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**TOWARDS THE ADAPTIVE
CAPACITY OF CITIES:
AN AMSTERDAM CASE STUDY**

**The development of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld: an analysis of
building functions and ownership systems**

BACHELOR THESIS

SPATIAL PLANNING AND DESIGN

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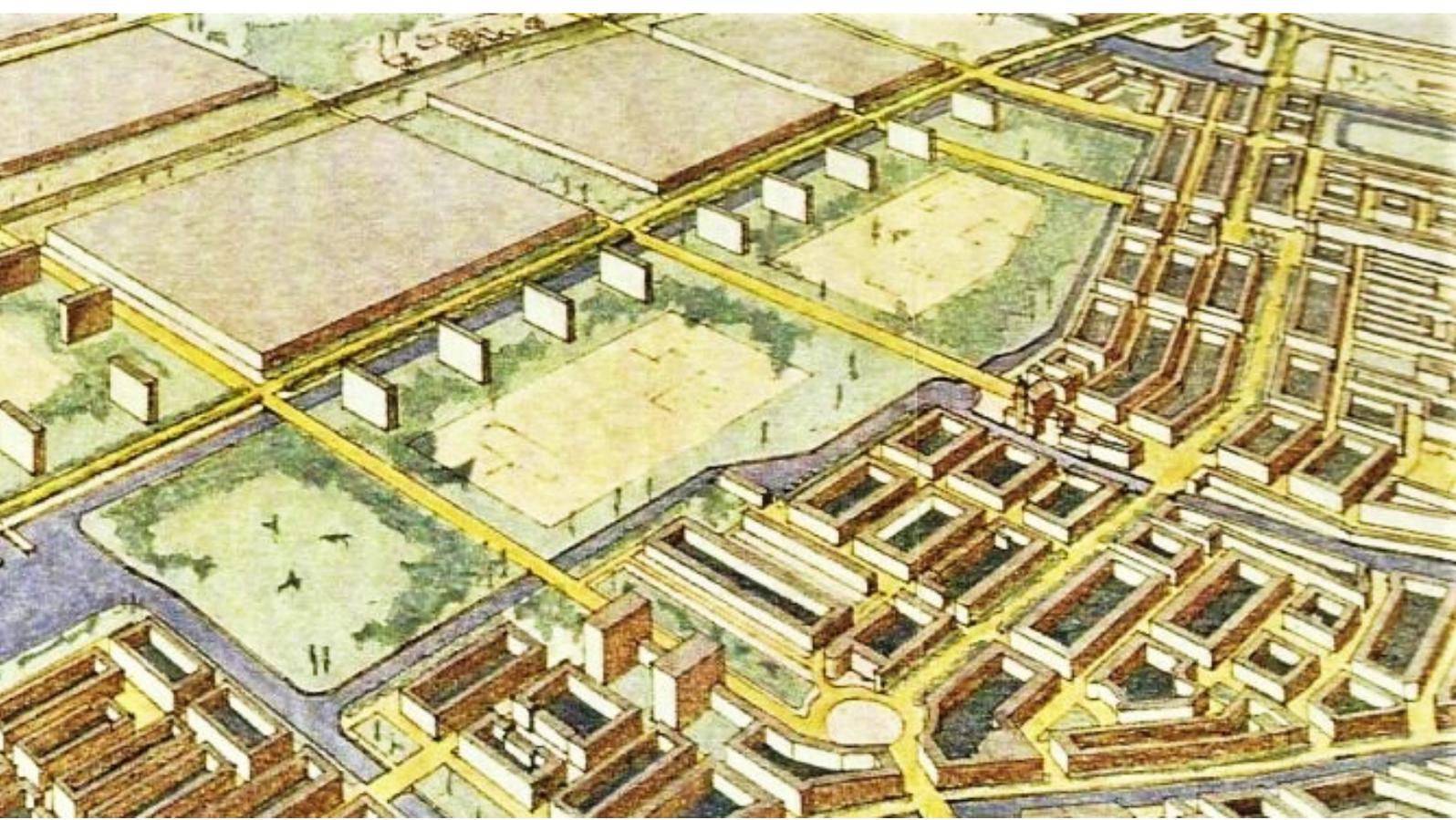


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Abstract: Uncertainties and spontaneity affect society as a whole, and policymakers when designing interventions to guide and influence individual actions and future spatial developments. Post-war neighborhoods have low levels of spontaneity and high levels of uncertainties, as the philosophy of these neighborhoods took inspiration from the modern idea of standardization and efficiency resulting in what is called urban fabrics and more specifically, anti-adaptive-neighborhoods. Adaptive planning plays a major role in increasing the level of spontaneity in neighborhoods, as well as the characteristics diversity of functions and ownership systems. The change of these variables are brought into practice through analyzing the neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld. Also, the two extremes of planning approaches, namely bottom-up and top-down planning, are discussed. These approaches are of importance for the urban codes concept, that provides guidelines that balance between no planning at all, and planning to a very high extent, leading to urban fabrics. Over time, there have been major changes concerning the extent of the diversity of function, and minor changes for ownership systems. In addition, the urban codes concept could be used to some extent in the future to increase the diversity of function and distributed ownership systems, and the level of adaptability in the long run. Through introducing a refrigerator model, there has become more room for bottom-up initiatives and the diversity of functions could be substantially increased. As such, factors as economic growth and urban vitality increase resulting in more spontaneous actions and less uncertainties.

Keywords: Adaptive planning, Urban planning, Urban renewal, Building functions, Ownership systems, Urban codes, Post-war neighborhoods



Towards the adaptive capacity of cities: an Amsterdam case study

The development of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld: an analysis of building functions and ownership systems

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1. Introduction

1.1 Uncertainties and adaptability

Over history, we have seen a wide variety of city structures. From Agora, Mediaeval city centers to peripheral modernized neighborhoods. Onwards the 1950's, spatial planners have been playing a big role in contributing to the organization of these structures by preparing planning decisions and taking actions in order to develop neighborhoods or places (Christensen, 1985; Balducci et al., 2011). As a result of these actions, the quality of the built environment and the vitality of the neighborhood may be increased. Through planning and intervention processes, planners are faced with demographical, economic and technologic uncertainties (Albrechts, 2004; Balducci et al., 2011; Christensen, 1985; Lau, 2015; Rauws et al., 2014), as the city consists of dynamic, changeable environments that sometimes follow unexpected routes (Batty 2013). One way to deal with these uncertainties is the adaptive planning approach, that can be defined as the capacity of system to respond to change or disturbance without changing its basic state (Walker and Salt, 2006; Jacobs, 2000).

1.2 The challenges of post-war neighborhoods

After the Second World War, major peripheral neighborhoods were constructed in a short period of time. The philosophy behind these neighborhoods took inspiration from the modern idea of standardization and efficiency (Nio et al., 2008) and have the characteristics to have low levels of spontaneity (Jacobs, 2000). This spontaneity for centuries guaranteed the evolution of unique places and identities, but a shift during the 1950s led to the formation of standardized urban fabrics that are very similar to one another (Jacobs, 1961). This standardization is the opposite of the idea that the city is a living adaptive system of Jane Jacobs (2000), who supposes that spontaneous actions and encounters are the basis of the living city. As a result of standardization and low levels of spontaneity, major challenges were encountered in these peripheral neighborhoods of our cities in the last decades as a lack of social and economic development, poverty and criminality (van der Cammen et al., 2012; Dekker et al., 2011; Nio et al., 2008) mainly due to demographic shifts and social segregation (Scheffer, 2006). These post-war, peripheral neighborhoods are in this thesis defined as anti-adaptive-neighborhoods, or AAN (Cozzolino, 2018). This research will focus on characteristics of the anti-adaptive-neighborhood to eventually increase the level of adaptability in a certain neighborhood. As such, the chance of spontaneous actions could be increased (Jacobs, 2000).

1.3 Aim and research question

Cozzolino (2018) came up with the study named '*The (anti) adaptive neighborhoods. Embracing complexity and distribution of design control in the ordinary built environment*', that describes the features of an anti-adaptive-neighborhood through empirical research, among others the diversity of functions and distributed ownership systems. Although the methodological quality of this study was high focusing on criteria based on the literature, it does not provide practice-based evidence. This poses the following main research question:

How can characteristics of the anti-adaptive-neighborhood concept help in understanding the development of a predefined all-at-once constructed neighborhood such as Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld?

It is therefore the aim of this research to elaborate on the study of Cozzolino by introducing physical empirical analysis through the case of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld – a neighborhood which was established in 1955 and contains a number of characteristics of an anti-adaptive-neighborhood (Bosch, 2015; Scheffer, 2006). It is the task of this research to identify changes for the diversity of functions and ownership systems over time. As such, accumulated changes can reveal if the neighborhood of Overtoomse Veld is indeed an anti-adaptive-neighborhood.

A subsequent secondary aim of the present research is to explore if the urban codes concept would be a helpful planning framework to allow for more spontaneous actions for the neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld, gathered from the practice of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld for the diversity of functions and ownership systems. In addition, a short perspective on a physical design approach will be analyzed. To reach these aims, the following secondary research questions will be applied:

- What is the anti-adaptive-neighborhood concept and what are their main characteristics?
- What are urban codes and how do they relate to AAN?
- What was the extent of application of the indicators diversity of functions and distributed ownership systems in Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld at times of realization and how did this change over time?
- To what extent are changes in the diversity of functions and in ownership a consequence of private initiatives or a result of public projects, and why?

- To what extent may urban codes be a suitable planning framework to help in the development of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld to support diversity of functions and distributed ownership systems?
- How can urban design principles help in the revitalization of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld supporting the use of diversity of functions and distributed ownership systems ?

1.4 The case of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld

The Netherlands' peripheral neighborhoods are characteristic for modernistic urban planning of the 20th century. The neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld is one of these neighborhoods, built in 1955 and part of the Western Garden cities of Amsterdam, which is, in turn, part of the General Expansion plan of Amsterdam (AUP). It is known for its criminality rates and no-go zones during the nineties (Lange et al., 2000; Trouw, 1999; Schenk, 1999) and therefore it is interesting researching the level of adaptability of this specific area. In addition, the neighborhood is facing major urban renewal developments, which makes it intriguing to investigate if the level of adaptability has increased over time or not. Finally, the researcher's father is born in one of the Western Garden cities of Amsterdam.

1.5 Reading guide

The structure of this research paper is as follows. In the following section 2, the importance of adaptive planning for neighborhood is explained, followed by a description of the anti-adaptive-neighborhood concept and its two selected characteristics. In addition, the basics of planning approaches are explored, complemented and linked with the urban codes concept. The conceptual model will connect the AAN concept with the urban codes concept in order to eventually reach higher level of adaptability on a neighborhood level. Also, the contribution of urban design principles as function neutral building to increase the level of adaptability, are discussed. Then, in section 3, it will be clear this thesis is a theory based crucial case study and that research methods are literature review, document analysis, GIS analysis and expert interviews. This chapter also provides a discussion why other techniques are not used in this thesis. Next, in section 4, the main body of this research, the changes in diversity of functions and ownership systems will be visualized, explained and analyzed. After this, past, present and future goals of the characteristics of the area will be explained and connected to the urban codes concept, by explaining the difficulties and more importantly, the possibilities of this link to reach higher level of adaptability by increasing the diversity of functions and ownership

systems in the future. Finally, the outcome of the level of adaptability of the neighborhood is discussed in section 5. In addition, the findings of the possibilities of using the urban codes concept are summarized.

2. The adaptive capacity of neighborhoods

This chapter explains the importance for adaptive planning in the neighborhood. Secondly it describes the anti-adaptive-neighborhood concept of Cozzolino (2018), in which the two variables diversity of functions and distributed ownership systems have a significant contribution. Then, the top-down and bottom-up planning approaches are discussed and how these relate to rules and policy making. After that, the urban codes concept of Moroni (2015) is described and linked to these two planning approaches. In addition, a more practical approach to increase the diversity of functions and ownership systems is discussed by introducing function neutral building (Bergevoet et al., 2013).

