landscape relationships, also without compensation.

While not actively encouraged, these uses were tolerated as low-risk exceptions, handled case-by-case under ENGIE's direct oversight. They arose more from coincidence than planning, through informal contacts and limited public visibility. Rather than part of a strategy, they show how temporary use can emerge by chance during decommissioning, without broader support.

4.1.6 Phase II: Test phase (2018 – July 2021)

From From 2018 onwards, ENGIE's approach to temporary urbanism began to shift with the involvement of BOEi, brought in to explore preservation and redevelopment of the auxiliary buildings. In early 2019, this lead to the engagement of local residents and stakeholders. Participation played a role in shaping both long-term plans and temporary uses during the transition. "We started by listening, what do people want to

do here? From there, we could build a temporary programme that actually fit the place," a BOEi developer noted in an interview (translated by author, March 5th, 2025). The focus laid on creative, forward-looking uses like art, culture, hospitality, small workspaces, leisure and events. Efforts were aimed at activating the site through cultural and creative uses such as art, hospitality, smallscale workspaces and events. Key participation moments included:

- A working session (January 2019)
- A Windesheim student project (July 2019)
- A digital meeting (October 2020) presenting the area vision framework
- Stakeholder consultations (October 2020 – February 2021)

During this second phase, BOEi served both as redevelopment partner and intermediary for temporary urbanism. Its in-house department, BOEi Eventlocaties, took on the coordination of access, assessment of proposals and support for implementation. This more structured approach reflected growing interest in activating the site and enabled temporary initiatives to emerge through both top-down and bottom-up channels. To guide this development, BOEi worked with ENGIE and the Municipality of Zwolle to draft a framework document outlining a shared vision for temporary urbanism during the transition. Developed through participatory processes and refined with later involved stakeholders such as artist Westerhuis, this document provided a strategic, site-specific foundation. BOEi Eventlocaties applied the framework in practice and adjusted it over time based on operational experience. The resulting approach is outlined below. BOEi framework document & Traffic Light Model To guide the growing number of temporary use requests at Harculo, BOEi developed a framework document. This document outlined general principles for temporary urbanism, including permitted functions, spatial boundaries, user responsibilities and the relation to long-term redevelopment. It served as a flexible but coordinated tool to structure the transition period. As part of this framework, BOEi applied the traffic light model, a practical assessment tool used to categorise proposals based on their scale, impact, and alignment with redevelopment goals:

- **Green:** Immediately permitted uses, such as small-scale hospitality, exhibitions, workshops, or informal gatherings.

- **Yellow:** Uses requiring further discussion, e.g. photoshoots, weddings, or temporary markets.

- **Red:** Prohibited uses, including large festivals, political events, or anything conflicting with environmental or safety regulations (e.g. Natura 2000 zones).

Between 2019 and 2021, BOEi handled all user requests directly, with no involvement from ENGIE. As one BOEi developer explained:

"Green means go, yellow means we discuss it, red means we don't, simple as that." (interview developer, translated by author, March 5, 2025)

Table 3 shows the main assessment criteria, including target group, type of use, visitor numbers, and opening hours. In addition, strict noise limits were defined to prevent nuisance and safeguard environmental values. Together, the framework and model enabled a clear, consistent process for managing temporary urbanism, allowing for gradual activation while protecting long-term development goals and ecological sensitivities.

	Type	Target group	Number of visitors	Opening hours
Green	• Hospitality (small-scale or via pop-up concepts) • Exhibitions by local artists or entrepreneurs, possibly linked to events in the city • Meetings or inspiration sessions focused on sustainability, ICT, healthcare, the creative industry, and current tenants • Small-scale music performances by local artists Knowledge events • Sports-related activities • Staff training, workshops, meetings, and teambuilding activities	• Social/public function • Municipal initiatives (non-political) • Sustainability and circularity	1-500	8:00-23:00
Yellow	• Photoshoots • Weddings • Company parties • Camping	• Commercial parties (e.g. car dealership photoshoots) • Sports associations	500-1000	06:00-8:00 en 23:00-01:00
Red	• Concerts • Festivals	• Political gatherings	1000+	01:00-06:00

Permitted noise levels:

07:00 – 19:00 uur	19:00 – 23:00 uur	23:00 – 07:00 uur
55 dB(A)	50 dB(A)	45 dB(A)

Table 3: Traffic light model for temporary urbanism (Based on an unpublished internal document from BOEi, 2021)

From the summer 2019 onwards, temporary urbanism officially began with:

Requiem for the IJsselcentrale – 'Kameroperahuis' organized a music theatre route as an artistic farewell to the power plant. Local musicians and performers shared community stories along a walking route, marking the site's cultural significance and impact. From 2019, BOEi focused on establishing hospitality as the first structured temporary use. Taking a topdown approach, they recruited hospitality entrepreneurs and offered rent-free space, aiming to use hospitality as a catalyst for broader site activation (interview

developer, March 5th, 2025). The COVID-19 outbreak, however, delayed implementation. Still, the Municipality supported pop-up venues to help the local hospitality sector and in summer 2021, a pop-up restaurant launched successfully:

Bennies Pop-up Restaurant – Operating from May 2021 to summer 2023 in the former workshops, Bennies quickly became a lively meeting place in an industrial heritage setting (see figure 5). With a fasttracked permit and improvised utilities, the project started modestly but rapidly grew. Within days, it attracted hundreds of visitors; within three months, the team expanded from 5 to 35 staff (interview initiator, March 25th, 2025)

Figure 5. Pop-up Bennies restaurant at IJsselcentrale (mid-2022) [Photograph]. Reprinted with permission (n.d.).

4.1.7 Phase III: Growth phase (August 2021 - 2022)

Following the earlier phases of cautious use and BOEi's top-down coordination, the opening of the pop-up restaurant in summer 2021 marked a turning point. It attracted significant visitors and inspired others to propose their own initiatives. BOEi began shifting from proactive facilitator to gatekeeper, as temporary urbanism evolved into a more broadly supported and self-initiated process.

This phase saw greater diversification, especially in arts, culture and social initiatives. Two key developments defined it:

1. **Expansion of cultural and social initiatives** – The site hosted events like the IJsselbiënnale, De Stad Verbeeldt exhibition and Zet Een Stap Tegen Kanker.

2. **Growth of bottom-up initiatives** – External parties increasingly proposed and led activities independently.

Various events followed, including the Verhalen van Harculo exhibition and Open Monumentendag participation. A major shift occurred in May 2021, when artist Westerhuis purchased the cooling water building and surrounding land. He created Coolwater, a renovated art and culture centre housing the Centrale Harculo Museum, studios, exhibitions, and workshops. Outdoor areas host yoga, bootcamps, concerts, food trucks and installations. Responsibility for temporary urbanism of this building and adjacent terrain shifted from BOEi artist Westerhuis. Despite the shift, all temporary uses still followed the traffic light model. Artist Westerhuis also led Harculo's continued participation in the IJsselbiënnale. management.

4.1.8 Phase IV: Development phase (2023 – 2025 onwards)

In 2023, the site formally entered its development phase with the sale of the land to REALES and the remaining buildings to BOEi. While the area vision had already been approved in 2021, the 'Ruimtelijk Ontwikkelplan' and 'Natuurontwikkelingsplan' were still awaiting approval. A final zoning change was expected within two years (interview developer, March 5, 2025). REALES acquired most of the land, while BOEi took over three key buildings, each with its own redevelopment path (see Section 4.1.2). Despite the

ownership shift, BOEi remained responsible for coordinating temporary urbanism across the site. The focus moved to selecting initiatives aligned with future uses, such as cultural programming, creative workspaces and events with long-term potential. Earlier activities were assessed on their spatial fit, ability to attract 42 future users and contribution to site identity. These lessons helped shape a more targeted approach to temporary urbanism.

Dynamic Use and New Initiatives

Temporary urbanism at Centrale Harculo evolved through a clearly iterative process, some initiatives faded out, while others were adapted, expanded, or formalised over time. This dynamic is visible in the way certain temporary uses informed subsequent programming. For example, the experience gained with Bennies, a pop-up restaurant, directly inspired the launch of *Coolwater Food & Drinks* in the same location. Similarly, cultural initiatives like the IJsselbiënnale helped establish the site's artistic identity, paving the way for more permanent programming such as the *Centrale Harculo Museum*, which opened in May 2024. These developments illustrate how temporary uses at Centrale Harculo were not isolated events but part of an evolving learning process, with each phase informing the next. This iterative character will be further detailed in the next chapter, which maps the full timeline and evolution of temporary functions on the site. Additions to temporary urbanism in this stage included:

- Coolwater Food & Drinks – Replacing Bennies, launched by artist Westerhuis at the former cooling water building
- Fotofestival Alles Stroomt – Sept 2024, in Warehouse & Hoisting Hall
- Centrale Harculo Museum – Opened May 2024 as a permanent cultural anchor
- Overstag Festival – Outdoor event, Sept 2024

Rejected Proposals

As interest in the site grew, so did the number of proposals, though not all aligned with the shared long-term vision. According to BOEi (interview developer, March 5th, 2025), proposals were evaluated based on the framework document, with the traffic light model serving as a supporting tool to assess scale, impact, and feasibility. Decisions were made in consultation with ENGIE and the Municipality of Zwolle, ensuring alignment with both policy and spatial context. Two notable rejections include:

- **50 Tiny Houses** – Proposed in 2019 as temporary affordable housing, but ultimately rejected due to concerns about long-term planning, infrastructure, and the incompatibility with the site's heritage context.
- **Large-scale dance events** – Multiple requests between 2019 and 2023 were declined based on Natura 2000 noise restrictions, safety concerns, and zoning incompatibility; these were classified as "red" under the model.

4.1.9 Conclusion: From Incidental Activation to Structured Integration

The Harculo case illustrates how temporary urbanism can evolve from incidental and insignificant beginnings into a deliberate, phased transition strategy. Early activation occurred sporadically, constrained by decommissioning and safety concerns and largely absent of institutional support. Temporary urbanism was neither planned nor prioritised, yet it still happened. These early, one-off events highlight the potential for temporary urbanism to emerge even in limiting conditions, provided there is some level of tolerance. A turning point came when BOEi was brought in as both future developer and temporary urbanism coordinator. With institutional alignment, ownership clarity and stakeholder involvement, temporary urbanism gained new meaning, as a way to activate space, test future functions and build public engagement. BOEi introduced a governance model that combined central coordination with openness to bottom-up initiatives, formalised through tools like the traffic light model. Temporary urbanism thus shifted from passive tolerance to curated experimentation. Figure 6 visualises this transformation across the four phases of the analytical model: from incidental activation (Phase I), to testing (Phase II), to broader growth

(Phase III) and eventual alignment with long-term redevelopment (Phase IV). The figure also shows the growing diversity in functions and formats, ranging from cultural events and pop-ups to semi-permanent locations, while marking the shift from generic, 43 short-term uses to activities more tailored to the site's evolving identity. This visual timeline confirms that temporary urbanism at Centrale Harculo was not static but progressively refined in both scope and intent. Finally, the case shows that temporary urbanism at Harculo was guided by selective decisions about which activities were allowed, how they were supported, and how they related to the site's long-term redevelopment. These decisions influenced the nature and duration of initiatives, and shaped how the site was gradually activated. Some uses reappeared in new forms, such as the opening of Coolwater Food & Drinks, which followed the earlier pop-up cafe Bennies, while others, like the Centrale Harculo Museum, became permanent fixtures. As Figure 6 shows, temporary use at Centrale Harculo unfolded in phases, with increasing alignment between short-term activities and future spatial functions. The timeline reflects not just a series of events, but a coordinated process of transition in which temporary use contributed to the redevelopment strategy.

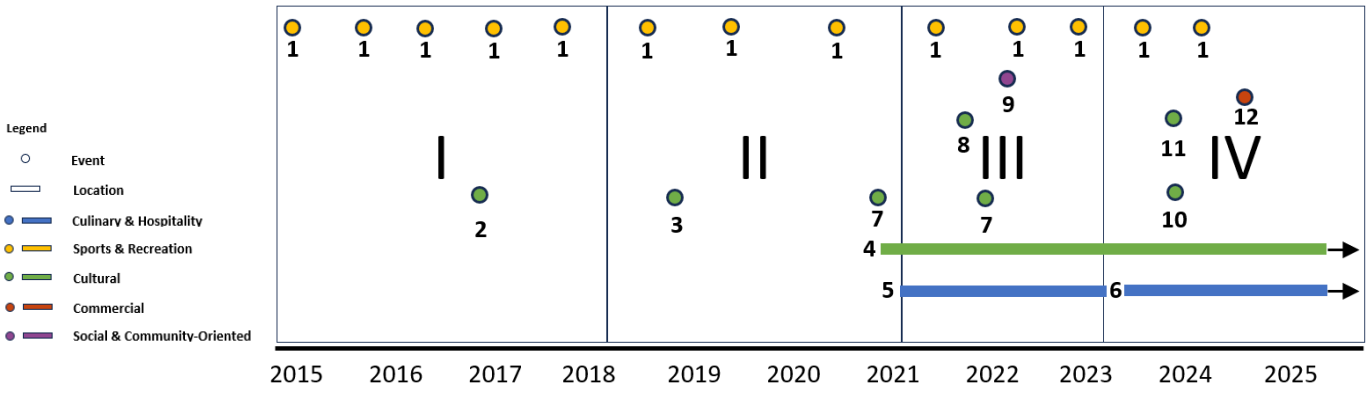


Figure 6: Timeline of temporary urbanism at Centrale Harculo, showing use categories and type (event or location). Own work. The numbered entries refer to specific cases listed in Table 5 in Appendix B

4.2 Locatie Sportlaan: formerly HagaHospital Sportlaan, The Hague

Figure 7: HagaHospital mid 2025 (Omroep West, n.d.)

The former Haga Hospital on Sportlaan in The Hague (figure 7), previously known as the Red Cross Hospital (RKZ). Through mergers with the Juliana Children's Hospital (1993) and Leyenburg Hospital (2004), the Haga Hospital came into existence in its current form. The complex, with its 40.000 m² gross floor area of located on a 32.576 m² plot (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024a), is located in the Vogelwijk neighbourhood, a green and quiet residential area with mainly high-end housing in the Segbroek district (AlleCijfers, 2024).

4.2.1 Towards a transition phase

The transition phase began as the hospital gradually ceased its core medical functions. National healthcare reforms promoted outpatient care, reducing the need for large hospital complexes. The Emergency Department relocated in 2012, followed by the Juliana Children's Hospital in 2015, leaving much of the site vacant (HagaZiekenhuis, 2020). Although some departments remained active, the hospital fully closed on January 1, 2021 (HagaZiekenhuis, 2021).

Because the site was under municipal leasehold until 2027, any redevelopment required municipal approval. As early as 2015, while the phase-out was still ongoing, the municipality began exploring future scenarios (Gemeente Den Haag, 2016). Despite this, the 2016 Zoning Plan maintained a conservative designation of 'Public – Healthcare,' allowing only hospital use and medical helicopter services. This raised concerns about vacancy. Haga Hospital warned of financial consequences, and local residents advocated temporary social or cultural uses during a neighbourhood meeting on 8 March 2016 (Gemeente Den Haag, 2016). The hospital formally requested either a zoning change for residential redevelopment or, alternatively, permission for interim use to prevent disuse (Gemeente Den Haag, 2016, p. 12). Initially hesitant, the municipality gradually reconsidered as vacancy increased and institutional priorities shifted (interview municipal representative, March 17th, 2025).

4.2.2 Course of the transition phase

During the early transition, while the site was still owned by the Haga Hospital Foundation, temporary urbanism remained limited. Initial uses included basic functions like storage, later followed by a homeless shelter. After the formal closure of the hospital, the municipality began preparing a broader vision for the site. Ownership officially transferred in December 2023, after which the municipality continued some of the

existing temporary uses and gradually expanded them to reduce vacancy and support on-site continuity (interview municipal representative, March 17th, 2025).

From that point onward, temporary urbanism became more structured. The municipality adopted a two-track approach: temporary urbanism for five to seven years, followed by permanent redevelopment. In July 2024, the city council approved a permit for this temporary urbanism that included housing for asylum seekers, homeless youth and students, alongside shared amenities such as a café, bike workshop and community spaces (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024a). Feedback from open days in late 2024 and early 2025 led to adjustments in access, opening hours and supervision and confirmed support for social amenities (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024b). In parallel, the first steps for long-term redevelopment were taken through the creation of an Urban Development Framework (PUK). This plan foresees around 400 dwellings, of which 50% will be social rental, 30% mid-range or affordable ownership and 20% market-rate housing. It combines selective demolition, reuse and new construction, while respecting the architectural and ecological character of the site (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024c). The housing is intended for a mix of seniors, first-time buyers, collective living groups and vulnerable residents.

4.2.3 The context shaping temporary urbanism

This section examines the contextual factors that influenced temporary urbanism at the former Haga Hospital site, using the nine-condition framework from Chapter 3. While all conditions were considered, the focus here is on those most relevant to this case. Their influence is discussed in relation to local dynamics and site-specific developments. Appendix C summarises the classification of each condition, whether mostly enabling, constraining, or mixed, along with other notable factors.

Location
The former Haga Hospital is situated in Vogelwijk, a residential area in The Hague's Segbroek district (see figure 8). Developed mostly between 1910 and 1960, the neighbourhood is known for its greenery, low-rise housing, and high home ownership. By 2024, around 90% of homes were owner-occupied, with average property values above €900,000, placing it among the city's most affluent areas (AlleCijfers, 2024). The zoning plan describes Vogelwijk as a "village-like, quiet residential area with strong neighbourhood cohesion," where land-use changes are sensitive and public engagement is high (Gemeente Den Haag, 2016, p. 45). This context influenced what kinds of temporary uses were acceptable. The socially active and politically aware environment limited options for disruptive or high-intensity activities. While the municipality introduced socially oriented functions such as youth housing and a shelter for asylum seekers, these led to concerns about noise, traffic and safety. Measures were taken to address these concerns, including changes to access, supervision, and opening hours (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024b; interview municipal representative, March 17, 2025). Still, the area's social and spatial sensitivity remained a defining factor in shaping the form, scale and acceptance of temporary urbanism during the transition.

Figure 8. Google Maps location of Haga Hospital, shown at three spatial levels: the national scale (Netherlands), the regional context (The Hague area), and the detailed cadastral layout of the site and its surroundings [Map]. Retrieved April 7, 2025, from maps.google.com/...HagaZiekenhuis (Google, n.d.-b)

Physical condition

Built in 1955 and outdated by modern standards, the Haga Hospital complex remained structurally sound. Though it no longer met current insulation norms under the Dutch Building Decree, its core infrastructure allowed for adaptive reuse. Parts like the Juliana building were physically separate and could be repurposed with minimal structural changes. The hospital's layout, utilities and sanitary systems made it suitable for temporary functions such as emergency accommodation and for reuse of technical rooms by companies operating in technical or maintenance-related fields (interview municipal representative, March 17th, 2025). The building's condition was preserved by Stichting HagaZiekenhuis, which kept the heating on to prevent mould and interior damage, a practice continued by the municipality. While this led to high energy costs due to poor insulation and outdated systems, it protected the structure and enabled phased reactivation with limited work. Some functions required updates to accessibility, fire safety and technical systems, but overall, the solid condition and ongoing maintenance allowed the building to support a variety of temporary uses.

Environmental conditions

Although the former hospital site lies approximately 280 metres from the Natura 2000 area Westduinpark & Wapendal, ecological impacts did not pose a constraint to temporary use. This was confirmed in the ecological assessment carried out as part of the spatial procedure for one of the temporary functions. The review, conducted under the *Buitenplanse omgevingsplanactiviteit* (BOPA), concluded that no construction or vegetation removal was needed and that the new function would generate fewer traffic movements than

the former hospital. As a result, nitrogen emissions and potential disturbance to protected species were considered negligible. While this finding applies specifically to one case, it suggests that comparable, low-impact forms of temporary use are unlikely to raise ecological concerns at this location (RHO Adviseurs, 2024).

Ownership structure
Ownership of the complex transferred from the Haga Hospital Foundation (*Stichting HagaZiekenhuis*) to the Municipality of The Hague. Ownership of the complex transferred from the Haga Hospital Foundation (*Stichting HagaZiekenhuis*) to the Municipality of The Hague. This acquisition, managed by the municipality's real estate division, the Centrale Vastgoedorganisatie Den Haag (CVDH), reflects the municipality's active land policy, as outlined in the *Haags Akkoord 2023–2026* (Gemeente Den Haag, 2023b, p. 46). Through this transaction, the municipality gained full control over both temporary urbanism and future redevelopment of the site (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024c). This made it possible to appoint a vacancy manager (OAK) and issue user agreements without third-party interference (Gemeente Den Haag, 2023a; 2024b).

Laws & Regulations
During the transition, the Haga site retained its healthcare zoning under the *Wet ruimtelijke ordening* (Wro), which limited alternative uses. This constraint raised concerns about vacancy after hospital closure. Some low-impact activities, like church use, remained compatible (interview municipal representative, March 17th, 2025). For others, such as shelters and student housing, the municipality used *omgevingsvergunningen* to deviate from the zoning plan, applying the *Buitenplanse omgevingsplanactiviteit* (BOPA) framework. With the 2024 introduction of the *Omgevingswet*, the regulatory context changed: existing uses continued, but new ones required extra procedures, including public input and alignment with the broader *omgevingsplan* (Informatiepunt Leefomgeving, n.d.). The case shows how legal tools evolved to gradually enable temporary urbanism within spatial planning rules.

Finance
Operating the former hospital came with high costs, due to outdated systems and limited energy efficiency. After closure, the buildings remained heated, first by the hospital foundation, later by the municipality, to avoid deterioration (interview municipal representative, March 17, 2025). Early uses, such as shelters, were low-cost and implemented without a business case. Still, in 2016 the city stated that "temporary functions must be operated on a cost-covering basis" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2016, p. 13, translated by author). This principle shaped the 2024 business case: a €26.5 million investment for five to seven years of use, funded by €10 million in national subsidies and a municipal loan (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024b). Financial conditions were structured to enable temporary urbanism, not block it. With contributions from partners and internal reallocations, the programme was expected to save €1.96 million annually compared to separate facilities (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024e), showing how financial design can support temporary reuse within a broader urban strategy.

Social-cultural
Community responses to temporary urbanism were mixed. Early concerns focused on noise, parking pressure and liveability. In response, the municipality organised open days and neighbourhood meetings in late 2024 and early 2025. These participatory moments, also required under the *Omgevingswet*, allowed residents to voice concerns and influence the evolving programme. In parallel, there was also positive feedback regarding socially oriented functions such as youth spaces and a neighbourhood centre, which were included in the temporary plan.

The surrounding Vogelwijk neighbourhood, where around 90% of homes are owner-occupied (AlleCijfers, 2024), has a relatively low share of social housing, approximately 1.8% (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024b). This limited mix may have contributed to reservations about the temporary accommodation of vulnerable groups such as asylum seekers, homeless individuals, and students. While the need for such housing is pressing at the city level, introducing these functions in traditionally high-income areas like Vogelwijk required careful communication and management. A municipal representative noted that "adding some social housing here helps restore the balance," while also acknowledging that long-standing disparities cannot be fully reversed (interview municipal representative, March 17th, 2025).

Risk (within conditions)
The expansion of temporary urbanism at the former Haga Hospital to include multiple functions and user groups increased the complexity of on-site coordination. Municipal documents note concerns related to site management, including maintenance, visitor flows and perceived safety (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024a). These issues were not tied to any specific group, but rather to the challenge of combining different functions in a large, shared complex. To address this, the municipality introduced access control, supervision and a central contact point for coordination and complaints (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024b). Risk was thus not a structural barrier to temporary urbanism, but it did require responsive and adaptive management as it intensified.

Utilization in transition phase
After 2023, temporary urbanism at Haga became part of a structured, city-led programme. Large parts of the site were assigned to housing and care functions, which brought stability but also limited space and flexibility. New uses had to align with the existing zoning and operational setup. Public-facing functions, like the coffee machine repair shop, were included, but more experimental initiatives or large-scale initiatives could not be accommodated.

4.2.4 The process of temporary urbanism

This section analyses how temporary urbanism developed at the former Haga Hospital in The Hague. The process evolved gradually, shaped by shifts in ownership, governance and use. Following the twostep approach from Section 3.4.1, the analysis first distinguishes between a coincidental and a strategic phase of initiation and then identifies four phases of development. The four phases, Coincidental, Testing, Growth and Development, were derived inductively from the case and reflect the shift from informal use to a coordinated, policy-supported programme. Figure 9 presents both the two-stage distinction and the four-phase structure. The following sections examine each phase in more detail.

