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Everyday Heritage

Identifying attributes of 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods by involved stakeholders

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Lidwine Spoormans

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Everyday Heritage

Identifying attributes of 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods by involved stakeholders

Dissertation

for the purpose of obtaining the degree of doctor
at Delft University of Technology
by the authority of the Rector Magnificus, prof.dr.ir. T.H.J.J. van der Hagen
chair of the Board for Doctorates
to be defended publicly on
Wednesday 13 December 2023 at 15:00 o'clock

by

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We look backward at history and tradition to go forward;
we can also look downward to go upward.
And witholding judgement may be used as a tool
to make later judgement more sensitive.
This is a way of learning from everything.

Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour
in "Learning from Las Vegas" (1977)

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Preface

Born in 1977, the architecture of the seventies and eighties formed the backdrop of my childhood. The living environment of my memories contains all kinds of tangible and intangible attributes, such as the carport attached to our house, ceilings made of wooden slats, white chipboard furniture in my brand new bedroom, apartment blocks with peculiar shapes of pitched roofs on the way to school and playing football and tennis against end walls which angered the neighbours. But what was once new and fresh, quickly became commonplace and later outdated. While working as an architect on the renovation of housing complexes built in the seventies and eighties, confronting the shortcomings of this stock raised new questions. What were the ideas behind these buildings? Why did problems arise so soon? Or did we misunderstand? Working on renovation processes also gave me an important insight into the differences between the opinions of professionals and residents about the neighbourhoods, the buildings, their qualities, and malfunctions. These personal and professional notions sparked my interest in studying the neighbourhoods of my youth from various stakeholder perspectives.

A fascination for this young-yet-ageing architecture, its perceived ugliness and my presumption of hidden qualities started the journey that later culminated in a PhD research. Starting the online platform “Love 80s Architecture” in 2017 played a key role, as it compelled me to delve into more 80s projects with greater focus. Moreover, it functioned as a means of advocating the subject and positioned me as an expert in this small area of research. In addition to the academic work published in scientific papers and this thesis, the “Love 80s architecture” platform continued to function as a link to professionals in architecture and young heritage. Invitations for public lectures, exchanges, and collaborations allowed me to showcase my research to a broader audience.

In the early stage of the research, in a series of excursions, the writers and ‘experts by experience’ Liane Wilkens, Eva Vriend, Joris van Casteren, Jan van Casteren and Jan de Vletter shared their personal views on life in the new towns on new land in the Flevopolder. The in-depth research on case studies was made possible by the collaboration and financial support of several organisations. Like Bijlsma and Joost Tennekes from Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving (PBL) joined me in their interest in personal opinions on heritage and alternative methods to research them. Their collaboration and financial contribution were a necessary kick-start for the empirical

research. Anneke Verhagen and Jean-Paul Hitipeuw from Ymere housing corporation reached out from an interest in seventies and eighties housing and its relevance, resulting in cooperation in research, education and ongoing initiatives. Subsidies from the research programs “Ontwerp & Overheid”, part of “Actieagenda Ruimtelijk Ontwerp 2017-2020”, and “Erfgoed en Duurzaamheid” from the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency (RCE) also supported the PhD research, both financially and content-wise.

Many people contributed to this thesis. Firstly, I am grateful to my promotors, Ana Pereira Roders, Wessel de Jonge, Darinka Czischke and Leeke Reinders, for the fruitful discussions and their support in the process. I enjoyed the regular meetings with my fellow late career PhD candidates, Eireen Schreurs and Jurjen Zeinstra, sharing critiques and experiences and later on with the lovely and lively people in the Heritage & Values PhD group. I want to thank Els Leclercq as the first and also the last to help me correct my writing. Hielkje Zijlstra has been a great colleague and a continuous guide in PhD challenges and ethics in academia. I am very grateful to Monique Smit for her friendship, genuine interest and enthusiasm, even joining me on my trips to Almere and Lelystad, recording interviews and impressions. My colleagues in the Heritage & Architecture section gave me time to focus on the dissertation and introduce my research topic into teaching. In particular, I want to thank Wido Quist for creating the conditions to finalise the thesis. Nicholas Clarke teamed up in the educational courses related to the research and joined me in including the next generation in studying new heritage. Many thanks to the brave students who devoted themselves to studying 1970s and 1980s housing for their graduation project. Their dedication and hard work in collecting data have been instrumental in their graduation projects and for my research goals. Finally, I am grateful to my husband and boys at home, who have only a vague idea of what my PhD research entails and no clue why I aspire to it, but nevertheless support me in doing what I want to do.

During my PhD research, I increasingly agreed with my father, who characterised university as a "sheltered workshop for intellectuals". Having completed my thesis, I feel a proud member of this community.

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Summary

In improving the sustainability of our built environment, we face challenges regarding energy, climate, and equality. In facing these challenges, European countries and institutions emphasise the need to protect and advance the cultural values of the built environment. However, the largest part of the stock that needs sustainable renovation is not listed, nor is its heritage significance assessed, detailing what is valuable (attributes) and why (values). Herein lies the risk that present significant attributes are not identified and maintained in future renovations, causing the loss of a variety of resources and their heritage significance. Moreover, the risk to destroy existing values and attributes can also reduce citizen's support for future developments. This problem is faced by the housing stock built in Dutch cities between 1965 and 1985, which is more than 30% of the housing stock in the Netherlands. Although in recent years there is a growing attention for Dutch architecture built after 1965, there is a need for more knowledge about its heritage significance. In assessing everyday residential neighbourhoods, the need to involve citizens alongside experts is recommended. The societal relevance of this PhD research is underlined both at national and international levels, with respectively the Dutch 'Post 65' program, the upcoming Dutch Environmental Law (Omgevingswet), the European Faro Convention and its Dutch ratification, the Renovation Wave and European Green Deal, and the national and global housing crisis.

The objectives of this PhD research are two-fold. First, it aims to reveal new knowledge about the attributes of 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods. Second, it aims to contribute to the development and testing of methodologies that assess the heritage significance of residential neighbourhoods. The main research question is: What attributes of residential neighbourhoods, built in The Netherlands between 1965-1985, can be identified as significant by the involved stakeholders? This question is further deconstructed in three main components: how (methods), what (attributes) and who (stakeholders). The research adopts a broad conception of heritage, assuming that all buildings and neighbourhoods have heritage significance, including attributes that are valuable, to someone, in some form. These attributes can be the tangible embodiment of a value, but they can also be an intangible attribute, such as an event, use or meaning.

The first part of the thesis explains the development of the research framework. An 'integral view' research approach allowed multiple value categories and stakeholder perspectives to be included. Exploration of a range of 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods led to identification of main types, low-rise and mid-rise, that hold representative urban and architectural attributes and could serve as examples for the empirical research. The Heritage Cube developed by Peter Howard was adopted, adapted, and tested as a conceptual model for the operational framework. It integrates attributes, stakeholders, and scales, fitting the purpose of identifying attributes by different stakeholders and finding the potentially differentiated opinions of individuals and groups. The second part of the thesis explains the empirical qualitative research. The operational framework was used to examine three case studies, mixing methods, stakeholders and data collection. Methods included interviews, inductive and deductive coding methods for content analysis, followed by theory-building on stakeholder differences and attribute classification.

Results show that by an 'integral view' research approach attributes can be identified in both tangible and intangible categories, and, on successive scale levels. The stakeholders involved in the identification have an influence on the attributes, as different stakeholder groups and different individuals show similarities but also focus on different attribute categories and scale levels. Attributes that were intended in the original planning and design of the neighbourhoods are currently assessed as significant but also later added or changed attributes. The research results suggest that attributes specific for 1965-1985 neighbourhoods are perceived as valuable, but also more generic attributes. The identification of this wide range of attributes, according to the 'integral view' and a broad definition of heritage, results from open-ended questioning by multiple participatory methods. A process of inductive analysis, classifying and relating attributes resulted in a network of attributes and sub-attributes that illustrates a shared narrative of a neighbourhood.

The study provides insights and recommendations for practitioners in heritage participation regarding e.g. the participatory methods that can contribute to the democratic renewal as proposed by the European Faro Convention and the 'integral view as a way of thinking for heritage professionals and agencies to assess residential neighbourhoods. The attributes and attribute categories identified in the empirical research can provide a basis for further exploration in the Post 65 inventories expected in Dutch municipalities and at the national level in the coming years. For academics, this research provides insights in the heritage assessment of significance by various stakeholders and individuals and the related influence on types and categories of attributes. This research has expanded the boundaries of what can constitute heritage by assessing the heritage significance of attributes in not-listed everyday neighbourhoods. Deep knowledge about attributes

of the existing built environment informs efficient use of the existing ones and can help to refuse or rethink the use of new materials and thereby helping the circular economy. Further developing, testing and applying this broader heritage definition and related research methods can contribute to a more informed and sustainable renovation and development of the entire built environment, informed by its heritage significance, regardless of the heritage status.

Samenvatting

Bij de verduurzaming van onze gebouwde omgeving staan we voor uitdagingen op het gebied van energie, klimaat en gelijkheid. Bij het aangaan van deze uitdagingen benadrukken Europese landen en instellingen de noodzaak om de culturele waarden van de gebouwde omgeving te beschermen en te bevorderen. Het grootste deel van de voorraad die duurzaam gerenoveerd moet worden, staat echter niet op de monumentenlijst en kent ook geen bepaling van de betekenis van het erfgoed, waarin wordt aangegeven wat waardevol is (attributen) en waarom (waarden). Hierin schuilt het risico dat bestaande significante attributen niet worden herkend en behouden bij toekomstige renovaties, waardoor allerlei bronnen verloren gaan, inclusief hun erfgoedbetekenis. Bovendien kan het veronachtzamen van bestaande waarden en attributen ook een negatieve invloed hebben op de steun van burgers voor toekomstige ontwikkelingen. De woningvoorraad die tussen 1965 en 1985 in Nederlandse steden is gebouwd en meer dan 30% van de woningvoorraad beslaat, heeft te maken met dit probleem. Hoewel er de laatste jaren meer aandacht komt voor Nederlandse architectuur gebouwd na 1965, is er behoefte aan meer kennis over de betekenis van dit erfgoed. Bij die beoordeling van gebouwen, gebieden en woonwijken wordt steeds meer gepromoot om naast experts ook burgers te betrekken. De maatschappelijke relevantie van dit promotieonderzoek wordt zowel op nationaal als internationaal niveau onderstreept door diverse beleidsontwikkelingen en programma's, met respectievelijk het Nederlandse 'Post 65' programma, de aankomende Omgevingswet, de Europese Faro Conventie en de Nederlandse ratificatie daarvan, de 'Renovatiegolf voor Europa' en de Europese Green Deal, en de nationale en wereldwijde woningcrisis.

De doelstelling van dit promotieonderzoek is tweeledig. Ten eerste wil het nieuwe kennis ontwikkelen over de attributen van woonwijken uit de periode 1965-1985. Ten tweede wil het bijdragen aan het ontwikkelen en testen van methodes om de erfgoedbetekenis van woonwijken te beoordelen. De belangrijkste onderzoeksvraag is: Welke attributen van woonwijken, gebouwd in Nederland tussen 1965-1985, kunnen door belanghebbenden als significant worden geïdentificeerd? Deze vraag wordt verder opgedeeld in drie componenten: hoe (methoden), wat (attributen) en wie (belanghebbenden). Het onderzoek hanteert een brede opvatting van erfgoed, ervan uitgaande dat alle gebouwen en buurten erfgoedbetekenis hebben. Hierbij representeren de attributen wat waardevol is voor iemand, in één of andere vorm. Deze attributen kunnen de tastbare belichaming van een waarde zijn, maar ze kunnen ook immaterieel zijn, zoals een gebeurtenis of een gebruik.

In het eerste deel van het proefschrift wordt de ontwikkeling van het onderzoekskader uitgelegd. Een onderzoeksbenadering vanuit een 'integrale blik' maakte het mogelijk om diverse categorieën van waarden en perspectieven van belanghebbenden te beschouwen. Het verkennen van een reeks woonwijken uit de periode 1965-1985 leidde tot identificatie van de belangrijkste types, laagbouw en middelhoogbouw, die representatieve stedelijke en architectonische attributen bevatten en daardoor als voorbeeld konden dienen voor het empirisch onderzoek. De Heritage Cube, ontwikkeld door Peter Howard, werd overgenomen, aangepast en getest als conceptueel model voor het operationele kader. Het combineert attributen, belanghebbenden en schaalniveaus, en past daarom bij het onderzoeksdoel om attributen te identificeren vanuit verschillende belanghebbenden en zo potentieel gedifferentieerde meningen van individuen en groepen te vinden. Het tweede deel van het proefschrift beschrijft het empirisch kwalitatief onderzoek. Het operationele kader op basis van de Heritage Cube werd gebruikt om drie casestudies te onderzoeken, waarbij verschillende combinaties van methodes, belanghebbenden en dataverzameling werden toegepast. De gebruikte methodes waren onder andere interviews, inductieve en deductieve codering voor inhoudelijke analyse, gevolgd door het theoretiseren van de verschillen tussen belanghebbenden en het classificeren van attributen.

De resultaten laten zien dat door met een 'integrale blik' attributen kunnen worden geïdentificeerd in zowel materiële als immateriële categorieën, en op verschillende schaalniveaus. De specifieke belanghebbende heeft invloed op de identificatie van attributen. Verschillende groepen en verschillende individuen vertonen overeenkomsten, maar ook verschillen in de categorieën en de schaalniveaus waarop zij attributen betekenis toekennen. Zowel attributen die in de oorspronkelijke planning en ontwerp van de wijken werden beoogd worden vandaag de dag als significant beoordeeld, als ook later toegevoegde of veranderde attributen. De onderzoeksresultaten duiden aan dat attributen specifiek voor wijken uit 1965-1985 als waardevol worden ervaren, maar ook meer generieke attributen. De identificatie van dit brede scala aan attributen, volgens de 'integrale blik' en een brede definitie van erfgoed, is het resultaat van open vragen via diverse participatieve methodes. Een proces van inductieve analyse, het vervolgens classificeren en verbinden van attributen resulteerde in een web van attributen en sub-attributen dat een collectief narratief van een buurt kan verbeelden.

Het onderzoek biedt inzichten en aanbevelingen voor erfgoedparticipatie in de praktijk. De participatieve methodes uit het onderzoek kunnen bijdragen aan de democratische vernieuwing zoals voorgesteld door de Europese Faro Conventie. De 'integrale blik' biedt een manier van denken voor erfgoedprofessionals en instellingen om woonwijken te beoordelen. De attributen en attribuutcategorieën die in het empirisch onderzoek zijn geïdentificeerd, kunnen een basis vormen voor verdere verkenning in de Post 65-inventarisaties en aanwijzingsprogramma's die de komende jaren in Nederlandse gemeenten en op nationaal niveau worden verwacht. Voor academici biedt dit onderzoek inzicht in erfgoedbeoordeling vanuit het perspectief van verschillende groepen belanghebbenden en individuen en de daarmee samenhangende invloed op attribuuttypes en -categorieën. Dit onderzoek heeft de grenzen van wat erfgoed kan zijn verruimd door het bestuderen van de erfgoedbetekenis van attributen in alledaagse buurten, zonder monumentenstatus. Diepgaande kennis over attributen van de bestaande gebouwde omgeving levert inzichten die nodig zijn bij een efficiënter gebruik van wat er al is. Door bestaande gebieden, gebouwen en materialen langer en beter te gebruiken kan worden afgezien van het gebruik van nieuwe grondstoffen, wat een belangrijke strategie is voor een circulaire economie. Het verder ontwikkelen, testen en toepassen van deze bredere erfgoeddefinitie en bijbehorende onderzoeksmethodes kan bijdragen tot een beter geïnformeerde duurzame ontwikkeling van de hele gebouwde omgeving, die is gebaseerd op erfgoedbetekenis, ongeacht erfgoedstatus.

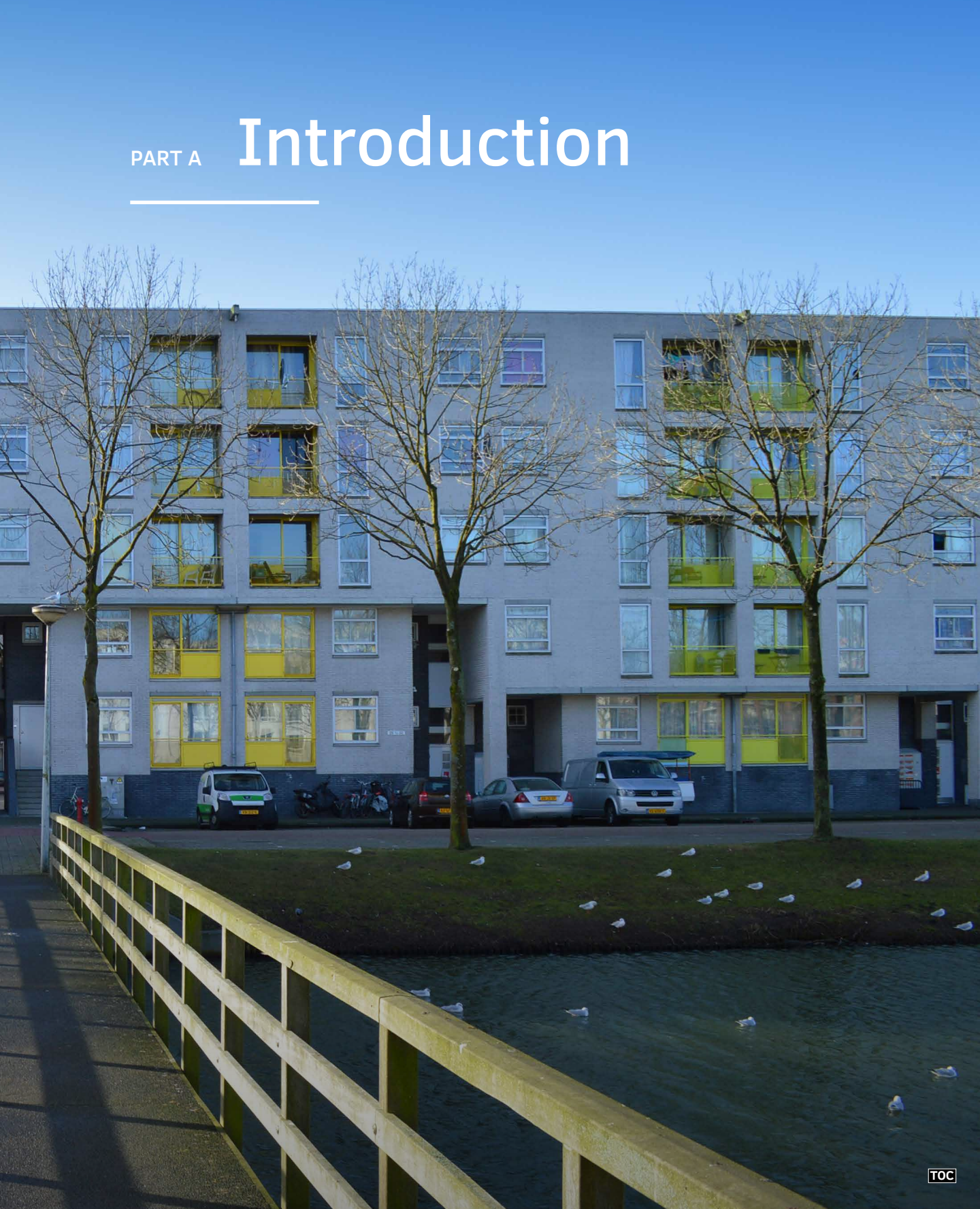


Venserpolder, Amsterdam

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PART A

Introduction



TOC



Koepeltjesbuurt, Zoetermeer

TOC

1 Introduction

In improving the sustainability of our built environment, we face challenges regarding energy, climate, and equality. As part of the European Green Deal, the Renovation Wave for Europe focuses on improving the energy performance and climate resilience of buildings and urban landscapes, emphasising the importance of making them more affordable and inhabitable for everybody (European-Commission, 2020, p. 3). In dealing with these necessary changes, European countries and institutions also emphasise the need to protect and advance cultural values of the built environment (Office-Fédéral-de-la-Culture, 2018, p. 8). There are encompassing developments on the horizon, but at the same time, there is a risk that this comes at the expense of existing values. Conversely, a key part of the solution lies in deeply understanding the existing built environment and using it effectively.

Some buildings and areas are protected by designation as monuments or conservation areas, formalising their heritage significance. However, the largest part of the stock that needs sustainable renovation is not listed, nor is its heritage significance assessed, detailing what is valuable (attributes) and why (values). Herein lies the risk that present significant attributes are not recognised, acknowledged, and respected in future renovations. Moreover, the neglect of the existing stock also leads to poor maintenance and, eventually demolition (Elburg, 2021, p. 32). This means a potential loss of a variety of resources which otherwise could be used, reused or repurposed. Firstly, demolition, but also renovation, leads to a waste of building materials. These physical resources can embody cultural and historic values but also economic and environmental values, in terms of material substance and energy (Huuhka, 2020, p. 35). For original constructions and their new replacement construction, this involves both the energy consumed in the production of materials (embodied energy) and the CO2 emissions released during the process of material formation, transport, construction and demolition process (embodied carbon) (Moazzen, 2022, pp. 6-7). The complete or partial demolition of homes is, besides destroying real estate, also erasing a period in history and the ideals it conveys (Tellinga, 2004, p. 23). And by demolishing residential areas, social communities are lost along their dwellings (Hendriks, 2021). So, there is much at stake in upcoming renovations and area redevelopments, such as building materials, embodied energy and carbon, social structures, historical, financial and use values. Moreover, not knowing and risking to destroy existing values and attributes can also reduce the citizen's support for future developments. Finding support and thus acceptance can be instrumental for governments, from both democratic and pragmatic perspectives (Visser, 2019, p. 8).

The risk of losing resources in upcoming renovations and the current gap on their heritage significance applies specifically to the housing stock built between 1965 and 1985 in Dutch cities. More than 30% of the total current housing stock in the Netherlands was built between 1965 and 1985 (CBS, 2020). These residential neighbourhoods now face various problems. In a recent report by the International New Town Institute, new towns built in that era are considered an "unfinished project", with demographic problems, few social and cultural amenities, low employment opportunities, poor technical quality of housing and fragmented quality of public space (Provoost, 2023, pp. 11-13). Also, mono-functionality and low urbanity (Reijndorp, 2012, p. 325), physical wear and tear, poor management, overdue maintenance, and excess of cheap and small housing (Ubbink, 2011, pp. 155-156) are mentioned as problems of this housing stock. And although in recent years there is a growing attention for Dutch architecture built after 1965, there is a plea for more research on its heritage significance. Pantus advocated already in 2012 for the need to raise awareness for the cultural and historical values to create better support for the imminent renewal of the living environment in which cultural history can be a source of inspiration for redevelopment (Pantus, 2012, pp. 12-13). Heritage association Heemschut has observed that insufficient knowledge about these young buildings, housing neighbourhoods or landscapes makes it difficult to assess their heritage significance. This results in a lack of instruments and arguments to prevent their demolition (Baalman, 2018, p. 82). The Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency (RCE) carried out a pilot program focused on the building stock between 1965 and 1990. It concluded that there is insufficient knowledge at the national level to determine its heritage significance and how to set selection criteria for the assessment. Moreover, it identifies the role of education and knowledge institutions in the further development of knowledge and knowledge exchange (Werkgroep-Verkenning-Post65, 2019, p. 24).

Knowing there is a need for more knowledge of the heritage significance of attributes of 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods, the next question is who should be involved in identifying these attributes. When recognising everyday residential architecture as heritage and pursuing equality and social values, the interests of citizens and other users should play a role in determining its significance. Several European countries recognise, through adopting the Faro Convention, the need to put people and human values at the centre of cultural heritage and emphasise its value for the people's quality of life in a constantly evolving society (Council-of-Europe, 2005, p. 1). This formal European agreement, for which the Netherlands is preparing ratification, represents a broader trend to recognise the importance of involving citizens in the identification and management of heritage. The engagement of various stakeholders can also change the definition of what heritage is, due to more emphasis on the perception by various stakeholders and their professional or

personal perspectives (Fairclough, 2009, pp. 37, 40). Little research about 1965-1985 Dutch neighbourhoods specifically compares significance assessments of stakeholders. Research on woonerf neighbourhoods, which are low-traffic suburban residential areas, indicates that residents highlight different urban aspects than experts do. Additionally, residents generally have a more positive evaluation of these neighbourhoods (Quaedflieg, 2013, pp. 26,39).

Still, there is a general lack of knowledge about the significance of attributes of 1965-1985 architecture. In facing the energy, climate and equity challenges, finding out what is significant and for whom is essential. For the 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods specifically, due to the combination of young heritage and everyday living environments, the assessment of significance asks for the involvement of citizens, in addition to experts. The inclusion of a wide range of stakeholder groups requires the application of appropriate methods that are open to multiple perspectives on heritage significance. Therefore, this PhD research studies the identification of significant attributes of Dutch residential neighbourhoods from 1965-1985. In doing so, this research investigates, develops, and applies methods that enable the assessment by individuals and groups. Moreover, by combining theories from heritage significance assessment and housing preferences, it bridges the gap between the assessment of (listed) heritage and everyday environments.

1.1 Aims and objectives

This PhD research is two-fold in scientific aims. The first aim is to generate and share knowledge about the attributes of 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods. The second is to contribute to the development and testing of methodologies that assess the heritage significance of residential neighbourhoods. These methodologies are foreseen to reveal a wider range of values and attributes, by the integration of different perspectives and stakeholders. Premises and definitions of, among others, the concepts of attributes, heritage, and significance in this thesis are further elaborated in chapter 1.4. By positioning this young residential stock as heritage, this research furthers our understanding of heritage significance in unlisted residential neighbourhoods. By exploring the gap between heritage and everyday buildings and sites, and related conservation approaches, this research contributes to concepts and theory-building for new heritage, such as a dynamic definition of what constitutes heritage, the delayed recognition of relatively young architecture and the shift in the definition of heritage by including multiple stakeholders. Although the PhD research does not directly concern the sustainable renovation of the 1965-1985 neighbourhoods, it is the main motivation because more knowledge about the attributes of existing buildings and sites could inform future design strategies and their efficient (re)use of existing buildings. Assessing the significance of attributes of these residential neighbourhoods is considered a necessary first step to inform and enable the design and implementation of sustainable renovations.

The main research question of this thesis is:

What attributes of residential neighbourhoods, built in The Netherlands between 1965-1985, can be identified as significant by the involved stakeholders?

The research question is deconstructed into three sub-questions, representing the three components of this doctoral research:

1 **How to assess the significance of attributes of residential neighbourhoods? (Methods)**

2 **What are the main types and categories of urban and architectural attributes of Dutch residential neighbourhoods, built between 1965-1985? (Attributes)**

3 **What stakeholders are involved and what attributes convey heritage significance, from their perspective? (Stakeholders)**

1.2 Societal developments and relevance

During this PhD research, from 2019 to 2023, several key developments have become prominent, underpinning the societal relevance of this research. The developments have resulted in national and international policies and programs. These are the Renovation Wave as part of the European Green Deal, a national and international housing crisis, the Dutch ratification of the Faro Convention, the Dutch 'Post 65' program and the upcoming Dutch Omgevingswet.

The objective of the Renovation Wave for Europe (European-Commission, 2020) is to at least double the annual energy renovation rate of residential and non-residential buildings by 2030 and to foster deep energy renovations and ultimately reach EU-wide climate neutrality by 2050. Its key principles are energy efficiency, affordability, decarbonisation and integration of renewables, life-cycle thinking and circularity, high health and environmental standards, tackling the twin challenges of green and digital transitions, and respect for aesthetics and architectural quality. This last principle refers to the Davos Declaration on high-quality Baukultur for Europe (Office-Fédéral-de-la-Culture, 2018). The European Renovation Wave is part of the Green Deal and was launched in 2020.

The Dutch government's National Agenda on Housing and Building aims to construct 900,000 homes by 2030, with two-thirds of them being made affordable (BZK, 2022). Reinstalling a Minister of Housing and Spatial Planning in 2022, spatial developments, including housing, are a 'matter for the State' again. A housing shortage is recognised internationally and appears therefore also on the political agendas of other European countries. For instance, during the 20th docomomo Germany Conference, the Frankfurt Declaration was presented, in which the importance of providing affordable housing and ensuring equality in both healthy living and quality of living environments was emphasised. The proposals include utilising the building stock's potential to achieve climate goals, addressing the housing shortage, and supporting a moratorium on demolition. The focus will be on preserving, renovating, converting, and continuously improving existing buildings before considering demolition and new construction (docomomo, 2023).

The Faro Convention (Council-of-Europe, 2005) declares it a human right for every citizen to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice and mentions the need to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage. It states that the management of cultural heritage and participation should be a joint action by public authorities, experts, owners, investors, businesses, non-governmental organisations and civil society. In May 2023, 24 European

countries have ratified the convention. During 2019 -2022, the first part of the Dutch Implementation Agenda has been drafted by various parties from the heritage field, at the request of the Minister of Education Culture and Science. From 2023 onwards, a wide range of heritage parties are working on the second and more operational part of the Implementation Agenda, under the coordination of the RCE. Currently, the Netherlands is preparing for ratification, which is expected in 2023 (Linssen, 2022).

Between 2017 and 2020, the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency (RCE) conducted a pilot program focused on buildings and neighbourhoods, dated from the period 1965-1990, and their potential designation as heritage. This new heritage is referred to as 'Post 65'. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science commissioned the pilot program, which resulted in several policy documents and research publications. The main outcome of the programme was the recommendation to define selection criteria for identifying and listing Post 65 heritage on a national scale. Additionally, the program emphasised the importance of acquiring knowledge on effectively conserving these heritage buildings and sites (Werkgroep-Verkenning-Post65, 2019). In 2023, RCE published a guidebook on securing Post 65 heritage, based on support through participation. The guidebook provides policymakers, owners and others with tools to formalise the heritage significance of Post 65 buildings and neighbourhoods in the various instruments of the Omgevingswet (Environment Act) (Velzen, 2022). In February 2023, the Dutch State Secretary of Culture and Media instructed the RCE to launch a designation programme for Post 65 heritage.

The upcoming Dutch Omgevingswet encourages the involvement of stakeholders at an early stage in the process of decision-making within a development process or project, but also forces governments to take participation of citizens and other stakeholders seriously (BZK, 2021). At the municipal or provincial level, stakeholder participation is mandatory in creating an integrated Environmental Vision (pertaining to the Environment Act) in which defining heritage significance of the living environment is an important part (RCE, 2022).

The urgency of the challenges on sustainable renovation, housing shortage, identification and conservation of new heritage and the increased focus on participation of stakeholders in urban development processes, all indicated by the recent policy developments, highlights the relevance of this PhD thesis. The various components of the research, and putting these topics on the academic and societal agenda, contribute to knowledge development. The research undertaken for this thesis, and its publication, contributes to further developing and implementing policies and programmes addressing heritage, social, economic and sustainable topics within the built environment.

1.3 Methodology

This PhD research is structured in two parts: 1) development of the research framework and 2) empirical research (see Figure 1.1). Within the first part the research framework conceptualised following three components, how, what and who, which results in an operational framework. The empirical research subsequently applies the operational framework to three case studies. The case study research forms the main source for data collection and analysis leading to answering the research questions.

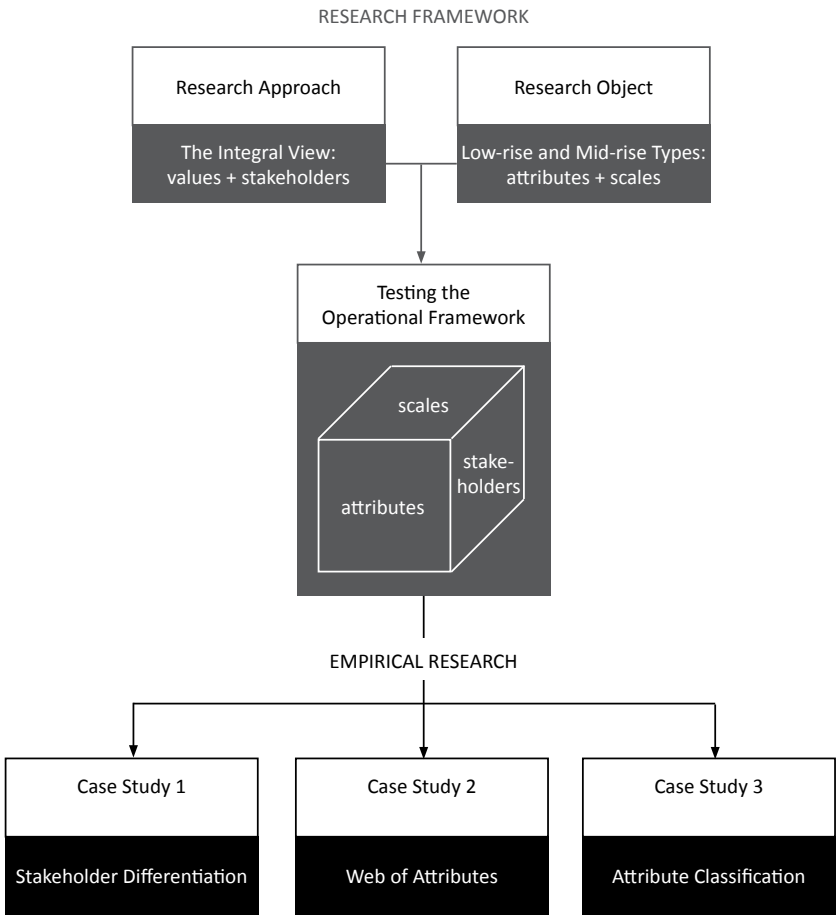


FIG. 1.1 Schematic presentation of the research parts

1.3.1 Research paradigm

The research is framed by a naturalistic paradigm, using the ontological premise that there is not one truth, but there are multiple socially constructed realities. The corresponding epistemological position adopted in this research is that it is neither possible nor necessarily desirable to establish a value-free objectivity (Groat & Wang, 2002, pp. 33-40). Even more so, the perception of individuals of their values (of the residential neighbourhoods) is at the core of this research. A multifaceted and polyvocal' truth' is demonstrated by applying multiple qualitative methods and involving various stakeholders, methods and case studies. The essence of the methodology is a diversity of methods and of people's views looking at the research object. The interpretation of 'the same' but from different perspectives, results in multiple realities and the social construct behind, relating to the extrinsic nature of values. The ultimate aim is to distil a consensus construction that is more informed and sophisticated than any of the separate constructions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 111).

1.3.2 Research framework

The research framework establishes the research approach (method) and research object (topic). It also defines the scope of the research and establishes the theoretical and operational base for the research. The development of the research framework is mainly based on literature research and results in setting up and testing an operational framework in preparation for the empirical study.

1.3.2.1 Research approach

A systematic literature review was used to identify methods to assess the heritage significance of architecture in residential neighbourhoods. The review was based on the 'roadmap' for qualitative literature review, described by Boland, Cherry and Dickson (2017, pp. 194, 197). It presents an overview of the state of the art of the field, a comparison of used approaches and insights in practices to assess the heritage significance of architecture in residential neighbourhoods. It identifies seven 'storylines' representing different research approaches, based in various research disciplines, using different combinations of methods and perspectives.

This part of the research aimed to find methods that fit a broad heritage definition. Considering the identified storylines, it was determined that the most suitable one for this research is the **'integral view'** approach, because it incorporates various methods and sources, as well as multiple value categories stakeholder perspectives.

1.3.2.2 Research object

Interpretive historical research was conducted to explore residential neighbourhoods as a research object. The methods applied in this research were literature review, archival research and field trips. A range of examples of 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods was studied, visited, and documented, to determine the research scope and to identify the main types and their tangible and intangible attributes. Matrices of these main types were composed, organising urban and architectural attributes on several scale levels (included in Appendix 3.9). This method was inspired by 1976 exhibition Signs of Life: Symbols of the American City resulting from the project Learning from Levittown by Venturi and Scott Brown (1992, pp. 59-65). These visual overviews of building types are related to the better-known publication Learning from Las Vegas, describing this method of "compiling a pattern book" as follows:

To find the system behind the flamboyance, we devised schedules of individual building parts - floors, walls, gas pumps, parking lots, plans, elevation (front, back, and side) – for different building types and for portions of the street. These parts can then be reassembled as a two-dimensional graph for each building type with buildings on the X axis and parts of buildings on the Y axis. Reading across we have one building; reading down one column, all elevations of that building type on the Strip; and on the diagonal, a prototypical building (Venturi, 1977, pp. 77,78)

From the 'pattern books', or matrices as they are named in this thesis (included in the appendix of chapter 3), a selection was made focussing on the dominant typologies that represent the residential stock from the years 1965-1985. The design ideologies and their various architectural materialisations were studied for the two selected typologies, low-rise neighbourhoods with patterns of terraced houses and mid-rise complexes with mixed housing types. Based on selected examples of the two typologies a comparative analysis reveals similarities and differences within the different typologies.

This part of the research aimed to find architectural and urban types that represent the 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods. Of the two main types (**low-rise and mid-rise**) case study neighbourhoods are selected that hold attributes representative for a larger part of the stock and can serve as examples for the empirical research.

