Living with the others.

Spatial transformations towards liveability of cities of diversity: the case of the Schilderswijk

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12 January 2015
Delft, The Netherlands
Master: Master of Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences
Track: Urbanism

PROJECT INFORMATION

Project title: ‘Living with the others. Spatial transformations towards liveability: the case of the Schilderswijk’
Graduation studio: Design of the Urban Fabric

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Preface

The present report is the explanatory documentation of the graduation project with title: ‘Living with the other. Spatial transformations towards liveability: the case of the Schilderswijk’. The whole research is contacted in the thematic of the graduation studio ‘Design of the Urban Fabric’. It includes the thesis plan, the theory paper and the documentation of the Graduation Orientation Course which are the deliverable products of the first semester (P2 moment of the graduation year). Through this report issues like, the project definition, research questions, theoretical background, first site analyses and indication of the approach of the further research will be mentioned.
1. Introducing the problem field
Cities are attractive places to live at. For one, this is a result of a high share of resources they offer to their citizens: cultural, educational, medical, leisure, shopping and social, and for another, a result of the interesting street life they provide them with (City at eye level, 2014).

Cities in the European context presented a remarkable expansion between the years 1945 and 1996, an era which started after World War II and during which 33 million migrants and refugees approached Western Europe (Figure 1). Upcoming industrial revolution of that era in big European cities was the main focus of those populations who quickly formed a broad working class in those societies. Such demographic growth was a shock for the post-war Western Europe since up until then Europe was the continent which was considered itself to be an exporter of population. Then, it had turned into a destination of substantial waves of immigration (Peach, 1997).

Population absorption by cities in search of a better future did not stop at the end of the era explained before. Globalization processes especially during the era of economic crisis which is currently on track, are still intensifying people movements. In order to understand the current situation it is enough to say that according to the World Health Organization the global urban population is expected to grow gradually more than 1% percent per year until 2030. Such values cannot be ignored given that the current, total population living in urban areas is already high; 54% (World Health Organization, 2015).

So, the influx of newcomers, a procedure that has started long time ago has created a new reality in our cities\(^1\) (Figure 2). Diverse cities comprised by different ethnic, social groups, different colors, different smells and needs is a common phenomenon of our era. The co-existence of different social groups under the same urban fabric or alternatively the notion of the multiculturalism is something positive for the function of cities according to literature.

However, reality proves another aspect of multicultural societies. Multicultural residential neighborhoods and especially those who were defined during the 40s and 70s are experiencing liveability problems. \textbf{Liveability} is a notion associated with the quality of life and the wellbeing of individuals. Such neighborhoods are experiencing decaying processes with similarities in factors leading to deterioration (Turkington, 2004) and are not considered as attractive living environments and competitive enough in a city level.

\(^{1}\text{especially for the cities of western Europe}\)
So, what we have at the end is increasingly socially, economically and ethnically fragmented cities and sometimes even racially ghettoized (Martiniello, Piquard, 2002).

Such problems derive from the decisions regarding the formation of the built environment and the integration policies and approaches each country adopted for the newcomers. In a first place, the housing shortage and the quick demand for accommodating new population led to the production of estates with scarce emphasis on quality constructions (Andeweg et al., 2007). In addition to the insufficient technical quality of buildings, those urban areas were planned based on inadequate urban layouts.

So at the end we can conclude that not all the inhabitants of cities of nowadays benefit from the available resources as there are social groups with a limited access to them: physical, economical or both. Additionally, not all the parts of cities are considered a healthy, desired and safe place to be, not only from the perspective of the visitor but also from the perspective of the inhabitant. In most of cases though, such problematics meet as economic and social issues affect one another. The result is a remarkably non-livable environment for its inhabitants who not only have to face their economic weakness but also a damaged living environment characterized by social exclusion, poor social interaction, and stigmatization, highest crime rates, lower levels of public and private amenities.

What is remarkable though, is that deprived neighborhoods are in most of cases found close to key locations of cities such as city centers, transportation hubs or remarkably privileged locations, something that makes the social segregation even more intense and hard to understand. The Figure 3 illustrates some characteristic examples of deprived neighborhoods around Europe.
Figure 4. Clusters of unemployment in European context. Source: http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1417956/
Depending on the case, deprived neighborhoods play a specific functional role for each city (Figure 4) like an arrival place for immigrant groups to come, a transition zone for those who want to climb the ladder of socioeconomic structure or a shelter for those who cannot afford life anywhere else (The role of deprived neighborhoods).

![Diagram of deprived neighborhoods](image)

Figure 5. Schematic representation of the classification of functions of deprived neighborhoods. Source: The role of deprived neighborhoods

The role itself is not always something negative as every part of cities like the human organs has a specific main function and somebody need to contribute more for the benefit of the others. This is the way economy works in capitalistic societies. What can be mentioned as a core problematic though is the living conditions provided to such areas. It happens very often people of such districts to live not only under poor living condition but do also need to face the bad reputation their living environment has outside of its borders. Sometimes it does not only has to do with phenomena of racism or xenophobic panics but with real incidents that happen within their borders and this is true as criminality appear more often at deprived areas.

Opinions regarding such living environments and their impact on them state (ODPM, 2005) the following:

‘People living in deprived neighborhoods are less likely to work, more likely to be poor and have lower life expectancy, more likely to live in poorer housing in unattractive local environments with high levels of antisocial behavior and lawlessness and more likely to receive poorer education and health services. Living in a deprived area adversely affects individuals’ life chances over and above what would be predicted by their personal circumstances and characteristics. (p. 6)

What is interesting though is the fact that the poor do not choose to live in areas with higher crime rates and worse pollution: they cannot afford not to. That is, the incomes of people determine the character of the neighborhood they can afford to live in. So it is in the urban planners’ and designers’ hand to respond to this current challenge of dealing with such neighborhoods and provide all people no matter their income and place of residence with equal possibilities for a liveable living environment.
2. **Motivation**

My motivation for the theme of this graduation project derives from personal experiences regarding urban life, experiences that during my trip in the world of architecture and urbanism turned into interesting questions for me to answer.