2.1 The need for adaptability in the neighborhood

According to Rauws (2017), adaptive planning is a way of planning that operates in a world of becoming, in which processes of evolution and transformation are ever-present. Why is this of importance for neighborhoods? First of all, Jane Jacobs (1961) stated that the city is a living-adaptive-system that operates in emergent and spontaneous order and that need to be able to renovate through changes that meet the infinite needs of their inhabitants. In addition, Hertzberger (1991) points out that adaptive environments stimulate the consolidation and production of identities in neighborhoods resulting in the emergence of unique characters of places. As such, the chance of innovation and positive developments inside neighborhoods is increased (Habraken, 1998). Also, adaptive planning aims to support the capacity of the urban system to react to various contextual needs, that could lead to benefits for the society as a whole (Ikeda, 2017; Hayek, 1945).

While one neighborhood might have a high level of adaptability, some neighborhoods can be less adaptable. The major difference is that urban adaptive systems are able to adjust to new conditions, have the capacity to be modified for new purposes and learn from experience, while anti-adaptive planned systems maintain their structure irrespective of changing circumstances (Tunstall, 2016; Cozzolino, 2018). In addition, there is almost no physical, economic and social change inside these anti-adaptive-neighborhoods (Moroni et al., 2018), also addressed by the article of Zarecor (2012), that argues that the possibility to for re-adaptation of physical components and main functions is low. Now, more characteristics of anti-adaptive neighborhoods will be explained through introducing the anti-adaptive-neighborhood concept and its characteristics.

2.2 AAN and its characteristics

There are a significant number of characteristics and generators for the anti-adaptive-neighborhood (AAN), as described by Cozzolino (2018). He defines anti-adaptive-neighborhoods with low attractiveness, the large scale of design, the lack of multiple designers, the all-at-once construction time, prescriptive planning rules, lack of diverse functions, the presence of large amounts open space and communal ownership systems. This research will focus on the indicators lack of diverse functions and the distributed ownership system, as they seem to be a major contributor to the extent of adaptability of a neighborhood (Habaraken, 2008; Jacobs 1961). Habraken (2008) emphasizes that an ownership system is a very important factor in the adaptability of a neighborhood, as it contributes to a flexible and responsive social-spatial system. In addition, the diversity of functions contributes to the extent of the possibility of change in a neighborhood (Jacobs, 1961; Copjec et al., 1999; Whyte, 1958).

2.2.1 Diversity of functions

As stated, anti-adaptive-neighborhoods have the characteristic to be mostly mono-functional or to contain a limited number of spatially separated functions (Talen, 2012). AAN's are sometimes labelled as dormitories, as there is almost an exclusive presence of residential functions (Cozzolino, 2018). William Whyte (1958, p.45) already discussed that zoning segregation of building types resulted in a social fabric of 'stifling monotony'. Also Copjec et al. (1999) emphasized that separation of functions had reduced the capacity of the city to foster its primary function of human exchange. Moreover, Jacobs (1961) stated that the connection between diversity in building usages, economic growth and urban vitality is essential for what a is supposed to be a good working city. She emphasizes that a close proximity between different functions results in constant mutual support and maximization of exchange of possibilities. Instead of mixing uses, zoning rules of anti-adaptive neighborhoods resulted, according to Kunstler (1996, p.23), 'in a formless, soulless and demoralizing mess'. Jacobs (1961) points out the importance of diversity of functions with an iconic example of a poor but adaptive neighborhood out in her book *The Death and Life of Great Amercian Cities*. A townhouse parlor has the possibility to change into a self-employed craftsmen's showroom; An empty pauperized disco could become a wine bar. The result of these minor changes, as stated by Cozzolino (2018, p. 10), 'evolve in response to evolving human needs'. A additional benefit to these flexibilities, is that the survival of buildings is secured (Brand, 1995). The diversity of functions in a certain neighborhood is thus of big importance for the level of adaptability of a

certain neighborhood, and will therefore be studied in this research, and more specifically, tested to the neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld.

2.2.2 Ownership systems

Subsequently, anti-adaptive neighborhoods have the characteristic to be frequently organized by means of communal ownership systems, for example condominiums or big apartment blocks (Turkington et al., 2004). Krantz et al., (1999, p.67) emphasizes how small the possibility of change, and thus the capacity to change was in communal ownership systems in the Netherlands, even within apartments: ‘Tenants freedom was greatly increased, when in 1975, they were given legal rights to paint and wallpaper their own flats, provided this did not reduce the value of the property.’ The freedom of dwellers outside their rental house is thus minimal. In some cases, most of the time dwellers part of housing corporations, a certain degree of freedom for change is permitted (Hermant, 2019), as will be discussed in chapter 4.8. Although communal ownership systems reduce individual costs and responsibility, it discourages change and constrain individuals’ creativity (Cozzolino, 2018). Hence, the functioning of communal units depends on the decentralized responsibilities of different households and institutions (Moroni et al., 2019). In contrast, private owned properties are earlier involved in economic, urban or social development (Slaev, 2014). Adaptive built environments, however, are composed of many independent owners (Cozzolino, 2018). As illustrated in figure 2.1, the higher the amount of distributed units, or owners, the higher the amount of possible combinations to change (Brand, 1995; Cozzolino, 2017). With more combinations available, urban actors have the possibility to exploit the potential of city life and adapt their property to different uses and purposes as new circumstances evolve and change. As such, the capacity to change is increased and so is the level of adaptability in the neighborhood. As communal ownership systems are present all over Europe to a high extent (Krantz et al., 2019), it is highly relevant to select this characteristic for this research.

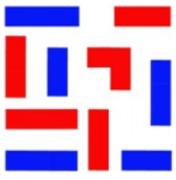
Case	Ownerships system	Buildings	Number of owners	Possible combinations
I		10	1	1
II		10	2	2
III		10	5	120
IV		10	10	3.628.800

Figure 2.1: Complexity of ownerships configuration and number of possible combinations between owners (Cozzolino, 2017).

As stated, both the characteristics distributed ownership systems and a high diversity of functions contribute to a high level of adaptability of a neighborhood. In the following paragraphs is examined how a high level of diversity of functions and distributed ownership can be implemented into reality by describing main planning approaches and the urban codes concept.

2.3 Rules and Planning approaches

The basis of spatial, urban and revitalization planning is policy and rule making. The way rules are applied in practice is determined by planning approaches, for instance, what the degree of freedom of actors is. Wilkinson (2012) points out that there has not been given a lot attention to exploring forms of spatial planning and governance that respond to adaptive systems. That is what makes the connection between rules, planning approaches and adaptive systems so interesting. There are two extremes of planning approaches: top-down and bottom-up planning (de Roo, 2013). A top-down approach hardly considers the side effects of its implementation, in the specific physical situation at local level and in the local needs, interests

and wishes (Fraser et al., 2006). After all, this approach has the goal to have as much control as possible over a certain area. It is above all a relatively straightforward approach, which takes local situations and its local conflicts as relatively uncomplicated (de Roo, 2013). However, the demand for high level of control leads to directional and complex rules, as these rules are high in quantity and density with complicated distinctions (Moroni et al., 2019). On the other hand, there are bottom-up initiatives which are a communicative turn in planning through open-planning processes and high levels of citizen participation (de Roo, 2013). Bottom-up initiatives are often identified with high levels of spontaneity (Cozzolino, 2017), as shown in figure 2.2. This figure allows us to see the basic difference between public and private interventions and regulations. As we can obtain here, the range of possible actions is bigger when private actors are involved in the process (Cozzolino, 2017). This could lead to a higher level of spontaneity and thus to a higher level of adaptability. High levels of spontaneity allow people to pursue their ends by means of their knowledge and creativity, whilst experimenting new solutions and actions (Cozzolino, 2017). Bottom-up initiatives and thus spontaneity becomes relevant in planning, because it makes individuals responsible for the consequences of their actions. This planning approach leads to negative rules, that describe which negative externalities must be avoided when developing or producing urban spaces, as opposed to what *must* be done in positive rules (Moroni et al., 2019). In essence, these rules are not used instrumentally to preserve or obtain specific spatial configurations, but to allow spontaneity. As this is a Bachelor thesis, it is out of this scope of this research to include all the aspects of governance and rules. Therefore, more can more can be found in de Roo (2013) and Moroni et al. (2019). In the following paragraph, the urban codes concept will bring rule making and planning approaches together into one concept.

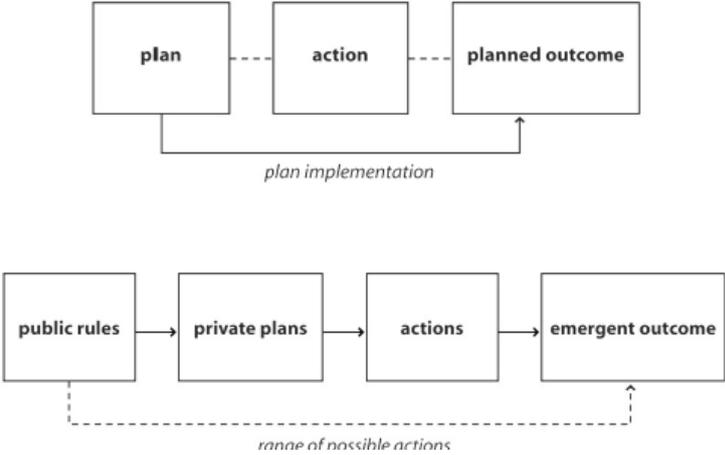


Figure 2.2: Regulating the public (top) and the private (bottom) (Cozzolino, 2017)

2.4 Urban codes

As described, both the diversity of functions and ownership systems are criteria of high importance for a neighborhood to be adaptable, or not adaptable (Habraken, 2008; Brand, 1995; Jacobs, 1961; Cozzolino, 2018). According to the theories of Habraken (2008), Brand (1995), Jacobs (1961) and Cozzolino (2018) these characteristics should be taken into account when revitalizing or developing neighborhoods. One way to execute this, is through using what is called urban codes. The urban codes concept provides guidelines that balance between no planning at all, resulting in slums, and the named post-war neighborhood, that are planned to a very detailed extent (Moroni et al., 2018). Urban codes are a type of rules that narrow the range of possible urban actions to some typical and general classes. These rules allow urban actors free to choose their own ends and act accordingly, provided that they do not cause direct and tangible harm to others while fulfilling these needs (Moroni et al., 2019). The point is not to design the future, but to permit the emergence and development of the urban. In essence, it is the main point of this concept to give actors the opportunity to determine the contents of their actions themselves while, at the same time, the emergence of negative externalities or conflicts needs to be avoided. They have the characteristics to be relational, simple, negative and stable and are, according to Alfasi (2018), acknowledged as the necessary backdrop for the functioning of the built environment as a complex, adaptive system. As such, the urban codes concept could be used to avoid revitalizing or building anti-adaptive-neighborhoods. The urban codes concept provides relational rules that embrace and encourage variety and diversity of structures, spatial functions and activities, increasing the possibility to tackle uncertainties (Moroni, 2015). According to Moroni (2015, p. 258) the urban codes concept has the goal to ‘embrace variety and encourage diversity of structures’. Distributed ownership systems do embrace variety (Cozzolino, 2017), in the increased change for possible actions as shown in paragraph 2.2, and thus have the potential to be applied in the urban codes concept. However, there are also risks and downsides of this approach for both policy makers and citizens. According to Alexander et al. (2012), Moroni (2015) seems to forget to translate his concepts into concrete and clear definitions that can distinguish between observable social-spatial ordering by general-relational rules and traditional directive, or top-down planning. As such, it is hard to understand the difference between the two, which makes its application in physical and real planning practices very difficult (Alexander et al., 2012). This might have influence on the application of plans in reality, that might affect citizens in the long end, by having a lack of diverse functions for example. Next, a more practical and

physical approach to increasing the diversity of functions and distributed ownership systems is proposed.