1.3.2.3 Testing the operational framework

An operational framework was found, adapted and tested using the chosen research approach (integral view) and further specified research object (low-rise and mid-rise examples) as input. The Heritage Cube was used as a conceptual model for the operational framework. This model by Peter Howard (2003) organises ranges of categories in three dimensions: attributes (heritage fields), stakeholders (heritage markets) and scales (heritage identity levels). The integral view is reflected in this framework, making it a suitable choice for operationalisation. In recent years, the Dutch municipality of Almere has conducted several participatory pilots on participation in heritage identification. These pilots served as data collection to test the operational framework. The various sources used have been produced and provided by the organisers of each pilot. The material was analysed by a deductive coding process, using coding software, and applying an adapted version of Howard's model.

The research design and implementation of this part of the research was experimental, small-scale, and somewhat unbalanced, mainly due to the variation in documents and responses of the pilots. The interest of and cooperation with the municipality of Almere in this project also meant that the approach and report were practice-oriented and less theoretically based. This study was crucial in the research process as it linked the research approach and research object and laid the groundwork for empirical research. The conceptual model of the Heritage Cube was found and tested to integrate what attributes are assessed as significant and by whom (stakeholder). The opportunity to evaluate already conducted participatory pilots gave insight into the impact, and thus the importance, of methods on the results (how). Moreover, the Heritage Cube combines the perspective on values and stakeholders from 'the integral view' (chapter 2) and the urban and architectural scale levels on which attributes can be identified in the research object (chapter 3). After testing on four pilots in this study, (chapter 4) the Heritage Cube was adapted and used as an operational framework for the empirical research. All three case studies (chapters 5, 6 and 7) identify the three dimensions of the cube: attributes, scales and stakeholders.

Developing and testing this operational framework aimed to establish its potential application in the empirical research. In particular, the **integration of attributes, stakeholders and scales** makes Howard's conceptual model very applicable to the research in this thesis. The operational model fits the purpose of identifying attributes by different stakeholders and finding the potentially differentiated assessments of individuals and groups.

1.3.3 Empirical research

The operational framework was used to examine three case studies. As described by De Groot (1994, p. 1), the empirical research aims to acquire knowledge based on experiences of the world by an empirical cycle. De Groot's successive phases of this cycle being 1) observation (collecting and grouping empirical material); 2) induction (formulating hypotheses) 3) deduction (deriving consequences or conclusions) 4) testing (of hypotheses in new empirical material) 5) evaluation (leading to theory and new questions) are the basis for this research (Groot, 1994, p. 29). The empirical research, as the second main part of the PhD research, collected new data for qualitative research to answer the research questions. Various combinations of methods, stakeholders and data collection were used. This reflects the ambitions to construct multiple realities. In the analysis and synthesis phase, one main method was used, reflecting the aim to distil consensus about values of 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods. Working on intensive study with many variables on selected cases aims to provide initial ideas and concepts, after which, more extensive research can be followed to test and confirm results on a wider range of cases (Swanborn, 1996, pp. 13, 147).

Table 1.1 shows the specifics per case study, regarding different variants and combinations of methods to collect data, representation of stakeholder groups, case study neighbourhood, housing type and context.

The Figure 1.2 to 1.13 show the locations of the case study neighbourhoods and illustrate the urban and architectural context.

TABLE 1.1 Variables per case study

	Case study 1	Case study 2	Case study 3
Method data collection	Interview by photo elicitation	Diary + interview	Mobile application + Focus group interview
Stakeholder group	Experts + Residents	Residents	Experts + Residents
Neighbourhood	Amsterdam Zuidoost: Bijlmerplein, Hoptille, Heesterveld	Almere Haven	Almere Haven: Goedewerf & Amsterdam Zuidoost: Bijlmerplein
Housing type	Mid-rise complexes	Low-rise complexes (mainly)	Mid-rise and low-rise complexes
Context	Urban context	Suburban context	Suburban (Almere Haven) & Urban (Amsterdam Zuidoost)



FIG. 1.2 Map indicating Almere Haven and De Werven in the Almere agglomeration, adapted from google maps, accessed on 17 July 2023



FIG. 1.3 Map indicating De Werven and neighbourhood Goedewerf in Almere Haven, adapted from google maps, accessed on 17 July 2023



FIG. 1.4 Almere Haven (1979, Nationaal Archief, photographer Koen Suyk)



FIG. 1.5 Almere Haven (2020, photograph by the author)



FIG. 1.6 Goedewerf, residential courtyard (2021, photographer Sean Huizinga)



FIG. 1.7 Goedewerf, seen from the surrounding area (2021, photographer Sean Huizinga)



FIG. 1.8 Map indicating Amsterdam Zuidoost and the H-Buurt area in the Amsterdam agglomeration, adapted from google maps, accessed on 17 July 2023



FIG. 1.9 Map indicating the H-Buurt area and neighbourhoods Bijlmerplein, Hoptille and Heesterveld in Amsterdam Zuidoost, adapted from google maps, accessed on 17 July 2023

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FIG. 1.10 Bijlmerplein soon after construction (Stadsarchief Amsterdam, date and photographer unknown)



FIG. 1.11 Bijlmerplein, urban square (2023, photograph by the author)



FIG. 1.12 Bijlmerplein, urban square (2021, photograph by the author)



FIG. 1.13 Bijlmerplein, elevated deck (2021, photographer Sean Huizinga)

1.3.3.1 Data collection

All three case studies used variants of interviewing, albeit by different techniques or 'aids' to collect the information. They included visual methods, which are also used by other scholars from disciplines such as anthropology and cultural geography to retrieve information that is difficult to obtain through conventional interview forms (Reinders, 2013, p. 130). The visual, textual, and spoken data are obtained through various techniques, such as on-site walks, drawing assignments, photo uploads, and indicating favourites.

In all case studies, participants were asked to share what they value in their neighbourhoods the most, or in scientific terms, what attributes they believe convey heritage significance in their neighbourhoods on various scale levels, ranging from materials to the city scale. In case study 1, photo elicitation was used as a method to identify attributes, by inserting a photograph into a research interview. By using both words and photos in the interview, it does not only elicit more information, but rather evokes a different kind of information (Harper, 2002, p. 13). A set of seven photos structured the interview, which was either a street encounter (with residents) or an online interview (with professionals). In case study 2, participants were asked to keep a diary in a paper notebook, responding to various assignments like open questions, drawing tasks, indicating places on a map and 'top 3' lists. At the diary collection, unclear or complex answers were clarified during a short interview. The diary method, now adapted to reveal the heritage significance of neighbourhoods by involved stakeholders, had been earlier applied by The West London Social Resource Project, aiming to involve non-experts in assessing aspects of their environment (Willats, 1974). In case study 3, participants used a mobile application to explore a neighbourhood and assess its attributes. The individual on-site survey was followed by a group interview, either online (professionals) or live (residents).

1.3.3.2 Data analysis and synthesis

Coding was used as the central method for analysing the data from the various methods in the case studies. Codes are essentially issues, topics or concepts that are present in the data. Developing code involves breaking down data into meaningful parts, which allows for focused analysis and comparison of specific issues (codes). (Hennink et al., 2020, pp. 218-219). Coding software Atlas.ti was used in all case studies, to analyse various types of documents, like texts, drawings, maps, photo's, resulting from the various data collection methods. Different researchers can access the analysis results, which are safeguarded and transparent and can be merged, building up to concluding theories. The software also provides tools for analysing relations between codes, like cooccurrence, that were used to generate deeper insights.

The basic analysis approach is inductive and based on grounded theory. In grounded theory, developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), the researcher starts without pre-set opinions, notions or preconceived theory in mind and develops the theory evidenced from the data (Groat, 2002, pp. 180-181). Using an inductive strategy for the development of codes "straightforward categories about ordinary experiences shine with bright meanings through our analytic renderings" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 151). This was exactly the aim of this research: building hypothetical theory about the meanings (of 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods), argued from ordinary experiences. However, during the empirical research, classification into certain attribute categories developed and both inductive and deductive analyses were used. The synthesis had different directions for each case study. Case study 1 focused on stakeholder differences, case study 2 on unravelling attributes and case study 3 on clustering and classifying attributes. The visual models for presenting the results therefore also differ per case study. This is further detailed in chapters 4, 5 and 6.

1.4 Definitions

This research is based on certain premises, views, definitions, and assumptions. These were starting points in part, but some also developed or shifted focus during the research.

1.4.1 Heritage

This research adopts a broad conception of heritage. It studies buildings and neighbourhoods that are not listed and/ or protected as heritage but are believed to have heritage significance. There are various definitions and interpretations of heritage. UNESCO defined cultural heritage as monuments, groups of buildings or sites which are of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) from the historical, artistic, scientific, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view (UNESCO, 2019, p. 19). The UNESCO criteria for the world heritage list have been tested on generic architecture. In his book Belyayevo Forever, A Sovjet Microrayon on its Way to the UNESCO List, Kuba Snopek argues that seemingly ordinary neighbourhoods can have Outstanding Universal Value too, based on intangible attributes like events, living traditions, ideas or beliefs (Snopek, 2015, p. 98). Although Snopek's statement about Belyayevo's OUV is imaginary and could be considered provocative, he argues for a different approach in heritage assessment, listing and conservation. Other scholars argue that if everything and anything could become heritage, selecting for special treatment and protection becomes problematic (Glendinning, 2013, p. 424). Laurajane Smith critically describes the practice and definitions of heritage authorities like UNESCO and ICOMOS and starts her book Uses of Heritage, stating "There is, really, no such thing as heritage" (Smith, 2006, p. 11).

The assumption in this study is that all buildings and neighbourhoods have heritage significance, including attributes that are valuable, to someone, in some form. The assumption is inspired and underpinned by the following definitions. Peter Howard states that anything can be heritage. He writes: "Heritage can be regarded as anything that someone wishes to conserve or to collect, and to pass on to future generations" (Howard, 2003, p. 6). But although he puts people's recognition and identification as a condition for heritage, he excludes personal appreciations and the "weird labyrinth of people's obsessions" (Howard, 2003, p. 9). Graham Fairclough, in his article New heritage frontiers, expands Howard's definition and writes "Heritage is not restricted to "the things that we wish to pass on" but is, more comprehensively and straightforwardly, "everything that we have inherited", whether or not we then choose

to pass it on to our successors" (Fairclough, 2009, p. 30). Fairclough coins the term "new heritage", which includes new categories not included in the older approaches, e.g., very recent buildings, ugly, painful and "alive" heritage. He does include the personal, even the individual, and states that "in this new concept of heritage, things that were deemed marginal (the local, the typical, and the unregarded "ordinary" things we have inherited) become central" (Fairclough, 2009, p. 35). Henry Lefebvre takes the opposite approach. Instead of including the ordinary in the special category of heritage, he distils the extraordinary in the everyday environment. He rhetorically asks "Why wouldn't the concept of everydayness reveal the extraordinary in the ordinary?" (Lefebvre, 1987, p. 9). From these premises, this research blurs the boundaries between heritage and everydayness, seeking heritage significance in the living environment. Moreover, it also includes individual opinions and looks for the corresponding and the divergent in personal and collective assessment. In line with the above, key concepts used in the thesis are: everyday heritage, new heritage (both referring to not-listed heritage), recent heritage and young heritage (both referring to not-old heritage).

1.4.2 Values, attributes and significance

This research studies heritage significance by identifying the attributes in neighbourhoods that convey value from the perspective of involved stakeholders. The attributes can be tangible and intangible. They can be the physical embodiment of a value, but they can also be an intangible attribute, such as an event or a meaning, that is valuable in itself. The conception of what an attribute is in relation to value and heritage significance was developed theoretically over time, but research is still limited.

Although this research does not necessarily regard listed heritage, it applies the principle of the statement of significance, which reports an objective analysis on the heritage significance, describing what matters and why, justifying the listing of a resource as heritage (Historic-England, 2019, pp. 4,10). Attributes are what we value and values are the reason(s) why a resource is valuable (Veldpaus, 2015, p. 128). In line with Loes Veldpaus's thesis, this research also distinguishes tangible attributes, intangible attributes and values as three independent 'notions' (Veldpaus, 2014, p. 254). This means that an intangible attribute (e.g., an activity) can convey value but can also relate to a tangible attribute (e.g., the place of the activity). Michel Cotte goes further and argues that there is no strict boundary between tangible and intangible attributes, but that there are frequently complementarities (Cotte, 2021, p. 34). This research adopts an open view of tangible and intangible attributes in all their combinations and relations, to include alternative or unexpected views that may emerge from the involvement of multiple stakeholders. In the thesis, the terms

attributes and sub-attributes are both used for both tangible and intangible. Also for values, referring to the reasons or arguments (why) to justify the significance of the attributes, an open view is used. Beyond the traditional historic, age and aesthetical values commonly referenced in heritage listings, also ecological, social, political, scientific, economic and other values are considered (Pereira Roders, 2007). This research is based on the assumption that values are fundamentally contingent—in other words, that they are socially as well as spatially constructed (R. Mason, 2002, p. 13). Based on that notion, the terms heritage significance and cultural significance are used interchangeably in the thesis. For attributes, tangible, intangible and sub-attributes are used, of which the latter can be both tangible and intangible.

1.4.3 Stakeholders

This research considers as stakeholders all people, individuals and groups, who have some relationship with the heritage object. This is in line with the Faro Convention and is supported by various classifications. The Faro Convention states that "objects and places are not, in themselves, what is important about cultural heritage. They are important because of the meanings and uses that people attach to them and the values they represent." (Council-of-Europe, 2005, pp. 2,10). In the convention, 'people' are explained as heritage communities consisting of a group that values specific aspects of cultural heritage. Peter Howard, naming stakeholders 'heritage markets', emphasises their specific interest and relation to the heritage object. He writes: "People who are prepared to devote time, money and effort to heritage want different things from it, including legitimation, cultural capital, identity and, sometimes, financial reward or just a living" (Howard, 2003, p. 102). Howard identifies six stakeholder groups, owners, outsiders, insiders, governments, academics and media, that have formed the basis for the stakeholder classification in this PhD research.

1.4.4 Development of the terminology in the thesis

In the course of the research, some terms and definitions have evolved or gained a different focus. As this thesis is based on already published papers, which have an internal logic, the papers (published as chapters, see list of publications in chapter 1.5.2) have not been changed. The background to the minor differences in terminology is explained, which can be considered as a reading guide for the differentiation in terms in some chapters.

1.4.4.1 Focus on attributes

The research began by planning to explore 'values and attributes' as the standard inseparable heritage duo to assess significance. The literature review, conducted first, examined methods to assess values of residential neighbourhoods. But soon after, the research shifted focus from values to attributes, although sometimes, in earlier parts the term 'characteristics' or 'aspects' is used. While attributes and values are obviously related, identifying values (the why) is not part of this PhD research. However, with attributes as the main focus of the study, its concept has been expanded and further refined. As described before, the attributes can be tangible and intangible, and can have meaning or link to another (in)tangible attribute. By extending to an intangible interpretation, part of the meaning (why) of attributes is still included in the research. The classification of attributes became more and more extensive, resulting in ten categories, in gradation from the tangible object to the intangible memory. Moreover, in the last case study, the term 'sub-attribute' was introduced, adopted from Sobhani Sanjbod and others (2016, pp. 5-6) as a specific embodiment of a main attribute (e.g., warehouses). This made it possible to cluster various sub-attributes in overarching, often intangible, attributes. So, there is no change in terminology and meaning, but rather sharper focus and therefore specification of the term attribute.

1.4.4.2 Time demarcation of the research object

The initial plan and the earlier papers mention 'residential neighbourhoods 1966-1988' as the research object, argued by two defining policies in Dutch spatial planning. In 1966, the Tweede nota Ruimtelijke Ordening (Second Spatial Planning Act) was published, announcing the bundled deconcentration policy, and promoting Groeikernen (new towns). In 1988, the Vierde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening (Fourth Spatial Planning Act), ended the policy of suburbanisation and advocated the expansion of cities again, starting a new era known as VINEX. The term 'Post 65' gained ground during the research in The Netherlands, indicating the architecture built after 1965. While the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency framed the architecture built from 1965 until 1990 as Post 65, some Dutch municipalities use other time periods in their exploration of the youngest heritage stock, like 1970-1990 in Apeldoorn (Emmerik, 2021) and 1945-1990 in Zoetermeer (Kranen, 2022). In the course of the research, the time demarcation changed from 1968-1988 into 1965-1985, mainly due to the increasingly used and therefore communicative term 'Post 65'.

However, the focus of this PhD research is on a particular period in architecture and urban design, which is more significant than the specific years. This period occurred after the rational repetition sparked by industrialised building systems that peaked with high-rise flats, and before the re-urbanisation and market-driven developments towards the end of the 1980s. Noud de Vreeze describes seeing the abrupt change in housing as follows:

Until 1972, high-rise buildings dominated, surrounded by edges of mid-rise buildings in long straight blocks and single-family houses following the tried-and-tested schemes of successive collections of selection plans. Then suddenly, per neighbourhood and sometimes per street, a huge variation in parcellation types, street and square forms, planting schemes, block shapes, façade images and material choices, but predominantly in low-rise! Minister Schut, with his subsidy program for experimental housing, had advocated for more variety in housing and the residential environment, and that change has come! (Vreeze, 1993, p. 405).

It is this evolution in architecture and urban planning, focusing on quality and liveability, that sets the demarcation of the research object (see Figure 1.14).

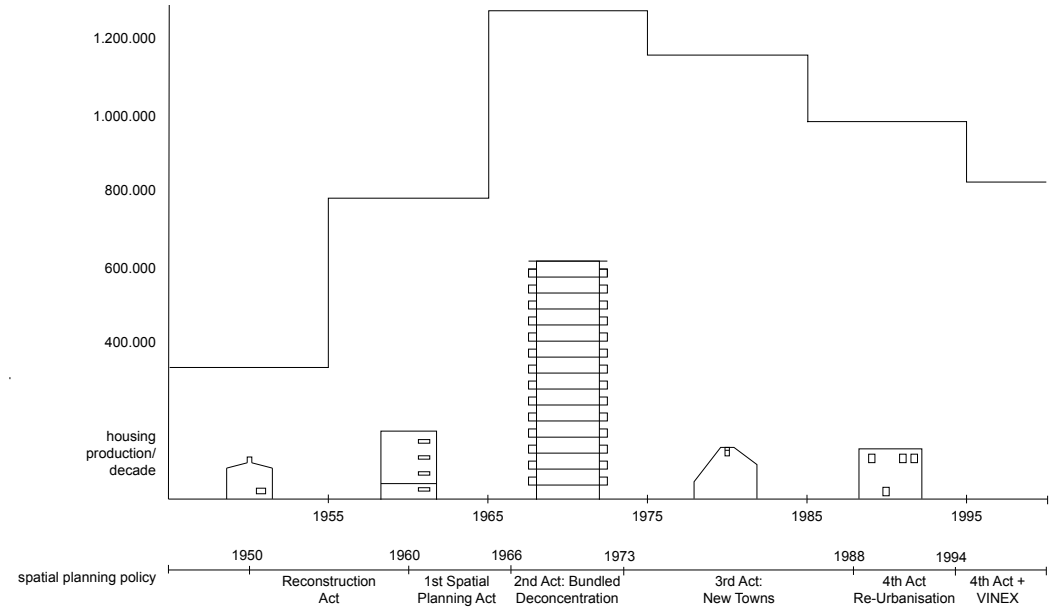


FIG. 1.14 Schematic presentation of Dutch post-war housing production, dominant housing types

1.4.4.3 Location demarcation of the research object

Initially, the research focussed on residential neighbourhoods in Dutch New Towns [Groeikernen]. The definition by The New Town Institute (INTI) is:

New Towns are cities or towns that are designed from scratch and built in a short period of time. They are designed by professionals according to a Master Plan on a site where there was no city before. This distinguishes a New Town from a 'normal' city that gradually grows and evolves over time. Also, New Towns are mostly the result of a political (top-down) decision. The building of a new city 'from scratch' is a heroic enterprise that challenges the architect or planner to find the ideal shape for the urban program according to the state of the art planning ideas. A New Town is always a reflection of one moment in time and the ambitions of that moment (INTI).

During the research process, Bijlmerplein in Amsterdam Zuidoost was selected as a case study, which does fit the new town definition but is not a Groeikern. Then the term satellite town was provisionally selected. However, while studying the research object (chapter 3a, 3b), the same housing and urban types were found in new towns, satellite towns, expansion areas and even in the urban renewal of inner cities. Lörzing writes that the aversion to the large scale and the subsequent new trend of small scale design was not limited to the suburbs, explaining that in big cities too, and even in the 'concrete capital' Rotterdam, different times dawned from the 1970s and small-scale blocks were built in brick, pitched roofs and even quasi historic aesthetics (Lörzing, 2021). So, as similar urban and architectural attributes are found in a variety of Dutch locations and developments, the demarcation of the research object was adapted to the more general '1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods'.

1.4.4.4 Stakeholder groups and individuals

Initially, the commonly used distinction between experts and community was applied, starting from the hypothesis that heritage professionals and residents might have different views on the significance of residential neighbourhoods. The literature review for methods (chapter 2) distinguished user/ residents, owner, expert and government perspectives. Subsequent phases identified even more diverse stakeholders, such as housing associations and private owners, municipal heritage experts or academic heritage experts. Groups can be distinguished by their (professional) relationship to the object, at the local, national or international level, public or private, or based on their influence in decision-making (R. Mason, 2002;

UNESCO, 2011b; Veldpaus, 2015). The heritage markets as defined by Peter Howard (2003, p. 104) were taken as a basis, because they distinguish both professional and user groups, but especially because their shared interest in heritage is central to classification. And although he classifies six groups, he also acknowledges that people can belong to various groups. Moreover, stakeholders are not necessarily part of a group. The Faro Convention mentions benefits and responsibilities for "everyone, alone or collectively" (Council-of-Europe, 2005, pp. 2,3).

Ultimately, the notion of stakeholder in this PhD research, developed into a multiple and complex composition of groups with agreed opinions but also exceptions (see Figure 1.15). This reflects the aim to construct 'multiple realities' by a naturalistic paradigm. It considers as stakeholders all people, individuals and groups, who have some relationship with the heritage object, from intensive like a user or owner, professional like an architect or consultant, to ephemeral like a tourist or passer-by. Because as stated by Elke Ennen, "Heritage is interpretation. Every story is one story. Although different stories may complement one another they may also contradict each other." (Ennen, 1999, p. 13). These stories, opinions or assessments is what this research seeks to unravel. Both the expansion of stakeholder groups, the nuance of groups to individual stakeholders, including individuals with multiple roles, and their minority opinions can be detected in the chapters of the thesis.

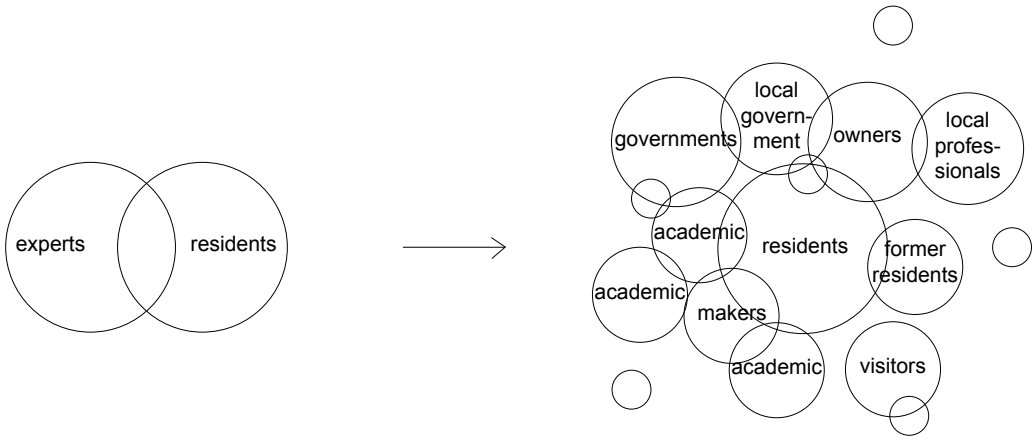


FIG. 1.15 Schematic presentation of developing perspective on stakeholder groups and individual (left primary hypothesis, right complex reality observed)

1.5 Structure of the thesis

1.5.1 Chapters

The PhD thesis consists of four parts. **Part A** is the introduction to the research, including research aims and objectives, research questions, overall methodology and the definitions and assumptions that underlie the research. **Part B** explains the research framework, including the research approach (chapter 2) and the research object (chapter 3). Then the testing of the operational framework is discussed (chapter 4). **Part C** presents the empirical research, discussing the results of three case studies (chapter 5, chapter 6. chapter 7). **Part D** is the concluding and discussing part of the thesis and includes the synthesis of the empirical research (chapter 8), the conclusions, the revisiting of the research framework (chapter 9) and the conclusions answering the research questions and the discussion and recommendations (chapter 10). Parts B and C consist of previously published articles and therefore the chapters are stand-alone articles. In Part A (the introductions) and Part D (conclusions and discussion), the papers are framed, and their interrelationships are explained and synthesised. The structure of the thesis is presented in Figure 1.16.

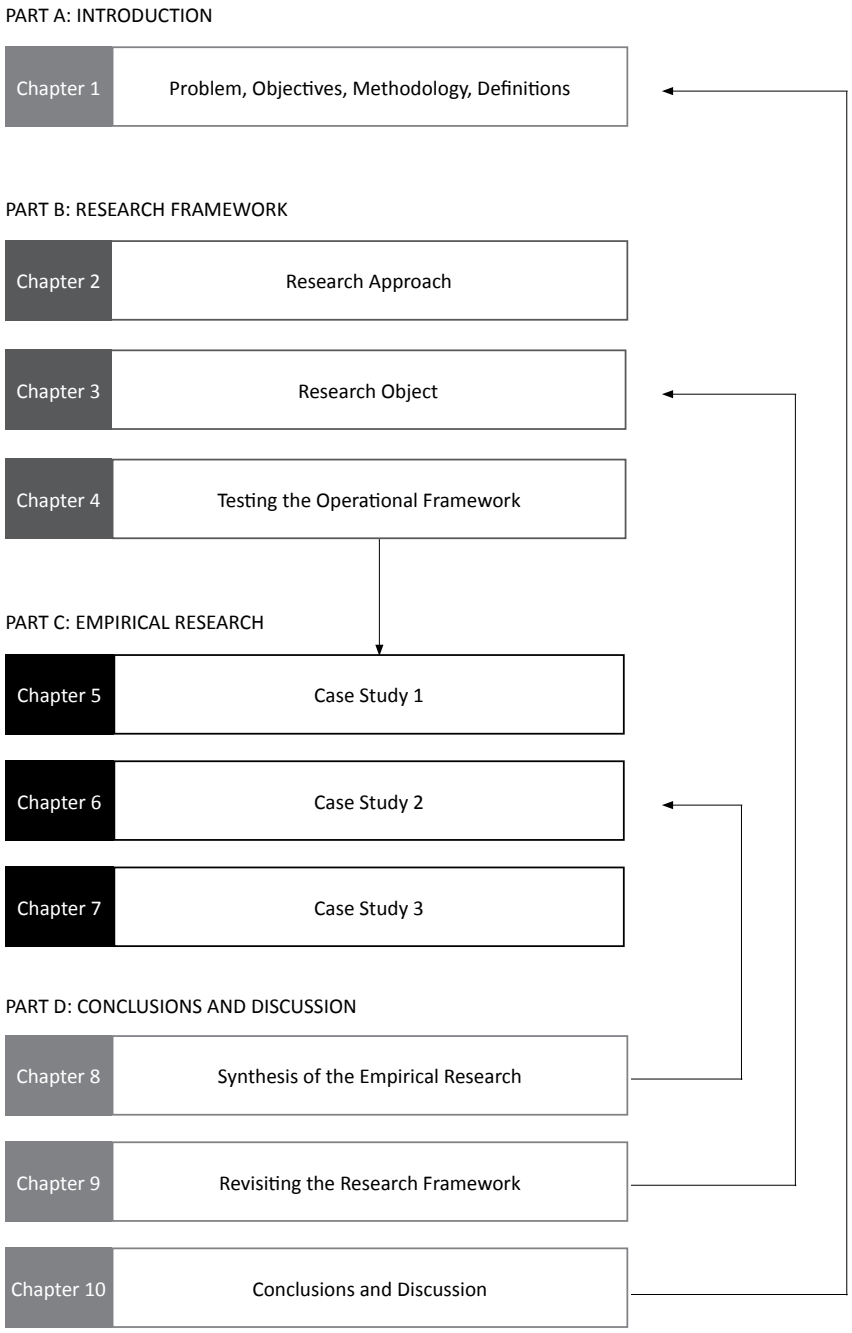


FIG. 1.16 Schematic presentation of the thesis structure

1.5.2 List of publications

1.5.2.1 Included as chapters in the thesis

Chapter 2
Spoormans, L., A. Pereira Roders. (2021). Methods in assessing the values of architecture in residential neighbourhoods. IJBPA International Journal of Building Pathology and Adaptation, 39(3), 490-505.

Chapter 3a
Spoormans, L., A. Pereira Roders, W. de Jonge, L. Reinders. (2021). The Groeikern Legacy - Housing typologies in Dutch New Towns. 16th International Docomomo Conference Tokyo Japan 2020+1, Inheritable Resilience: Sharing Values of Global Modernities, Tokyo.

Chapter 3b
Spoormans, L., W. de Jonge, D. Czischke, A. Pereira Roders. (2022). Exploring visual language and typologies in Dutch midrise residential neighbourhoods. 17th International Docomomo Conference Valencia Spain, Modern Design: Social Commitment & Quality of Life, Valencia.

Chapter 4
Spoormans, L., D. Ikiz Kaya. (2021). Almere Heritage Cube, An Assessment Framework for Participatory Heritage Valorisation in Almere. Report for research program 'Ontwerp & Overheid', part of 'Actieagenda Ruimtelijk Ontwerp 2017-2020'.

Chapter 5
Spoormans, L., D. Czischke, A. Pereira Roders, W. de Jonge. (2023). "Do I See What You See?" - Differentiation of Stakeholders in Assessing Heritage Significance of Neighbourhood Attributes. Land, 12(3), 712.

Chapter 6
Spoormans, L., A. Pereira Roders, D. Czischke, W. de Jonge. (2023). Web of attributes: analysing residents' appreciation of a Dutch neighbourhood from a new heritage perspective. Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, Published on 31-07-2023.

Chapter 7
Spoormans, L., W. de Jonge, D. Czischke, A. Pereira Roders. (2024). Discovering the significance of housing neighbourhoods by assessing their attributes with a digital tool Urban Planning, published ahead of print.

1.5.2.2 Publications directly related to the research of the thesis

Related to case study 1, chapter 5:
Spoormans, L., et al. (2021). Values of Post 65 housing - Research project 2020-2021.

Related to case study 2, chapter 6:
Spoormans, L. (2021). Almere Stories. https://themasites.pbl.nl/leefomgevingskwaliteit-erfgoed/ontdekken

Dragutinovic, A., L. Spoormans, U. Pottgiesser. (2021, 16-18.06.2021). Exploratory Talks as a Tool for Co-Diagnosis: Comparative Analysis of Residential Neighbourhoods in New Belgrade & Almere Haven. International Conference Optimistic Suburbia 2: Middle-Class Mass Housing Complexes, Lisbon.

Dragutinovic, A., L. Spoormans, U. Pottgiesser, S. Voß, M. Cardinali. (2020). Two portraits of European Middle Class Mass Housing Detmold, Germany, COST Action CA18137. https://youtu.be/OeGcKFcgPOY

Related to case study 3, chapter 7:
Spoormans, L. (2023). Attributen Catalogus, Renoveren met Respect, https://www.tudelft.nl/bk/onderzoek/projecten/renoveren-met-respect



IJplein, Amsterdam

TOC

PART B

Research Framework



TOC



Sint Jacobsplaats, Rotterdam

TOC

2 Research Approach

Methods in assessing the values of architecture in residential neighbourhoods

This chapter was first published in International Journal of Building Pathology and Adaptation:
Spoormans, L., A. Pereira Roders. (2021). Methods in assessing the values of architecture in residential neighbourhoods. IJBPA International Journal of Building Pathology and Adaptation, 39(3), 490-505. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJBPA-10-2019-0095

ABSTRACT

Although residential neighbourhoods are the largest and most resilient share of a city and the process of urban conservation and renewal is ongoing, methods to assess their values are limited. This paper presents the results of a systematic literature review, revealing the state-of-the-art and its knowledge gaps, with regard to methods of assessing values of architecture in residential neighbourhoods.
The systematic literature review is based on studies selected by a research protocol, using a digital database of peer reviewed literature. A meta-narrative approach is used to synthesise the qualitative data from reviewed articles. This review has two stages: 1) giving an overview of the field and 2) categorising research methods and disciplines.
The review revealed a wide variety of studies from different disciplines and deduced its key trends, titled as 'storylines', concerning the methods to assess significance, integrating a broader scope of values and different perspectives. In particular, the 'storylines' outside traditional heritage disciplines offer methods to include more stakeholders, link value assessment to policy development or highlight heritage potential. Results reveal the diversity in concepts, and strengthen the need for an interdisciplinary vocabulary on values and methods, enabling planners and policymakers to compare their results, and help create more attractive and resilient cities.
By reviewing and comparing the selected studies from a wider range of disciplines and research fields, this paper shares insights into the complementary characteristics of the different types of value research, outlining the added value of the different perspectives.

2.1 Introduction

The assessment of values in Architecture and Urbanism is at the core of the discipline of Heritage Conservation and is based on various international documents and Charters published over the twentieth century (Australia-ICOMOS, 1999; Council-of-Europe, 1975; ICOMOS, 1964, 1994; UNESCO, 2011b). The need to discuss the methods for assessing values and varied range of disciplines in the heritage field was addressed already during 1998-2005 by the Getty Conservation Institute in their research titled Research on the Values of Heritage. In their reports, the status quo is described as led by heritage specialists and experts, who determine what constitutes heritage, what are its underlying values and how they should be conserved. The "right to decide" of these specialists is validated by the authorities who fund their work (De la Torre, 2002, p. 3). Their methods of assessing heritage significance heavily rely on historical, art historical and archaeological notions held by professionals, and they are applied basically through disciplinary methods (R. Mason, 2002, p. 5). So, the field of heritage conservation was traditionally dominated by experts, mainly covering historic values and related methods. But, times are changing. The concept of what is heritage has evolved and expanded, which was the reason for the Getty Conservation Institute to explore the inclusion of other stakeholders and disciplines.

Moreover, the traditional heritage discipline usually regards listed buildings mainly, wherein the value of the existing architecture and preservation is informed by experts. In the contemporary discourse, the definition of what can be heritage has been expanded. Where the emphasis used to lie on the highpoints of history and art, in the last decades younger objects and commonplace buildings and neighbourhoods started being addressed by heritage studies. In Building in the Stubborn City, Meurs (2008, pp. 17-19) discusses a paradigm shift in the heritage field: "from exceptional to perfectly ordinary". But Petzet and Heilmeyer (2012, pp. 10-11), state that the value of ordinary buildings is usually not recognised. In their exhibition and book Reduce Reuse Recycle, they plea for the discovery of the built environment, even if dilapidated, strange and ordinary, to reveal its potential as an architectural resource.

Residential buildings and neighbourhoods are seldom listed as monuments, although older neighbourhoods e.g. historic centres are designated as heritage, when part of a conservation area. Because of the nature of housing as the domain of the individual, one can even question whether protection of residential buildings by listing is even effective. Especially for dwellings, the public interest of a protected status might even stand in the way of contemporary ways of dwelling (Spoormans, 2018,

pp. 55, 65). Instead of listing more architectural objects and areas as monuments, leading to a “heritage sprawl” (Meurs, 2008, p. 19), the current debate in urban development advocates for new methods to assess values and promote greater tolerance for change, uncommon for older categories of heritage e.g. monuments. Many acknowledge that the scope of values should be broadened, but the methods to assess the values of architecture and urbanism are limited both in research and practice. Traditional history-based assessments of significance (also known as the heritage values) are still dominating most urban development policies, especially in subnational governance, as local and regional authorities. In the UNESCO World Heritage List, there are examples of wider value systems and implementations, including minorities as stakeholders, but at national or local level this is not standard (Labadi, 2007).

Among scholars, accordingly, there seems to be a general recognition of the importance to include more stakeholders and a wider scope of values in the process of assessing significance. Moreover, there is a clear call to define methods to assess values of ordinary architectural resources in urban environments. However, despite the wealth of practices, there is limited research today on tools and methods to assess the values of architecture and urbanism. To identify a broader scope of values and perspectives, this paper seeks to learn from new areas, outside the traditional disciplines of heritage conservation. In current professional and academic practice, what methods are being explored to assess the values of architecture and urbanism? What disciplines hold alternative strategies for assessing values, that can be informative or usable for heritage strategies and development? Do multidisciplinary teams provide new methods for broader assessment? What research designs hold possibilities for assessing the everyday qualities of residential areas? This paper presents a systematic literature review to reveal the state-of-the-art and its knowledge gaps, with regard to methods assessing the values of architecture in residential neighbourhoods. By giving an overview of the field and a comparison of used methods, this paper gives insights and examples from scholars on practices to assess the values of architecture in residential neighbourhoods.

2.2 The research method

This paper reports on a systematic literature review, designed to synthesize the findings of several studies investigating similar questions. The review is based on the 'roadmap' for qualitative literature review, described by Boland, Cherry and Dickson (2017, pp. 194, 197). The goal of this review is to reveal the different types of methods to assess the values of architecture in residential neighbourhoods, comparing concepts, definitions, sources and tools. Using an inductive approach, the review aims to deduce categories, from the included studies. The search protocol illustrates the process of inclusion/exclusion (see Table 2.1).