To begin with, I would say that I grew up with the stereotype that cities are dangerous. This belief was particularly formed by personal experiences coming from the places I lived and visited, friends’ and family’s experiences and also various incidents announced on news (Figure 6). According to Sandercock (2005), expressions of fear in cities are associated with expressions of fear of anything that differ from us.

And this was exactly what my experiences of fear had to do with; expressions of antisocial phenomena caused in public spaces by minority groups: youngsters, drug users, illegal immigrants and other deprived social groups that took unofficially the ownership of public space or by the presence of undesired images like homeless people, images able to affect the mentality of an area. In the majority of cases,
my stories have to do with centrally located areas (Figure 7). In response to such incidents; the idea of avoiding being part of specific parts of cities was really common for me and my acquaintances. I needed to get used to it if we wanted to be safe. However, why should users of public space accept that they will be excluded from certain parts of public networks, systems that are meant for all, because of the poor conditions and safety a certain area offers? How can we live in harmony with any kind of social group that differs from us and act differently from us? Is it only a social matter or space has a responsibility on that? If so, how can we plan our cities in such a way that deprived areas where we may live or cross by will be transformed into liveable areas and given back to the cities’ public realm, enhancing an interesting street life? How urban planners can change the perception of urban life into a quality? Such problematics are deeply rooted in the present graduation project.

Figure 7. Omonia Square in Athens. One of the most central public spaces in the city which is considered a notorious place to be.
3. Problem analysis

The aim of this graduation project is to understand the dynamics of deprived neighborhoods where a diverse social environment is a subject of discussion and finally to plan for a more liveable future of them.

The Dutch context was considered appropriate for the research of this problematic. For one, it is a characteristic multicultural environment. According to the last Annual Report on Integration 2012, 20.9% of the total population of the country is non-indigenous population (Vliet, 2012) (Figure 8). For another, among the various social groups in urban environment it is the non-indigenous population the ones that experience the higher deprivation.

3.1. General context: The Netherlands

Immigrants are not equally distributed in the country. They most often live in most urbanized areas of the country: the Randstad\(^2\) (Vliet, 2012) as there is the high concentration of resources. This fact is completely logical and proves the main aim of a migrant; no matter his origin, educational or economic status; he is always seeking for a work or better living conditions (Oxford dictionaries, 2015).

The typology of immigrants vary from labor immigrants whose main focus was and still is the industrial sector to high-skilled immigrants with higher ambitions and high living standards. However, the non-Western populations are the ones that experience worse living conditions as several reports state that even the third generation of migrants are not yet integrated (Figure 9) into the Dutch society. This is why, this group of migrants will be the main focus of the research.

Nowadays, there are many discussions in the Dutch society about the formation of the built environment. The central government announced in 2007, the names of forty neighborhoods with a high priority for an urban renewal or regeneration approach. The selection of the neighborhoods was based on both residents’ opinion about their environment and factual indicators like income, work, educational background, street unsafety, quality of housing and nuisance (Government, n.d.).

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\(^2\)Randstad is a conurbation in the Netherlands which is comprised by the largest Dutch cities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht and the surrounding sett
Main concept of those plans is the rehabilitation of the notion of liveability; the quality of life. Liveability has to do with the relationship of a subject; organism, person or community with its surrounding. Most definitions about liveability of neighborhoods, consider the neighborhoods as the environment and the residents as the subject. Indicators like the presence of green spaces, housing density, attractiveness, crime, vandalism, social and street safety and presence of amenities are those which can define the level of such relationship (Dorst, 2005).

The neighborhoods with a high priority for an urban renewal are lacking those qualities. The higher concentration of such deprived neighborhoods are found in the Randstad, at areas where housing associations own the majority of properties and where different ethnic groups are settled, as we said before. This fact is not incidental. In fact, it is highly associated with the history of formation of the built environment.

The formation of the Dutch urban environment in such a way is a consequence of the long history of immigration of the Netherlands and is associated with the general context which was explained in the first section. The wealth of the country attracted immigrants, even from the middle ages. However, immigration was started being more intense after World War II. Postwar migration was dominated by two groups. The first group was comprised by the immigrants from the former colonies of the country. Representative example are the population from the newly independent

Indonesian republic and from the independent Suriname and Netherlands Antilles which entered the country around 1940-1950 and 1970-1980 respectively. The second group was comprised by guest workers from recruitment countries like Southern Europe (Italy, Portugal, Spain) and also Morocco and Turkey (MIGRATION, n.d.).

So, the era after World War II was the era that the government provided subsidies to housing associations with main aim to build numerous houses in order to finally deal with the unequal analogy of housing shortage and demographic growth. Demographics growths was caused by the immigrants entered the country after the war, as economic worker. (Hoekstra, 2013).

So, the high demands for covering the dire need for new houses was more important than the quality provided. Short-term solutions along with the limited knowledge of the constructors led to the formation of Dutch neighborhoods. Standardized, massive housing, sometimes high-rise that do not permit an active street-life are characteristics that are found instead. However, the following should be clarified: buildings owned by housing associations are not only occupied by immigrants but also from indigenous population. However, different people have different needs and different groups have conflicts.

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Figure 10. List of the priority neighborhoods in the Netherlands.
3.2. The case: Schilderswijk, The Hague

One of the densest urban environments in the Netherlands with a high concentration of non-western population; 25 non-western immigrants per 1000 inhabitants\(^3\) is the city of The Hague. The city is characterized by a variety of cultures, lifestyles, interests, levels of education and income. It attracts various groups; indigenous and non-indigenous populations for job opportunities but also students, tourists and conference participants from all around the world. The city functions as a socio-economic lift; people with low income or education enter the city asking for a better future (Haag, 2005).