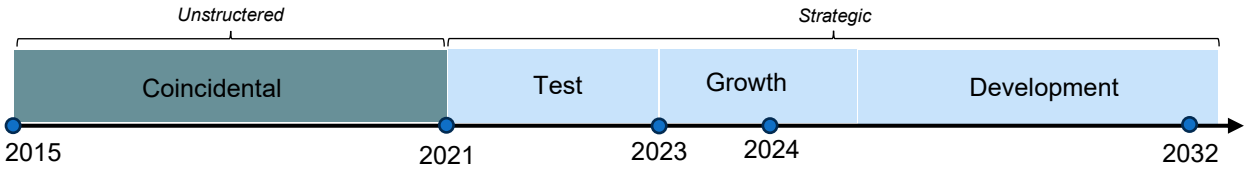


Figure 9: Timeline with four phases of temporary urbanism in transition of HAGA Hospital (own work)

4.2.5 Phase I – Coincidental phase (2015 – 2020)

Between 2015 and 2020, only sporadic forms of temporary use occurred in the former Haga Hospital. In 2015 the Juliana Children's Hospital had moved, covering a substantial portion of the building, that became vacant. From that point on, the site could more clearly be considered in a state of transition (HagaZiekenhuis, 2020). A small portion of the vacated space was temporarily used for storage, but the majority remained vacant for years (Omroepwest, 2018). In 2017, operations were further scaled down: the hospital closed during evenings and weekends.

Homeless Shelter – The first concrete form of temporary use emerged in December 2018, when the former Juliana Children's Hospital was repurposed as a homeless shelter, accommodating 120 individuals. This facility was set up by The Hague's municipal Department of Social Sheltering in cooperation with The Salvation Army, who rented the space from the Haga Hospital Foundation who was still the owner.

The Juliana wing, vacant since 2015 and physically separable from the rest of the complex, was well-suited for temporary use. The shelter initiative emerged bottom-up, as the municipal Department of Social Sheltering identified the building's potential (interview municipal representative, March 17th, 2025).
"This was actually one of the largest homeless shelters in the Netherlands, originally accommodating up to 120 people" (interview municipal representative, translated by author, March 17th, 2025).

Its opening triggered mixed reactions in the neighbourhood. Local entrepreneurs on Fahrenheitstraat expressed concerns about nuisance and public safety. Although not all incidents could be linked to shelter residents, the municipality commissioned annual GGD evaluations and introduced security staff. The shelter's capacity was later reduced to 80, which helped improve liveability (interview municipal representative, March 17th, 2025). This early phase lacked a formal strategy. Temporary uses were arranged directly between users and the property owner.

4.2.6 Phase II – Test phase (2021 – 2022)

With the formal closure of the Haga Hospital on January 1, 2021, the site transitioned from a partially used healthcare facility into a fully vacant complex. This shift marked a turning point: spatial and programmatic flexibility significantly increased and the conditions for a more coordinated phase of temporary urbanism were created. It also marked a departure from the earlier, fragmented phase of use, where individual agreements between users and the hospital foundation shaped the site's temporary occupancy.

In the first years following closure, the Haga Hospital Foundation remained the property's owner and began facilitating several new uses through direct arrangements. These initial activations were informal but impactful, responding to both public needs and the availability of adaptable space:

- **COVID-19 Vaccination Centre** – From February 2021, part of the site operated as a large-scale vaccination centre, vaccinating up to 1,000 people daily (Voorburgs Dagblad, 2021).
- **Center for Youth and Family (CJG)** – From 2021 onward, CJG operated from the complex, offering support to parents, children, and youth on issues of health, upbringing, and development.
- **Small Church Community** – In mid-2021, a small faith-based group began using part of the building under a temporary lease. One of its members, a technician formerly employed by the hospital, facilitated the group's initial entry (interview management company, April 15, 2025).

As interest grew, access and coordination became more complex. Six months before the ownership transfer, the municipality brought in OAK Management to prepare the coordination of temporary use. Two months ahead of the transfer, they were already on site with Haga's technical staff. After acquisition, OAK became the intermediary, managing access and usage on behalf of the municipality (interview management company, April 15, 2025). According to OAK, effective coordination depends on a good relationship with the owner. At Haga, direct communication and municipal support enabled a smooth start. OAK sourced users through its network but remained open to bottom-up proposals. User agreements were simple and flexible, with modest rent in exchange for self-management. "The model followed a give-and-take principle: low cost and flexibility in exchange for autonomy and basic services" (interview management company, April 15, 2025). Some users emerged organically. For example, a contractor initiated a storage use, which attracted similar businesses (personal communication, March 31, 2025). A coffee repair shop later settled in a former technical room based on its suitability.

4.2.7 Phase III – Growth phase (2023 – 2024)

From mid-2023 till mid-2024, temporary urbanism at the former Haga Hospital transitioned into a new phase following the official acquisition of the site by the municipality of The Hague. As the new owner, the municipality moved from a facilitative to a more directive role. A cross-departmental project team was established to oversee both the strategic coordination of temporary urbanism and the practical management of the site. This team included staff from the real estate, social care and welfare departments and was tasked with selecting appropriate user groups, assessing programmatic compatibility, and preparing for large-scale implementation (interview municipal representative, March 17, 2025).

The vacancy manager (OAK) remained active during this phase, overseeing daily operations and onboarding new users. Building on the earlier experimental phase, several initiatives consolidated their presence, gradually becoming part of a broader transitional strategy. Temporary urbanism evolved from ad hoc occupancy to a semi-structured programme aligned with long-term redevelopment goals.

The municipality operated on two levels:

- It continued facilitating community initiatives and small-scale users through the vacancy manager;
- It began preparing the legal, spatial, and social groundwork for large-scale temporary housing, with implementation expected from 2025 onward.

Refinement of existing temporary urbanism

In the lead-up to the planned temporary program starting in 2025, existing temporary use was further refined and professionalized. For tenants already operating in the building, such as the CJG, GGD, the Salvation Army, and a church community, rental contracts were modified. These were extended with flexible termination clauses, allowing leases to end in a timely manner once new housing functions commence. The homeless shelter operated by the Salvation Army, active in the former Juliana wing since 2018, played a key role. Since this shelter would remain part of the future program, it was already being adapted for integration into the broader, overarching temporary use planned for 2025–2032. This refinement and preparation process involved the following steps:

- **Capacity reduction:** The number of shelter places was reduced from 120 to 80 to better match the neighborhood and management needs.

- **Enhanced social management:** A system of overarching social management was introduced. Managers coordinated among users, maintained community contact and oversaw shared spaces for neighbourhood-oriented services (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024d).

- **Dual participation approach:** Two separate engagement tracks were established, one for nearby residents and one specifically for business owners on Fahrenheitstraat, who expressed heightened concern for liveability.

- **Expanded safety measures:** Security in and around the building was increased. The security plan was updated in collaboration with residents, entrepreneurs, and municipal partners.

"Since last year, we've deployed security staff outside the site. They regularly patrol the area and are available to local shop owners if there's any trouble" (interview municipal representative, March 17, 2025).

These refinements helped manage the transition from early, small-scale uses during the coincidental, test and growth phases, toward the upcoming stage of planned and coordinated temporary urbanism.

Expansion of temporary uses

In anticipation of the structured interim programme of 5 to 7 years, the municipality aimed to reduce vacancy by renting out available parts of the complex ahead of time. This early activation helped prevent a standstill on the site and ensured continuity while formal preparations were still underway (interview municipal representative, March 17th, 2025). Several units were made available via the vacancy manager, with contracts that included flexible termination clauses to allow a timely transition once housing functions would commence (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024f). A growing mix of users entered the site, ranging from social to commercial initiatives, including:

- **De Koffiekliniek**, a small business specializing in the repair and resale of coffee machines, which has occupied a unit since mid-2023 (interview municipal representative, 17 March 2025);

- **GGD Vaccination Site**, which temporarily resumed use of the building in 2023 to administer COVID-19 booster vaccinations to elderly residents;

- A **construction contractor** using space for site coordination and storage;

- A **design studio**;

- An **electrical wiring company**;

- An **IT business**;

- A **visual artist's studio**;
- And additional **storage units** used by local contractors.

This diversity prompted the municipality to curate a more coherent programme. Noisy or high-traffic functions were kept separate from social or community uses. Coordination was first handled with the hospital and later with on-site actors such as the Salvation Army and GGD.

User selection was guided by three criteria: 1. the activity had to be feasible for short-term use without major adaptation, 2. show potential to continue into a longer-term or permanent role, and 3. had to avoid any conflict with the scheduled redevelopment.

Some parts of the building were intentionally left unallocated to maintain flexibility. This allowed the municipality to accommodate future community-based initiatives or social entrepreneurs as new needs emerged. This open-ended approach helped the program remain adaptive and responsive throughout the transition period (interview municipal representative, March 17th, 2025).

Preparatory steps toward phase IV (within phase III)

Toward the end of 2023, the Municipality of The Hague moved from fragmented temporary use to a coordinated, policy-driven interim program. This shift was driven by growing housing pressure, especially for vulnerable groups such as homeless youth, students, care leavers, and status holders. The vacant Haga Hospital, rebranded as the "Sportlaanlocatie," offered a rare opportunity: a structurally suitable site that could be activated on short notice.

"The housing shortage is severe. Vulnerable groups like homeless youth, students and status holders are stuck in the system. This site was largely vacant and structurally well-suited, so the match was clear" (interview municipal representative, March 17th, 2025).

Halfway 2024, a phased implementation was prepared. Key milestones included the official acquisition of the site (December 2023), a public information evening (June 2024), approval of the temporary housing investment by the city council (July 2024), and the launch of monthly working group sessions with staff and stakeholders (from September 2024). The winter shelter opened in November 2024, followed by a public open day in early 2025. A phased move-in of new user groups is planned from late 2025 (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024d). To support this transition, the municipality set up a project team, introduced 24/7 on-site hosts and established a recurring consultation platform with local stakeholders. While these efforts enabled communication and feedback, the program's core structure had already been defined before public engagement began. As a result, participation was primarily consultative. This preparatory phase strengthened administrative control, enabled early activation and laid the groundwork for a more structured approach to temporary accommodation in the next phase.

4.2.8 Phase IV – Development phase (July 2024 – 2032)

Halfway through in 2024, temporary urbanism at the former Haga Hospital entered a new phase, defined by a structured and policy-led approach. For the first time, a clear time frame was set: five to seven years, with a final end date in 2032. This marked a shift from earlier, experimental use toward an integrated programme aligned with the municipality's long-term redevelopment plans.

To implement this phase, the municipality formed an interdisciplinary project team with staff from real estate, social care, housing, safety, and welfare departments. Together, they developed a coordinated plan, including a business case, spatial design with an architect, and a zoning/environmental permit. The permit was published on July 13, 2024, with a formal objection period until August 23, 2024. Although no public participation was held before the plan's approval, two large open days were organized afterward, in November 2024 and February 2025. Over 400 residents attended, and more than 70 volunteered to support future programming. New working groups were also formed to address safety, liveability, and use of neighbourhood facilities.

The municipal council approved the temporary programme in July 2024, after which the site was formally named "Sportlaanlocatie." The first residents are scheduled to move in starting November 2025.

Programme composition and user groups

In total, approximately 750 people will be housed at the site, divided over multiple target groups:

- **Asylum seekers (approx. 440)** – Individuals awaiting a decision on their asylum application.
- **Homeless individuals (max. 80)** – Winter shelter users, continuing the existing programme operated by the Salvation Army from November 2024 to at least April 2025.
- **Young people and starters (approx. 105)** – Including students and young people seeking a first independent home.
- **Permit holders (30–45)** – Recognised refugees, mostly between 18 and 30 years old, in need of housing.
- **Homeless families (approx. 50 family members)** – Families without housing, offered temporary shelter while seeking a permanent home.
- **Young adults in transition (approx. 30)** – Youth aged 18–27 coming from care or protected housing, supported toward independent living.

Management and structure

The building has been divided into functionally separate zones, each with its own entrance to avoid unnecessary interaction between user groups. Each section is managed by a separate organisation:

- COA (asylum seekers)
- Salvation Army (homeless shelter)
- DUWO (student housing)

The municipality no longer works directly with individual users, but instead coordinates via these umbrella organisations. This hierarchical model supports efficient management as the scale of use increases. This formalised setup marks a new chapter in temporary urbanism at the site: one that is policy-driven, socially targeted, and structured around inter-organisational collaboration.

4.2.9 Safety and liveability

To support the socially oriented programme at the Sportlaan site, the municipality implemented concrete safety and liveability measures from mid-2024 onwards. A central management organisation oversees operations, supported by 24/7 on-site hosts with experience in shelter environments. These hosts patrol the site, respond to incidents, and are accessible to both residents and nearby businesses (Gemeente Den Haag, 2024b). A monthly Operational Environmental Meeting was set up to coordinate with local stakeholders. This includes representatives from the municipality, police, resident groups, and the Fahrenheitstraat business association. Together, they monitor conditions and adjust safety measures where needed. These measures are not add-ons, but integral to the temporary programme, ensuring that the site remains manageable and accepted within the neighbourhood.

4.2.10 Conclusion: From Vacancy Response to Embedded Programming

The case of the former Haga Hospital shows how temporary urbanism can develop from marginal, ad hoc use into a coordinated interim programme. Initial functions like storage and shelter emerged without a wider strategy but demonstrated that visible vacancy and a usable building can already enable temporary urbanism. A turning point came with the municipal acquisition in late 2023. From then on, temporary urbanism was formalised as a five-to-seven-year programme with defined user groups, flexible leases and municipal coordination. This created continuity during the transition, while leaving space for adaptation.

Temporary urbanism was enabled by specific governance conditions. Public ownership gave the municipality full control over activation. The intermediary OAK allowed both unsolicited and curated initiatives, ensuring onboarding and oversight. This resulted in a hybrid model, where locally initiated uses like workshops coexisted with municipally led programmes such as student or asylum housing. These functions aligned with pressing social needs and were embedded in a business case that required cost-covering operation, combining user contributions, national subsidies and municipal funding. The programme not only responded to vacancy, but also addressed broader welfare challenges in housing and care provision. Contextual factors, discussed in Section 4.2.3 and Appendix C, shaped this process. Legal and spatial conditions were mostly enabling, while social and financial factors fluctuated. Some uses triggered concerns, but these were managed through adjustments in security and communication. Rather than being neutral or automatic, temporary urbanism at Haga was shaped through deliberate choices about access, timing and programme design. Figure 10 shows the shift from incidental, short-term use toward embedded, location-based activities. Given the building's configuration and internal layout, these functions naturally focused on longer-term occupancy rather than events. These uses were not merely stopgaps but contributed to the site's activation and prepared the ground for long-term redevelopment.

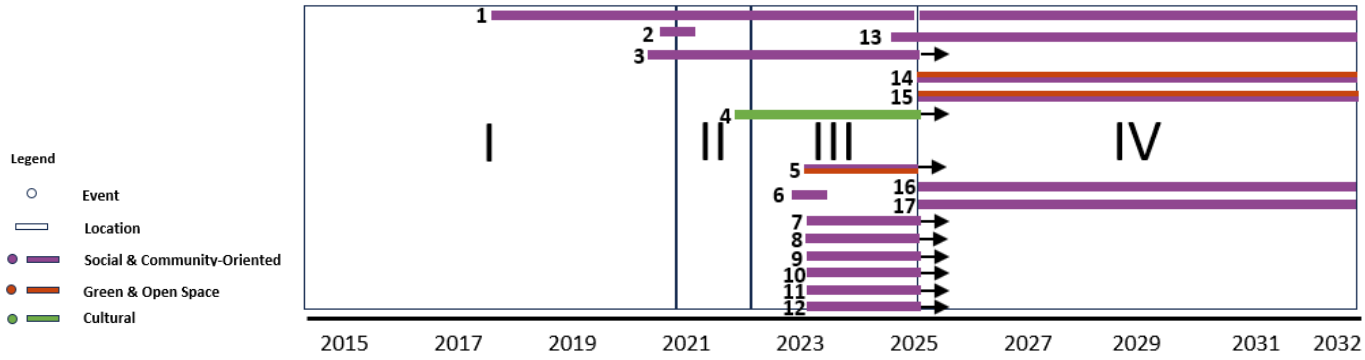


Figure 10: Timeline of temporary urbanism at HAGA Hospital, showing use categories and type (event or location). (Own work). The numbered entries refer to specific cases listed in Table 6 in Appendix B

4.3 Landgoed Steenenburg: formerly Land van Ooit, Drunen

Figure 11: Landgoed Steenenburg mid-2023. From “BD,” by Airpro Productions Waalwijk, 2023. (https://www.bd.nl/waalwijk-heusden-e-o/ambitieuze-droom-jan-kelders-voor-voormalige-land-van-ooit-staat-op-uitkomen-in-2023-willen-we-bouwen~a3230aad/). Reprinted with permission.

Landgoed Steenenburg, situated between Drunen and Nieuwkuijk in the municipality of Heusden, has a layered history, shaped by changing functions over time. Originally established as Castle Steenenburgh in the 13th century, the castle was later rebuilt in the 19th century and renamed Castle d’Oultremont (Figure 11). Over the years, the 42-hectare estate transferred ownership multiple times and served various purposes. In 1989, it became home to the theme park *Land van Ooit*, a fairy-tale-inspired amusement park for children that attracted around 400,000 visitors annually (Landgoed Steenenburg, n.d.).

4.3.1 Towards a transition phase

Landgoed Steenenburg, entered a transitional phase following the theme park’s bankruptcy in 2007. The closure marked a significant turning point. Decorative elements and attractions were removed in the months that followed and the site instantly lost its function as a leisure destination. The municipality of Heusden decided to purchase the estate including the remaining’s of the amusement park in 2008. This purchase gave the local government full ownership and strategic control, laying the foundation for future redevelopment (interview municipal representative, March 20th 2025). While the area remained unused and partly dismantled, initial ideas for a new tourism-related function were explored but failed to materialise. The estate remained in a state of uncertainty, with rising maintenance costs and no immediate perspective on reuse. These developments signalled the onset of a prolonged transition, during which the site’s identity shifted from amusement park to a location awaiting reinvention.

"When the municipality acquired the estate, no final destination had yet been determined. It was initially a search for the future of the area" (interview municipal representative, March 20th, 2025).

4.3.2 Course of the transition phase

Following municipal acquisition, most of the site was dismantled, though several iconic elements were retained, including the castle, castle walls, amphitheatre, entrance gates and blue lanterns and bridges. A cost-benefit analysis guided preservation decisions:

“What could be preserved without risks was retained as much as possible.”
(interview municipal representative, translated by author, March 20th, 2025)

The initial goal was to revive the estate as a large-scale tourist attraction. A European tender launched in 2009 (PropertyNL, 2009) drew some interest, such as for a wellness resort, but no developer committed to full redevelopment. The estate remained closed off from public access, largely vacant and deteriorating, while maintenance costs continued to rise (Binnenlands Bestuur, 2011). One private party proposed a vehicle-themed amusement park with quads and tuk-tuks, but failed to secure financing despite a leasehold offer (De Jager, 2020; Gemeente Heusden, 2015, p. 1). By 2014, the municipality started to show openness to alternative functions, particularly as market interest shifted beyond large-scale tourism. Although it had long prioritised the development of a new theme park, this stance gradually softened in the lead-up to the site’s public opening in May 2015 under the name *Poort van Heusden*. Nature areas were maintained and outdated infrastructure such as underground bins was removed for safety reasons:

“The last remaining infrastructure, such as underground waste bins and other outdated park elements, were removed later on, again mainly due to safety concerns.”
(interview municipal representative, translated by author, March 20th, 2025)

In parallel, new market parties expressed interest in acquiring parts of the estate. As of 2015, the municipality was in talks with one such party regarding the sale of the central area, including the castle (Gemeente Heusden, 2015, p. 2). While these discussions were ongoing, the municipality continued to explore broader redevelopment options. This culminated in 2018 with the introduction of a master plan developed in collaboration with Hendriks Coppelmans and SDK Vastgoed, focusing on upscale housing, healthcare and ecological quality. This was followed by a zoning plan and a visual design framework (*beeldregieplan*) (Wissing B.V. & Jansen Gebiedsinnovatie, 2020), which divided the site into three subareas with distinct spatial identities:

- **De Vennen (north):** A High-Tech Medical Campus with pavilion-style buildings in a wetland setting, focused on neurological care.
- **De Boskamers (central):** Restoration of Castle d’Oultremont into a hotel and restaurant, surrounded by various housing types including life-cycle-proof homes.
- **De Velden (south):** Up to 56 private residential plots (Klijsen Makelaars, n.d.), integrated into a dune-inspired landscape with water retention.

Development is phased. Castle renovation began early, followed by infrastructure and housing in the central and southern zones. Completion is expected beyond 2025, depending on market and permitting conditions. Public accessibility remains a key principle. Although the housing is privately developed, the estate’s green structure, walking paths and landscape features remain under municipal ownership. This ensures continued public access and maintains the cultural and spatial identity of the estate. The layout shown in Figure 12 reflects the full extent of the planned redevelopment, including all three subareas, De Vennen, De Boskamers and De Velden, that together comprise the Poort van Heusden site.

Figure 12: Overview of the full redevelopment plan for Landgoed Steenenburg (Poort van Heusden), showing the three main subareas as defined in the beeldregieplan: De Vennen (top), De Boskamers (middle), and De Velden (bottom). This figure reflects the intended end state of the entire case area (Wissing B.V. & Jansen Gebiedsinnovatie, 2020, p. 8).

4.3.3 The context shaping temporary urbanism

This section analyses the contextual conditions that influenced temporary urbanism at Landgoed Steenenburg, using the nine-condition framework introduced in Chapter 3. All conditions were systematically assessed, but the discussion here focuses on those most relevant to this case. Their influence is described in relation to local developments and planning dynamics. The classification of each condition, mostly enabling, constraining, or mixed, is provided in Appendix C, along with any additional factors that played a key role in shaping temporary urbanism at this site.

Location

Although Landgoed Steenenburg is not located in a dense urban setting, this study applies a broader understanding of temporary urbanism as provisional use during periods of spatial transition. The estate falls under urban governance, is subject to redevelopment, and interacts with adjacent residential and industrial areas. In this sense, it fits within the wider scope of temporary urbanism as a tool for managing uncertainty in transforming environments. Landgoed Steenenburg lies on the southern edge of Drunen in the municipality of Heusden, covering approximately 42 hectares (see figure 13). The site consists mainly of green space, aside from the castle, a few buildings and other remnants of the former theme park. It sits in a transitional zone between residential housing (within 100 metres) and light industrial areas (within 200 metres). This urban fringe location created both opportunities and limitations for temporary urbanism. While the estate's open landscape offered spatial potential, proximity to housing restricted tolerance for disruptive activities and its historic character demanded careful alignment with conservation values. These factors made nature-based, quiet, and culturally sensitive uses the most feasible during the transition period.

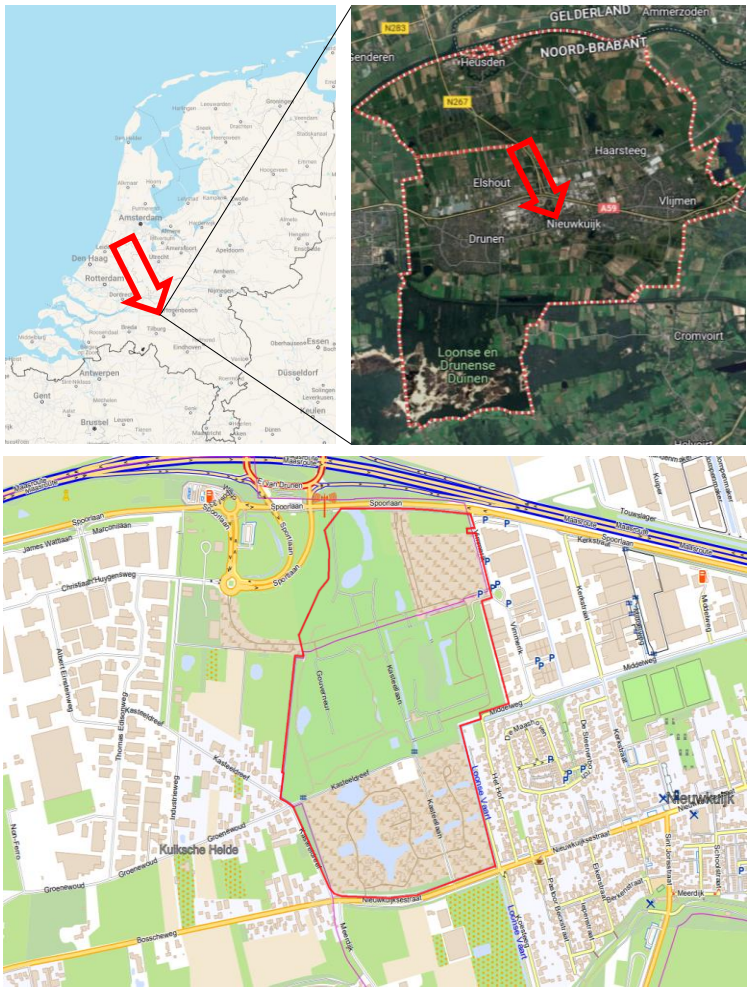


Figure 13. Location of Landgoed Steenenburg, the municipality Heusden region and the immediate surroundings [Map]. Retrieved April 7, 2025, from maps.google.com/...LandgoedSteenenburg (Google, n.d.-c)

Physical condition
Following the bankruptcy of the theme park Land van Ooit in 2007, the estate was left with numerous deteriorating buildings, props, amusement park elements and castle walls (see Figure 14). These remnants remained largely untouched until partial deconstruction took place between 2008 and 2012. The castle, a central structure on the estate, remained in a state of disrepair until its renovation in 2019. While some structures remained, the majority of the estate consisted of open green space and undeveloped land. Overgrown vegetation and ageing infrastructure presented safety challenges, which further limited the feasibility of temporary urbanism during this period.

