COMPLEX PROJECTS AMS MID CITY
‘DE BOELE’ - SOCIAL HOUSING REFORM IN ZUIDAS
BLANKA BORBELY
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P 0.5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P 1</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P 1.5</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P 2</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESIGN BRIEF</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P5</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSAY - RESEARCH METHODS</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSAY- NEW URBAN QUESTIONS AND MINOR INFRACTIONS</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION
Introduction

One of the biggest urban questions has always been how social justice relates to the built environment in terms of socio-spatial segregation. The following study shows that the current social housing situation in Amsterdam will contribute to an increase in societal fragmentation on the long run. This will clearly manifest itself on our site where social housing is primarily occupied by the elites, and their areas (such as Oud-Zuid and Zuidas) collide with Buitenveldert - a comparatively neglected urban environment, where more disadvantaged groups can still have access to affordable solutions. Zuidas will rapidly and aggressively extend by 2050 as a consequence of Brexit and local economic advancements.

Therefore the latter affordable blocks will inevitably be effected, bringing about the forceful displacement of lower middle-class residents to the peripheries of the city. The resulting intensified spatial segregation only allows elite groups in areas of power, opportunity, procedures and culture. It can furthermore lead to frustration and social conflicts, and is therefore unsustainable.

Addressing this issue is crucial in order to move towards a future where Amsterdam has equitable, harmonious living conditions throughout different demographical social groups.
P 0.5
At the start of the project, my goal was to investigate building ownership (private, public, civic, corporate) on the site. In relation to this, it was important to look at the development of the area as well as factors that influenced its transformations over time.

Today, the site consist primarily of privately owned residences, and is one of the most expensive places to live in Amsterdam - both in terms of house prices and rent. This stands in contrast with the history of most neighbourhoods that we can find here. De Pijp, Plan Zuid, and Buitenveldert were all originally built with a very strong socialist incentive, which meant that they all had high amounts of affordable social housing blocks.

The question then arises - what influenced these sites to become the elite areas they are today, with social housing having almost completely disappeared. Today, it is practically impossible to move to Oud Zuid or Zuidas on a lower or mid-range income. This is partially because of the high cost of social housing in the area, as well as the tradition of families renting them out throughout several generations.

How can our site then cope with the high influx of migrants that are expected to move to Amsterdam by 2050? And how can it be assured that despite processes of privatisation and gentrification, lower class social groups also get access to opportunities that the city provides?
The main axis of the Berlage Plan is one of the main defining factors in creating an urban strategy for our site.
There are several other axes as well that define development.
There are strong spatial barriers that determine different architectural characters and keep different social classes spatially differentiated at the same time.
Main routes define ‘super blocks’ that are also used as organisational props.
The most distinct neighbourhoods with highly different architectural characters mark developmental stages.
The city inside the A10 will not see drastic developmental restructuring in the future due to its historic nature. Construction in Zuidas will be much more notable.
Structured and well-maintained green spaces can only be found inside the ring zone.
The connectivity of canals is more well-organised in the old city center. Outside the A10, most canal fronts seem to be forgotten.
We expect the ‘museumification’ of the inner city, and that most developments are likely to happen behind the historical facades.
In contrast, Zuidas will extend rapidly and aggressively by 2050, partially due to expected general economic growth, and also as a result of Brexit.
Building Ownership

The different categories of current building ownership are established as the following: Private (e.g. residences, bars, cafes), Public (e.g. transit hubs, museums, theatres, religious establishments), Civic (e.g. hospitals, municipal functions, educational institutions), and Corporate (e.g. collective office spaces, collective enterprises, non-profit organisations).

Today, social/public housing is virtually nonexistent in areas such as Our Zuid. Latter has also become one of the most expensive residential areas in the whole of Amsterdam. The city centre is mainly governed by developments for enhancing competitiveness, increasing property value and tourism, and attracting highly lucrative businesses. The cultural district, the new business district around the Amsterdam Zuid Station, as well as institutions such as the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam are highly attractive to newcomers such as students, starters and creatives. However, with no affordable housing in the area, questions of social justice related to the structuring of publicly available dwelling opportunities arise.
The development of Oud Zuid in relation to economy, trade, migration flows, political factors, and population growth.

- Baltic Maritime Trade
- Dutch West India Company
- Dutch East India Company
- Industrial Revolution

- Development of industries + new factories
- High influx of working classes
- High amount of low quality housing on the city periphery

- 203,500
The development of Oud Zuid in relation to economy, trade, migration flows, political factors and population growth.
De Pijp

The Old Zuid area started to get developed in the late 1800s. The sudden economical growth evoked by the industrial revolution at the time resulted in great migration flows into Amsterdam. The number of city population rocketed within a few decades, and as a result, city governance had decided to introduce cheap social housing for the masses beyond the Singelgracht.

Among many, different areas of Oud Zuid were also developed at that time. South of Vondelpark, an elegant, yet affordable residential district, along with the Rijksmuseum was introduced by architect P.J.H. Cuypers, aimed at middle classes. Next to it, the Pijp district was to be developed the same way, and was to become the new centre of the city with beautiful villas, a new station, and rail lines. However, this plan was turned down by governance as the city could not keep up with its growing population: fast, and cheap solutions became necessary. After the City Council rejected the original plan, it took a more socially- oriented approach instead in order to provide lower income workers with affordable housing. ‘Plan Klaff’ was introduced to the free market by the Director of Public Works in 1876, and as a result, most houses were built to make a quick profit.

The building materials used were cheap, and construction methods were simple enough for quick erection of structures. The railway line and the station disappeared from the plans, and the Pijp became a district of long streets with monotone residential buildings. However, despite the efforts to make social housing available for the masses, the city remained insanitary and overcrowded. Additionally, it became clear that most of the new extensions were of poor quality, which resulted in the introduction of the Housing Act in 1901. This was composed of regulations to replace slums, extend the city further, and further provide appropriate public housing for skilled workers and their families.
Plan Zuid

‘Plan Zuid’ by Berlage was one of the first city extensions that was planned accordingly, emphasising socialist ideals. Realised in 1917, its aim was to further ease living conditions in the city centre by adding a new residential neighbourhood, and to take into consideration the quality of public space just as much as the standards of new buildings.

Large avenues (not yet made for cars, but for pedestrians and bicycles) were lined with family homes of the Amsterdam School style. Parks and squares were added, and street patterns took precedent from the structure of the inner city. Local housing cooperatives were involved in the development of the plans, and as a result, private estates used to take up only a few blocks in the area. The names of different cooperatives are still carved above the entrances of many housing blocks. A criticism that is often heard in connection to the Amsterdam School is that the decorative brickwork was to excessive - however, even that served a socialist goal by providing unemployed craftsmen and stonemasons with work. Most importantly, the strong social aims of these extensions allowed low-income people to live better, and in close proximity to the urban centre at the time. Soon, however, the changing political climate around 1930 meant that funding for socialist city extensions and slum clearance was cut, and was replaced by conservative tendencies.

Privatisation, and the rise of De Stijl movement meant less and less public housing in the area. The postwar period brought about further influxes of political refugees and economical migrants. In combination, these processes mean that the financially less fortunate have been getting gradually pushed further and further away from the centre ever since.
The quality of public space is given just as much consideration as the quality of buildings in Plan Zuid.
The courtyards emphasize the collective feeling of the housing developments.
Affordability
Income inbalances
The blocks highlighted are the ones that were built intended as social housing.
Highlighted are the remaining social housing blocks in the area.
Oud Zuid is one of the most expensive residential areas in the whole of Amsterdam, which means that even dwellings owned by housing associations are occupied by well-off people. The city centre is mainly governed by developments for enhancing competitiveness, increasing property value and tourism, and attracting highly lucrative businesses. The cultural district, the new business district around the Amsterdam Zuid Station, the high standard of housing, and different educational institutions are highly attractive to newcomers. However, with no affordable housing in the area, questions of social justice related to the structuring of publicly available dwelling opportunities arise.

While many of the plans, such as ‘Plan Klaff’ (1876), or ‘Plan Zuid (1917)’ were designed to take a strong socialist stance by offering workers and lower income people a higher quality of life, this demographic has shifted towards the outskirts of the city by today. Most buildings on our site in the Oud Zuid are mostly owned by private individuals, and the area is mainly populated by a high-class, educated elite in their 30s and 40s.

The city centre is acting like a vortex. While there are dwelling opportunities in the outskirts, more newcomers will try and make it closer to the centre. Housing on our site will get divided into smaller apartments or rooms. This raises new questions.

How can the site respond appropriately so it does not become overcrowded, and can maintain the high quality of its housing stock and public spaces?

Can/should the influx of newcomers be regulated?

If so, are there solutions that allow to filter arrivals not based on theirs wealth, but on their future potential to contribute to the economy/cultural scene/etc.?

What architectural functions can support these processes?

What are the alternatives to social housing, seeing as how there is almost none available currently on our site?
The current state of social housing in the area brings about the question of social justice. The current fragmentation within the socio-spatial fabric of the Oud Zuid and adjoining outer neighbourhoods in relation to the level of social justice executed can be questioned. Today, as the prices of properties within the old Berlage plan went up, the working classes live outside the ring zone, in lower-quality modernist blocks, separated from the inner city by vast spatial barriers such as intense infrastructure and the new business district. This means that certain amenities related for instance to culture or to education are less accessible to them. This can get in the way of social integration or of finding work. To understand how this is related to architecture and urban planning, it is important to gain a general understanding of what social justice actually is.

Consequently, social justice in relation to architecture are examined from a theoretical standpoint, while studying a social housing block on our site in Buitenveldert provides a more practical experience of the current state of affordable housing in the area.
Blocks in Buitenveldert
In terms of its urban structure, London differs from Paris and Amsterdam as its development throughout history have not left such strongly detectable borders between the old city and new development. Yet, marginalisation is very strongly present through architectural manifestations.

Paris’ cultural old city is drastically different from the outer city zones. Not only is it difficult to commute between these areas, but the level of decay in suburban projects is striking, especially in contrast with the well-maintained picturesque inner historic neighbourhoods.