The dominant area among others with a high share of immigrants, which is the main focus of the study, is a neighborhood which is called Schilderswijk. It is enough to say that 89% of its total population is comprised by non-western immigrants (dominant ethnicities; Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Netherlands Antillean people) (Arjen Leerkes, 2010).

The area is situated in a really strategic location. Inhabitants of this area are in a physical proximity with both the city center and the ‘Hollands Spoor’ Railway Station (Figure 11). Additionally, developments have already started (at the southern part of the area, from the side of the Hollands Spoor Railway Station). All in all, we can say that the Schilderswijk is surrounded by vibrant parts of the city of The Hague. However, it is remarkable to see that the area scores the lower level of liveability in a city context.

\(^3\) the city has the same analogy with the city of Amsterdam
ECONOMIC DIMENSION

According to quantitative data, the Schilderswijk is the poorest neighborhood in the Netherlands (CBS, n.d.). The residents’ income is 28% below the national average and the total amount of residents that live under poverty is 3600 people living in Schilderswijk West⁴ (Social and Cultural Planning Office). The area has also the largest percentage of households that depend on benefits: 75%. (Planbureau, 2013). It is remarkable that the area does not only have a poor economic background in a national level but also in a city context. Areas for instance where western immigrants live are completely different. People have their proper job and a better quality of urban life.

The local police also states that the Schilderswijk is also suffering from illegal residence and labor (Arjen Leerkes, 2010). This phenomenon creates a low feeling of safety. According to the study though, residents underestimate the fear because people who have been threatened by this phenomenon, have already moved to other neighborhoods.

Concluding I would like to refer an interesting opinion expressed by a former criminal from Suriname I interview at the Schilderswijk:

‘When you live among them you can never go up...I mean...I like to meet them but I want me and my children to become better in this life. They focus only on making easy money and I do not like this approach. This is why I moved to a smaller city. Immigrants are hardly found there and I feel that people face me equally’.

⁴ Zipcode 2525, between Loosduinseweg, Vaillantlaan and the Heemstaat
**SPATIAL DIMENSION**

However, the problem does not only have a socio-economic dimension but also a spatial one. Public space is the open space of an area which can be a street, a park, a square and is a system accessible by all the residents. According to Jacobs’s (1961) idea we can understand the conditions of an area if we take a look at the street-life.

In the case of the Schilderswijk, anti-social behavior in terms of, systematic burglaries, nuisance, violence and intimidation and drug usage, are some of the undesired actions committed by inhabitants. It is interesting though to take a look at the age, the gender and the ethnicity of people who offend more often such actions. According to statistics, it is surprising that such actions are really common among young people.

Specifically, young men coming from a minority group are mainly associated with such actions. The group of people we have just defined, represents more or less the second generation of immigrants. Their behavior, along with the socio-economic context of the area shows that young people and especially the second generation of immigrants are still not really integrated in society, something that raise even more the need for taking actions.

And indeed, what specific documents mention as a main problematic of the Schilderswijk is: burglaries, anti-social behaviour by young people under the age of 12, nuisance,

![Figure 16. Number of suspects by gender, 2010. Non-western male people are always those who are more associated with criminality. Source: CBS](image-url)
violence and intimidation.

Figure 17. Left: Map of burglaries according to zip-codes of the neighborhood. Source: politie.nl, made by author.

Figure 18. An 83-year-old woman who was attacked in her home during the New Year’s Eve in her house in the Schilderswijk.

Figure 19. Young men as the dominant users of public space. Source: Author

So, on one hand, it seems that the problem in public life is caused on one hand by the cultural order of the residents which wants the men to be the dominant gender and on the other hand, the anonymity of the built environment.
Figure 20. The men as the dominant users of the public space. Source: Made by author.

Figures 21, 22.
Anonymity in public space. Broad sidewalks where no amenities are offered.
4. Problem statement

The general problem this thesis project will deal with is the issue of unhealthy public life in the Schilderswijk, The Hague. Incidents of nuisance, burglaries, violence, and intimidation are really common in the area and are mainly committed by young males in public space. So, people apart from their harsh economic conditions have to deal with a bad reputation from people who live outside of the area.

At the same time, the relationship between the living environment and its users is not really developed. Even though the area has a great amount of open space and also wide sidewalks, activity in public space is almost unseen. According to the literature an anonymous living environment can be a perfect setting for anti-social behavior. In the case of a multicultural environment though, that various conflicts exist anyway, the situation is more sensitive.

The rehabilitation of the relationship between the living environment and the residents of the Schilderwijk towards liveability is of great importance. Everybody has the need to live in a safe and liveable environment. As such, new possibilities should provide this strategic location with reasons to survive, to stay attached from any big development that will touch its borders and prove that multicultural environments can be a perfect place to live at.
5. Research questions

The main research and design question this graduation project will answer is the following:

‘Which spatial interventions and planning proposals could provide the multicultural environment of the Schilderswijk with a sustainable, liveable environment?’

The answer to the main question will be provided through a process of answering several sub-questions which will actually divide the main problematic into smaller problems. These questions are the following:

1. What are the current approaches and policies to deal with socially diverse environments in the Netherlands?
2. Which are the spatial guidelines - principles towards liveability according to general trends and theories?
3. Which parts of the public network of the Schilderswijk promote a healthy public-life and which should be strengthened?
4. Which spatial interventions can facilitate the need for change?
5. How the existing plans for the city can lead to a long-term liveability for the case of the Schilderswijk?

6. Methodology

In order to answer the former questions several methods will be used, namely: literature review, case studies, mapping, observations and interviews. They will be the catalysts in order to draw conclusions for each sub-research question which in combination can lead to the final design (Figure 23).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature review relates to almost all the questions. In a first place (Questions 1, 2) we are talking about a review on literature papers, books regarding the Dutch policies for urban renewal of decaying neighborhoods and general theories regarding liveability, respectively. The conclusions which will derive from both, are actually the findings of my theory paper and will be able to inform the direction of site analyses and approach of study (Figure 23). Regarding the third question, literature can be in the form of governmental documents, newspapers, websites that can provide social, economic or spatial data able to be mapped or visualized in order to support the site analysis. The final question requires a literature review on the revised edition of the ‘Structuurvisie Den Haag 2020’ in order to understand how city developments can be in accordance with the neighborhood’s needs.