The authors are convinced that despite limitations, e.g. the exclusion of books, other documents and studies from the pre-digital era, this review contributes to the discussion on the state-of-the-art of academic research focused on the values of architecture and urbanism. This sample of publications enables the comparison of varied research fields, disciplines and geographical contexts that could easily be overlooked, when using traditional methods of literature research like hand searching or citation chaining. But most important, the performed systematic literature review was based on a defined and transparent research protocol (Boland, 2017), and therefore, invites to be repeated and extended by future research.

TABLE 2.1 Article inclusion/exclusion process

Process		Publications #		Review
Publications that were retrieved			232	
Publications that retained after 1 erratum and 1 editorial publication were excluded			**230**	Stage 1
Publications that retained after 178 publications not meeting inclusion criteria were excluded			52	
	Not meeting criterium: 'Does the article discuss a method to explore values?'	66		
	Not meeting criterium: 'Does the study focus on values of architecture?'	158		
	Not meeting criterium: 'Is the study about residential neighbourhoods?'	52		
Publications that retained after 4 non-English and 2 duplicates were excluded			46	
Publications that retained after 1 publication was not retrieved			**45**	Stage 2

The review followed two stages (see Table 2.1). The first stage consisted of searching for the available articles on the topic, being the research question: What are the methods for assessing the values of architecture in residential neighbourhoods? After performing scoping searches, a bibliographic database has been searched using combinations of the following keywords: values, significance, architecture, buildings, neighbourhoods, residential, domestic and housing[1]. The database used was Scopus: an abstract and citation database of peer-reviewed literature that contains scientific journals, books and conference proceedings. This resulted in a sample of 232 articles. After the exclusion of two articles (1 erratum, 1 editorial), 230 abstracts have been screened on the types of values that are explored in the study and the perspective from which values are assessed. Also, the 230 abstracts have been appraised on the three inclusion criteria for this review:

1 Does the article discuss a method to explore values?
2 Does the study focus on the values of architecture?
3 Is the study about residential neighbourhoods?

The first stage sample was based on a formal application of search criteria, namely the presence of words (values, significance, architecture, buildings, neighbourhoods, residential, domestic, housing) in title, keywords and abstract in the database. Then, an interpretative application of the inclusion criteria was carried out to assess all abstracts, leading to a selection of 52 articles that meet all three inclusion criteria. The second criterium, 'does the study focus on the values of architecture', was most decisive in the selection with only 31% of the articles meeting the criterium (see Table 2.1). After the exclusion of duplicates (articles reporting about the same study), non-English articles (with English summary only) and one not obtained article, 45 full-text articles have been reviewed in Stage 2.

The review analyses the types of values explored and the perspective from which values are assessed. Furthermore, the main types of research and their research traditions and assessment methods are identified. Although all included articles are 'exploring values in neighbourhoods', they are very different in form and content. So, the data to be extracted in this review is diverse, ranging from the authors' research disciplines, type of values explored, and methods for significance assessments (quantitative or qualitative). A meta-narrative approach is used to synthesise the qualitative data from the reviewed articles. This method was developed by Greenhalgh et al. (2005) "to begin to make sense of large data sets drawn from heterogeneous sources".

1 Search result is retrieved from www.scopus.com dd. 22.11.2018, using the search formula: 'values OR significance AND architecture OR buildings AND neighbourhoods AND residential OR domestic OR housing'

This approach is often used to explore a topic by highlighting the contrasting or complementary ways in which researchers have studied the same or a similar topic (Boland, 2017, p. 206). By mapping and comparing storylines of different qualitative research traditions, the method aims to build up a rich picture of a field of study (Greenhalgh, 2005, p. 1). Related to grounded theory, developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), the researcher starts without pre-set opinions, notions or preconceived theory in mind and develops the theory evidenced from the data (Groat, 2002, pp. 180-181). Following an iterative process of reading, data collection, coding (data analysis) and 'memoing' (theory building), little by little the different types of research are identified and the papers classified. This method lead into the identification of seven storylines of research focused on the values of architecture in neighbourhoods.

2.3 Overview

A holistic approach to explore values of architecture could include research fields related to architecture, such as environmental sciences, social sciences, art history, engineering, arts, economics, but is normally conducted by very different types of research (Hansen, 2018). This section gives an overview of the fields of studies 'exploring values of architecture in neighbourhoods'.

2.3.1 Disciplines

The spread of disciplines confirms that architecture is researched by various disciplines, and not by architects alone. Table 2.2 shows the number of articles per discipline (subject area) of the journal in which the article was published. Even if Architecture studies are categorised by the Scopus database as 'Arts and Humanities' or 'Applied Sciences', research from Social Sciences contributed the most to this sample, followed by Engineering and Environmental Sciences[2].

2 This sample expresses the categorisation as used by Scopus, sorting Architecture normally as 'Engineering' in their 'super group' Physical Sciences. However, several organisations use different systems. For example, in the Dutch NWO research fields, architecture projects are 'spread' over Exact Sciences, Applied Sciences, Social Sciences and Humanities.

This division could be influenced by the general number of published articles per discipline, the categorisation of the used database[3] or the importance of publishing in certain research traditions.

TABLE 2.2 Disciplines of the articles addressing the values of architecture in residential neighbourhoods (Table adapted from Scopus).

Subject area	articles
Social Sciences	123
Engineering	74
Environmental Science	50
Arts and Humanities	27
Economics, Econometrics and Finance	20
Medicine	18
Energy	17
Business, Management and Accounting	16
Earth and Planetary Sciences	11
Material Sciences	8
Other	<7

Most publications have been published after the year 2000[4] and are journal articles (66,5%, article, 13,1% conference paper) complemented by few book chapters, books, etc. Seventy-three articles have been published in American journals, followed by Canada (18), United Kingdom (15), Australia (9) and Hong Kong (9), showing the predominance of English-speaking countries. However, researchers from a wider variety of countries publish their articles in these journals, often co-authoring in international teams. Only three authors have contributed to three articles and 14 authors have been involved in two articles. So, the sample was confirmed as diverse in authors and fields of research as expected.

3 The Subject Area as used by Scopus is based on the subjects of the Journal publishing the article, not on the content of the article nor on the affiliation of the authors.

4 The selected period for searching articles is 1974-2018

2.3.2 Type of values

Values concern the "principles or standards of behaviour; one's judgement of what is important in life" or a "numerical amount denoted by an algebraic term; a magnitude, quantity, or number"[5]. Results reveal and compare a range of values, social, economic, political, historic, aesthetical, scientific, age and ecological value (see Figure 2.1).



FIG. 2.1 Values Framework Pereira Roders (Pereira Roders, 2007)

5 https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/value Retrieved on 27.02.2019

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The values framework, developed by Pereira Roders (2007), is applied to categorise the publications on their key values (pre-coding), reflected in their narratives and arguments. This framework was chosen due to its broad scope, related to values in the built environment, integrating theories and definitions by Mason (2002), Pereira Roders (2007), (English-Heritage, 2008) among others. The definitions of the values framework are added as an appendix (Tarrafa Silva, 2012).

Categorising the values explored in every study, similar patterns have been found for Stage 1 (230 articles) and Stage 2 (45 articles). Figure 2.2 illustrates the 1/3 ratio between the number of studies that focus on one specific type of value and studies that explore more values (mixed). Figure 2.3 illustrates the accumulated number of studies regarding a value category. Both figures show a similar spread over the value categories, with the economic, social, scientific and historic values being the only values researched individually and also the highest ranked in mixed values. Economic values, in the applied values framework, include financial value but also functionality and utility of the asset. The functional value, as a 'secondary value', was approx. one third of the articles addressing economic value (Adair, 2014; Asan, 2018; Huuhka, 2018; Song, 2012). The functionality of residential areas as a research topic is not limited to the financial-economic discipline, explaining the large share of researches focussing on economic values. Another value in which a 'secondary value' is worth mentioning is technological value, as part of scientific value. Approx. 80 % of the scientific value score represents technical topics, relating to the Engineering discipline (Elci, 2018; Rode, 2014; Saha, 1991; Sharif, 2012) (Table 2.2).

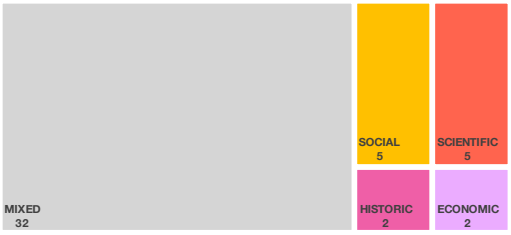


FIG. 2.2 Studies focussing on one value-category

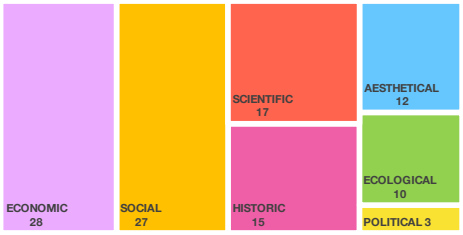


FIG. 2.3 Value-categories explored in studies

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The aesthetical value appeared under represented, with only one quarter of the articles referring to aesthetics (Bazzaz, 2016; De Jong, 2014; Jalaludin, 2012; Nordwall, 2013; Riccardo, 2012; Smith, 1993; Suikkari, 2008). Moreover, the age value revealed under studied. Even though in some articles the old age of such neighbourhoods was the reason to start studying a typology or area (Benkő, 2015; Ruivo, 2017; Saha, 1991; Zhao, 2004), the age values were not assessed in these research. Ecological values in the reviewed articles sometimes addressed ecological-spiritual values regarding harmony between building and environment (Bazzaz, 2016) or ecological-essential values indication ecological ideologies in the design (Mohtat, 2018). However, in most studies a more technical interpretation of ecology was used, as the influence of building characteristics on energy performance (Braulio-Gonzalo, 2017; Hachem, 2012), the behaviour of residents related to energy performance (Behbehani, 2017) or the effect of energy labels on housing prices (Fuerst, 2016).

2.3.3 Perspective of study

When researching values, the aim to assess them should be defined. A value for whom? After all, what is valuable for one, can be worthless for other. That subjective aspect of significance assessments is recognised in varied reviewed studies and academics have been developing both quantitative and qualitative methods to engage the variety of individuals within a given set (population/ sample). This review distinguishes four perspectives: user/ resident, owner, government and expert. These perspectives are based on the 'heritage markets' as defined by Howard (2003, pp. 102-144). The perspectives of outsiders or visitors and of media were disregarded in the scope of the study, as they are less relevant to residential neighbourhoods. Although few researches do relate to visitors, for example by studying the influence of second- and holiday-home ownership on the sense of place (De Jong, 2014), values are researched from the perspective of the local community. The group of academics is expanded to a more comprehensive group of experts, including professionals from both practice and academia, including real estate, engineering, history or architecture experts. As most articles report about qualitative research, the researcher is essentially the main 'measurement device' in the study (Miles, 1994, pp. 6-7). As also acknowledged by Howard, people can belong to various groups, influencing their positions and motivations. If the insider, here user/ resident, is also the owner, the role and interest are decisive for classification. The definition used in the review is: who determines what is a value, or how valuable something is, as researched in the study.

Similar to screening values, also the perspectives show similar trends for Stage 1 and Stage 2. In some articles the perspective of a stakeholder is explicitly mentioned, but the results show the interpretation by the authors (see Figure 2.4 and 2.5). The charts show that more than 25 % of the articles uses more than one perspective from which to assess values (Imam, 2013; Mohtat, 2018; Suikkari, 2008). However, what is more notable is the high representation of the expert perspective. Various types of experts are included in this category, like an architecture expert (Huuhka, 2018; Navas-Carrillo, 2017; Riccardo, 2012; Ruivo, 2017) or a real estate expert (Portnov, 2005; Song, 2012). Although the user/ resident's perspective is not dominant as a single focus, half of the articles includes the user/resident's perspective. In case of researches with a multiple perspective, including several stakeholders, there is often one dominant 'heritage market'. In some studies the user/ resident is central, represented by the majority of the interviews, but the perspective of owners, governments and experts is studied additionally (Bervoets, 2013; Nordwall, 2013). In other research, different stakeholders correspond to successive stages in the value assessment, for example starting with the resident's perspective and further selecting by the expert and governmental perspective (Adair, 2014). The dominant perspective, even if more perspectives are included, is closely related to the goal of a research, representing the interests of a 'heritage market'. Studies that include the governmental perspective for example, mostly contribute to policy development, either on national level (Adair, 2014; Bervoets, 2013) or in local communities (García, 2018; Mohtat, 2018).

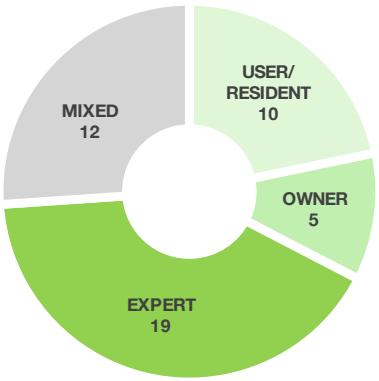


FIG. 2.4 Studies focussing on one perspective

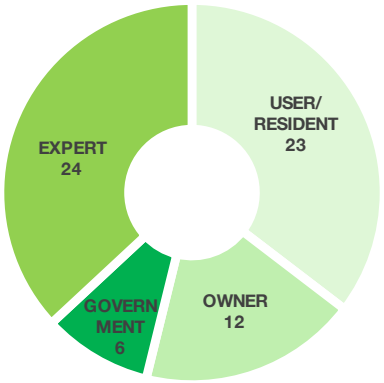


FIG. 2.5 Perspectives in the exploration of values

2.4 Research storylines

Seven research storylines have been drawn, each characterised by a different combination of research methods and sources and a different focus on the values they explore and the perspective from which these are assessed (see Table 2.3). These storylines are explained and illustrated in this section.

TABLE 2.3 Overview of research storylines and their main characteristics

Storyline		Main discipline	Method	Perspective of study	Main data source	Key values	Method of assessment
1	**Highlighting architectural legacy**	Architecture	Interpretive-Historical Research	Expert	Drawings and documents	Historical/ aesthetical	Qualitative
2	**The integral view**	Architecture	Mixed method	User/ resident	Multi-source: documents, testimonies, observations etc	Mixed	Qualitative (combination Quantitative)
3	**How to improve the world?**	Engineering	Simulation/ measuring	Expert	Objective data/ measurements	Scientific/ ecological	Quantitative
4	**What do people pay for?**	Economic sciences	Hedonic price model	Owner	Property price	Economic + other value	Quantitative
5	**Opinions, behaviour and appreciation**	Social sciences	Narrative method	User/ resident	Testimonies	Social	Qualitative and/or Quantitative
6	**Housing appreciation and aspiration**	Social sciences	Mixed method	Expert	Multi-source: theory, testimonies etc	Social/ economic	Qualitative
7	**The influence of architecture on well-being**	Health	Survey and observation	Government	Self-reported data	Social	Quantitative

2.4.1 Highlighting architectural legacy

These are traditional architectural studies, researching a unique, undervalued or not widely known typology or area, such as the housing production in Porto during the post-revolutionary period (Ruivo, 2017). The main method is archival research, analysing sources as maps, drawings and documents, sometimes complemented by photos and maps of the current situation. The research is carried out by architects or history academics which interpret and define the expert's perspective on values. These storylines assess the historical, aesthetical and often (economic) use values. The method can be classified as interpretive-historical research, often combined with elements of qualitative research, the first one studying historic and the latter studying contemporary sources. Values are defined by qualitative methods, although in many of these studies the method is not clearly explained. The primary goal of these stories is to develop and share knowledge and to draw attention to these built heritage (Bazzaz, 2016; Zhao, 2004). For example, the research by Navas-Carrillo (2017) about mass housing neighbourhoods in medium-sized Andalusian cities used as sources archival drawings and observations, to define values of specific neighbourhoods, in order to promote the existing city as an alternative to a model of expansive growth. Historic-artistic or historic-conceptual values are presented as reasons for revaluation, emancipation and adaptive reuse. Other articles with an alike storyline, highlight the architectural legacy, make a plea for the conservation or transformation of neighbourhoods of Budapest (Benkő, 2015) or Istanbul (Dülgeroğlu Yüksel, 2017), mass housing blocks of Finnish cities (Huuhka, 2018) and the redefinition of heritage policies to better protect such neighbourhoods (Imam, 2013).

2.4.2 The integral view

The residents' perspective is key to this second type of research. Various types of data are collected, such as historical information, demographic data and narrative information. This storyline is often supported by mixed methods, with researchers combining methods like interviews, social surveys, literature review, building surveys, etc. They confirm the trend of a greater public engagement in heritage conservation (Tanaka, 2016) and neighbourhood transformations (Benkő M., 2018). These researchers are multidisciplinary, mixing sources and/ or methods. They also explore combinations of various values and/or include a broad scope of values in one research like social, aesthetic, use (economic), ecological and historical (De Jong, 2014). The significance assessments are defined by a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (Asan, 2018; Sharif, 2012). The wider scope is a unique characteristic of this storyline. For example, Mohtat (2018) compares

the sustainable values of two reconstruction neighbourhoods, one constructed by a contractor, and the other by residents. Sustainability is defined by three categories of values: social (cultural factors, family structure, religion, privacy, safety), economic (livelihood, income) and environmental (site, climate). Although the resident's perspective is central, some studies, like Nordwall (2013) and Suikkari (2008) incorporate other perspectives, considering various experts, like architects, planners and estate managers. The values found by this multi-perspective approach, are better identified as social (identity, neighbourliness, security), economic in terms of use (flexibility, size of rooms) and aesthetic (appearance of material and coherence). The main goal of these studies is to learn how residents relate to the architecture of their neighbourhood (Mohtat, 2018), façade renovation models (Riccardo, 2012) or to seek support for a conservation policy (Nordwall, 2013).

2.4.3 How to improve the world?

Technological values are the focus of these articles, identified as scientific-conceptual or ecological-essential, generally carried out by engineers targeting to 'improve the world' on aspects like energy performance (Blasco, 2017; Hachem, 2012; Rey, 2013; Rode, 2014) or thermal comfort (Curado, 2015; Saha, 1991). Researchers use physical characteristics or measurements of urban settings or buildings as the main source for this type of research, assessing them from an engineering expert perspective. The experts, in this category, are usually academic researchers. Their focus is to investigate urban settings or buildings on their potential for improvement. Topics mostly are related to sustainability values, like the influence of building parameters on energy consumption or performance (Blasco, 2017; Brandli, 2007; Rey, 2013). Saha (1991) for example, studied the influence of architectural form and material of housing constructions in Old Delhi on energy demand for heating and cooling. Although the 'values' in this storyline are often quantitative (e.g. temperature), they also represent an architectural quality (e.g. use, thermal comfort). Methods are either field measurements using buildings as data sources (Curado, 2015) or simulations (Elci, 2018). The goals of these researchers range from generating knowledge to informing the physical improvements of existing stock to developing tools to enable optimal and sustainable neighbourhoods (Braulio-Gonzalo, 2017).

2.4.4 What do people pay for?

The researchers in this storyline assess values, in relation to the price people are willing to pay. A hedonic price model is a quantitative method these researchers often use to identify and measure the relationship between environmental characteristics, building characteristics and financial property value. These researchers focus on the owner's perspective. The sources to identify the financial value differ per study from assessor tax data (Rickman, 2009) to transaction prices (Fuerst, 2016; Tang, 2010; Yau, 2008). The corresponding value in this storyline is financial-economic value, which is related to another value category. Researchers assess for example the influence of types of urban design (Ryan, 2007; Song, 2012), use or modifications (Portnov, 2005; Portnov, 2006), energy efficiency (Fuerst, 2016), refurbishment (Yau, 2008) or heritage status (Rickman, 2009) on property price. Smith (1993) for example, research the relation between aesthetical and financial-economic values of nineteenth-century row housing in Boston. The variation and background of architectural styles and attributes are identified by historical sources and building data. The financial data regards the purchase price of the houses. By a hedonic price model, this purchase price is decomposed for various characteristics of the house, including architectural attributes. By relating urban and architectural qualities to financial value, this storyline presents economic evidence for other value categories, like use-economic, aesthetical, ecological or historical, positioning them as economic asset for urban development.

2.4.5 Opinions, behaviour and appreciation

These researchers, rooted in social sciences, investigate social topics, as for example place-attachment (Arifin, 2017) and the residents' knowledge and behaviour regarding heritage status and energy labels (Behbehani, 2017). The researchers in this storyline primarily study social values in different sub categories, like emotional-individual, emotional-collective or spiritual-cultural. For example, Al-Kodmany (1999) studies the perception of visual privacy in traditional and modern Damascus housing typologies. This storyline links behaviour and appreciation of residents to details of architectural form. The data are generally testimonies collected by interviews, using the resident's perspective. Methods in this storyline are qualitative methods, such as in-depth interviews (Behbehani, 2017) and questionnaires (Al-Kodmany, 1999). The aim of these studies can be to prove an hypothesis (Arifin, 2017), to develop and share knowledge about a specific case study (Al-Kodmany, 1999; Shelton, 2010) or to provide input for improvement programs (García, 2018).

2.4.6 Housing appreciation and aspiration

These researchers, far less than in other storylines, study residents' housing preferences. They research people's appreciation but, contrasting to the previous storyline, the values are assessed from an expert perspective. Appreciation of specific housing types or neighbourhoods are studied, then results are generalised to understand housing preferences and to contribute to housing policies and developments. These researches focus on the analysis of residents' preferences as a complex construct, influenced by various social and economic values. These researchers focus on the scale of the apartment (Al-Momani, 2000), or on a wide range of aspects and scales (Bervoets, 2013). The research can investigate general housing preferences (Al-Momani, 2000) or a specific phenomenon like dominance of the detached single family house in Flanders by Bervoets (2013). Their methods reveal the appreciations and aspirations of residents by either quantitative analysis of surveys (Al-Momani, 2000) or qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews, in combination with literature on demographic trends and housing market mechanisms (Bervoets, 2013).

2.4.7 The influence of architecture on well-being

The influence of architectural attributes on residents' health is the focus of this storyline. These researchers investigate for example the impact of an urban renewal program on the well-being of residents (Jalaludin, 2012) or the relationship between general housing condition and mental health (Adair, 2014; Green, 2013). Usually, expert observation is combined with a (self-reported) survey on health, resulting in a quantitative assessment. This storyline focusses on social values in the widest interpretation, mainly individual-emotional values. The selection of attributes of influence on health is a main part of the research, in which various experts are involved. But what sets it apart from the previous storylines is the government perspective that is decisive, on a local (Jalaludin, 2012), regional (Green, 2013) and national level (Adair, 2014). The goal in this storyline is either the evaluation of or the baseline research for public (health or housing) policies.

2.5 Discussion and conclusions

In sum, social sciences contribute the most to research assessing the values of architecture and urbanism. Aesthetical, ecological and age values revealed under-represented, which can be indicated as a knowledge gap. When researching residential buildings and neighbourhoods, social and economic values tend to be the predominant values in their assessments. The expert view (or the academic view in Howard's terminology) remains dominant, over the residents', owners' or governments' perspectives. The review shows that different disciplines consider multiple values in their studies. This applies particularly to the studies researching 'the integral view, a storyline that represents mixed focus, methods, sources and values.

2.5.1 Lessons for methods in assessing values

A deeper look at the distinguished storylines of values-based research provided a wide variety of methods, sources, perspectives and value categories. The researchers 'highlighting architectural legacy' are close to the traditional heritage discipline, studying historical and aesthetic values from an expert perspective. The other storylines can complement these traditional methods, enabling a more encompassing assessment of significance, as flagged needed by the Getty's reports (De la Torre, 2002). First, the storylines 'the integral view' and 'opinions, behaviour and appreciation' broaden the perspective towards the users. The mixed methodologies applied can provide possibilities to introduce residents as one of the stakeholder groups for assessing significance, leading to a more inclusive identification of heritage values. The methods they have applied for data collection (interviews, survey etc.) as well as the methods for value assessment (narrative methods, a combination of qualitative and quantitative) can enrich the present heritage practices. Second, the researches focusing on 'the influence of architecture on well-being' show how the users as a stakeholder group can inform policy development. Opposite from the former storylines, these researchers study the influence of the built environment on the users, not vice-versa. Translated to the heritage discipline, the rigorous quantitative methods to identify attributes can provide information on the role heritage plays in people's lives. This storyline, having its base in health studies, can support heritage significance by bridging the user's perspective to policy development. Third, the storylines 'how to improve the world?' and 'what do people pay for?' broaden the scope of values in the heritage field.

Both research approaches rely on knowledge through measurement. These researches do not study what is the value of a heritage piece, but how heritage can be of value to face future challenges or as an economic asset. These storylines support heritage significance by including a different approach to values and focus on the potential of heritage.

2.5.2 Evaluation of the methodology

The application of a systematic literature review to this topic was challenging, as it is not an established field, leading to a wide variety of publications. Due to the broad spectrum of values, the values framework, developed by Tarrafa and Pereira Roders, facilitated the classification of most values, but not all. As such, this research also contributed to review definitions and relations between the values. For example, technological values are positioned as secondary values of either scientific or age value, but both categories relate to craftmanship and skilfulness of material and techniques. The proposal is to make it distinctive, by framing the technological values to the scientific values when related to innovation, and the technological values to the age values when related to a particular time period. The contemporary field of technical sustainability-led values, relate to various factors e.g. energy performance or cooling capacity, could better be sub-categorised under ecological values. This framework, originally developed to identify the values of built heritage, listed and unlisted, has been proven suitable to compare multi-disciplinary. Further research could support the further development of the framework and definitions, so that the terminology used by the different disciplines is more easily linked. Regarding stakeholders, the classification by Howard's heritage markets provided insight into the perspective for significance assessment. However, deeper research about the interest of these stakeholders involved requires additional research.

2.5.3 From theory to practice

Returning to the plea to better explore the inclusion of other stakeholders and disciplines, by the Getty Conservation Institute, we can conclude that many disciplines outside heritage conservation contribute today to the field of significance assessment, growing understanding on the values of architecture and urbanism. The storylines outside the traditional discipline of heritage conservation offer complementary ways to gain support by more inclusive perspectives, to link value assessment to policy development and/or to highlight the potential of heritage to boost the sustainability of cities and well-being of their citizens. Their methods provide help to make heritage a means to an end, and not the goal of heritage conservation. Although this review focusses on the exploration of values and not on the application of values in development processes, the link to practice is, in the end, the motivation for most studies. Research to reveal the values of architecture and urbanism can inform development. The translation from ideology to practice, from policy to implementation, is a problem concerned among different stakeholders. Even if governmental policies express their preference for integrated approaches in neighbourhood renewal, including physical, social, economic aspects, other stakeholders like owners might have a more narrow scope (Aalbers, 2004, pp. 89-93). To get all stakeholders 'on board', their interest should be included in methods to assess and deal with values. Heritage strategies and developments based on a broad scope of values, start with methodologies to explore these in an integrative and multi-perspective way. This underpins the need to continue promoting greater inclusiveness on heritage values, in order to enable planners and policymakers to create more attractive and resilient cities.

Appendix

APP.2.1 Values Framework by Tarrafa and Pereira-Roders (2012)

Primary Values	Secondary Values	References
Social	Spiritual	Regards to the beliefs, myths, religions (organized or not), legends, stories, testimonial of past generations;
	Emotional, individual	Regards to memory and personal life experiences;
	Emotional, collective	Regards to notions related with cultural identity, motivation and pride, sense of "place attachment" and communal value.
	Allegorical	Regards to objects/places representative of some social hierarchy/ status;
Economic	Use	Regards to the function and utility of the asset, original or attributed;
	Non-use	Regards to the asset's expired function, which has it value on the past, and should be remained by its existence (of materials), option (to make some use of it or not) and bequest value (for future generations);
	Entertainment	Regards to the role that might have for contemporaneous market, mainly for tourism industry;
	Allegorical	Oriented to publicizing financially property;
Political	Educational	Regards to the education role that heritage assets may play, using it for political targets (e. g. birth-nations myths, glorification of political leaders, etc.);
	Management	Made part of strategies and policies (past or present);
	Entertainment	It is part of strategies for dissemination of cultural awareness, explored for political targets;
	Symbolic	Regards to the emblematic, power, authority and prosperous perceptions stem from the heritage asset;
Historic	Educational	Regards to the heritage asset as a potential to gain knowledge about the past in the future through;
	Historic-artistic	Regards to the quality of an object to be part of a few or unique testimonial of historic stylistic or artistic movements, which are now part of the history;
	Historic-conceptual	Regards to the quality of an object to be part of a few or unique testimonial that retains conceptual signs (architectural, urban planning, etc.), which are now part of history;
	Symbolic	Regards to the fact that the object has been part/related with an important event in the past;
	Archaeological	Connected with Ancient civilizations;
Aesthetical	Artistic	Original product of creativity and imagination;
	Notable	Product of a creator, holding his signature;
	Conceptual	Represents the integral materialization of conceptual intentions (imply a conceptual background);
	Evidential	Represents the authentic exemplar of a decade, part of the History of Art or Architecture;

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APP.2.1 Values Framework by Tarrafa and Pereira-Roders (2012)

Primary Values	Secondary Values	References
Scientific	Workmanship	Represents the original result of human labour, craftsmanship;
	Technological	Regards to the skillfulness on techniques and materials, representing an outstanding quality of work;
	Conceptual	Represents the integral materialization of conceptual intentions (imply a conceptual background);
Age	Workmanship	Regards to the craftsmanship value oriented towards the period when it was produced;
	Maturity	Piece of memory, reflecting the passage/lives of previous generations;
	Existential	Regards to the marks of the time passage (patine) presents on the forms, components and materials;
Ecological	Spiritual	Regards to the harmony between the building and its environment (natural and artificial);
	Essential	Regards to the identification of ecological ideologies on its design and construction;
	Existential	Regards to the manufactured resources which can either be reused, reprocessed or recycled;



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3 Research object

3a The Groeikern Legacy – Housing Typologies in Dutch New Towns

3b Exploring Visual Language and Typologies in Dutch Midrise Residential Neighbourhoods

3a The Groeikern Legacy – Housing Typologies in Dutch New Towns

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ABSTRACT

Dutch New Towns are in-between old and new. They are not yet recognized as cultural heritage. At the same time, they are passing through major transformations. Research is therefore necessary to document and assess them, to inform stakeholders and prevent later regrets for disregarding this Groeikernen legacy. This paper presents a comparative analysis of five low-rise suburban neighbourhoods in Dutch New Towns. The central question in this research is: what are the urban and architectural attributes (tangible and intangible) of the residential architecture in Groeikernen? The applied methods were fieldwork, archival, and literature research. The paper presents two extreme positions in design concepts and societal aims that have dominated the Groeikernen residential architecture. On the one hand, the humanist approach advocating an organic architecture focused on the human scale, diversity, and inclusivity. This architecture was a countermovement to Modernism, producing mass housing in disguise. On the other end, a neo-rationalist reintroduction of the Modernist tradition by a pragmatic and formal architecture manifests mass housing unambiguously. This paper discusses the influence of these two positions on the architectural discourse, by illustrating their specific impact on the documented neighbourhoods. Many designs of housing typologies adopt characteristics of these extremes, playing on both sides. This leads to a rich collection of typologies, combining humanist and neo-rationalist characteristics. The exploration of tangible and intangible attributes of the Groeikernen legacy in this paper aims to enable a future discussion about its values, which is needed for the development of informed heritage policies, conservation, and transformation.

3.1 Dutch New Towns

About one third of the present Dutch housing stock has been built between 1965 and 1985 (CBS, 2020). The characteristics of this stock differ from the early post-war building production on various levels. Regarding spatial planning, an alternative to the unrestrained expansion of cities was introduced in 1960. This alternative concept sketched out an outwardly focused model for the Randstad's growth. To regulate the problems of overcrowding and congestion, it was proposed to keep buffers open between towns and cities, preserve the Groene Hart (Green Heart) as a central open area and concentrate urbanization at a limited number of locations elsewhere in the country (Maas, 2012, p. 7). Existing small or medium-sized cities were to be expanded to accommodate the 'surplus' of inhabitants of the 'donor' cities.

These Groeikernen (growth centres) should grow into independent new towns and host between 50,000–100,000 people. A new national planning policy (1968–1988) proposed bundled de-concentration as a happy medium between concentration in large metropolises and total de-concentration as urban sprawl. On the level of urban design, there was a drastic break with the post-war modernist planning schemes of mid-rise and high-rise multifamily housing in long straight blocks. From the early seventies, an enormous variation appeared in the composition of housing types, the form of streets, squares and building blocks, dominantly in low-rise patterns (Vreeze, 1993, p. 406). Also, the ideologies shifted on an architectural level, strongly influenced by the Forum-group. Already in 1959, the new board of Forum-magazine accused architects and planners of making The Netherlands "unliveable" and called for a new architecture that would create "liveable cities" and coherence between people and things (Heuvel, 1992, p. 12). Although generally influential in the architectural climate of that time, it was especially in the suburban environment of the new towns that the humanist architectural and urban design of the Forum group prospered the most (Vreeze, 1993, p. 405). During the eighties, however, things changed again. The economic crisis led to a "no-nonsense" approach, low budgets and market-driven developments. This required austerity in design, resulting in longer blocks, more repetitive patterns and fewer exceptions and expressions (Ubbink, 2011, p. 35). At the same time, the architectural climate changed, returning to a rational and formal urban model with clear hierarchy, strongly based on modernist traditions (Baeten, 2007, p. 4).. Although planning policies shifted focus to the large cities and their urban renewal, the implementation of the new town policy continued until 1988. This new rationalist approach therefore also played an important role in the design of many new town neighbourhoods.

Presently, the Dutch new towns are in-between old and new. They are not yet recognized as cultural heritage. At the same time, they are passing through major transformations, such as energy transition, densification or depopulation. Research is necessary to document and assess them, to inform stakeholders and prevent later regrets for disregarding of the new town legacy. The large housing stock from the 1970s and 1980s is represented in many urban areas in the Netherlands. For this study, the Dutch Groeikernen are regarded as 'living labs', since they are designed as new towns, reflecting the state-of-the-art on planning and architecture. Next to national comparability of characteristics and relevance, links can be made to new towns programs in other countries in North-western Europe. In the period between 1965–1985, the ideal model of garden cities was tested around metropolises, like the New Towns in the United Kingdom and Villes Nouvelles in France (Gaborit, 2010, p. 24). Although there are important differences in planning policy, culture and scale of the towns, also these programs developed as counterpart of largescale developments of the earlier years and share the characteristic low-rise suburban living environment, mainly consisted of single-family homes (Nio, 2016, p. 11).

This paper presents two different architectural positions that have dominated the new town residential architecture. It aims to define the urban and architectural attributes, tangible and intangible, of the residential architecture in the Dutch new towns. The applied methods were fieldwork, archival and literature research. The selection of case studies for this paper focused on low-rise suburban neighbourhoods with various patterns of terraced housing. Examples have been chosen to illustrate the different approaches represented in the new town stock. Matrices organizing architectural attributes have been set up to perform a detailed comparative analysis of urban and architectural physical characteristics and design concepts (see appendix in chapter 3.9). This method is inspired by 'Learning from Levittown' (Venturi Scott Brown and Associates, 1992, pp. 58-65).

3.2 A Range of Lowrise Typologies

Despite the attempt to create diversity in the new town neighbourhoods, the prejudice against their indistinguishable character and lack of identity remained (Reijndorp, 2012, p. 26). In 1973, a cartoon stereotyped two men looking at some dull terraced houses, guessing the town's name (in: Ubbink, 2011). But taking a closer look at each neighbourhood, one can observe differences in either urban structure, street scape, dwelling typology, articulation of form, façade composition, and use of materials (see Figure 3.1). These attributes and their differences are illustrated in this paper by discussing five case studies, ranging from humanist to rationalist.

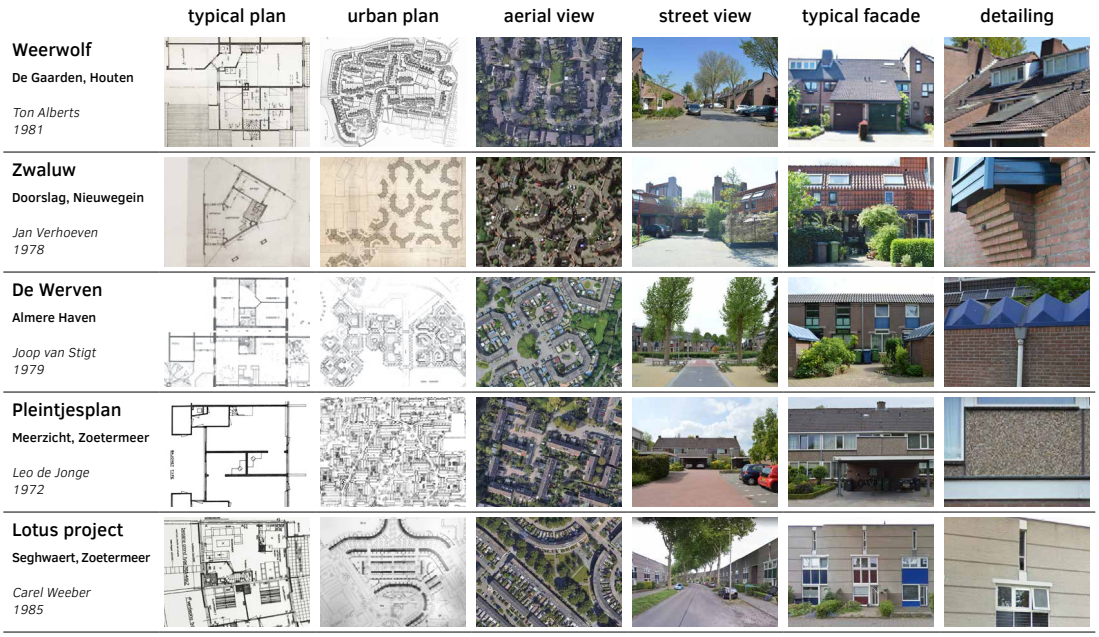


FIG. 3.1 Matrix of urban and architectural physical attributes, per case.