2.5 Neutral building: a physical solution

When building new buildings, function neutral building can be one solution to stimulate or retain the diversity of functions (Van Rossem, 2019) and prevent future vacancy of buildings (Bergevoet et al., 2013). The future demand for space is namely predictable till a limited level. As such, buildings have the ability to transform from residential, to offices to shops and back, and the possibility for multiple functions in one building is bigger. As a result, plot development does not have to be speculative anymore, but based on specific demands and needs of the population or area (Bergevoet et al., 2013). Through selling these units, distributed ownership systems can be created to increase the chance of change and possible actions. Function neutral buildings are constructed with two construction walls per unit with a floating floor, not needing any supporting beams. There are some restrictions of this way of inserting flexibility into a plan area, namely the legal aspect: it is hard to define in zoning plans, what could lead to legal problems, permit issues or nuisance on a longer term (Bergevoet et al., 2013). Apart from this, this design solution has major possibilities in combination with flexible developments for a certain area: Vacancy is prevented, opportunities are endless, and thus demolition is not needed, resulting in a higher level of sustainability and spontaneity.

2.6 Conceptual model

The diagram below allows us to see the conceptual model for this research. As we have noticed from earlier paragraphs, we could assume that social, physical and economic problems originate from blueprint planning. Through this, eight criteria were composed by Cozzolino (2018), which characterize the effects of blueprint planning. In this research, the characteristics ownership systems and the diversity of functions are selected, as shown in the model. They are connected to the concept of the anti-adaptive neighborhood (AAN) of Cozzolino (2018), as these characteristics lead to anti-adaptive neighborhood.

Subsequently, the urban codes concept of Moroni (2015) provides rules that include the diversity of functions confidently, and refers to ownership systems indirectly. As such, the variable distributed ownership system criteria is outlined with a dotted line. As touched upon in the theoretical framework, the urban codes concepts can serve as a tool to include both characteristics to increase the level of adaptability in a certain neighborhood. In essence, applying the urban codes could lead to change from anti-adaptive to adaptive-neighborhoods.

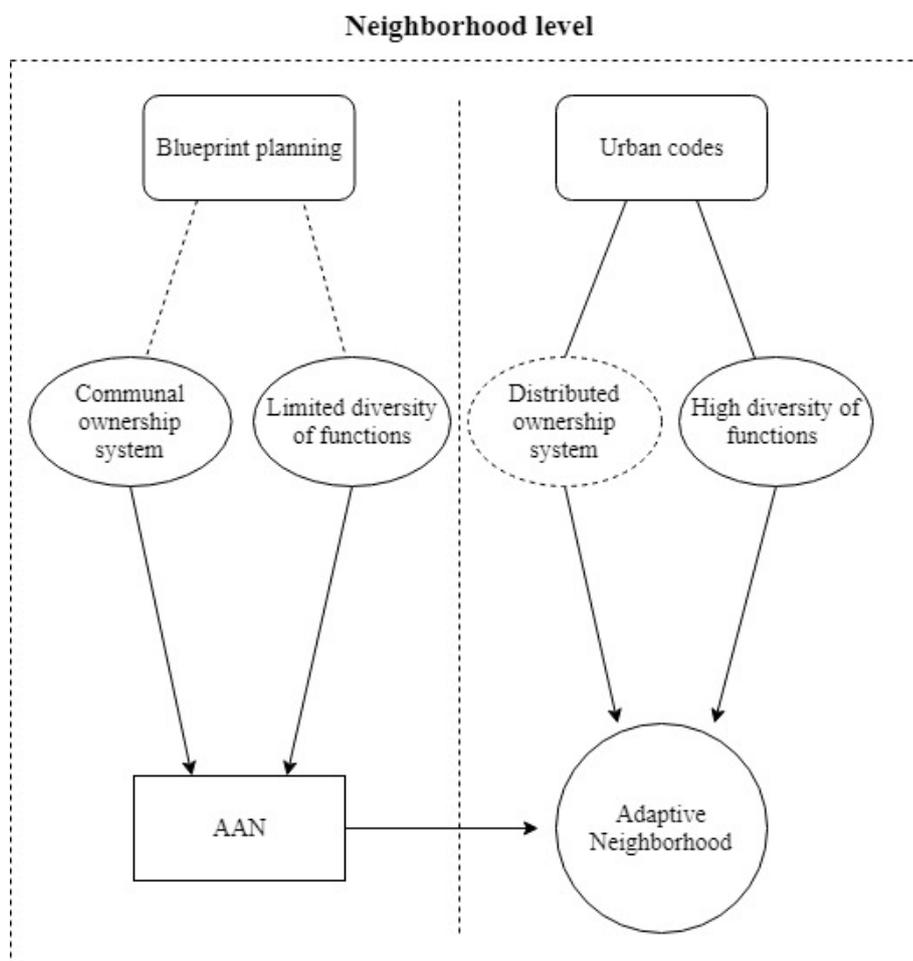


Figure 2.3: Conceptual model including the anti-adaptive-neighborhood concept of Cozzolino (2018) and the urban codes concept of Moroni (2015).

3. Methodology

3.1 Research approach

To find out how the characteristics of the anti-adaptive-neighborhood concept can help in understanding the development of a predefined all-at-once constructed neighborhood, a theory guided, crucial case study will be conducted. This approach is helpful in testing certain types of theoretical arguments (Levy, 2008), as long as the measurement error is low and as long as the theory provides relatively precise predictions (Eckstein, 1975: 113–123), in which the weight of the evidence is assessed against previous theoretical expectations. When theoretical priors suggest that a certain case is likely to be consistent with the theory predictions, in this case the low level of adaptability concerning the diversity of functions and ownership systems in anti-adaptive neighborhoods, and the data confounds the findings of the case study, these results can be damaging to the theory or support the theory (George et al., 2005). A crucial case study is thus a good approach to succeed to the main research aim.

3.2 Research method 1: literature review

The aim of the first and second sub research questions is to explain the anti-adaptive-neighborhood concept and describe the characteristics of this concept. As such, it is made clear why the characteristics affect anti-adaptive-neighborhoods. In addition, the urban codes concept will be described and the relation between the urban codes concept and the anti-adaptive-neighborhood concept will be defined. Thereafter, a selection for the criteria diversity of functionality and ownership systems is made. These criteria are nowadays widely discussed in the academic world, are highly relevant, as discussed in the theoretical framework. In addition, the two criteria play a major role for the identity and innovation of a neighborhood, as touched upon in chapter 2.2 (Habraken, 1998; Hertzberger, 1991; Hayek, 1945). Finally, the characteristics have my special interest compared to the other 6 criteria provided by Cozzolino (2018). To reach these aims, secondary data in the form of literature review is collected. The academic literature is found using Smartcat, Google Scholar searching machines and from articles' bibliography. The relevance of the used articles is secured through using published articles and through finding articles in the bibliography of major, important articles in the adaptive planning field, for example by searching in terms of leading ideas of Jane Jacobs (1961; 2000).

3.3 Research method 2: Document analysis

Secondly, document analysis need to be conducted to provide information in the form of maps for the case of neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld. Document analysis contributes to a high extent in succeeding the research aims, as it provides specific information through visualizations. As such, the third aim of the third research question can be succeeded by determining the extent of application of the diversity of functions and ownership systems for the neighborhood at times of realization of the neighborhood (1965), before major urban renewal plans (1999), and the present (2019). This neighborhood is chosen because its character fits the description of what an ‘anti-adaptive-neighborhood’ is: it is a post-war neighborhood, and it faced multiple social and economic problems in its history (Bosch, 2015; Scheffer, 2006). To reach these aims, the original zoning plans with information about functions and ownership systems, and philosophy of the neighborhood need to be retrieved from the Amsterdam city archives, where zoning plans with maps and description are publicly available. The essential documents are found on a searching program on public computers. When searching on a specific term, for example “zoning plan”, files that contain zoning plans are shown. Within these files, more specific search quires can be executed, for example ‘Overtoomse Veld’. After requesting the selected documents, the files that contain the documents are brought to a study room, where photos can be taken of the selected documents. Then, photos were digitalized by the researcher to a computer to gather knowledge about the philosophy, the plans and maps of the neighborhood. As such, the documents can be described, and analyzed using Geographical Information Systems (GIS), which methodology is covered in the next paragraph.

3.4 Research method 2: GIS analysis

In order to observe how the indicators diversity of functionality and ownership have changed over time for the case of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld, a ‘neighborhood scan’ will be executed to find out to what extent the diversity of functions and ownership systems the neighborhood have changed over time for 1955, 1999 and 2019. ArcGIS will be used to succeed this task. Maps throughout this thesis were created using ArcGIS® software by Esri. ArcGIS® and ArcMap™ are the intellectual property of Esri and are used herein under license. Copyright © Esri. All rights reserved. To accomplish this, digitalized maps for 1955 and 1999 retrieved from the Amsterdam city archives, and registrations of addresses and buildings (BAG) of the present retrieved from the University of Groningen Geodienst are used. In addition, an online interactive map is gathered of the municipality of Amsterdam containing ownership systems of the neighborhood. The digitalized maps of 1955 and 1999 will be turned into data through ArcGIS, using georeferencing tools, see figure 8.3 in the appendix. As such, the historical maps

with information are shown as an image in ArcGIS. Now, new data, feature classes in technical terms, of building blocks with functions are created in ArcGIS. Next, the data of three timeframes are used to visualize the changes of diversity of function and ownership systems in total of 6 maps: one map per criteria per timeframe. For the maps of the ownership variable, complete datasets in the form of maps was not available for the year of 1999 and 2019. However, information from the year of construction maps, a map of the housing corporations, accomplished by data from interviews, see chapter 3.5, can give a more complete image for this variable. As such, a clear overview is provided. Graphical (including cartographic) and numerical means of presenting data can be very helpful to understand a complex processes as the change in functions or ownership systems, as it sits in between the 'real world' (which is typically too complex to understand immediately) and the highly abstracted results of mathematical models and statistical analyses (Clifford et al., 2010). For this research, analyses to help understanding the development of the neighborhood of Overtoomse Veld for both characteristics are very helpful to show potential changes and clusters. In addition, communicating changes over time through a map, is easier than using tables, as information is retrieved with less effort and more accessibility for the reader (Clifford et al., 2010). After visualizing the results through maps, the potential changes for the diversity of functions will be summed up in a radar chart to emphasize the differences between functions over time. The functions will be counted per building block, for example 2 sports functions in one building block has the value of 1. Next, the potential changes for both characteristics will be described. As such, the third sub research question can be answered. For the case study of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld it is of high importance that the obtained data is correct and that this data is operationalized at a reliable way by means of that the criteria are tested in the same way for every timeframe. Through reading additional documents of the historical plans, included in the files, there could be made sure that this data is correct, and by showing the different functions in the same colors for the three timeframes, the data is operationalized and presented in a reliable way.

3.5 Research method 3: Expert interviews

To further analyze the described potential changes and to determine to what extent and why changes in diversity of functions and ownership functions are a consequence of private initiatives or a result of public projects two in-depth interviews with experts of the neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld will be organized. There is not chosen for focus groups, where a group of demographic diverse people are selected and asked about their opinion

or perceptions about a particular topic with the goal to bring opinions together (Longhurst, 2010), for example a way to increase the diversity of functions. With this method, it is hard to go deep into matter, as everybody thinks something else, and attention should be divided between the respondents. Moreover, to reach the research aim, specific and expertise knowledge is required. For that reason is chosen to conduct semi-structured interviews, as these have the characteristic to provide structure in the form of a general scheme, but also allows space to dig deeper into given answers (Clifford et al., 2016). For example, when the respondent wants to provide more information about current municipality goals and link this with an answer about urban codes. As such, important subjects can easier and quicker be linked to answer secondary research questions. In addition, semi-structured interviews allow us to examine reasoning behind a certain change by a certain actor. Why was a building demolished by the municipality for instance? There is the opportunity to get provided by more detailed information, that is not provided through literature review and the GIS analysis. The aim to describe potential changes determine the extent of changes due to private or public actions does not suit other research methods, as a neighborhood survey or interviews with citizens as specific information is required to succeed to this research aim. For example, reliable information as the way of planning approaches can hardly be given by citizens in a neighborhood interview. Although for the level of perception of livability for the diversity of functions in a neighborhood, a survey would be a helpful research method, it is out of the scope, aims and abilities of this research to conduct such a survey.