Figure 14: Remaining castle wall of Land van Ooit being overgrown mid 2020 (Rutting, 2020).

The castle, designated a national monument in 1968, comprises wings dating from the 18th century and the early and late 19th centuries and features gable roofs with terminating gable ends, some sliding windows in small-pane divisions and others with pointed-arch frames (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, n.d.).

Environmental conditions
Although Landgoed Steenenburg is not formally designated as a protected nature area under the Dutch Nature Network (NNN) or Natura 2000, it contains multiple legally protected natural values under the Dutch Nature Conservation Act (*Wet natuurbescherming*). These include roosting and foraging habitats for protected bat species, breeding territories for birds such as woodpeckers and goshawks, several monumental trees and valuable forest relics dating back to 1900 (Ottburg et al., 2018). These ecological features imposed strict restrictions on spatial interventions. Activities that could disturb habitats or species, such as large-scale events or soil disturbance, required ecological assessments and sometimes permits. Even small interventions had to be planned carefully to avoid conflict with species protection rules.

Ownership structure
In 2008, the Municipality of Heusden purchased the 42-hectare estate through its municipal land department, giving it full control over both temporary and long-term planning. Due to the political visibility and financial scale of the purchase, combined with uncertainty about future development, the municipality initially adopted a cautious stance toward temporary urbanism *(interview municipal representative, March 20th, 2025).* For most of the transition, the estate remained publicly owned. However, starting in 2021, plots were gradually sold in phases to private and institutional developers (see Section 6.3.2). This led to a

fragmented ownership structure, with a mix of public, private, and commercial stakeholders. As a result, responsibility for temporary urbanism became decentralized. Each subarea, De Vennen, De Boskamers, and De Velden, came under different ownership, requiring individual coordination and negotiation for any interim programming.

Legal and regulations
The estate remained closed to the public until the opening of the Poort van Heusden walking park in 2015. The central castle has been protected as a national monument since 1968, which imposes strict restrictions on alterations and reuse. These legal frameworks constrained both temporary and long-term interventions, especially in the immediate surroundings of the heritage site. In this regulatory context, temporary functions were allowed only in a highly controlled and conservative manner.

Finance
The estate was purchased for €15.4 million, or roughly €350,000 per hectare. While the site was never agricultural land, the average price for farmland in North Brabant at the time, around €50,000 per hectare (Dienst Landelijk Gebied, 2009), offers a useful point of comparison. Such figures are often used in spatial development to contrast with higher residential land values, helping to illustrate the scale of investment and the transformation potential involved. At the time of purchase, no zoning revision or masterplan had been approved, and annual maintenance costs were estimated at €1 million (Binnenlandsbestuur, 2011). This made the acquisition financially ambitious. Although the site's long-term redevelopment value has likely increased, the extended holding period and political visibility may have created pressure to demonstrate progress. According to the interviewed municipal representative, this context contributed to a cautious stance toward low-yield or symbolic temporary uses during the early stages of redevelopment (interview municipal representative, March 20, 2025).

Social-cultural
Land van Ooit was a nationally known theme park, attracting up to 400,000 visitors per year. After its closure, public curiosity and media attention remained high. Recreational trespassing and social media interest kept the site culturally relevant. This visibility, while beneficial for public engagement, may have led the municipality to act cautiously to protect its image. Permitted temporary functions were therefore limited and aligned with safe, publicly supported themes such as heritage preservation and nature (interview municipal representative, March 20th, 2025).

Risk (within conditions)
Between 2007 and 2015, the site experienced frequent unauthorised access, including squatting and recreational trespass. Leftover structures and overgrown vegetation created physical safety risks. The castle remained inaccessible until its restoration and the broader terrain was only opened after safety and liability issues were addressed. These risks influenced the municipality's decision to delay public access and restrict temporary programming during the early years.

Utilisation in transition phase
Temporary urbanism at Landgoed Steenenburg remained limited throughout the transition period. Besides anti-squatting in the castle and the public opening of the Poort van Heusden walking route, few uses were facilitated. The public park, introduced in 2015, brought daily public access, which placed additional constraints on potential new initiatives. Any temporary use had to be compatible with the recreational use, and ecological zoning apart from the already applicable heritage protections. Combined with a cautious municipal stance, this led to a narrow set of possibilities, mostly focused on passive or low-impact functions.

4.3.4 The process of temporary urbanism

At Landgoed Steenenburg, temporary urbanism evolved gradually between 2007 and 2023, without formal planning or coordination. Activities such as anti-squatting, basic maintenance, and informal public access emerged in response to vacancy rather than as part of a redevelopment strategy. A municipal project manager described this as a deliberate approach: "Temporary urbanism works best when it emerges organically from local needs, rather than being imposed top-down" (interview municipal representative, translated by author, March 20, 2025).

The process remained informal and reactive. Because it did not follow the four-phase model used elsewhere in this study, an alternative three-stage structure is used to reflect site-specific dynamics. These stages, **(1) Dismantling and anti-squatting occupation, (2) Gradual public access and low-level use,** and **(3) Transition to redevelopment and phase-out**, are shown in Figure 15 and discussed in more detail below.

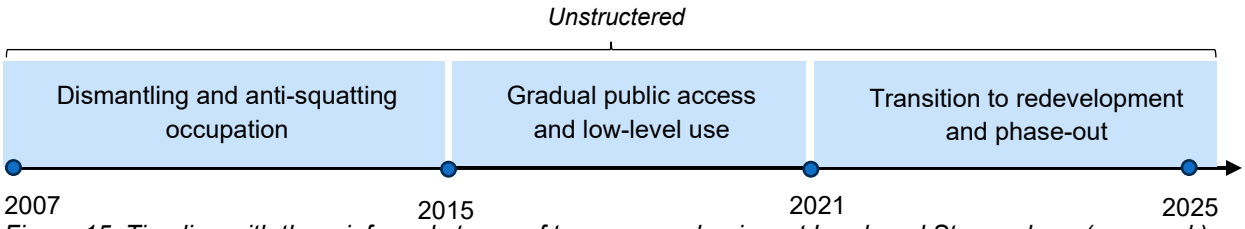


Figure 15: Timeline with three informal stages of temporary urbanism at Landgoed Steenenburg (own work)

4.3.5 Stage I – Dismantling and anti-squatting occupation (2007–2014)

After the bankruptcy of the theme park Land van Ooit in 2007, the site was closed to the public due to safety concerns from leftover attractions. Media reports at the time mentioned plans to prevent squatting through temporary occupation, including placing residential cabins on-site, though these were never installed (interview municipal representative, March 20, 2025; PropertyNL, 2008). The site remained vacant for about a year, used only for demolition and cleanup.

Anti-Squat Housing (2008–2023)
From 2008, the castle at Land van Ooit was occupied through anti-squat arrangements managed by Camelot. Three to four residents lived in the building under strict conditions, with private rooms and shared corridors. One resident was selected via a public contest (CamelotEurope, 2010a; 2010b). Although the use was limited to the castle itself, residents had a visible presence in and around the building. They contributed informally to oversight of the immediate surroundings, which remained accessible for casual public use. With the exception of brief renovation periods, the castle remained continuously occupied until its sale in 2023, marking the end of the anti-squat phase.

Other Temporary Uses and Requests
Over the years, a modest number of temporary use requests, several dozen in total, were submitted either through Camelot or directly to the municipality. All proposals were taken seriously and carefully documented. Each was assessed individually and weighed against the site's physical condition and the development phase at the time (interview municipal representative, March 20, 2025). If a proposal was not feasible at that moment, it was often kept on file for potential reconsideration later.

Only a few initiatives were ultimately approved, with decisions based on whether a proposal might obstruct future plans or discourage interest from potential developers or entrepreneurs. Some requests were declined due to heritage-related or ecological constraints, such as a proposed large-scale flea market. Approved activities included:

- *Luscious wining, dining and dancing* (Jan & Apr 2009): Two small indoor events with DJs, max 700 attendees (Partyflock, 2009).
- *Eurythms Pure Edgy House* (Jan 2010): A one-time house music event, running from 19:30 to 02:00 (Partyflock, 2010).

While anti-squat use offered basic oversight, the municipality remained cautious about broader forms of temporary urbanism. After the failed tender in 2009 and several years of uncertainty, there was concern that temporary functions might raise unrealistic expectations or complicate future planning decisions. Although various proposals were submitted, either through Camelot or directly, they were rarely approved. Most were

documented and deferred, but the municipality chose not to develop a formal interim strategy during this phase (interview municipal representative, March 20, 2025).

Squatting (2014)
In early 2014, a former farmhouse on the estate, vacant since 2008, was squatted (see figure 16). The occupation led to repeated disturbances, including noise complaints and public disorder. Although the municipality initially sought dialogue, it ultimately enforced eviction. The building was demolished shortly thereafter, in accordance with pre-existing plans (Omroep Brabant, 2014). This episode reflects how squatting can emerge in situations of prolonged vacancy and unclear future use, especially when institutional follow-up is slow or absent.

Figure 16: Former Land van Ooit farm building, repurposed through squatting (Omroep Brabant, 2014).

4.3.6 Stage II – Gradual public access and low-level use (2015–2020)

In May 2015, the estate reopened to the public for the first time since 2007. The grounds had been partially restructured as a walking park, allowing visitors to explore the natural landscape and remains of the former theme park, including the blue bridges and Napoleon's soldiers in the castle pond. The site remained publicly accessible until 9:00 p.m., after which it was closed off (Greater Venues Podcast, 2020).

Poort van Heusden: Public park

The reopening was framed under the name *Poort van Heusden*, developed in cooperation with the province and regional tourism partners. A new walking route was created that reconnected the fenced-off estate to its surrounding landscape. While modest in scale, the initiative played an important symbolic role: it reintroduced the area as a publicly legible and accessible space. Over the following years, the route remained the most widely used and supported form of temporary activation.

Continued Anti-Squat Occupation (2015–2019)

Anti-squat housing in the castle continued during this phase with four residents, until renovations began in 2019, temporarily halting occupation.

Work and Event Location (from 2020)

In July 2020, the castle was reactivated through a new mixed-use arrangement. Camelot partnered with Je m'appelle Company, which offers temporary living and working spaces for young professionals and

entrepreneurs. In addition to managing rentals, the company organised business meetings, workshops, presentations and occasional dinners. Four multifunctional rooms were made available on the ground floor, including a large hall, two rear rooms with views of the forest, and a smaller mezzanine that once served as a theatre. A spacious kitchen supports catering use. Beyond these commercial uses, there were also discussions, partly in response to COVID-19 impacts in the events sector, about expanding programming around the castle. These included proposals for themed walking tours, local markets, and community dinners, developed together with local actors and affected cultural organisers. While not all initiatives were implemented, they reflect how the site was increasingly seen as a setting for both temporary public use and broader programme development (Greater Venues Podcast, 2020).

4.3.7 Stage III – Transition to redevelopment and phase-out (2021–2025)

This third and final phase of temporary use began with the signing of the purchase and development agreement for the castle and its surrounding grounds in February 2021. Formal transfer of ownership followed at the end of 2022. In 2023, the first groundwork began, and the construction phase was launched, which is proceeding in stages. As a result, the transition phase continues in some parts of the site, while most of the estate has been designated as a construction site since mid-2023. For safety and practical reasons, temporary use has been excluded from these areas ever since.

Recreational trespassing
In January 2025, two young individuals entered the castle without permission for a form of activity known as "urban exploring" (urbex) or recreational trespassing, as reported by NU.nl (2025). This type of temporary use involves exploring and documenting abandoned or hard-to-reach places, often outside of operating hours and without authorization. Legally, it is not permitted. Recreational trespass resembles squatting in some ways but is usually short-term and not aimed at long-term occupation. It can be considered an unauthorized, self-organized form of temporary use. Images and videos of these visits often circulate on online platforms.

Development as a walking park
Despite ongoing construction, part of the estate remains accessible to visitors. The final site design includes restoration of the historical English landscape garden, which will remain publicly accessible. Areas around the planned residential neighbourhoods will also be reserved for public green spaces and walking paths (Hendriks Bouw en Ontwikkeling, n.d.). During this phase, only active construction zones are closed off, while other areas, designated for future park functions, remain open to local residents and visitors.

Shift in responsibility
The dynamics in this phase differ significantly from earlier phases. As the land is being sold in phases, the developing parties themselves are responsible for managing their respective parts of the estate. Thanks to the extended preparation time and detailed plans, these developers are able to start construction quickly. Consequently, there is no longer space for temporary use in these areas. The Municipality of Heusden had consciously taken responsibility for temporary urbanism during earlier stages, maintaining control over the transition process prior to the transfer of the land.

4.3.8 Conclusion: Cautious Facilitation under Constraint

The Landgoed Steenenburg case illustrates how temporary urbanism can remain peripheral when long-term planning dominates and enabling conditions are weak. Rather than evolving into a strategic tool, temporary uses emerged sporadically in response to vacancy and maintenance needs, shaped by institutional caution, heritage preservation and ecological sensitivities. Most initiatives were top down, modest in scope and duration and focused on safety or symbolic visibility. Bottom up ideas were welcomed in principle but rarely submitted or approved, due in part to unclear procedures and a restrictive planning climate.

Throughout the transition period (2007 to 2023), there was no structured progression toward embedded or evolving temporary functions. While public access improved after 2015 and the castle saw limited reuse for

events and workspace, these remained isolated initiatives without cumulative momentum. As shown in Figure 17, temporary urbanism followed a reactive path across three informal stages, with little continuity or expansion. Unlike Centrale Harculo, where temporary urbanism became a catalyst for redevelopment, Landgoed Steenenburg shows how it can stay fragmented and secondary when institutions prioritise control over experimentation. Governance played a defining role. The municipality owned and managed the entire estate for over a decade, but did not actively pursue or formalise a temporary urbanism strategy. High visibility, legal protections and the symbolic status of the site contributed to a risk-averse approach. Even as public access was introduced, only low-impact and reversible uses were allowed. From 2021 onwards, responsibility shifted to private developers, but most space had already transitioned toward construction, leaving no room for further activation.

In sum, Landgoed Steenenburg represents a form of cautious facilitation under constraint, where temporary urbanism was permitted but never fully embraced. Figure 17 visualises this trajectory, showing the limited range, duration and persistence of initiatives. With only the Poort van Heusden route continuing into the redevelopment phase, the case highlights how temporary urbanism can function as a silent interlude, present, tolerated, but ultimately peripheral.

Figure 17: Timeline of temporary urbanism at Landgoed Steenenburg, showing use categories and type (event or location). Own work. The numbered entries refer to specific cases listed in Table 7 in Appendix B

4.4 Bajeskwartier: formerly Bijlmerbajes, Amsterdam

Figure 10: Aerial photograph of the Penitentiary Institution Amsterdam Over Amstel [Photograph]. CC0 1.0 Public Domain; Wikimedia Commons. Retrieved April 7, 2025, from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Luchtfoto_Penitentiare_Inrichting_Amsterdam_Over_Amstel,_Amsterdam.jpg

The Bijlmerbajes, officially known as the Penitentiaire Inrichting Over-Amstel, was a prison complex located in Amsterdam-Zuidoost (Figure 18). The prison opened in 1978 and served for nearly 40 years as one of the largest and most well-known jails in the Netherlands. The complex consisted of six high-rise towers connected by a central corridor, giving it a unique architectural design. It covered approximately 85,000 m² gross floor area and could house 720 inmates, located on a 7,5-hectare site (Rijksvastgoedbedrijf, 2016a). The site also included 19 staff residences for prison guards and a director's villa. The prison complex was in ownership with the national government, during operation, represented by the Rijksgebouwendienst (Government Buildings Agency), which in 2014 became part of the Rijksvastgoedbedrijf (RVB, Central Government Real Estate Agency).

4.4.1 Towards a transition phase

The transition of the Bijlmerbajes site unfolded through two overlapping trajectories. The first began in the early 2000s, when several guard houses were vacated. After being left unused for two years, these four vacant residences were squatted, marking the start of *Bajesdorp*, a self-organised community that would grow into a lasting example of grassroot temporary urbanism (Bajesdorp, n.d.). Although these buildings fell into disuse, the prison itself remained operational. The second trajectory, involving the broader transformation of the entire site, was initiated later. A 2013 national master plan officially announced the Bijlmerbajes' closure (Ministerie van Veiligheid en Justitie, 2013). In 2015, the Dutch central government and the municipality of Amsterdam reached an agreement to sell the site for redevelopment. This was formalised through a covenant signed in April 2016 between the Central Government Real Estate Agency and the Municipality of Amsterdam, outlining each party's responsibilities and the selection procedure for

the site's sale and redevelopment (Buitelaar, van den Hurk, Nozeman & Oude Veldhuis, 2022). The prison officially closed on June 1, 2016, after the last detainees had left, marking the start of the second transition phase.

4.4.2 Course of the transition phase

Following the initial squatting of four staff residences in 2003, additional homes and surrounding land were gradually occupied by the same group. Over time, these like-minded individuals formed a self-organised community known as Bajesdorp, built around shared ideals of alternative living, artistic expression and public engagement (Bajesdorp, n.d. -a). Years later, the community formalised its presence, eventually leading to plans for a newly built site. In 2018, a letter of intent was signed after ownership of the complete complex and in 2019, the city of Amsterdam approved a lease agreement for a permanent cooperative hub. Construction began in late 2022 and was completed in 2023 (Van Zoelen, 2022). With this, Bajesdorp transitioned from informal occupation to a legally anchored part of the redeveloped Bajeskwartier.

Following the prison's official closure in 2016, the second transition trajectory unfolded. A two-stage public tender was launched, guided by a *Nota van Uitgangspunten* and *biedboek* outlining the redevelopment framework. In September 2017, the site was awarded to a consortium of AT Capital, Royal BAM Group, AM and Schroder Investment Management. The redevelopment was lead by a joint venture of the latter companies under the name BKO (BajesKwartierOntwikkeling), into a mixed-use neighbourhood with around 1,350 dwellings, schools, healthcare and creative workspaces, called Bajeskwartier. The new owners adopted a phased strategy. Demolition began in 2019, with a strong focus on circular reuse. Although the prison had no monument status, several elements, including the director's tower and parts of the wall, were retained. The plan is organised around four clusters: Amstel (north), Central (along the new Amstelstroomlaan), Design (around the main building and Groene Toren) and Knowledge (south of the canal). By early 2025, most buildings were completed or nearing completion. Full transformation is expected by 2027 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b).

Temporary uses were widely introduced, including asylum seeker housing and *Lola Lik*, a creative hub (*broedplaats*) with cultural and social programming, set up by LOLA[4]. These helped activate the site and shift its image, from a place of confinement to a more open, creative and inclusive neighbourhood. In doing so, temporary urbanism supported both *placemaking* and *rebranding*, giving new meaning and visibility to the area ahead of redevelopment.

4.4.3 The context shaping temporary urbanism

This section analyses the contextual conditions that influenced temporary urbanism at Bajeskwartier, using the nine-condition framework introduced in Chapter 3. While all conditions were systematically assessed, the discussion highlights those most relevant to this case, based on their observed influence during the transformation process. Although the empirical analysis distinguishes two separate trajectories, Bajesdorp and the main complex, these developed within the same spatial, legal and institutional context. The conditions outlined in this section therefore apply to both trajectories. Where relevant, variations in impact are addressed in the subsections that follow. The classification of each condition, mostly enabling, constraining, or mixed, is presented in Appendix C, along with any additional factors that shaped the site's temporary urbanism.

Location

The Bajeskwartier site is located in the southeastern part of Amsterdam, within the A10 urban ring and directly next to Spaklerweg metro station (see figure 19). While this ensured strong regional accessibility,

[4] LOLA (LeegstandOplossers Amsterdam) is a placemaking organisation that connects vacancy management with social initiative and community use. In 2016, it coordinated interim programming at the Bijlmerbajes and launched *Lola Lik* as a branded cultural hub on site (LeegstandOplossers, n.d.).

the area carried a negative public image. This reputation was shaped by the presence of the former prison, an austere grey complex dominating the surroundings, as well as its proximity to a controversial motorcycle club settlement that had existed since the late 1970s (interview developer, March 25, 2025). As a result, the neighbourhood lacked casual foot traffic and was not perceived as inviting or dynamic. Temporary programming on the site therefore did not rely on spontaneous visitors but instead targeted curated audiences and specific user groups. The relatively enclosed nature of the complex allowed for low-risk experimentation with cultural events, creative initiatives, and small-scale enterprises without generating conflict with surrounding functions. As phased redevelopment progressed, the locational context evolved. The southern section of the site saw early transformation, with construction starting around 2020 and delivery completed by 2021. The development of the Spinoza20first secondary school and Hotel Jansen in this zone introduced new sensitivities regarding noise, safety, and spatial integration. These factors had to be carefully considered in the programming and approval of temporary uses, particularly in the early phases of transition (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). The site represented a scarce large-scale redevelopment opportunities within Amsterdam's inner urban ring (interview developer, March 25, 2025). Its strategic location made it attractive for a future mixed-use area with workspace and housing development, though the existing context required a careful rebranding process.

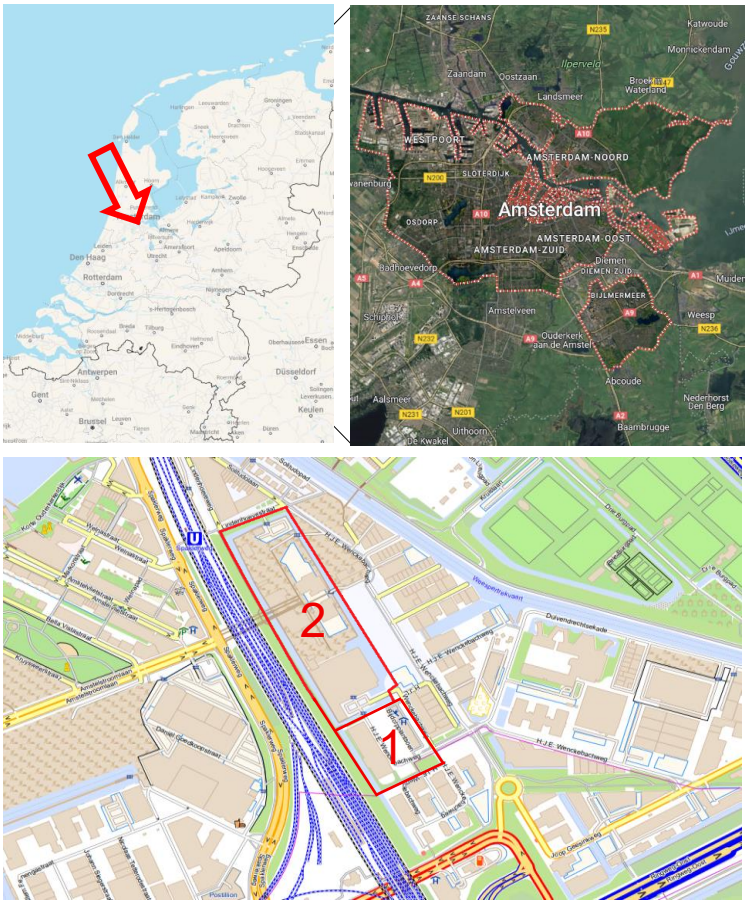


Figure 19. Google Maps location of Bajeskwartier & Bajesdorp [Map], shown at three spatial levels: the national scale (Netherlands), the regional context (Amsterdam area), and the detailed cadastral layout of the site and its surroundings. Area 1 marks the former staff residences of Bajesdorp, established through squatting in the early 2000s. Area 2 indicates the main prison complex, redeveloped after 2016 as the mixed-use neighbourhood Bajeskwartier. Retrieved April 7, 2025, from maps.google.com/...Bajeskwartier (Google, n.d.-d).

Physical condition

During most of the transition phase, the Bajeskwartier complex remained in its original state. This preserved its authenticity and spatial character but also presented significant challenges for reuse. The buildings were

not readily suited to new functions, requiring targeted renovations to meet standards of accessibility, safety, and usability. One of the most significant interventions was the removal of asbestos from the main building between 2019 and 2020, which necessitated the complete evacuation of existing users. In line with a phased approach, selective upgrades were implemented where temporary functions were introduced.