Amsterdam is similar to Paris in terms of the contrast in the urban and architectural language of the inner city and its suburbs. Just like in Paris, where the Haussman style buildings are recognisably Parisian, here, the typology of the canal houses dictated the inner city scape, mixed with the sculptural expression of the Amsterdam School. Meanwhile, a modernist, ageing housing stock dominates peripheral neighbourhoods.
Extreme social segregation has spatial manifestations, that make divides more tangible. Spatial barriers, no control over one’s living environment, bad maintenance and negligence contribute to frustration and conflict. It seems, that there is a tendency in Amsterdam that is leading to a more divided city. This needs to be addressed by the architectural profession to create more possibilities for cohesive living conditions.
Changing architectural and urban character, Paris

Moving from the Western side of the city center to the suburbs outside the ring zone.
Moving from the museum district to Buitenveldert following the main axis of Plan Zuid.
Changing architectural and urban character, Paris
Changing architectural and urban character, Amsterdam
The changing of the ‘urban’

According to contemporary urban theory, cities can be understood as nodes of condensed urban centrality, made up of a variety of different economic, cultural, and social densities. The question of what constitutes as ‘urban’ and what is understood as ‘rural’ is being revisited. (Brenner, Schmid, 2013). An emerging notion is that ‘the urban unfolds into the countryside just as the countryside folds back into the city’. (Merrifield, 2011) This creates a much loser definition of city borders. To give an example, Amsterdam as a whole can be considered as one dense urban node in its national context, but it can also be divided into different, smaller entities, made up of concentrations such as specified functions or demographical groups. This is partially a result of decentralisation.
Hall and Savage describe ‘urban vortexes’ and microgeographies as main manifestations of socio-spatial fragmentation.
The changing relationship between employer, employee and housing associations

early 1900s
The employers (cooperatives) were generally the ones who provided employees with housing opportunities as well.

late 1900s - now
The relationship between employers and housing associations has distanced. Living and working are separated.

2050
Could living and working be once again linked, making it more convenient for people to live where they work, decreasing socio-spatial barriers and commuting times?
Increasing disparity in the architectural and urban fabric of Amsterdam

According to contemporary urban theory, cities can be understood as nodes of condensed urban centrality, made up of a variety of different economic, cultural, and social densities. The question of what constitutes as ‘urban’ and what is understood as ‘rural’ is being revisited. (Brenner, Schmid, 2013). An emerging notion is that ‘the urban unfolds into the countryside just as the countryside folds back into the city’. (Merrifield, 2011) This creates a much loser definition of city borders. To give an example, Amsterdam as a whole can be considered as one dense urban node in its national context, but it can also be divided into different, smaller entities, made up of concentrations such as specified functions or demographical groups. This is partially a result of decentralisation. Areas such as Zuidas, the museum district, or the old city centre are all, in their own ways, urban nodes, tied together by less specified, or less dense urban fabric. Areas such as Zuidas, the museum district, or the old city centre are all, in their own ways, urban nodes, tied together by less specified, or less dense urban fabric. Districts and boundaries therefore need to be rethought. This cannot be done based merely on statistics, but also by taking into consideration consequent socio-economical mechanisms as well.

Urban development in world cities such as Amsterdam right now is primarily governed by economical factors, and therefore the dynamics of mobility happen along the main axis of financially lucrative areas. Developers tend to put enhancing competitiveness and tourism, as well as attracting the most profitable businesses at the forefront of city planning. Governmental influences and policies are key in influencing these processes, but as long as they overlook the one-sidedness of such strategies, the urban fabric will continue to become more and more fragmented. Increased globalisation, inner- and cross-country migration flows result in compositions of highly mixed demographical groups coexisting in close proximity from one another. There is consequently a common tendency in cities that newcomers and low-income people are being pushed to the peripheries of dense urban zones. (Hall, Savage, 2015)

While there are still a number of social housing blocks in Oud Zuid that are owned by housing associations, they are continuously occupied by generations of families, and are therefore not accessible for new arrivals. This can increase the emergence or the enhancement of conditions such as social marginalisation and stigmatisation. Moving along the main axis of Oud Zuid, the changing architectural character of different zones is a clear reflection of the social status, and sometimes of the occupation of residents and users. There is a notable gap between the social position and income of the residents of the outer city areas and of the inner city districts. In cities such as Paris or London, the differences between central nodes and peripheral zones is even more striking. In many cases, areas outside the inner areas tend to be extremely badly maintained, and primarily populated with disadvantaged, marginalised minorities. In Amsterdam, differences in quality of public space and architecture is perhaps not as visible as it is in the former mentioned urban areas. However, if the complexity of urban assemblages is further reduced to the factors of statistics and financial factors as the city grows, the future development of the city is at risk of exhibiting increasing disparity as well.
Future inner- and cross-country migration
Future increasing disparities
Correlations between social justice and architecture?

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Relates social justice to basic human needs, such as personal safety, health, sanitation, access to clean water, shelter, energy, food, education, etc.
David Harvey

The theoretician talks about redistribution of material goods, emphasizing that social costs need to be taken into account alongside efficiency.

e.g.: If a social group is put at a disadvantage compared to other groups for the sake of short-term profit, said demographic is likely to become a source of inefficiency later on.
Nancy Fraser

She states that there are two basic forms of social justice: recognition and redistribution. A state ‘where assimilation to majority or dominant cultural norms is no longer the price of equal respect’.
Deborah Leslie and J. P. Catungal

They state that social justice is also very much connected to flows of power, opportunity, procedures, and culture.
Socially Just Architecture

Designs that take into consideration not only basic human needs, but social sustainability as well by recognising areas of social struggle, and then allowing for a more just distribution of material goods (e.g.: high quality public spaces, and amenities) according to the needs of residents, as well as enabling more even flows of power, opportunity, procedures and culture through decreasing spatial barriers.
Expected forceful displacement of people from affordable housing units in Buitenveldert
CONCLUSIONS

Following the main axis of the Berlage plan, there are a number of different social housing types to be observed. Plan Zuid contained many buildings commissioned by the municipality under the leadership of the Social Democrats, such as ‘De Dageraad’. De Dageraad was originally a cooperative, operating bakeries and grocery stores in the area, before they established their housing association to place 294 residential units in the area for employees. The relationship between these cooperatives and the workers was at the time was therefore quite personal. The architecture of the ‘De Dageraad’ building is similar to other building blocks of the Plan Zuid. Designed in the Amsterdam School style by Michel de Klerk and Piet Kramer in 1918, it has a unified shape and facade to emphasise the community feeling. Tenants were part of a collective.

Similarly, modernist areas such as Buitenveldert have a unified architectural language, however, the political background, the attitude towards planning, and the relationship between workers and cooperatives has changed by the time such social housing units were erected. The relationship between workers and employers became less direct, and more corporate. Standardisation and cheap materials became common, and in many cases lead to decreased building quality and bad performance. These types of homes can be less future-proof, and less sustainable. Buitenveldert has generous public areas, just as Plan Zuid, but most of the free space has no public function, and the greenery is negligently maintained. It is primarily residential due to modernist zoning, with the exception of small retail spaces that sometimes occupy the ground floor areas facing busier roads. It feels like a completely separate entity from the rest of Amsterdam. The blocks along De Boelelaan have recently been renovated and given new office functions on the sides facing Zuidas. Despite this slight transition between the business district and the residential area, the latter blocks still act as walls dividing two completely different worlds. Working and dwelling are no longer connected, at least not in the case of people who live in Buitenveldert. Most housing developments in the area are happening in Zuidas at the moment.

A research by Capital Value (2016) indicates that due to an increase in external migration balances, the demand for housing is growing faster than expected. They also found that even though in reaction, the housing stock is growing, these changes can mainly be seen in the owner-occupied sector, while the number of available rented housing will decrease and become more and more insufficient. This is partially due to construction levels, but is also a result of too many rental houses being withdrawn from the market by both housing associations and investors. They predict that the biggest shortage is to be seen in Amsterdam in 2020. In 2015, a new Housing Act was introduced, as the government was of the opinion that housing associations have conducted too many activities that fall outside their core task. The new Act therefore severely restricts the housing associations’ sphere of activity to perform services of general economic interest (SGEI [DAEB - Diensten van Algemeen Economisch Belang]). They are now also each restricted to an assigned working area.

As a result of this, housing associations are selling properties that do not fit the target group (non-SGEI), or are outside of their
assigned sites. At the same time, they are facing huge difficulties, due to the great demand for new developments, while also having to transform and redevelop their outdated houses. In order to be able to keep up with the demands of the market, they need investors. These are generally banks, however, they are not yet willing to provide financing for housing that is non-SGEI. This means new difficulties for newcomers, and lower-, and middle-income people who are looking for rented housing.

Therefore, the question arises whether there should again be a stronger relationship between employment opportunities and dwelling, in order to allow future employees to be able to find affordable housing.
In order to understand how social justice can be introduced in social developments, it is important to gain an overall understanding of how said housing typology has evolved over time. The current state of social housing in our area suggest that the way it exists now is not sufficient enough. Social housing is in need of reinvention.

In the upcoming years, Zuidas is likely to expand rapidly and aggressively due to economic circumstances and political events such as Brexit. As the areas inside the A10, especially Oud Zuid are unlikely to see drastic changes in their architectural fabric (most developments there will happen behind the historical facades), the business district will have to extend towards neighbourhoods such as Buitenveldert, and areas following the city ring road.

This will further increase the chances that the only dwelling blocks in Buitenveldert that are still functioning as affordable social housing on our site will get demolished or redeveloped in favour of economically lucrative businesses, and as apartment blocks for the wealthy workers of Zuidas. This will further contribute to disparities in the socio-spatial fabric of Amsterdam. The service class, such as educators, nurses, caterers, etc. will find it even more difficult to live close to urban nodes of opportunity, and to their workplaces. As a result, marginalisation is likely to grow.

Latter speculations, and the results of a typological investigation point out the need for a more well-balanced sociospatial structure with regards to working and living. Equal opportunities for both the elites, and the social classes should be favoured, and spacial division reduced to encourage cohesion. The question then is how to create such opportunities and avoid friction.