For the two interviews, there will be asked the same 4 main questions 1 till 4, shown in the appendix. Depending on the respondent, these questions will be specified, as shown in chapter 8.4.1 and 8.4.2. The interview guide with the approach towards the respondents and protocol including rights of the respondents are provided in chapter 8.2. First of all, interview questions are set up, by linking it to the document and GIS analyses, and the theoretical concepts of AAN and urban codes. Then, the respondents were contacted, interviewed and recorded while interviewing. The next step is to transcribe the answers of the interview questions, after which a code scheme is set up, that provides essential codes of key subjects in the interview transcripts. As such, essential information can be picked out and included in the results.

First of all, Vincent van Rossem, a major specialist of the area and of the general expansion plan of Amsterdam (AUP) (see chapter 4.1), will be interviewed. Van Rossem is an architect historicist and wrote his dissertation about the history and design of the general expansion plan.

He has knowledge of both the history and developments of the neighborhood in a broader urban planning perspective and the goal is to examine if typical trends were occurring that might have influenced changes for the neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld. In addition, he has knowledge about adjustments of the plans that were made in the beginning years of the neighborhood. It is the intention of this interview to gain knowledge about what changes for diversity of functions and ownerships systems were made, especially between 1965 and 1999. In addition, the aim is to gain knowledge on major changes and trends of the city that can explain the changes for the specific neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld.

Secondly, Harm Hermant and Koen Kortbeek, respectively project manager of the neighborhood and assistant project manager, will be consulted to provide information about the modifications and dynamic changes were adjusted in the latest years. It is the intention to gain information about changes concerning 1999 and 2019 and the future vision of the development for this neighborhood. In addition, essential background information about the planning and origin of the neighborhood can be gathered through both interviews. The two interviews will provide information to cover the fourth and the fifth secondary research questions. It should be noted that publication of the transcript of Hermant and Kortbeek was not approved.

3.6 Ethical considerations

It is important to bear in mind that ethical considerations need to be addressed to this methodology. When using interviews as a data collection instrument, it is important to let the three respondents know that there is a possibility to anonymize the interview or the transcript. This might be important when future plans of Overtoomse Veld are discussed, that are legally not official and not ready to publish. Also, it is important to let the interviewees know that the tapes, transcripts of the interview and the thesis itself can be shared with the interviewees. In addition, when using secondary data as literature review, for example the urban codes concept, the researcher needs to be aware that the information in these articles might have been collected for another purpose or situations, e.g. specific planning situations that are of importance in Italy, but might not in the Netherlands (Clifford et al., 2010). In addition, it should be kept in mind that secondary data are often strongly spatially referenced, for example theories conducted from one specific area in one specific country. As such, data could be retrieved for another context or situation that does not fit in this research scope.

Finally, attention has to be paid to the fact that the quality of the data will definitely not be the same for each timeframe. For example, the maps of 1955 will probably contain less information about building functions than digital BAG data for the present. It is the task to come up with a

method to equalize the results of the different maps in an understandable outcome with the same categories.

4. The adaptive capacity in practice for Overtoomse Veld

First in this chapter, a short introduction of the history and the current neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld is given. Next, a comparison for the diversity of functions and ownership systems is given to show potential changes over time. After this, the main reasons for interventions of the past and present will be given. Then will be determined if planning interventions for the two characteristics are a result of public or private actions. The essence of this chapter is to find out if and how the urban codes concept can be applied to increase the diversity of functions and distributed ownership systems.

4.1 The case Overtoomse Veld

The neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld is located in the western part of Amsterdam, outside the central ring road (A10). As shown in figure 4.1, major renewal projects have taken place between 2007 and 2018. An example of urban renewal is shown in figure 4.3. Table 4.1 shows the properties of the neighborhood. Especially the percentage of not Western inhabitants of 53,4 in Overtoomse-Veld, compared to 35,4% as average in Amsterdam is a noticeable fact. In addition, the percentage of households with children is quite higher in Overtoomse Veld than in the rest of Amsterdam. The neighborhood is originally part of general expansion plan of Amsterdam, the AUP, and constructed between 1955 and 1965 (Wagenaar, 2006). The AUP consisted among others of four ‘Western garde cities’: Slotermeer (1952), Geuzenveld (1954), Slotervaart (1955), Overtoomse Veld (1956) and Osdorp (1958). The AUP was conducted by a central trio of well-known architects: van Lohuizen, Scheffer and

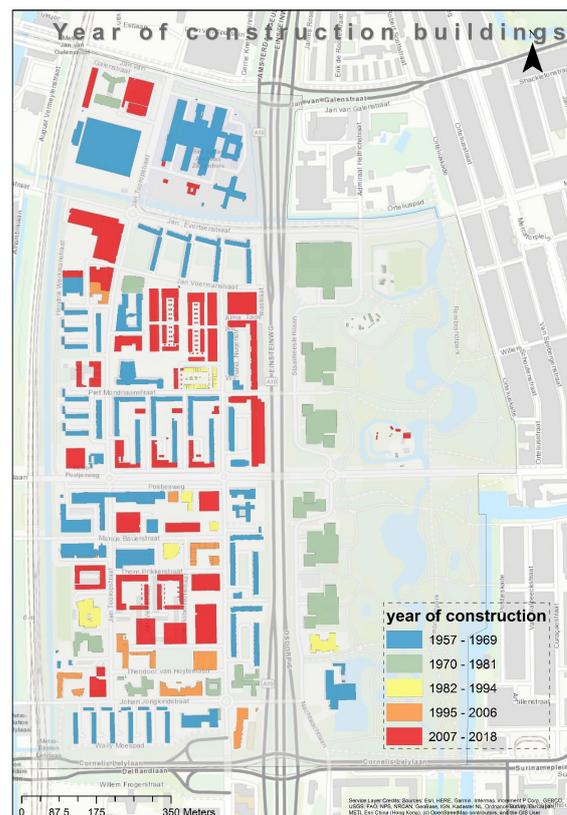


Figure 4.1: Map of Overtoomse-Veld, year of construction buildings (Geodienst, 2019).

Van Eesteren (Van Heusden, 1995). In the next paragraph, the origin and philosophy of the AUP will be explained.

Category	Overtoomse Veld	Amsterdam
Inhabitants	12.320	854.316
Man	6115	423.292
Woman	6205	431.024
Not western (%)	53,4	35,4
65+ (%)	8,0	12,4
Total surface (ha)	154	21.949
Land (ha)	145	16473
Water (ha)	9	5476
Density (people/km ²)	8473	5186
Total households	6195	462.584
Percentage single person households	55	52
Percentage without children	18	20
Percentage with children	27	16

Table 4.1: Main statistics of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld in comparison with the municipality of Amsterdam (OIS, 2019)

4.2 History Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld

Figure 4.2 allows us to see an overview of the major characteristics of the plan (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1985). The intention of the plan was that every neighborhood should contain its own shops, schools, churches, green spaces and playgrounds. An example of living in the green is shown in figure 4.4. These functions would invite people to encounter and relax (Van Heusden, 1995). The philosophy behind the neighborhood originates from the ‘New building’ philosophy, which has its origin in the Congress Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM). This movement believed that a neighborhood should function as an independent unit and that architecture especially must meet the requirement of the functionality: the function of the buildings determines the form (Van Heusden, 1995). The ideas of New Building can be summarized as follows: the function is more important than the form, a large degree of segregation of duties and there is sufficient presence of light, space and air (Van Heusden, 1995). In Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld, the building shapes differ from single family houses to large condominiums, as shown in figure 4.3 and 4.5. Every building was oriented relative to the sun to provide sunlight for every resident and that is noticeable in the structure and building layout of the neighborhood, as shown in figure 4.5 and 4.7.

model	inwonertal	aantal woningen	netto dichtheid	vorm	bijzonderheid
centrale stadsvorm als systeem (gecentraliseerde vorm van uitbreiding) ¹⁹	960.000	daling van de gem. woningbezetting van 3.74 naar 3.37 per woning (jaar 2000) is er behoefte aan 285.000 woningen hiervan zijn: bestaand 173.819 nieuw door sanering 13.460 nieuw door cityvorming 12.039 uitbreiding voorraad 85.682	binnen ring west 110 w/ha zuid 85 w/ha buiten ring west 70 w/ha zuid 55 w/ha	regionaal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - statistisch vooronderzoek vormde belangrijke basis voor uitbreidingsplan²⁰ - beïnvloed door de wijk-gedachte (organische woonwijk)²¹ - beïnvloed door de stedenbouwkundige opvattingen van het "Nieuwe Bouwen"

Figure 4.2: Overview of the major characteristics of the AUP (in Dutch) (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1985)



Figure 4.3: Postjesweg 1973 (Beeldbank Stadsarchief Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019)



Figure 4.4: Green spaces between big condominiums, Willem Roelofstraat, 2019 (Funda, 2019)



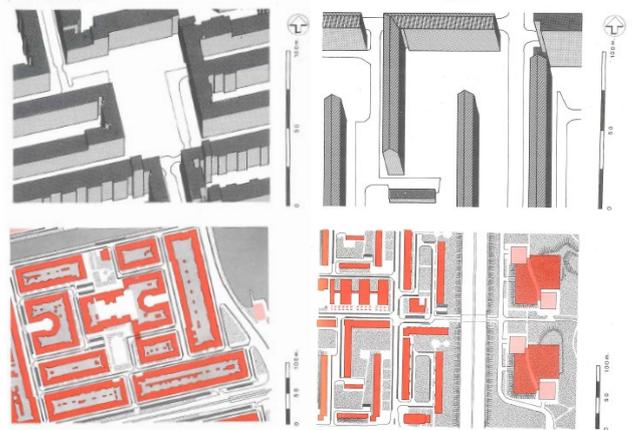
Figure 4.5: Jan Tooropstraat and A. Allebéplein, 2018 (Beeldbank Stadsarchief Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019)



Figure 4.6: Urban renewal at Alma Tademastraat/Derkinderenstraat, 2019 (Mva, 2019)

The neighborhood is characteristic for its open building blocks, as seen in image 4.7. The difference between closed building blocks, used before the second world war, where private open space is in the middle of the blocks, is big. In addition, in there is more space for green spaces in Overtoomse-Veld. Due to building in these hook structures, the philosophy of light, space and air is coming to its right (Hellinga et al., 1985). The long shapes blocks resulted in an acceptable population density and a reasonable prices (Hellinga et al., 1985). Another remarkable fact, shown in figure 4.1, is that no new buildings were constructed between 1970 and 1990.

Figure 4.7: The difference between a Amsterdam pre-second world war block of Plan Zuid (left) and a modernized post second world war block of Overtoomse-Veld (right) (Hellinga et al., 1985)



4.3 Comparison functions GIS analysis

In this section, the diversity of functions and ownership systems are shown for the years of 1955, 1999 and 2019. As such, a comparison between the three timeframes is made to determine if any change has occurred for the diversity of functions over time. In addition, three radar charts summarize the changes by showing the distribution of functions of the area per building block: if one block contains 3 sports functions for example, then this will be counted as plus 1 to the total of the sports category. After these two forms of analyses, the level of adaptability can be determined.

1955

For the year of 1955, as shown in figure 4.8, the first thing that stands out is the amount of residential units. Also, the amount of educational functions is high, with a cluster at the Northwest of the area and the south of the area. In addition, we can obtain that the amount of shops is high around the August Allebéplein, in the middle of the area. In addition, there is a certain amount of shops at the major North-South streets, especially at the Derkinderenstraat, the eastern North-South street of the area. Another fact that stands out, is the amount of corner shops. Across the entire area, these shops are at the corners of almost every big residential block. A radar chart as illustrated in figure 4.11, shows the distribution of different functions per building block. The amount of shops, educational functions and meeting functions is relatively high compared to the other functions.

1999

In 1999, we obtain some minor changes compared to the 1955 situation, as shown in figure 4.9. There seem to be no major changes in residential functions: almost every building is residential. In addition, there is a slight increase in the amount of offices, in place of residential units, at the Piet Mondriaanstraat and the Jan Voermanstraat for example. This increase is noticed in the radar chart at 4.12 too. Also, there is a slight decrease in the amount of functions. Thereby, houses replaced educational buildings at the north side of the area, at Nibbrigststraat/Piet Mondriaanstraat. Last, the amount of educational units remained high. As such, there could be concluded that the overall diversity of functions increased slightly in 1999 compared to 1955.