CASE STUDIES

Case studies is an important part of the research since at critical points, they can reveal a hint about solutions that can have an effective impact for the case of the Schilderswijk. Case studies of already implemented programmes

\[5\] In English it means ‘Structure Vision for the city of The Hague 2020’. 
on urban renewal in the Netherlands can reveal strong points of the approach but also missing links. Additionally, case studies regarding liveable multicultural neighborhoods can suggest new elements to the Dutch context. In the fourth question, case studies, once again regarding the same conditions as the Schilderswijk can provide a direction on possible spatial solution.

**OBSERVATIONS**

Observations through field work is also a valuable method for the research part of the graduation project. On one hand, it can provide a series of information regarding the morphology of built environment through photographs, the publicness of public space through snapshot analysis (during different days and timeframes) can provide an idea about the sense of space, something that vary on time and social composition of an area, and can only be achieved by personal observations.

**MAPPING**

Mapping is the method which can be used as a tool to visualize data derived from other methods (ex. Literature, observations etc.). It is the method that combines layers and reveals points of interest that need to be researched further. On the other hand mapping can stimulate the other methods, since the idea of what you need to map can come first. In the case of the third question interest aspects to be mapped are: publicness of public space, typology of public space, relationship between building facades/entrances and the street, perceived safety, what kind of uses are there; mixed or mono-functional, if there is a diversity in building age and building conditions, diversity in building typology etc.

**INTERVIEWS-WORKSHOPS**

These kind of methods are interactive and totally interesting. I believe that meeting people who either live at the area,
or has a key position in the decision making on a city or neighborhood scale can be very valuable as they are the people who know the most about life and main problematics in the Schilderswijk. Interviews can be conducted formally or informally with people walking on streets. Finally, workshops with the form of organized specific activities (mapping, questionnaire) can provide an insight about the perceived liveability in the area (Question 3).

After mentioning all the methods which will be used, it is interesting to see how methods, actions and deliverables are organized methodologically. After the definition of the research questions both theoretical research but also location-based analysis starts. Regarding the former; after reviewing the current urban renewal approaches in the Netherlands and general theories about liveable environments, we derive at certain principles for designing a liveable neighborhood. These principles can give a direction to
the spatial analysis from which, at the end I expect to draw conclusions regarding critical locations that worth to be researched further. Case studies can then show possible ways for finding the meeting point between theoretical principles for liveability and the needs of the critical locations. The meeting point is actually a design concept-model for managing such areas which can be implemented in a long-term strategy for the area. At the end, the main focus is on the design of critical locations, the effectiveness of which can be checked at key turning points; principles of liveability, design concept, long-term vision. If the preconditions are not in accordance with them, an anew definition is needed.

7. Timeframe
8. Relevance

8.1. Societal relevance

In a societal point of view, the topic is relevant for the Dutch society. For one, there have been many discussions for a long time regarding the low liveability of various Dutch neighbourhoods (Ministry of Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2015) mainly comprised by a high concentration of public housing and high share of mixed population. The problem though, still remains unsolved. For another, the situation is not stable; according to estimations the most urbanized areas in the Netherlands, where the problem mainly exists (Figure 26), are going to experience a continuous influx of new-comers until 2040 (CBS). This estimation should function as an alert for action from the side of the urban planners and designers in order to plan for this growth in advance. In such a way, fast and short-term solutions which as history has proved, lead to unsustainable solutions, might be avoided. As a result, an anew research on the topic is considered necessary for exploring new sustainable possibilities for the wellbeing of people living in diverse urban environments.

At the same time though, the issue is relevant in the European context, as the effective regeneration of urban areas is one of the major challenges for societies across Europe (Stouten, 2010). These are mainly the largest Western European cities that are closely connected to the world economy, something which provide a great environment for economic activity and thus high concentration of less qualified immigrants (EU Regional Policy, 2011). Like the Dutch case, such cities experienced the same population forces at the past as it has already been mentioned. Such multicultural cities face decaying processes with similarities in factors leading to deterioration (Turkington, 2004), are not considered an attractive place to live, express low levels of competitiveness and are socially, economically, ethnically fragmented and sometimes racially ghettoized (Martiniello and Piquard, 2002). As a result, an effective regeneration approach for the Schilderswijk could be relevant in a certain level, as the general context is quite similar.

Finally, according to the World Health Organization, there is an estimation that the global urban population will be gradually growing until 2030; something which should not been ignored given that the current, total population living in urban areas is already high: 54% (World Health Organization, 2015). So, the gained knowledge might inform them at a certain level for urban change if it cannot be totally transferable.
8.2. Scientific relevance

Living in a multicultural environment means that people need to share space with people who are not like them, so a mechanism that permits both parts to co-exist harmoniously is of great importance (Sandercock, 2000a). There are a lot of references in literature about socio-spatial fragmentation of deprived social groups and a lot more cases around the world about generations of migrants that can never climb the socio-economic ladder during their lives. Of course we live at the era that economic crisis does not permit high investments, not to mention that planning requires time anyway. However, what reality proves is that we cannot handle the current situation.

Urbanism is the discipline which through the transformation of space can generate socio-economic conditions. So, from a scientific point of view the profession of urbanist, even though it does not touch deeply notions like economy or social issues can provide a framework of possibilities. Such possibilities are endless and thus it is in our hand to reveal new and fresh approaches, no matter the difficulties in order to touch the complexity of such decaying urban areas because tomorrow you may also be an immigrant.