The model of the 1700s classical dwelling could provide an alternative to demographically homogeneous architectural and urban arrangements. It is important, however, to change the hierarchical social arrangement that was typical of the time. If power relations between the occupying elites/middle classes, and the social classes would shift in a more democratic direction, a new housing typology could be born. A state-funded, but community-initiated project that provides an opportunity for people working in the services sector to have control over their living environments could be created. In this scenario, the projects permanent core would consist of the dwellings of the permanent residents, in this case, the service class. An array of services and amenities would be connected to this core, that would be maintained by the permanent residents. Temporary dwellers, such as expats and their families could rent an apartment in the complex, giving them access to the shared functions and different services.
The area of Zuidas today

Expected expansion of Zuidas by 2050
Chosen site location

The correlation of the site and the main axis could hold potential for establishing better connections with the city center.
Working and living: elites vs. lower middle-classes
LOWER MIDDLE-CLASS

LIVING
WORKING
Building typologies of social housing developments over time
There is a clear tendency after the 1700s to segregate the population of Amsterdam regarding different social classes. This meant not only a restructuring of society, but also a spatial manifestation of it. While the original canal houses in the inner city had all kinds of social classes living under one roof in a very hierarchical arrangement, this arrangement later on shifted towards a more urban expression. After the industrial revolution, De Pijp was developed in order to provide the incoming working class with better living conditions in a separate neighbourhood. Later on, as the quality of the buildings in the area was not of efficiently good quality, Plan Zuid was introduced as an improvement. There, the collective feel of the developments was emphasized not only through the introduction of the perimeter block arrangement, but also through giving higher definition to public spaces. With the later rise of modernism, and as a result of privatisation, working classes were then pushed out of this area into suburbs with a repetitive, uniform architectural language, and grid-based urban structure. Overall, social housing moved from a human scale to a more monumental scale. It lost architectural quality after the era of the Amsterdam School. Social housing also became associated with monotone, modernistic, run-down neighbourhoods. This stereotype continues to live on today.
almost square plan  horizontal facade  dwelling  working class

almost square plan  vertical facade  dwelling/shope  working class
DEEP PLAN

HUMAN SCALE
DEEP PLAN
HORIZONTAL PLAN
HUMAN SCALE
MONUMENTAL
DWELLING

WORKING CLASSES
Social segregation on an urban level

1700s
MIXED DEMOGRAPHIC

1920s - 2010s
SINGULAR DEMOGRAPHIC

ELITE/MIDDLE CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS

ELITE/MIDDLE CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS
Social segregation on a governmental level
CONS

HIERARCHICAL

UNJUST

INGROUP/ OUTGROUP
Rethinking the typical classical dwelling of the 17th Century Amsterdam (where the elites and workers resided in one building) by transforming its operational functioning through abolishing its hierarchical social arrangement, shifting its order of power and making its conditions just. This will lead to a revolutionary living arrangement that promotes equity.
New policies are needed, that recognise the need for a community-initiated, government funded housing initiative. In this arrangement, lower middle-class workers would have the opportunity to take control of their own living environments, and be able to adapt to the changing built environment around them without the need for relocation.
This scheme allows personisable living pods to be attached to the central core of services and amenities. It is the main precedent for my proposed concept.
Building core: Permanent residents = lower middle-class locals

Amenities and services for the residents and the neighbourhood

Temporary dwellings for the incoming expats of Zuidas
Functions - hotels

Functions - new housing initiative
CONCLUSIONS

The core of the development will be a community-initiated, government-funded housing project located in current Buitenveldert/future Zuidas. The permanent residents of this complex will be lower middle-class people (e.g. nurses, people working in hospitality and catering, educators, etc.) who would otherwise be pushed out of the area due to new developments. To this core, a set of services/amenities will be attached for the neighbourhood and temporary residents, managed by permanent dwellers. The temporary residents will be expats, who will arrive to Zuidas as part face a heavy influx of expats in big numbers, rapidly. They will need to settle quickly, and so a complex like this, where they have all basic services/amenities at hand is highly advantageous for them. While expats will pay the permanent residents for rent and for their services, latter group will pay reduced rent to the government, and their extra earnings can be reinvested in the project.

Main Research Questions

1. Can the process of increasing socio-spatial segregation be reduced through a new collective and collaborative housing typology that shifts the power relationships between the elites and lower middle-class people towards a more equitable arrangement?

2. Instead of forceful displacement, could residents of Buitenveldert stay in their area as Zuidas extends, and put in order a cooperative living and working arrangement together with new arrivals that is mutually beneficial?

3. Can a development like this in the extended Zuidas of 2050 encourage a process through which its community can become economically, environmentally, and socially sustainable?
The current social housing situation in Amsterdam will continue to contribute to an increase in societal segregation on the long run. This will clearly manifest itself on our site where social housing is primarily occupied by the elites, and their areas (such as Oud-Zuid and Zuidas) collide with Buitenveldert - a comparatively neglected urban environment, where more disadvantaged groups can still have access to affordable solutions. Zuidas will rapidly and aggressively extend by 2050 as a consequence of Brexit and local economic advancements. Therefore the latter affordable blocks will inevitably be effected, bringing about the forceful displacement of lower middle-class residents to the peripheries of the city. The resulting intensified spatial segregation only allows elite groups in areas of power, opportunity, procedures and culture. It can furthermore lead to frustration and social conflicts, and is therefore unsustainable.

The assignment will concentrate on working out the actualisation a design where lower middle-class groups are given the opportunity to take control of their living environments, stay in their original place of residence, and work in highly lucrative areas that are directly accessible for them. Meanwhile elites can take advantage of their services and the dwelling opportunities they provide and manage. The focus will be on working out an optimal arrangement for the mutually beneficial cohabitation of the different social groups in the Zuidas of 2050.

If disparities in the architectural and urban structure of the area are maintained, it is likely that by 2050 friction and frustration between social groups will lead to conflict and unjust unsustainable situations much like in other major European cities such as previously in Paris in 2005, or in London in 2011, where marginalised groups are more clearly differentiated through spatial expressions. The project promotes and encourages exposure and collaboration between different social/ cultural groups in a unique operational symbiosis that recognises the needs of the different social groups on our site, and dependency these classes have on each other. This can contribute to decreasing segregation, social tensions and therefore stigmatisation, stereotypes and socio-spatial fragmentation in the future Zuidas/ Oud Zuid area. The scheme furthermore provides a new, unique perspective that questions the practical value of urban zoning by class, and proposes a completely new framework for the future of living in the extended Zuidas area. It is innovative in the way it prioritises socio-spatial justice in a way that is not only equitable, but economically and socially beneficial for different classes in the neighbourhood. It is both enabling and empowering lower middle-class groups who normally would not have an opportunity for staying in this area of high developmental interest, and taking control of their living environment. It simultaneously provides expats arriving in the neighbourhood with an opportunity for quick settlement and better integration opportunities by having basic services and amenities readily available for them.
DECREASE BARRIERS
CONNECTING THROUGH GREEN CORRIDORS
Immediate site strategy

There are several steps that can be taken in order to decrease spatial barriers between the inner city, Zuidas, and Buitenveldert. Firstly, it is important that the site in Buitenveldert becomes attractive to increase flows of opportunity, culture, power, etc in the area. This needs to happen without dislocating locals, and therefore a new, collaborative living and working arrangement between them, and the newly arriving expats has to be found.

There is also potential in extending the axial connectivity of Oud-Zuid to the area, and making better connections through the use of main roads. Connections can also be increased through revitalising waterfronts, and through introducing better structured green spaces.
More connected primary infrastructure
Revitalising waterfronts and creating connected water networks

Introducing green corridors
Current blocks on the site

Introducing new dwellings for locals - the process can be overseen
Demolishing the existing ageing housing stock

Meanwhile outside our area, Zuidas is extending
Introducing better primary infrastructure

Revitalising the abandoned waterfront
Introducing better secondary infrastructure for pedestrians and bikes

Denification
Height modifications in order to fit the different programs, and to conform to the heights of surrounding buildings

Densifying
Introducing courtyards in reference to the perimeter blocks of Oud-Zuid

Dividing private...
Introducing public green corridors to the waterfront
Introducing a secondary, semi-private green route

Semi-private spaces for amenities/services and communal spaces for the residents
Adding dwellings for the more temporary residents

Diversification through height
Diversification through materials

Original materials on site
Materials of Oud-Zuid vs. of Zuidas
Options for future materials
O’Donnel + Tuomey
Timberyard social housing

Herzog & de Meuron
The Beirut Terraces
WIND
Pooja Crafted Homes

modular
flexible
simple frame structure
central amenities
adaptable housing
affordable
can be done in stages
densification

Precedents

Superlofts
Marc Koehler

modular
flexible
simple frame structure
adaptable housing
affordable
can be done in stages
densification
Carmel Place  
NArchitects

- modular
- flexible
- communal functions
- retail
- adaptable housing
- affordable
- densification

De Rede  
Global Architects

- flexible
- communal functions
- community involvement
- self-initiated
- affordable
- sustainable
- densification
**Wallisblok**

flexible  
communal functions  
community involvement  
self-initiated  
affordable  
sustainable  
densification

**Walden 7**  
**Ricardo Bofill**

improved living conditions  
variety of expressions  
communal functions  
community-centric  
affordable  
densification
New West Urban Block
Paul de Ruiter Architects
mixed-use
neighbourhood redevelopment
affordable
communal functions
community-centric
improve social cohesion
densification

La Semaphore
a/LTA + Ateliers Laporte
mixed-use
communal functions
community-centric
sustainable
offices + retail
Program

overall - 30 500 m²

permanent - 9150 m²

temporary - 9150 m²
public amenities - 5978 m²

parking - 610 m²
semi-private amenities/ communal spaces - 2562 m²

communal spaces + circulation - 5612 m²
Composition of family arrangements

- Families (50 m²) - 50%
- Couples (35 m²) - 20%
- Singles (25 m²) - 30%

- Families (50 m²) - 20%
- Couples (35 m²) - 50%
- Singles (25 m²) - 30%

- Families (50 m²) - 20%
- Couples (35 m²) - 30%
- Singles (25 m²) - 50%

TOTAL:
828 flats
2484 people

- Singles - 30 m²
- Couples - 40 m²
- Families - 60 m²
Original density vs. new density

- Original: 408 flats, 1224 ppl
- New: 828 flats, 2484 ppl

Original program vs. new, diversified program

- Dwellings: 88%
- Circulation: 7%
- Garages: 5%
- Amenities/services: 28%
- Parking: cars/bikes: 2%
- Circulation: 10%

TOTAL:
- Dwellings: 60%
Program

The importance of exposure: central route to persuasion (weighing arguments, facts and figures in a systematic fashion) vs. peripheral route to persuasion (respond to simple, often irrelevant cues that suggest the rightness/wrongness/attractiveness of an argument without giving it much thought) - fuels stereotypes, e.g. when someone gets their information only through certain media - exposure can be a remedy, and collaboration can increase trustworthiness. It is difficult to change attitudes in general, and especially stereotypical attitudes through education.

Changes in behaviour can help this process far better - if different groups are brought into contact, prejudiced individuals would come into contact with the reality of their own experience, which would lead to a greater understanding. Coming into contact in hierarchical arrangements is not advantageous, however, equal-status contact highly is. Residential segregation plays a big role in this.

Example:

The study of Morton Deutsch and Mary Ellen Collins - an examination of whites and blacks in public housing projects in 1951:

Black and white families were assigned housing in a segregated manner in separate buildings. Black and white families were assigned the same building. Second scenario - greater positive attitudes towards blacks. Increased understanding and decreased tensions.