The adaptive reuse of the former boiler house (*Ketelhuis*) into brewpub *Levenslang* illustrates this approach. When BKO bought the complex, most buildings, including the boiler house, still contained outdated technical systems and interior fittings. Rather than fully modernising these spaces, BKO opted for minimal, context-sensitive renovations, allowing the raw industrial character to remain part of the user experience. This approach allowed for cost-effective reuse while maintaining architectural continuity and offering temporary users an environment that reflected the site's history. To the initiator of club this character in particular was an opportunity for the creation of *Levenslang*:

“When I first entered the old boiler house, the original heating systems were still there. The building had such a strong character, I was immediately excited. It felt like a place in transformation.”
(interview initiator translated by author, March 25, 2025).

Environmental conditions
The Bajeskwartier was surrounded by both finished and ongoing urban development. Environmental sensitivities related less to ecology and more to spatial integration and urban quality. The presence of schools and residential projects created both a context and constraint: temporary initiatives needed to align with broader ambitions of sustainable and community-focused urban development. At the same time, the legacy of the prison required deliberate rebranding and spatial transformation. Proximity to the railway corridor also introduced noise constraints, which had to be considered in both permanent and temporary use. A 2.5-metre-high sound barrier was installed to mitigate exposure, setting clear environmental boundaries for what types of temporary functions, particularly those involving public gathering or outdoor use, could be permitted without conflicting with long-term plans (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021c).

Ownership structure
Until its closure in 2016, Bajeskwartier was owned by the Dutch central government and managed by the Rijksgebouwendienst, later merged into the Central Government Real Estate Agency (Dutch: Rijksvastgoedbedrijf, RVB). After decommissioning, the RVB sold both land and buildings in full ownership, rather than under leasehold, which is unusual for Amsterdam. This made the site particularly attractive for private redevelopment and granted the buyer full control over temporary urbanism (Gualthérie van Weezel, 2016a).

In September 2017, a consortium including AT Capital, Koninklijke BAM Groep, AM and Schroder Investment Management acquired the site. The redevelopment and interim use was led by a joint venture of the latter companies under the name BKO (BajesKwartierOntwikkeling). From the start, temporary urbanism was strategically curated. BKO appointed a dedicated advisor, structured all contracts as commercial leases, and used temporary programming to support placemaking and identity-building. Legal and technical flexibility, such as exemptions from energy label requirements, allowed creative users to occupy older buildings under clear conditions (interview developer, March 25, 2025). This marked a shift from open experimentation to a developer-led, goal-oriented model of temporary urbanism.

Laws and regulations
The closure of the Bijlmerbajes in 2016 was enabled by national policy aimed at reducing detention capacity. This decision released the site for redevelopment and created the legal and spatial conditions for temporary and long-term transformation. As part of the municipality’s tender framework, the *Nota van Uitgangspunten* initially outlined the spatial and procedural guidelines for redevelopment (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016). Following the closure of *Lola Lik* at the end of 2017, the document was amended to explicitly require the inclusion of a new *broedplaats* (creative hub) of at least 1000 m². This condition was later formally incorporated into the *Bestemmingsplan Bajeskwartier*, adopted in 2021, thereby embedding the requirement in the statutory planning framework (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b).

Following the transfer from state to private ownership, public permits were required to repurpose buildings. For example, the application process for hospitality venue *Levenslang*, involving zoning and fire safety approvals, lasted over two years (interview initiator, March 25, 2025). This shows that even temporary uses had to comply with standard planning procedures.

Finance
The first temporary use, leasing part of the complex to the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA), closely resembled a conventional commercial agreement. It involved formal responsibilities, mutual investments and transferable contractual obligations in case of sale (Gualthérie van Weezel, 2016b; interview developer, March 25, 2025). The lease provided stable income and covered the site's operational costs between August 2016 and end of 2017 (interview developer, March 25, 2025). As temporary programming expanded, significant rent reductions were given, such as those at LOLA Lik, charging just 30 to 50% of standard market rates. This allowed smaller organisations, often without access to commercial real estate, to establish themselves on site (interview developer, March 25, 2025).

Some initiatives supplemented their activities with external micro-financing. Bajestuin, for example, received €5,000 through the 1%Club and €1,500 from Rabobank's 'Amsterdam & Co' fund (Keuchenius, 2017). From late 2018 onwards, BKO formalised a pragmatic and flexible financial approach: initiatives with social, cultural or educational value typically paid reduced rent, while some were granted free access. Though this lowered short-term returns, BKO viewed it as an investment in long-term value and placemaking (interview developer, March 25, 2025). The Bajes Lounge, developed by BKO, served as a multifunctional hub for events, coordination and public engagement, exemplifying how temporary use was embedded in the broader transformation strategy.

Social-cultural
The site's history as a prison strongly influenced its public image. Its closed architecture and associations with incarceration made the area feel unwelcoming and the nearby presence of a controversial motorcycle club reinforced perceptions of isolation and informality. Confusion over the name "Bijlmerbajes" added to this, as the site is located near Amstel station, not in Amsterdam-Zuidoost (Bijlmer), as the name might suggest. To reframe this perception, developer BKO introduced the new name "Bajeskwartier" and deliberately avoided references to the prison. As the initiator of *Levenslang* explained:
"We deliberately stopped using the name 'Bijlmerbajes', also at the request of BKO. It's now simply called Bajeskwartier." (interview initiator translated by author, March 25, 2025).

Temporary urbanism was embraced to supported this shift. The creation of creative hub LOLALIK and events such as the *Open Bajes Dag* (in 2018) opened the complex to the public. These interventions contributed to softening the site's institutional identity and helped create the conditions for more socially accepted temporary urbanism.

Risk (within conditions)
At Bajeskwartier, risk management played a decisive role in shaping the scope and structure of temporary urbanism. The site's physical condition presented immediate challenges: many of the former prison buildings were technically outdated, with some requiring asbestos removal and fire safety upgrades before they could be accessed. These conditions limited early temporary use to selected, structurally safe areas. Developer BKO adopted a controlled approach. A dedicated advisor was appointed to oversee spatial allocation, user selection and legal arrangements. Users were required to sign commercial lease contracts rather than informal use agreements, reducing liability risks and ensuring legal clarity. Access was granted in phases, often after minimal renovations had secured the relevant part of the building. This approach reflects a broader pattern seen across multiple sites: safety risks, whether structural, legal or reputational, tend to delay or restrict the use of space during transitions.

Utilization in transition phase
Temporary urbanism at Bajeskwartier began in 2016 with asylum seeker housing, which helped define the site's early identity and social function. This created a foundation for other socially oriented initiatives, which were selected based on their alignment with existing activities. When BKO became owner in late 2017, this logic of coherence continued. Functions like brewpub Levenslang and curated exhibitions reinforced the

site's emerging image as a creative, inclusive quarter. A similar approach was visible in Bajesdorp, where new uses were only welcomed if they fit the collective values of the group. Across both trajectories, temporary urbanism developed as a layered but coherent programme shaped by continuity and shared intent.

4.4.4 The process of temporary urbanism

The transformation of the former Bijlmerbajes site involved two distinct trajectories of temporary urbanism, each with its own timeline, logic and governance structure. Rather than applying a fixed model, the phases used in this chapter were derived inductively from observed shifts in activation, coordination and formalisation. These were later labelled Coincidental, Test, Growth and Development, in line with the framework outlined in Chapter 3. The phasing serves as an analytical lens, not a template. Each trajectory was also assessed as either coincidental or strategic, based on the degree of formal facilitation, policy alignment and integration into redevelopment plans. While Bajesdorp started as informal and autonomous, it gradually moved toward a more strategic position. The two trajectories are analysed separately in the following sections (see figures 20 and 21).

Trajectory I: Bajesdorp (2003–2023)
Bajesdorp emerged from the squatting of former prison staff residences in 2003 and evolved into a self-managed enclave with semi-permanent housing and workspace. It developed independently of the formal redevelopment process and remained outside the municipal planning framework. As such, Bajesdorp represents an autonomous, bottom-up form of long-term temporary urbanism (see figure 20).

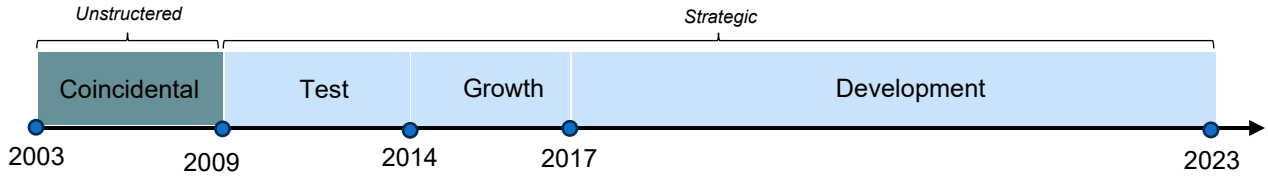


Figure 20: Timeline with process of temporary urbanism in transition of Bajesdorp (own work)

Trajectory II: Bajeskwartier (2016–2025)
This second trajectory began after the formal decommissioning of the prison complex in 2016. Initial temporary uses, such as an asylum seekers' centre and the cultural hub Lola Lik, took place under public ownership. After the site was sold to a private consortium in 2017, temporary urbanism was integrated into a broader redevelopment strategy and became more formally managed (see figure 21).

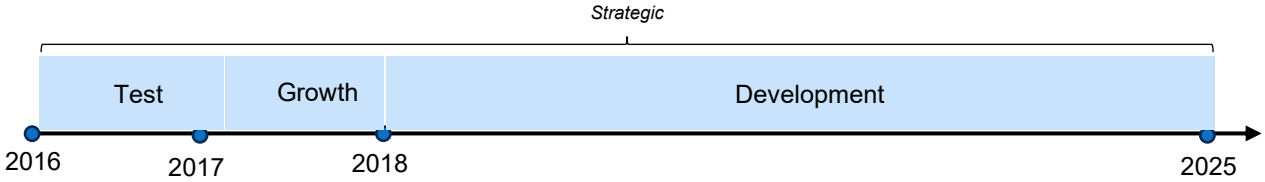


Figure 21: Timeline with process of temporary urbanism in transition of the main complex of Bajeskwartier (own work)

4.4.5 Trajectory I – *Bajesdorp (guard residences)*

By 2000, four of the nineteen prison guard residences at the Bijlmerbajes site had become vacant. At the time, the site was managed by the Dutch Government Buildings Agency (*Rijksgebouwendienst*, RGD), which prioritised prison operations over housing management and chose not to re-let the units. On 7 September 2003, four long-vacant homes were squatted, marking the start of self-organised temporary use at the edge of the prison complex. In the years that followed, more residences became vacant. Attempts by the Central Government Real Estate Agency (*Rijksvastgoedbedrijf*, RVB), which succeeded the RGD in

2014, to introduce other temporary uses, such as a physiotherapy practice, failed due to zoning conflicts (Bajeskwartier, n.d. -a). Some homes were briefly used as office space or assigned to property guardians, but by mid-2010, seven residences were squatted. This marked a turning point, as Bajesdorp began to take shape as a semi-permanent housing cluster. From 2003 to 2019, various forms of temporary use emerged, mostly residential and distinct from the original function (Collectief eigendom, n.d.). Initially informal and autonomous, Bajesdorp gradually shifted toward more strategic temporary urbanism. The establishment of a residents' association, negotiations with the national government, and a 2017 intent agreement with developer BKO signalled growing institutional alignment. From that point onward, the process is classified as strategic (Collectief eigendom, n.d.).

Phase I – Coincidental phase (2003 – 2009)

This first phase was unstructured and arose without a clear plan or end goal. Squatting emerged gradually, driven by vacancy rather than policy, and over time a mixed community of squatters, property guardians and renters formed what became known as Bajesdorp. While the Central Government Real Estate Agency (RGD) assigned some homes to property guardians, most use developed informally. This phase was marked by experiments in alternative living and the early formation of a new area identity, though the future of these initiatives remained uncertain.

Key forms of temporary use:

- **Self-organised housing** – Squatters gradually took over guard residences: from three in 2003 to seven by 2009.
- **Property guardianship** – A top-down vacancy strategy by RGD to reduce squatting.

Phase II – Test phase (2010–2014)

In this second phase, Bajesdorp began to shift from a loosely connected group of residents to a more established community. With increasing internal organisation and visibility, residents initiated cultural events, workshops and social programmes that extended their presence beyond the homes themselves. This marked the beginning of a more strategic trajectory: aimed not only at continued use, but at gaining recognition and securing a long-term position within the area. The temporary activities during this time were grassroots in nature, modest in budget, and typically took the form of public-facing events that tested new ways of using and reimagining the space. These developments align with the *Testing phase* of the Four-Phase Model

Temporary uses in this phase:

- **Bajesdorp Festival** – First held on 27 March 2010, with residents opening their living rooms for performances by Amsterdam-based singer-songwriters. The festival grew into an annual house-and-garden festival featuring music, theatre, poetry and dance, fully run by volunteers (see figure 22). The last edition took place in 2019 (Bajesdorp, n.d. -a).
- **The Bajestuin** – An urban gardening project on a long-unused grassy field. It began as a guerrilla garden in 2013 and became a permanent meeting place in 2014 after signing a co-management agreement with the municipalities of Amsterdam and Ouder-Amstel (now Amsterdam-Duivendrecht) (Bajesdorp, n.d. -b).

Figure 22: Bajesdorp hosting a small event (Bajesdorp, n.d. -a).

Phase III – Growth phase (2015–2017)
This phase reflects the *Growing* stage within the strategic process, marked by deeper institutionalisation and sustained community investment. Temporary urbanism evolved into more permanent forms, with increased time, funding and organisational structure.

Key examples include:

- **De Muiterij** – In 2015, Wenckebachweg 20 was squatted and transformed into a community centre, becoming the symbolic heart of Bajesdorp (Bajesdorp, n.d. -b).
- **Rondje Bajesdorp** – A cycling race held annually between 2015 and 2017, traversing the neighbourhood and ending with live music at De Muiterij.

This period also brought debates about ownership and legal status. From 2014 onward, as the central government prepared to sell the site, Bajesdorp intensified efforts to secure long-term tenure. Although formal ownership remained out of reach, negotiations led to an agreement that a 1,000 m² *broedplaats* would be included in the final redevelopment. This commitment was incorporated into the *Nota van Uitgangspunten* for the site's tender (Collectief eigendom, n.d.).

Phase IV – Development phase (2018–2023)
This final phase marks the Developing stage, in which temporary urbanism transitioned into a permanent, community-led function housed in a single new building. In September 2018, AM, acting on behalf of the site's owners, signed a letter of intent with Vereniging Bajesdorp, expressing their willingness to sell the plot beneath the former director's villa for the creation of a permanent broedplaats. Seizing political momentum, Bajesdorp successfully lobbied the municipality to purchase the land and issue it on leasehold. On 6 November 2019, the Amsterdam city council approved this arrangement, formally securing the cooperative's long-term position (Bajesdorp, n.d. -a). Construction of the new four-storey building began in late 2022 and was completed on 15 December 2023. It now accommodates housing, workspaces and public functions, marking the full transition from informal occupation to a permanent, collectively managed complex (Bajesdorp, n.d. -b).

4.4.6 Trajectory II – *Main complex (prison site)*

Phase I – Test phase (2016 – July 2017)

The second trajectory, covering the main jail complex, unfolded through a planned and institutionalised approach. In contrast to the informal emergence of Bajesdorp, temporary urbanism in the main complex was strategic from the start. Embedded in the redevelopment tender, the Central Government Real Estate Agency (RVB) sought early activation to manage vacancy and reshape the site's public image. To implement this, RVB engaged an Amsterdam based organisation specialized in placemaking called LOLA (LeegstandsOplossers Amsterdam) (LeegstandsOplossers, n.d.; interview management company, March 25, 2025). This collaboration laid the groundwork for temporary initiatives that aligned with broader spatial and narrative goals.

Asylum seekers' centre (2016–2018)

The first temporary use to emerge was the partial lease of the complex to the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA). The asylum seekers' centre housed around 1,000 people between August 8, 2016 and early 2018, primarily in the prison towers (Bollee, 2017). Unlike other initiatives, this arrangement resembled a conventional commercial lease, with formal responsibilities, mutual investments, and transferable contractual obligations in case of a property sale (Gualthérie van Weezel, 2016b).

Refugee Company and socially driven programming

Around the same time, Refugee Company initiated temporary activities from a bottom-up perspective. Starting in mid-2016, with support from volunteers and informal permission from COA, the organisation ran sewing workshops, design and hospitality training, and job-readiness programmes. Early sessions began even before the AZC officially opened. Some initiatives evolved into more permanent forms:

- **A Beautiful Mess Restaurant** – Housed in the former prison kitchen, it employed 40 refugees and functioned as a hospitality training space.
- **A Beautiful Mess Sewing Workshop** – A tailor's studio for clothing repairs and commercial orders.

These uses highlight the experimental and socially driven nature of temporary urbanism at the site's core.

Creative hub LOLA LIK

In January 2017, placemaking foundation LOLA launched LOLA LIK, a creative hub next to the newly opened asylum seekers' centre. This cluster attracted small businesses and social initiatives, temporarily housed in former prison spaces. Uses operated alongside and often together with programmes run by Refugee Company. Examples include:

- **Boxing School** – Located in the basement of the Carré building; trial classes began in March 2017 (Bollee, 2017).
- **Language school MORE than les** – Founded in spring 2017, offering Dutch lessons for newcomers with a focus on empowerment through language and culture (Van Gelder, 2018).
- **Design studio Waarmakers** – Sustainability-focused design studio working from a former prison space in Lola Lik (Bollee, 2017).
- **Escape room "Bajes Ontgrendeld"** – Opened in May 2017; offered a breakout experience in an authentic prison setting, attracting both locals and tourists (Bollee, 2017).

Most initiatives operated under short-term leases or event-based agreements. This uncertain setup fits the Testing phase in the model of Schönau & Van Hardeveldt (2009). Although LOLA's involvement ended in late 2017, its programming helped shift public perception and activated the site ahead of redevelopment under project developer AM.

Phase II – Growth phase (Aug. 2017 – Oct. 2018)

From summer 2017, LOLALIK evolved into a more structured and visible creative hub (see figure 23). A growing number of initiatives, both one-off and recurring, emerged, with increasing investment in programming and space. This reflects the "Growing" phase in the model of Schönau & Van Hardeveldt (2009). Examples include:

- Bijlmer HAMAM – Launched in August 2017, this initiative transformed a former prison space into an alternative wellness experience.
- The Movement Hotel – Opened in September 2017 by Movement On The Ground, this pop-up hotel employed 20 status holders and engaged asylum seekers in volunteer roles. It closed in September 2018.

In September 2017, the site was sold to a consortium led by developer AM. While this had little immediate impact, around seventy initiatives had been active under LOLALIK (Spijker, 2017). The land sale followed a public tender in which a creative hub was listed as a formal condition (Rijksvastgoedbedrijf, 2016b). This recognition of temporary urbanism enabled continuity.

"In total, around seventy different users have been active here over the years," the developer explained. "By the time we got involved, only a few remained" *(interview developer, translated by author, March 25 2025).*

By late 2017, BKO began preparations for redevelopment. The closure of the AZC in December 2017 also marked the end of LOLALIK. Although many activities linked to the Refugee Company ended, some initiatives had matured enough to continue. BKO offered these users temporary rental agreements, laying the groundwork for the next phase: Developing.

Figure 23: LOLALIK activating Bajeskwartier with their creative hub (We the City, n.d.).

Phase III – Development phase (Nov. 2018 – 2025 onwards)

Following a period of demolition and renovation that interrupted earlier momentum, developer BKO assumed direct control over temporary programming at Bajeskwartier. From November 2018 onward, interim uses in designated housing areas were gradually phased out, while the main prison building was reassigned as a multifunctional 'design cluster', a space combining offices, creative businesses, social services (such as a daycare and health centre), retail, hospitality and cultural functions (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). Central to this vision was BKO's ambition to create a creative hub capable of hosting both internationally renowned artists and small-scale makers.

In this context, temporary urbanism became more selective and goal-oriented. Only a limited number of previously established initiatives continued, based on their alignment with the site's evolving identity and

long-term ambitions (interview developer, March 25, 2025). These included *Boxing School*, *The Movement Hotel*, *A Beautiful Mess*, *Bijlmer HAMAM*, *Escape Room Bajes Ontgrendeld*, *Design Studio Waarmakers*, and *Language School MORE than Ies* (Bollee, 2017). In addition, BIG ART, a large-scale temporary art exhibition for oversized works, was hosted in the complex in 2018, 2022 and 2023 (BIG ART, n.d.).

Renovation of the main building began in 2019 and included asbestos removal and facade upgrades. During sanitation works, all users had to temporarily vacate the premises. Shortly thereafter, BKO appointed a temporary use advisor to structure the next phase. This advisor coordinated tenant selection, oversaw phased withdrawal, and formalised short-term contracts. Temporary uses were evaluated against a set of criteria: they could not obstruct long-term development, had to contribute to a creative and experimental atmosphere and were only granted temporary leases, typically at around €150/m², roughly half the market rate. Projects also needed to support the site's public image. Where possible, cultural or educational initiatives were offered free space. "Around that time, we brought in a specialist in placemaking who helped us find suitable temporary users for this kind of location" (interview developer, March 25, 2025).

One of the clearest expressions of AM's strategy was the *Bajes Lounge*, a multifunctional space that served as the on-site office, a residential showroom, and a public interface. It symbolised AM's active role and offered visibility and reassurance to both users and visitors. This phase reflects the *Development* stage of temporary urbanism, in which temporary uses were increasingly formalised, selectively retained, and strategically aligned with the site's evolving identity. Over time, BKO phased out the advisor role and assumed direct responsibility for curating temporary use.

While the number of permitted initiatives decreased, several new projects emerged that embodied the site's creative repositioning. These included:

- *Levenslang*, a brewpub and venue by De Eeuwige Jeugd, housed in the former boiler house;
- *ADE @ Levenslang*, a 24-hour event in 2023 that drew 1,999 visitors, followed by a second edition in 2024;
- *LSFR Podcasts*, focused on audio for cyclists;
- *Solar Sedum*, providing green roofs and solar panels; and
- *Atelier Café*, a small-scale venue for coffee, art and community events.

In parallel, a Living Lab was launched in 2018 as a real-life testing ground for applied innovation. Bringing together users, researchers, businesses and public partners, it initially operated with support from BKO and was later coordinated by the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences (HvA). The initiative was granted rent-free space as part of BKO's commitment to social programming. Although the on-site presence was eventually phased out, the lab's experimental agenda continued through external collaborations.

4.4.7 Spotlight on Temporary Use: Levenslang

Levenslang illustrates how temporary use can unlock spatial and symbolic potential in places previously deemed marginal. Established in November 2022 in the former boiler house of the prison, the venue occupied a structure largely untouched during earlier redevelopment. Initially intended as a tasting room, the concept evolved into a hybrid space for hospitality, events and nightlife, shaped by zoning limitations and programmatic opportunity. The initiative was facilitated by the temporary use advisor and secured a five-year lease with AM.

The transformation of the space was rapid. During the 2023 Amsterdam Dance Event (ADE), *Levenslang* attracted 1,999 visitors in a single night, with over 8,000 attempting to gain entry (see Figure 25). This surge in interest highlights a key insight of this research: temporary use can fundamentally alter the perception and value of space, for users, for the public, and for developers.

"We wanted to do something bold in a place that still had edge. That roughness gave us energy, it reminded us of Berlin ten years ago" *(interview initiator, translated by author, March 25, 2025).*

In practice, *Levenslang* functioned as more than a bar. It became a social node, an event space, and a prototype for cultural activity in an unfinished setting. It contributed to the site's public identity, reactivated a neglected corner of the complex, and demonstrated how well-supported temporary use can serve both as programme and as placemaking in the lead-up to permanent development.

Figure 25: Levenslang hosted their first event attracting 1999 people to the former kitchen in Bajeskwartier (by author).