So, I see the relevance of the chosen topic and case like a new possibility. Metropolitan regions in the Netherlands are not so broad in comparison with other cities around the world and as such the complexity can be much easier understandable. So, what if we use this case as an abstraction of a global issue in order to define a model of dealing with such sensitive communities here and now?
9. Theoretical framework

CURRENT POLICIES AND APPROACHES REGARDING URBAN RENEWAL IN THE DUTCH CONTEXT

Urban renewal is a procedure that stimulates life of a place. According to Ha-braken (2005):

‘If built environment is an organism, it is so by virtue of hu-man interventions: people imbue it with life and spirit of space. As long as they are actively involved and find a given built environment worth renewing, altering and ex-panding it endures. When they leave off, the environment dies and crumbles, pulled back down to the earth by the ineluctable force of gravity (p. 7).

However, attention should be paid to the line of planning it proposes in order to always lead to sustainable and liveable solutions.

The issue of decaying neighborhoods started to become more central in the big cities’ policy around 1994. Until 2000, the main focus was the reduction of the unprivileged socio-economic conditions of cities, while from then on, big cities’ policies started to promote physical programmes for urban renewal. The latter based on three main aspects: economic, spatial and social interventions. Reality though proves that the spatial aspect dominated the other and in some cases even played their role. (Van der Graaf, 2009).

Spatial interventions focused on large-scale urban renewal programmes and mainly property development: demolition of large parts of neighborhoods and replacement of them by a more diversified housing stock that could accommodate various population groups (Van der Graaf). The purpose behind such re-structuring was to improve living conditions of people and deal with the mismatch between the housing market, as well off groups would be attracted and benefit with their capital the deprived population. However, this plan did not have the desired results as the only groups that showed an interest to settle at such areas were (ex) students, young workers, who just entered the housing market, social professionals, who cannot afford the expensive housing of the city center, and social climbers who are already living in these post-war areas.

Another policy which was also implemented in the city of Rotterdam the first decade of 21st century underlined that groups with a high share of members, needed to move out of the neighborhood, not to mention that poor newcomers were not permitted to have an entry. The whole plan based on the idea of social mixture which was considered to be the ingredients of social cohesion. As a response to its failure, the Vrom-raad (2006) argued that social mobility should be emphasized more, in stead. As a result, policymakers had to formulate their plans as opportunities for the people towards a socio-spatial approach: provision of education and labor market for the deprived groups and other possibilities for the middle class groups. The presence of the latter could facilitate social mobility but it is not the only case: investments in their human skills of the former groups are needed. In general, even if safety and liveability in renewed areas, housing prices and number of better educated people have been increased, middle class housing stock has not a remarkable growth not to mention that unemployment has improved only partly among immi-
gran
t (Boelhouwer et al. 2006; Marlet & Van Woerkom, 2006).

Another important element, the urban renewal focuses on is the emotional ties of mi-
gants. However, it has raised many conflicts due to politicians’ various opinions. On one
hand, they want migrants to make them feel at home but on the other hand, there are opinions that want them cut all
emotional ties to their country of birth. So, at the same
time, thoughts to re-attract original residents of the past ap-
pear. However, according to research on place attach-
ment of migrants, objects and rituals from their home
country function as mediators for feeling of attachment to
their new country.

Neighborhood identity is another characteristic of the
Dutch policy regarding urban renewal. A conclusion derived
from a meeting called by the Dutch Expertise Centre on
Urban Renewal in 2006 was the following:

“Searching for the identity of a renewal area
can increase the quality of urban renewal pro-
grammes; the search unites all par-ties living
and working in the neighborhood, stimulating
coo-peration and thought on the direction of
change in the neighborhood”. Source: (van der

As a result, all the implemented programmes use the con-
cept of place identity either as a way to enhance citizens’
participation in urban planning processes or as a quality
which can attract middle class populations and thus im-
prove neighborhood’ s reputation. The phrase ‘a proud
neighborhood where residents speak their mind’ is a char-
acteristic example of branding space in order to attract
middle or high in-come families, in an urban renewal project
in Utrecht but it proved not that attractive at the end. Place
identity though, has been used in another ways; as a gener-
ator of spatial segregation because of a grouping of differ-
ent kind of identities among people that behave similarly.
Such strategy did also used in the city of Rotterdam. The
conclusion from the evaluation of the multicultural housing
project was the following:

“It is more often an oriental gift wrapping for
higher income groups, which enable them to feel
on holiday in their own back gar-den, while little
room and sympathy is left for the emancipation of
ethnic and religious groups, who also try to claim
an expressive place in the urban landscape.
Source: (van der Graaf, 2009), p.153

The different uses of the notion of place identity represent
the main aspects of the Dutch ur-ban renewal policy. Firstly,
participation of residents in urban renewal expresses the
long tradition in the social aspect, while the trials of ab-
sorption of the middle class to newly deprived inner city
areas represents the continuous conflicts on social mix
within the physical aspect and “the deprivation policy”
(achterstandsbeleid) of the social aspect. Both scenarios of
place identity function as a socio-cultural glue that can be
applied to an area and connect their different groups, given
that they focus more on values and characteristics of peo-
ple than on identity of places. However, this approach of
regeneration of a place is not totally complete as the exclu-
sion of those that do not represent such values, are inevi-
table (van der Graaf, 2009).

Concluding, urban planners of Dutch cities are currently
confronted with new di-lemmas; how can they promote a
diversity of identities, for all various groups, something
which means different place identities without damaging the social cohesion and creating ethnic and economic segregation.

**LIVEABILITY IN MULTICULTURAL ENVIRONMENTS**

The notion of liveability has to do with the relationship between a subject; organism, person or community with its surrounding. Most definitions about liveability of neighbourhoods, consider the neighborhood as the environment and the residents as the subject. So, liveability is the quality of match between an individual and its living environment; comprised by social and physical environment (Dorst, 2005). As a result, in order to achieve liveability, each individual need to have a great match with both his social (residents and strangers) and physical environment (Figure 27). Finally we can mention that in terms of a sustainable future, this relationship need to be related with the current and future human needs (UN, 1992 and 2002).