General belief: integration should happen slowly and gradually. Based on the works of the famous social psychologist, Elliot Aronson, I argue against this. The sooner individuals realise that integration is inevitable, the sooner their attitudes will start to shift. Policy making plays a key role in this process. He furthermore found that while desegregation in the above example, in the case of public housing, had positive effects, in an economically unequal situation, where black were moved into white neighbourhoods, integration was difficult. He names interdependence as a possible solution - he brings up an example of school children, where there was hostility between two groups. This was only reduced by situations where the groups were forced to cooperate to achieve a goal. This later on lead to friendships between the groups, and spontaneous cooperation. This increases empathy and causes further increased cooperation.
SCENARIO #1
NEW PUBLIC HOUSING
WHITE + BLACK FAMILIES

SCENARIO #2
EXISTING PRIMARILY WHITE NEIGHBOURHOOD
WHITE FAMILIES
BLACK FAMILIES
DECREASED INGROUP/OUTGROUP EFFECT

ENCOURAGED COLLABORATION

ENABLES EXPOSURE AND TRUST

GREATER POSITIVE ATTITUDES

INCREASED EMPATHY
CONCLUSIONS

Following the main axis of the Berlage plan, there are a number of different social housing types to be observed. Plan Zuid contained many buildings commissioned by the municipality under the leadership of the Social Democrats, such as ‘De Dageraad’. De Dageraad was originally a cooperative, operating bakeries and grocery stores in the area, before they established their housing association to place 294 residential units in the area for employees. The relationship between these cooperatives and the workers was at the time was therefore quite personal. The architecture of the ‘De Dageraad’ building is similar to other building blocks of the Plan Zuid.

Designed in the Amsterdam School style by Michel de Klerk and Piet Kramer in 1918, it has a unified shape and facade to emphasise the community feeling. Tenants were part of a collective. Similarly, modernist areas such as Buitenveldert have a unified architectural language, however, the political background, the attitude towards planning, and the relationship between workers and cooperatives has changed by the time such social housing units were erected.

The relationship between workers and employers became less direct, and more corporate. Standardisation and cheap materials became common, and in many cases lead to decreased building quality and bad performance. These types of homes can be less future-proof, and less sustainable.

Buitenveldert has generous public areas, just as Plan Zuid, but most of the free space has no public function, and the greenery is negligently maintained. It is primarily residential due to modernist zoning, with the exception of small retail spaces that sometimes occupy the ground floor areas facing busier roads. It feels like a completely separate entity from the rest of Amsterdam.

The blocks along De Boelelaan have recently been renovated and given new office functions on the sides facing Zuidas. Despite this slight transition between the business district and the residential area, the latter blocks still act as walls dividing two completely different worlds. Working and dwelling are no longer connected, at least not in the case of people who live in Buitenveldert. Most housing developments in the area are happening in Zuidas at the moment. A research by Capital Value (2016) indicates that due to an increase in external migration balances, the demand for housing is growing faster than expected. They also found that even though in reaction, the housing stock is growing, these changes can mainly be seen in the owner-occupied sector, while the number of available rented housing will decrease and become more and more insufficient. This is partially due to construction levels, but is also a result of too many rental houses being withdrawn from the market by both housing associations and investors. They predict that the biggest shortage is to be seen in Amsterdam in 2020.

In 2015, a new Housing Act was introduced, as the government was of the opinion that housing associations have conducted too many activities that fall outside their core task. The new Act therefore severely restricts the housing associations’ sphere of activity to perform services of general economic interest (SGEI [DAEB - Diensten van Algemeen Economisch Belang]). They are now also each restricted to an
assigned working area. As a result of this, housing associations are selling properties that do not fit the target group (non-SGEI), or are outside of their assigned sites. At the same time, they are facing huge difficulties, due to the great demand for new developments, while also having to transform and redevelop their outdated houses. In order to be able to keep up with the demands of the market, they need investors. These are generally banks, however, they are not yet willing to provide financing for housing that is non-SGEI.

This means new difficulties for newcomers, and lower-, and middle-income people who are looking for rented housing. Therefore, the question arises whether there should again be a stronger relationship between employment opportunities and dwelling, in order to allow future employees to be able to find affordable housing.
DESIGN BRIEF
I. Problem Statement

The current social housing situation in Amsterdam will continue to contribute to an increase in societal segregation on the long run. This will clearly manifest itself on our site where social housing is primarily occupied by the elites, and their areas (such as Oud-Zuid and Zuidas) collide with Buitenveldert - a comparatively neglected urban environment, where more disadvantaged groups can still have access to affordable solutions. Zuidas will rapidly and aggressively extend by 2050 as a consequence of Brexit and local economic advancements. Therefore the latter affordable blocks will inevitably be effected, bringing about the forceful displacement of lower middle-class residents to the peripheries of the city. The resulting intensified spatial segregation only allows elite groups in areas of power, opportunity, procedures and culture. It can furthermore lead to frustration and social conflicts, and is therefore unsustainable.

II. Research Questions

Can the process of increasing socio-spatial segregation be reduced through a new collective and collaborative housing typology that shifts the power relationships between the elites and lower middle-class people towards a more equitable arrangement? Instead of forceful displacement, could residents of Buitenveldert stay in their area as Zuidas extends, and put in order a cooperative living and working arrangement together with new arrivals that is mutually beneficial? Can a development like this in the extended Zuidas of 2050 encourage a process through which its community can become economically, environmentally, and socially sustainable?

III. Design Assignment

Rethinking the typical classical dwelling of the 17th Century Amsterdam (where the elites and workers resided in one building) by transforming its operational functioning through abolishing its hierarchical social arrangement, shifting its order of power and making its conditions just. This will lead to a revolutionary living arrangement that promotes equity. The core of the development will be a community-initiated, government-funded housing project located in current Buitenveldert/future Zuidas. The permanent residents of this complex will be lower middle-class people (e.g. nurses, people working in hospitality and catering, educators, etc.) who would otherwise be pushed out of the area due to new developments. To this core, a set of services/amenities will be attached for the neighbourhood and temporary residents, managed by permanent dwellers. The temporary residents will be expats, who will arrive to Zuidas as part face a heavy influx of expats in big numbers, rapidly. They will need to settle quickly, and so a complex like this, where they have all basic services/amenities at hand is highly advantageous for them. While expats
will pay the permanent residents for rent and for their services, latter group will pay reduced rent to the government, and their extra earnings can be reinvested in the project.

**IV. Ambition**

The assignment will concentrate on working out the actualisation a design where lower middle-class groups are given the opportunity to take control of their living environments, stay in their original place of residence, and work in highly lucrative areas that are directly accessible for them. Meanwhile elites can take advantage of their services and the dwelling opportunities they provide and manage. The focus will be on working out an optimal arrangement for the mutually beneficial cohabitation of the different social groups in the Zuidas of 2050.

**V. Relevance**

If disparities in the architectural and urban structure of the area are maintained, it is likely that by 2050 friction and frustration between social groups will lead to conflict and unjust unsustainable situations much like in other major European cities such as previously in Paris in 2005, or in London in 2011, where marginalised groups are more clearly differentiated through spatial expressions. The project promotes and encourages exposure and collaboration between different social/ cultural groups in a unique operational symbiosis that recognises the needs of the different social groups on our site, and dependency these classes have on each other. This can contribute to decreasing segregation, social tensions and therefore stigmatisation, stereotypes and socio-spatial fragmentation in the future Zuidas/ Oud Zuid area. The scheme furthermore provides a new, unique perspective that questions the practical value of urban zoning by class, and proposes a completely new framework for the future of living in the extended Zuidas area. It is innovative in the way it prioritises socio-spatial justice in a way that is not only equitable, but economically and socially beneficial for different classes in the neighbourhood. It is both enabling and empowering lower middle-class groups who normally would not have an opportunity for staying in this area of high developmental interest, and taking control of their living environment. It simultaneously provides expats arriving in the neighbourhood with an opportunity for quick settlement and better integration opportunities by having basic services and amenities readily available for them.

**VI. Location and Urban Parameters**

The location of the site plays a central role in formulating the narrative for the design. Most areas on our site were originally built with a very strong socialist incentive. Plan Zuid by Berlage, and later on the small segment of Buitenveldert that I am concentrating on both allowed for a more affordable way of living on the site. However, due to a series of unfortunate processes
(such as privatisation and gentrification), dwellings inside the city ring are currently occupied by elites, and have been for generations. The only way to actually be able to get rental access to one of these accommodations is through inheritance. Rents have become exceptionally high compared to the rest of Amsterdam, and waiting lists are too long. The only place on our site where one can still gain access to a rental flat for a relatively reasonable price is in Buitenveldert, though the architecture and urban planning of the area is not nearly as well-thought out as the standards of Oud-Zuid. The structures in this area are ageing modernist blocks on a grid, arranged with overly-generous spaces in-between for carparks, and overgrown vegetation. This area is also divided from the rest of the city centre by spatial barriers such as the new business district, Zuidas, and the A10 and train tracks. It nevertheless allows lower middle-class groups easier access to their likely work places, good educational and cultural institutions, and other important flows of opportunities and amenities. This is crucial in order to maintain a better social mix and encourage social cohesion in order to minimise intra- and inter-group frustration between social classes, and allow for a socially sustainable future. Realistically, it would be impossible to give access to buildings in Oud-Zuid for these social groups - for that, the operation of private housing associations would need a lot more supervision and new, stricter regulations, and families that have lived in the same dwelling for generations would have to be relocated. However, the areas in Buitenveldert still have potential. Only with the future extension of Zuidas, the housing blocks there are most probably would get redeveloped for the incoming wealthy expats arriving in the area, forcefully relocating and therefore further marginalising current communities. My project provides a better alternative that lets lower middle-class groups stay in the area in a way that is not only beneficial for them, but for incoming expats too.

VII. Site Opportunities

With the dangers of incoming elite groups come opportunities as well, while the urban plan of the area allows for projects that can be done in phases and with the involvement of the community. The current U-arrangement of the urban blocks allows for the development of new permanent residents in the present-day parking lots. This construction therefore can be easily overseen by permanent residents, and they can be directly involved in the design of their future private spaces if they wish to stay on the site. This solution also allows for densification in contrast to the current sprawl. Later on, as the old buildings are demolished, they will give way to temporary residences, communal amenities, functions, and an access to the abandoned waterfront, which could be redeveloped as part of the urban strategy to make the natural surroundings of the building attractive as well.Greenmore purposefulprivate/publicmore accessibleWatermore accessiblepublic waterfront = attractionconnection to other canals - accessibility by boatRoutingA1: will partially disappearMain
roadsstreetssite needs better access/private public making street two-sided parking can go underground + can be less for cars and more for bicycles and boats.

VIII. Potential Massing and Scale

The massing of the building will be primarily dictated by the multiple-phase construction, a desire for an optical mix between different social groups of residents, the relationship to other surrounding buildings, the existing/future infrastructure, and the waterfronts as well as sun and climate requirements. The living spaces will be clearly separated from public amenities through careful consideration of routing.

IX. Program

The primary programs will be permanent dwellings, temporary dwellings, and private services/amenities (e.g. cleaning, security, postal services, baggage management, event spaces, catering, communal garden, etc.), and public services/amenities (daycare, private education, GP, restaurant, salons, sports facilities, library, cinema, music rooms, etc.).

X. Density

The area will be densified to be able to accommodate more than double the amount of the people it does currently. The aim would be to achieve a more-or-less even distribution between social classes within the development(s). Exact numbers will depend on financial estimates based on the policies supporting the housing scheme.