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3.2.1 Weerwolf

De neighbourhood Weerwolf (De Gaarden) in Houten was designed by the architect Ton Alberts in 1977–1981. Houten is a relatively small suburban new town near Utrecht and is known for its green structure as a key aspect in the urban plan (Pantus, 2012, p. 59). Alberts designed various housing projects in Dutch new towns, all developed in an organic architecture style, based on the anthroposophist ideology, assuming e.g. that natural colours and shapes positively influence people's emotional life (www.architectuur.org). In the plan for Weerwolf, such ideology is found applied in the asymmetrical and irregular compositions of blocks and facades, the earthy brown shades and steep rooflines sketched as resembling a mountain landscape (archive HNI, nr ALHU137-1977). The urban plan combines many dwelling types and links a wide gradation of private and public corners, squares, alleys, and streets.

3.2.2 Zwaluw

Zwaluw is a neighbourhood of 87 dwellings in Nieuwegein, a second new town to host inhabitants from Utrecht. Designed by Jan Verhoeven from 1976 to 1978, it is an example of structuralist design (Ubbink, 2011, p. 107). Based on a geometric structure of rectangular and linking isosceles triangles, he designed a complex system of indoor and outdoor spaces. Zwaluw feels like a fort, surrounded by water and entered through a gate. Inside the complex, meeting places are central, materialized by a continuous interaction between public and private, paved and green spaces. Like in Weerwolf, many housing types of various sizes are combined, rooted in a belief of social diversity (Zahle, 2012, pp. 118-119). The architecture is articulated and seems labyrinthine, but is highly structured.

3.2.3 De Werven

De Werven in Almere is the first neighbourhood of a new town, built on new land reclaimed from the sea. In 1979, the first inhabitants, mainly coming from Amsterdam, arrived in this neighbourhood (TH Delft, 1977, p. 1). The architect Joop van Stigt designed 26 dwelling types that could be combined to 'cloverleafs' surrounding a collective courtyard. Also, for Van Stigt, the human scale and the social aspect was leading (Steenhuis, 2014, p. 98). Strings of dwellings are shaped into introverted and extraverted court structures, providing both shelter and connection to the landscape or linking to other neighbourhoods.

Although this project integrates many exceptions, it is based on a systematic logic and efficient building system. The urban court pattern exists of 26 different types and is repeated up to 671 units.

3.2.4 Het Pleintjesplan

In 1968–1972, after having developed high-rise flats in the early years of new town Zoetermeer, Leo de Jonge designed Het Pleintjesplan as a low-rise woonerf neighbourhood (Barzilay, 2018, p. 44). This urban court pattern is, compared to De Werven, more. This urban court pattern is, compared to De Werven, more rational and straightforward. Only three types of dwellings, composed in linear blocks with regular facades, are all oriented to the public courtyard. The gradual transition of private to public space is designed as a 'margin area' in front of the house with carport and storage. The courtyards have overlapping rectangular shapes that are surrounded, but not enclosed, by building blocks. This results in an irregular spatial experience, but is in fact a rational 'stamp' repeating to over 600 units.

3.2.5 Lotusproject

The Lotusproject at Weidedreef in Zoetermeer was designed by architect Carel Weeber in 1982–1985. It consists of 253 dwellings in long curved blocks. The rational urban structure reflects Weeber's preference for a formal objective urban morphology (Vletter, 2004, p. 30). He often criticized the approach of his fellow architects, as accordingly, 'human' properties are only positive as opposed to 'unhuman' properties (Weeber, 1979, p. 27). Although the architect is known for bulky urban blocks, he has designed numerous terraced houses in various new Dutch towns. The efficient urban structure was adopted in later phases of many new town developments. In the Lotus-project, the repetition of a singular dwelling type with a symmetrical façade composition in a straight block alignment creates simple and smooth walls on either side of a normal street.

3.2.6 Comparison

Architectural decisions and resulting project characteristics derive from different values and ideologies by the architect. One essential difference is a social versus a formal standpoint (see also Schrijver in Bouwmeesters (2007)). The organic architecture, with Alberts as the protagonist, aims to improve human well-being by the creation of beauty and harmony. This is directly opposed to the opinion of rationalists, like Weeber on the other end, stating that the architect cannot be responsible for society, but only for the architecture in his work (Weeber, 1979, p. 26). Apart from intentions, also the means the architects use differ. Even when sharing ambitions, like stimulate meeting, providing shelter, human scale, diversity, these projects evidence different materializations. This becomes even clearer in the approach to exceptions, as an architectural instrument. The five projects show a gradual shift from irregularity as a goal, via balanced mixing of exceptions and rule, to intended repetition. The central position aims to provide diversity in shapes and people, while using the efficient logic of industrial building systems to enable affordable housing. On an urban level, the cases represent different patterns, as categorized by Ubbink (2011, p. 94). Weerwolf follows a free pattern without any structure, Zwaluw can be characterized as a structuralist pattern. De Werven and Pleintjesplan both represent a court pattern. However, De Werven resembles the structuralist logic of Zwaluw, albeit less rigid, enclosing courts and interchangeable front and backsides of blocks. Het Pleintjesplan resembles more the rational pattern, like Lotusproject, in the revaluation of traditional urban form with front and back sides. The rational functionalism in Pleintjesplan, an early case, can be explained as a remnant of a modernist habit of Leo de Jonge. However, the later projects by Weeber reject a human approach and rehabilitate the modernist tradition. A trend can be noted from modernism to humanism, and later from humanism back to modernism. However, Weeber neither recognise himself in neomodernism, nor is interested in modern architecture (Crimson, 1999, p. 215).

3.3 Shake-hands Approach

Many new town neighbourhoods adopt characteristics of both approaches, even if opposites. De Werven in Almere can be interpreted as 'shake-hands' of both social and formal architecture. The architect Van Stigt has a rather rational interpretation of the structuralist approach, stating: "For me this was not a major break with modernism. Because the functionality and rationality of building were the deciding factors for me, structuralism for me was the same as modernism: an extremely efficient method of spatial organisation and technical production methods." (Scipio, 2007, p. 167). At the same time, he expressed his social aims by the design of 'a living environment that provides shelter' with 'a gradual transition area around the individual home that enable humans to relate to others, covered by their own territory, habitat, status and family' (TH Delft, 1977, p. 10).

The design of De Werven has the character of a toolkit, which is highly systemized and suitable for industrial production, but allows for additions and irregularity, accommodating the humanist needs. From the sketches and archives, it becomes clear that the many exceptions identified were intentional (see Figure 3.2). By alternating small and large dwellings on key positions in the 'cloverleaf', combined with locational elements (street/ garden/ water) various identities were created for specific places. Size differences of plot depth created variations in gutter heights, vertical articulation and a diversity of roof shapes (see Figure 3.3). Moreover, building blocks have been combined to introverted or extraverted compositions, oriented towards a collective garden, a square or a larger public space. The mixing and matching of dwelling types and building blocks served the important social objective of mixed populations.

Also, on the level of the individual house, this shake-hands approach is visible. The standard floor plan is two-sided in its orientation, with an almost symmetrical front and back room, interchangeable in use (see Figure 3.4). The service functions (stairs, toilet, bathroom) are positioned in the centre, so both rooms profit from optimal daylight and view. The range of reversible sections guarantee optimal orientation to the sun, which was key to the modernists. The 'trick' to make this possible is the addition of the entrance and storage as extra volumes, which in tandem, create the desired transition area, diversity in street scape, privacy and shelter. On one of the archival drawings, a project's title is inked as Hof van Heden, which is a play on words. Translated from Dutch, it means Garden of the Present, as a variant of Garden of Eden, expressing the compromise between idealism and realism.

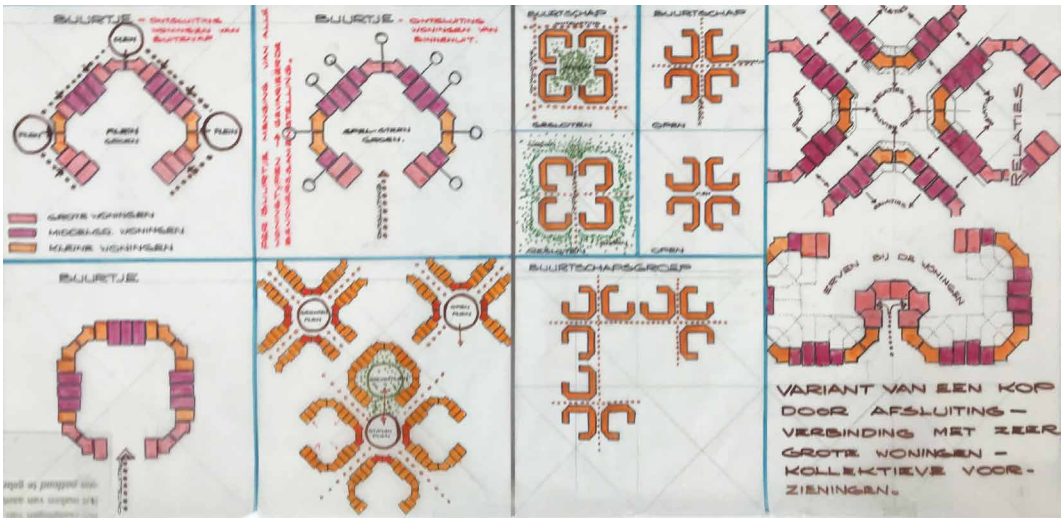


FIG. 3.2 Designed system of introvert/ extravert block types and linking courtyards, Van Stigt, De Werven, Almere Haven, HNI archive, 1977

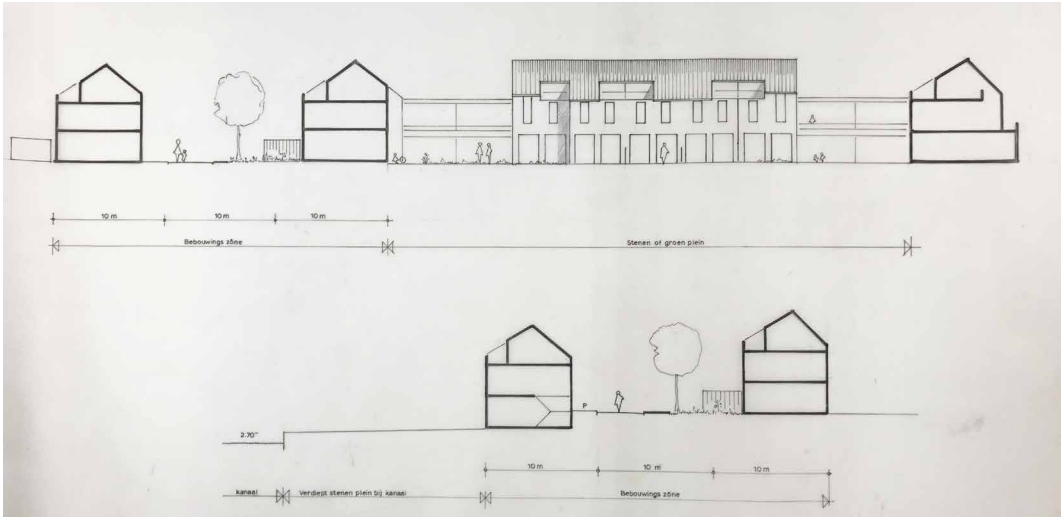


FIG. 3.3 Street section and orientation, Van Stigt, De Werven, Almere Haven, HNI archive, 1977

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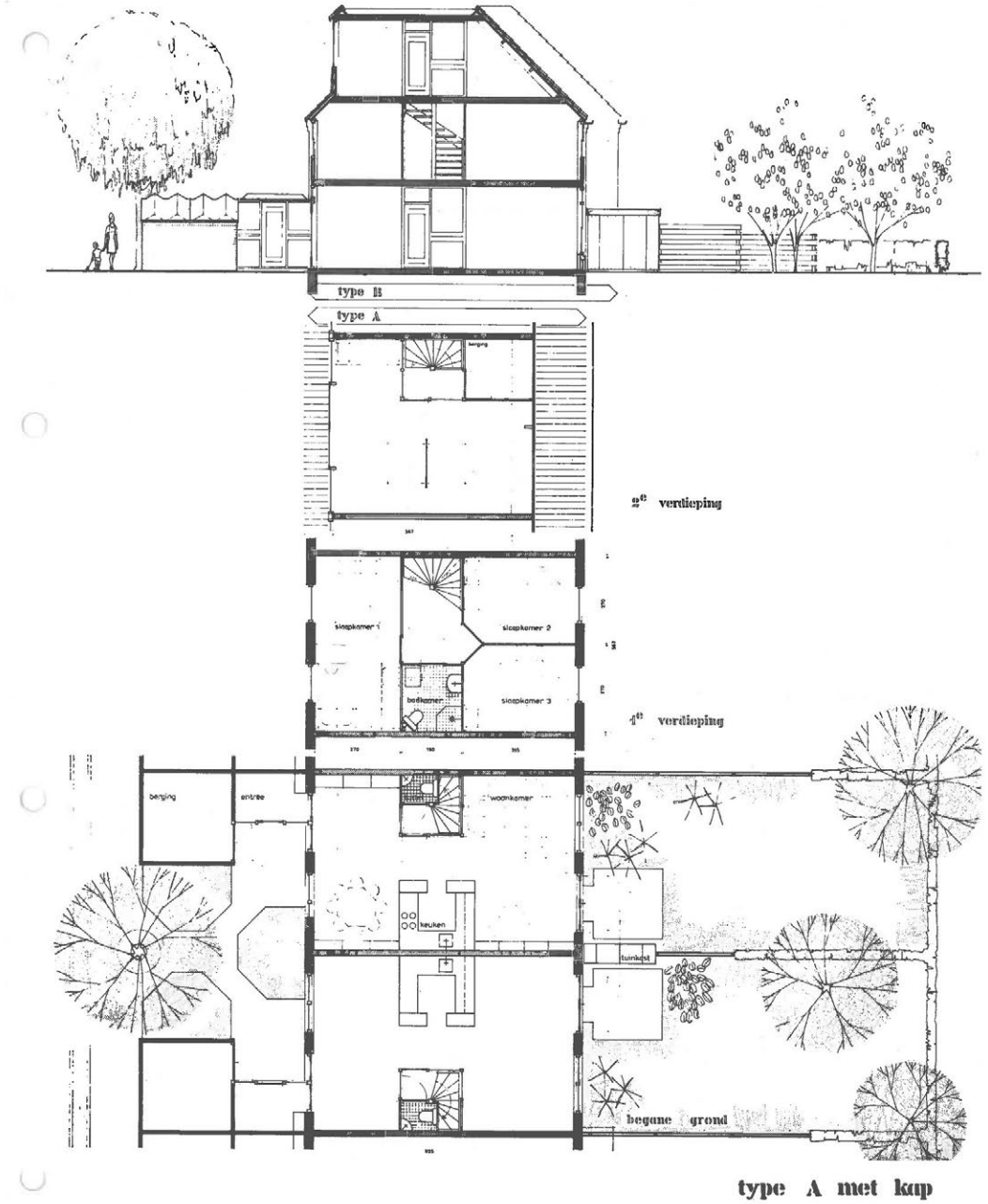


FIG. 3.4 Typical section and floor plan, Van Stigt, De Werven, Almere Haven, HNI archive, 1977

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3.4 Conclusions

The range of architecture approaches discussed in this paper, illustrates the interpretation of the two extreme positions that influenced the Dutch new town stock. On the one hand, the humanist approach, starting in the late 1950s, advocating an organic architecture focusing on the human scale, diversity, and inclusivity. This architecture is regarded as a countermovement to modernism. Nevertheless, the neighbourhoods are extensive, offering mass housing in disguise. On the other end, there is the neo-rationalist approach coming up in the early 1980s, that reintroduced the modernist tradition by a design-oriented objective and formal architecture. It's clear and pragmatic architecture manifests mass housing unambiguously. The dominance of modernism in the post-war years, its opposition peaking in the 1970s and the later return to modernist ideas and forms is a general trend in Dutch new towns and the housing stock (Spoormans, 2019). It is, however, not only a matter of chronology, but the background and beliefs of the architects, playing a role in the design and its attributes. Between the extreme poles, most new town neighbourhoods contain characteristics of both. The Dutch new town legacy marks a transition from ideology to market and represents a rich collection of residential architecture. More research is needed to identify the wide variety of attributes of this stock and the values they hold. This paper focused on the attributes as related to the conceptual design and the architect's ideals. However, a broader perspective, including a broader scope of values by a variety of stakeholders, is needed to reveal the meaning and potential as cultural heritage. The exploration of tangible and intangible attributes of the Groeikernen legacy in this paper aims to enable a discussion about its values, which is needed for the development of informed heritage policies, conservation and transformation.

3b Exploring Visual Language and Typologies in Dutch Midrise Residential Neighbourhoods

This chapter was first published in the conference proceedings of 17th International Docomomo Conference Valencia, Spain (only paragraph 3.7 of this chapter was not included in the proceedings):
Spoormans, L., W. de Jonge, D. Czischke, A. Pereira Roders. (2022). Exploring visual language and typologies in Dutch midrise residential neighbourhoods. 17th International Docomomo Conference Valencia Spain, Modern Design: Social Commitment & Quality of Life, Valencia.

ABSTRACT

Dutch residential neighbourhoods built after 1965 (Post 65) are characterised by a varied range of housing and living environments. As a reaction to the post-war Reconstruction period, architects and urban designers focussed on quality of life and identification with the living environment. Midrise housing was the compromise between high-rise and low-rise, combining quality and efficiency. Today, Post 65 residential neighbourhoods are not recognised as valuable architecture or cultural heritage. Although academic interest in Post 65 architecture is increasing, attributes of midrise typologies are understudied. Research is necessary to document and assess them, to inform stakeholders and contribute to decision making in renovation processes. The central question in this paper is: What are the urban and architectural attributes (tangible and intangible) of Dutch midrise residential neighbourhoods built after 1965? The paper discusses a comparative analysis of five residential midrise examples, focussing on building typology and visual language. The research applied mixed methods and integrates fieldwork, archival and literature research and uses 2D-matrices, juxtaposing urban and architectural attributes. Results show a variety in terms of typology and use of visual language. Two spatial organisational concepts are identified. A ‘snake’ shapes the urban space, and creates a front. It refers to a formal urban model in which the urban form is the starting point and the development of the building block a means to that end. A ‘mesh’ arranges housing units and urban space in a sprawling structure, in which a human scale living environment is the starting point. Regarding visual language, the projects show referencing to various architectural movements. This pluralism applies to the ‘collection’ of Post 65 midrise complexes but also to single neighbourhoods. The urban and architectural attributes are diverse, with diversity as the common denominator. Following Jencks’ definitions, the Post 65 midrise neighbourhoods can therefore be regarded as Post-Modern.

3.5 Post 65 Midrise Neighbourhoods

Housing construction in the Netherlands built after 1965 (Post 65) is characterised by a turn away from the urban planning and architecture of the post-war Reconstruction period. The housing shortage had become less acute and rising prosperity allowed for more attention to quality rather than mere quantity. In 1968, the Minister of Housing and Spatial Planning set up an experimental housing programme. Its aim was to promote innovations that would contribute to a better quality of life through a varied range of housing and living environments that reflected the increasing diversity in personal circumstances and preferences. This development was sparked by a broad dissatisfaction with the monotony and uniformity of housing construction in the Reconstruction period (Barzilay, 2018, pp. 9, 19).

3.5.1 Post 65 Architectural Movements

Already in 1959, the new board of Forum-magazine accused architects and planners of making The Netherlands "unliveable" and called for a new architecture that would create "liveable cities" and coherence between people and things. It was a reaction to CIAM Functionalism, in which the separation between living, working, recreation and traffic was an important starting point (Heuvel, 1992, pp. 10, 12). The new movement, in the Netherlands led by protagonists Van Eyck and Hertzberger, was related to Team X and later termed Structuralism. Structuralism proposed inclusive and social space and is recognised by open structures, composition of small units and mixed functions (Spoormans, 2020, p. 7). By the end of the 1970s, new frontrunners like Weeber protested against the small-scale participatory architecture of Structuralism. Weeber advocated a rational and formal urban model with clear hierarchy. This Neo-Rationalism was based on modernist traditions and restored the distinction between urbanism and architecture (Baeten, 2007, pp. 3-4). In the same period Post-Modernism was internationally propagated by Venturi and Jencks, assuming that architecture is a language of symbols and codes communicating to its users (Jencks, 1991, p. 12). Post-Modernism uses 'double coding' in which links are established between the present and the past, between new and old techniques, between the elite and the popular (Raaij, 1993, p. 547). The general picture is that 20th century Dutch architecture is strongly rooted in Modernism, explaining why Post-Modernism and Classicism, did not catch on in the Netherlands. However, it is stated that this refers only to the stylistic tradition of form and not to the ideological tradition of Modernism (Van Dijk in: Deen, 1990, pp. 175-177). Soeters, who is often

called the only Dutch Post-Modern architect, refutes the claim that the Netherlands has no postmodern architecture. He states that discussing Post-Modernism, actually Post-Modern Classicism is meant. “In the 1980s, there was a Post-Modern condition to which many were trying to respond. (…) I did play a more explicit role in the postmodern circus that experimented with forms that had a kind of cliché-like meaning” (Soeters in: Idsinga, 2009, p. 208).

3.5.2 Midrise Alternatives

Almost a third of the Dutch housing stock dates from 1965-1985 (CBS, 2020). Although low-rise is the dominant urban typology in numbers (69%) (L. Spoormans, A. Pereira Roders, W. de Jonge, L. Reinders, 2021, p. 280), midrise residential typologies embody an essential change in ideology. In 1976, an article announced the revival of midrise typology in alternative forms. Its title Stacked low-rise buildings: multi-family houses, but cosy expressed the idealisation of low-rise and the resistance to stacked housing. The development of new midrise models is explained from a re-valuation of the urban and natural environment, decrease in the quantitative housing shortage, and increase in land costs and land use. The objectives include an increase in density, commercial and community facilities, public transport, a mix of living and working, and opportunities for social contact (Steemers, 1976, pp. 5, 9). In the Post 65 period, various forms of midrise have developed, which can be found in central areas of suburban new towns and satellite towns, as well as in renewal areas of 19th century inner cities.

3.5.3 Research approach

Today, Post 65 residential neighbourhoods are not yet recognised as valuable architecture or cultural heritage. In recent years, academic interest in Post 65 architecture is increasing and heritage institutes have started its exploration. The Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency has defined 1965-1990 as the Post 65 period and identifies the urgency for its research from the upcoming energy transition and demographic changes (RCE, 2019, pp. 6, 16). Studies on low-rise woonerf neighbourhoods have been published (Abrahamse, 2019; Ubbink, 2011). However, not many evaluations of midrise typologies are available and especially their architectural attributes are understudied. Research is necessary to document and assess them, to inform stakeholders and contribute to decision making in renovation processes.

The central question in this paper is: What are the urban and architectural attributes of Dutch midrise residential neighbourhoods built after 1965? This paper presents and discusses the results of a comparative analysis of residential midrise examples, to reveal the characteristics, ideologies and influences. The emphasis in this paper is on identifying building typologies and visual language. To this end, the objectives of midrise alternatives and the Post 65 architectural movements described in the introduction serve as an analytical framework.

This research applied mixed methods derived from the 1976 exhibition Signs of Life: Symbols of the American City by Venturi and Scott Brown (1992, pp. 59-65). The method for data collection integrates fieldwork, archival and literature research. Data visualisation uses 2D-matrices (see appendix in chapter 3.9), juxtaposing urban and architectural elements. First, the cases will be described, highlighting their main characteristics and design motives. Secondly, the cases will be compared on building type and visual language. Finally, analysis results are related to the theory and the research question.

3.6 A Range of Midrise Typologies

The examples share functional and social objectives and present midrise as model for urban and architectural quality as promoted by the architectural movements. But taking a closer look at each neighbourhood and midrise complex, one can observe differences in urban structure, building type, articulation of form, façade composition and use of elements and materials. These attributes are illustrated in this paper by discussing and comparing five case studies (see Figure 3.5).

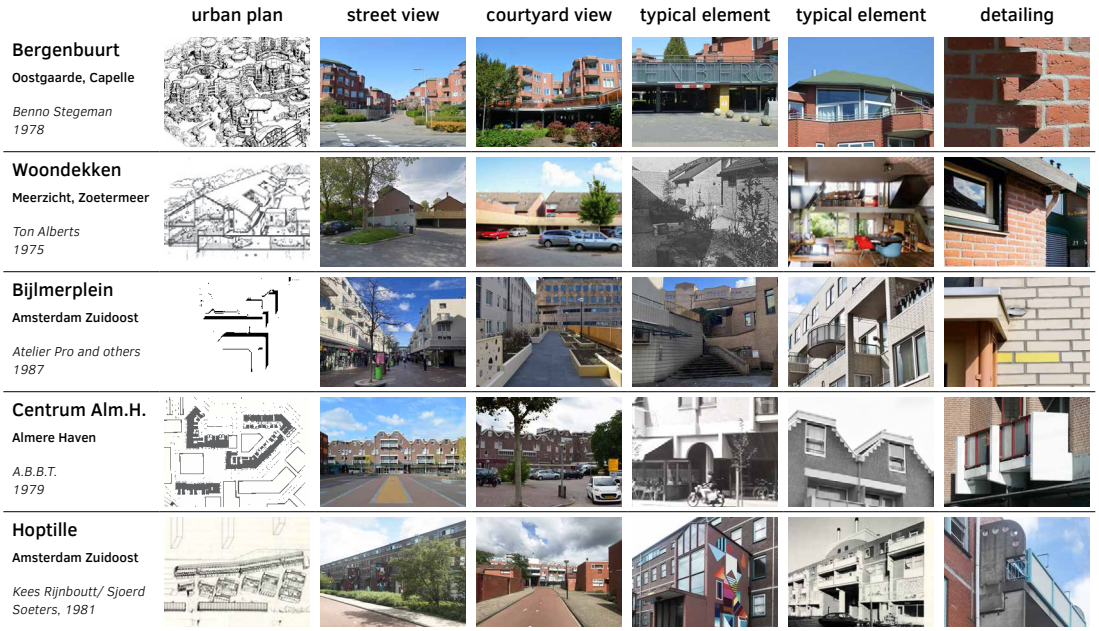


FIG. 3.5 Matrix of urban and architectural physical attributes.

3.6.1 De Bergen

Against the backdrop of high-rise blocks, this midrise complex 'De Bergen' in new town Capelle aan den IJssel, was designed by the architect Benno Stegeman and completed in 1978. It comprises 878 dwellings in 65 residential towers of 3 or 4 layers on an elevated deck. Centrally placed lifts in every tower connect the ground floor parking and pedestrian zone to the dwellings of a variety of sizes and shapes. De Bergen exemplifies a design strategy to create a larger whole by putting together small parts. The external space and built form of the complex is derived from linking geometric shapes (Laddé, 1985, pp. 15, 52), which is typical for Structuralism. The façades and balconies echo the octagonal design of the floorplan and are made of reddish-brown brickwork with a serration at the corners as ornament. The craftsman-like appearance and the plasticity of the brick facades are reminiscent of the Amsterdam School. The architect aimed for recognisability and an environment where residents can feel "whole", in contrast to flat façades with identical doors assuming that people are all the same (Mooij, 2010, p. 34).

3.6.2 Woondekken

Also in new town Zoetermeer, the rejection of high-rise gave way to a testing ground for new forms of living. The project Woondekken, designed by architect Alberts and completed in 1975, applies the principle of dual land use. It contains 239 dwellings in three types. Split-level units are situated on the edges of semi-underground car parks, bordering both the deck and the ground. In the central area on top of the deck are smaller patio houses. Surrounding these complexes, regular terraced housing has been arranged (Klaren, 1978, p. 34). The dual land use with parking under the residential deck was intended to achieve a high housing density at low cost. The architect strives for mixture of urban and rural character by stony, busy narrow streets on the deck with broad, peaceful green areas on the outer edges. Craftmanship, exposed masonry, irregularly staggered façades, large and small sloping roof surfaces are applied to create a differentiation of spaces and to give each house its own identity (Steemers, 1978, pp. 95, 98).

3.6.3 Bijlmerplein

The architectural design by Atelier Pro includes 137 dwellings, 8.000 m^2 of retail space, a district library (today a supermarket), 5.500 m^2 office space and a parking garage. The buildings were completed in 1987 as part of the larger entity 'Amsterdamse Poort' which is the main shopping area of satellite town Bijlmermeer, now called Amsterdam Zuidoost (Ibelings, 2001). Its urban designers Van den Broek and Bakema aimed at an 'urban' spatial experience, meaning that it should correspond more to traditional city centres than to the CIAM based design of the high-rise part of Bijlmermeer. The offices along the edges of the scheme are located on elevated highways that give access to elevated courtyards where the entrances to the housing units are located. Within the urban fabric, there is a varied alternation of pedestrian streets and squares with buildings up to five storeys with dwellings on a plinth of shops (Horst, 1991, p. 113). The blocks have flat roofs and feature white brick facades with white-yellow patterns. The facades are characterised by a strong relief due to canopies, balconies and alcoves of different shapes.

3.6.4 Centrum Almere Haven

Almere Haven was the first neighbourhood of new town Almere, built on reclaimed land. Almere Haven was designed as a suburban area with mostly low-rise neighbourhoods. The urban plan for its centre refers to the traditional Dutch city with characteristic urban attributes like canals, canal houses and narrow street profiles. The architecture firm ABBT designed a main building block that was completed in 1979 and contains 125 dwelling units of different sizes on a plinth with 40 shops and office spaces. This mixed-use model was based on old city centres. The volumes are shifted in position and vary in height, each being articulated by a gabled roof (Romeijn, 1979, pp. 35-39). The front of the block borders on a pedestrian area and the block encloses a car park and shipping area at the back. The facades feature red brick with white ornaments and the entrances to the dwellings are indicated by concrete arches. By carefully constructing a continuous 'wall' that bends a few times, following the canal profile and forming the main square, the architects aimed at providing guidance in the multitude of spatial forms and accents (A.B.B.T., 1982, p. 151).

3.6.5 Hoptille

The Hoptille neighbourhood in Bijlmermeer was completed in 1981 and has 333 homes of various types, ranging from studios and two-room flats accessed from an internal corridor to five-room duplexes at ground floor level. The architects Rijnboutt en Soeters were allowed to introduce a novel urban typology that was presented as a 'correction' to the prevailing high-rise. Hoptille not only represented a different type of building, but created a new image for the Bijlmermeer (Horst, 1991, pp. 24-25). The ten-storey building height prescribed in the zoning plan was divided, at the same density, into a 300 m long wall of five storeys with small-scale low-rise buildings sheltered behind it. Also architecturally, Hoptille is a reaction to the high-rise buildings. Based on an observed lack of identification possibilities pertinent to common high-rises, the architects were looking for new symbols for the home and living environment. The 'wall' has a contrasting front and back façade, explicit use of colour, a top floor designed as a cornice, gates that are accentuated by volumes with a pink-painted arch and expressive concrete slabs with round holes dividing the rounded balconies (Koster, 1982, pp. 69-73).

3.6.6 Comparison

Hoptille and Centrum Almere Haven are elongated buildings with a complex section involving various housing types. The wall-like structures can be identified as a 'snake', shaping the urban space, separating environments and creating a front. It refers to a formal urban model in which the urban form is the starting point and the development of the building block a means to that end. De Bergen and Woondekken are compositions of repetitive smaller elements into larger structures. They also include a variety of housing types, but organised around an elevated deck. The deck character varies from semi-private outdoor space in De Bergen to extended public space in Woondekken. These sprawling complexes can be identified as a 'mesh' in which housing units, spaces, transitions, greenery, vistas, stairs, entrances and passageways are arranged. The human scale living environment is the goal and the building form the result.

Bijlmerplein is a hybrid of 'snake' and 'mesh'. The building blocks are shaped to form a sequence of squares and streets. On the other hand, it has ingredients of a 'mesh', such as the elevated deck that provides a human living environment, collective outdoor space and infrastructural connections to the surroundings. De Bergen and Hoptille are most autonomous, turning away from their urban context as fortresses. Also in terms of architectural expression, however different, they contrast with the surrounding architecture. The other cases rather mediate between human-scale residential qualities and the larger scale of an urban area.

Comparing the projects on visual language, the palette is very diverse. The expression and materialisation of De Bergen was inspired by both Structuralism and the Amsterdam School of the interbellum. Also in Woondekken, irregular Structuralist form is an attribute, although the implementation is more functional, drawing on traditional craftmanship. In Bijlmerplein and Centrum Almere Haven archetypical attributes have been applied, such as a shopping arcade supported by columns alongside the building and the arches marking entrances, linking Classical codes with new techniques as means of communication and identification. Centrum Almere Haven shows codes of the traditional Dutch town, both in its architecture and urban attributes, whereas in Bijlmerplein has both Classical and Modernist formal attributes. Both cases reintroduce the traditional city in terms of mixed use and sequences of urban spaces. In Hoptille the expression of Post-Modern codes is more explicit, using clear shapes, colours and archetypical attributes as gate, tympanum and arch as symbol for identification. Regarding visual language, the projects show referencing to various previous architectural movements and related elements, resulting in a diversity of attributes at an urban, building, or material level or combinations thereof (see Figure 3.6). This applies to the range of examples and to the individual cases. There is no dominant style but a plurality of visual languages.

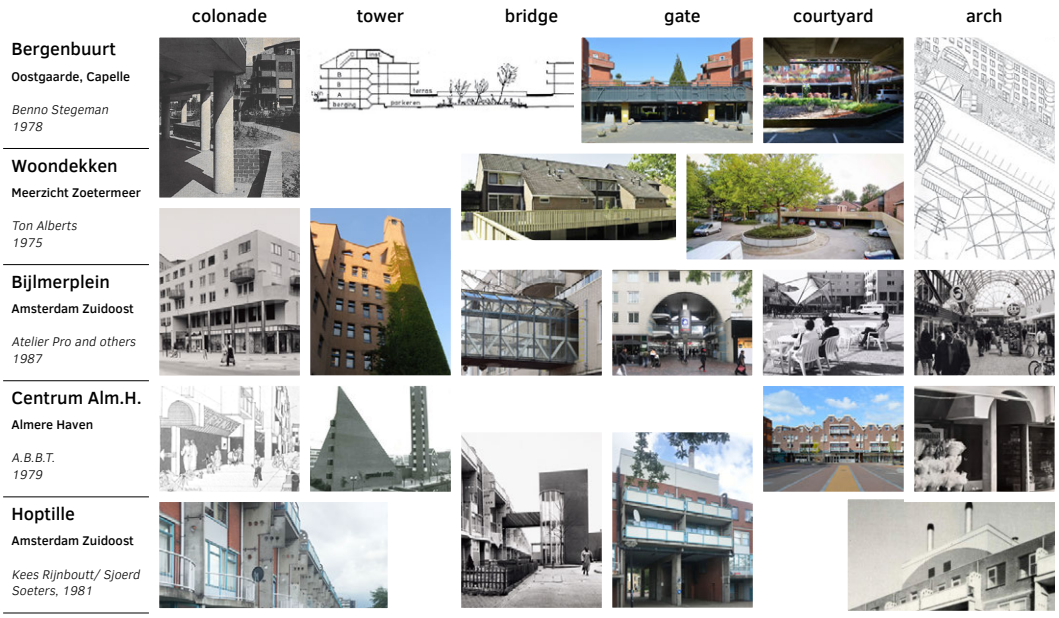


FIG. 3.6 Collage of archetypal attributes

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3.7 Pluralism

Of the cases discussed, Bijlmerplein takes a central position, both in building typology and visual language. It shows a blend in many respects, from large to small and exemplifies the 'pluralism' observed in the analysis of the cases. Firstly, dividing the district in seven clusters designed by five different architectural firms has resulted in a collage of architectural designs. Secondly, the area Amsterdamse Poort is planned as a 'city within a city', integrating a large number of functions, such as commercial and social facilities, housing and offices (Stedenbouw, 1988, p. 13) (see Figure 3.7 and 3.9). Thirdly, as a counter movement to the CIAM model for the Bijlmermeer, the public space is designed as a sequence of enclosed, intimate spaces, such as city squares of different proportions enclosed by perimeter blocks, narrow streets and stairs leading up to the elevated decks with collective and private outdoor spaces (see Figure 3.8). The designers aim to achieve urban vitality was inspired by to traditional urban concepts (Bruijn, 2020). However, the infrastructural ideology of CIAM is still part of the mixture, separating slow and fast traffic at different levels, and separated parking zones in garages or courtyards. Fourthly, housing types range from units for singles or couples to large family flats, aimed at a diverse mix of households and cultures. Lastly, a range of subtle symbols and archetypes are blended into the architectural design to create a familiar image of a city in this new satellite town. This too can be seen as a counter-reaction to the alienating utopian image of the high-rise plan for Bijlmermeer. The building complexes contain many familiar architectural symbols, like tower, gate, bridge, colonnade, courtyard, street, square and arch (Sacevičius, 2021, p. 25).