Translating this notion into a multicultural neighborhood though, we can say that the condition which changes is the social environment which is more diverse in this case. So, more conflicts can be created among users of space and thus tolerance (Niebuhr, 2008) need to be stronger for a greater social relationship. Niebuhr (2008) explains in his book that:

‘Tolerance is to open one-self to getting to know others, to appreciate their role in the world. So, in a social sense, a state of mutual toleration, signals the peaceful coexistence of groups that differ from one other, perhaps uncomfortably. (p. 43, 50).

**SPATIAL CONDITIONS AS FACILITATORS OF HEALTHY AND LIVEABLE PUBLIC LIFE**

People’ perception and thus appreciation of their living environment is usually affected by their personal and cultural characteristics (Gifford, 1997). Such perception is usually associated with theories like probabilistic functionalism (Brunswik, 1956) (Figure 28) or notions such as perceived liveability (Dorst, 2005a) (Figure 27a). This fact is an indication that urban renewal is a transformation process where the public life in an eye-level should play an important role at. This has also been ex-pressed in the literature; top-down planning approach in urban renewal proposals can destroy the social structures of the urban environment and thus, pose liveability. Jane Jacobs (1961) also emphasizes that only by under-standing the people’ behavior in a street level, can somebody understand the complexity of the whole city and finally intervene.
Figure 28: Brunswik’s lens model, adapted for environmental perception. The model shows how the mechanism of people’s perception about their environment functions. Source: (Gifford, 1997), p. 442

where the public life in an eye-level should play an important role at. This has also been expressed in the literature; top-down planning approach in urban renewal proposals can destroy the social structures of the urban environment and thus, pose liveability. Jane Jacobs (1961) also emphasizes that only by understanding the people’s behavior in a street level, can somebody understand the complexity of the whole city and finally intervene.

The presence of people in the streets is the basic quality in cities. Jane Jacobs (1961) emphasizes three main qualities the city streets should have in order to handle strangers and keep its users safe at the same time, a case which is totally relevant with the extreme case of a multicultural environment: clear demarcation of public and private space, the presence of ‘eyes’ on the streets through the formation of the building and street in such a way that residents provide a physical control for the wellbeing of people. Finally, the sidewalks need to have users in a continuous way (Jacobs, 1961). She also emphasizes that diversity in a city street can be achieved by the presence of four conditions: more than one primary functions, short blocks, buildings that vary in age and condition and sufficient dense concentration of people (Jacobs, 1961). If such conditions exist, effective economic conditions are created and finally the city life gets its best chances, something which brings the relation with the notion of liveability. The necessity of distinctive zones; a zone that is dedicated to transition, a zone of movements and an area with high quality for citizens to gather (Dorst, 2005b) has also been emphasized in literature. It is actually what Habraken (2005) called territorial depth and what Dorst (2005b) mentions as privacy zoning (Figures 5, 6). They are all based on the theory of privacy which is considered the selective control over social interaction by individuals (Altman, 1975). The built environment is a mean by which privacy can be applied (Dorst, 2005b) something which is also expressed by Carmona (2003) who argues that the built environment expresses possibilities of people.

Figure 29: Privacy zoning as it has been formulated in the residential area of Tunjungan in Surabaya, Indonesia. The various zones, starting from 1 to 7 represent: the bedroom, the family room, the guest room, the veranda, the front yard or bench in front of the house, the gang, the squares-crossroads and shops in the network of gangs. In general, the social structures work perfectly because the physical environment
supports the way in which individuals regulate their social contacts. Source: (Dorst, 2000b), p. 107

mean by which privacy can be applied (Dorst, 2005b) something which is also expressed by Carmona (2003) who argues that the built environment expresses possibilities of people.

Dorst (2005b) also explains that the spatial equivalent of privacy control is the territory. According to Habraken (2005), territories are spaces where only specific items can have enter in their surface. Another definition given by Altman is that a territory involves the mutual exclusive use of areas and objects by persons or groups (Sundstroma and Altman, 1974). Territoriality is not always a negative feature of space since recognizable territories with the clear distinction of zones, as mentioned before, make the built environment legible. In case of absence of such clarity, the built environment is considered anonymous and thus, a perfect setting for antisocial behavior is created. This situation is relevant with multicultural environments various reports usually associate such phenomena with ethnic minorities. So, what the literature suggest for a more liveable environment is the promotion of neighbourhouds where individuals have the control over the amount of social interaction (Dorst, 2005b). However, social interaction is not always desirable as people especially in individualistic societies seem to be happier (Veenhoven, 1999) in comparison to collective societies. So, space through according to its form can offer the possibility and then people can lead it to their desired levels. A phrase stated from Frost (1914) shows that a clear definition of physical form can promote healthy public life (Carmona, 2003):

Good fences make good neighbors (p. 276).

SUSTAINABLE LIVEABILITY

The notion of sustainable liveability will also play a big role in the project. It associates human needs of the present but also of the future with liveability. This is stronger as an approach as liveability on itself focuses on ‘here’ and ‘now’ and thus can be proved unsustainable for the future generations.

From the human needs it is connected with, control over social interaction is the most relevant need with my problem statement. The following scheme shows the framework of sustainable liveability connected with my study area (Figure 31).
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

LOCATION BASED

GENERAL CONTEXT

LOCATION BASED

SUSTAINABLE LIVEABILITY

CURRENT NEEDS

BASIC NEEDS FOR SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY IN RELATION TO THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

HEALTH & SECURITY
Basic need for every living being: construction safety, road safety, indoor air quality, social safety.

MATERIAL PROSPERITY
Need to compare with others: Diversity in lifestyles, income and culture

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP
Attitude with needs of tolerance, participation in labour, individualisation; aspects related to social environment of the job.