XI. Structural and Climate Requirements

For optimum densification, the feasibility of the strategy to be done in stages, and to conform to the building language of the surrounding future buildings, the building will consist of private mid-rise towers connected by a public and semi-public plinth.

XII. Social Requirements

To enhance social justice on an urban, as well as on an architectural scale. Recognition, redistribution and flows of opportunity, power, procedures and culture are equally important on all scales. “Designs that take into consideration not only basic human needs, but social sustainability as well by recognising areas of social struggle, and then allowing for a more just distribution of material goods (e.g.: high quality public spaces, and amenities) according to the needs of residents, as well as enabling a more even flow of power,
opportunity, procedures and culture through decreasing spatial barriers.”

On an urban scale, the design allows for a mix of social classes, encouraging exposure, which is generally a good strategy for reducing stereotypes, stigma, marginalisation, friction and fear, and the ingroup/outgroup effects between groups. It allows more disadvantaged groups to take control of their living environment and personalise it responding to their needs, to be recognised through this process, and to stay in urban vortexes of opportunity.

On an architectural scale, it encourages collaboration in a socially and economically advantageous arrangement that can provide opportunities on a neighbourhood scale as well. The importance of exposure: central route to persuasion (weighing arguments, facts and figures in a systematic fashion) vs. peripheral route to persuasion (respond to simple, often irrelevant cues that suggest the rightness/wrongness/attractiveness of an argument without giving it much thought) - fuels stereotypes, e.g. when someone gets their information only through certain media - exposure can be a remedy, and collaboration can increase trustworthiness. It is difficult to change attitudes in general, and especially stereotypical attitudes through education. Changes in behaviour can help this process far better - if different groups are brought into contact, prejudiced individuals would come into contact with the reality of their own experience, which would lead to a greater understanding. Coming into contact in hierarchical arrangements is not advantageous, however, equal-status contact highly is. Residential segregation plays a big role in this.

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XIII. Graduation Strategy

Week 21-25

In this phase, the main building concept for the project will be worked out in detail with a scheme for its spatial development, programmatic arrangement and routing, primary structure, and a strategy for sustainability and climate. The overall form and function should be clear by the end of this phase.

Week 26-30

In this phase, the design should be clarified through a more detailed program, plans, sections, a facade design, visuals of the most important spaces, and a clear idea of how the building fits in the group’s urban strategy.

Week 31-35

Over these weeks, the design should be clarified through a more detailed program, plans, sections, a facade design, visuals of the most important spaces, and a clear idea of how the building fits in the group’s urban strategy.

Week 33-35

During this phase, the technical and structural details will be worked out, and plans, sections, elevations will be clarified. The materialisation of the building should be finalised through these steps.

Week 23-40

In the last phase, everything should be refined and finalised as part of post-production. This will end with the P5 presentation. Afterwards, and exposition will take place, displaying all group- and individual projects.
URBAN STRATEGY
Overall Urban Strategy

The aims of our research team in relation to connectivity is to decrease barriers, use blocks and axes as organisational tools, improve water system connections, and create green corridors to minimise socio-spatial fragmentation. These objectives are applied on a smaller scale in Buitenveldert to create improved conditions for the proposed new housing initiative in the area.
USE BLOCKS + AXES AS ORGANISATIONAL TOOLS
CREATE + MAINTAIN GREEN CORRIDORS
EXTEND MAIN AXIS
CONNECT CANALS
ARCHITECTURAL STRATEGY
Proposed program

There will be a wide array of different programs within the building that work in order to create social and economic sustainability within the complex. The primary private function is dwellings. There will be dwellings provided for the permanent residents (blue collar workers and lower middle classes), as well as for elite expats arriving freshly to the area, who will be able to stay in the complex for 1-5 years. A variety of semi-public functions, such as security, postal service, baggage management, cleaning and maintenance are provided for everyone by permanent residents, giving them the opportunity to run their businesses locally. Additional services can also be provided by them, or create work opportunities for them. These could include a library, cinema, sport facilities, etc.
Micro context

The site is bordered by two busy roads, a revitalised waterfront development, and a canal extension. The arrangement of public and semi-public spaces is responding to these conditions.
Reinventing and reintroducing the idea of the ‘collective’ as it existed in Berlage’s perimeter blocks, the general massing of the building is pushed to the edges of the site, creating a centralised circulation hub in a main courtyard, which is accessible through green corridors.
Massing

The upper floors are accessible from this central circulation hub, and will give place to the dwellings, creating a clear division between public and private.
Programmatic arrangement

The most public functions are facing the most public areas of the immediate context, while semi-public areas relate more to the inner courtyards and green corridors.
The dwellings on the upper floors are accessible through the middle building central in the main courtyard. This acts not only as a circulation core for the complex, but also houses social gathering spaces for the residents. This way, people who live in the building will cross paths. Familiarity plays a key role in collaboration, and contributes greatly to the social success of the scheme.
Circulation

The above arrangement of spaces creates a seamless transition from public to private, enhanced by different sequences of courtyards and semi-public circulation spaces.
Circulation

The main courtyard is accessed through green corridors and semi-public courtyards. The housing blocks each house around 30 people, corresponding the idea of creating natural community sizes within the building. The individual apartments each overlook a small courtyard that lets light and natural ventilation in, creates views to greenspaces, and allows for familiar interactions.
There is a division between public and private that is expressed in the architectural language as well, apart from the obvious spatial division. Public areas are more open and flexible, offering adaptability for future uses.
Private dwellings are expressed more as blocks. Their structural configuration also allows for highly flexible internal floorplans.
Structure

While the public plinth is composed of a simple concrete frame construction that follows the grid of the upper floors, the apartment blocks make use of the flexibility of timber frame components.
Materiality

The public plinth differs from the upper floors in its material expressions. A precast concrete facade contrasts the timber envelope of the dwellings.
Second and Fourth Floor Plan
Dwelling Typology

Starting out with a simple centralised circulation, space for interaction is added firstly for the unit itself for the residents of its apartments, and then secondly for between different unit blocks.
Dwelling Typology

Different configurations for the combination of apartments allows for three different sizes, each for a distinct number of residents.
1 - 2 people
45 sqm

3 - 4 people
100 sqm

4 - 6 people
200 sqm
Flexibility

The outer structure of dwellings is fixed, but allows for enough flexibility for a very high amount of different internal floor plan arrangements. To achieve this, a simple timber frame is used. Openings are placed in correspondence with the level of privacy provided by the immediate context of the blocks. For this, a simple zoning arrangement was worked out. Privacy is also improved by automated shutters that respond to external climate conditions as well.
**Internal zoning**

Each block is facing a more public open space, as well as a semi-public small ‘street’ and a shared courtyard. This gradient is taken into account in the suggested internal zoning arrangement.
Dwellings

The social mixture of 50% permanent dwellers and 50% temporary dwellers is present in each block. Each block has a representative who deals with issues regarding maintenance, cleaning, service bills, etc. This representative gets paid from a standard fee each resident pays for these purposes each month. The representatives also meet regularly to deal with issues that concern the whole complex.
Returning to the housing typology of the inner city of Amsterdam which served as inspiration for this project, its functional organisation becomes a question. Elites had the higher quality apartments, while workers usually stayed in small attic spaces. In the new scheme, this hierarchy has disappeared. The question then becomes, how can problems within the housing complex be solved in a democratic way.
Functional structuring - new housing complex

The ground floor will serve as a public/semi-public plinth. The upper floors will have apartments that are not differentiated in their quality. All of them have a high-quality, flexible envelope that allows for a high variety of internal arrangements that can be personalised by both temporary and permanent residents.
Organisation of community sizes within the complex

According to studies\(^1\), people tend to naturally group themselves into certain sizes of assemblies that collaborate well together. These natural community sizes form the base for the grouping of people within the proposed housing development. This way, residents will find it easier to resolve issues that may arise.

Organisation of community sizes within the complex

When densifying, my aim was to double the density of people on site - this way all the residents could theoretically stay on the site, while the same amount of expats can move in as well. This results in around 630 people in the complex, which would form a mega-band made up of around 30 bands.
The bands would be spatially grouped together, with each of them having a representative. This representative could then communicate the issues, concerns and proposals of each band at meetings. Three managers would additionally communicate the issues of the whole complex to the municipality.
Organisation of easy collaboration within the complex

Each resident would pay a small monthly fee that would go towards the salaries of managers and representatives, as well as standard maintenance, services, cleaning, and emergency maintenance.
Programmatic arrangement

The different functions of the complex can be arranged together on three different scales.
Programmatic arrangement

This way, the complex functions on private, semi-private, and public levels.
PROGRAM
Site Plans

The project site is bordered by De Bolelaan, the extended axis, a lively waterfront development, and a canal extension that connects the water system to the system in the inner city more directly.

Similar architectural arrangements could potentially be placed all along the redeveloped canal front.
Site Plans

The ground floor has a relatively open architectural language. Its grid follows the grid of the dwellings on the upper floors. This openness allows for different future uses and flexibility.
Programmatic arrangement

The two red arrows show the most public borders around the site. The functions facing these will be more public as well, and will serve the neighbourhood, not just the housing complex. The green arrow represents the canal front, which will be made lively with bars, cafes, and restaurants along it. The blue line marks the new canal extension, which will have a more quiet atmosphere, with the library looking over it.
CIRCULATION
Seamless transition from public to private
Gallery
ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER
Library
BUILDING TECHNOLOGY
1. polished concrete floor with underfloor heating at 150 mm - 300 mm
2. separating layer
3. Insulation - 65 mm
4. DPM
5. reinforced concrete foundation
6. sand layer - 150 mm
7. gravel with drainage - 345 mm
#2 Facade Detail

1. aluminium window frame with double glazing
2. timber shutters (pivoting and sliding) - 40 x 145 x 2900 mm
3. laminate timber floor finish 10 mm
4. foam pad
5. underfloor heating pipes at 150 mm
6. insulation board - 70 mm
7. glue-laminated timber floor - 50 mm
8. glue-laminated timber beams - 185 x 45 mm
9. prefabricated concrete panels - 160 mm, 170 mm; sandwiched DPM, insulation - 170 mm, vapour barrier
10. anchors
11. reinforced in-situ concrete floor - 300 mm
12. aluminium window frame with double glazing
1. timber cladding (redwood) - 15 x 96 mm; battens - 20 x 37 mm
2. cellulose insulation - 70 mm
3. OSB - 20 mm
4. DPM
5. insulation - 166 mm
6. vapour barrier
7. plasterboard - 15 mm
1. PV panels
2. vegetation - 60 mm
3. filter cloth
4. root barrier
5. ventilation void - 70 mm
6. DPM
7. wind block
1. concrete surface
2. DPM
3. insulation - 30 mm
4. vapour barrier
5. metal plates, bolted
6. insulation - 50 mm
7. ACCOIA hardwood beam with cuts for services - 165 x 80 mm
8. insulation - 165 mm
9. reinforced in-situ concrete floor - 300 mm
Main Circulation - Gallery Detail
Semi-private Circulation - Gallery Detail
Ventilation

- HVAC system for the roof to enhance the natural ventilation
- Natural ventilation enhanced by the micro-climates created by the 'purlits'
- Natural ventilation of the ground floor
- Roof fan to supply outdoor air into the apartments
- Canopy ventilation channeled through streets and courtyards, and into the apartments

Sun

- East-facing oriented PV panels at the edges of the roof to avoid overheating
15 cm buffer zone under a layer of vegetation in the courtyards for watering plants
23.05.18.