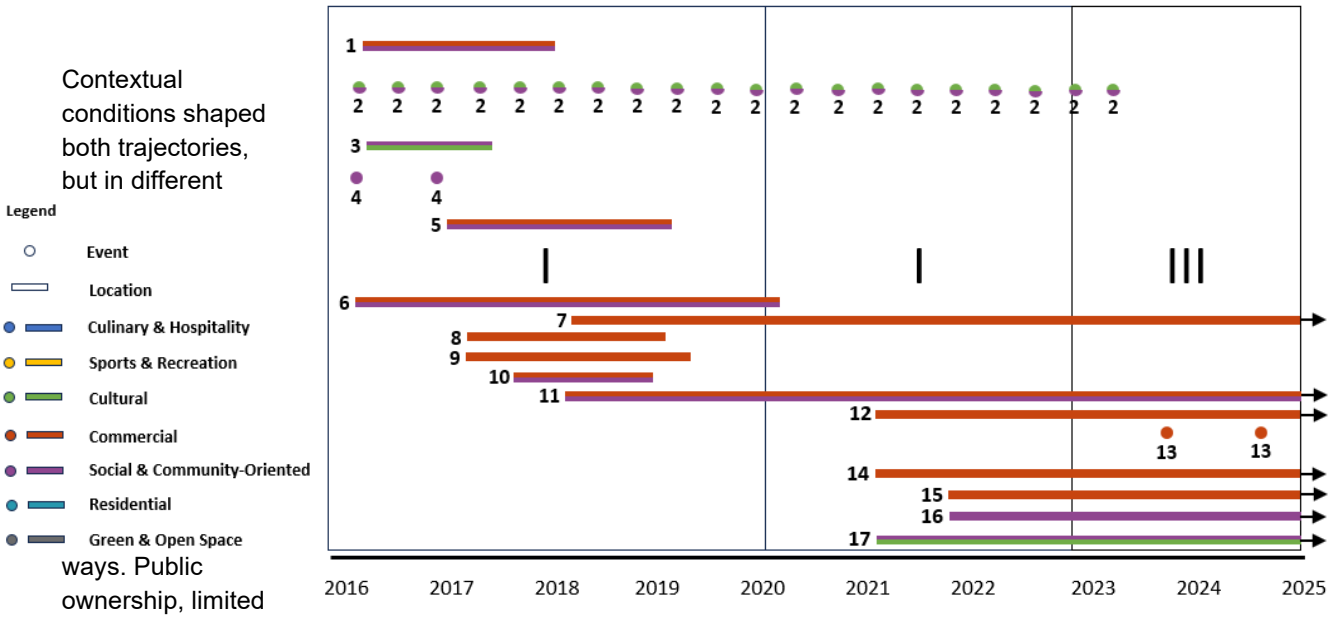
4.4.8 Conclusion: Diverging Logics in Temporary Urbanism

The case of Bajeskwartier illustrates how temporary urbanism can follow structurally different paths within a single redevelopment area. Two contrasting trajectories unfolded: one rooted in long-term grassroots continuity (Bajesdorp), the other shaped by managed and purpose-driven activation (the main complex). While both trajectories responded to mostly the same spatial and institutional context, they diverged significantly in governance, programming rhythm and user involvement.

Trajectory I (Bajesdorp) emerged as an informal squatted initiative and gradually evolved into a legally recognised cooperative. Its bottom-up character remained dominant, even as the project formalised and secured a long-term leasehold. Temporary urbanism here was shaped by continuity, local identity and political tolerance rather than a top-down redevelopment strategy. Its strength layed in anchoring social infrastructure before spatial transformation took place. Trajectory II, by contrast, was initiated and guided by institutional actors. Temporary urbanism was embedded in planning procedures and deliberately used to manage vacancy, support image-building and test long-term functions. Initially open to diverse users, the process became increasingly selective over time, with a shift toward commercial and culturally branded formats such as Lola Lik, Levenslang and BIG ART. Temporary urbanism in this trajectory served as a governance tool: coordinated, phased and increasingly aligned with AM’s development vision.

Figure 26 (Bajesdorp) shows how temporary urbanism gradually evolved from two initial residential uses into a broader, stable programme. Over time, additional functions were introduced that built on the social and cultural foundation of the place. Some initiatives started as one-off events but gradually transitioned into more permanent, embedded uses. This resulted in a linear development path, with growing continuity and local anchoring over time. Figure 27 (main complex) presents a more fragmented and layered timeline.

From 2016 onwards, short-term cultural, commercial and hospitality uses overlapped, beginning with *Lola Lik* and later including *Levenslang*, *BIG ART* and other pop-ups. Many were event-based or time-limited. The programming paused around 2020 and resumed post-2021 under AM’s direct coordination, reflecting a curated model focused on visibility, alignment with development goals and testing future functions.



Contextual conditions shaped both trajectories, but in different ways. Public ownership, limited ecological constraints and high visibility created broad potential for interim use. Yet it was the sequencing of decisions, e.g. delayed redevelopment in Bajesdorp versus structured tenders in the main complex, that defined the nature of what was possible, when and for whom. Table 13 and 14 in Appendix C highlight how enabling conditions played out differently across the two paths.

In sum, temporary urbanism at Bajeskwartier was not a single strategy but a layered and evolving practice. It ranged from unplanned continuity to curated experimentation, from community-led resilience to developer-led curation. Together, these trajectories reveal the multiplicity of temporary urbanism: not as a model to be applied, but as a responsive practice shaped by spatial, temporal and institutional opportunity.

Figure 26: Timeline of temporary urbanism at Bajesdorp, showing use categories and type (event or location). Own work. The numbered entries refer to specific cases listed in Table 8 in Appendix B

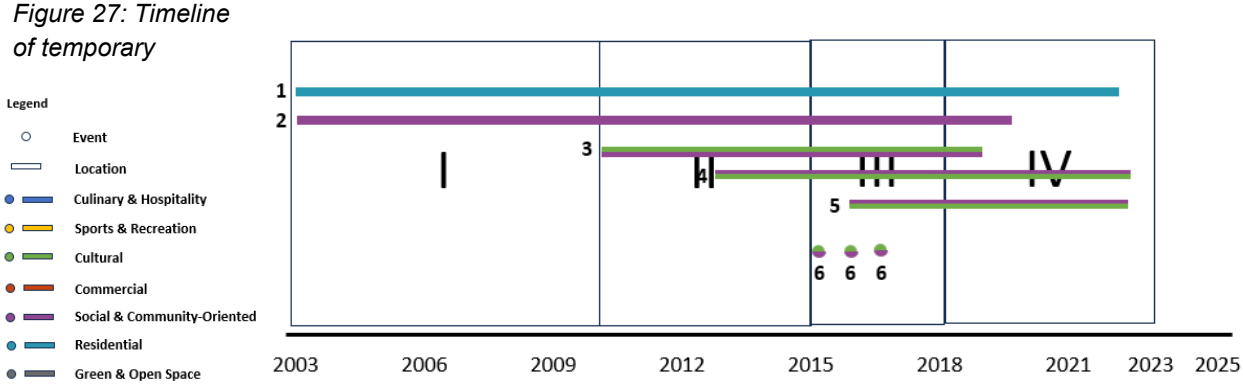


Figure 27: Timeline of temporary urbanism at Bajeskwartier main jail complex, showing use categories and type (event or location). Own work. The numbered entries refer to specific cases listed in Table 9 in Appendix B

5 Temporary Urbanism in Context: A Comparative Perspective

This chapter compares the four analysed cases to understand how temporary urbanism emerges, evolves and embeds itself within Dutch brownfield. The analysis draws on two frameworks introduced earlier: a four-phase model and a nine-condition contextual framework. Together, these clarify how temporary urbanism is shaped by both strategic choices and contextual conditions and how these dynamics differ across four Dutch sites.

5.1 Process Dynamics and Phases of Temporary Urbanism

Using the four-phase framework outlined in §3.4.1, shifts in actor roles, investment levels, governance approaches and program continuity were inductively identified across the four cases, which enabled clear comparisons of each phase's trajectory

In three of the four cases, Centrale Harculo, Haga Hospital and Bajeskwartier (main complex), the four phase structure is clearly recognisable. Centrale Harculo, Haga Hospital and Bajesdorp as part of Bajeskwartier, progressed through all four phases, albeit at different speeds and with varying forms of coordination. They started informally, without a clear strategic foundation and gradually developed into more strategic initiatives as the process evolved through testing, growth and development towards a final function. Two cases under analysis, however, deviated significantly from the model. The main complex of Bajeskwartier followed a phased, developer-driven trajectory, but did not show an informal unstrategic preliminary phase. In contrast, Landgoed Steenenburg stayed rooted in the Coincidental Phase: its anti-squatting occupation and occasional events occurred under minimal, owner-led permissions, on short-term ad hoc agreements with negligible funding, and without any clear route to permanent use. Ecological restrictions, heritage protections and a lack of active coordination further prevented the site's progression beyond this informal stage.

In both cases, it is precisely the presence in one and the absence in the other of a structured process that shows the model's analytical value. The contrast demonstrates the model's ability to pinpoint such differences as a first step in deconstructing the temporary urbanism process. The next stage situates each phase within its specific context to provide a deeper understanding of how the phases unfold and interact. Notably, this analysis suggests that while the model offers a useful heuristic, its effectiveness for interpretation and cross-case comparison can be a bit reduced when phases are omitted or unevenly implemented.

Table 4 shows wide variation in the Coincidental phase, from two to eighteen years, and in three cases, a subsequent strategic trajectory with differing pace and structure. None followed a strictly linear path: at Centrale Harculo, Growth, driven by investor-led upgrades, began before Test results were fully in; at Haga Hospital, Development-style stakeholder alignment overlapped with ongoing Growth-phase activations; and at Bajeskwartier's main complex, permanent build-out discussions ran alongside professionalization efforts. Even Steenenburg's Coincidental phase hinted at a Test Phase when the owner deliberately placed anti-squat residents as a trial activation. These overlaps highlight both the four-phase model's strength in distinguishing processual shifts and its limits when phases blend, underscoring the need to interpret phase patterns within each case's broader context.

	Unstructured	*Strategic*		
Case	Coincidental phase	Test phase	Growth phase	Development phase
Centrale Harculo	2015 – 2017	2018 – July 2021	August 2021 – 2022	2023 – 2025 onwards
Haga Hospital	2015 – 2020	2021 – 2022	2023 – 2024	2024 – 2032 onwards
Landgoed Steenenburg	2007 – 2025	–	–	–
Bajeskwartier – Bajesdorp (Trajectory I)	2003 – 2009	2010 – 2014	2015 – 2017	2018 – 2023
Bajeskwartier – Main Complex (Trajectory II)	–	2016 – July 2017	August 2017 – October 2018	November 2018 – 2025 onwards

Table 4: Comparative timelines of temporary urbanism phases across four Dutch brownfield cases, distinguishing unstructured (Coincidental) and strategic (Test, Growth, Development) trajectories. (own work)

The following sections compare these divergent paths, starting off with contextual conditions.

5.2 Contextual and Conditions shaping temporary urbanism

This section compares how nine contextual conditions shaped the emergence of temporary urbanism across the four cases. Each condition was classified as enabling, based on its observed influence in the case context. A condition was considered *enabling* if it facilitated activation, experimentation, or continuity; *constraining* if it delayed or blocked temporary use; and *mixed* if its influence shifted or was internally contradictory. These classifications reflect a qualitative interpretation of how each condition shaped possibilities for temporary urbanism, often depending on actor strategies, timing and institutional flexibility.

Across cases, some conditions, especially ownership structure, laws and regulations and location, proved consistently determinative. These often enabled rapid activation or experimentation, particularly where legal and organisational barriers were low. Other conditions, such as environmental conditions or physical condition, varied more strongly between cases, depending on ecological sensitivities or building quality. Patterns also emerged around social-cultural conditions and risk management, where community attitudes and liability concerns shaped not only what was allowed, but also what was considered legitimate. Several conditions also changed over time, for example, ownership shifting from fragmented to unified, or legal interpretations becoming more flexible.

Finally, the analysis surfaced several additional conditions not initially captured in the framework, which happened to play a key role in whether temporary urbanism took hold or evolved. The following sections examine each of the nine contextual conditions and the five additional conditions in turn, highlighting cross-case patterns, dominant influences and temporal shifts observed across the sites.

1. Location

Location played an ambivalent role in shaping temporary urbanism: enabling access and visibility in some cases, while limiting informal activity in others. Central urban sites like Haga Hospital and Bajeskwartier provided visibility and accessibility, but also increased scrutiny and limited tolerance for disruptive functions. More peripheral sites such as Centrale Harculo and Landgoed Steenenburg offered space for experimentation with informal uses or grassroots cultural initiatives, but struggled to attract spontaneous public engagement.

2. **Physical Condition**

The state of buildings proved critical to the timing of activation. At Haga Hospital and Bajesdorp, buildings were in good condition, enabling immediate use. In contrast, Centrale Harculo and Landgoed Steenenburg required extensive remediation or demolition before access and broad forms of temporary use became possible.

3. **Environmental Conditions**

Ecological restrictions were a major limiting factor at Centrale Harculo and Landgoed Steenenburg, both adjacent to, or part of, protected areas. This ruled out large-scale or noise-intensive uses. In the main complex of Bajeskwartier and Bajesdorp, such barriers were absent, enabling more flexible and experimental programming.

4. **Ownership Structure**

Centralised ownership, such as in the early phases of Centrale Harculo and Haga Hospital, enabled consistent policy and rapid decision-making. In contrast, Landgoed Steenenburg and Centrale Harculo later experienced ownership fragmentation, complicating coordination and responsibilities, therefore reducing the capacity for structured temporary urbanism.

5. **Laws and Regulations**

Flexible legal interpretation, as seen in Centrale Harculo and Haga Hospital, allowed temporary urbanism to operate within existing zoning frameworks using permits. At Landgoed Steenenburg, rigid heritage and zoning laws limited activation, especially around the castle and ecological zones.

6. **Finance**

In Haga Hospital and Bajeskwartier, structured financial models or rent differentiation allowed for cost recovery and continuity. The financial contribution of Temporary urbanism was considered and part of the owner's business case. In Centrale Harculo and Landgoed Steenenburg, financial viability was less relevant to the owners, temporary uses predominantly operated without long-term financial goals. However, for Centrale Harculo this changed approaching the end of the transition. Once redevelopment was on the horizon, the focus shifted to temporary uses that could seamlessly integrate into the final use. Financial feasibility then became critical: temporary uses needed to be profitable enough to cover the cost of rent in the end use.

7. **Social-Cultural**

Community attitudes shaped both opportunities and constraints. At Haga Hospital, early resistance toward vulnerable groups had to be managed carefully. At Bajesdorp, long-standing presence and cultural activity generated public and political support. In Landgoed Steenenburg, caution restricted more open experimentation.

8. **Risk (within Conditions)**

Risk management, related to safety, liability and social stability, was a constraining condition. Centrale Harculo and Landgoed Steenenburg saw slow starts due to the risks around the physical condition. In Haga Hospital social risk was managed through security protocols and public participation, enabling temporary urbanism by collecting support. Where risks were mitigated early, broader activation became possible.

9. **Utilization in the Transition Phase**

Where temporary urbanism was actively integrated into a broader transition strategy, as in Haga Hospital and Bajeskwartier, it expanded rapidly in scope and user involvement, becoming a visible and structured part of the redevelopment process. At Landgoed Steenenburg, the absence of such strategy led to marginal, fragmented use, despite years of vacancy. Temporary uses profited from synergies with other uses, in the main complex of Bajeskwartier initiatives that matched the asylum seeker centre followed its

establishment. Likewise, at Centrale Harculo, the opening of a pop-up café created a gathering spot that other temporary uses could join, benefiting from the extra visitors and buzz it brought.

Additional Conditions

The cases also revealed five cross-cutting conditions not initially captured in the literature:

1. **Ownership orientation**: Strategically open owners (e.g. consortium under AM, BOEi) enabled structured programming. Cautious or passive owners (Municipality of Heusden at Landgoed Steenenburg) delayed activation.

2. **Timing of decisions**: Formal milestones like land sales or development approvals created windows of opportunity (e.g. Bajeskwartier, Centrale Harculo).

3. **Participation and acceptance**: Participation and acceptance shaped the public legitimacy of temporary urbanism. In cases like Haga Hospital and Bajesdorp, alignment with local expectations fostered early support, reducing resistance and allowing initiatives to stabilise over time. Where communities were actively engaged or felt represented in programming choices, temporary urbanism was more likely to gain continuity and be integrated into long-term redevelopment efforts.

4. **Implementation and management**: Intermediaries like OAK, BOEi Eventlocations, and LOLA facilitated coordination, supported users and aligned temporary uses with policy objectives. They also introduced specific tools and selection strategies, such as BOEi's traffic light model, to structure decision-making and guide activation.

5. **Image and perception**: At Landgoed Steenenburg, the site's symbolic status and high visibility led to cautious municipal decision-making. Temporary uses had to align with the estate's public image and heritage character, which limited opportunities for more experimental or open-ended initiatives. In contrast, Bajeskwartier used temporary programming to actively shift perceptions and distance itself from its prison past.

The analysis reveals that temporary urbanism was not simply a result of the presence or absence of these conditions, but of how they were interpreted, negotiated and in some cases actively reshaped by involved actors during the transition phase, leading to the next paragraph in this comparative analysis.

5.3 Diverging Trajectories and Actor Roles in Temporary Urbanism

Initiation and Governance as Drivers of Divergence

As outlined in Section 5.1, the four cases followed different phases in the emergence and evolvement of temporary urbanism over time. These differences were closely tied to the role of actors and the forms of governance applied. The mode of initiation, from grassroots self-organisation to top-down allocation, reflects underlying governance arrangements and ownership structures, shaping leadership roles, the scope for experimentation, decision-making speed, and the legitimacy of informal activities.

Case Variations in Initiation Paths

The point of initiation proved important in setting the tone for later development. At Haga Hospital, temporary urbanism was planned from the outset, even before the sale of the complex was finalised. Bajesdorp, by contrast, emerged informally through squatting and gradually evolved into a cooperative model. Centrale Harculo followed a hybrid path, starting informally and later coordinated by BOEi. In Bajeskwartier, two parallel tracks coexisted: the main complex followed a top-down model led by developer BKO, while Bajesdorp remained grassroots-driven. Early alignment with policy goals, as seen in Centrale Harculo, Haga Hospital and Bajeskwartier, helped sustain momentum and eventual embedding in the end-use.

Governance Approaches and Degrees of Control

The analysis revealed four distinct governance approaches, each with specific implications for access, selection and participation.

- **"Passive tolerance approach"** (Landgoed Steenenburg): Proposals are assessed ad hoc, without a clear strategic direction, resulting in frequent stagnation, especially where ecological or planning constraints apply.
- **"Self-organisation approach"** (Bajesdorp in Bajeskwartier): Early phases are driven by user-led initiatives, with activities defined independently; formal selection procedures are only introduced later to regularise and coordinate use.
- **"Delegated coordination approach"** (Centrale Harculo and Haga Hospital): Intermediaries (e.g., BOEi's Eventlocations team or OAK) manage access, vet proposals and align temporary projects with long-term spatial objectives.
- **"Top-down curation approach"** (Bajeskwartier main complex): Temporary uses are pre-selected to fit a developer's branding and vision, with activities curated centrally as part of a broader strategy.

These governance modes shaped not only how access was granted, but also the degree of participation. This ranged from minimal involvement (as in Landgoed Steenenburg), to grassroots-driven use (Bajesdorp in Bajeskwartier), to curated selection (Centrale Harculo and Haga Hospital) and finally to fully managed and developer-led processes (Bajeskwartier).

Framing, Selection and Exclusion

Framing played a role in defining which types of uses were permitted. In Centrale Harculo, developer BOEi applied a 'traffic light model' to categorise initiatives based on size, risk and content. At the main complex of Bajeskwartier, developer BKO evaluated proposals against a pre-set image of the district. In all cases, temporary urbanism served not only as a space for experimentation but also as a mechanism for filtering out what did not align with dominant narratives. At Landgoed Steenenburg, the municipality adopted a risk-averse stance, permitting only low-impact, reversible activities that would not compromise the protected castle or disturb sensitive natural habitats, while broader, informal experimentation was largely sidelined.

The Role and Displacement of Pioneering Actors

In each case, early users or quartermasters played a crucial role in activating the site, building networks and testing uses. These often informal actors were key in the initial phase, but their role diminished once processes became formalised or commercially structured. In Centrale Harculo and Bajeskwartier (main complex), initial grassroots initiatives were later replaced by curated, revenue-driven programming. This displacement raises questions about how pioneers are recognised or integrated as temporary urbanism becomes institutionalised.

5.4 Temporary Urbanism as Instrument: Goals, Symbolism and Strategic Use

Strategic Purposes and Goals

Temporary urbanism served a range of purposes across the four cases, from vacancy management and image-building to social programming and pre-development testing. These goals shaped how temporary uses were implemented, what types of activities were prioritised and who gained access. At Bajeskwartier, temporary urbanism was part of a rebranding strategy. Curated cultural events and creative workspaces helped shift perceptions of the site, while initiatives like *Levenslang* provided financial continuity. At Centrale Harculo, hospitality and art reframed the post-industrial site as a space of experimentation. Though revenue was limited, some functions, such as the pop-up café, became permanent. At Haga Hospital, the municipality embedded temporary urbanism within a policy-driven social programme, using the vacant

complex to provide interim housing for asylum seekers, homeless individuals, students and care-leavers, alongside workshops and support services, thereby aligning the building's activation directly with broader welfare and housing objectives. Bajesdorp began as a grassroots occupation of former guard houses and evolved into a formal cooperative focused on communal living, cultural events, and mutual support, establishing a lasting social community. In contrast, Landgoed Steenenburg saw limited use, mainly anti-squat housing and symbolic functions, focused on vacancy management without broader strategic aims. In comparative terms, temporary urbanism functioned as:

- **Risk management** (*Landgoed Steenenburg*),
- **Social instrument** (*Haga Hospital*),
- **Placemaking and branding** (*Centrale Harculo, Main complex of Bajeskwartier*),
- **Community embedding** *(Bajesdorp in Bajeskwartier)*

And, in some cases, site activation for future value (*Bajeskwartier main complex*).

Typologies of Temporary Use: Event-Based and Embedded Activities

A clear distinction can be made between short-term, event-based uses and longer-term, embedded functions. In contrast, at Haga Hospital and Bajesdorp temporary urbanism took the form of structured social programming: Haga Hospital provided municipally coordinated interim housing and workshops for vulnerable groups, while Bajesdorp evolved into a cooperative offering communal living, cultural activities, and shared support facilities. Landgoed Steenenburg remained limited to symbolic, reversible activities with little programmatic depth. These variations reflect differences in governance and strategic intent. Privately led or delegated models tended to favour visibility and event-based use, while public or self-organised contexts supported continuity and embedded programming.

Mixed Models and Selective Inclusion

Some cases demonstrated that social and commercial uses can coexist. In Bajeskwartier, initiatives like *Atelier Café* and the *Living Lab* operated alongside ventures like *Bajes Ontgrendeld*. Similar layered models are seen at the *Suikerterrein* and *Kabeldistrict*. These require active coordination but can reinforce each other. Still, such models introduce selectivity. In Haga Hospital and Bajeskwartier, framing led to the exclusion of informal or misaligned actors. Temporary urbanism enabled transformation, but also defined its limits, set by those in control.

Linking to Temporary Urbanism Typologies

These patterns reflect typologies by Oswalt et al. (2013) and Lydon & Garcia (2015). Bajesdorp and Haga Hospital align with *pioneer* or *coexistence* pathways, where informal use evolved into structured programmes. Centrale Harculo moved from *stand-in* and *testing* toward consolidation. The main complex of Bajeskwartier followed a clearly phased *consolidation* model. Landgoed Steenenburg remained in an *impulse*-type mode, with symbolic, short-lived activity. Tactically, Bajesdorp reflects *guerrilla urbanism*, while Centrale Harculo's early use fits *tactical urbanism*. These classifications help explain how temporary urbanism diverges across similar contexts.

Closing Reflection

Taken together, the cases show that temporary urbanism is not a fixed toolkit, but a flexible and layered instrument shaped by context, purpose and governance. While its goals may range from social care to placemaking or risk management, the actual uses and outcomes depend on how opportunities are framed and structured. These comparative insights help explain why temporary urbanism evolves so differently across sites, even under similar spatial or institutional conditions.

6 Conclusion

This study set out to answer the central research question:

How and under what conditions does temporary urbanism emerge and develop within the transition phase of Dutch brownfield redevelopment toward long-term use?

This was explored through four sub-questions, focusing on development patterns, contextual conditions, governance and actor roles and the relationship between temporary and long-term use. Together, they guided the comparative analysis of four Dutch cases. The findings show that temporary urbanism is not a uniform or automatic component of brownfield redevelopment. It emerges under specific institutional, spatial and political conditions and evolves through varying trajectories depending on how it is framed, initiated and governed. Some uses remain marginal or symbolic; others become strategic instruments that shape site identity, programme content and community engagement. The following paragraphs present the answers to each sub-question in turn, before exploring how these findings can guide future temporary urbanism to meet wider urban and social goals and help reduce vacancy.