CONTACT WITH NATURE
Presence of green (parks, parks, trees)

CONTROL
Over social interaction
Over the physical environment

(Michael van Dorn, 2003)

FUTURE NEEDS

CURRENT PROBLEMS

Nuisance

Burglaries

Violence & intimidation

Lack of privacy (balconies, unclear, with windows directly facing the inside)

Anonymous streetlife

Monotony (areas, building typologies)

- Municipal reports
- 385
- http://www.schilderswijk.nl/
- Personal impression analyses

FUTURE PROBLEMS

PLANS FOR THE CITY

ROLE OF THE SCHILDERSWJK

Element A

Element B

Element C

HAPPINESS

BUILD ENVIRONMENT AS AN AGENT

Changeability
(Haberkorn, 1958)

Need of sheltering
(Meaden, 1971)

Perceived individualisation

ECOLOGICAL LIVEABILITY

PRIVACY as a selective control of access and of social interaction

(Altman, 1973)

TERITORIALITY

Inhabitants control

LEGIBILITY

for visitors, passers

ANONYMITY

High social interaction

Formal control

Not always desirable

ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

HOW TO IMPROVE THE LIVING CONDITIONS?
Solution will be based on the principles of liveability

HOW TO FACILITATE GROWTH THROUGH THE AREA (since it is in a key location) & KEEP PEOPLE AT THE SAME TIME?
Solution will come from city plan's elements.


10. My approach

According to literature, deprivation in the Dutch environments with a high concentration of ethnic minorities is trying to be tackled more often through large-scale projects, with some exceptions in nowadays due to economic crisis. However, the emphasis is always given to the spatial redesign as spatial pillar plays the biggest role in urban renewal. At the same time, urban social policies seem to be aware of the notions of social cohesion and social mobility of the most unprivileged groups. From what mentioned before we can state that all the efforts, even if they have to do with the construction of new housing blocks with more capacity to host the middle class, with exchange of population or with branding a spatial identity, the target is always the same: social and housing mixture (Wassenberg, 2008). And this is not an irrational focus. However, the direct forces the current approaches create for people movements are not always desirable as people do not like big changes. Why should middle or higher class be attracted by a newly built housing block, among low-income people just because it is new and how an area where different values are divided spatially can work in harmony without conflicts?

Additionally based on what liveability represents, quick and direct changes in population may destroy social stability (in any level it exists) and thus make relationship between individuals and their community even slower. At the end, it seems that the way the Netherlands is trying to bring liveability back is by creating conditions of social diversity through spatial solutions with the hope of a direct benefit.

On the other hand, literature suggests a diversity on physical form as facilitators of healthy public life that does not only focuses on new housing production. A diverse street which is comprised by mixed functions and canal-ways invite users, a good relationship between buildings and street for the provision of eyes on streets and a clear demarcation of public and private space that provide control over social interaction and thus safety of residents are some of the spatial conditions that can promote liveability of an area.

The question that can be posed to me is whether a focus on a diverse and flexible physical environment can be proved to be a more effective solution for the Dutch case. Literature supports also this direction. In the document (EU Regional Policy, 2011) is mentioned the following:

A cohesive city is not necessarily a city with complete equality and a homogenous population, but a city where everybody is welcome and their integrity is respected. (p. 36)

Additionally, diversity appears to be a new trend in planning. It can be related to a varied physical design, a multiple social grouping that try to exercise their right to the city or mixed uses. Finally, Jane Jacobs (1961) also relates physical, economic and social diversity and supports that physical diversity can play a key role in the production of the other two aspects (Fainstein, 2005).

So, in that case, the diversity on the physical environment can be seen as a mechanism that creates conditions for an interesting street-life where strangers will be present and controlled by eyes on streets. This mechanism seems to be able to manage social diversity in a sustainable way and is an indirect way to promote social mixture as well. The idea
behind is that by providing a diverse and flexible environment, residents enjoy an interesting environment that is also able to absorb conflicts. At the same time, such conditions may attract gradually groups from a higher economic level. So, I see this approach as a challenge for bringing a new line for change in the Dutch context.

Giving that the main aim of my project is the provision of liveability of socially diverse environments, an anew definition of the notion of liveability that shows where meets the new approach, is considered necessary (Figure 7).

First of all, as it has already been mentioned, liveability is the quality of match between individuals and their living environment; social and physical. In a multicultural neighbourhood though, each individual has to face a more complex social environment (other ethnicities and strangers) and the same physical environment with them. So, in order to achieve liveability, each relationship (individual-social environment, individual-physical environment) should be strong. So, how I see it, in order to achieve a good relationship with the rest members of the community and the strangers, tolerance among them is the most necessary precondition. As a result in terms of physical transformation; the built environment need to enhance social interaction in the level that people desire. Here, the theory of privacy seems to be totally relevant. As such it will comprise a main focus of my study from now on. Secondly, in order to achieve a great attachment between an individual and the built environment, the latter need to satisfy the needs of each individual. However, since different people have different needs and population can vary in terms of ethnicity but also can change radically through time, the design of the built environment should be based on a flexible way in order to enhance this relationship.
Figure 32: Approach of the graduation project based on the findings of the theory and the preconditions of liveability in a multicultural environment, Source: made by author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preconditions for liveability in a multicultural environment</th>
<th>Relationships that are needed to be satisfied</th>
<th>What is needed in order to have a great match?</th>
<th>What does it mean in spatial terms?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living environment</td>
<td>Tolerance among other cultures.</td>
<td>Built environment need to enhance social interaction at a level that people desire (privacy theory, territoriality).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The built environment has to satisfy people’ needs.</td>
<td>Diversity in physical form which can satisfy various groups and absorb conflicts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 33. **My design goal** is to intervene to such zoning of space, and mainly at the hybrid zones in order to motivate residents to use them and thus contribute to the appearance, experience and social connectedness of the area. Source of image: The city at an eye level.
II. First analyses

The period between PI and P2 moments of the graduation year was the period during which I defined more coherently my graduation project. I reviewed various topics of literature in order to define the ones that will play an important role in the project (and thus further research on them is necessary). I concluded my approach, I came into contact with important key people (interviews with Stephan Bekx; policy advisor at the municipality, residents, passers, students-teachers of STUKA, group of young men, people at a start-up community center (which is currently illegal) etc). I organized a small workshop at the STUKA community center for children and participated at the Interfaith Conference of Faith and Justice in The Hague and also started making spatial analyses. Regarding the latter, the main criterion according to which the built environment will be measured is the level of diversity.