**REFLECTION**

**Project Description**

The current social housing situation in Amsterdam will continue to contribute to an increase in societal segregation on the long run. This will clearly manifest itself on our site where social housing is primarily occupied by the elites. These areas (such as Oud-Zuid and Zuidas) collide with Buitenveldert - a comparatively neglected urban environment, where more disadvantaged groups can still have access to affordable housing solutions. As a group, we expect that Zuidas will rapidly and aggressively extend by 2050 as a consequence of Brexit and local economic advancements. Therefore the latter affordable blocks will inevitably be affected, bringing about the forceful displacement of lower middle-class residents to the peripheries of the city. The resulting intensified spatial segregation only allows elite groups in areas of power, opportunity, procedures and culture. Precedents of other world cities show that this inevitably leads to frustration and social conflicts, and is therefore unsustainable.

The question then arises: can the process of increasing socio-spatial segregation be reduced through a new collective and collaborative housing typology that shifts the power relationships between the elites and lower middle-class people towards a more equitable arrangement? Instead of forceful displacement, could the residents of Buitenveldert stay in their area as Zuidas extends, and can a cooperative living and working arrangement be applied new arrivals that is mutually beneficial for the original residents as well as for the newly arriving elites?

The brief concentrates on working out the actualisation of a design where lower middle-class groups are given the opportunity to take control of their living environments through the implementation of a flexible design for dwellings. This way, they can stay in their original place of residence, and work in the developing highly lucrative areas around them. Meanwhile, elites can take advantage of the services they provide and the functions they upkeep, as well as the dwelling opportunities they provide and manage.

The framework mixes public and semi-public amenities on the ground floor with adaptable housing solutions on the upper floors. Semi-public areas get an important role in the design, as the economic and social success of this project heavily relies on residents interacting and collaborating with one another. It is a scheme that questions the socially segregated housing solutions of today, and proposes an alternative that puts the social process of integration at the forefront of the design in order to achieve social and economical sustainability.

**The relationship between the topic of the graduation project, the topic of the Complex Projects Studio, and of the Architecture master track- and programme**

The topic of the studio focuses on design solutions that will be suitable for the conditions of Amsterdam in 2050. This multi-faceted subject takes into account issues such as mobility, sustainability, governance, economics, social inclusion, and quality of life. This particular graduation project points out risk factors that might decrease the sustainability of the city on a societal
level, and proposes a scheme that could reduce the damage. The end product is a detailed architectural design solution supported by different lines of theoretical and practical research that fits within the framework of the Architecture master track and master programme.

Research methods and approaches

In this section, I would like to address the methodologies I have used in the framework of the research methods encouraged by the Complex Projects Graduation Studio. During the first semester, research was at the forefront of the project, with mapping and typological research highly encouraged, executed in groups. Apart from producing books of detailed analysis of the architectural and urban qualities of our site - which comprises of the Oud-Zuid, Zuidas, and Buitenveldert areas - we each developed our own fascinations too. These were investigated primarily through practical means, such as drawings and models. Additionally, we carried out several site visits to help along these processes. This personal graduation project is also heavily founded on resources that are text-based, expanding on the practical aspects of the overall group research. The aim is to place the findings of our groups in a wider socio-spatial context. Mixing hands-on research with theory, the design fuses tangible and intangible, looking to achieve a balance between interdisciplinary fields of sociology, economics and architectural/urban design. This has allowed for the development of a whole new theoretical scheme for 2050 with an emphasis on the relationship between architectural and urban spatial conditions, and the socio-economic forces that will drive urban changes in the upcoming years.

The relationship between research and design

My research investigates the conditions under which marginalised people live in Amsterdam today, and takes into account future predictions for economic and urban development. After analysing the risks that Amsterdam and in particular the Buitenveldert area on our site will face in terms of socio-spatial fragmentation, I have come up with an alternative living arrangement to today’s socially segregated housing situation that in the future would reduce the effects of spatial and social divide between lower-middle class, working class, and the newly arriving elite groups living in Zuidas. The strict framework of the Complex Projects studio helped with the structuring of this task. My research foresees widening social and spatial segregation, and my project has been developed in reaction to this issue. My goal is to increase the sustainability of the city not only in a technical respect, but with regard to social processes too.

Marginalisation on an urban scale is a topic that deserves a central role in architectural discourse today, and so this project aims to emphasise its importance by offering a spatial alternative. I believe that this topic is crucial for the future development of cities, and that is why I have tried to integrate urban theory, psychology, and sociological fields into the practical methods encouraged by the studio. This has allowed me to develop a broad perspective on the different forces that guide architectural construction in the area today. I consider my project to be successful in having a new take on the way we have been looking at housing and urban zoning in Amsterdam, as it proposes social
functions for their convenience. This business-like arrangement is supported by the proposed architecture that recognises the need for establishing familiarity and increased empathy between these different social classes. In the spatial arrangement of the building, a new kind of housing typology is present that recognises the importance of social balance in urban contexts in order to achieve sustainable cities. This results in more emphasis being on semi-public in-between zones, and opportunities for spontaneous interaction. This is something that is often disregarded in today's urban developments. This project therefore manages to shed light on some important issues that are often overlooked in profit-driven architectural arrangements in areas such as Zuidas today. The relationship between the research and the design is therefore very strong, as the spatial development and the design process follows the initial brief for the theoretical socio-spatial framework of the new housing initiative.

The design of the building and its urban surroundings reflects on this theoretical framework developed during the first semester. In its form, it tries to be as innovative as the newly proposed theoretical living arrangement. The emphasis in both the initial research phase, as well as in the design phase is based on evening out the power relationships between residents of different socio-economic backgrounds through creating opportunities for better the interaction and collaboration. As a result of this, the spatial manifestations of the structure have been developed in accordance. Collective space, and the seamless transitioning between private and public are crucial. Opportunities for work, leisure and access to services for all social groups living in the complex are evened out. The basic idea is that people living in social housing in Buitenveldert today will have an opportunity to get government funding for the project. In this scheme they will be offered highly adaptable housing arrangements, so they could take control of their own living environments. They would have the opportunity to stay close to lucrative areas, but also to establish their own businesses in the complex, and to provide services. The newly arriving expats would rent apartments in the complex from them, and would have access to different services and

Ethical dilemmas encountered

As we have established a clear group strategy with my peers, my project fits well with the narrative of the other projects on our site. Our vision is that while the Oud-Zuid area will most likely struggle with a lack of opportunity for development and overcrowding, Zuidas will in response expand rapidly along the A10 and into the neighbourhood of Buitenveldert. This will cause the forceful displacement of people living in social housing in the latter area today, and
consequently, I have been looking at alternatives for housing and work from a new perspective. I propose a new housing initiative that uses high levels of community involvement, and that is based on the reliance that different social classes have on each other. This is in response to case studies of other big European cities such as London and Paris, where we have seen how marginalisation on a political, economical, social and spatial scale leads to unsustainable situations. My research shows that there is a danger of these kinds of processes becoming more prominent in Amsterdam as well, due to the gentrification and privatisation of the city within the old city borders, and the rapid development and consequent population growth of the business district. Therefore this project tries to tackle the very real danger of growing marginalisation and the unsustainable social conditions that will likely develop in Amsterdam by 2050.

**The relationship between the graduation project and its wider societal framework**

Overall, this graduation project aims to point out the importance of implementing more socially conscious designs in cities. In most urbanised areas today, architectural development is centralised in economically already lucrative areas. This results in spatial barriers, which contribute to marginalisation in physical, and psychological terms as well, and effect big portions of the population of cities. Despite this, the issue of socio-spatial fragmentations gets little attention in architectural practice, as funding for it is scarce, and the traditional way of allocating lower social classes in social housing still prevails. This projects questions this notion, and proposes that we look at housing in a more democratic way. It is crucial that we start questioning traditional housing arrangements on an urban and on an architectural scale, as currently, they lead to destructive social processes. To increase the sustainability of cities, a critical examination of how we actually use and live in cities is necessary, and more attention should be given to the areas that are segregated from economic and social opportunities.
Ground Floor Plan
1. Community Center
2. Language School
3. Event Space
4. Library
5. Semi-private dining; Main Circulation
6. Daycare Center
7. Shops and Businesses
8. Restaurants, Cafes
9. Gym
10. Spa

Dwellings with streets and courtyards inbetween
Flat roofs with vegetation
Optional: PV panels/terraces
Main Axis

Restaurant
Green Corridor

Main Courtyard
Dwelling

Semi-private Courtyard
Living Room

Bedroom
ESSAY

RESEARCH METHODS
A critical assessment of typology as a primary guide for methodological research

In general, an awareness of methodological research is crucial for architects in order to further the fundamental knowledge and discussions about the core questions of the disciplines they are concerned with. Comprehending precedents, for instance, lets professionals react to historical trends and inventions and take advantage of them in order to achieve additional technological, stylistic, or function-based advancements. Apprehending historical, as well as current trends is essential in order to be able to predict future architectural trends in relation to theory, sociology, culture, economics, etc.¹ Having the right tools provided by different research methods helps navigate these complex fields. A knowledge of what approaches are applicable for a comprehensive analysis not only helps professionals, but can also contribute to a better general understanding of our living conditions within the built environments we create.

Attending this course on research methods has helped me gain more of an active awareness of the scope of research methods available, and a drive for conducting more practice-based research. My fascination with typological methodology is also a result of this. Personally, I have always tried to use a wide variety of methods for my academic investigations, but I have always had a tendency to shift towards more theory-based analysis. This course contributed to an attempt at putting more emphasis on practical methods in my studio work, such as producing more analytical drawings and diagrams of various medium, and conducting interviews. This thinking-by-doing approach is also highly encouraged in my current Chair through the requirements of extended mapping and field work exercises.

The Future of Amsterdam graduation studio of Complex Projects generously invests half an academic year to allow students to gain familiarity of their sites through various research methods. These methods include mapping, thinking-through-doing, typological research, historical research, etc. The collected data is meticulously organised throughout the semester. All the eventual findings correspond with a variety of categories (such as circularity, health, and mobility), and are collected into two separate books per groups of nine: a site book and a source book. The site book contains concrete findings and analysis, while the source book explains the methodology that was used to acquire the results and conclusions found in the former.