6.1 Development patterns of temporary urbanism

Across the four Dutch brownfield cases, temporary urbanism unfolded through varied mixes of spontaneous activation and strategic planning, yet common trajectories emerge. Three sites, Centrale Harculo, Haga Hospital and Bajesdorp, followed the full sequence of Coincidental, Test, Growth and Development. In each trajectory temporary uses began informally and by coincidence. After which a new owner purposefully started with the initiation of a broader situation of temporary urbanism, through experimentation with small-scale and low-cost uses, followed by investment to expand activities and ultimately securing lasting functions in the end-result, albeit at different speeds and with distinct coordination structures. Two cases diverged. The main Bajeskwartier complex bypassed any informal initiation, entering directly into a developer-led Testing and Growth pathway. Landgoed Steenenburg remained rooted in the Coincidental phase for nearly two decades: anti-squat occupation and ad hoc events persisted under short-term permissions, with no clear transition into Testing or beyond due to limited funding, ecological and heritage constraints and the absence of an overarching vision.

Moreover, phase boundaries often blur. At Centrale Harculo, growth-oriented upgrades preceded full testing feedback; at Haga Hospital, stakeholder alignment for Development ran alongside ongoing Growth-phase activations; and even Steenenburg saw a brief “trial” when the owner deliberately placed anti-squat residents. These overlaps underline that, while the four-phase model is a valuable heuristic for comparing shifts in actor roles, investments and governance, real-world dynamics frequently skip, stall or merge phases. Temporary urbanism thus proves inherently adaptive and context-dependent, requiring flexible interpretation of its developmental stages.

6.2 Conditions That Shape Development: Enabling, Constraining and Evolving

All nine contextual conditions identified in the literature, Location, Physical Condition, Environmental Conditions, Ownership Structure, Laws and Regulations, Finance, Social-Cultural, Risk and Utilization in the Transition Phase, influenced each redevelopment by either enabling or constraining the emergence of temporary uses. These conditions determined when informal uses could emerge, how experiments scaled up or down and which governance approaches were feasible.

Some conditions proved especially decisive. Ownership structure and Laws and Regulations allowed Haga Hospital and Bajeskwartier to move swiftly from trial to growth, whereas Landgoed Steenenburg’s heritage

protections, ecological restrictions and fragmented governance kept it in early-stage, ad hoc use. Location played an ambivalent role: central sites offered visibility and access but drew strict oversight, while peripheral sites provided room for guerrilla gardening or grassroots events yet struggled to attract public engagement. Other conditions varied by case. Soil contamination, building decay or ecological sensitivity set physical limits on temporary use, while community attitudes and liability concerns shaped what was deemed legitimate. Moreover, a condition can shift from enabling to constraining, as conditions themselves can change over the years, like when the physical condition of a building deteriorates. However, many conditions evolved as redevelopment unfolded: regulations became more flexible, governance arrangements changed and intermediaries emerged to broker uses.

In addition to these nine, five further dimensions proved critical: ownership orientation, timing of decisions, levels of participation and acceptance, implementation and management and the site's image and perception. Ultimately, the emergence of temporary urbanism depends not just on which conditions are present but on how actors interpret, negotiate and reshape them over time, setting the stage for an examination of governance and initiation

6.3 Governance and Initiation: Who Enables What?

Different ownership structures and the roles played by key actors set the stage for how, and how firmly, temporary uses took root across our four brownfield cases.

At Haga Hospital, the owner planned temporary urbanism before the purchase of the site, embedding temporary urbanism in the project brief. This top-down initiation, combined with delegated coordination and early involvement of a vacancy manager, ensured quick activation and clear links to final redevelopment, anchoring interim uses within the long-term vision. In Bajesdorp (part of Bajeskwartier), informal squatting and grassroots cultural initiatives filled the void left by the former owner's initial inaction. Under permissive ownership, pioneers self-organised and governed activities according to community needs, quickly securing strong local support. Centrale Harculo followed a hybrid route. BOEi in-house event-department delegated coordination, using its 'traffic light' model to frame and select proposals, balanced experimentation with strategic oversight. This approach both enabled rapid testing and embedded successful uses into the site's ongoing redevelopment. At the Bajeskwartier main complex, a single developer prescribed all programming. This top-down curation allowed for coherent branding and swift roll-out, but bottom-up ideas were largely excluded. Temporary uses were firmly anchored only when they matched the developer's vision, limiting the diversity of interim activities. In Landgoed Steenenburg, the owner's minimal, ad hoc permissions created a passive-tolerance setting: anti-squat occupancy and occasional events proceeded under short-term agreements without strategic support, preventing any lasting embedding of uses.

Across all cases, early pioneers, squatters, activists and informal organisers, were crucial for testing site potential. Their long-term influence, however, depended on whether ownership and governance arrangements offered formal pathways to embed temporary uses. Where actors brokered clear selection, framed activities strategically and tied them to policy goals, temporary urbanism gained legitimacy and durability; where they did not, uses remained marginal and short-lived.

6.4 Strategic Function: From Gap-Filler to Transition Instrument

The cases show that temporary urbanism can play a strategic role when it is deliberately linked to long-term redevelopment goals, such as social programming, placemaking or site rebranding. These goals were shaped by municipalities, developers or intermediaries who mobilised temporary urbanism with specific intent.

At Haga Hospital, temporary uses addressed social needs and were later formalised in the redevelopment plan. Centrale Harculo integrated art and hospitality into a broader transition strategy, with some initiatives becoming permanent. At Bajeskwartier, temporary uses supported branding and income continuity, with several cultural and commercial uses anticipating future programming. In these cases, temporary urbanism

aligned clearly with long-term redevelopment. In contrast, Landgoed Steenenburg lacked this connection: temporary urbanism remained symbolic and detached. This shows that the strategic role of temporary urbanism depends not only on its presence, but on its coordination and fit with future plans. Thus, in response to the fourth sub-question, the study finds that alignment between temporary and permanent end-uses emerged in some cases but was absent in others. This suggests that such alignment only materializes when interim uses are intentionally embedded within the broader redevelopment framework, rather than occurring by chance.

6.5 When the Vacancy Finds Its Voice

This study shows that temporary urbanism becomes meaningful in brownfield redevelopment only when it is actively supported, embedded in planning and aligned with long-term goals. When passively tolerated, it tends to remain marginal. In Haga Hospital, Centrale Harculo and Bajeskwartier, temporary urbanism contributed to site identity, early activation and the testing of future functions. These outcomes depended on governance choices, intermediaries, and the willingness to integrate temporary activity with strategic redevelopment. By contrast, Landgoed Steenenburg illustrates how temporary urbanism remains peripheral when institutional commitment is low and planning frameworks are absent. The additional factors, such as timing, ownership stance, implementation, image and participation, were crucial in explaining these differences.

Location also played a role. While literature around temporary urbanism often focuses on urban sites, this study included more peripheral cases like Landgoed Steenenburg and Centrale Harculo. These offered physical space for experimentation, but also faced limitations in visibility, legitimacy and institutional support. This suggests that spontaneous or informal temporary urbanism may be less likely, and more restricted, in non-urban contexts, particularly where symbolic expectations or risk aversion dominate. The typologies explored, such as *pioneer*, *coexistence*, *impulse* or *stand-in* (Oswalt et al., 2013), help situate these trajectories. Bajesdorp and Haga Hospital evolved into embedded programmes, while Landgoed Steenenburg remained fragmented. Tactical or guerrilla elements appeared early in Bajesdorp and Harculo, but often gave way to more formalised structures. These patterns confirm that temporary urbanism is not a singular model, but a plural, adaptive practice.

In summary, the emergence and development of temporary urbanism depend on both structural conditions and strategic choices, legal frameworks, governance, timing and coordination. Temporary urbanism is not merely a placeholder. It is a flexible tool that can shape redevelopment, by defining how sites are used, by whom, and with what intentions. When context, strategy and initiative align, vacancy becomes more than an interlude. It becomes part of the transformation itself. That is when the vacancy finds its voice.

7 Discussion

This chapter reflects on the main insights of the study and connects them to broader theoretical debates. The comparative analysis of four Dutch cases shows that temporary urbanism is neither a uniform nor a linear phenomenon, but a context-sensitive process shaped by ownership orientation, institutional frameworks and spatial constraints. These findings echo recent literature, such as Turku et al. (2023), who describe temporary urbanism as an iterative practice that gradually adapts to shifting conditions.

7.1 Ownership Orientation and Strategic Embedding

The analysis shows that it is not the ownership structure itself, but rather the orientation of the owner that proved decisive for the emergence and development of temporary urbanism. At Haga Hospital, public ownership led to socially oriented uses but also delayed decision-making due to formal procedures. At Landgoed Steenenburg, public ownership similarly resulted in a cautious approach, where temporary uses were only allowed after several years. At Bajeskwartier, private ownership enabled faster, more strategic choices aimed at image-building and value creation. At Centrale Harculo, temporary urbanism was only actively developed after site remediation and (partial) transfer of ownership, under a socially oriented approach. Moreover, in three cases, temporary urbanism remained subordinate to the broader redevelopment strategy: initiatives primarily supported the site's value development indirectly, regardless of whether the owner was public or private. Only at Haga Hospital did temporary urbanism play a more autonomous role, less directly tied to financial value creation.

The findings suggest that ownership orientation, more than ownership structure alone, shapes whether temporary urbanism is merely allowed or actively cultivated. In cases where owners adopted an open, facilitative stance, temporary urbanism was more likely to align with redevelopment strategies. This observation invites further reflection on how ownership behaviour interacts with enabling conditions and whether openness can compensate for formal limitations in legal or spatial terms.

7.2 Balancing Flexibility and Structure

A further insight concerns the balance between openness and coordination. While temporary urbanism often benefits from flexibility and space for experimentation, cases such as Centrale Harculo and Bajeskwartier show that institutional coordination and clear decision-making frameworks can improve continuity, legitimacy and alignment with redevelopment goals. This challenges assumptions in the literature that primarily value bottom-up initiatives for their social embeddedness and ability to challenge institutional inertia (e.g. Andres & Zhang, 2020; Colomb, 2012). While such flexibility remains crucial, the cases reveal that more structured and sometimes commercially oriented strategies, if designed with room for growth, can also effectively enable temporary urbanism.

This hybrid reality echoes recent practice-based studies (e.g. Oswalt et al., 2013; Brand, 2023), which note that the most adaptive models often combine elements of top-down coordination with openness to grassroots initiative. These hybrid approaches were most visible in Centrale Harculo and Haga Hospital, where intermediaries acted as gatekeepers while still allowing unsolicited initiatives. At the same time, Centrale Harculo illustrates that even facilitative frameworks can introduce limitations. The traffic light model helped guide decisions, but also excluded activities that were deemed too risky, disruptive, or incompatible with long-term plans, such as large-scale events or housing. This supports critiques that institutionalised temporary urbanism may reinforce existing hierarchies (Bragaglia & Rossignolo, 2021; Brenner, 2015). While hybrid models enable more structured experimentation, they also raise new questions about selectivity, inclusion and whose goals define temporary urbanism.

7.3 The Process Dynamics of Temporary Urbanism

The adapted four-phase model (Coincidental, Test, Growth, Development) provided a useful analytical lens to structure the case comparison. The phases were identified inductively based on shifts in actor roles, coordination, investment and programmatic continuity. Rather than a strict typology, the model functioned as a flexible interpretive tool that helped clarify how temporary use evolved over time, while also revealing its limits. Notably, this analysis suggests that while the model remains a valuable heuristic, its effectiveness for interpretation and cross-case comparison can be reduced when one or more phases are omitted or applied unevenly. In hybrid or informal trajectories, such as in Bajeskwartier, phase boundaries were blurred or overlapping. In Landgoed Steenenburg, progression stalled altogether. These cases showed that the model is less effective where coordination is weak or institutional engagement is lacking. It works best when some strategic framing is present; in more improvised settings, it must be applied cautiously and contextually. The four-phase model would benefit from clearer, predefined boundaries. By refining each phase with measurable criteria and linking specific KPIs to them, it can become a model to initiate and develop temporary urbanism in brownfield redevelopment toward long-term use.

More broadly, the analysis highlights that temporary urbanism does not follow a fixed progression. It emerges through shifting constellations of actors, governance approaches and site-specific conditions. Similar spatial contexts can produce very different outcomes depending on who is involved, how use is framed and whether it aligns with broader objectives. In some cases, temporary use activates and tests future functions; in others, it remains reactive or marginal. These variations challenge binary models that portray temporary urbanism as either bottom-up initiative or top-down instrument. The cases show it often takes hybrid forms shaped by negotiation, coordination and timing. While it can support experimentation and inclusion, it may also produce selectivity and exclusion depending on how frameworks are applied. Temporary urbanism is best understood as an iterative, layered process, requiring analytical models that remain responsive to contradiction and change.

The classification of contextual conditions as enabling, constraining or both enabling and constraining helped make sense of these variations. Some factors, such as unclear ownership or limited legal instruments, initially constrained activity but became more supportive over time. This shows that context is not static: conditions shift and how actors respond to them influences how temporary urbanism develops. At the same time, coordination, while useful for alignment and continuity, also introduced boundaries. In Centrale Harculo and Bajeskwartier, curated frameworks helped steer temporary urbanism toward long-term goals, but reduced space for open-ended experimentation. Where governance allowed more flexibility, initiatives could adapt and diversify. In more rigid settings like Landgoed Steenenburg, development remained limited. These contrasts suggest that while structured coordination may increase effectiveness, it does not guarantee openness or inclusivity

7.4 Critical Reflection and Limitations

This study focused on nine contextual factors that shaped the emergence and development of temporary urbanism across four Dutch brownfield sites. While these factors provided a useful framework for comparison, internal dynamics, such as organizational culture, leadership styles, and informal power relations, could only be examined to a limited extent. In addition, during the development of the process descriptions, it became clear that a correct interpretation and delineation of process phases cannot be separated from the context in which these phases unfolded. The dynamic interaction between process and context proved essential in explaining abrupt transitions, stagnations, or strategic choices, such as deliberately leaving part of a building vacant. This suggests that the phasing of temporary urbanism must be understood as strongly context-dependent rather than following a universal or linear model.

More subtle dynamics, such as actor sensitivities, governance culture or reputational risk, may strongly affect how temporary uses emerge or are sustained, but remained largely beyond the scope of this research. In several cases, such as Landgoed Steenenburg, limited archival material, the absence of academic literature and non-response from key actors made it difficult to reconstruct early processes. This

case analysis relied more on public sources and media reports, which, while informative, provided less insight into informal roles or early motivations.

The selected cases differed substantially in location (urban vs. peripheral), site function (hospital, prison, industrial), and governance model (public, private, delegated). This heterogeneity enriched the analysis by capturing a range of conditions under which temporary urbanism unfolds, but it also constrained the potential for generalisation. Notably, the two peripheral sites, Centrale Harculo and Landgoed Steenenburg, exhibited fewer spontaneous initiatives and more restricted programming than the urban cases. This suggests that urban conditions, such as higher density, visibility and accessibility, may create more favourable circumstances for informal or diverse forms of temporary use. In urban areas, greater demand for space may increase pressure on owners and municipalities to avoid prolonged vacancy, while also encouraging initiators to propose a broader range of uses in response to more urgent spatial and social needs.

In methodological terms, this study applied a broader interpretation, encompassing sites like the former hospitals and prison, than is typical in international brownfield research, which often focuses on contaminated industrial areas. While this reflects Dutch redevelopment practice, it limits direct international comparability, especially with studies focused on post-industrial and contaminated contexts. Moreover, Dutch planning culture, characterised by institutional coordination and integrated objectives, may produce more curated or hybrid governance approaches than in countries with market-led planning systems. The focus on cases with either full public or private ownership also excluded more fragmented constellations, which may behave differently. As such, the study does not present transferable best practices, but grounded insights into how temporary urbanism unfolds under specific Dutch institutional conditions. Attempts to replicate ‘successful’ cases from the literature, often urban and strongly curated, should be critically examined. What is presented as spontaneous is often the result of specific enabling conditions, including pressure on space and political willingness. Spontaneity cannot simply be copied, but may be facilitated under the right circumstances. This underscores the importance of context-sensitive interpretation over generic replication.

7.5 Relation to existing literature

This study supports earlier work on adaptive governance in temporary urbanism (Bishop & Williams, 2012) which shows how flexible, site-specific coordination can activate underused sites even within rigid planning systems. In the analysed cases, temporary urbanism added spatial, social and symbolic value, especially during uncertain transitional periods. Yet its impact was not always structural. In some instances, it remained symbolic or limited to short-term activation, without directly influencing long-term redevelopment.

One key contribution of this study lies in reaffirming the importance of *image and perception* as an enabling condition. Stevens and Dovey (2023) argue that temporary urbanism can reshape place identity by embedding new narratives and increasing visibility during transition. This was clearly visible in Bajeskwartier and Centrale Harculo, where temporary initiatives, such as exhibitions, cafés and creative workspaces, were used to shift public perception and distance the sites from their former institutional or industrial pasts. Here, image-making was not a side-effect but a deliberate goal, deployed to reposition the site in anticipation of future development. This also connects to a growing body of literature on placemaking, which highlights how temporary urbanism can transform disused sites into spaces of social meaning. Ellery, Ellery and Borkowsky (2021) describe placemaking as a process of fostering usability and belonging through shared activities that reshape spatial experience. In this sense, temporary urbanism can act as a catalyst: activating places, building momentum and expanding ideas about what is possible or desirable in a given location. However, as redevelopment progressed, the balance between social value and commercial aims began to shift. In both Bajeskwartier and Centrale Harculo, temporary use evolved from open-ended placemaking toward more curated, brand-driven programming. Initiatives were increasingly selected for their potential to transition into permanent, often commercial functions. Temporary urbanism thus became less a tool for experimentation and more a mechanism for phased market positioning. This evolution

underscores a tension found in the literature: between place-making as inclusive transformation and place-branding as a strategic tool for redevelopment.

While this study does not set out to test critiques of commercialisation directly, it does reveal how temporary urbanism can, over time, become more closely aligned with commercial redevelopment agendas, as noted by Bragaglia & Rossignolo (2021) and Brenner (2015). This study adds an internal dynamic to that critique. Within temporary urbanism itself, early initiators often carry a disproportionate burden. They operate under uncertain conditions, activate dormant sites, and invest heavily in the initial momentum, often without guarantees of continuity or support. As the site gains visibility and legitimacy, these early users may be displaced or overshadowed by more formal or market-aligned actors. This raises the need to distinguish not only between types of temporary use, but also between stages of involvement and the actors they favour. It also invites further attention to the uneven distribution of effort, risk and reward within temporary urbanism, something that is rarely addressed in existing literature, but clearly visible in cases such as Centrale Harculo. This internal inequality also relates to a broader tension in the field: how different forms of value, social, symbolic and economic, are balanced, and which uses are legitimised or excluded as a result.

Much of the literature, and many practitioners, argue that temporary urbanism should remain non-commercial and rooted in community-led or commons-based values (Oswalt et al., 2013; Brand, 2023). This position was also echoed during the event *'Temporary Use and Commons in Real Estate Management'* held at TU Delft on 14 March 2025 (personal observation), where commercial involvement was discussed as potentially undermining openness and inclusivity. The cases in this study present a more layered picture. In several instances, temporary programmes combined social and commercial elements, with income-generating functions supporting broader goals. At Bajeskwartier, for example, such a mix contributed to both financial continuity and social impact. At the same time, early users, who helped activate the site under uncertain conditions, were not always part of the more formalised programmes that followed. This raises questions about how priorities shift over time, who remains involved, and how inclusion is managed as temporary urbanism evolves. Together, these findings highlight a need to move beyond binary debates about commercial versus non-commercial use. They point instead to a broader inquiry into how temporary urbanism negotiates multiple value systems, financial, social, symbolic, and how those negotiations shape both continuity and access over time. These dynamics point to a governance dimension that is still underexplored in the literature. Rather than fixed categories of public or private steering, the cases indicate a spectrum of coordination practices, from passive tolerance to active curation. Particularly the role of intermediaries invites further investigation: while they enabled smoother processes and greater professionalism, they also shaped the boundaries of what was seen as acceptable or viable. This suggests that governance choices not only structure participation, but also prefigure the future roles temporary uses can play.

In the case of Landgoed Steenenburg, the municipality's persistent reluctance to actively support or coordinate temporary urbanism appears to have contributed to the emergence of informal or unsanctioned activities, including squatting and recreational trespassing. This case illustrates that the link between institutional inaction and self-initiated spatial appropriation, previously theorised by Bryson et al. (2018), continues to hold relevance. Rather than being historical or incidental, this dynamic remains observable today: prolonged vacancy and lack of spatial direction can still trigger bottom-up or informal responses. While this study does not centre on squatting, the developments at Landgoed Steenenburg underscore how the absence of active governance may itself constitute a condition shaping temporary urbanism.

The role of quartermasters ('Kwartiermakers' in Dutch) individuals who support early activation through tasks like unlocking spaces, coordinating users, and handling minor technical work, closely aligns with the operational roles described in Twynstra Gudde's Three Phase Model (Schönau & Van Hardeveldt, 2009). Roles such as host, concept developer and market superintendent are seen as crucial for transitions between phases; quartermasters function as informal counterparts, bridging strategic planning and everyday execution. In the Haga case, intermediary OAK stressed that successful temporary use depends on early communication, responsiveness, and dedicated vacancy management. These findings highlight that quartermasters play a crucial, yet often overlooked, role in stabilising temporary urbanism during its most fragile phase.

7.6 Recommendations for Future Research

A first recommendation is to further investigate the relationship between temporary urbanism and the broader redevelopment process. Rather than treating temporary urbanism as a separate or parallel track, future research should examine how it relates to key planning milestones, such as land acquisition, tender procedures, zoning changes or investment decisions and how these stages influence the timing, form and institutional treatment of temporary initiatives. This study shows that temporary urbanism often emerges during the transition phase of redevelopment, but its duration and form are shaped by how that process unfolds. At Landgoed Steenenburg, for example, prolonged uncertainty around the final development led to institutional reluctance to support temporary use, likely out of concern that it might complicate future planning. This suggests that temporary urbanism is not only triggered by timing or vacancy, but also by strategic considerations. Analysing how temporary use aligns with or fills gaps between formal development steps could clarify its role as coping mechanism or transitional tool, while also helping refine phase-based models by making institutional dynamics more explicit.

A second line of inquiry concerns the distribution of effort and recognition across different stages of temporary urbanism. Existing critiques highlight how temporary use is often instrumentalised to support market-oriented redevelopment (Bragaglia & Rossignolo, 2021; Brenner, 2015). Building on this, the findings suggest that inequalities can also emerge within temporary urbanism itself. Early users often bear the greatest burden, activating sites under uncertain conditions and building momentum, yet may be replaced or sidelined once more formal or commercially viable uses arrive. This calls for closer attention to how sequencing affects inclusion and continuity, and how early contributors could be more explicitly recognised or supported within temporary use strategies.

A third recommendation is to examine how commercial and social functions coexist within temporary urbanism, and under what conditions this mix becomes productive rather than conflicting. This also raises broader questions about how different forms of value, social, symbolic and economic, are negotiated in practice. While commercial involvement is often viewed critically in the literature (Bragaglia & Rossignolo, 2021) and practice (Ferreri, 2015; Brand, 2023), the cases of Bajeskwartier (main complex) and Centrale Harculo suggest that commercial and non-commercial uses can reinforce one another when coordinated with care. The commercially viable activities, such as for Bajeswkartier the asylum seeker centre and nightlife venue, contributed to sustaining a broader temporary programme. These functions, which operated on regular lease terms, created financial space for non-commercial initiatives like cultural events or living labs, which often paid reduced or no rent. This made a more inclusive mix of temporary use possible within the same framework. As temporary urbanism expands and becomes more embedded, a certain level of professionalisation is often unavoidable. Large and complex buildings, such as former hospitals or power stations, cannot be managed informally, they require professional oversight to ensure safety, maintenance and continuity. In practice, this means involving parties with commercial expertise and interests. Their participation introduces financial considerations: costs must be covered, and business models begin to shape what is feasible. Future research could examine how such hybrid arrangements are structured and sustained, financially, spatially and institutionally, and what trade-offs they entail for inclusivity, access and long-term integration.

Finally, the sequencing and interaction between different types of temporary use within a single redevelopment area deserves closer attention. Especially the role of early users, or quartermasters, is underexplored. These individuals or collectives often perform key bridging tasks in the early stages: unlocking buildings, guiding users, supporting logistics and creating basic continuity. While their presence can be critical to early activation, it remains unclear how their role evolves as redevelopment progresses and more formal or commercial functions emerge. Understanding this transition could improve the strategic deployment of temporary urbanism in complex planning environments.

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Appendix A: Stakeholder mapping and flowchart

This appendix contains the stakeholder maps and flowcharts for the four case studies. These visuals offer insight into the actors involved during the transition phase, their relative influence and interests, and how relationships shifted over time. The diagrams were first developed during the document analysis and gradually refined as the research progressed. Interviews and field visits provided additional input, which helped adjust and complete the initial versions.