FINDINGS REGARDING VIOLENCE-SAFETY-EDUCATION

Finding data regarding actual criminality of the area is very hard as in most of cases it is in form of anti-social behaviour that does not lead to a serious incidents. As a result, observations were considered necessary.

Some of the conclusions so far apart from the spatial configuration of the incidents was that such groups of young males are really obvious at the area. They dominate the public space and are ready to react.

"...We gathered here in order to think of which house is more suitable for us to make a burglary"

were the words of one person of the group during a small talk we had at an open space.

On the other hand, the area has a big treasure of young children that try hard to achieve something in their lives. One of the volunteer teachers at the STUKA community center stated to me:

'I used to live in the neighborhood for 10 years and now I come only every Saturday for voluntary work. I see a big change in the mentality of young children. They are very motivated, they come every Saturday and study hard. On the other hand though, there are children at the streets acting completely in a different way".

A small workshop that I organized at the STUKA community included a series of questions and activities to map. The results regarding the perceived safety of children, one of the most vulnerable groups in societies and thus important for the research, are shown on the map of other incidents of antisocial behaviour.

**ACTIVITY 1: DISCOVER YOUR NETWORK**

1. Can you find your house on the map? ☑
2. Can you also find and mark your best friend’s house(s) that you visit? ☑
3. Where is your school? ☑
4. Are you doing sports or other hobbies? If so, where? ☑
5. Where do you meet your friends? (example: cafes, squares, parks) ☑

**ACTIVITY 2: DEFINE YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD**

6. Show your neighborhood on the map.
7. Write 3 words that characterize your neighborhood:
   - ☑
   - ☑
   - ☑
8. What do you like the most from your neighborhood?

9. Is there anything you do not like and you would like to change? Why?

10. How does your neighborhood look like? Draw key elements (examples: how the streets look like, if there are trees, if people are walking, talking).

**ACTIVITY 3: CHARACTHERIZE YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD**

8. Draw with green color safe areas of your neighborhood, example: areas you feel safe and comfortable to be or report to.
9. Mark with a red color unsafe areas of your neighborhood (example: dark streets during the night, areas where you feel uncomfortable to be or your parents do not let you be there for safety reasons).
10. Write down 3 reasons why you don’t like a specific area.
11. Write a question with a red color for each and every one of them in order to explain why they are not safe.
PHYSICAL FORM

The focus on the analyses regarding the physical form will be based on the notion of diversity as a criterion to measure. It derived from the conclusion of the theoretical research.

**The uses:** The area is totally monofunctional. What is characteristic is the fact that uses other than residential are found along the the main streets, leaving the areas in between totally monotonous. This is an indication for me, as to start reading existing levels of privacy zoning in the area. Additionally, monofunctionality means no diversity.

**Entrances:** Another focus of my study is the relationship of the street and the buildings. Along with that the typology of entrances will be concluded since this can also affect the quality of social interaction. In the area there are three types: Direct relationship to the street, small garden before, stairs and a small hall.

**Ownership:** The dominant one from those is the Haag Women which owns the approximately 60% of it. Their approach seems to be towards demolition and modernization of the housing stock. They currently concluded a project which was about demolition of 490 houses. The first block was demolished at the end of 2013 while the rest 105 apartments demolished at 11th November 2014. So, it is an important stakeholder for the next steps of my study.

Figure 36. Distribution of building entrances. Source: Author

Figure 37. Recent demolition of apartments at the Schilderswijk.

Figure 37. Age of buildings. Source: edugis.nl
Data are based on personal experiences and interviews.
LEGENDA

- Individual buildings
- Characteristic diagonal building blocks
- Characteristic structure of the central part of the neighborhood
- Building blocks as small communities
- Building blocks around big open space
12. Deliverables
At the end of this project I expect to have the following deliverable products:

a. PLANNING CONCEPT: This concept represents a new approach towards an effective urban renewal in the Netherlands that can be transferrable to other cases also.

b. DESIGN PROPOSALS: For critical locations

c. P5 REPORT: A detailed documentation on both my literature research and design proposals.

13. Literature review paper
The theory paper has been printed in a separate booklet.
14. Graduation Orientation

The chosen graduation topic is part of the Research Theme which is called 'Urban fabrics' that belongs to the Urbanism Department of TU Delft. There are many reasons that explain the relevance of the topic in relation to this graduation theme. First of all, the location of the project is a distinctive part of the urban fabric of The Hague; as a result, we are talking about neighborhood scale. Additionally, the topic requires an understanding on dynamics and variables that not only created it but also transformed it several times. Specifically, what is required is an understanding on the dynamics coming from the city center (since the area is located next to it) and from the urban renewal programmes that tried to deal with deprivation in the past. This knowledge will derive through a morphological approach and study under the aid of this research theme. However, a more psychological-driven perspective is also necessary as we are talking about a multicultural environment with several conflicts and various scales in terms of human behavior. Finally, main aim of the topic is the sustainable liveability that takes into account the current and future needs of people in order to transform the built environment according to certain principles.

My main approach for this project is to discover a new way for dealing with urban renewal practices for decaying, socially diverse environments in the Netherlands. Thus, new design tools that could transform the existing urban practice and education are needed; a procedure that explains one of the research topic of the research theme: urban fabrics. Among the approaches that can lead to an answer of such problematics, I would classify my graduation project somewhere in between the new design strategies for modernization of the urban fabric and the complex human-environment system as the notion of liveability is totally associated.

In order to support my research, literature coming from various fields have been used: public space, environmental psychology, human behaviour etc. Characteristic examples of bibliography of the research theme that I have used are the following:


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