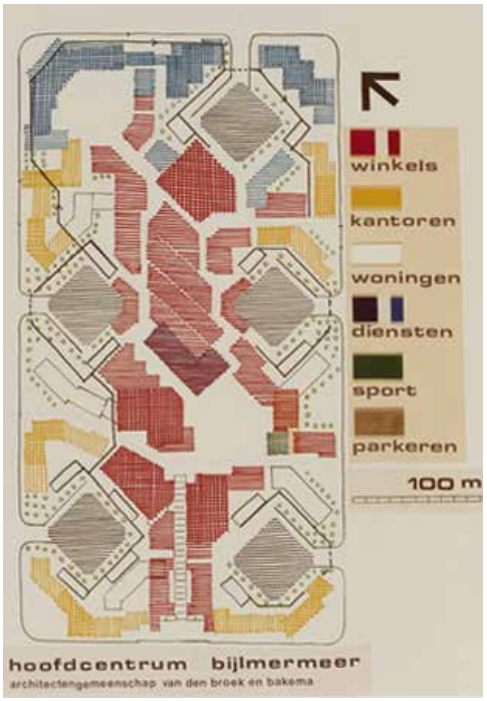


FIG. 3.7 Masterplan of multifunctional program and sequence of squares, HNI archive, 1978

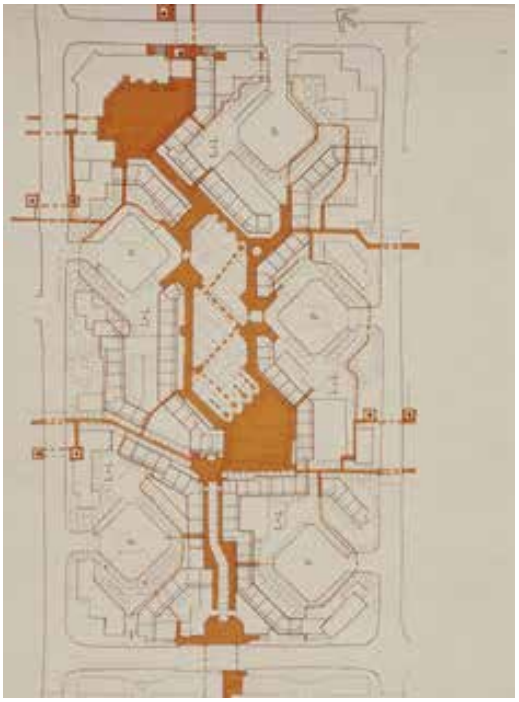


FIG. 3.8 Van den Broek and Bakema, Bijlmerplein, Amsterdam Zuidoost, HNI archive, 1978

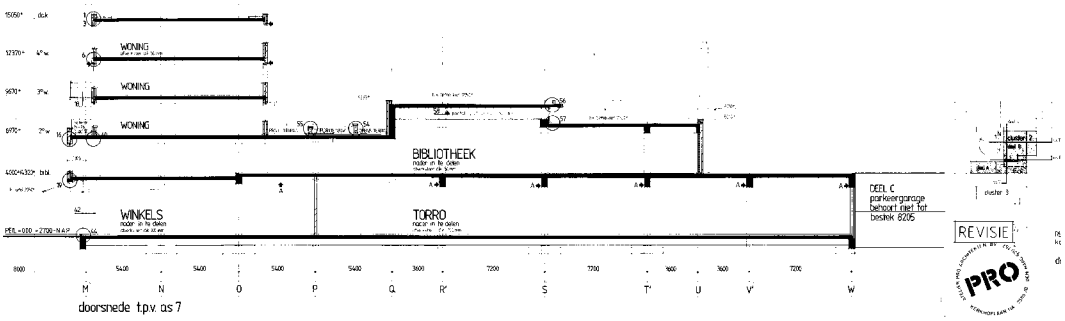


FIG. 3.9 Section of building with retail, library, dwellings and deck Bijlmerplein, Amsterdam Zuidoost, Atelier PRO, 1987

3.8 Conclusions

The examples have shown a range of building types and visual languages. Their objectives are identical, focussing on quality of life and identification as a reaction to the repetitive and uniform architecture of the post-war Reconstruction period, but the means to achieve them differ. For example, the need for identification has been responded in De Bergen and Woondekken by an irregularity of spaces providing individual shelter and identity, while at Hoptille and Centrum Almere Haven it is by recognition of symbols. However, the traditional brickwork and the gabled roofs in Woondekken are also symbols of the archetypical house, while Centrum Almere Haven also has alcoves for shelter. Regarding building typology, the 'snake' and the 'mesh' are identified as alternatives of traditional midrise. These typologies make use of a diversity of functions and housing types and dual land use, while still providing a high-quality living environment. In many cases typological and visual means are combined.

This mixing can be named 'Pluralism' in the sequence of the -isms discussed in the introduction of architectural movements. However, Pluralism was not a preconceived ideology but the result of harking back to earlier ideologies. This pluralism applies to the 'collection' of Post 65 midrise complexes as a whole but is also identified within the context of one neighbourhood. The urban and architectural attributes are diverse, with diversity as the common denominator. The statement by Charles Jencks that 'Pluralism is the Post-Modern ideology above all others (…) there is simply no dominant cultural style or ethos' (1991, p. 10) is reflected in the stock of Post 65 midrise residential buildings. Following Jencks' line, and based on the cases discussed in this paper, the Post 65 midrise neighbourhoods can be regarded as Post-Modern.

Appendices

Matrix 1
Housing type: high-rise flat building, in large, bended slabs

Matrix 2
Housing type: mid-rise complexes around a raised deck (mesh).

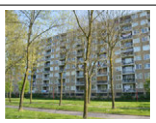
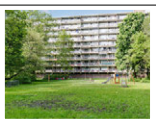
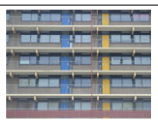
Matrix 3
Housing type: mid-rise complexes with a complex cross-section and buckled shape (snake)

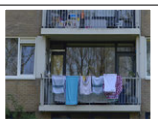
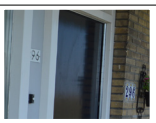
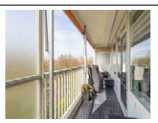
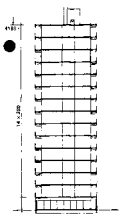
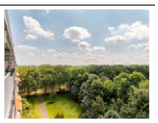
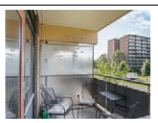
Matrix 4
Housing type: low-rise ensembles organised in an irregular organic setting

Matrix 5
Housing type: low-rise ensembles in a repeating orthogonal setting

APP.3.1 Matrix 1

Housing type: high-rise flat building, in large, bended slabs

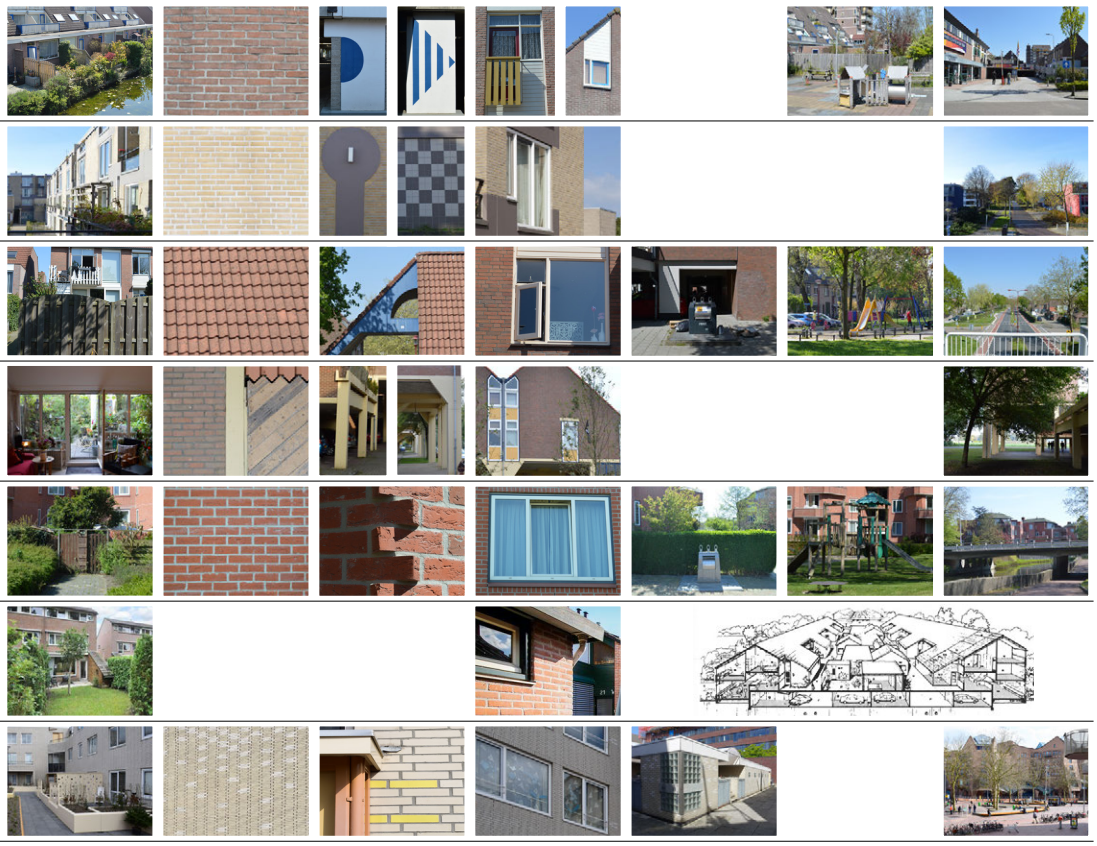
	aerial view	street view	front	back	end wall	parking
Chinese Muur Oostgaarde, Capelle *1970*						
Marrewijkflat Sterrenwijk, Spijkenisse *1966*						
Molenwijk Driemanspolder, Zoetermeer *1968*						
Nijpelsplantsoen Wijkersloot, Nieuwegein *1969*						
Einsteinplaats Ommoord, Rotterdam *1972*						
Oostervenne Overwhere, Purmerend *1975*						
Laveibos Meerzicht, Zoetermeer *1972*						

entrance	galery	balcony	entrance door	material	window	context
						
						
						
						
						
						
						

APP.3.2 Matrix 2

Housing type: mid-rise complexes around a raised deck (mesh)

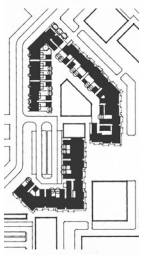
	deck view	courtyard	outside view	deck access	parking	entrance side
De Terp **Oostgaarde, Capelle** *Bakker en Verhoef* *1976*						
Het Rode Kliff **Zuiderzeewijk Lelystad** *T. Hazewinkel* *1974*						
Orvelterdek **Fokkesteeg Nieuwgein** *1978*						
Kasbah **Groot Driene, Hengelo** *P. Blom* *1973*						
Bergenbuurt **Oostgaarde, Capelle** *B. Stegeman* *1978*						
Woondekken **Meerzicht, Zoetermeer** *T. Alberts* *1975*						
Bijlmerplein **Amsterdam Zuidoost** *Atelier Pro* *1987*						

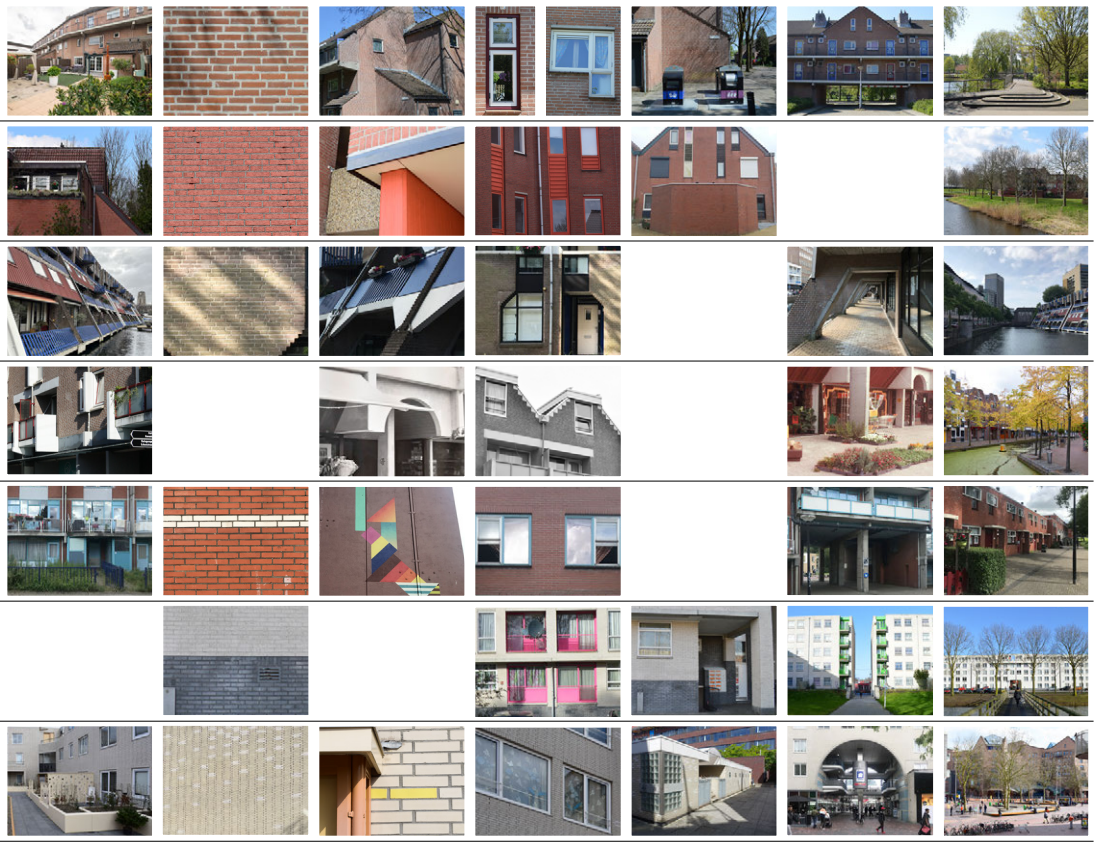

private side
material
ornament
window
garbage
playground
context

TOC

APP.3.3 Matrix 3

Housing type: mid-rise complexes with a complex cross-section and buckled shape (snake)

	street view	front	back	parking	access	entrance
JC Sterrenburg Centrum, Spijkenisse *1981*						
Goedewerf Almere Haven *INBO* *1981*						
Haagse Veer Centrum, Rotterdam *H.W.S.T.* *1981*					 	
Centrum Alm.H. Almere Haven *A.B.B.T* *1979*						
Hoptille Amsterdam Zuidoost *Rijnboutt/ Soeters* *1981*					 	
Venserpolder Amsterdam Zuidoost *H. van Meer* *1982*						
Bijlmerplein Amsterdam Zuidoost *Atelier Pro* *1987*						


private side
material
ornament
window
storage
passages
context

TOC

APP.3.4 Matrix 4

Housing type: low-rise ensembles organised in an irregular organic setting

	aerial view	courtyard	outside view	entrance	garden	typical dwelling
De Gaarden **Weerwolf, Houten** *T. Alberts* *1981*						
Zwaluw **Doorslag, Nieuwegein** *J. Verhoeven* *1978*						
Silkeborg **Oostgaarde, Capelle** *1975*						
Jol **Lelystad** *1980*						
De Werven **Almere Haven** *J. van Stigt* *1979*						
Koepeltjesbuurt **Meerzicht, Zoetermeer** *B. Stegeman* *1974*						
Overgriend **Almere Haven** *A. Bonnema* *1983*						


alternative type
material
ornament
window
parking
playground
context

TOC

APP.3.5 Matrix 5

Housing type: low-rise ensembles in a repeating orthogonal setting

	aerial view	courtyard	outside view	entrance	garden	typical dwelling
Pleintjesplan **Meerzicht, Zoetermeer** *L. de Jonge* *1972*						
Pianowoningen **Zuiderzeewijk Lelystad** *RIJP* *1967*						
De Weide **Schonenburg, Houten** *Abken Knoop Nieuwveld* *1983*						
De Berm **Rijsbrug, Houten** *Kokon* *1990*						
Sierduif **Doorslag, Nieuwegein** *1980*						
Slakkenveen **Waterland, Spijkenisse** *Studio Acht* *1979*						
Schenkel **Capelle**						


alternative type
material
ornament
window
parking
playground
context

TOC



Oevergriend, Almere

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4 Testing the Operational Framework

Almere Heritage Cube, An Assessment Framework for Participatory Heritage Valorisation in Almere

This chapter was first published in a report for research program 'Ontwerp & Overheid', part of 'Actieagenda Ruimtelijk Ontwerp 2017-2020':
Spoormans, L., D. Ikiz Kaya. (2021). Almere Heritage Cube, An Assessment Framework for Participatory Heritage Valorisation in Almere.

Note: The terminology of the original publication has been adapted for this chapter to align with the terminology of the thesis. The terms used by Howard (2003, pp. 52,53) explaining the Heritage Cube were changed. Heritage fields (Howard) are renamed 'attributes'. Heritage markets (Howard) are renamed 'stakeholders'. Heritage identity levels are renamed 'scales'.

ABSTRACT Participatory heritage practices are promoted internationally by the Faro Convention and locally, e.g., by the Dutch new town Almere. But although there is a wealth of practices, there is limited research on how various methods and involved stakeholder groups affect the identification of significant attributes. The aim of the research is to examine what attributes are assessed as significant, on what level participants identify with heritage, and how stakeholder groups differ in their assessments. The research evaluates four selected pilots that have been conducted in recent years in Almere and represent different techniques, groups, time frames and organisational parties. We have analysed their methodology and outcomes. The results of the pilots

are analysed by coding and comparing documents from each participatory heritage pilot through content analysis. The Heritage Cube, a conceptual model developed by Peter Howard, is used as a framework to categorise, compare, and discuss different attributes, scales and stakeholders. Results show that the method and terminology used impact the outcomes. Asking about heritage or icons yields tangible attribute categories, while open questions on various scale levels result in a broader range of tangible and intangible attributes. Clear differences between stakeholder groups are observed, e.g. residents having a broad perspective on attributes and scale levels. The Heritage Cube proved successful as an operational framework for identifying and relating attributes, scales and stakeholders. If applied to a specific participation process and location, valuable insights can be gained to inform development processes. It also provides detailed insights into the similarities and differences between stakeholder groups and contributes to knowledge development on participatory processes in heritage management.

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 New Town, New Heritage

The city of Almere, built in the 1970s and once the agent of a new world, is now at the dawn of the first urban renewal. As in other Groeikernen (post-war Dutch new towns built between 1968-1988) the city faces issues as liveability, energy transition and densification. Presently, the Groeikernen are in-between old and new, and are not yet widely recognised as cultural heritage. However, our assumption is that these new towns can be seen as future heritage. We think that exploration of their characteristics, assessment of values and problems, in combination with an increasing awareness among experts, professionals and users, is necessary to prevent a disregard of the Groeikernen legacy.

Because this relatively young stock is not generally recognized as heritage, the definition of heritage is challenged. This regards two aspects: what can be heritage and who can decide what is heritage? Scholars in the heritage discipline discuss a paradigm shift in the heritage field “from exceptional to perfectly ordinary” (Meurs, 2008), or “towards 100% heritage” (Pereira Roders & Pottgiesser, 2020) promoting the exploration of values and possibilities of all existing buildings and areas. The adoption of this ordinary/ 100% approach has led to an open mind in our research project, regarding what can be acknowledged as the heritage of Almere. The second aspect concerns what stakeholders should decide what is valuable. Traditionally, heritage assessment was dominated by experts, mainly focussing on historical values. However, last decades there has been a call for the inclusion of other stakeholders and disciplines, relating to various programs and initiatives such as the Faro Convention(Council-of-Europe, 2005). This European program emphasises the engagement of heritage communities in decision-making and development processes to ensure that heritage contributes to the social, cultural and economic dynamics of the communities. In the Netherlands, the Omgevingswet (Environment Act, 2021) obliges municipalities to define the qualities of living environments, including cultural heritage. The municipality of Almere is experimenting with and aims to develop its first heritage policy, based on the integration of expert and resident’s values and perspectives. Over the last years, the municipality of Almere has carried out several participatory heritage pilots, aiming to engage citizens in identification of heritage assets and attributes, the significance of these assets, and empowering them in future policy-making.

4.1.2 Case study Almere

Almere was created as a new city on new land reclaimed from the sea. Almere Haven was the first core of this poly-nuclear city, that was built from the late 1960s onwards. The centre was inspired by traditional Dutch towns (see Figure 4.1), surrounded by residential 'woonerf' areas. Almere Haven is remembered, experienced and appreciated to contain Almere's historic identity, but also faces degradation, an ageing population and building vacancy. The main focus of the research project is on Almere Haven. However, one of the researched pilots addresses Almere as a whole. Moreover, contributions of all pilots include other parts of Almere and even beyond.



FIG. 4.1 Marktgracht Almere, 1979, Photograph by Koen Suyk, Nationaal Archief, via WikiCommons

4.1.3 Research approach

This research aims to contribute to an innovative participatory heritage approach for young heritage by taking civic appreciation as a starting point. It investigates methods to include residents and other stakeholders in the heritage identification and assessment processes. The municipality of Almere is a partner in the project and has already carried out 'participatory heritage pilots' in recent years. We aim to learn from these pilots in several ways: what methods have been used for participation and what stakeholders have been reached to participate? Also, we want to know what types of attributes the participants indicate as heritage and on what level of scale significance is identified. This research evaluates four selected pilots that have been conducted in recent years in Almere and represent different techniques, groups, time frames and organisational parties. We have analysed their methodology and outcomes in order to provides recommendations for implementation in heritage policies. The results of the pilots are analysed by coding and comparing documents from each participatory heritage pilot through content analysis. By applying the model of the Heritage Cube (Howard, 2003) different types of attributes, scales and stakeholders are identified.

4.2 Four Pilots

4.2.1 Almere heritage policy

"For a city like Almere, participation is actually standard. When Almere was built, citizens became more articulate and had a say in spatial planning. Even today, the city is partly built by its own inhabitants, just relating to for example experimental housing. So, it's logical that citizens are also involved in valuing heritage. (…) But participation is very complex. I would like a handbook on how to deal with participation in a way that makes everyone happy. So far, a participation process has never been good. There is always something that could have been better" (Hoekstra, 2020).

This is quote by the Almere's policy advisor on monuments and archaeology, who is also involved in this research. It is the aim of Almere to make participation the standard in heritage policy, but as is clear from this quote experiments have not led to a satisfactory result. The evaluation of experiments aims to give recommendations for a standard approach or handbook. Four experimental projects on participation in heritage have been selected and analysed. The details of four projects are listed in Tables 4.1–4.4.

TABLE 4.1 Pilot description for Erfgoedatelier

Erfgoedatelier	
Aim	Objective is to involve stakeholders – residents, entrepreneurs, visitors – in the process of collecting and selecting heritage. This pilot explores a method to discuss with them what places they cherish, what places represent the history of their living environment and what buildings have an important meaning. The aim of the organisers was to continue this pilot and contribute to the Urban Vision that is developed by Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling of municipality Almere. However, nor continuation nor real exchange has taken place.
Date/ period	16 September 2018
Methods	Roundtable discussion Mapping of positive (pearls) and negative (coal) areas Questionnaire of best buildings and places
Scope (intended)	Almere Haven, neighbourhoods Centrum and De Werven
Participants	15 participants (being non-organisers) Recruited by flyers and 'snowball'-invitations
Sources analysed	Report from group discussions (4 groups) Map of indicated areas (1 concluding map) Concluding report of project Media summary
Initiator	Stichting Polderblik
Organiser	Stichting Polderblik, supported by Municipality Almere
Contacted	Jouke van de Werf, member of Welstands Almere and member of Stichting Polderblik
Context	Pilot was linked to an exhibition about the heritage of Almere Haven and organised in the Open Monuments Weekend 2018.

TABLE 4.2 Pilot description for Erfgoed in Haven

Erfgoed in Haven	
Aim	The objective for the research by PBL and TU Delft is to investigate the resident's perception of heritage values, based on a Post-65 housing neighbourhood. Choosing a Post 65 case, might help to find 'unprejudiced' or independent opinions by residents. Moreover, developing and testing a method for (young) heritage assessment by residents is part of the research.
Date/ period	Sept 2019 – Dec 2019
Methods	Distribution of diaries Short interview at collection of diaries Group discussions in elderly group and school class
Scope (intended)	Almere Haven Centre, focus neighbourhoods Centrum and De Werven. However, participants from more neighbourhoods in Almere Haven have been consulted.
Participants	Diaries: 55 Group discussions: ca. 45
Sources analysed	List of codes resulting from the analysis Code definitions and examples, resulting from the project Code webs, analysed results Participant data
Initiator	Delft Technical University (TUD) + Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving (PBL)
Organiser	TUD, department of AE+T, Heritage & Architecture
Contacted	Lidwine Spoormans (TU Delft), Like Bijlsma (PBL)
Context	Research is advertised as part of Havenhart 2.0, because it was organised in the same period. Moreover, the research is related to: PhD research Heritage and Architecture, TUD MSc course (graduation) of Heritage & Architecture, TUD Research to resident's perception of heritage, PBL

TABLE 4.3 Pilot description for Havenhart 2.0

Havenhart 2.0	
Aim	Collaboration between specialists and 'Havenaren' (residents of Almere Haven) to create a narrative for the future of Haven. Combining expert knowledge (retail, urbanism, society, housing) and residents' knowledge and experience about Haven will result in a vision for the urban renewal of the 'hart' of Almere Haven, representing the ideas of many Havenaren.
Date/ period	August 2019 – May 2020
Methods	Round table discussion (Werkplaatsbijeenkomsten) Neighbourhood game (Wijkspel) Dilemma votes (Dillemmakaarten) Secondary activities, like discussion and inspiration nights (3x) in Corrosia cultural centre, discussion at diner (40 people) Corrosia poster exhibition, photo exhibition, theatre production
Scope (intended)	Scope for renewal is Centre area of Almere Haven, including neighbourhoods: De Wierden, De Werven, De Hoven and Centrum
Participants	Participants: Round table discussion (30 meetings) with diverse group of participants: residents, entrepreneurs, social organisations, and others 2500 invitations by flyers and snowball. Exact number of participants is unknown Dilemma votes: 129 votes (divided over 5 questions) People informed via website (497 visitors), Facebook (214 followers, 2100 persons reached), Instagram (230 followers)
Sources analysed	Reports of round table discussions and other activities, retrieved online via Havenhart 2.0 website (17 reports) Vision document with concluding texts and plans for renewal
Initiator	Municipality of Almere
Organiser	Havenverbond, partners: Municipality of Almere School: Almeerse Scholengroep Housing corporations: De Alliantie, GoedeStede, Ymere Entrepeneurs: Centrumgebied-ondernemers Care organisations: Zorggroep Almere, Leger des Heils, GGD Flevoland Social welfare organisation: (volunteer, caregiving, housing, culture): VMCA, Kwintes, De Schoor
Contacted	Claudia Laumans, project manager, hired by DSO Almere for urban renewal Almere Haven
Context	Participatory activities are part of the vision for urban renewal of the 'hart' (centre area) of Almere Haven

TABLE 4.4 Pilot description for Iconen van Almere

Iconen van Almere	
Aim	Gain attention to the built heritage of Almere, by involving the people of Almere in indicating what is valuable and telling narratives. This is seen as essential for the development of a more differentiated and, above all, more nuanced identity of Almere including the residents' perspective. The aim is that this participation process, in steps, can contribute to the development of a monuments policy for Almere municipality.
Date/ period	Open call for nominations: 28 August - 26 October 2015 Public poll: 8 December 2015 - 25 January 2016
Methods	Questionnaire, conducted by research panel of O&S (research and statistics of the municipality of Almere) about opinion on monuments and proposed monuments for long list of Icons Governmental advice on proposed monuments for long list Open call (in (social) media) for long list (69 icons) Public poll (online) on long list, resulting in comments and short list (25 icons) Expert panel (Kunstlinie Almere Flevoland (KAF)) on short list (34 icons) Announcement of short list on Open Monuments Day Collect narratives about shortlisted buildings (Intended: Selection of Icons, to monuments to be protected (by committee of experts and citizens))
Scope (intended)	Almere
Participants	Questionnaire: 440 (= 15,6% of distributed)), recruited via research panel municipality Votes on long list (making short list): 1786, recruited via open call on online media
Sources analysed	Municipal minutes of meetings DSO, reporting about poll, results and decision making (6 documents) Media announcement of expo and book
Initiator	Municipality of Almere
Organiser	Municipality of Almere
Contacted	Dick de Jager, employee Monuments and archology, municipality of Almere
Context	Icons of Almere was linked to the development of a (national) modernising process for monuments policy. Or in the case of Almere, the first development of a monument policy.

4.3 Method

4.3.1 Heritage Methods

Traditional methods of assessing heritage significance heavily rely on historical, art historical and archaeological notions defined by professionals, and they are applied basically through disciplinary methods (R. Mason, 2002, p. 5). These history-based assessments of significance (also known as the heritage values) are still dominating most urban development policies, especially in subnational governance, as local and regional authorities. In the UNESCO World Heritage List, there are examples of wider value systems and implementations, including minorities as stakeholders, but at national or local level this is not standard (Labadi, 2007). Although the field of heritage conservation had been dominated by expert views for decades, mainly covering historic values and related methods, more participatory processes are now supported by administrations at different levels. The conceptualisation of heritage has evolved and expanded extensively over the past three decades, which asks for a broader scope of values and the inclusion of other stakeholders and disciplines. This is specifically relevant for a new town like Almere, since the history-based assessment does not easily apply to its relatively young building stock. Moreover, the municipality of Almere has the ambition to develop inclusive assessment methods, that represent the civic perspective on heritage.

Among scholars and in governmental bodies, there is a call to define methods to assess values of ordinary architectural resources in urban environments. However, despite the wealth of practices, there is limited research today on tools and methods to assess the values of ordinary architecture and urbanism. To identify a broader scope of values and perspectives, this research seeks to learn from experiments conducted in practice. How have the pilots been organised, what methods and participatory activities have been employed? What type of stakeholders have been reached by the different pilots? What type of attributes and values have been mentioned by the participants? Do different stakeholder groups indicate different types of heritage? What scale level the pilots focus on and on what level participants identify with heritage?

4.3.2 Heritage classifications

For this research, the Heritage Cube as developed by Peter Howard (2003) is used as a framework to categorise, compare and discuss the results of the four different pilots. Howard defines heritage as anything that someone wishes to conserve or to collect, and to pass on to future generations. Howard's framework presents the examination of (1) the kinds of things that people conserve and collect, (2) the types of people who do it and (3) the levels of identity at which the activity takes place. These can be regarded as faces of a cube (Howard, 2003, p. 52). (See Figure 4.2 and 4.3). Any decision or dispute in heritage management can be imagined as existing somewhere within the cube, as confrontations between fields, between levels and between markets. To be able to identify the different interest and aspects that play a role in decision making, classification can clarify the various positions.

Starting with the first dimension of the cube, the Heritage Fields (attributes), Howard questions what can be heritage, what kind of things people wish to conserve or collect, to protect from the ravages of time? His answer is 'everything' (Howard, 2003, p. 53). Although he reckons the limitations of listing the great diversity of things that can have value for people, he identifies seven most significant fields: Nature, Landscape, Monuments, Sites, Artefacts, Activities and People. His definition clearly includes tangible and intangible attributes. Also on an international institutional level, UNESCO recognises that all cultures and societies are rooted in the particular forms and means of tangible and intangible expression which constitute their heritage (UNESCO, 2019). Intangible cultural heritage is included in the definitions as 'the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage' heritage' (UNESCO, 2018). The second dimension of the cube concerns Heritage Markets. The reason for Howard to distinguish 'markets' is that people who are prepared to devote time, money and effort to heritage want different things from it. This could include legitimation, cultural capital, identity, financial reward or just a living (Howard, 2003, p. 102). The Heritage Markets (stakeholders) in the framework are Owners, Outsiders, Insiders, Governments, Academics and Media. The documents by UNESCO mention state parties, right-holders and stakeholders, without defining clear categories, although some groups are mentioned in the convention texts. The Faro Convention text that was referred to earlier, defines a heritage community as consisting of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations (Council-of-Europe, 2005). The related action plan distinct four groups in participation, being the active civil

society (heritage community), people who can convey the message (facilitators), engaged and supportive political players in the public sector (local, regional, national institutes and authorities) and engaged and supportive stakeholders in the private sector (businesses, non-profit entities, academia, CSOs, NGOs, etc.). The third dimension within which heritage management operates is the Level of Identity (scale). This concerns the scale level on which Heritage strengthens the identity, which could be at the level of our Home, our Neighbourhood, our Town or County, our Region, our Nation and at the Continental or International level (Howard, 2003, p. 147). According to the used definition of heritage as something that people want to save, collect or conserve, it relates directly to identity and self-consciousness. In our research we adapted from the definitions from the Heritage Cube by Howard, by relating them to World Heritage documents and conventions discussed and the specific Almere situation.

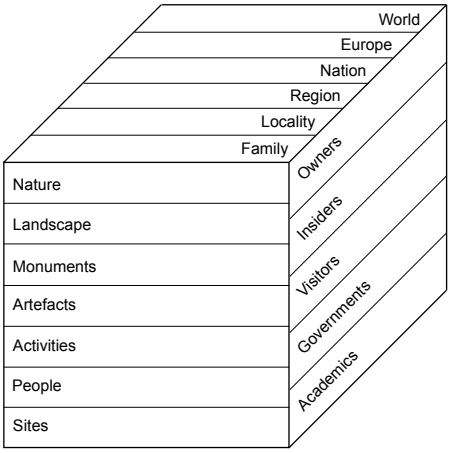


FIG. 4.2 Heritage Cube (Howard, 2003, p. 54)

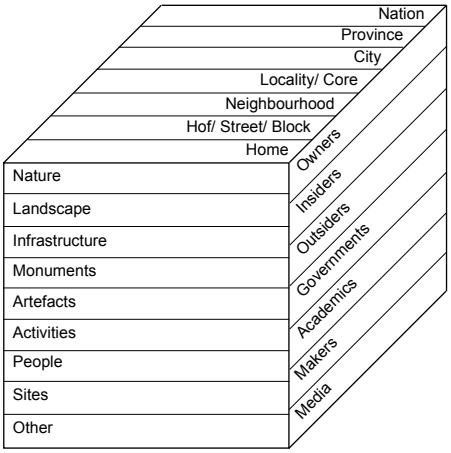


FIG. 4.3 Almere Cube

4.3.3 Almere Cube

As discussed by Howard (2003, pp. 52-53), the classifications and categories he introduced are open to changes. For instance, heritage significance can be integrated into different scales, such as both regional and national level. Or a person can carry multiple roles, such as both academic and insider, and relate to more stakeholder groups and have various interests. Also, the number of categories of all dimensions can be extended or reduced for specific cases. Moreover, definitions of categories can be specified per culture, project or case. For our research on Almere heritage pilots, we adapted the Heritage Cube as the Almere Cube, considering some characteristics from both the location and the approach of the pilots. The adaptions have been made during the early stages of the analysis process, so could be regarded as part of the research results. However, since they are reinterpretations of a pre-set model, they are presented in the methods section. Moreover, these terms relate to definitions as used by other heritage organisations like UNESCO. To align and compare terms, the various definitions are presented in Table 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7.

Additional categories or alternative definitions have been developed relating to specific Almere characteristics. Regarding attributes, most categories resemble the Heritage Cube, but different from Howard's definition, monuments do not necessarily have a listed status since in Almere this is very rare. In activities, also everyday activities are included, which might not be seen as heritage traditionally, but are an example the inclusive broad scope that is used in this research. If walking the dog along the water front is valuable to people it could be significant for Almere's heritage. Two attribute categories have been added for the Almere Cube. The first is Infrastructure, including both urban logistic concepts and specific fields like parking spaces. The other added category is 'Other', grouping things that could not be represented in the present categories. Also, this left-over category represents the exploring wide view that is the nature of this research. A new stakeholder category is introduced for the Almere Cube, which is Makers. Since Almere is a relatively young town, people involved in the design, policies and building phases of the city are still alive and also involved in some of the pilots. The Makers category includes architects, urban planners and sociologists that were sometimes related to the (local) government. The fact that some of the makers were working for the government and are residents of Almere, illustrates that mixing of stakeholder groups occurs. In these cases, double stakeholder groups have been identified. The adaption of scales for the Almere Cube, regards more emphasis on the smaller scale levels and disregarding the Continental and International level that are part of Howard's model. This relates to the aim of the Almere pilots and the young and ordinariness of our subject, which is not recognised as of global significance (yet).