Stakeholder mapping
The maps show the main actors per case, ranging from municipalities and developers to temporary users and residents. Each map is based on a four-quadrant model that organises stakeholders by their level of influence and interest, resulting in the categories: Key Players, Influencers, Interested Parties and Observers. The maps include both temporary and permanent actors and reflect their roles during the transition process. These mappings also played a practical role in the research. They supported the interview strategy by helping identify relevant stakeholders per case (see Section 3.2.2) and clarified how different actors were involved in shaping temporary urbanism.

Flowchart
The flowcharts outline how temporary urbanism developed over time at each location. They highlight changes in actor roles, the timing of involvement and the balance between top-down and bottom-up influence. As described in Section 3.3.3, the charts were revised during the research to reflect a more complete picture of each case.

Centrale Harculo

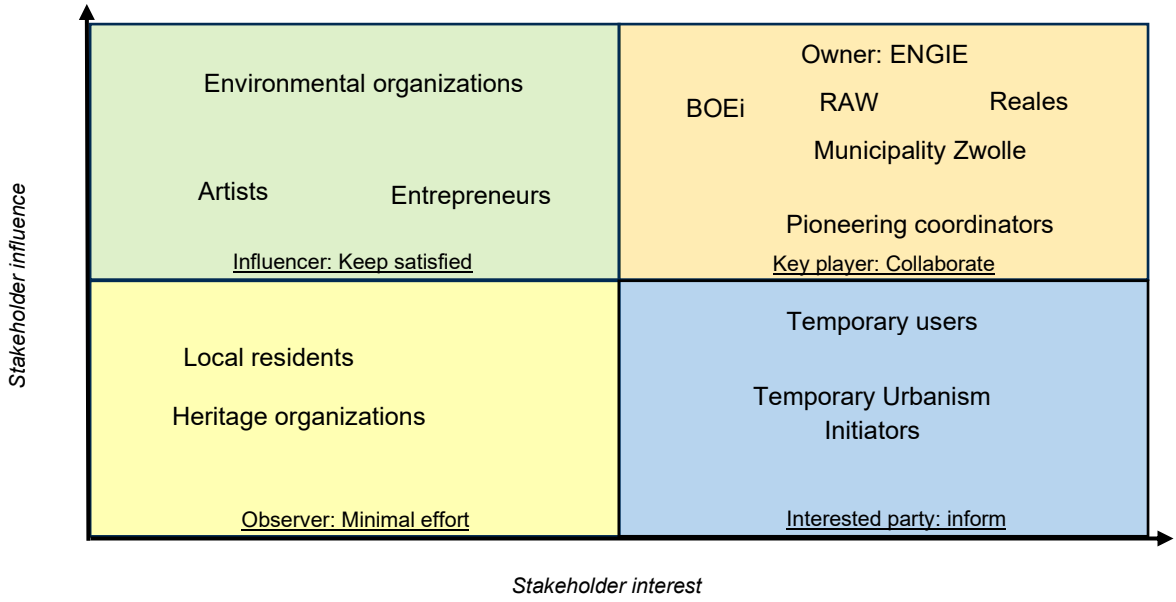

Figure 27: Transitional stakeholders Centrale Harculo mapped (own work)

Figure 27: presents a stakeholder map for Centrale Harculo, based on observed levels of influence and interest. It shows how a broad range of actors, public and private, formal and informal, were involved during the transition. Stakeholders are grouped into four categories: Key Players, Influencers, Interested Parties, and Observers. The map illustrates how temporary urbanism was shaped by diverse roles, priorities and degrees of involvement.

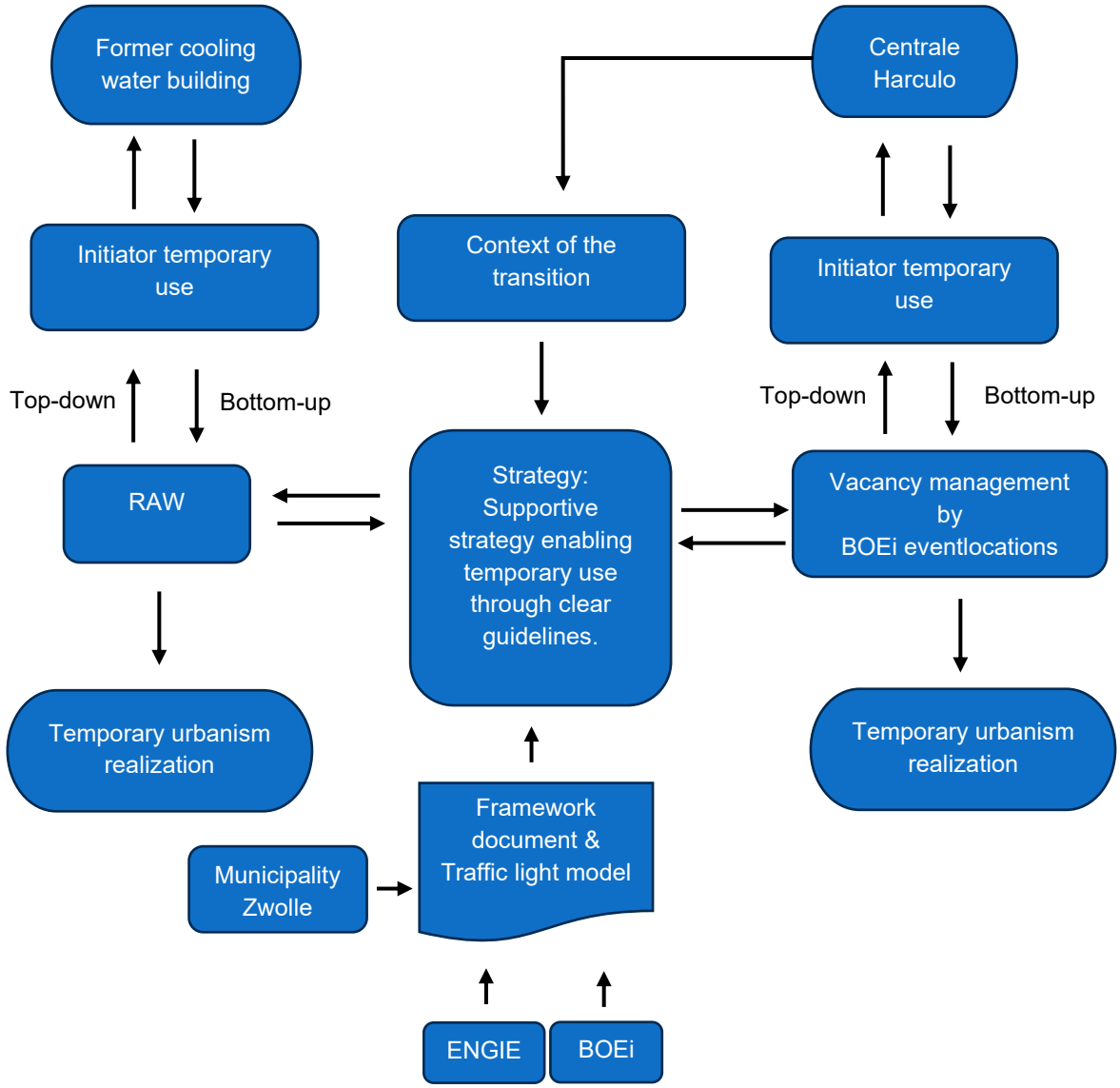

Figure 28: Actor roles and coordination structure during the formalisation of temporary urbanism at Centrale Harculo (own work)

This diagram illustrates how temporary urbanism was coordinated during the later stages of redevelopment at Centrale Harculo. It shows the shift in responsibility for the cooling water building from BOEi to RAW towards the end of the transition phase. Both BOEi and RAW facilitated a mix of top-down and bottom-up initiatives within a shared strategic framework, using BOEi's "traffic light model" as a guiding tool. The figure highlights how temporary urbanism became more structured through the introduction of defined actor roles, procedural frameworks and decision-making instruments.

Haga Hospital

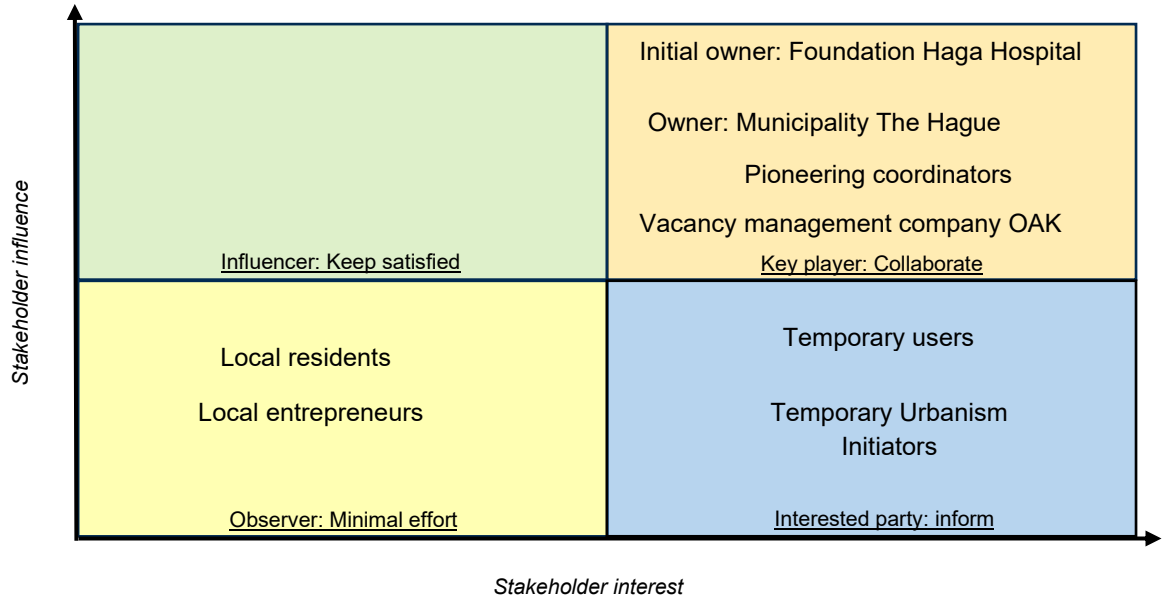

Figure 29: Transitional stakeholders Haga Hospital mapped (own work)

The stakeholder map (Figure 29) for Haga Hospital reflects a shift in responsibility over time, from the initial owner (a foundation) to the municipality and later a private developer. It shows how temporary use was supported by a vacancy management company and pioneering coordinators, while local residents and entrepreneurs played a limited role. The figure visualises the relative interest and influence of both public and private actors, including initiators of temporary use and future residents, during the site's transition.

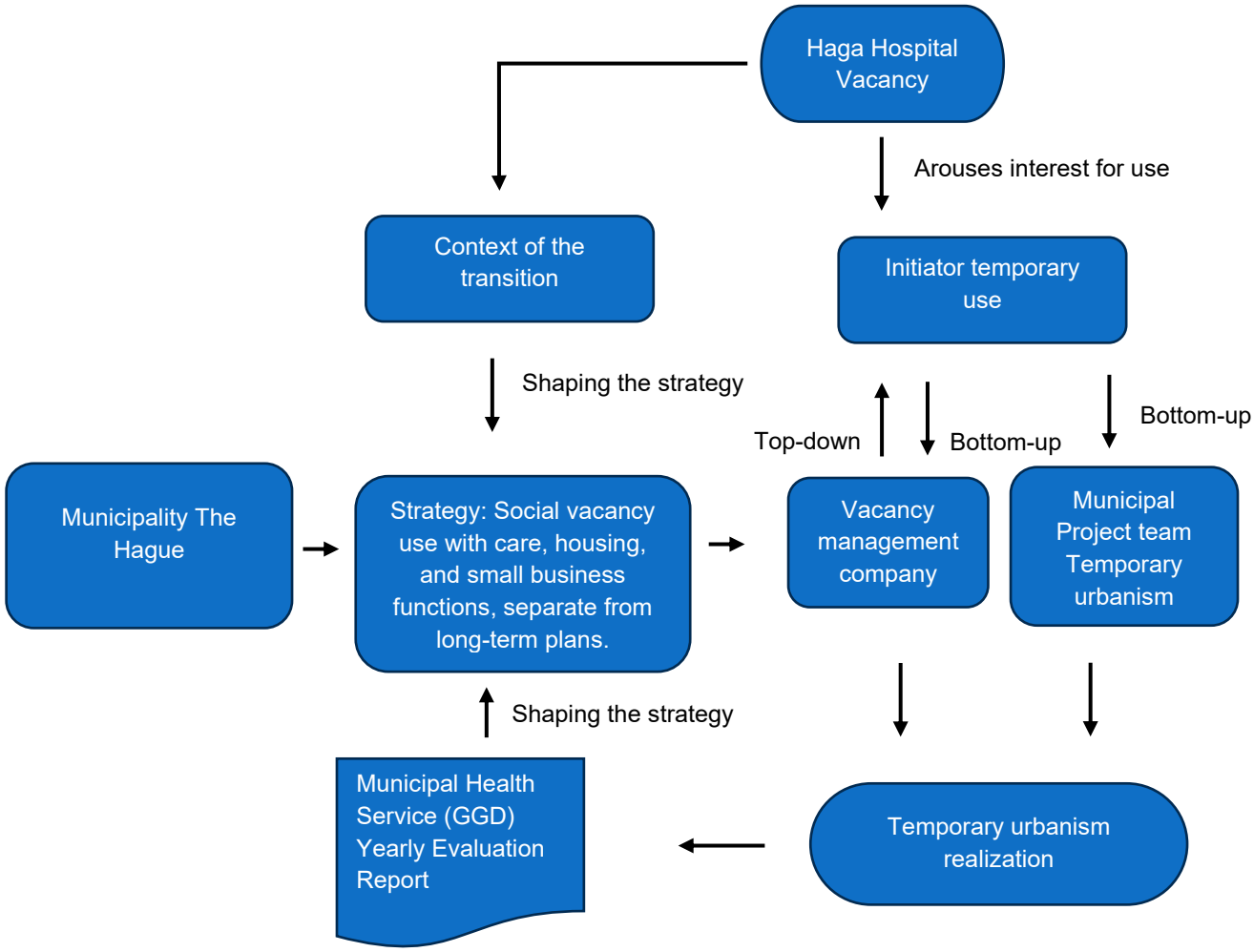

Figure 30: Actor roles and coordination in temporary urbanism at Haga Hospital during the transition phase (own work)

This diagram shows how temporary urbanism at the former Haga Hospital site was coordinated as the transition progressed. What started informally developed into a structured approach involving multiple municipal departments, a vacancy manager, and temporary users. The figure visualises how responsibilities were divided and how coordination shifted toward a more centralised structure. It distinguishes between top-down placements (e.g. CJG) and bottom-up initiatives (e.g. the church community), and shows how intermediary OAK Management facilitated communication and implementation on behalf of the municipality and hospital foundation.

Landgoed Steenenburg

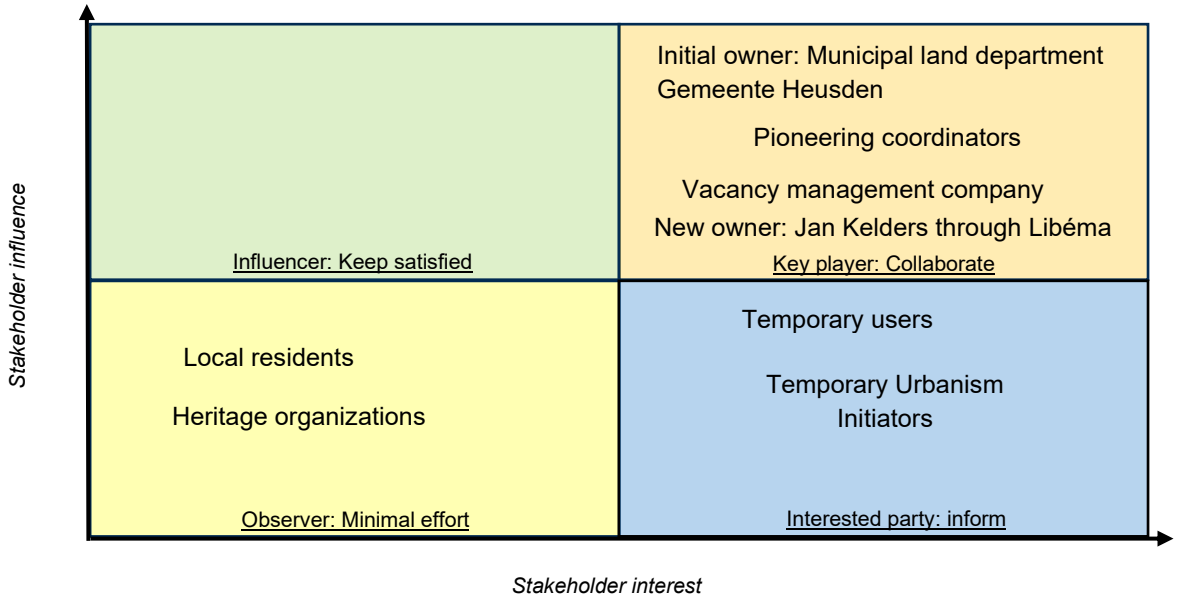

Figure 31: Transitional stakeholders Landgoed Steenenburg mapped (own work)

This stakeholder map presents the key actors involved in the transition of Landgoed Steenenburg, based on their level of influence (vertical axis) and interest (horizontal axis). It distinguishes between Key Players, Influencers, Interested Parties, and Observers. The mapping includes both temporary and permanent actors, ranging from the municipality and future owner to heritage organisations, media, and temporary users. Their position reflects their involvement in decision-making and the extent to which they shaped or responded to the temporary use process. Compared to earlier maps, this model adds depth by showing not just who was involved, but also how they were engaged during the site's informal activation and eventual redevelopment.

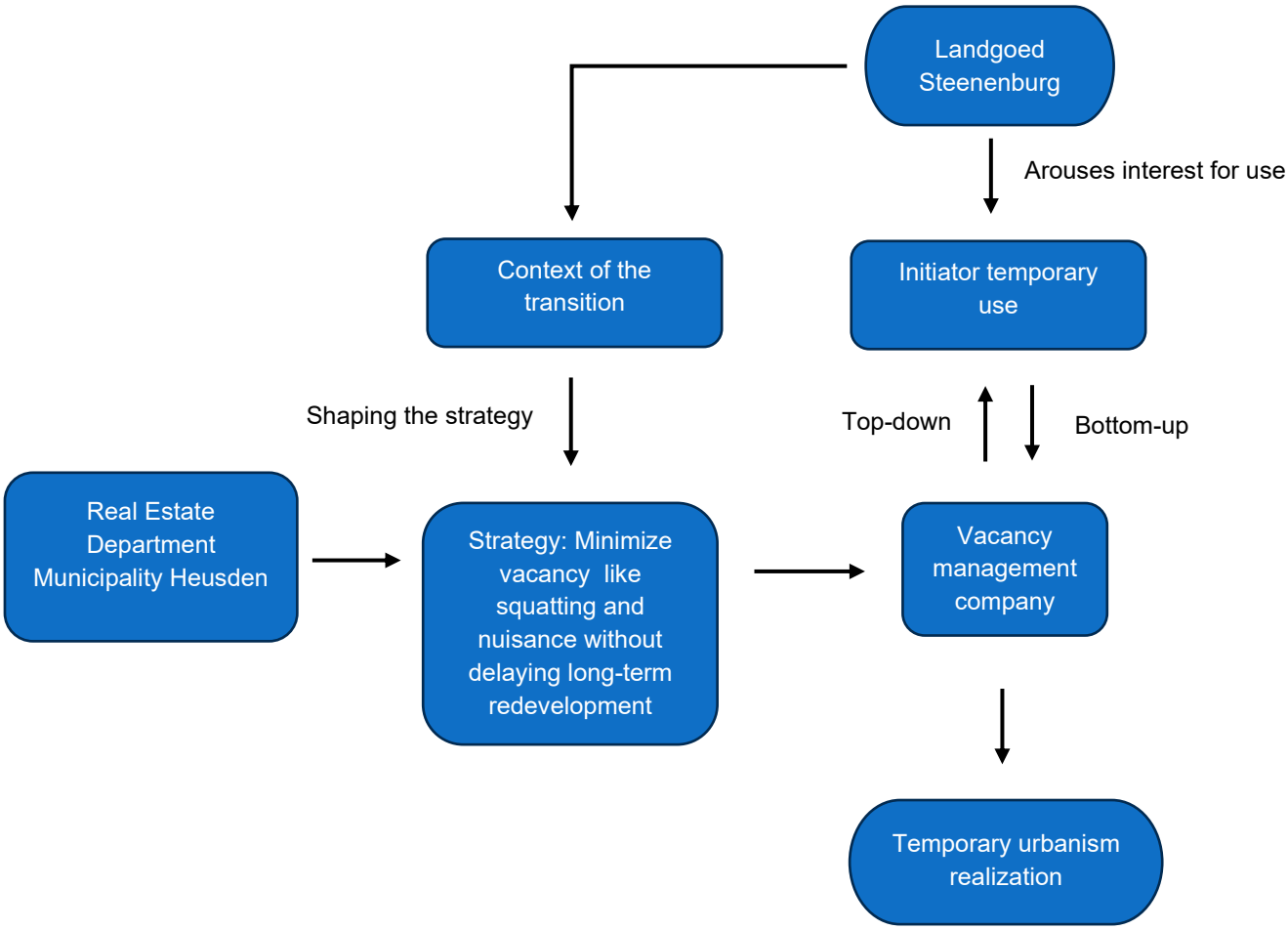

Figure 32: Actor coordination in temporary urbanism at Landgoed Steenenburg during the early transition phase (own work)

This diagram visualises how temporary use was coordinated at Landgoed Steenenburg during the early transition phase. It highlights the central role of the municipal real estate department, which shaped a vacancy strategy focused on minimising risks like squatting and nuisance, without actively integrating temporary use into long-term planning. A vacancy management company acted as intermediary, implementing the strategy and filtering initiatives. The figure shows how informal interest was managed within a cautious, top-down approach, with little room for spontaneous or socially embedded temporary urbanism.

Bajeskwartier (main complex)

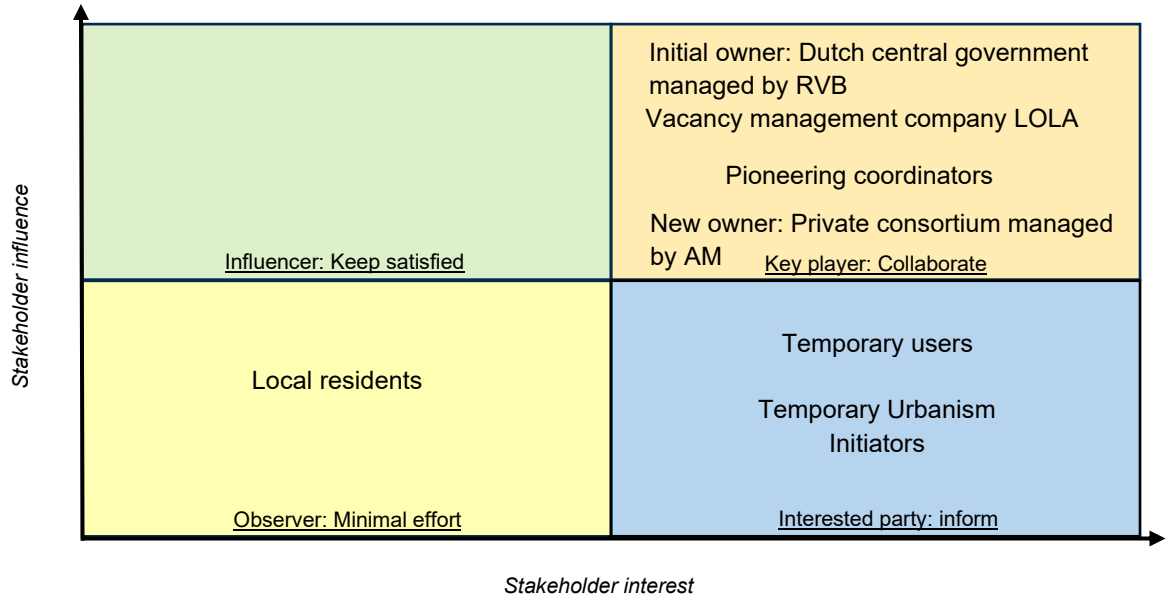

Figure 33: Transitional stakeholders Bajeskwartier mapped (own work)

This stakeholder map outlines the key actors involved in the transitional phase of Bajeskwartier. Using a four-quadrant model based on influence and interest, it identifies Key Players, Influencers, Interested Parties, and Observers. The mapping includes formal stakeholders, such as the original owner RVB, development consortium AM, and the municipality, as well as informal actors like temporary use initiators and future residents.

Core initiators and AM played a leading role in shaping temporary programming, while others, like local residents and the media, had a more peripheral or advisory position. This visualisation helps clarify stakeholder engagement and power dynamics during the transition, forming the basis for the following flowchart analysis.