The above mentioned books both follow the same structure for the sake of clarity. Their organisational system clearly mimics the book Hausmann Paris, edited by Benoit Jallon, Umberto Napolitano, and Franck Boutté. In latter, the analysis of Paris was approached using a firm architectural typological research. Its chapters are divided by scale, as the analysis moves from a wider urban scale (XL) all the way down to detail level (S). The work is therefore first and foremost concerned with form and style. It relies on recognising architectural and urban patterns and typologies, and draws conclusions based purely on that. Interdisciplinary fields, such as politics and sociology, that are influencing the development of these forms are put aside for the aim of having a comprehensive catalogue purely of analytical drawings. The Future of Amsterdam studio follows the same structure in its publications based on scale, and though the analysis conducted is not always purely typological, this method still plays a highly significant role in the research process.

This brings up the question, how important is typological research in architecture? Moneo argues that to question typology is equal to questioning the nature of the architectural object itself.² Does the essence of architecture truly lie in its typological expression, so much so, that it should be the main governing force of methodological research?

In this essay, typology will be defined, and its role in architectural research questioned through analysing its meaning, relating it to variety of other epistemes related to sociology (such as phenomenology and praxeology), and historically contextualising it. Typology will be put in a cross-disciplinary context with a special interest in anthropology in order to weigh its importance in design processes and in practice. These approaches will be executed through the application of critical theory. The aim of this investigation is to develop an approach of dialectical thinking, through which the advantages and disadvantages of having typology as a starting point of methodological research are weighed against one another. Developing a critical discourse analysis will allow for an observation of typological research outside of its usual realm and in broader contexts, shedding light on the necessity of it to be used as part of a wider group of methodologies in order to achieve comprehensive results.3

As mentioned before, there will be a significant emphasis on the comparison of typological methodologies to the approaches of architectural social sciences. Latter field, and how people actually engage with buildings greatly determine the success of different typologies,4 and hence the two research disciplines have a strong correlation. While typological studies strip the building down to its core elements, and are concerned with recognising basic similarities that derive from form and function, fields related to architectural social sciences give the analysis a more human element. They are concerned with how buildings are actually perceived and are engaged with in practice by their users. The two approaches might seem contrasting, but are complimentary. The two together allow for a better sensing of the building, understanding its basic elements, and then relating it to its practical context and its perception by people. There are, of course, multiple ways to achieve similar results in research. However, these two methodologies are both at the forefront of analytical thinking within the graduation studio of Complex Projects, and are therefore worthwhile further investigation at this time.

The list of literature for this examination was constructed in order to be able to build up a comprehensive critical discourse analysis of typological research, as explained above. For the structuring of applied research methodologies, the book Research Methods for Architecture by Ray Lucas was often referred to, as well as Architectural Research Methods by David Wang and Linda N. Groat. Thinking About Architecture by Colin Davies further contributes to these explorations, while Moneo’s and Argan’s writings on typology help to define the essence of typological research, as well as to put it into a historical context. Colquhoun, Lefvebre, and Bandini all provide valuable insight into the topic, while writings by Jones, and Noble, as well as articles by Güney, and Havik help further concretise arguments.

Analysis through typological differentiation is an essential part of architectural research today, and has evolved as typologies have been articulated and passed down over time, partially through the work of famous architects,5 innovators, but first and foremost through tradition. How did architectural type appear though, and when? What defines architectural typology, and how does it help with the advancement of design within the discipline?

The word type derives from a Greek verb, typto, which translates as ‘to beat, to hit, to mark’. Typos also refers to the marks that distinguished coins in the seventh and sixth centuries BC in Greece.6 Later on, the
meaning of the word had morphed into ‘a category or people having common characteristics’. And although type has always been present in various fields of study, the investigation of types, or typology did not emerge as such until the nineteenth century. Then, it quickly rose to be a significant research methodology as a result of the systematic thinking that became celebrated in scientific circles during the times of the Enlightenment era. This was also when Quatremère de Quincy defined architectural type for the first time ever through a comparative analysis of type and model, describing former as an idea of an element which serves as the rule for the latter. The model is the practical execution of architecture, and should be imitated for what it is, while a type is much more vague, and can be described as more of a reference. It was during the second half of the nineteenth century, when this notion became accepted, and architects started to set up typologies not only based on previous formal configurations, but also grounded in the function of the building. To give a few examples, typologies for hospitals, schools, and banks have emerged - though in terms of their plans, structural, or decorative elements these types remained conservative.

Since the emergence of typology as a commonly accepted study methodology, the question of the importance of typology in architecture has been revisited several times, every time with a changing intensity of different positions. And as Argan explains, each new type has played a big role in describing the time in which it was created, and the generation it was used by. Neoclassicists, for example, had become known for over-using antique typologies, and apply them as models rather then the framework or general idea that they are according to Quatremère de Quincy's definition. Following his ideas, it is crucial to understand and study typologies of the past, but it is also necessary to remember that the specific configurations of different times in which plans, structures and ornaments are assembled in certain ways carry with them a history of their cultural, social, political, and economical contexts. To repeat past architectural arrangements to the point then is to copy and force a certain ideological content into circumstances in which they do not belong to.

Modernists, in contrast to architects of the nineteenth century, took a strong stance against following previous architectural types, and have aimed to create architecture that broke away from tradition in its expression, materials and techniques. They intended to distance themselves from creating types, and typological research was therefore not seen as necessary by them at the time. This, in the end still resulted in the creation of new typologies, as their experiments with planar arrangements, structural elements, and ornaments led to drastically new architectural configurations that are still used as precedents today. During postmodern times, this notion of rejection of the past had once again diminished, and today’s re-emerging trend to use typological research as a starting point for architectural analysis is consequential as well.

Within the Complex Projects graduation studio, typological research on the M scale (building scale) is encouraged as part of a thinking-by-doing approach. Students are to first take an approach similar to that of late nineteenth century architectural thinkers, and choose a typology by function. The architectural typologies of the expressions of this function are then investigated from a historical developmental point of

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view. This is achieved by drawing up a timeline made up of typical representations of buildings with the same use. The aim is to understand the form and functioning of these buildings by reducing them to their core elements, and to then create the most appropriate configuration out of their building component types for housing the planned future programme.

Referring back to my research question, I would argue that using typological research as a starting point for determining architectural form carries in it the danger that the expression of symbolic content that is tied to certain configurations can become overlooked. Type is vague, and without gaining an appropriate knowledge of the social, political, and economical dimensions of its historical context, applying it can bring with it a lot of unwanted symbolic residue. The interrelationships between architectural typological research and other epistemes cannot be disregarded. In order to better understand the study of typology, other methodologies that contextualise its subjects should be treated as equally important. If typology is a framework, it needs to be explained in its original environment. In itself, it remains a shell that neglects the meaning a typology can have outside of architectural contexts.

It takes several buildings with strongly recognisable common characteristics for the formulation of a type. Recognition of the repetition of commonalities is what primarily leads to typological studies. Typological classification creates unity, and can help gain a clearer understanding of the basic components of buildings. It makes design options more approachable and comprehensible. Typology creates order. As Moneo points out, even the simple act of naming an architectural object forces to typify and to relate it to the experience of space in practice. Typology is therefore unavoidable, but not to be detached from other methodologies in architecture. Apart from disregarding historical context, there lies another danger with using typological research as a guide. The subject can be reduced to overly simplistic elements, divided into too many parts, while the essence of the type’s exposure to society is actually lost. If combined with fields such as architectural social sciences, phenomenology, or praxeology, typological research can be applied more precisely in current contexts. Phenomenology, for instance, can be useful to understand how the fundamentals of human experience are present in typological research, while praxeology puts similar questions in more practical terms.

Architecture relies on imitation of precedents, and typological research is one of the most convenient tools for it. It has to be treated with care, however, to avoid fragmented solutions that are detached from their context. As Colquhoun puts it, ‘no system of representation [...] is totally independent of the facts which constitute the objective world.’ He emphasises the strong correlations between typology and social transformation. In order to be able to critique and understand architecture, typological methodology provides a good tool, but it needs to be paired with fields explaining the human experience, as practice is

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not presented as mere form-making. Architecture will never manifest itself as a ‘free-floating form’, and therefore typology, as well as typological research both have deep-rooted connections with socio-political, cultural, and economical systems. In relation to this, Henri Lefebvre goes as far as to say that similar analysis ‘reduces ontological realities to nomenclatures’, and is too abstract. While the advantages of typological studies is clear (for instance in in creating order, learning from previously accepted programmes and forms, or re-configuring conventions), his comments remain valid, and can lead up to a conclusion.

Typological methodologies provide an essential tool in analysing architectural form and function. However, it is disadvantageous to use it as a main guiding tool as it has a tendency to guide researchers towards treating buildings as stand-alone structures devoid of the influences of powerful social, political, cultural, and economical forces that actually shape typologies, as well as the emergence of new configurations of types. Recognising patterns is worthless if we are unaware of the symbolisms that they carry as residue from their historical development. Reducing shapes to their cores gives room to obfuscation and misuse as well, as the repetition and mixture of architectural typological precedents can create extreme complexities, while the vagueness of type leaves too much room for misinterpretation. Typological methodology therefore should not be a starting point of research, rather another tool in understanding the practical expressions of architecture as a product of its environment.

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Bibliography


ESSAY

NEW URBAN QUESTIONS AND MINOR INFRACTIONS
A New Urban Question: Social Justice in Relation to Multilayered Inequality within Cities

While investigating city population growth, researchers such as Kingley Davis had started to grasp the risks of excessive urbanisation as early as the 1950s, and by now, dangers of the ever-increasing number of city dwellers have not only become common knowledge, but are disproportionately parroted in urbanism-related writings. Despite the seeming awareness of the complexity posed by this expansion, however, the ‘urban’ is still primarily determined by economical and statistical factors, the idea being that growth-promoting policies benefit the greatest amount of people the best way possible. The broad range of social and cultural issues that arise as a consequence of the constant inflow of newcomers attracted by the opportunities of metropolitan areas are often neglected. In our contemporary global condition, these drastic inner- and cross- country migration trends to cities pose questions of determining appropriate spatial structures for accommodating an increasingly mixed demographic within urban(ising) territories. As the urban fabric is progressively composed of varying densities, fundamental questions, such as what is ‘urban’ and what is ‘rural’ are also revisited as part of the twenty-first century discourse. As Merrifield states, ‘the urban unfolds into the countryside just as the countryside folds back into the city’, diminishing the preconceived territorialist assumption that the world is divided into specific types of settlements. Instead, there is an emerging notion of seeing cities as nodes of condensed urban centrality, consisting of the merging of economic, social, and cultural concentrations, which are still part of a wider global environment. Consequently, city districts and boundaries need to be rethought. It is essential in this process that the increasing danger of newcomers being pushed to city peripheries as a result of intensified migration flows and gentrification is taken into more serious consideration. Contemporary cities contain demographics of extreme diversity, where sometimes highly different groups coexist in close proximity. Therefore there is an increased risk of unstable conditions, such as marginalisation and stigmatisation to appear within urban populations. Relationships between spatial entities of different scales, and the dynamics of social issues are at the forefront of urban challenges today. In relation, this essay therefore investigates questions of social justice and segregation in relation to contemporary urbanisation processes from a theoretical standpoint.