TABLE 4.5 Terminology for attributes

Attributes	Heritage Cube (Howard, 2003, p. 54)	UNESCO Operational Guidelines (UNESCO, 2019, pp. 18-19, 27)	Almere Cube
Nature	Nature reserves, zoos, museums, fauna, flora, geology, habitats, air and water	Natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) from the aesthetic or scientific point of view	Natural elements e.g., trees, water, sun, air, animals
Landscape	National parks, AONBs, natural areas, heritage coasts, gardens and parks, cultural and archaeological landscapes, mountain chains, plains and coastlines	Cultural properties that represent the "combined works of nature and of man". They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal	Coherent set of natural/ cultural designed/ undesigned elements e.g., parks, forest, squares, skylines
Infrastructure			Urban concepts e.g., logistic plan or specific elements e.g., parking spaces
Monuments	Listed buildings, scheduled monuments, conservation areas, buildings, transport lines, archaeological remains, sculpture	Architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of OUV from the point of view of history, art or science	Buildings or ensembles, listed and unlisted
Artefacts	Museums, galleries, outdoor museums, museum artefacts, family albums, artworks, ships		Objects e.g., pieces of art, in public space or private objects
Activities	Clubs and societies, legislation, appellation controlee, language, religion, performing arts, sports, diet and drink, calendars, customs, crafts	Traditions, techniques and management systems, language and other forms of intangible heritage	Traditions and events e.g., market or Christmas party, or everyday activities e.g., sports, shopping, walking the dog
People	Atrocity sites, plaques, graveyards, obituaries, saints' relics, heroes, victims, celebrities' possessions		Persons e.g., a known (historic) figure
Sites	National battlefields, historic markers, battlefields, mythical sites, lieux de memoire	Works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of OUV from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view	Locations with a symbolic (historical) meaning or 'lieux de memoires'
Other		Spirit and feeling and other internal/external factors	Anything else mentioned as valuable, e.g. spirit, identity

TABLE 4.6 Terminology for stakeholders

Stakeholders	Heritage Cube (Howard, 2003, p. 104)	UNESCO (2019) + Faro Convention (Council-of-Europe, 2005)	Almere Cube
Owners	Especially in built heritage and artefacts. Can include governments and organizations. Drives up market (gentrification). Concerns of privacy, security, finance	Stakeholders from private sector; businesses, non-profit entities	Private home owners, housing corporations, owners of businesses (not necessarily owning real estate)
Insiders	Concerned particularly with activities, with sites and with people. Long-settled locals and club members. Concerned for access but also to exclude outsiders. Often oppose interpretation and pricing. Concerned with person- and event-related histories	Indigenous peoples, (active) heritage community, (heritage) facilitators	People that live and/ or work in Almere
Outsiders	Includes tourists, but also day trippers, educational visits, pilgrims, connoisseurs, all with different agendas, which don't mix well. Concerns for access and interpretation		Visitors or tourists, not living in Almere.
Governments	Governments Primarily fund nature, landscape, built heritage and museum sectors. Levels of government often compete. Concerned for legitimacy and prestige, to show similarity within area and difference from others.	State parties: local, regional, national institutes and authorities	Governmental bodies or employees thereof on local, regional or on national level
Academics	Often 'discover' heritage. Disciplines establish hegemony over types of heritage. Lack resources, so advise governments. Concerned for authenticity and conservation.	Other interested parties and partners (e.g., NGO's) in the identification, nomination, management and protection processes of World Heritage properties.	Researchers and students from academia, or professional experts in the field e.g., real estate advisors, commerce or heritage experts
Makers			Architects, urban planners and sociologists involved in the development of built environment, independent or related to the government
Media	Old agenda for 'newsworthiness' now joined by visual value for films etc.		Written, visual and social media on local, regional or on national level

TABLE 4.7 Terminology for scales

Scales	Heritage Cube (Howard, 2003, p. 148)	Almere Cube
International	UNESCO: World Heritage Sites – natural, cultural and cultural landscapes; Ramsar sites etc. Controlled by nation-states	
Continental	European Union, Council of Europe: mainly environmental and built heritage. Conventions; Cities of Culture; routes and networks; fauna reserves. Largely controlled by nation-states	
Nation	National museums, monument protection systems, regalia, honours. Also control levels above and below, with agenda of legitimation	The Netherlands as a nation
Province/ Region	Some confusion between regional and national. Environmental, landscape and built heritage often administered at this level. Also sub-national sports and museums, especially folk museums	Flevoland and the IJsselmeer polders
County/civic	Monuments often administered at this level within national objectives. Also museums, archives, civic events and celebrations, commemorations, sports. Also coasts, and public parks	
City		Almere as a polynuclear town, referring to all cores
Locality	Parish/ward is often responsible for footpaths, fetes, local events, sports clubs, church. The level at which people largely know each other and the heritage is dominated by activities, sites and people	One core of Almere, e.g., Almere Haven
Neighbourhood	The street, hamlet or block, which often share festivals, commemorations of events and people	Coherent part of the urban fabric indicated by a name (e.g. De Werven).
Hofje, Street or Block		Ensemble of houses that share a collective space, like a courtyard or cul-de-sac-like street
Home	Family routines, graves, photo album, pets. Largely matriarchal agenda. May be geographically dispersed	Residential unit, which includes the garden and sometimes relates to specific rooms or spots inside the home

4.3.4 Analysis

The results of the four pilots that have been conducted in previous years serve as primary data for the research. Since the pilots are very different in their organisation, scope and output, the resulting data varies from conversation reports of round table meetings, blog reports of participatory activities, value-maps made in a workshop, analysed results like code lists and minutes of administrative meetings. All these documents have been coded by TU Delft researchers, using Atlas.ti software package. A code is an issue, topic or concept that is present in the data. Codes are used as topical markers that enable the analysis of a wide variety of data on a specific theme. In this research a deductive coding process was used. In deductive strategies (different from inductive strategies), a pre-set list of codes, based on present theories or concepts, serves as the framework for analysis (Hennink et al., 2020, p. 220). In our case, the model of the Almere Cube categories, representing attributes, stakeholders and scales, has been used as the pre-set framework. Often deductive coding serves as the first step, after which refinement of codes anticipating on the nuanced content takes place. Since classification and comparison is the goal of the project, the deductive strategy was the main step. However, some inductive adaptions to the categories have been made in the early stages of the coding, specifying the cube model for the Almere case.

After coding the data, the dataset per pilot has been analysed on the relative distribution over the categories identifying the focus of every pilot. Using the coding software, a quantitative analysis was carried out on the frequency of codes and especially on combination of codes. Tables have been produced that present the cooccurrence of for example the number of codes per heritage field for each pilot. The results provide answers to the questions raised, like what type of stakeholders have been reached by the different pilots, what aspects have been mentioned by the participants and on what scale they identify with these aspects? This allows for a comparison of the pilots and relating the resulting focus to their participatory activities. As a second analytic step, the dataset of all pilots combined have been studied. The cooccurrence of codes of the different faces of the cube shows the relation between attributes, stakeholders and scales. Based on this comparison, it can be discussed how for example different stakeholder groups indicate different types of attributes or what is the dominant scale on which stakeholders identify with heritage. In this chapter, the highlights per pilot and the characteristics of the categories as applied to Almere are discussed.

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Attributes per pilot

The results of Erfgoedatelier are spread over the attribute categories, but predominantly focus on architectural and large-scale levels, like landscape, monuments and infrastructure (see Table 4.8). This relates to the questions and activities employed in the pilot. One method in this pilot is a questionnaire asking for the best buildings and places of Haven, relating directly and exclusively to the attribute categories monuments and landscapes. An urban map was used as a method in the round table discussions to indicate 'pearls and coals' (positive and negative spots) of Haven. Logically, the large scale of this map has led to large scale answers.

Erfgoed in Haven represents a relatively equal distribution across the attribute categories. The diaries used consist of seven questions with various formats about different scale levels, from the rooms in the house, the top 3 of nice neighbourhoods, the everyday routes and routines in Almere Haven, up to the character of Almere Haven on a postcard. Moreover, the diary was open for various types of answers, like physical aspects, more abstract qualities or notations, activities etc. This pilot shows that asking specific questions about the different scales and aspects not only directing to 'buildings' alone, leads to a broader scope of answers. The high number in 'Other' is striking, which in this case is mostly relating to identity.

Havenhart 2.0 shows two 'over'-represented categories: activities and landscape. The high representation of Landscape is in line with the other pilots, which indicates the strong values that are attached to it in the Almere context. Activities however, is more difficult to explain. Relating to the activities of the pilot, the round table sessions opened up the discussion to what matters in peoples' daily lives and what they want to keep or change for the future of Almere Haven. The fact that Activities are an important part of that is an interesting outcome that requires more study on the method (why so many activities mentioned, by whom, what activities etc)

Iconen van Almere has two dominants with most important is Monuments. This is a direct result of the aim of the pilot and the way the question/ poll is organised, asking for 'the icon' of Almere. Although the responses could have been addressing any Heritage Field, this pilot makes clear that asking for Icons results in the rather

traditional interpretation of the icon, represented by buildings. However, the large share of Landscape underlines the importance of the Almere landscapes. The largest number of all pilots in Artefacts. Apparently, 'Iconen van Almere' also links to Artefacts. 'Collect narratives' as in the aim of the project, does not speak from the documents analysed. Although the aim is to develop a more differentiated nuanced identity of Almere, this does not seem to translate to a more differentiated perspective on the definition of heritage.

Comparing the attributes of the different pilots, as presented in the Table 4.8, it becomes clear that Landscape is the absolute winner in the attribute categories, with the high percentage of more than 23% in every pilot. This mainly refers to the natural landscape and might be related to the specific green qualities and landscape setting of Almere. However, it could also be influenced by the applied methods for participation, as was suggested in Erfgoedatelier. The field Infrastructure only has a relevant score in Erfgoedatelier, which might be linked to the stakeholders involved. The attribute categories Sites and People have an overall low score, which might be related to the young history of Almere but also due to the methods asking for buildings specifically. People as a field, if mentioned, mostly relates to the 'pioneers', that are very specific for Almere. Also, memories about personal relatives, related to an urban place, are mentioned as valuable.

TABLE 4.8 Attributes per pilot

	Erfgoedatelier	Erfgoed in Haven	Havenhart 2.0	Iconen van Almere
Nature	6%	12%	7%	4%
Landscape	23%/	26%	27%	33%
Infrastructure	18%	3%	7%	4%
Monuments	20%	12%	6%	41%
Artefacts	7%	5%	2%	12%
Activities	15%	11%	33%	2%
People	4%	8%	8%	0%
Sites	5%	3%	2%	3%
Other	1%	19%	7%	2%

4.4.2 Scales per pilot

As clear from Table 4.9 showing the scales per pilot, Erfgoedatelier has a clear focus on the local scale of the Core, having Almere Haven as the subject of study. Although the pilot Erfgoed in Haven also has Almere Haven as the scope, the dominance of answers is on the scale of the home and the hofje/ street. To some extent this can be related to the diary method employed, including questions on the smaller scale. However, these questions also addressed larger scales as the city, but they are not largely presented in the answers. This might be related to the Insiders as the dominant stakeholder group, having their main interest in their own living environment. Havenhart 2.0 is aiming at a vision for the urban renewal of Almere Haven, which explains the focus on Almere Haven as a Core. However, more responses on City scale could have been expected in which the identity of Almere Haven is positioned in relation to Almere as a whole. The pilot Iconen van Almere aims at the scope of the City of Almere, which is clearly reflected in the answers. This pilot represents the larger scales, which is logical for its aim of defining a differentiated identity of Almere in the broader context.

The overall analysis of the scale of the pilots shows that three out of four pilots focus on Almere Haven (Core) and play in the smaller scale levels. Iconen van Almere is the exception in this sample of pilots, representing the larger scale levels. The scales are as expected and intended, with exception for Erfgoed in Haven, that intended to evaluate different scale levels but has a dominance of responses on the scale of the home.

TABLE 4.9 Scales per pilot

	Erfgoedatelier	Erfgoed in Haven	Havenhart 2.0	Iconen van Almere
Nation	3%	0%	1%	10%
Province	5%	0%	2%	10%
City	16%	7%	5%	67%
Locality/ Core	58%	19%	66%	5%
Neighbourhood	13%	9%	10%	10%
Hofje/ Street/ Block	4%	26%	9%	0%
Home	3%	38%	7%	0%

4.4.3 Stakeholders per pilot

As Table 4.10 shows, the participants involved in pilot Erfgoedatelier are spread over stakeholder groups, although with some dominant groups. Notable in this pilot is the relatively large representation of Makers, which might be related to the organiser Polderblik, that is a foundation that manages and provides access to the archives of the 'godfathers and mothers' of Almere, in other words the Makers. The respondents of pilot Erfgoed in Haven are only insiders and a few owners. The owners in this case are insiders too, since these are mainly shop owners. The limited representation of other stakeholders is in line with the aim of this pilot to investigate the residents' perception of heritage values. Correspondingly, the applied methods used focus on residents mainly. The pilot Havenhart 2.0 includes more different stakeholder groups in their activities. Although insiders are dominant in this pilot too, there are some representatives of outsiders and governments. Also, relatively many academics are involved here, which are mainly professionals in this case. The large share of insiders and academics/ experts also relates to the organisation of the pilot, in which both residents (insiders) and Havenverbond as organising party that includes local experts are represented in the results. The Iconen van Almere pilot shows a distribution over insiders (represented by the public poll) and academics and makers (involved in the expert poll).

Regarding the overall representation of stakeholders, the Insiders are the largest group in every pilot. Insiders in these pilots are predominantly residents of Almere in all pilots. This is also the group aimed at in the participation ambitions of every participatory pilot. However, it could be questioned if focus on present residents alone is wise, regarding for example future interventions, urban developments or urban identity. Media as a stakeholder group is generally underrepresented in the pilots, but in Icons of Almere media and social media has played an important role. However, in the cases Media as a stakeholder group was coded, in most cases a resident was also involved in media leading to a 'double role'.

TABLE 4.10 Stakeholders per pilot

	Erfgoedatelier	Erfgoed in Haven	Havenhart 2.0	Iconen van Almere
Owners	1%	10%	9%	9%
Insiders	57%	90%	51%	22%
Outsiders	8%	0%	9%	9%
Governments	4%	0%	8%	9%
Academics	3%	0%	23%	22%
Makers	25%	0%	0%	13%
Media	3%	0%	0%	17%

4.4.4 Comparative analysis of the 4 pilots

The previously discussed results are combined per heritage pilot project and presented in the four Almere Heritage Cube's, see Figure 4.4. Regarding the different faces of the cubes, we can have an overall impression of the pilots. For the Erfgoed in Haven pilot the stakeholder groups reached are very limited (insiders only) and also the scales have a clear focus, on the home and lower levels. But its distribution over the attribute categories is very wide, ranging from nature and landscape to also activities and other. The pilot Iconen van Almere shows the opposite. It is rather limited in the attribute categories addressed (mainly landscape and monuments) but many stakeholders are represented. The Havenhart 2.0 pilot is very specific in all faces of the cube. It has two dominant categories in each part, with a dominance of activities as a striking result in the attributes. It would require more research to find out how this is related to the way the pilot was organized. It might be linked to the structure, the topics discussed or the methods of the roundtables. However, it could also be influenced by the medium of blogposts or even the writers of the reports, having a focus on activities. If the four cubes would be combined, all attributes, stakeholders and scales, would be covered.

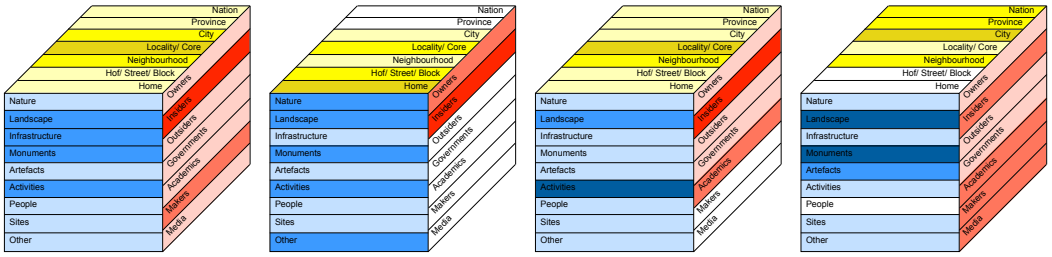


FIG. 4.4 From left to right, Heritage Cubes for Erfgoedatelier, Erfgoed in Haven, Havenhart 2.0 and Iconen van Almere

For the following comparisons, results of all chapters have been combined. This allows for an in-depth analysis of the relations between the 'faces' of the Cube.

TOC

4.4.4.1 Attributes x Scales

The first obvious conclusion, as can be seen in Table 4.11, is the dominance of the Core as the scale for all attribute categories. This is previously explained by the focus on Almere Haven in 3 out of 4 pilots. Many buildings, urban or natural locations, activities etc are mentioned that identify Almere Haven, like e.g., Havenkom, Corrosia, the canals, the market, shopping and houses. More surprisingly, on the smallest scale of the home, many attribute categories are represented. Nature in this scheme mainly relates to the private garden or the nature in close proximity or within sight of the house. Monuments and artefacts on this scale, are the house itself and items or furniture inside the individual house. The match People and Hofje, applies to neighbours being the most significant attribute category on this scale. The match infrastructure and Province relates to the connection by highways and public transport to surrounding regions. The attribute category Other on all scales refers to identity mostly, like the village atmosphere or green character on core level and the ordinary or cosy identity of the Hofje and the home.

TABLE 4.11 Attributes and scales, of all pilots combined

	National	Province	City	Locality/ Core	Neighbour-hood	Hofje/ Street/ Block	Home
Nature	0%	3%	5%	50%	8%	8%	26%
Landscape	0%	2%	9%	68%	9%	4%	9%
Infrastructure	0%	10%	5%	74%	7%	5%	0%
Monuments	2%	0%	5%	65%	5%	5%	18%
Artefacts	0%	0%	16%	63%	0%	0%	21%
Activities	0%	3%	7%	66%	3%	11%	10%
People	0%	0%	0%	57%	11%	25%	7%
Sites	6%	0%	6%	89%	0%	0%	0%
Other	0%	0%	10%	49%	8%	14%	20%

4.4.4.2 Stakeholders x Attributes

Owners mention the events organised in Almere Haven as important activities and opportunity in branding, like Zomer in Haven, specialised retail or culinary events (see Table 4.12). Also, Outsiders mention events like Havenfestival, shopping but also tourism relating to Landscapes such as in green areas and the harbour. Governments and Academics both have their highlights in Landscapes and Monuments, referring to green, blue and urban landscapes and the list of significant buildings that could/ should become monuments, like the church Goede Rede, Corrosia, the canals, but also the oldest housing areas like the Werven or private villa's in Almere. Although the makers, like the Insiders, have a broad scope of attributes they find significant, they are the stakeholders that relate most to Infrastructure, indicating the original logistic concepts that do or do not function in the contemporary situation.

TABLE 4.12 Stakeholders and attributes, of all pilots combined

	Nature	Land-scape	Infra-structure	Monu-ments	Artefacts	Activities	People	Sites	Other
Owners	0%	27%	18%	9%	0%	36%	0%	0%	9%
Insiders	9%	24%	5%	18%	6%	16%	8%	4%	10%
Outsiders	0%	45%	5%	5%	0%	40%	5%	0%	0%
Governments	2%	39%	9%	33%	9%	4%	0%	2%	2%
Academics	7%	39%	7%	18%	7%	13%	1%	2%	5%
Makers	10%	19%	29%	10%	6%	13%	0%	10%	3%
Media	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

4.4.4.3 Stakeholders x Scales

Although all stakeholders have the highest 'score' on the scale of the Core, it is clear that Insiders represent the broadest distribution over the scales with an emphasis on the smaller scale levels (see Table 4.13). The fact that Insiders are the largest share of all participants, this spread over the scales and over the previously mentioned attributes is significant in all other results.

TABLE 4.13 Stakeholders and scales, of all pilots combined

	Nation	Province	City	Locality/ Core	Neighbour-hood	Hofje/ Street/ Block	Home
Owners	0%	0%	15%	77%	8%	0%	0%
Insiders	1%	1%	10%	45%	10%	15%	17%
Outsiders	4%	4%	17%	67%	4%	0%	4%
Governments	13%	0%	0%	63%	25%	0%	0%
Academics	0%	0%	4%	84%	8%	0%	4%
Makers	3%	3%	3%	77%	13%	0%	0%
Media	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

4.5 Conclusions & Recommendations

4.5.1 Heritage definitions

The results of the pilots differ significantly in their definitions of what is heritage, both regarding the types attributes as the scale level that is addressed. One explanation is the type of activities and the way questions are posed. Erfgoedatelier is most explicit in using the word heritage, heritage policy and heritage experts in their documents, reflected in monuments and landscapes as the dominant attribute categories. In the pilot Iconen van Almere, both the public and the expert poll list monuments and landscapes and some artefacts. The poll results show that when asking for icons, the responses contain a rather traditional interpretation of icon, indicating buildings dominantly. The pilot Erfgoed in Haven mentions heritage ('erfgoed') in the title and the diary introduction text explaining the term in relation to Almere. But the questions per day speak about favourite spot, everyday routes or a postcard 'greetings from …'. These more general questions about qualities open up to responses outside the more traditional attribute categories. This approach shows that the application of a diversity of formats and addressing various scale levels in this pilot, result in greater diversity in attributes and scales. The Havenhart 2.0 documents do not mention the term heritage at all and the word 'identity' is mentioned once, only in the vision that results from the pilot. And although the questions and methods applied addressed various attributes, when generally asking what matters to people in their living environment, activities prove to have important values. All four pilots intend to explore the essential qualities of Almere (Haven), but relating to heritage terms or not seems to have an influence on the resulting attributes, indicating that terminology matters.

A survey executed in the early phase of the pilot Iconen van Almere respondents are asked 'Are there buildings, places, objects, stories or traditions in Almere that should be conserved?'. Although the responses are confirmative on all attribute categories (buildings 75%, places 80%, objects 70%, stories 60%, traditions 50%) the intangible attribute categories like stories and traditions have not been addressed in the follow-up poll. This leads to a second explanation of the differences in heritage definitions. Our research indicates that various stakeholders use different scopes of what can be heritage. Especially the insiders like residents and the makers involved in the development of the areas have a much broader view on valuable attributes, addressing both tangible as intangible attribute categories. Governments, academics

and experts on the other hand predominantly mention the tangible heritage like buildings and landscapes. This could be related to the definitions by heritage institutions like UNESCO and ICOMOS listing buildings, sites and cultural/ natural landscapes as heritage. Although intangibles like traditions and language are mentioned as attributes that can express cultural values (UNESCO, 2019), the focus of nomination is on tangible assets as the objects for preservation. However, heritage valorisation is not focussed on conservation alone, but can also serve as a driver for social, economic or ecological future developments.

Parties involved in the organisation of participatory heritage valorisation should be aware of the use of terminology and the effect on the results. If the intention is the identification of significant buildings and sites according to more traditional heritage frames, applying heritage terminology nudges participants in this direction. If aiming for a broad scope, including intangible heritage, the various attribute categories should be addressed in the questions asked. The interviewers seem to use a narrower scope than their interviewees. So, if participation in heritage valorisation is taken seriously, the organising parties, often governments, academics and experts, should adapt their definitions. To respect the participants' opinions and assessments, they should widen the heritage scope, even if this expands, changes or even undermines existing heritage definitions, methods and policies. The exploration of young heritage, like in Almere, and related heritage policies is an opportunity to develop a new approach that balances tangible and intangible heritage, various scales and thereby represents the stakeholder groups involved.

4.5.2 Almere Heritage

Landscapes are the absolute winner in the Heritage contest. Although this research intents to evaluate participatory methods and was not meant to list specific Almere heritage, this conclusion speaks from all results. Regardless of method, scale or stakeholder group, landscape as a heritage field comes out as very significant for Almere, especially on the scale level of Almere Haven as a core. Moreover, it is in the top list of Icons in Almere, differentiating the traditional understanding of an icon.

4.5.3 Limitations and further research

The pilots evaluated in this research are comparable by the used analysis method, as they all consider Almere heritage, took place in recent years and provided detailed data in written reports. Moreover, they have used both corresponding and complementary methods, making comparison relevant. However, it should be noted that on some aspects the four pilots vary extensively. The duration of the activities of Erfgoed atelier was one afternoon, whereas Havenhart 2.0 on the other hand was a 10-month project based on many roundtable meetings. Nevertheless, the smallest project Erfgoedatelier represents most codes in the analysis (Erfgoedatelier 159, Erfgoed in haven 124, Havenhart 2.0 122, Iconen van Almere 105). The focus on heritage in Erfgoedatelier might be an explanation for this disbalance. Also, the organisers and authors of the pilot documents, having a heritage background, have an influence on the output. The disbalance of codes and time frames should be considered in concluding on the collective results.

This attempt to test the Heritage Cube as an operational framework for identifying attributes, scales and stakeholders, is an invitation for other researchers to repeat and extend our research in different towns for different municipalities. This would contribute to assessment frameworks and methods for participatory heritage assessment.



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PART C

Empirical Research



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Hoptille, Amsterdam

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5 Case study 1

“Do I See What You See?” - Differentiation of Stakeholders in Assessing Heritage Significance of Neighbourhood Attributes

This chapter was first published in Land, Special Issue ‘A Challenging Urban: Recent Progress and the Future of Heritage Designation’:
Spoormans, L., D. Czischke, A. Pereira Roders, W. de Jonge. (2023). “Do I See What You See?” - Differentiation of Stakeholders in Assessing Heritage Significance of Neighbourhood Attributes. Land, 12(3), 712. https://www.mdpi.com/2073-445X/12/3/712

ABSTRACT Although attention for citizen involvement in urban development and heritage management processes is growing, both in practice and in research, the specifics of stakeholders’ interests have been less researched. This paper reveals and discusses the assessment by individuals and groups, to differentiate stakeholders, based on the heritage significance they convey on neighbourhood attributes. Fifty-nine interviews on a Dutch neighbourhood in Amsterdam Zuidoost were analysed integrating quantitative and qualitative methods. Results confirm important differences between and within stakeholder groups regarding their interest in particular attribute categories and scales, indicating the need to further specify stakeholders beyond the commonly used ‘community’ and ‘experts’. The identification of stakeholder interests is important to involve relevant groups in the identification and designation of significant attributes, buildings, and areas and to anticipate potential conflicts or shared interests in neighbourhood renovation processes.

5.1 Introduction

Stakeholder involvement is receiving increasing attention and is changing in public policies on the built environment. For example, the Omgevingswet (Environment Act) in the Netherlands encourages the "involvement of stakeholders (residents, businesses, civil society organisations and government bodies) at an early stage in the process of decision-making on a project or activity'" but also forces governments to participate through a duty of organization and motivation (BZK, 2021, p. 3). A large part of the projects and transformation processes will take place in existing urban areas. The European Green Deal announced a Renovation Wave for 35 million residential and non-residential buildings by 2030 to foster deep energy renovations (European-Commission, 2020, p. 3). One of the key building principles (next to e.g. energy efficiency and affordability) for this massive renovation operation is the respect for aesthetics and architectural quality. It refers to the Davos Declaration that promotes the concept of a high-quality Baukultur in Europe, stressing preservation of the quality of the built environment and the value of cultural heritage (Office-Fédéral-de-la-Culture, 2018).

Stakeholder participation is also being promoted to heritage identification and management. The Faro Convention (Council-of-Europe, 2005) declares it a human right for every citizen to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice and mentions the need to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage. This is in line with the later Davos Declaration that addresses the impact of the built environment on people's quality of life and the requirement for their participation. The growing attention is also reflected in academic studies on participation practices in heritage management e.g., comparing international practices in community participation (Li, 2020), studying the different roles in participatory heritage practices and related methods (Rosetti, 2022) and research on the representation (or lack) of nation and cultural diversity within discourses, identification and nomination of heritage (Labadi, 2007).

While many studies research when and how stakeholders are or should be involved in the process, the specific interests of various participating stakeholders have been less researched. Who are they? And, more importantly, what do they find important in their living environment? What groups can be identified and to what extent do individuals in a group agree on the evaluation of qualities? What is their perspective on heritage? This paper discusses the identification of attributes in neighbourhoods and buildings, by individuals and groups in order to differentiate stakeholders based on their interests. A greater awareness on how individuals and groups identify

attributes as their heritage, helps growing understanding on how they may or may not differ. This is relevant to anticipate potential conflicts or shared interests for the conservation of significant attributes within renovation processes. In addition, more information on how stakeholder profiles (background, profession) relate to their assessment can inform who to invite at the participation table to include their opinions and achieve stakeholder support. The context of this study is the overlap between everyday neighbourhoods and heritage. The interface between everyday and heritage applies to the theory, methods and case study used. Starting point is the importance of preserving qualities in every living environment, as stated in the Davos Declaration and the Faro Convention. Preservation of existing qualities is at the core of the heritage discipline. Where the attributes justifying heritage listings started highlighting history and monumental artworks, in the last century younger objects, commonplace buildings and neighbourhoods started being listed and also further researched in heritage studies (L. Spoormans, A. Pereira Roders, 2021). These developments show that 'everyday' and 'heritage' are converging.

This paper presents a detailed analysis of interview responses from various groups. The aim is to reveal the variation of perspectives between and within stakeholder groups, in order to better understand the contributions per stakeholder profile and how they can influence the choice of attributes in their assessment of significance. In doing so, the researchers aim to help reduce the knowledge gap on how stakeholders, individuals and groups, convey significance to their living environment, in their similarities and differences. The research is based on a single case study and has multiple respondents with diverse backgrounds, professions, and connections to the neighbourhood. The case study concerns a Dutch 1980s neighbourhood in Amsterdam Zuidoost, whose heritage significance (attributes and values) has not yet been extensively studied. By assessing a not-listed neighbourhood, using theories and methods common in heritage studies, this article also contributes to the knowledge about and preservation of everyday attributes and their importance for stakeholders. In addition, it examines how considering the diversity of stakeholder interests influences the identification of attributes and hence the possible designation of heritage.

First, the paper discusses theory about stakeholder classification to define a theoretical framework for the research (Section 2). It then illustrates the case study and explains the research methods for data collection, data analysis, applying sequentially quantitative and qualitative methods (Section 3). In the results section (Section 4), the aggregated opinions of the stakeholder groups are presented in a 'majority report', as well as the deviating responses in a 'minority report'. In the discussion section (Section 5), building on the results, propositions are formulated and related to the theoretical framework. Research contributions and recommendations follow in the conclusion (Section 6).

5.2 Theoretical framework

In order to identify the stakeholder groups and their priorities in heritage assessment and the possible differentiation between and within groups, current theories on stakeholder categories are discussed. Firstly, the main principles of group classification are compared, both from contemporary guiding heritage policies and from academic studies, addressing groups in terms of their role, power and influence on the heritage management process. Secondly, the link to interest in heritage is made by studying the relationship between stakeholder groups and heritage attributes. Then, a further specification of attributes is discussed, by identifying underlying principles to classify attributes, ranging from tangible to intangible, as well as, ranging from micro to macro scale. Finally, key concepts from the theory discussed are explained as a theoretical framework for operationalisation in this study.

5.2.1 Stakeholder involvement

Although it is widely recognised that stakeholders should be involved in the identification and management of heritage, policies in urban development and heritage practices mention the term 'stakeholder' often preceded by 'multiple', 'a wide range of', 'an inclusive set of', without specifying the specific groups. The European countries ratifying the Faro Convention (Council-of-Europe, 2005) agree to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage. 'Everyone' is defined as "heritage communities' consisting of 'people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish (…) to sustain and transmit to future generations". It is this broad integration of 'everyone' and at the same time the 'specific aspects' they consider important, that calls for more precision in the stakeholder groups and their interests. What are the criteria for distinguishing stakeholder groups?

A main and frequently used classification is the distinction between professionals and laymen. The Faro Convention states that the management of the cultural heritage and participation should be a joint action by public authorities, experts, owners, investors, businesses, non-governmental organisations and civil society (Council-of-Europe, 2005, p. 5). In this classification, several professionally involved groups are mentioned based on their role in relation to the heritage property. Civil society, certainly the largest in number, is not further specified, but seems to be a catch-all term for the not professionally involved. The 2011 Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) differentiates professional stakeholders by geographical scope, mentioning the

involvement of "a variety of stakeholders, including local, national, regional, international, public and private actors in the urban development process" (UNESCO, 2011b, p. 2). Also, a division between public and private is included. And although in the HUL recommendations on policies and responsibilities, professional stakeholders are classified by profession, role in the process, public or private sector, non-professionals are mentioned as one collective group, named civil society or community.

The difference between professionals and non-professionals according to the role they play in heritage management and conservation is addressed by Randall Mason (2002). He distinguishes insiders who are 'at the table' and outsiders who are not. Insiders refer to actors with power, such as public officials, bureaucrats, policy makers, those who influence them, and other experts invited into the process. Outsiders, according to Mason, constitute everyone else with a stake in the heritage in question but with little or no leverage on the process. Outsiders often are non-professionals, but e.g. conservation professionals can also be outsiders if they have little access to the decision-making process. A further division of power and influence is described by Loes Veldpaus (2015) classifying politicians and policy makers as 'decision makers'. Experts are differentiated in experts from policy, practice or academia. The heritage community is considered as divided in a direct community (inhabitants, users, and developers) and external community (wider public, local or national and tourists) (Veldpaus, 2015, pp. 68-69). As Veldpaus acknowledges, the involved stakeholders and their roles have expanded and changed over the last decades and are dynamic. Mason introduces 'potential stakeholders' as a stakeholder group that has no influence but that may develop an interest in the heritage property in the future, such as future generations (R. Mason, 2002, pp. 17-18). This group can include both professionals and laypeople, but the prospect is the interest they will have in the heritage property.

5.2.2 Stakeholder interests

The involvement of a broad range of stakeholders in the identification and management of heritage assumes that when the attributes and the significance they convey are identified and acknowledged; they could be conserved. In this way; stakeholder participation can indicate possible conflicting interests that require solutions or; on the contrary; corresponding interests that can facilitate the process. Classification of stakeholders by interest in a heritage property is the organising principle applied by Peter Howard in his 'heritage markets' (Howard, 2003, pp. 102-103). Accordingly, people with an interest in heritage are regarded as 'markets' conceptualising that each group invests labour, financial or cultural capital in the

preservation and promotion of the heritage. Although Howard acknowledges that every group can have different sub-groups and that evaluations can be disputed between subgroups as well as between individuals; he indicates general fields of interest per heritage market (see Table 5.1). For example, visitors are keen on access, which may contrast with the interest of academics in authenticity in preservation of physical, material constructions and details. This differs from the media who are interested in the authenticity of appearance rather than material. Also governments and visitors want to conserve material objects, while insiders care deeply about very ordinary things and accredit deeper meanings to people and to sites (Howard, 2003, p. 144). The classification by Howard includes some groups also mentioned by others, in some cases with different meanings (e.g. outsider; insider). Although professionals or laypeople are included, it is not a main division. The distinguishing aspect in his classification, is the arrangement on the basis of someone's interest in heritage (see Table 5.1).

TABLE 5.1 Heritage markets, group examples, and interests/concerns adapted from Howard (2003)

Heritage Market	Group Examples	Interests/Concerns
Owners	Private property owners, organisations (can include governments)	Privacy, security, finance
Outsiders	Tourists, visitors, educational visits, connoisseurs	Access, interpretation
Insiders	Residents, parishioners, indigenous people, newcomers. Can also include non-local people (emigrants)	Concerned particularly with activities, with sites, and with people. Person- and event-related histories. Access, excluding outsiders. Often oppose interpretation and pricing.
Governments	Different levels of government, different expertise	Legitimacy and prestige to show similarity within an area and difference from others
Academics	Different disciplines	Authenticity, conservation
Media	Press, digital media, broadcasting, television, film	Agenda for 'newsworthiness', visual value, e.g., films

In a study among residents of historic city centres as users of urban heritage, Elke Ennen (1999) distinguishes three types of residents, based on the meaning they attribute to their living environment. The 'connoisseurs' have emphatically chosen to live in the heritage environment, have interest in cultural facilities and participate actively in local heritage manners. The 'take-it-or-leavers' are neutral to heritage identity but have interest in the public space, social contacts, and cheap city centre facilities. The 'rejecters' live in the historic city centre because of employment and other facilities, but would rather live elsewhere (Ennen, 1999, pp. 58-59). Another study by Hannah Garrow in the urban area of Leith in Edinburgh, distinguishes resident groups by their residential history and examines how this influences their assessment and their narratives in determining what constitutes heritage. 'Auld

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Leithers' attach personal meaning to spaces enabled by ancestral ties to Leith and through experiencing historical events in their lifetimes. 'Real Leithers' were born in Leith, but like Ennen's 'take-it-or-leavers' are rather ambivalent about preserving (historic) qualities and simply accept their living environment. 'New Leithers' moved there recently and demonstrate a wider view in assessing Leith's heritage, not relating to personal history but to other locations and references (Garrow, 2021, pp. 117–122). Although Ennen's and Harrow's classification are limited to residents, they reveal nuances of appreciation within a stakeholder group, hinting that subgroups may have contrasting interests.

5.2.3 Stakeholders, Attributes and Scales

The beforementioned 'heritage markets' defined by Howard are one dimension of the Heritage Cube, a concept that classifies 1) the kinds of things that people conserve and collect (heritage fields), 2) the types of people who do it (heritage markets) and 3) the levels of identity at which the activity takes place (heritage identity levels) (see Figure 5.1). These are considered the three faces of a cube and any dispute about heritage management can be imagined as existing somewhere within the cube, at the intersection of categories (Howard, 2003, pp. 52–53).