2019

For the year of 2019, illustrated in 4.10, major changes occurred compared to 1999. First of all, the building functions are more distributed over the whole area. Secondly, there is an increase in the amount of shops, offices and mixed functions, for example at Postjesweg, in

the middle of the area. A more even distribution of functions can be obtained in figure 4.13: Moreover, the middle-south of the area has gone a major transformation. There are multiple changes: from residential to residential with offices and industry. Also, what stands out, is the change in structures: bigger and closed blocks can be observed all over the area. In addition, the corner shops have disappeared over the whole area. The amount of educational units have remained the same, compared to 1999. Concluding, both the extent of diversity as the diversity itself has increased, as the distribution of colors in the map has increased.

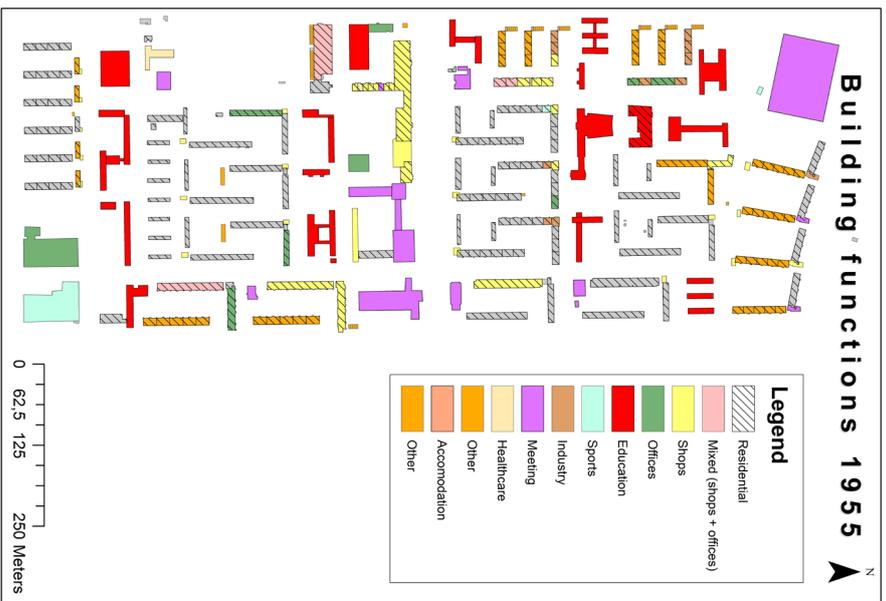


Figure 4.8: Building functions for the year of 1955 (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening, 1955)

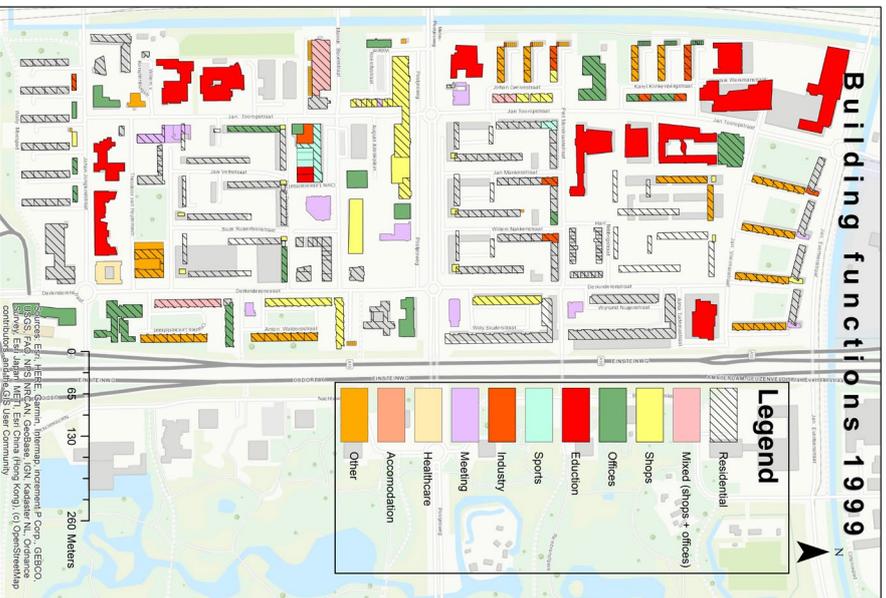


Figure 4.9: Building functions for the year of 1999 (Amsterdam Planologische Commissie, 1999)

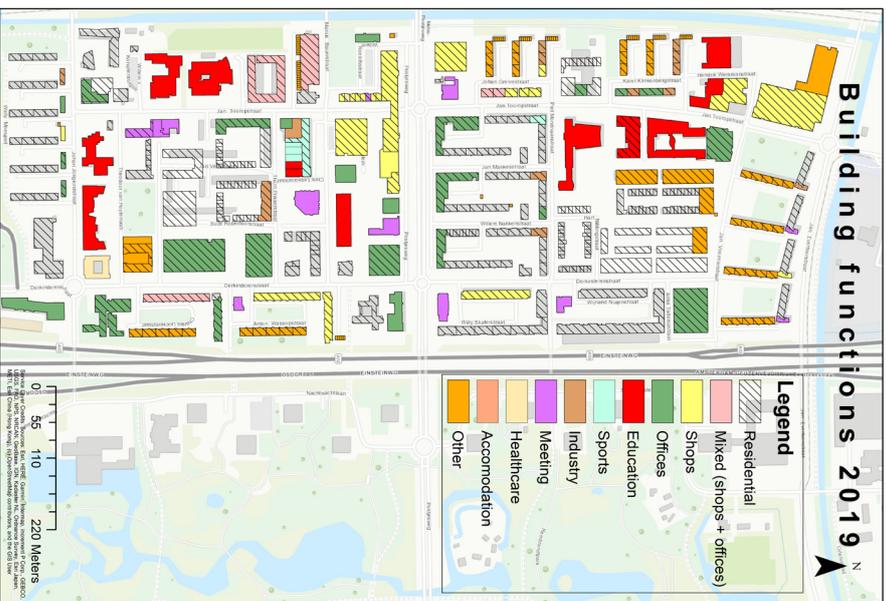


Figure 4.10: Building functions for the year of 2019 (Geodienst, 2019)

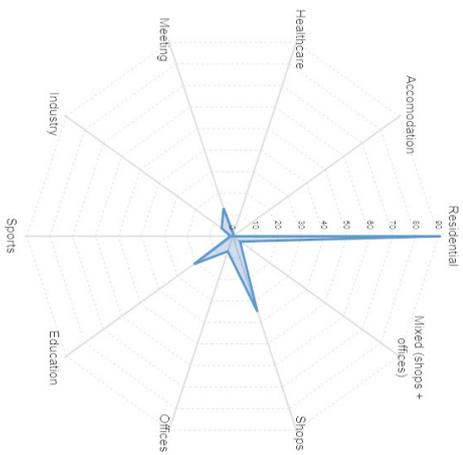


Figure 4.11: Radar chart of number of functions per building block for the year of 1955

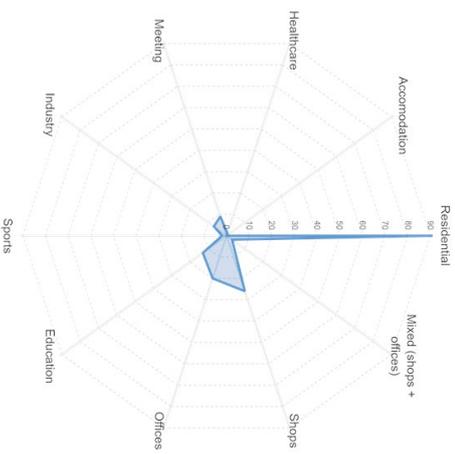


Figure 4.12: Radar chart of number of functions per building block for the year of 1999

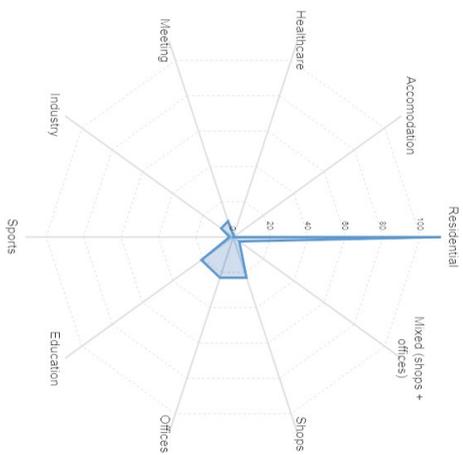


Figure 4.13: Radar chart of number of functions per building block for the year of 2019

Overall, it can be stated that there is a slight increase in the extent of the diversity of functions for the area of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld over 1955 to 2019, as shown in the maps and the radar charts. In addition, we have seen some changes in the diversity of functions. When looking at the diversity of functions alone, it can be stated that Overtoomse Veld is not an anti-adaptive-neighborhood to the extent as Cozzolino (2019) described in the AAN concept: The diversity of functions throughout the whole area is not small, as shown in the variety of colors. In addition, there is a lot of change concerning the diversity of functions.

Unfortunately, changes in percentages can't be determined, as data containing the surfaces of functions in m² was not obtainable for all timeframes. In addition, attention should be paid to the fact that the data of 1955 is not as detailed as the BAG data we have access to today, that has more categories in the variable functions.

4.4 Comparison ownership systems

1955

The entire area is filled with social or corporation housing, defined here as communal ownership, as shown in figure 4.14.

1999

For the year of 1999, not many buildings have been constructed since 1955. There can be seen a minor increase in private owned houses. For instance at the middle-North of the area at the Piet Mondriaanstraat.

2019

In 2019, there are changes in ownership systems (Hermant, 2019). There is a slight increase in private owned units, for example in the North of the area, between the Derkinderenstraat, Jan Voermanstraat and Piet Mondriaanstraat. A construction of low-height building single family houses blocks is realized here. However, a substantial part of the of the area remains social housing, as shown in 4.15. In addition, a former social housing block is turned into private ownership units at the Willem Roelofstraat/Postjesweg, shown in figure 4.4.

To sum up the findings, there are some changes in the extent of distributed ownership systems, namely a slight increase. Most of the big condominiums have made place for new building blocks that do not always contain social housing corporations. It could be stated that the level of adaptability, as described by Cozzolino (2019) in the AAN concept, has increased to a very

low extent. In the next paragraphs, the reason behind the named changes in function and ownership systems will be clarified.