First, it is important that we draw some conclusions on what is defined as ‘urban’ today, in order to be able to gain a general understanding of how social processes of marginalisation, as well as social justice are influenced by the global migration trends of today. As Ananya Roy points out, currently ‘the urban is being reconstituted as a governmental category’, and as a result, patterns of neoliberalism have emerged across ‘world cities’. Here, capitalism and economic production are

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2 Slater, T. (2014), The resilience of neoliberal urbanism [online], opendemocracy.net. Available at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/tom-slater/resilience-of-neoliberal-urbanism [Last Accessed: 19/06/2017]


the main defining features of urban processes, meaning that the complexity of urban assemblages from sociological and cultural perspectives are often disregarded. Planners’ and decision makers’ engagement with cities as processes of human activity and development is scarce. As explained by Brenner and Schmid, urban population growth results in highly chaotic configurations of polycentric forms, and this decentralisation creates inherently complex networks of economic, social, and cultural nodes that in their strongest concentrations form cities. Therefore the highest concentrations of these nodes offer the most opportunities, acting as magnets for flows of capital and human movement. Considering the globalised nature of current migration processes, cities, especially ‘world cities’ have become scenes of previously unseen diversity. The current great influxes of people with different demographic backgrounds into urban areas should therefore be carefully considered in order to manage emerging disparities. However, as long as methodically territorialist approaches prevail, the ‘urban’ is still only determined in terms of the numbers of people concentrated in certain areas. This is a strongly reductionist analysis that disregards the inherent complexity of urban compositions and processes, and is still relying on the binary classification of territories as either ‘urban’ or ‘rural’.

Hence the question arises: can a new urban theory emerge that takes into consideration the significance of cities as dynamic nodes of social and cultural life in relation to economic accumulation? A new approach is needed that recognises not only the financial logic of urban structures, but the importance of sociospatial processes as well. Hall and Savage describe the workings of urbanised areas using the metaphor of a vortex - the dynamics of mobility happen along the axis of core urban areas, somewhat reinstating the idea of centrality once again. They emphasise, however, the highly unstable state of cities under these conditions - these processes happen alongside effects of inequality and social sorting. Cities hence become scenes of polarity and diversity at the same time. Global migration creates new opportunities, as well as challenges. It should make sense that city centres, where most of the economic, social and cultural activities are concentrated, attract the most wealthy newcomers in general. Those with more financial means will naturally gravitate towards these nodes, seeking to better their statuses by engaging with the most lucrative job opportunities, and taking advantage of the best educational, social, and cultural activities. The city provides all of this, but as central nodes become gentrified, low-income people and newcomers are generally pushed to the peripheries of cities. This gradual process leads to the formations of gated communities, marginalisation, and fragmentation within the wider society. Accordingly, at this point in time, most major European cities struggle with heightening levels of socio-economic segregation. In relation to this, it is relevant to look at David Harvey’s argument on the crucial role of social justice when determining spatial and territorial manipulations. He claims that social costs need to be taken into consideration alongside efficiency: if the former is

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ignored, then the social groups put at disadvantage will likely be sources of inefficiency on the long run.¹⁴

According to this logic, minimising fragmentation in spatial terms would not only result in more positive social processes, but would also be more rewarding economically. This should be crucial in determining the distribution of new developments in urban territories. The success of upgrading marginalised areas is highly dependent on the level of social justice achieved. The question then is, can we achieve lesser levels of segmentation through higher levels of social justice using urban and architectural tools? Harvey also argues that all social processes are spatial, and states that social justice is ‘something contingent upon the social process operating in society as a whole’. Following this thought process, considering territorial divisions under urban conditions needs to be at the forefront of developments and planning today. It is therefore important to analyse urban public spaces as scenes of complex encounters that contain both familiarity and exclusion.¹⁵ Despite recognising this correlation, Harvey’s definition of social justice is primarily connected to economic aspects, focusing mainly on the distribution of incomes. Another perception of social justice is based on basic human rights, as described for example by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.¹⁶ These include personal safety, health, water, shelter, energy, food, education and sanitation. However, it can be argued that achieving social justice is more than simply satisfying basic human needs or achieving a just distribution of goods, value, and benefits. Nancy Fraser has a different take on the issue. She names two different types of social justice: recognition and redistribution. Latter is similar to Harvey’s definition, and consists of the just distribution of resources. Meanwhile what she calls ‘the politics of recognition’ has the rhetoric to create ‘a friendly world, where assimilation to majority or dominant cultural norms is no longer the price of equal respect’.¹⁷ She argues that while the two can be in conflict, neither of them alone is sufficient enough, and therefore they are both needed in order to achieve a sufficient level of social justice. A paper by Deborah Leslie and John Paul Catungal goes even further by integrating the previously listed ideas, but also conceptualising social justice as an issue concerning all forms of domination and oppression. They also emphasise that social justice is not only connected to the distribution of material goods, such as resources, jobs and income, but also to flows of power, opportunity, procedures and culture.¹⁸ In this essay, sociospatial urban issues connected to social justice will be discussed as a merger of these ideas, using Fraser’s binary division as a main orientating idea.

How is social justice related to the structuring of urban space? As urbanisation processes primarily serve economic growth, city planning is governed by developments for enhancing competitiveness, increasing property value and tourism, and attracting highly lucrative businesses.¹⁹ This is especially visible in ‘world cities’, as demonstrated by an interview with one of the former mayors’ of London, Ken Livingstone, in relation to building Crossrail. He once stated that ‘if you couldn’t show that a particular policy produced growth, you wouldn’t get anywhere’.²⁰ This means that there is a tendency to support developments that are already in advantageous financial situations and

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296
are located strategically within active parts of city centres. If a development is to be positioned in financially less profitable areas, it can become more difficult to prove that it can compete with establishments in the active urban nodes. Neighbourhoods with higher percentages of small businesses, minorities and low-income households are consequently falling even further behind on the growth of profitable city centres. This, in summary is responsible for reduced social justice in terms of redistribution of material goods. Maintaining and improving the quality of housing and public spaces in peripheries is secondary to urbanised centres. Constructions of typologies such as luxury hotels, office-towers and shopping malls have the potential to generate greater profits and are hence favoured by private developers. Their distribution and extent, along with investment to more socially-oriented initiatives depend greatly on governmental commitment, hence socially fair economical redistribution comes to a halt if local policies are not supportive of it.

There is then the question of ‘recognition’ as explained by Fraser within urban(ising) territories. There are unquestionable spatial divides between low-wage communities, middle classes and the elite. Gentrification ‘spilling out’ of well-off city centres causes middle classes to move to outer areas, creating a more mixed demographic in peripheral regions, and therefore somewhat reducing sociospatial separations. As a result, this process is often considered favourable as a mode of upgrading neighbourhoods. However, this only creates a temporary state of diversity before marginalised communities have to move even further away from economically profitable urban nodes, in order to make way for more higher-income people. Therefore on the long-run, encouraging gentrification (for example through policy-making) only deepens polarisation. It enhances the emergence of elites in more active urban nodes, while already disadvantaged populations are further isolated from the rest of society, and their opportunities for better jobs, education, and for higher recognition are reduced.

Furthermore, the multilayered nature of social imbalance does not only manifest itself when it comes to the differences between city centres and peripheries. The most active ‘urban vortexes’ are not homogeneous either. According to the findings of Hall and Savage, central urban locations still tend to be scenes of inequality, defined by specific ‘micro geographies’. They have concluded that individuals in more rural areas seem to have connections with a wider range of people with different occupations in general than city dwellers do. In elite urban areas, they found that the range of people’s social contacts are often limited primarily to small groups who are of a higher social status. The locations of these specific communities are often tied to architectural spaces serving particular occupations. Precedents of this can be cultural, law and business districts. An example of such groups is an emerging social class referred to as the ‘cultural class’, consisting primarily of well-educated younger migrants (often internationals), who are attracted to the openness and vitality of specific urban regions. This group is often associated with higher levels of social equity, as they try to form a so-called ‘no-collar’ workforce, where creativity and equality are conjoined with social justice, and employability is independent of race, nationality and sexual orientation. This effort is necessary and welcome in this age, when workplaces are still too often ‘characterised by inequalities along racial and gender lines’. The presence of this class is therefore more and more frequently seen as essential to creating greater fairness within urban populations. However, even the location of these groups are tied to specific concentrated urban locations, and hence their influence on the wider society can be limited by spatial barriers.

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Additionally, it seems that the rise of this ‘creative class’ also brings about an increased need for the service class. According to Florida, this social group relies heavily on low-paying services such as cleaning, childcare and food preparation, however, people working in these industries do not have the resources to fully satisfy their needs. This phenomena also contributes to a widening wage gap. As a result, cities with substantial presence of the ‘creative class’ tend to actually be more unequal than the ones without.

Tackling the question of managing increasing disparities in cities is a highly pressing, yet often disregarded issue. This essay attempts to give a brief insight into the extent of growing marginalisation under contemporary urban conditions. This topic is inherently complex and is influenced by a wide array of political, social, economical, and cultural factors. Spatial influences have a strong impact on issues of segregation, as urban and architectural space is where difference and barriers are manifested, modified, and dissolved. It is important that city populations are seen as more than mere statistics, and that their lived territories are recognised to be more than either ‘urban’ and ‘rural’. Ideally, rezoning and new developments should not only take profitable investment into account, but should also consider social mechanisms of segregation, integration, tolerance, and justice alongside it. It is important to note that latter is more than a mere redistribution of material goods, and that in practice, a broader definition of it has to be applied - one that recognises problematic matters of dominance and oppression connected to race, gender, and sexual orientation. Frameworks for improving the quality of peripheral neighbourhoods through strategies other than gentrification are necessary. In this case, quality of space refers not only to the condition of architecture or the presence of amenities, such as music and art venues, outdoor spaces, green spaces, etc., but also to a tolerant sense of place. However, it is important to bare in mind that spatial manipulations alone are not fruitful enough to evoke wider societal change - local policies for example can greatly support or undermine such efforts. The ramifications of not addressing spatial segregation can nevertheless worsen inequality and reduce social justice on the long run. It is therefore crucial that professionals are not only aware of sociospatial problems existing in contemporary urban conditions, but start addressing them jointly with economical factors of development.

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