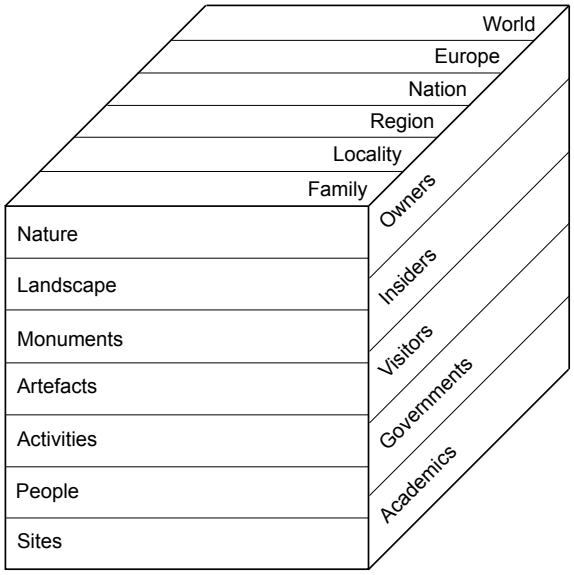


FIG. 5.1 Heritage cube redrawn from Howard

Various terms can be used to identify and discuss what heritage is and why. The term 'attribute' has been growing adoption in the context of heritage, and its distinction to values has been highlighted by the 2011 Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) (UNESCO, 2011b). Attributes are the set of characteristics, qualities, uses, and meanings used by society to justify the classification of a specific resource as a heritage property and consequently, promote its conservation for the benefit of present and future generations. Attributes represent what is heritage, which can be either tangible (material) or intangible (immaterial). In turn, values are the reason why certain attributes are considered outstanding. Veldpaus developed a taxonomy to classify attributes and compare different sources and case studies. The tangible attributes categories are organised according to scale level: asset, area and landscape. The intangible attribute categories refer to the ideas underlying the product, the practice/ societal, and the process (Veldpaus, 2015, pp. 120, 128).

When researching preferred attributes in participatory processes, the match between participant responses and attribute categories becomes relevant. As known from earlier research, individual responses in evaluating the living environment often consist of combinations of a variety of interrelated tangible and intangible attributes (L. Spoormans, A. Pereira Roders, D. Czischke, W. de Jonge, 2023). The gradations in categories of attributes is also recognised by Coolen (2001), in his research on housing preferences. Coolen highlights the large variety of tangible and intangible attributes and explains this from the heterogeneity and complexity of housing, as a 'product'. Respondents mention not only attributes related to the house, but also include the neighbourhood and location as important levels to the appreciation of the house. He lists different types of motivations, like everyday activities (playing, sleeping, supermarket), functional reasons (cheaper, practical) or psychosocial motivations (proud, relaxing, social control) (Coolen, 2001, pp. 290, 302).

5.2.4 Operationalisation of the theory

The Heritage Cube by Howard is useful as a conceptual model for this study, as it organises stakeholders (markets), attributes (fields) and scales (levels). The principle of classification is adopted, albeit with adapted categories. Howard's stakeholder categories (heritage markets) are detailed, yet comprehensive. Moreover, they are related to the assessment of preferred attributes. Since it is the aim of this study to find the similarities and differences between stakeholders' interests, contributing to the participation process, Howard's classification of stakeholders is used as a basis for this study. Howard and Ennen's notion that subgroups with different interests exist within groups also provides a starting point in analysing results. For

the scale levels, the organising principle from small to large is used, adapted to the relevant identification levels of the case study. The gradual transition from tangible to intangible attributes, as we have seen in the study by Coolen and Veldpaus, is a concept used in this research when classifying attributes, because it allows for a wide range of responses in the significance assessment of the varied stakeholders.

5.3 Method

The research primarily uses qualitative methods based on detailed interviews with a variety of respondents (59 individuals) about a neighbourhood in Amsterdam. The respondents of the different stakeholder groups were invited because of their profession and relation to the project, or through random encounters on the street. The sample of respondents was not meant to be representative, but big enough to identify and discuss the diversity of perspectives among stakeholder groups. As described by Small, "the respondents who were polite enough to talk, friendly enough to make an appointment based on a stranger's cold call, and extroverted enough to share their feelings with this stranger may have systematically different attitudes" (Small, 2009, p. 12). The results of this specific case study are not meant to be generalised to other case studies with alike attributes. Instead, the case study and methods are used to test the hypothesis and guide for further research.

5.3.1 Case study

The research is conducted in the neighbourhoods Heesterveld, Hoptille and Bijlmerplein in Amsterdam (see Figure 5.2). The Bijlmerplein neighbourhood has a mixed program of shops, offices, and housing. Hoptille and Heesterveld exist of residential complexes mainly, although Hoptille has some social meeting areas and in Heesterveld there is an artist community and related workshops and facilities. The neighbourhoods are part of Amsterdam Zuidoost, also known as the Bijlmermeer or Bijlmer. The Bijlmer is one of the most well-known housing estates in the Netherlands, characterised by long high-rise flat buildings in honeycomb patterns, built in the late 1960s and based on the CIAM ideology of separation of functions living, working, recreation, traffic (Wassenberg, 2013, pp. 77-78). Already during the completion of the high-rise part of the Bijlmer, there was criticism of, among

other things, a chaotic management situation, social problems, and the urban design concept, with the dominating massiveness of the apartment buildings, the lack of transparency and orientation. The neighbourhoods in this research are developed in the 1970s and 1980s according to another urban concept, as a 'correction' to the CIAM ideology. These neighbourhoods have a mixture of shopping facilities and housing, medium rather than high-rise buildings, and street profiles and facades that refer to traditional materials and architecture (Horst, 1991, pp. 21-30). The neighbourhoods are not listed as heritage or valuable architecture, although, in general, the stock built after 1965 has recently come under increasing attention in heritage practice and research (Blom, 2021; Somer, 2020).

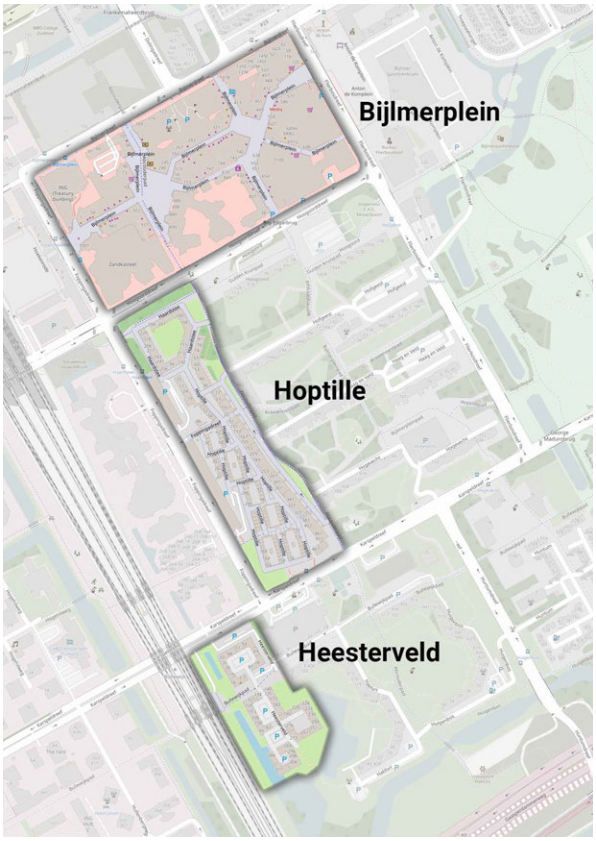


FIG. 5.2 map of case study area in Amsterdam Zuidoost.

5.3.2 Data collection

This research applied photo elicitation as a method for data collection, meaning the simple idea of inserting photographs into an interview (Harper, 2002). Harper argues that responses to photos and words differ, because the parts of the brain that process visual information are evolutionarily older than the parts that process verbal information. Thus, images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than words. By using both words and photos in the photo elicitation interview, it does not only elicit more information, but rather evokes a different kind of information (Harper, 2002, p. 13). Exploring a 'different kind of information' suits the aim of this research, to reveal the experiences and appreciated attributes in the neighbourhoods.

For the photo elicitation interviews, a set of seven photos was selected (see Figure 5.3). They illustrated a great variety of attributes which respondents could identify as significant. The photos present the streetscape of the three neighbourhoods. The groups interviewed are based on but adapted from the 'Heritage Markets' as defined by Howard (2003) (see Table 5.2). A group of 'makers' is added and includes architects and urban planners of the neighbourhoods who are still alive. Some respondents belong to more than one group e.g., both resident and local professional or architect and former resident. In those cases, the dominant profile is chosen for the aggregate analysis.

TABLE 5.2 Stakeholder groups as defined by Howard as heritage markets applied in this research

	Stakeholder groups						
Howard	Owners	Insiders		Outsiders	Governments	Academics	-
Research	Housing owners	Residents	Local professionals	Visitors	Local governments	Academics	Makers

All groups have been confronted with the same set of photos. However, the interaction between interviewer and interviewee differs per group, as some are contacted in spontaneous encounters in the street, while others are consulted in agreed online interviews, which could have influenced the understanding and length of the responses. All participants were asked to describe what is depicted on the photos and to identify positive and negative attributes. All interviews are post-coded and analysed accordingly. The interrogation of various stakeholders by presenting the same selection of photos refers to the research paradigm that multiple realities exist. Each individual, also within every stakeholder group, might assess the same objects, events and places differently. Giving voice to the experiences of individuals allows viewpoints to be heard, which may otherwise be silenced or excluded (Bijoux, 2006, p. 47).





Bijlmerplein





Hoptille





Heesterveld



Karspeldreef

FIG. 5.3 Photoset used for the interviews (Bijlmerplein, Hoptille, Heesterveld, Karspeldreef).

5.3.3 Coding

The data collected in the interviews was coded, using software Atlas.ti. Coding is a process to break down the entire data into meaningful parts, enabling focus and comparison on specific issues (codes) for analysis (Hennink et al., 2020, pp. 218-219). A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language based or visual data (Saldaña, 2009, p. 14). Two approaches to coding were applied. Firstly, deductive coding was carried out, based on the classification scale levels and attribute categories from previous research (L. Spoormans, A. Pereira Roders, D. Czischke, W. de Jonge, 2023). The classification involves mainly two types of codes: the scale levels to which an answer relates (from small to large) and the category of the attribute referred to (tangible to intangible). Additionally, inductive coding based on the data was applied to include 'in vivo' codes. This has led to adaptions during the coding process. Several attribute categories were added (object, comfort, appearance, story/memory) rising from the data. Some scales were hardly mentioned and therefore left out of the analysis (room, region, world). The scale level 'world' was mentioned only by the 'makers' group, referring to inspirational projects not directly related to the evaluation of this area and therefor disregarded in the analysis. In addition to the scale levels and the attribute categories, the codes include many attributes, which express the actual aspect that the respondents mention as positive or negative.

5.3.4 Analysis

Following the coding process of all interview transcripts, a first quantitative analysis was carried out. For each stakeholder group and for every individual respondent, a table was created showing the cooccurrence of all attribute categories (rows) and scale levels (columns). Each quote from the data that relates to a combination of scale level and attribute is displayed and counted in the table (see in Appendix chapter 5.8). Because the length and detail of the interviews differ, the number of quotes per person or group vary. Quantitative tables were created per individual and per stakeholder group and were used to find focus/gravity point of scale level – attribute combinations. By comparing stakeholder groups similarities and differences between the assessment of groups can be found (see Figure 5.4).

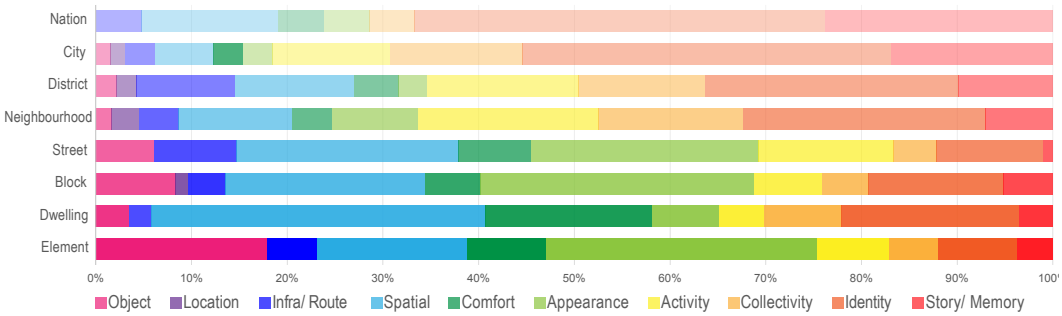


FIG. 5.4 Attribute categories grouped by scale (total sample). The bars show the percentage of quotations on the relation attribute-scale.

By comparing the individual to its stakeholder group, matching but also deviating results can be found. After the first quantitative analysis step in which the main combinations of scale level and attribute were indicated, the qualitative data from the interviews in which these assessments were expressed were examined to identify what is significant for a group or individual. The stakeholder group tables served as starting point of analysing the coded data, finding the aggregate opinion (majority report). Individual tables then served to find divergent opinions to the consensus (minority report).

Quotes reflecting aggregate opinion and deviation were presented in majority and minority reports for each stakeholder group. These qualitative data are the main source for analysis, illustrate the detailed findings and lead to the propositions on stakeholders' heritage assessment.

5.3.5 Theory building

The research results are used to formulate propositions in a process inspired by grounded theory (Glaser, 1967) developing theory evidenced from the data (Groat, 2002, pp. 180–181). Following an iterative process of reading, data collection, coding and analysing, little by little the attributes and patterns 'hidden' in the data are identified. In the words of Charmaz, "Grounded theories dig deep into the empirical and build analytic structures that reach up to the hypothetical. Thus, straightforward categories about ordinary experiences shine with bright meanings through our analytic renderings" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 151). Analysing both aggregate (majority) and deviating (minority) opinions in a quantitative and qualitative approach, might reveal patterns in assessing attributes. Looking at the data in these divergent ways, the research tries to overcome information-processing biases, such as leaping to

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conclusions influenced by the vividness or by more elite respondents, ignoring basic statistical properties or dropping disconfirming evidence (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 540).

The propositions are shaped from the majority and the minority opinions, finding logic and exception between groups and within the stakeholder group. These are compared to present theory on stakeholder assessment. As stated by Eisenhardt, (1989, p. 542) “Cases which confirm emergent relationships enhance confidence in the validity of the relationships. Cases which disconfirm the relationships often can provide an opportunity to refine and extend the theory.”. Because every neighbourhood is characterised by a mix of variables, generalisation of results is difficult in case study research. That is why results based on one or few cases have a hypothetical character requiring further testing (Swanborn, 1996, pp. 60, 67-68). The propositions in this study are therefore intended as a starting point for further research.

5.4 Research Results

The research result includes a total of 59 individual responses. The results per stakeholder group are presented in a table showing the aggregate result of attribute-scale level combinations (see tables per stakeholder group in Appendix in chapter 5.8). For every group (and every individual), the number of responses, the interview method, specification of participant profile and neighbourhood were listed. Only the tables representing stakeholder groups are presented in the paper. The total dataset, including individuals’ tables can be requested from the authors.

Figure 5.5 clearly shows that the significant attribute categories differ per stakeholder group, but there are also similarities in terms of most frequent or least frequent. Identity is often mentioned, and across all groups. Spatial and appearance also occur frequently but the latter in particular shows greater variation across groups. The tangible categories of object and location, as well as intangible categories comfort and story/memory, are among the least nominated attribute categories. The attribute category ‘location’ was hardly mentioned. This might be related to the interview method. In previous research open questions were asked (“what do you like about your neighbourhood/ street”). In this method however, the photos already show a given neighbourhood or street.

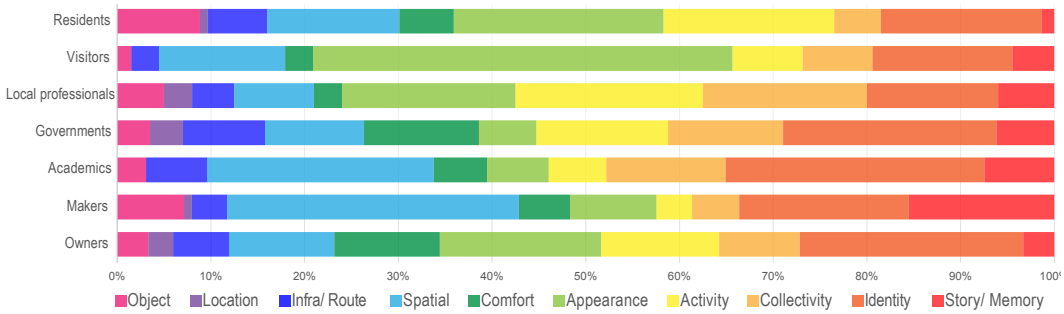


FIG. 5.5 Attribute categories mentioned per stakeholder group. The chart shows attribute categories as a percentage of the total of quotations of a stakeholder group.

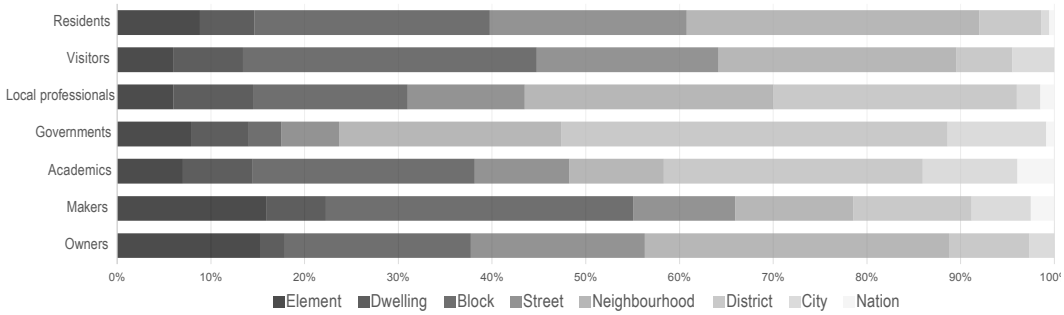


FIG. 5.6 Scale levels mentioned per stakeholder group. The chart shows scale levels as a percentage of the total of quotations of a stakeholder group.

Figure 5.6 shows the scales at which stakeholder groups find attributes significant. The neighbourhood scale is the most mentioned overall and is well represented in all groups, while the national scale is hardly mentioned as significant. The block and district scales are among the frequently mentioned, but both show outliers, such as low score of governments on block scale and divisions between groups on district scale.

Corresponding to the 'gravity point' in the tables (see Appendix in chapter 5.8), general observations are mentioned per group. This includes the quantitative proportions of more and less mentioned attributes and scale levels and their comparison to other groups (see Figure 5.5 and 5.6). The qualitative data is presented in Table 5.3, including a majority report and minority report per group. The majority report explains the dominant scale level and attribute, identified by the higher percentages, illustrated by quotes from the data. The minority report, presents deviating observations by individuals within the group, mentioning e.g., an alternative scale level or attribute category, also illustrating by quotes from the data.

TABLE 5.3 Majority and minority reports per stakeholder group illustrating the aggregate and deviating evaluations per group.

	Scale Level	Attribute Category	Attribute	Example
Residents	**Majority report**			
	Appearance	Block	Colours, maintenance, greenery	"I think Hoptille is a pleasant place to live. Over the years I have seen a few changes about Hoptille. I don't like the outside of the building, especially the porches. Previously, the porches were cyan, just like the window frames, this appealed to me more than the brown colour with art on it." (resp. 33) "Poor maintenance" (resp. 59)
	Minority report			
	Comfort	Dwelling	Technical problems, nuisance	"The house has several defects. The house is smelly due to a problem with the drainage. The flushing of the toilets from all upper floors is clearly audible in the house." (resp. 32)
Visitors	**Majority report**			
	Appearance	Block	Colour, impression	"I like the colours" (resp. 26)
	Minority report			
	Identity	Neighbourhood	Nostalgia, atmosphere	"This picture is very nostalgic for me; I came here often when I was a kid. It is always nice and cosy in this area." (resp. 29)
Local Professionals	**Majority report**			
	Activity	Neighbourhood	Social contact, sports	"This spot also serves as a community centre. They also organize a lot here. Creating more cohesion which is essential for a sense of security." (resp.19)
	Minority report			
	Infrastructure/ route	District	Accessibility	"The accessibility of the neighbourhood is very good. There are bicycle highways and it is nice to walk to the Bijlmerplein if you need anything." (resp. 43)
Governments	**Majority report**			
	District, neighbourhood	Identity	Demographics, safety, social issues, new developments	"More and more investments are being made and I think that this development is also a good catalyst for the plan development in the rest of the district." (resp. 2)

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TABLE 5.3 Majority and minority reports per stakeholder group illustrating the aggregate and deviating evaluations per group.

	Scale Level	Attribute Category	Attribute	Example
Academics	Majority report			
	District	Identity	Reputation, history	"The area was by far the worst area in the whole country, for at least 20 or 30 years. Also, reputation studies showed how many times Bijlmermeer or Bijlmer, is being mentioned in the media and all the time, it was very problematic during 1980s and 1990s." (resp. 8)
	Minority report			
	Street	Comfort	Climate adaptation	"Seeing this picture from nowadays perspective, it is too much closed pavement. At the moment climate adaptation is quite important. In my opinion, there must be more open soil: a garden or whatever, or trees." (resp. 9)
Makers	Majority report			
	Block	Spatial	Mixed functions, building typology	"One of the problems of separation of shops and housing is that we had to think about what kind of ambiance we can make for these houses that are on top of the shops. We tried to make a front side of these areas which are in fact the back sides. (…) It was not only housing and shops but also other amenities." (resp. 6)
	Minority report			
	District	Memory/story	Crime, infrastructure system	"But this greenery was considered to be very dangerous. It was not a positive, but a very negative point. It was full of criminals. The separation of traffic led to very little traffic casualties. The statistics can show you that the number of traffic accidents dropped indeed. But this arrangement makes Bijlmermeer into a really dangerous part of Amsterdam. Criminality has raised for decades to a very high level, even today." (resp. 4)

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TABLE 5.3 Majority and minority reports per stakeholder group illustrating the aggregate and deviating evaluations per group.

	Scale Level	Attribute Category	Attribute	Example
Owners	Majority report			
	Neighbourhood	Identity	Diversity, distinctive character	"The H-buurt, to me, is Hoptille and the Rechte H-buurt. It is different from Heesterveld and Bijlmerplein. I see them as three different places with each their own identity." (resp. 15)
	Minority report			
	District	Collectivity	Social cohesion	"You live in an area, the rest of the Netherlands has a strong opinion about, but often not supported with actual knowledge of how it actually is on the ground. (…) It's a nice mix of people, who are all more or less in the same boat. But they enjoy food, they enjoy music, despite all the shortcomings in everyone's life." (resp. 12)

As demonstrated by the relative spread of attributes (Figure 5.5) and scales (Figure 5.6), the stakeholder groups show clear differences in their focus in terms of significant attributes. Below is the description of the main findings for each group.

Residents show a relatively wider spread of attributes, but limited to the scale levels of block, street and neighbourhood. Within this diversity, a focus on appearance of the block and activity on neighbourhood level can be observed. However, the responses are very diverse and many 'minority reports' could be reported. Just a few are mentioned in Table 5.3.

The responses of visitors clearly show a strong focus on the appearance on block level and on street level. Former residents, now visiting the area, report on deviating attributes.

The local professionals show a strong focus on collectivity and activity, especially if compared to other stakeholder groups. Their main focus regarding scale are the neighbourhood and district level. Generally, the local professionals show more attention for the intangible attributes (story, identity, collectivity, activity) and less for the tangible attributes (object, location, infra, spatial)

For the government responses, the identity on district level is a main focus in their assessment. It is remarkable that government officials often assess the neighbourhood (e.g. Hoptille) in relation to the larger district (H-Buurt or Bijlmer), identifying these scale levels as their main reference. Because the number of government respondents is low (two individuals), only corresponding attributes are reported and no minority reports.

The identity on district level is also a main focus for the academics. However, the attribute scale level combinations are quite diverse in this stakeholder group. Moreover, several academics have different points of attention, often reflecting their expertise and (mixed) profiles. This is expressed in the minority reports about e.g., architectural style or sustainability.

For the makers as a stakeholder group, responses show a strong focus on spatial quality, mainly on the block level but also mentioned on other scale levels. The focus on spatial quality is aligned with the profession of the architects and planners in this stakeholder group. The minority reports include, for example, stories about the design ideas and social conditions in the creation of the residential blocks in this neighbourhood.

A general observation on aggregate results of responses by owners is the focus on identity on a neighbourhood level as a dominant attribute-scale combination. The minority reports address e.g., social, or architectural aspects, relating to the specific profession of the respondents, that are all professionals working for a housing corporation.

5.5 Discussion

Based on the research results, six propositions are formulated, presenting main observations. They are discussed in relation to the concepts explained in the theorical framework.

5.5.1 Residents have a broader view on attributes

For residents, a wider range of attribute categories matters, but this broad interpretation of attributes applies to a small physical scope (block, street, neighbourhood). This result correspondents to previous research in Almere, comparing several participatory pilots (L. Spoormans, D. Ikiz Kaya, 2021). The district level, in this case Bijlmermeer/ Amsterdam Zuidoost, appears no relevant scale level for residents. However, for many other groups e.g., government, makers, and academics, the district level is an important scale level. Referring to the aforementioned common categorisation of professionals and community, the

observed difference in both attributes and scale level is important. The 'actors with power' or decision-making stakeholders, as categorised by Veldpaus (2015), have a certain focus, which does not represent the important attributes for residents. If community participation is the goal, expanding the scope of the attributes should be considered to match the groups one wants to involve. Referring to Howard: "The idea that there are specific groups who are heritage-conscious and others who are not is usually a result of defining heritage too narrowly" (2003, p. 103). The residents' broad view of attributes might relate to the size and plurality of this group. Also in the sample for this study, residents were the largest group (49%). Differentiation of groups of residents as e.g., studied by Ennen (1999) and Garrow (2021) is relevant, as this group is large, diverse and often represents long term users of a neighbourhood. How personal aspects, like age, social-economic background, or residential history, play a role in assessing heritage significance of neighbourhood attributes was not included in this research. Future research could surely provide an even more detailed insight into individual assessments and similarities or deviations. Also, alternative groups could be studied, referring to e.g. the 'future stakeholder' as mentioned by Mason.

5.5.2 Respondents with mixed profiles see more

In many cases, the minority report reflects the view of respondents with a mixed profile (e.g. designer and former resident or academic and government employee). Participants with a plural relation to the neighbourhood seem to have a broader scope and 'see more'. This goes beyond the existence of subgroups but introduces mix-groups. Participation of individuals with multiple profiles could be considered an opportunity as they represent more viewpoints and groups. Even if a mixed profile assumes an internal conflict of interests, illustrated by Howard as "the archaeologist who would seek to protect a stone circle from the hands of tourists, for purposes of research, is not necessarily beyond being a tourist elsewhere, or even being a druid at the weekend" (2003, p. 103) these individuals have proven to convey a richer understanding of the interests at stake and may therefore be able to better understand and interpret the positions of other groups. However, more research is needed to find out how these capacities can be utilised to the benefit of participatory heritage processes.

More generally, the complexity of respondents' profiles and related opinions questions the accuracy of categorizing stakeholders into groups. In their study about classification and its consequences, Bowker and Star recognise classification as a balancing act. They address the importance of being sensitive to exclusions

as residual categories to assign views that would otherwise remain invisible (2000, pp. 324-325). Although in some groups, like the academics and residents, we have observed more individual deviation from the aggregate opinion, many minority reports could be found in all groups. Being sensitive to exclusions, means that only quantitative studies and aggregate opinions cannot capture the different interpretations that can exist within any given neighbourhood and do not offer enough explanation of the reasons why and the processes by which individuals develop bonds with their environment (Garrow, 2021, p. 125). As stated by Ennen, "Heritage is interpretation. Every story is one story. Although different stories may complement one another they may also contradict each other." (1999, p. 40).

5.5.3 Tangible is small, intangible is large

The aggregate results of all respondents seem to show a 'diagonal' in attribute-scale level combinations (see the first table 'total sample' in the Appendix in chapter 5.8, also visible in Figure 5.4). On smaller scale levels (dwelling, block), the physical/ tangible attributes like objects or spatial quality are addressed. On a larger scale (district, city), more intangible attributes like identity or story are mentioned. This confirms, on the one hand, the observations of Coolen, who applied the means-end theory to housing as a more complex product, that respondents mention a multitude of physical and intangible attributes at various scales (2001, p. 302). However, he does not mention the dependence of physical attributes on small scale and intangible attributes on large scale. Looking at the taxonomy of attributes by Veldpaus (2015, pp. 120-121), the physical attributes are categorised in an ascending scale level, from building element (small) to landscape (large). The intangible attributes do not refer to scales. So, although the distinction between tangible and intangible attributes is widely acknowledged, their relation to scale levels would need more research.

Over all, the intangible attribute 'identity' emerges as the most important attribute category. This result could be related to the applied photo-elicitation method but could also be related to this specific 1980's Dutch case study, as the Bijlmer was known first, as a innovative and utopian neighbourhood, and later as a problem neighbourhood. Further research with a larger sample of stakeholders and/or different neighbourhoods can investigate whether these results are specific to this neighbourhood, or if the theoretical framework and categories have further general validity.

5.5.4 Residents and visitors are opposites

The results show that visitors have a very narrow view on attributes, with a dominant focus on appearance. This is different for the residents who on the contrary mention a wider range of attributes. The diverging interests between residents and visitors, or insiders and outsiders, confirms the theory on heritage interests by Howard (2003). Our data does not show a focus on accessibility by visitors, probably related to the fact that our case study is not a protected heritage site, but the focus on activities, 'ordinary things' and personal memories by residents is clear. Although the different interests are clear from the theory, in practice both groups are included in 'civil society' or 'community', as are referenced in inter-governmental conventions as UNESCO and the European Faro Convention. The clear difference between these groups, regarding attribute priorities, indicates the need for more differentiation of catch-all terms like civil society or community that are used. In the identification of heritage qualities, rather than classification by role or power over the decision-making process, opinions should be the principle behind formation of stakeholder groups.

5.5.5 Academics are not a group

In their responses, academics show a wide spread across scale levels and attribute categories. This applies to the aggregate results and becomes even more evident in the individual responses. Many individual academics have a specific focus but differ from each other, relating to their expertise of research (i.e. sociology, history, architecture). This is aligned with the notion by Veldpaus distinguishing different types of experts, ranging from international, national or subnational levels, from policy, practice or academia, and from various disciplines (Veldpaus, 2015, p. 69). Apart from their variety in expertise, Howard states that "academics rarely perceive themselves as a market, preferring the self-perception of the disinterested observer, merely studying heritage objects for the sake of scholarship". He also points to the inaccessibility and limited reach of academic publications due to their often very knowledgeable but also very narrow approach to topics and opinions (Howard, 2003, pp. 138-140).

5.5.6 Makers are a new group

In this study, makers, an added group to the heritage markets as defined by Howard, show a focus on spatial qualities spread across all scales, with the building being dominant as a scale level. In previous research in the Dutch new town Almere, we found that makers focused mainly on infrastructure and landscape as areas of heritage significance (L. Spoormans, D. Ikiz Kaya, 2021). Makers were introduced in this research as a stakeholder group, including architects and urban designers involved in the original design of the neighbourhood. This group is not mentioned in present theory about heritage evaluation. However, dealing with young heritage, this new stakeholder group could be acknowledged as influential. Increasingly, the professionals who were involved in the creation of buildings and areas that now become heritage, or 'founding fathers' are still alive. They often have deep knowledge of the original intentions and historical developments, and in some cases, they will claim legal authorship/copyright. Explorations in practice show that the issue regarding architects' copyright in renovations is highly relevant, especially now that the emphasis in construction is increasingly on renovations of existing buildings and areas. While there are laws and guidelines on copyright and involving original makers, additional renovation protocols are mentioned, such as a value assessment of the existing property (Heeger, 2014, p. 17). However, the legal position of makers is not the only perspective in dealing with new heritage. Given the tendency to consider younger stock as heritage, more research for this stakeholder group is needed.

5.6 Conclusion

In this research the main aim was to reveal and discuss potential differentiation of stakeholders, based on the assessment of the heritage significance of a Dutch neighbourhood. In order to anticipate shared interests or potential conflicts in identification and management of neighbourhood attributes in renovation and development processes, this research contributed to a better understanding of the stakeholders and groups involved. By applying heritage assessment methods to an unlisted/ unprotected neighbourhood, we set the context to find everyday attributes and their significance for stakeholders. Results reveal that the position of stakeholders matters in their assessment of attributes, referring to their profession or role, observing important differences between the stakeholder groups' interest in the attribute category and the scale level they focus on. Residents e.g., have a wide scope on attributes (tangible and intangible ones) but on a limited scale level (block, street, neighbourhood), whereas visitors or makers show priority for one specific attribute category (respectively appearance and spatial attributes) on one scale level (block). By comparing the aggregate results per stakeholder group with the individual responses, we found 'minority reports' within all groups. Moreover, many minority opinions were expressed by respondents with a mixed profile, so individuals belonging to more than one group.

The findings show that there are clear differences between and within groups, which makes it relevant to further differentiate commonly used terms like community, civil society, experts etc. When participation is a goal or even a duty in processes concerning heritage and the built environment, the identification of different stakeholder interests is important to invite the right and relevant groups to the 'participation table'. Especially in the context of broadening heritage values and multiplicity of actors, this is relevant to avoid a mismatch between perceived significance and formal decision-making on designation. Information on stakeholder interests increases support and thus the speed of development processes. The recognition that individuals within assumed groups do not necessarily share the same views, points out the need for identification and categorisation based on interests, rather than role, position, or power.

The main contribution of this paper is the new knowledge on the diversity between stakeholders on what attributes in their neighbourhoods they convey significance, resultant from a detailed comparative analysis of interviews using photo-elicitation. On the one hand, the results confirm earlier conclusions in existing literature on differences between stakeholder groups. However, especially the definition of groups

and the differences between individuals within groups became more evident, through the distinction made between majority and minority reports, but are insufficiently described in the existing literature. Therefore, the results of this paper call for the acknowledgement of more precise differentiation between stakeholder groups and within groups, based on their significance assessment of neighbourhood attributes. By conducting the research in an ordinary neighbourhood, using theories and methods common in heritage studies, this study sets an example for a European Renovation Wave to first identify the significance of neighbourhoods to prevent its conservation, while decarbonizing the built environment in upcoming renovations. Further research is needed to test the propositions in this paper. Moreover, parties involved in heritage identification and designation or in neighbourhood renovations have a task of considering how differentiated opinions of stakeholders and individuals can be incorporated into sustainable heritage development and decision-making processes.

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Informed Consent Statement: Respondents have given their consent to participate in the research project, and in case the interview was recorded, consent for recording was also included in the video. The data and quotes in this paper have been anonymised and do not contain any retrievable personal information.

Data Availability Statement: The anonymised version of the dataset used in the study is accessible and can be inquired from the authors upon request.

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Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Appendix

APP.5.1 Total sample: 59 respondents.

	Element	Dwelling	Block	Street	Neighb	District	City	Nation
Story/ Memory	0%	0%	1%	0%	2%	2%	1%	0%
Identity	1%	1%	3%	2%	6%	5%	2%	1%
Collectivity	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%	2%	1%	0%
Activity	1%	0%	2%	2%	4%	3%	1%	0%
Appearance	3%	0%	7%	3%	2%	1%	0%	0%
Comfort	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%
Spatial	2%	2%	5%	3%	3%	2%	0%	0%
Infra/ Route	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	2%	0%	0%
Location	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Object	2%	0%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%

APP.5.2 Residents: 29 respondents.

	Element	Dwelling	Block	Street	Neighb	District	City	Nation
Story/ Memory	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Identity	1%	1%	4%	3%	7%	1%	0%	0%
Collectivity	0%	0%	1%	1%	2%	1%	0%	0%
Activity	1%	1%	2%	4%	9%	1%	1%	0%
Appearance	1%	1%	10%	5%	5%	1%	0%	0%
Comfort	0%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%
Spatial	2%	2%	3%	4%	3%	1%	0%	0%
Infra/ Route	0%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	0%	0%
Location	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Object	3%	0%	3%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%

APP.5.3 Visitors: seven respondents.

	Element	Dwelling	Block	Street	Neighb	District	City	Nation
Story/ Memory	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%
Identity	0%	0%	0%	1%	9%	1%	3%	0%
Collectivity	1%	0%	1%	1%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Activity	0%	0%	0%	1%	3%	1%	1%	0%
Appearance	3%	1%	24%	13%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Comfort	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Spatial	1%	4%	3%	1%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Infra/ Route	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%
Location	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Object	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

APP.5.4 Local professionals: seven respondents.

	Element	Dwelling	Block	Street	Neighb	District	City	Nation
Story/ Memory	1%	1%	0%	0%	3%	3%	0%	0%
Identity	0%	1%	4%	2%	3%	5%	0%	1%
Collectivity	0%	2%	2%	0%	9%	5%	1%	0%
Activity	1%	1%	2%	2%	7%	8%	1%	0%
Appearance	4%	1%	7%	5%	2%	1%	1%	0%
Comfort	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Spatial	0%	3%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%
Infra/ Route	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	3%	0%	1%
Location	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%
Object	0%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	0%	0%

APP.5.5 Governments: two respondents.

	Element	Dwelling	Block	Street	Neighb	District	City	Nation
Story/ Memory	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	2%	2%	0%
Identity	0%	3%	0%	0%	4%	11%	4%	0%
Collectivity	1%	0%	1%	1%	4%	4%	2%	0%
Activity	1%	0%	0%	2%	4%	6%	1%	0%
Appearance	3%	0%	0%	1%	0%	2%	1%	0%
Comfort	1%	2%	3%	1%	1%	4%	1%	1%
Spatial	0%	2%	0%	1%	4%	4%	0%	0%
Infra/ Route	1%	0%	0%	0%	2%	6%	0%	0%
Location	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	1%	0%	0%
Object	2%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%

APP.5.6 Academics: five respondents.