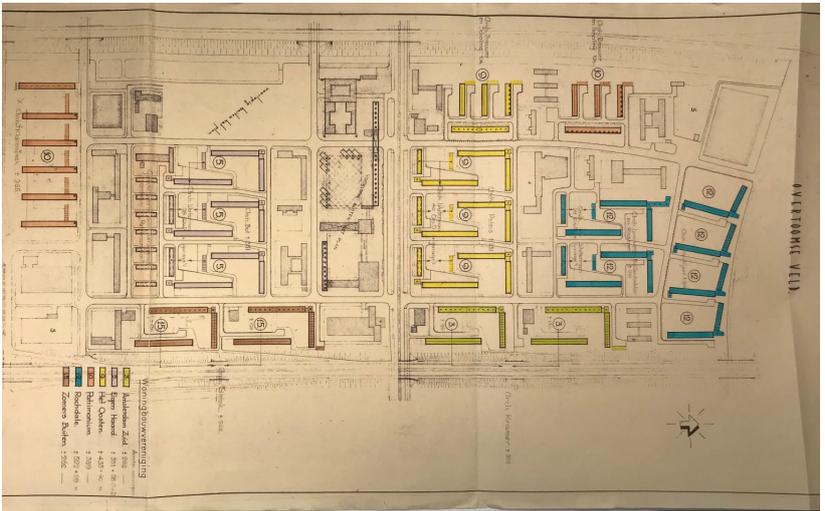


Figure 4.14: Social housing corporations in 1955 (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening Amsterdam, 1955)

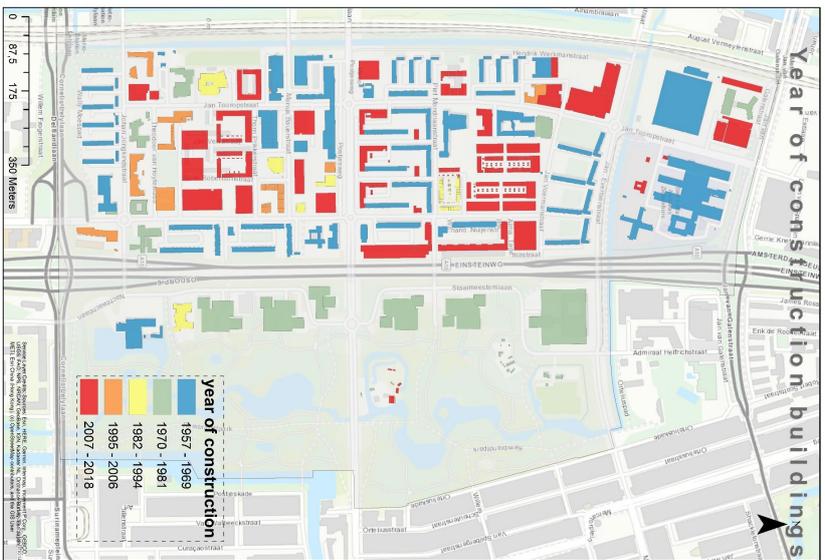


Figure 4.15: Year of construction buildings, showing that a very small amount of buildings have been built between 1955 and 1999. No residential functions have been constructed between 1955 and 1999, as shown in figure 4.9 (Geodienst, 2019)

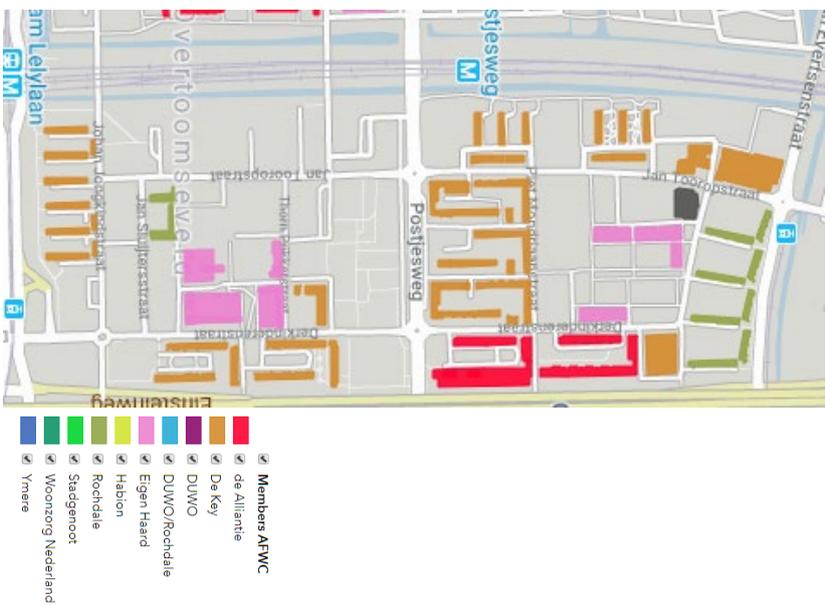


Figure 4.16: Housing corporations for the year of 2019. As shown in figure 4.15, buildings built, new buildings have been constructed between 1999 and 2019, of which residential blocks of 'Eigen Haard'. These rectangle shaped blocks are constructed south of the area, left next to the pink buildings visualized in 4.16 between the Jan Tooropstraat and Derkinderenstraat. (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018)

4.5 Reason for change and interventions

Overall, we noticed several changes for both the variables. It can be said with a certainty of 95% that every intervention was one from the public authority, in this case the municipality (van Rossem, 2019; Hermant, 2019). They had full control from the realization of this neighborhood after the second world war housing shortages, till now. From these changes alone, a difference in structures, functions and to a very small extent, distributed ownership systems can be noticed. The major reason for this change is due to the age of the buildings, that were around 50 years when demolished (Hermant, 2019). The buildings are isolated badly, noise nuisance is high and front-backdoor problems are being faced, due to building in strip structures (Hermant, 2019). Another reason that caused the amount of changes were criminality, poverty and demographic changes (Van Rossem, 2019). Through building new buildings, and entire new structures, these problems were tried to be solved through major urban renewal and an increase of population density, whilst retaining the ownership systems to a high extent (Hermant, 2019). As a result, the original physical and emotional character of the neighborhood (read old buildings) is wiped out. Continuing on the reason behind changes, the way these changes were implemented will be discussed in the next paragraph.

4.6 Public and private interventions

In the present, as well as in the last years, there have been public interventions only (Hermant, 2019). The reason for this, is that the municipality is planning and governing, according the planning approach theory of de Roo (2013), on a scale of 8 out of 10, where 1 is bottom-up and 10 is top-down planning (Hermant, 2019). The municipality tries to have as much as full control over the area concerning the building functions and ownership systems (Hermant, 2019). Only in the last phase of a project, when building blocks are being realized, there is some possibility for private participation, e.g. design and layout of buildings. As such, the municipality can reach its own goals without relying on other parties and actors (Kortbeek, 2019). The following paragraph will explain what these specific goals are.

4.7 Current and future municipality goals on diversity of functions and ownership systems

First of all, the global goal of this area for the past years and the future, is urban renewal. Some side goals of this renewal are to increase the population density and to increase the level of sustainability of buildings (Kortbeek, 2019). This implies that all old buildings will be demolished, and replaced with new ones. This implies that private owned units inside 1955 built flats, will be demolished too. The reason for these goals are the lack of sustainability and

bad isolation of the buildings, noise nuisance inside buildings and unsafe porches (Hermant, 2019).

The current and future goals of the municipality concerning the diversity of functions are to sustain and slightly increase the diversity of functions. Due to urban renewal, there is an increasing amount of square meters of building surface. As such, it is the task of the municipality to facilitate this growth with sufficient utilities (Kortbeek, 2019). In addition, while a couple of years ago, the focus was on building more houses, the goal is now to facilitate the utilities whilst expanding building surface. As a result, the municipality is trying to set apart a certain percentage of the building for commercial and social utilities. Also, the municipality is responding to the demand for housing by transforming offices to housing. Apart from that, there are no specific goals concerning building functions (Hermant, 2019). More generally, at this moment, the municipality is doing research on a bigger scale to see what growth potentials there are concerning social and commercial services (Hermant, 2019)

For ownership systems, the municipality has the following goal, that was set up by the city council in 2017: For every new building there should be a ratio of 40% social housing, 40% middle-social housing and 20% free sector housing (Kortbeek, 2019). The reason behind this ratio is 1. to diversify the population in the area (Hermant, 2019), 2. to keep housing affordable for the 'original' Amsterdam citizens and thus to prevent gentrification (Hermant, 2019).

4.8 Difficulties and restrictions concerning realization increase diversity of functions and distributed ownership systems

The problems with diversifying building usages are that the profits for realizing commercial services are significantly lower than the profits for residential functions (Hermant, 2019). Also, the municipality has to help entrepreneurs surviving and supporting their business with financial support, otherwise, shops would simply disappear. As such, there is a lack of parties that truly want to realize other functions than residential. The municipality has to push to make this happen. In addition, inside the municipality there are different parties (Kortbeek, 2019). The party that stands for utilities and services is always involved in late processes of the implementation. As such, it is hard to include their plans for a certain building.

The restrictions concerning ownership systems are present too. The 40-40-20 regulation is a strict regulation that is hard not to follow (Hermant, 2019). As such, private entities are constrained to be built. In addition, the municipality is bound to housing corporations, that are owning a significant part of the buildings in the area, as shown in figure 4.9. However, the 40-40-20 policy prevents the occurrence of external segregation in the neighborhood, as developers

are forced to build houses for every social group in society. Although it does not stimulate distributed ownership systems, this policy takes care to secure the social diversity in the neighborhood. In contrast, by demolishing and building new buildings instead of selling the old building blocks, the same ownership system, namely communal, will remain to a high extent. A result of this development is that there are less opportunities for change and for economic and social developments (Krantz et al., 1999; Cozzolino, 2017; Slaev, 2014). Another result of constant building new buildings and structures is that the city will lose its identity and character (Van Rossem, 2019; Walker and Salt, 2006), as the city will only consist of new buildings at the end. As Jacobs (2000) emphasizes, adaptive planning is an approach that can be defined as the capacity of system to respond to change or disturbance without changing its basic state. It is questionable we want to lose the basic state and thus the identity of this neighborhood. A physical solution to prevent buildings from demolition in the future is building function neutral buildings (Van Rossem, 2019; Bergevoet et al., 2013) as buildings can be constructed in such a way, that only two construction walls per unit with a floating floor are necessary as construction. As such, variation in function and ownership systems of buildings is endless as the size of units can vary too. However, attention should be paid to the legal construction of such flexible buildings.

To sum up, the diversity of functions is not as low as defined in the AAN concept of Cozzolino (2017). In addition, the diversity of functions changed over time. For the variable ownership systems, a slight increase in distributed units is noticed. The municipality is aiming for as much control as possible for both variables, meaning that planning is executed through a top down approach (de Roo, 2013): It tries to solve social problems as poverty and criminality itself. It can thus be concluded that there is almost no space for bottom-up initiatives, except at a low degree within housing corporations, where 70% agreement between residents is needed. In addition, all interventions and changes made the last decades, were public interventions.

Secondly, the 40-40-20 policy limits the possibilities for an increase in distributed ownership systems. However, this regulation is a way to keep Amsterdam housing prices affordable and a way to prevent external segregation. The municipality carries this duty actively through forcing housing corporations and private parties to build houses for entire groups of society.

Now, the urban codes concept (Moroni, 2018) will be taken to practice to determine how both variables can be increased to reach a higher level of adaptability.

4.8 Urban codes in practice: current and the future

As informed at the theoretical framework, urban codes provide relational rules that embrace and encourage variety and diversity of structures, spatial functions and activities, increasing the possibility to tackle uncertainties (Moroni, 2015). In essence, it is point to give actors the opportunity to determine the contents of their actions themselves while, at the same time, the emergence of negative externalities or conflicts needs to be avoided. At the moment, and as well the last years, the municipality had, according to Kortbeek and Hermant (2019), an 8 out of 10 scale from bottom up (1) to top down (10) approach of governing. The municipality has the majority of power concerning decision making on what comes where, in what quantity and form. In addition, it decides, following the 40-40-20 regulation, what ownership systems will be implemented for new buildings. This policy is some kind of urban code: it is a restriction, thus a negative rule that embraces variety and small room for spontaneous actions (Moroni, 2018), from project developers for example. Also, there is some kind of participation within residents of the housing corporation. This implies that there should be a majority of 70% of the residents before any modifications can be made (Kortbeek, 2019). In this way, the residents have the feeling that they own a private unit, instead of social housing. However, 70% is a high number: changes or initiatives inside buildings, or inside the use of buildings are hardly applicable, because a lot of consensus is needed before realization can be started. In addition, the housing corporation Eigen Haard, as shown in figure 4.16, is starting projects of communal garden projects, at the south of the area. As such, social cohesion in the neighborhood could be stimulated (Kortbeek, 2019).

4.8.1 Increasing distributed ownership systems

Increasing distributed ownership systems in the future using urban codes concept, is possible setting up rules similar to the current 40-40-20 policy. This could be reached through increasing the private housing percentage of 20%, from 20% to 40% for example. However, the diversity of the society would decrease fast and external segregation would occur, as housing prices increase. As such, negative externalities are increased as compared to the current situation, as gentrification, in which the upper-class of the society would ‘take over’ the whole neighborhood, because these houses will not be affordable for the original resident of the area. In addition, problems as poverty and criminality are not solved, as these will move to another neighborhood. For this variable, it is thus hard to come up with rules using the urban codes concept to increase the amount of distributed dwellers.