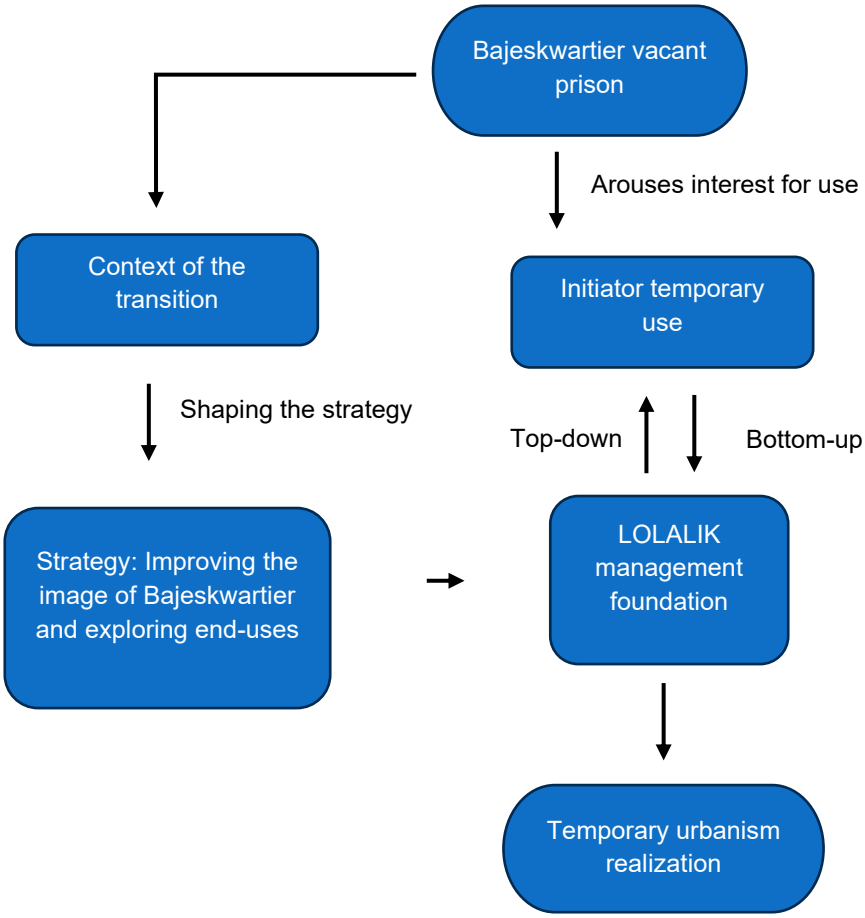

Figure 34: Actor coordination and temporary urbanism strategy at Bajeskwartier during the transition phase (own work)

This diagram visualises how temporary urbanism was coordinated at Bajeskwartier during the redevelopment of the former prison complex. It shows how interest in temporary use emerged, how the municipality shaped a strategy focused on image improvement and future use exploration, and how the foundation LOLALIK acted as intermediary. LOLALIK connected informal initiatives with strategic goals and managed implementation. The figure illustrates how temporary urbanism was shaped through a combination of top-down vision and bottom-up initiatives, resulting in a more coordinated and publicly visible programme.

Appendix B: Overview temporary urbanism representation per case

Centrale Harculo

Nr	Temporary use	Date/period	Initiation[5]	Category	Appearance of use
1	Training location for army and police	2014 - now	Bottom-up	Sports & Recreation	Event
2	Art route IJsselbiënnale (outside)	2017	Bottom-up	Cultural	Event
3	Requiem voor de IJsselcentrale	29 & 30 juni 2019	Top-down	Cultural	Event
4	Art route IJsselbiënnale (outside and inside)	2021 – 2025 onwards	Bottom-up	Cultural	Event
5	Bennies pop-up restaurant	Juli 2021 – september 2023	Top-down	Culinary & Hospitality, Commercial	Location
6	Coolwater Food & Drinks	September 2023 – 2025 onwards	Bottom-up	Culinary & Hospitality	Location
7	De Stad Verbeeldt de expositie Verhalen van Harculo	2021 & 2022	Bottom-up	Cultural	Event (recurring)
8	Deelname aan Open Monumentendag	2022	Bottom-up	Cultural	Event
9	Zet Een Stap Tegen Kanker	21 & 22 May 2022	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented	Event
10	Fotofestival Alles Stroomt - De Stad Verbeeldt	7 - 29 september 2024	Bottom-up	Cultural	Event
11	Centrale Harculo Museum	May 2024	Bottom-up	Cultural	Location
12	Overstag Festival	September 14th 2024	Bottom-up	Commercial	Event

Table 5: Representative temporary uses at Centrale Harculo, categorised by period, type, initiation and mode of appearance (own work)

[5] The classification into bottom-up, top-down or hybrid is based on document analysis and interviews. Where ambiguous, it reflects the researcher's interpretation of actor roles and governance, informed by Andres and Zhang (2020).

HAGA Hospital

Nr	Temporary use	Date/period	Initiation	Category	Appearance of use
1	Homeless shelter	December 2018 – October 2025	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented	Location
2	Vaccination location	Februari 2021 – December 2021	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented	Location
3	Center for Youth & Family (CJG)	2021 - 2025 onwards	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented	Location
4	Small church community	2022 - 2025 onwards	Bottom-up	Cultural	Location
5	Koffiekliniek renovating coffee machines	2023 - now	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented, Commercial	Location
6	Vaccination location	2023	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented	Location
7	Construction contractor	2023	Bottom-up	Commercial	Location
8	Design Studio	2023	Bottom-up	Commercial	Location
9	Electrical wiring company	2023	Bottom-up	Commercial	Location
10	IT business	2023	Bottom-up	Commercial	Location
11	Visual artist's studio	2023	Bottom-up	Commercial	Location
12	Storage units	2023	Bottom-up	Commercial	Location
13	Homeless winter shelter	Nov 2024 – April 25	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented	Location
14	Temporary housing for asylum seekers (COA)	November 2025 – November 2032	Top-down	Social & Community-Oriented, Commercial	Location
15	Temporary housing for students (DUWO)	November 2025 – November 2032	Top-down	Social & Community-Oriented, Commercial	Location
16	Homeless shelter (Salvation Army)	November 2025 – November 2032	Top-down	Social & Community-Oriented	Location
17	Neighborhood facilities for workshops and community spaces	2026 – November 2032	Top-down	Social & Community-Oriented	Location

Table 6: Representative temporary uses at Haga Hospital, categorised by period, type, initiation and mode of appearance (own work)

Landgoed Steenenburg

Nr	Temporary use	Date/period	Initiatiator's involvement	Categorizing	Appearance of use
1	Anti-squatting housing in Castle	2008 - 2023	Top-down	Residential	Location
2	Luscious dance event	2009, January 31th & April 18th	Bottom-up	Commercial, Social & Community-Oriented	Event
3	Eurythms dance event	2010, January 29th	Bottom-up	Commercial, Social & Community-Oriented	Event
4	Squatting in farm	januari – april 2014	Bottom-up	Residential	Location
5	Poort van Heusden	May 2015 – 2025 onwards	Top-down	Green & Open Space	Location
6	Work-, event- and community location	July 2020 - 2023	Top-down	Commercial, Social & Community-Oriented	Location
7	Recreational trespass	2008 - 2025	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented	Event (recurring)

Table 7: Representative temporary uses at Landgoed Steenenburg, categorised by period, type, initiation and mode of appearance (own work)

Bajeskwartier (Trajectory I: Bajesdorp)

Nr	Temporary use	Date/period	Initiatiator's involvement	Categorizing	Appearance of temporary use
1	Squatters in Prison guards' residences	2003 - 2023	Bottom-up	Residential	Location
2	Property guardianship in Prison guards' residences	2003 - 2019	Top-down	Social & Community-Oriented	Location
3	Bajesdorp Festival	2010–2019	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented, Cultural	Event
4	Bajestuin	2013–2023	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented, Cultural	Location
5	De Muiterij	2015–2023	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented, Cultural	Location
6	Rondje Bajesdorp	2015, 2016, 2017	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented, Cultural	Event

Table 7: Representative temporary uses at Bajeskwartier (bajesdorp), categorised by period, type, initiation and mode of appearance (own work)

Bajeskwartier (Trajectory II: main jail complex)

Nr	Temporary use	Date/period	Initiatiator's involvement	Categorizing	Appearance of temporary use
1	Asylum seekers center	August 2016 – early 2018	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented, Commercial	Event
2	De Refugee Company Testing events	2016–2023 (start informal in 2016)	Top-down	Social & Community-Oriented, Cultural	Multiple Events (see following figure xx)
3	A Beautiful Mess restaurant	2016–2017	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented	Location
4	A Beautiful Mess sewing workshop	2016 - 2017	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented	Event (recurring)
5	Boksschool Bijlmerbajes	2017 – 2019	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented, Commercial	Location
6	Taalschool MORE than les	2016 - 2020	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented, Commercial	Location
7	Ontwerpbureau Waarmakers	2018 – 2025 onwards	Bottom-up	Commercial	Location
8	Bijlmerbajes Ontgrendeld Escape room	2017 – januari 2019	Bottom-up	Commercial	Location
9	Bijlmer HAMAM	2017 - 2019	Bottom-up	Commercial	Location
10	The Movement Hotel	Sept 2017 – Sept 2018	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented, Commercial	Location
11	Bajes Lounge	2018 - 2025 onwards	Top-down	Commercial, Social & Community-Oriented	Location
12	Levenslang	2021 - 2025 onwards	Top-down	Commercial	Location

13	ADE Levenslang	2023, 2024, 2025 onwards	Bottom-up	Commercial	Event (recurring)
14	**LSFR podcasts**	2021 – 2025 onwards	Top-down	Commercial	Location
15	**Solar Sedum**	2022 – 2025 onwards	Top-down	Commercial	Location
16	**Atelier Café**	2022 – 2025 onwards	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented	Location
17	**Living lab**	2021 - 2025 onwards	Bottom-up	Social & Community-Oriented, Cultural	Location/Events

Table 8: Representative temporary uses at Bajeskwartier (main complex), categorised by period, type, initiation and mode of appearance (own work)

Activity	Volunteers	Participants
Design workshop	5	20
Oil portrait workshop	2	50
CV/LinkedIn workshop	3	30
Intake interview	3	120
Photography workshop	2	25
Barista training	3	25
Staff at coffee bar Kahwa	3	25
Staff for events for external clients	4	35
Hospitality training	2	35
Pattern development training	2	2
Tailor-made shirt production	1	10
Small-scale textile production for external clients	1	3
Design sessions for T-shirt collection	3	10
Screen printing training and T-shirt production	1	0
Daily hosts/hostesses at Refugee Company	0	10
Advice and intake interview	4	80

*Table 9: Events and activities by Refugee Company in Bajeskwartier (main jail complex) (*Refugee Company, 2017, p.17).

Appendix C: Nine-condition contextual framework

Nieuw Harculo, formerly Centrale Harculo, Zwolle

Case: Centrale Harculo, Zwolle.	Role in shaping temporary urbanism[6]	Explanation
Conditions v		
1. Location	Enabled and constrained	Peripheral, semi-rural setting limited spontaneous engagement but offered spatial freedom and minimal nuisance risk, well-suited for low-intensity experimentation
2. Physical condition	Enabled and constrained	The main plant was contaminated and unsuitable for reuse until demolition and remediation were completed in 2018. In contrast, several auxiliary buildings were structurally sound but required cleaning and removal of obsolete infrastructure before being safely accessed for temporary use.
3. Environmental conditions	Mostly constrained	Proximity to Natura 2000 area imposed strict noise and emission restrictions, excluding large events and certain uses
4. Ownership structure	Enabled and constrained	Initially centralised under ENGIE, but later fragmented between BOEi, RAW, and REALES. Enabled diverse initiatives but complicated site-wide coordination
5. Laws and regulations	Mostly enabled	Industrial zoning allowed most small-scale temporary uses. Local flexibility and the municipal vision created legal room for experimentation without full rezoning
6. Finance	Mostly constrained	No structural revenue model. Most initiatives relied on minimal budgets or small subsidies. Strategic value outweighed financial return in the short term
7. Social-cultural	Enabled and constrained	Initially low public involvement. Opposition from heritage groups led to preservation and inclusion of cultural actors. Later public engagement helped shape programme
8. Risk (within conditions)	Mostly constrained	Serious safety risks during demolition and remediation. Temporary use only became possible after hazardous materials were removed and safety secured
9. Utilization in transition phase	Mostly enabled	Temporary urbanism developed incrementally, with earlier uses improving accessibility and visibility of the site. Over time, the presence of recurring and location-based activities created basic infrastructure and a rhythm of use, which allowed the site to gradually function as a platform for testing future functions and engaging different user groups.
Additional conditions v		
10. Implementation and management	Mostly enabled	BOEi's internal event department provided consistent guidance and coordination, supporting temporary use through clear frameworks and direct facilitation
11. Image and perception	Mostly enabled	The site's past as a closed industrial energy complex posed a challenge for public perception. Temporary urbanism was used deliberately to reshape the site's identity, as a visible, accessible and culturally relevant place, in preparation for integration into a future

[6] These classifications are based on qualitative interpretation of empirical material and reflect the overall influence of each condition on temporary urbanism. A condition is considered "mostly enabled" if it supported activation or continuity, "mostly constrained" if it hindered temporary use, and "enabled and constrained" if its effect was mixed, shifting or contradictory.

	residential area. This symbolic shift helped create support for temporary urbanism and gave legitimacy to preserving and activating buildings that were previously unknown or inaccessible.

Table 10: Contextual framework with 9 conditions shaping temporary urbanism (own work)

Locatie Sportlaan: formerly HagaHospital Sportlaan, The Hague

Case: Former Haga Hospital Sportlaan, The Hague	Role in shaping temporary urbanism	Explanation
Conditions v		
1. Location	Enabled and constrained	The site lies in Vogelwijk, a quiet, affluent neighbourhood. The setting enabled small-scale, socially oriented uses, but limited tolerance for noise, crowding, or visible interventions constrained larger or disruptive activities
2. Physical condition	Mostly enabled	Despite being outdated, the hospital remained structurally sound. Continued heating and maintenance preserved the building's usability, enabling phased reuse with minimal intervention
3. Environmental conditions	Mostly enabled	There were no significant ecological constraints. Environmental concerns were limited to nuisance (noise, traffic) and managed via curfews and use restrictions
4. Ownership structure	Mostly enabled	After the 2023 acquisition by the municipality, ownership became centralised. This enabled integrated governance, streamlined permitting and alignment between temporary and long-term planning
5. Laws and regulations	Mostly enabled	The site retained healthcare zoning, but the municipality used omgevingsvergunningen to legally permit functions like student housing and shelters, integrating temporary use within the formal system
6. Finance	Enabled and constrained	Temporary use was initially tolerated without a financial model; income was considered incidental. From 2023 onward, the municipality developed a formal business case requiring temporary use to be financially self-sustaining. This enabled structured programming but was challenged by high operational costs (e.g. energy, taxes, maintenance) due to the building's outdated technical systems.
7. Social-cultural	Enabled and constrained	Local concerns about vulnerable user groups created tensions, requiring proactive engagement. At the same time, appreciation grew for community-oriented functions like cafés and youth spaces
8. Risk (within conditions)	Mostly constrained	Hosting vulnerable populations brought safety concerns. The municipality responded with 24/7 security hosts, risk monitoring and a structured safety plan.
9. Utilization in transition phase	Mostly enabled	Structured use ensured stability, but spatial demands and zoning restricted the addition of other types of temporary functions.
Additional conditions v		
10. Implementation and management	Mostly enabled	The appointment of intermediary OAK enabled professional coordination, flexible onboarding and daily site management, which was key to scaling and sustaining temporary urbanism

Table 11: Contextual framework with 9 conditions shaping temporary urbanism (own work)

Landgoed Steenenburg: formerly Land van Ooit, Drunen

Case: Land van Ooit, Drunen.	Role in shaping temporary urbanism	Explanation
Conditions v		
1. Location	Enabled and constrained	The urban fringe position created landscape potential, but proximity to housing and the estate's historic and ecological sensitivity limited tolerance for disruptive or experimental uses. Nature-based, quiet, and publicly accepted functions were favoured.
2. Physical condition	Mostly constrained	After 2007, the estate contained decaying buildings, props, and overgrowth. Safety concerns limited public access and reuse, and the castle remained inaccessible until renovation in 2019.
3. Environmental conditions	Mostly constrained	The presence of protected species, monumental trees, and historic woodland imposed ecological constraints. These conditions ruled out high-impact events and required strict preservation measures.
4. Ownership structure	Mostly enabled	Full public ownership from 2008 to 2021 allowed initial control over use. However, after the phased sale of land parcels, fragmented ownership diluted that control and limited coordinated temporary programming.
5. Laws and regulations	Mostly constrained	National monument protection and restrictive zoning meant that all requests for temporary use were individually assessed and often denied, especially near the castle or in ecological zones.
6. Finance	Mostly constrained	High acquisition and maintenance costs created pressure for redevelopment. This financial reality deprioritised low-yield temporary uses in favour of long-term planning progress.
7. Social-cultural	Enabled and constrained	Public fascination and media interest sustained visibility, but also triggered caution from the municipality. Permitted uses had to align with safe, symbolic themes (heritage, nature) and avoid reputational risks.
8. Risk (within conditions)	Mostly constrained	Squatting, trespassing, and unsafe conditions led the municipality to delay access and limit events. Liability concerns remained significant until basic safety was restored.
9. Utilization in transition phase	Mostly constrained	Temporary urbanism remained limited due to a cautious stance on programming and strong ecological and heritage constraints. The formalisation of the Poort van Heusden walking route increased public presence on site, which further restricted options for other temporary uses that might conflict with daily access or landscape preservation.
Additional conditions v		
10. Image and perception	Mostly constrained	The estate's symbolic status and visibility led to cautious municipal decision-making. Temporary uses had to support the intended public image, limiting space for more open-ended or experimental initiatives.

Table 12: Contextual framework with 9 conditions shaping temporary urbanism (own work)

Bijlmerbajes, Amsterdam: Trajectory A Bajesdorp

Case: Bijlmerbajes, Amsterdam: Trajectory A Bajesdorp	Role in shaping temporary urbanism	Explanation
Conditions v		
1. Location	Enabled and constrained	Bajesdorp was situated in a secluded part of the prison complex, at the rear side of the Bijlmerbajes. The location was physically separated from the surrounding urban fabric and lacked natural footfall, which limited visibility and spontaneous interaction. At the same time, the hidden position reduced oversight and allowed space for informal use to take root.
2. Physical condition	Mostly enabled	The former staff housing was structurally sound and already vacant at the time of occupation. This combination allowed residents to enter without obstruction and maintain the buildings without major renovation. The availability of unused residential units was a key precondition for informal use to take hold
3. Environmental conditions	Mostly enabled	The site faced no ecological restrictions or contamination issues. Its urban character meant that temporary urbanism did not require environmental mitigation.
4. Ownership structure	Enabled and constrained	The land remained under public ownership (RVB), which did not actively support temporary use or engage with users. However, this passive stance also meant that the occupation was tolerated, allowing Bajesdorp to persist and gradually build a position.
5. Laws and regulations	Mostly constrained	The initial occupation was illegal and took place without any formal authorisation. For over a decade, Bajesdorp operated without legal security and formal recognition only followed much later.
6. Finance	Enabled and constrained	The initiative relied on self-organisation and limited financial means. This enabled affordable and accessible use but constrained larger investments or scaling.
7. Social-cultural	Mostly enabled	Bajesdorp originated from a group of like-minded individuals who gradually formed a self-organised community. Over time, the initiative matured into a stable and internally structured group capable of organising public events, managing shared spaces, and engaging with institutional actors. This contributed to growing public support and cultural legitimacy.
8. Risk (within conditions)	Enabled and constrained	The occupation involved legal and practical risks in its early phase, but internal organisation and maintenance reduced perceived risks and enabled continuity.
9. Utilization in transition phase	Enabled and constrained	New uses were only accepted if they aligned with the collective vision and values of the original group. This ensured a coherent, community-driven programme rooted in shared intent.
Additional conditions v		
10. Ownership orientation	Enabled and constrained	The RVB did not actively support or initiate temporary use, and showed limited engagement with the residents for many years. However, the absence of enforcement and eventual willingness to formalise Bajesdorp's position suggest a tolerant, if passive, stance that ultimately created space for the initiative to grow.
11. Timing of decisions	Enabled and constrained	The absence of early enforcement and delayed decision-making created space for Bajesdorp to grow informally over many years. At the same time, key formal decisions, such as legal recognition and the land sale, were postponed, resulting in prolonged uncertainty and exclusion from early planning processes.
12. Participation and acceptance	Mostly enabled	Over time, this led to growing political and institutional support, leading to the formal reservation of 1,000 m² for Bajesdorp as a

		designated 'broedplaats' (creative hub) in the zoning plan for Bajeskwartier.
13. Image and perception	Mostly enabled	Through creative reuse, gardening, and public events, Bajesdorp gradually helped shift the image of the prison site from closed and institutional to open and socially engaged, supporting broader acceptance.

Table 13: Contextual framework with 9 conditions shaping temporary urbanism (own work)

Bijlmerbajes, Amsterdam: Trajectory B: main jail complex

Case: Bijlmerbajes, Amsterdam: Trajectory B: main jail complex	Role in shaping temporary urbanism	Explanation
Conditions v		
1. Location	Enabled and constrained	The site was well connected (next to Spaklerweg metro), but its enclosed character, prison legacy, and proximity to a motorcycle club created a negative public image and limited casual foot traffic. Temporary urbanism relied on curated, targeted programming rather than spontaneous use
2. Physical condition	Enabled and constrained	The buildings retained architectural character but required significant remediation (e.g., asbestos removal in 2019–2020). This constrained certain uses, but selective upgrades allowed for partial, context-sensitive activation.
3. Environmental conditions	Mostly constrained	Although there were no ecological restrictions, proximity to new schools and housing required sensitive integration, limiting noise-intensive or disruptive uses.
4. Ownership structure	Mostly enabled	Ownership transitioned from the national government (RVB) to a private consortium, allowing AM to pursue coordinated, goal-driven temporary use within a development-led model.
5. Laws and regulations	Mostly enabled	Temporary use was facilitated via commercial leases, allowing flexibility without requiring major zoning changes. Cultural and educational initiatives could even access space rent-free.
6. Finance	Mostly enabled	Developer AM applied a differentiated rent policy: cultural and educational initiatives could access space for free or at reduced rates (€300/m²), while commercial users such as the COA operated under standard lease terms. The COA's commercial lease helped cover site costs and legitimised the early phase of temporary use
7. Social-cultural	Mostly enabled	The site attracted initiatives with strong social missions (e.g. Refugee Company), which helped broaden acceptance and integrate new audiences despite initial stigma.
8. Risk (within conditions)	Mostly enabled	Safety and liability were managed proactively through phased demolition, building-specific contracts, and on-site presence of AM via the Bajes Lounge.
9. Utilization in transition phase	Enabled and constrained	Temporary functions were selected based on their compatibility with existing uses and the site's emerging identity. This resulted in a curated and layered programme aligned with strategic redevelopment goals.
Additional conditions v		
10. Ownership orientation	Mostly enabled	Developer AM adopted a proactive and curated approach to temporary use, using it strategically to test programmes and support identity-building. Uses had to align with long-term goals, but the owner was open to experimentation and non-commercial functions

11.	Timing of decisions	Mostly enabled	Formal decisions, such as the tender outcome (2017) and start of demolition (2019), were clearly phased, providing structure and predictability for temporary initiatives to align with. There was little uncertainty about timelines
12.	Implementation & management	Mostly enabled	The process was initially managed by LOLA Lik, and later directly by AM and a temporary use advisor. Management was professional and structured, enabling alignment between interim uses and development vision
13.	Image and perception	Mostly enabled	The site's prison legacy created stigma, but curated temporary uses, like Levenslang, Lola Lik and social enterprises, helped reframe the area as creative and inclusive. AM also deliberately rebranded the site as "Bajeskwartier" to support this shift

Table 14: Contextual framework with 9 conditions shaping temporary urbanism (own work)

Appendix D: Overview of performed Interviews

Case	Date	Duration	Role / Organisation	Notes
Centrale Harculo	5 March	45 min	Developer / Owner	
Haga Hospital	17 March	90 min	Owner / Municipal official	Combined with field observation
Landgoed Steenenburg	20 March	45 min	Owner / Municipal official	
Bajeskwartier	25 March	120 min	Developer / Owner	Combined with field observation
Bajeskwartier	25 March	60 min	Temporary use initiator	Combined with field observation
Bajeskwartier	26 March	30 min	Temporary use initiator	
Bajeskwartier	14 April	60 min	Vacancy management company	
Haga Hospital	15 April	60 min	Vacancy management company	

Table 15: Overview of performed interviews