4.8.2 Increasing diversity of functions through urban codes

As stated earlier, the municipality decides the building function of a to be build block. If the municipality would not do this and allow free actors to decide, there is a high chance that there will be no other function than residential, as the costs more to provide a building with room for these utilities are higher and the profits are less than when having a residential function (Hermant, 2019; Van Rossem, 2019). One way to apply the urban codes concept to secure and guarantee the conservation of the diversity of functions for redeveloping and new-building projects, could be to set up simple, negative and relational rules, according to the urban codes concept (Moroni, 2018), on a building block scale. For instance, a regulation competitive with the 40-40-20 rule for ownership systems, but now executed for the diversity of functions in the form of a “refrigerator model’. For example, a building should not contain more than 80 percent of residential functions. This 80% is symbolic for the fridge drawers that contain milk, meat and eggs, except vegetables. The rest, 20% of the fridge, is namely reserved for the vegetable drawers. This 20 % represents other functions than residential, for example offices, shops, healthcare, etc, as shown in figure 4.18. As such, the diversity of functions can be secured whilst leaving freedom to project developers in which form to do this: Building rooftop restaurants, or underground arcade halls for example. At the same time, the emergence of negative externalities is avoided by forcing project developers to develop a diversity of functions. This is what the urban codes concept is aiming for: providing chances and avoiding negative externalities. As a result, a basis for more spontaneous actions, and as such economic growth and urban vitality could be stimulated resulting in a good working neighborhood (Jacobs, 1962). In addition, natural demand for a diversity of functions can be realized resulting in 1. Higher levels of livability and 2. More room for bottom-up initiatives. Also, the municipality can still decide the amount of secured non-residential percentage and thus variation between different building blocks are possible: One peripheral block could have 5% non-residential, while a block located in the center of the neighborhood could contain 30% of non-residential space. Thus, for the characteristic diversity of functions the urban codes concept of Moroni (2018) could be applied in a certain way. However, it should be kept in mind that implementing this regulation may cost the municipality a lot of money in practice, as financial support is needed already to secure a very small amount of non-residential functions.

The urban codes concept can thus be applied in a plausible extent for the diversity of functions, but not for ownership systems, as negative externalities will be present. When applying urban

codes for the diversity of functions, the level of adaptability could be increased, following the AAN concept of Cozzolino (2018), for the neighborhood of Overtoomse Veld.

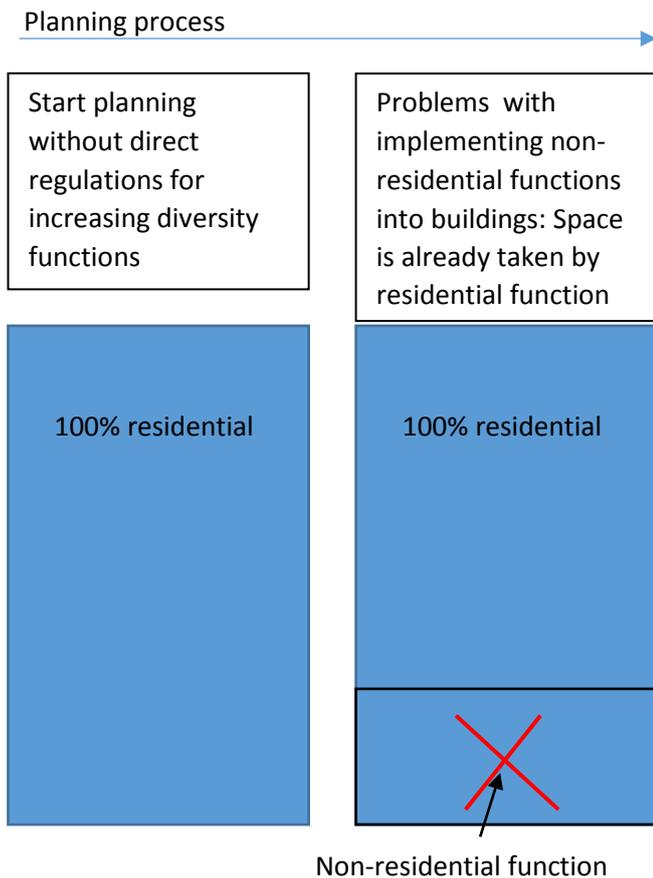


Figure 4.17: Current situation, in which the municipality does not have direct policies to sustain or increase a diversity of functions.

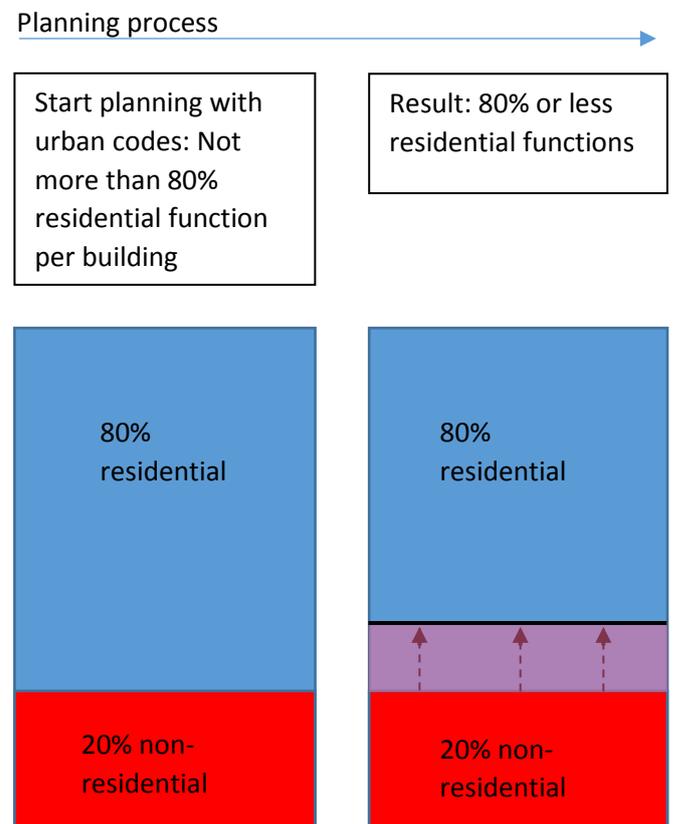


Figure 4.18: Proposal, in which a certain percentage of non-residential functions can be reserved using simple and negative rules on a building block scale. As such spontaneity of actions is increased and the possibility for the emergence of negative externalities decreased.

5. Conclusion

First of all, it is the aim of this research to identify changes for the diversity of functions and ownership systems over time to eventually reveal if the neighborhood of Overtoomse Veld is indeed an anti-adaptive-neighborhood. A subsequent secondary aim of the present research is to explore if the urban codes concept would be a helpful planning framework to allow for more spontaneous actions for the neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld, gathered from the practice of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld. To succeed to these aims, the following main research question was formulated: *How can characteristics of the anti-adaptive-neighborhood concept help in understanding the development of a predefined all-at-once constructed neighborhood such as Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld?*

First of all, there can be concluded that the extent of the diversity of functions is much higher than proposed by Cozzolino (2018), and in addition, this variable has changed over the timeframe of 1955 to 1999 to 2019. The major changes for this characteristic were seen between 1999 and 2019, when a lot of buildings were demolished and constructed. As such, it could be stated that, for the diversity of functions alone, Overtoomse Veld is not anti-adaptive neighborhood.

Although, the amount of distributed ownership systems increased slightly over time, the amount of communal owned units is still very high, which is caused by the presences of multiple housing corporations and the 40-40-20 demolish-build policy of the municipality. It is thus hard to confirm the hypothesis that Overtoomse Veld presently is indeed an anti-adaptive neighborhood for both variables together.

Secondly, it is important to place the concept of the anti-adaptive-neighborhood (Cozzolino, 2018) in the Dutch perspective. We should ask ourselves the question who it is that wants to increase the level of adaptability in the end. Is it the municipality, the residents, or a developer who wants to make money? For the characteristic diversity of functions, it is obvious that most of the residents want a neighborhood without any nuisance. An increase in the diversity of functions, could disturb this thought. In the end, what is wrong with a neighborhood that is green, provides cheap apartments and is quiet? In the Dutch context, this might be what we adore of the perfect neighborhood. However, the characteristic distributed ownership systems are conceived as more positive by both the experts (Hermant, 2019; Van Rossem, 2019).

Third, the urban codes concept is complicated to apply in theory, but it provides possibilities in practice for the neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld. For the both variables, the municipality has a planning approach of an 8 out of 10, where 1 is bottom-up and 10 a top-down approach. As such, there were no private initiatives or interventions: There is and was full control by the municipality. In addition, it costs developers and the municipality money when not investing in housing, that is an important restriction in the lack of developing non-residential functions (Hermant, 2019). However, a “refrigerator model” for the diversity of functions to secure non-residential functions on a building block level by introducing simple, negative rules, as described in the urban codes concept, could succeed. For example, 20% of a building should consist non-residential use. Through introducing this policy, variety in diversity of function may be increased, and there is more room for spontaneous actions from private actors as there is more room for bottom-up initiatives and negative externalities (Moroni, 2015), e.g. a lack of diverse functions, are avoided. As a result, a basis for more spontaneous actions, and as such economic growth and urban vitality could be stimulated resulting in a good working neighborhood (Jacobs, 1962).

For the variable ownership system the strict 40% social housing-40% social middle class-20% free sector regulation of the municipality for new building blocks is constraining the realization of distributed ownership systems. As such, it is hard to implement distributed ownership units for new buildings in the area. A regulation that decreases the social housing could stimulate an increase in distributed ownership units. However, the original residents will be expelled and other problems as external segregation and gentrification could occur. In addition, it is possible to realize distributed ownership through selling old amortized flats resulting in a diverse population and conservation of the original neighborhood buildings. Moreover, the urban codes concept cannot be used to increase distributed ownership dwellers. One practical solution for an increase of both variables could be flexible building, in a sense of neutral building functions in combination with modifications in zoning plans. As such, different independent units could lead to spontaneous developments and functions that people demand resulting in a way towards the adaptive city.

Finally, this research could be elaborated by focusing on the six other characteristics Cozzolino (2018) provided with his AAN theory. As such, the whole theory can be put in to practice: This would make the theory even more powerful than it is now. In addition, the appliance of urban codes could be tested in practice through consulting policy makers at the municipality of Amsterdam.

During this research, the researcher faced multiple challenges during the data collection process. First of all, the historical data used for this research, mostly maps and zoning plans were very hard to obtain. Multiple emails, calls and visits to the Amsterdam city archives led to the digitalized data, shown in chapter 4. We should be careful with this data, especially the maps from 1955 and 1999, attached in the appendix: It is impossible to say with a 100% assurance that these plans were truly realized. However, multiple secondary literature consultancies in the form of photos, and interviews with ex-residents of the area, confirmed to some extent that these plans are truly realized.

Finally, a lot has been learned throughout the whole phase of the thesis. New experiences as approaching respected experts and interviewing these resulted in a broad perspective to different kinds of planning theories learned throughout this bachelor curriculum, as the bottom-up – top-down approach for example. In essence, a more practical view of using the theories in the role of researcher resulted in a lot more knowledge and experience as well. Finally, this research has broadened my knowledge for the future planning challenges.

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7. Appendix

7.1 Historical maps

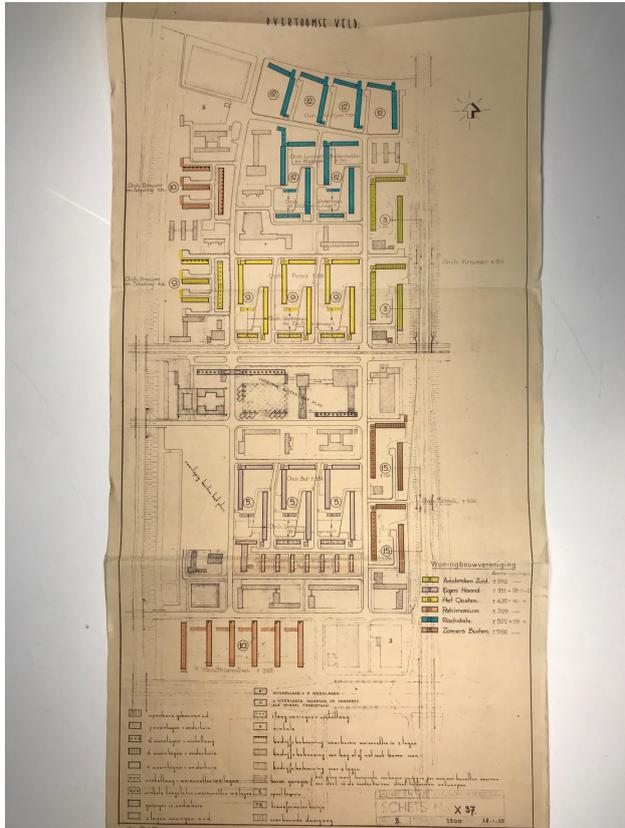


Figure 8.1: Original map of plan area Overtoomse Veld with functions and housing corporations (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening, 1955)

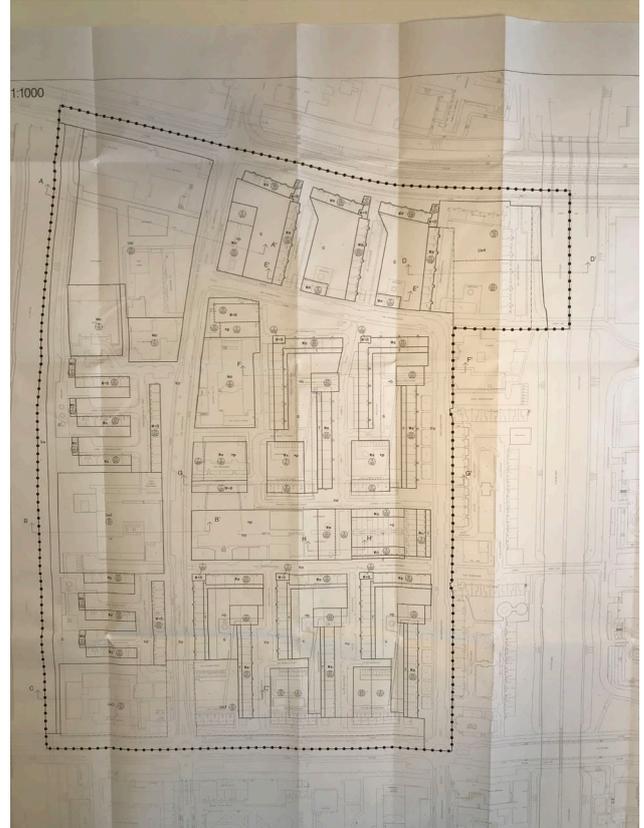


Figure 8.2: Zoning plan for the north area of Overtoomse Veld with functions (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening, 1999)

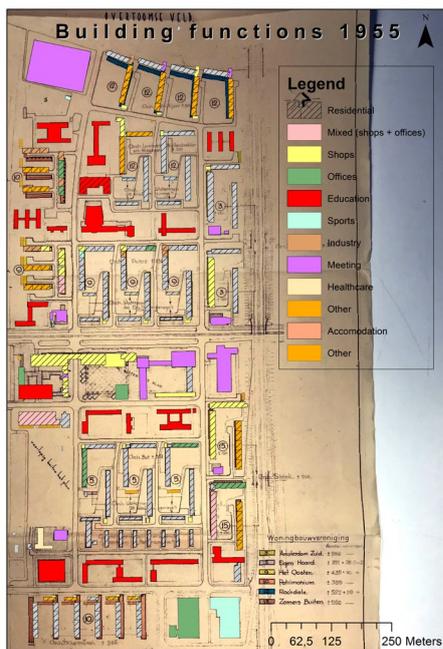


Figure 8.3: Original map of plan area Overtoomse Veld digitalized with ArcGIS data for functions (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening, 1955)

7.2 Interview protocol

Both respondents are approached through phone calls, which were obtained by other, anonymous sources. During these phone calls, was asked if the respondents were interested in giving an interview for this Bachelor thesis about adaptive planning, and more specifically the neighborhood of Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld. Next, an appointment was made and the location of the interview determined. The respondents were asked, before the interview started, to sign the following printed questions:

1. Are you giving permission to let me record the interview and to take notes during the interview?
2. Do you want to stay anonymous for this interview?
3. Are you giving permission to publish the transcript of this interview?
4. Do you want to receive the record, transcripts and the final product of the article?

In addition, the respondents are informed of the following rights and signed at the bottom of this document to confirm these rights:

1. I understand that the participation of this research is voluntary and that I can have a break or quite the interview at any moment, without giving reason
2. I understand that participation to this research is confidential and that only the supervisor, the researcher and the course coordinator can have access to confidential data.
3. I understand that the information I produce, will be stored confidentially in secured folders on a private owned, secured laptop and mobile device.

7.3 Coding system interviews

<i>Theme</i>	Subtheme	Example
<i>Anti adaptive neighborhood</i>	Diversity of functions	Residential, multi-functional
	Ownership systems	Distributed, communal
	Post-war neighborhood	Housing shortage
	Functional city	Economy, infrastructure, modernized society, separation functions, industry
	Social problems	Poverty, crime rates
	AUP	Van Eesteren, block structures, air, space, green, garden city
<i>Adaptive planning</i>	Spontaneity	Dynamic, organic structures, uncertainty
	Change	Capacity to change
<i>Urban codes</i>	Bottom up	Citizen initiatives
	Top down	Full control
	Balance	Flexible building
<i>Design principles</i>	Flexible building	Diversity of functions
	Urban renewal	Selling casco, renovation
<i>Interventions</i>	Public	Control, goals, shortage
	Private	Free economy, market, chances
<i>Restrictions</i>	Policies	Local regulations
	Demand	Utilities and services demand
	Economy	Costs, profits
	Perspective	Nuisance, quietness

7.4 Interview questions (in Dutch)

7.4.1 Interview 1

Introductie

introductie scriptie

Rol

1. Wat zijn uw precieze functies bij de gemeente wat betreft de buurt Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld, en over welke tijdsperiode doet u dit?

Recente doelen

Afgelopen jaren zijn er behoorlijk wat veranderingen in de buurt geweest. Zo zijn veel gebouwen gesloopt en nieuwe er in de plaats gezet.

2. Wat waren grote, globale doelen voor de buurt, de afgelopen 10 jaar? (verdichting, vernieuwing, verduurzaming)
 - a. wat was de reden die tot deze ontwikkelingen en nieuwe projecten hebben geleid? Bijv. Verpaupering, sociale onzekerheid, criminaliteit, krimp, leegstand?
 - b. Wat is het idee achter het bouwen van nieuwbouw in dezelfde structuur met dezelfde functie?
 - c. Van wie komen deze ontwikkelingen? Gemeentelijke of private partijen/ingrepen?
 - i. Wie waren de belangrijke spelers
3. Zijn er afgelopen jaren specifieke doelen geweest voor de verandering van functies en eigendom systemen?
 - a. Wat was het effect van deze veranderingen?

Recente veranderingen (verklaring)

4. Wat is de reden van verandering van eigendom systemen?
Bijvoorbeeld van woningbouw naar eigen bezitters (stadstuin).
 - a. Komt dit initiatief uit de gemeente? Of een private partij?
5. Er zijn geen grote veranderingen geweest in de diversiteit van functies over de afgelopen 20 jaar. Zou u zeggen, dat deze factor stabiel en op orde was?

Toekomstige doelen

6. Wat zijn toekomstige doelen om de buurt te verleeftbaren?
 - a. Nieuwbouw, of hergebruiken?
 - b. Welke toekomstige doelen heeft de gemeente om de diversiteit van functies en gedistributeerde eigendom systemen te verhogen? En hoe stimuleert de gemeente andere (private) partijen dit te laten doen?
 - i. Op een schaal van 1 tot 10. 1=top down, 10= bottom up. Op welke niveau zijn de plannen om deze doelen te bereiken?
 - ii. Zit het concept zelf-organisatie in de plannen?

- iii. Wat voor andere instrumenten zijn er, naar uw mening, om de diversiteit van functies en eigendom systemen te verhogen om zo de buurt te verleefbaren? (financieel aantrekkelijk)
- iv. Hoe kan volgens u, urban design helpen in het verleefbaren van de buurt wat betreft de diversiteit van functies en eigendom systemen?
 - 1. Hergebruik, functieneutraal bouwen, nieuwe structuren?

Explanation urban codes concept.

- 7. Hoe kan het urban codes concept helpen om de diversiteit van functies en eigendom systemen te verhogen
 - a. Zonder regels
 - b. Met alleen maar regels
- 8. We hebben niet heel veel veranderingen gezien wat betreft diversiteit van functies. Hoe stabiel is de wijk op dit moment volgens u?
- 9. Heeft u andere belangrijke informatie toe te voegen, waar ik niet naar gevraagd heb in dit interview?

7.4.2 Interview two

Introductie

Introductie scriptie

Rol

- 1. Wat zijn uw precieze functies bij de gemeente wat betreft de buurt Amsterdam-Overtoomse Veld geweest, en over welke tijdsperiode doet u dit?

Begin jaren plan

- 2. Wat is mislukt/gelukt na oplevering wijk? (specifiek voor karakteristieken)
- 3. Welke stedenbouwkundige veranderingen in begin jaren geweest om problemen op te lossen, onder andere de diversiteit van functies en eigendom systemen?

Verleden globale doelen

Tussen 1965 en 2000 zijn er veel algemene veranderingen geweest in de buurt, maar ook in verschil van functies

- 4. Om bij het begin te beginnen: was het plan, volgens het AUP, na oplevering, geslaagd?
- 5. Wat waren grote, globale doelen voor de buurt, voor dat tijdperk? (verdichting, vernieuwing)
 - a. wat was de reden die tot deze ontwikkelingen en nieuwe projecten hebben geleid? Bijv. Verpaupering, sociale onzekerheid, criminaliteit, krimp, leegstand?
 - b. Van wie komen deze ontwikkelingen? Gemeentelijke of private partijen/ingrepen?

- i. Wie waren de belangrijke spelers
- c. Leveren de veranderde ontwikkelen het gewenste resultaat op?

Verleden specifieke doelen

- 6. Zijn er in dit tijdperk specifieke doelen geweest voor de verandering van functies en eigendom systemen?
 - a. Wat was het effect van deze veranderingen?
 - b. Stimuleerde de gemeente andere (private) partijen dit te laten doen?
 - c. Op een schaal van 1 tot 10. 1=top down, 10= bottom up. Op welke niveau waren de plannen om deze doelen te bereiken?

Verleden: veranderingen, verklaring

- 7. Wat is de reden van verandering in diversiteit functies?
Bijvoorbeeld van eenzijdige winkels, naar een diverser straatbeeld met kantoren en private ondernemingen?
 - a. Komt dit initiatief uit de gemeente? Of een private partij?

Toekomstige doelen

- 8. Wat zijn toekomstige doelen om de buurt te verleefbaren?
 - a. Nieuwbouw, of hergebruiken?
 - b. Welke toekomstige doelen heeft de gemeente om de diversiteit van functies en gedistributeerde eigendom systemen te verhogen? En hoe stimuleert de gemeente andere (private) partijen dit te laten doen?
 - i. Op een schaal van 1 tot 10. 1=top down, 10= bottom up. Op welke niveau waren de plannen om deze doelen te bereiken?
 - ii. Zit het concept zelf-organisatie in de plannen?
 - iii. Wat voor andere instrumenten zijn er, naar uw mening, om de diversiteit van functies en eigendom systemen te verhogen om zo de buurt te verleefbaren? (financieel aantrekkelijk)
 - iv. Hoe kan volgens u, urban design helpen in het verleefbaren van de buurt wat betreft de diversiteit van functies en eigendom systemen?
 - 1. Hergebruik, functieneutraal bouwen, nieuwe structuren?

Uitleg urban codes concept

- 9. Hoe kan het urban codes concept helpen om de diversiteit van functies en eigendom systemen te verhogen
 - a. Zonder regels
 - b. Met alleen maar regels
- 10. We hebben niet heel veel veranderingen gezien wat betreft diversiteit van functies. Hoe stabiel is de wijk op dit moment volgens u?
- 11. Heeft u andere belangrijke informatie toe te voegen, waar ik niet naar gevraagd heb in dit interview?