	Element	Dwelling	Block	Street	Neighb	District	City	Nation
Story/ Memory	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	2%	2%	1%
Identity	1%	1%	5%	1%	4%	10%	4%	2%
Collectivity	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%	4%	2%	0%
Activity	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	4%	0%	0%
Appearance	1%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Comfort	0%	1%	1%	2%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Spatial	1%	4%	7%	4%	3%	5%	1%	0%
Infra/ Route	1%	0%	1%	2%	0%	1%	1%	0%
Location	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Object	1%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

APP.5.7 Makers: four respondents.

	Element	Dwelling	Block	Street	Neighb	District	City	Nation
Story/ Memory	2%	0%	5%	0%	2%	4%	1%	1%
Identity	2%	2%	3%	1%	3%	3%	3%	1%
Collectivity	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	1%	0%	0%
Activity	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Appearance	4%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Comfort	1%	1%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Spatial	3%	2%	14%	5%	3%	3%	0%	0%
Infra/ Route	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Location	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Object	3%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

APP.5.8 Owners: five respondents.

	Element	Dwelling	Block	Street	Neighb	District	City	Nation
Story/ Memory	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%
Identity	1%	1%	3%	3%	13%	2%	1%	0%
Collectivity	1%	0%	3%	0%	3%	2%	1%	0%
Activity	1%	0%	3%	3%	4%	1%	1%	0%
Appearance	5%	1%	4%	5%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Comfort	3%	1%	2%	2%	3%	1%	0%	0%
Spatial	1%	0%	2%	4%	3%	1%	0%	0%
Infra/ Route	1%	0%	2%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%
Location	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Object	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%



Weerwolf, Houten

TOC

6 Case study 2

Web of Attributes: Analysing residents' appreciation of a Dutch neighbourhood from a new heritage perspective

This chapter was first published in 'Journal of Housing and the Built Environment':
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ABSTRACT In the last century, the concept of what can be heritage has expanded in definition, opening to everyday architecture and living environments. More recently, the group of stakeholders to be involved in heritage assessment and management has slowly grown, with authorities acknowledging that heritage significance lies in the representation and identification for people and that people could help define it. Studying the significance of everyday residential neighbourhoods and the inclusion of individual responses creates a demand for new methods. Although in heritage studies these methods remain undefined, studies on housing preferences offer starting points for new approaches. This paper presents a significance assessment of an everyday living environment by its residents, from a new heritage perspective. By analysing individual responses, this research discusses more inclusive methods of assessing significance. A neighbourhood in the Dutch town Almere, is used as a case study. Based on a survey in diary format, residents' appreciation of their living environment is analysed using values-attributes and means-end theory. Results show that assessments of individual residents consist of chains of tangible and intangible attributes. The paper proposes a new analytical model, the 'Web of Attributes', which visualizes residents' responses and reveals the diversity and relations between the attributes best appreciated in a specific living environment. The Web of Attributes can serve as visual reporting in statements of significance, for listed and non-listed

neighbourhoods. By combining theories from housing preferences and heritage significance assessment, this novel research explores narrow the gap between the assessments of heritage and everyday neighbourhoods.

6.1 Introduction

"Objects and places are not, in themselves, what is important about cultural heritage. They are important because of the meanings and uses that people attach to them and the values they represent." This statement is part of the Faro Convention (Council-of-Europe, 2005, p. 10), which is a treaty whereby many European countries agree to protect cultural heritage and the rights of citizens to access and participate in heritage management and conservation. People-centred processes are the essence of its action plan, in which "everyone's opinion, interests and aspirations count". The convention is a formal agreement on a broader trend, both noted in academia and practice, to acknowledge the importance of involving citizens in the definition and management of cultural heritage and its significance. More generally, citizen involvement is receiving increasing attention in project developments in the built environment, also at national level. In the Netherlands, for instance, the Omgevingswet (Environment Act) encourages the involvement of stakeholders at an early stage in the process of decision-making on a development project or activity, but also forces governments to participate through a duty of organization and motivation (BZK, 2021). At the municipal or provincial level, stakeholder participation is mandatory in the creation of an integrated Environmental Vision (pertaining to the Environment Act) in which defining heritage significance of the living environment is an important part (RCE, 2022).

6.1.1 New heritage definitions

Who defines the significance of heritage? Traditionally, the significance assessment of heritage was led by experts, who defined what constitutes 'heritage', what are its underlying values and how they should be conserved (De la Torre, 2002, p. 3). Due to the stronger and early role of historians, heritage significance was dominantly based on historic values and history methods. But in recent decades, the concept of what heritage is and who should be involved in the identification has started to change. The essential factor is the recognition, representation and identification of heritage by a group of people and their wish to conserve it for future generations

(Howard, 2003, p. 6). According to the Faro Convention, identification of heritage by citizens and communities is key. A heritage community is defined as "people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish (…) to sustain and transmit to future generations" (Council-of-Europe, 2005, p. 2). The plea for the inclusion of personal stories and formerly 'unheard voices' is not limited to heritage narratives. In architectural history, scholars have endeavoured to write alternatively, more inclusive, multifaceted, and polyvocal histories. And while oral history as an alternative way of writing architectural history has developed over the last half century, many experts are yet to acknowledge that those using and occupying buildings may possess spatial knowledge (Gosseye et al., 2019). An active role of citizens and other (market) parties is not a new phenomenon in architectural planning and urban transformation. Involvement and participation were already important in the 1970s, with the mode and degree of involvement being problematised by Arnstein, represented in her famous ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969). However, citizen perceptions of participation processes are not always positive, as each group – and perhaps each individual – has its own preferences and barriers. The search for ways to identify all relevant parties, involve all citizens and democratise spatial planning remains as topical as it was in the 1970s (Tan, 2019, pp. 161, 167).

What is defined as heritage? The Faro Convention defines cultural heritage as 'a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time'(Council-of-Europe, 2005, p. 2). Building on the wider democratic aspect advocated by the Faro Convention, Fairclough expands heritage to "everything that we have inherited", regardless if we choose to pass it on to our successors, or not (Fairclough, 2009, p. 30). He advocates replacing the system of selecting 'special' buildings for preservation with a new concept of heritage, in which the ordinary things we inherited become central, as they are central to those who live among them (Fairclough, 2009, p. 35). Moreover, regarding 100% of our built environment as being heritage changes our perspective to a more sustainable approach of urban development (Pereira Roders & Pottgiesser, 2020). Including the everyday into heritage thinking, switches around the perspective on everyday environments that we consider ordinary but contain the aspects of things that are most important. In the words of Lefebvre:

The everyday is (therefore) the most universal and the most unique condition, the most social and the most individuated, the most obvious and the best hidden. (…) Are not the surreal, the extraordinary, the surprising, even the magical, also part of the real? Why wouldn't the concept of everydayness reveal the extraordinary in the ordinary? (Lefebvre, 1987)

What is the relationship between the new definitions of heritage and those who define it? Shifting our scope to everyday environments also has an emancipatory aspect, as by a more comprehensive understanding of the complex and spatial social memories of our contemporary environment, we do justice to citizens' preferences (Atkinson, 2007, p. 537). Using the term 'new heritage', also Fairclough integrates heritage as object and heritage as practice. Formerly overlooked objects like very recent buildings, intangible dimensions of heritage and the idea of 'alive' heritage, have been added to the heritage canon, often under the influence of non-expert but highly engaged groups (Fairclough, 2009, p. 30). Assuming these inclusive definitions of heritage, narrowing the gap between heritage properties and everyday neighbourhoods, creates a demand for developing new methods to reveal their significance. The Burra Charter, that was first published in 1979 and is renowned for its broader definition of cultural significance, writes that places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups and they should be provided with opportunities to contribute to and participate in the identification and understanding of cultural significance (Australia-ICOMOS, 2013, pp. 2, 8). The process for managing places of significance as proposed in the Burra Charter, starts with 'understanding significance', that is divided into the stages 'understanding the place', then 'assessing significance', reported in a 'statement of significance'.

But although the importance for citizen involvement is recognised, the way to include detailed assessments by individual citizens in assessing significance remains limited, both in theory and practice. When involving residents and other stakeholders in defining urban and architectural heritage, questions arise about what methods to apply. When asking residents about heritage significance, what do they mention? How to integrate the appreciation of residents into aggregate significance assessments? And when heritage and the everyday merge, what does that mean for the methods, and how can the two disciplines learn from each other? Moreover, referring to Atkinson and Fairclough (2007; 2009), including citizens might lead to a shift in the definition of heritage. Referring to the Burra Charter, the first step is understanding what is the significant place, before assessing what the significance is.

This study focusses on the significance assessment of an everyday living environment by its residents. It analyses Almere Haven, a neighbourhood in the Dutch new town Almere. The neighbourhood is a suitable case for this research, as it is not listed, but can be regarded as everyday architecture and 'new heritage'. Neighbourhoods like Almere Haven are in-between old and new and are seldom found listed as cultural heritage although generally Dutch architecture built after 1965 has recently come under attention in heritage circles (Blom, 2021; Somer, 2020). Their (heritage) significance is debated among experts and in the media (Heijne, 2014; Pantus, 2012; Wilke, 2018). At the same time, they are at the dawn of major energy

transitions, densification and demographic change (Provoost, 2022, pp. 8-9; Reijndorp, 2012, pp. 327-331). The current lack of consensus about their cultural significance provides a good base for open investigation on what is significant for citizens and why, independent from the judgements or preconceptions from the experts. Studying the significant attributes of an everyday residential neighbourhood, contributes to the recognition, acknowledgement and preservation of everyday living environments and the heritage significance conveyed by its users.

This paper presents the analysis of citizen voices about their neighbourhoods, in order to contribute to more inclusive methods of assessing (heritage) significance. By combining concepts from the disciplines of heritage and housing, a new approach is proposed. It discusses the results of a diary method, which was developed to explore techniques and gain insights into more inclusive (heritage) significance assessments. The diary method concerns written and visual accounts in which residents respond about what they appreciate about their daily living environment. The results are illustrated and discussed by unravelling and analysing a selection of diary entries. A series of 'Web of Attributes' were deduced as an analytical model, clustering significant attributes, ordered by the several scales of the living environment. This approach is evaluated in the context of current methods and theories in the fields of heritage and housing. Finally, the limits and the added value of the explored method are discussed.

6.1.2 Values, attributes and significance

The distinction between values and attributes in relation to heritage was introduced in international policy by the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) (UNESCO, 2011a). Attributes were defined as what we value, and values as the reason(s) why a resource is valuable (Veldpaus, 2015, p. 128). Values can be the traditional historic, aesthetic or age value, but also social, economic, political, scientific or ecological values (Pereira Roders, 2007). Attributes are regarded as a part of a whole and, reciprocally, a property consists of a set of attributes that form a coherent whole and carry specific meanings (Cotte, 2021, pp. 32-35). Attributes exist in two complementary dimensions: tangible attributes that physically describe characteristics of the property and/or as bearers of associated intangible attributes. The theoretical boundary between tangible and intangible attributes is assumed to be less present in practice. On the contrary, tangible and intangible attributes can be complementary. Some scholars propose to distinguish the attribute category, attribute definition, indicator of the attribute and its value or degree of authenticity (Skounti, 2021, p. 135; Sobhani Sanjbod, 2016, pp. 5-6). Even if this segregation

enables greater transparency on the description and assessments, it also disables further understanding on their relations. Moreover, attributes have often more than one indicator and values. For example, in a study by Sobhani Sanjbod and others to identify and locate attributes of the Amsterdam Canal Zone, an attribute is the intangible 'Port city', a sub-attribute the 'warehouse', its indicator a 'spout gable' and its value aesthetic and economic (2016, p. 6).

Identifying and assessing the values of neighbourhoods has the interest of many disciplines, such as social sciences, engineering, health and economic sciences, and they offer research traditions and methods that could be applied by heritage experts (L. Spoormans, A. Pereira Roders, 2021). In environmental behaviour studies similar concepts are used. 'Cues' refer to tangible attributes like the size of a room, location or furnishings, providing information that guides behaviour and that has 'meaning' for people (Rapoport, 1990, pp. 56-57). In research on housing appreciation and aspirations, residents' housing preferences are studied, mostly by qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews. Also these researches apply similar concepts and provide methods and definitions that are useful to heritage significance assessments, revealing values and attributes. In his thesis, Coolen applied means-end theory studying preferences for housing attributes (2008). Means-end theory is used to explain the relationship between goods and consumers, in which a 'good' is defined as a collection of attributes. In means-end-chains, an intermediate step between values and attributes is introduced, which is the consequence. This defines how the relationship between values and attributes is established for the user. The attributes yield a consequence when the good is used and this consequence satisfies people's values and goals. For instance, having 'five rooms' (attribute) offers 'more space' (consequence) and creates 'privacy' (value) (Coolen, 2001, pp. 290-291). The consequence (also called objective, effect, or quality) can relate to different types of motivations, like everyday activities (playing, sleeping, supermarket), functional reasons (cheaper, practical) or psychosocial motivations (proud, relaxing, social control). Comparing to the heritage terminology, the consequence is like the intangible attribute or the tangible attribute's meaning. Table 6.1 shows the comparison of terminology used by the theories discussed to describe values that people assign to something.

The applicability of the models from heritage assessment and housing appreciation will be tested on the specific case study in this paper. This involves unravelling the sequence of attribute, consequence/meaning and value to analyse heritage significance. The gradual transition from tangible to intangible attributes, as noted by Coolen and Sobhani Sanjbod, is used to classify and relate attributes, allowing for the integration of a wide range of contributions and varied stakeholders in heritage significance assessment.

TABLE 6.1 Scheme comparing the terminology used by Rapoport, Coolen and Sobhani Sanjbod

Rapoport (1990)	Coolen (2001)	Sobhani Sanjbod (2016)
Meaning	Value	Value
	Consequence	Attribute
Cue		Intangible Sub-attribute
		Tangible Sub-attribute
	Attribute	Indicator

6.1.3 Case study: Almere Haven, The Netherlands

The case study for this research is Almere Haven, the oldest core of Almere in The Netherlands, a notable city for its poly-nuclear urban layout (Brouwer, 1997, p. 136). This city has been designed 'from scratch' as one of the new towns in the IJsselmeer Polders, the largest land reclamation project of the Netherlands. Almere was developed in the context of the Dutch Groeikernen (New Towns) planning policy (1960–1985), which intended to avoid increasing congestion in the most densely populated area in the Netherlands: the Randstad. A new planning concept was introduced: bundled de-concentration. Similar to the polynuclear structure of Almere as a city, also the national planning aimed at combining the best of urban and suburban qualities, a compromise between the expansion of existing cities and the de-concentration of urban sprawl. The term Groeikern (growth centre) was introduced and defined as: "a nucleus that should experience strong growth, especially for the benefit of a nearby (larger) city, in case this growth is exceptional compared to the size of the nucleus itself" (Faludi, 1990, p. 96). In a few stages, the national policy appointed 15 cities as Groeikern, of which Almere and Lelystad are the only considered 'real' new towns, as they are built on new land (Reijndorp, 2012, p. 76). After the post-war urban extensions that were based on the CIAM-principles, the urban plan for Almere and other new towns of the Groeikernen policy started from a very different perspective. Rejecting the repetitive and 'soulless' character of post-war neighbourhoods, Almere was envisioned to become a 'city of differences and contrast', which resulted in suburban patterns, with a quasi-natural lay-out, and irregular neighbourhood structures (Pantus, 2012, pp. 46, 94).

The studied neighbourhood in Almere Haven (see Figure 6.1) represents a low-rise suburban pattern, dominant for the spatial planning of the Dutch new towns. No consensus exists on what are the defining characteristics of this architecture, built in the 1970s and 1980s and to what extent these are significant attributes and deserve conservation (Barzilay, 2018, p. 6; Pantus, 2012, pp. 12-13; Ubbink, 2011,

pp. 14-15). To prepare for a first urban renewal of the oldest neighbourhoods, the city of Almere is developing its first heritage policy, based on the integration of experts' and residents' values and perspectives. Evaluations of Almere have highlighted various perspectives e.g., how urban design concepts for new towns in the IJsselmeer polders have led to the succession of residential environments without a leitbild (Brouwer, 1997), or how the changing mobility influences demographics and Almere's former suburban character (Tzaninis, 2018). The significance of residential neighbourhoods in the collection of Dutch new towns has been defined by experts (Reijndorp, 2012; Ubbink, 2011). The citizens' perspective on the significance of similar neighbourhoods revealed different attributes than experts and their significance assessment is generally more positive (Quaedflieg, 2013, pp. 26,39). However, little research is available addressing the experts' or citizens' appreciation of the smaller architectural scale of 1970's and 1980's residential neighbourhoods and the various aspects of the living environments.



FIG. 6.1 Map of Almere Haven centre district, adapted from https://www.bing.com/maps, accessed on 22 July 2020

6.2 Methodology

This research adapted the method applied in The West London Social Resource Project (Willats, 1974), that aimed to improve artists' communication with "people who have little or no interest in or knowledge of visual art". Although the context and discipline are different, and the payoff for Willats was in the social process and not in the analysis of results, the approach of involving non-experts was proven relevant. It aimed at "helping participants get into a frame of mind" to "reveal perceptions and attitudes towards the visual aspects of their environment". Like Willats in the 1970s, also contemporary research uses creative participative techniques to involve (local) people in evaluating their neighbourhoods. Narrative mapping, where residents draw their life worlds as a map during an interview, provides information on e.g. daily routines, residents' habitat, favourite places and trouble spots. This technique can reveal detailed and complex knowledge of the urban environment, the 'intimate knowledge' that only residents possess (Reinders, 2013, p. 196). Collecting photos of valued places and objects is another visual method that offers local residents the opportunity to show their engagement with a place (Cooke, 2021, p. 149). Introducing a narrative of change, both in relation to historical situations and future changes, when discussing residents' attachment and valuation is a technique for evoking what often remains implicit. The suggestion of loss of something valuable or enhancement of something bad in the environment can make it clear where the priority lies (R. Madgin, 2021, p. 84). Elements of these techniques are integrated and adapted to the purpose of this research.

Similar to Willats, this research used a diary to collect data, where participants were asked to answer two questions or tasks per day in a paper notebook or a digital version, over a week. The assignments in the diary included open questions, drawing tasks, indication of places on a map, recollections of history or suggestions for changes. Some questions allowed the inclusion of photographs. The diary was expected to gain some advantages over traditional interviews. This 'stand-alone' format makes the participant independent from the influence of the researcher, potentially leading to more 'authentic' opinions and expressions. The participants might develop a perception and sensitivity in observing their environment, during the one-week process (Willats, 1974, p. 158). To overcome misinterpretation, a short interview was held at the collection of the diary to clarify unclear or complex answers.

To research a broad range of aspects in 1970-1980's residential neighbourhoods, the diary includes aspects of the urban and architectural scale. The questions in the diary relate to the living environment in concentric levels of scale, representing the daily life of the individual resident. The smallest scale is questioning places, rooms and aspects of their individual house and garden or balcony. The second concerns the hofje (collective courtyard in cul-de-sac structure) or street as the direct surrounding of their home. The third level addresses the wider living environment, for which we adopt the definition by Burie (1972, pp. 19-20), that is not limited in physical terms but is defined by all urban elements that respondents experience as relevant to their living conditions. Every question inquires what the respondents appreciates (attribute) and why (value), for example "What is your favourite spot in the house or garden and why?". On the urban scale level, an assignment is e.g., "List your top 3 of nice courtyards or streets, describe or add photos. What do you like or approve of in these places?". By addressing different scale levels, questioning types of places in combination with open questions, we aim to explore what is assessed as significant by the respondents. A copy of the diary format used and record of the steps from the participants' responses, to the coding of the attributes to the integration of attributes into redesign proposals, is reported in the booklet Almere Stories (L. Spoormans, 2021). The list of questions as asked in the diary, the corresponding scale level and the form of each question (e.g. open question, drawing assignment) is included in a table in the Appendix in chapter 6.7. The process design for the operation of the study, organising the preparation, distribution, collection, analysis and dissemination, is also presented in the Appendix in chapter 6.7.

The method of the residential diary is qualitative. Regarding the significance assessment of 1970-1980's neighbourhoods by residents as a relatively new field, a single in-depth case study was selected, aiming to provide initial ideas and concepts, after which more extensive research could follow to test and confirm results (Swanborn, 1996, pp. 13, 147). The research was part of the project Havenhart 2.0, a preparation process for the urban renewal of Almere Haven. Respondents are residents of Almere Haven and were approached by encounters in public space, snowball method and two group meetings in a school class and an elderly group. From ca. 110 distributed diaries, 55 were returned and completed. Personal data collected were name, age, gender, neighbourhood, length of residence, address, household composition and tenant/owner. Some data were not completed by all respondents, notably gender, household composition and tenant/owner. The respondents represent all neighbourhoods in Almere Haven and, when completed, show a balanced ratio of men/women and tenant/ownership. The average length of residence in Almere Haven is 20 years but ranges widely from 1 year to 43 years. In the respondents' group, a large representation of children up to 18 years of age (47%) and of elderly over the age of 65 (30%) is noted. This results in a lower

representation of the age group 18-65 (23%). Although not representative of Almere Haven's demographics, results integrate the voices of children and elderly, who are often not included in resident surveys. Because the sample is relatively small and especially because distinguishing stakeholder profiles is not the goal, the influence of personal data of respondents was not specifically explored in this research.

The responses in the diaries have been coded, using Atlas.ti software, searching for topics or opinions that are evident in the data that can include attributes, values and other relevant aspects. Three researchers have been involved in the process and codes have been discussed until agreement was reached. The procedure used inductive code development, reading the raw data with 'open vision'. During the inductive coding process, codes were deduced from the data that have been grouped and rearranged, distinguishing categories of tangible and intangible attributes. Selections have been made based on both occurrence and salience, leading to a codebook containing definitions and examples from the data for main codes (Hennink, 2011, pp. 210-225). The questions in the diary are open-ended, allowing for a broad interpretation of cultural significance. An inductive approach of coding and analysis supported the primary goal of this research to understand what is significant.

After analysing and discussing significant attributes in the diary responses, the response chains of various participants were juxtaposed, and created the 'Webs of Attributes', combining and relating multiple responses. The webs in this article (see Figure 6.7 to 6.12 in chapter 6.3.2) present a selection based on frequent occurrence and prominence, with the help of the coding software showing cooccurrence and relations. Webs have been created for the environments: my home, my garden, my collective courtyard/ street, my town, urban areas and green areas. They refer to the beforementioned concentric scale levels of scale, in and around the house, the neighbourhood and the wider living environment including all that is relevant to the living conditions (Burie, 1972, pp. 19-20).

6.3 Results

Respondents mentioned various tangible attributes, including specific locations in Almere, like the harbour boulevard (Havenkom), specific shops or market stalls, natural areas like Museumbos or Vliegerpark. Also, the proximity of the city of Amsterdam appears as an attribute that is appreciated in the living environment of Almere Haven. Stories, for example, about the origin of Almere appear as an intangible attribute in the responses. Many generic indications of places or locations are mentioned, like garden, rooms in the house, playgrounds, shopping centres or green areas. These are the most concrete tangible attributes and often form the start of the answer.

Responses soon revealed 'chains' of things to explain why someone appreciates something in the living environment. For example: "My garden is a nice place, because through the patio doors you can enter the terrace, overlooking the garden. It is a cosy place to enjoy the sun when the weather is nice." In this response, we can identify several physical attributes, like garden, patio doors, terrace. Then the link is made to intangible attributes as a cosy atmosphere and the activity of enjoying the sun and nice weather. This sequence resembles a means-end-chain (section 6.1.2) but in an extended version. The parts of the chain are all considered attributes, although they differ in nature. The response-chains have been studied and responses by various participants have been related. While raising understanding for why respondents value a certain place, space or element, this research deduces the attributes that respondents mention in their answers. First, some key attributes are illustrated, then attributes are related and combined, explaining which attributes are important for each specific place or scale level.

6.3.1 Top Attributes

The attributes presented here are selected from the respondents' diary entries, based on frequent occurrence and their representation of different categories. The four attribute categories distinguished are: spatial (tangible and intangible), activity (intangible), collectivity (intangible) and identity (intangible). The examples show that intangible attributes are in the majority, but they are usually related to tangible attributes and vice versa.

6.3.1.1 Spatial: Water view

When asked for one's favourite place in and around the house, the view is the most mentioned as a spatial attribute. The view adds quality to many different rooms and is enjoyed by various residents from the living room, kitchen, bedroom or attic. Both the view from the house to one's own garden and the backward view, sitting in the garden watching the house, are mentioned. But it is especially the longer view that predominates in the respondent's answers. The possibility to look from the own plot to the wider surroundings is appreciated. The view mentioned is often focussed on nature, and on water in particular (see Figure 6.2). People enjoy their view from both interior and exterior spaces, like the balcony, the front garden or back garden. The description of one's home was often made as "a house on the water".

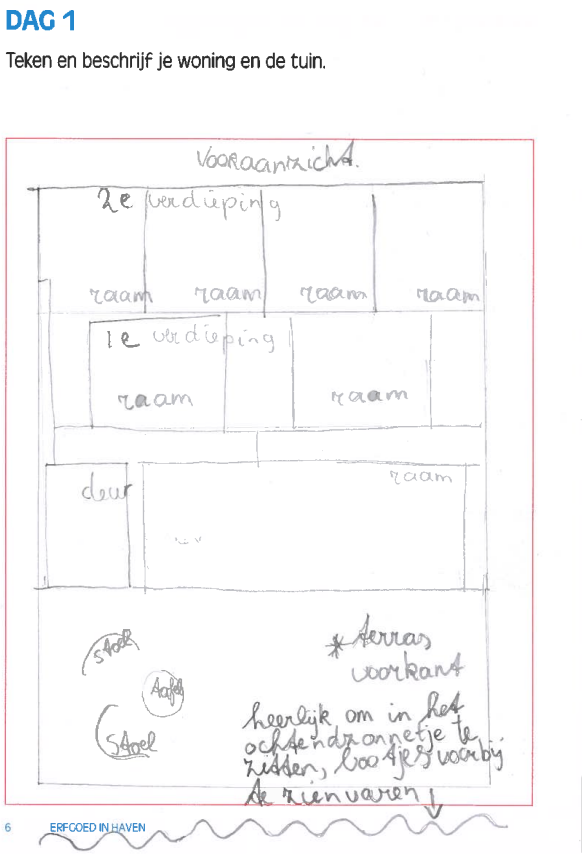


FIG. 6.2 House on the water, watching boats from the front terrace – Water view (resp. 12)

Also, on the scale of the public space, the view is mentioned as an attribute. Here, the harbour boulevard (Havenkom) stands out, offering a view on the Gooimeer lake and the marina. Respondents often mention strolling along the boulevard and enjoying the café terraces. The water itself, the boats, tourism and the continuous activity and liveliness are mentioned as "nice to look at". For several residents, both the view and the boulevard atmosphere are the main reasons for choosing their apartment around the harbour area.

"I prefer the front side of the house. We live on the water front. We spend most of our time in the living room and kitchen. The dining table overlooks the water." (resp 1)
"My balcony is my favourite spot, because of the wonderful view over the Gooimeer [lake]." (resp 54)
"The marina, they should never change. The boulevard, the terraces, the sociability, the pleasure yachts and the view are the strength of Almere Haven." (resp 54)

6.3.1.2 Activity: Outdoor recreation

Looking at activities as a reason to appreciate a certain place in the living environment, playing, walking and cycling make the top 3 preference of the residents. Off course the code 'playing' occurs in children's answers, but walking and cycling are considered the same category, all referring to recreational activities. The children's diaries are full of explanations and drawings of playgrounds. Those places are highly appreciated by children, parents and grandparents. Playing as an activity is noted as the first reason to value the playgrounds, but secondly the social aspect of meeting friends also plays a role. While playing mainly takes place in the collective courtyard or the surrounding neighbourhood, cycling or walking covers the wider living environment around Almere (see Figure 6.3). Walking the dog, seeing birds, flying a kite, sailing, enjoying the wide view and autumn storms are mentioned as outdoor recreational activities. Many responses relate a specific area to an activity to an outdoor experience. Outdoor recreation functions as an active link between spatial, natural and social benefits like meeting or feelings of freedom and imagination.

"At 't Eksternest [natural area] I walk with the dog. There are also benches and that is cosy because you always meet people." (resp. 5)
"We have two courtyards, one with a merry-go-round and one with a garden. It's nice that you have a lot of space and that you can imagine games to play." (group meeting school)
"The Gooimeerdijk [dike] is great for walking and cycling. Not only when the weather is nice weather but also in autumn storm! (resp 47)



FIG. 6.3 Map indicating outdoor recreation areas (resp. 16)

6.3.1.3 Collectivity: With the neighbours

Social networks in neighbourhoods reveal as an important attribute, providing collective benefits. The relation between neighbours is characterised as active and focussed on getting things done. Respondents collaborate with direct neighbours in renovating the house, garden or fence, or they share responsibility for maintaining the collective courtyard or street. Many people mention the organisation of annual or seasonal parties and other activities, although some say these festivities are declining. Also, more passive relationships are mentioned, such as regular communication with neighbours or keeping an eye on each other. The lack of neighbour contact appears in some answers, often referring to former days when the social web in collective courtyards was stronger. Other respondents report new initiatives, like the 'tiny forest' of self-planted trees that functions as a resident's hangout around a campfire.

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"I do have contact with my neighbours, not for fun but for practical reasons: six or seven neighbours would alarm if my curtains don't open in the morning." (group meeting elderly)
"Talking to the neighbours at the garden fence is nice. Or our children chilling out with each other" (resp 46)
"The neighbours are important; everyone pays attention to each other. We make changes to the house or garden in consultation with the neighbours." (resp. 1)
"Together we make sure the street looks neat, we borrow each other's broom. Once in a while, we organise a party." (group meeting elderly)

6.3.1.4 Identity: My own

The answers in the diaries reveal ownership as important. This code relates to the feeling of owning, not necessarily legal ownership. The words "my own" are used by many respondents of all ages, as the reason why they appreciate an attribute. On the smallest scale "my own" refers to a bed, room or "the chair everybody knows is mine". Children often appreciate their own (bed)room because of the rest and privacy it provides (see Figure 6.4). Gaming, watching television or sleeping are the favourite activities. The lack of an own room, and consequently lack of privacy, is also mentioned both by children and parents. Some respondents state that they like their whole house best "because I made it my own", which refers to ownership, appropriation and identity. Furnishings and upholstery appear in many answers and sketches, illustrating the users' interest also for movable attributes, as a way to personalise their mostly ready-made living environment. Asking about preferred houses or preferred collective courtyards in Almere Haven, for many respondents their own house or collective courtyard is the best. This seems to express a general satisfaction with one's own living environment and can be explained as pride.

The responses vary in their complexity of chains. Some state that they appreciate their room because it is "mine", directly relating the tangible attribute to the intangible feeling of ownership. Others include several steps in the categories, reasoning that they appreciate the room, because it has a comfortable bed, on which you can lie down, for relaxing or gaming, being on my own. These answers link several tangible attributes, to activities to identity.

"My room is the best place, because that's where I can listen to loud music." (resp. 27)
"My hanging chair is my favourite spot. Everybody knows that it is my place, I don't leave it. I like rocking in that chair. There is no view but I look at my laptop or phone." (resp. 39)
"Our house is the most beautiful for me, because I truly feel at home." (resp. 1)
"Everything in my garden I made myself, I am so proud of that! I work in the garden one hour a day." (resp. 5)



FIG. 6.4 My room, indicated by hart. (resp. 23)

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6.3.1.5 Identity: Holiday feeling

Several respondents write in their diaries about the feeling being on holiday. It is a striking finding since all respondents are Almere residents. The holiday feeling is found in responses relating to several levels of scale. One couple appreciates their own house, because it feels like a holiday bungalow. On the urban scale, the harbour boulevard, the boats and terraces also generate a holiday atmosphere (see Figure 6.5). Others relate to the abundant green or the quietude as reminding of a holiday experience. Especially older people that belong to the first inhabitants or people working in Amsterdam, characterise Almere Haven as a holiday resort, when coming from Amsterdam. The vastness of natural spaces, the empty landscape and the silence are mentioned attributes, linked to the attribute of holiday feeling.

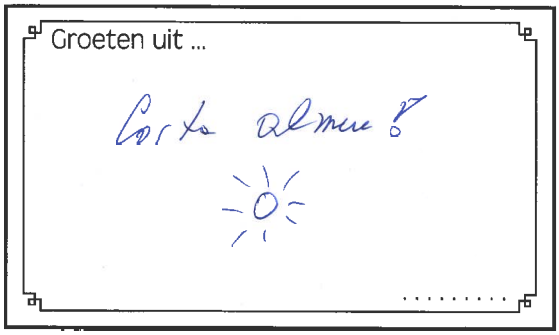


FIG. 6.5 Postcard expressing Holiday feeling (resp. 24)

"When I used to return from my job in Amsterdam and I came home, well, then I felt like as if I arrived on a holiday destination." (group meeting elderly)
"The vast greenery of Almere Haven gives me the feeling of living in a holiday resort." (resp. 15)
"My neighbourhood is even more quiet than when I'm on holiday." (resp. 11)
"Lots of light, a bungalow, the atmosphere of a holiday home. What more could you want?" (resp. 2)

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6.3.1.6 Identity: Ordinariness

The qualification “ordinary” is mentioned on all levels; from the scale of the house to the collective courtyard and especially to Almere Haven as a whole. The attribute “ordinary” is categorised as an identity-code and is used by respondents with negative, positive and neutral connotations. In a neutral or negative meaning, it refers to normality and similarity, lacking worth-mentioning attributes. But in some answers this same notion of ordinariness holds a positive everyday comfort. Asking for beautiful aspects of the individual house, many responses include “nothing” or “just a regular house” and others omit the significance of their house, preferring to write about the beauty of the garden or the view. On the scale of the collective courtyard or street, respondents mention the repetition of urban typology (all collective courtyards are the same) and housing typology (see Figure 6.6). Speaking about Almere Haven, comparisons are made to other cities which have specific qualities and beauty, contrasting to Almere Haven. The cities referred to are old Dutch cities in the surrounding of Almere, like Amsterdam and Alkmaar.

“There are no beautiful neighbourhoods in Almere. Alkmaar or Amsterdam of course they are beautiful. But here everything is ordinary.” (resp. 6)
“I do not like anything particular about my house. But the garden and the swing are beautiful.” (group meeting school)
“I have stairs in the hall and large cupboards. It’s just a nice house.” (group meeting elderly)
“Nature and the lawn on my doorstep. That’s so comfortable.” (resp. 27)

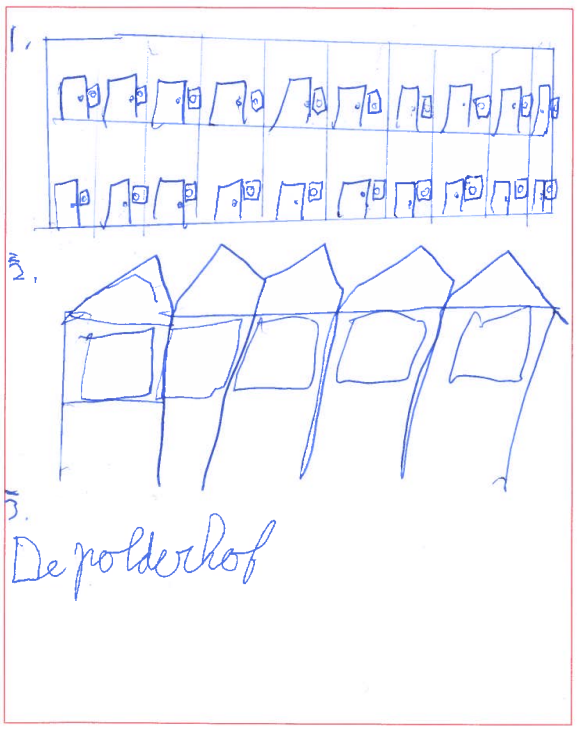


FIG. 6.6 Drawing expressing repetition, indicating ordinariness (resp. 18)

6.3.2 Webs of Attributes

Every web presents multiple chains of answers, loosely positioned from spatial attributes at the bottom, to activities and collectivity in the middle part, up to identity related qualities at the top of the web. The attributes are presented as words/ codes, linked by lines that show the relation to other attributes as distilled from the diary responses. Bold fonts and lines indicate most frequently mentioned attributes and relations (see Figure 6.7-6.12). The positioning of attributes was not always self-evident. Attributes sometimes overlap categories. "Meeting others", "organising an event" or "playing" are both activities and collectivity related attributes (e.g. Figure 6.9). In those cases, they were positioned in between.

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Other attributes transcend the intangible attributes categorization and bridge the character of values, such as pride, satisfaction or safety, eminently social values. They have been positioned at the top end of the web. On the lower level in the webs, we can see sequences of several tangible attributes as extended chains, with one attribute being the consequence of another. However, in some responses an attribute is directly linked to higher-level attribute, represented in the web by a long direct line from bottom to top.

Intangible attributes are most prevalent in the results, represented in the top attributes (paragraph 6.3.1) and visible in the webs. However, almost all intangible attributes are enabled by one or more physical attributes. For example, the intangible "holiday feeling" is embodied by the vast green of the empty polder landscape (Figure 6.10), the vineyard, the campfire (Figure 6.12) and the lightness of the dwelling interior (Figure 6.7). When looking at the higher levels of attributes, some codes are mentioned by many respondents, but they link back to different attributes. Privacy e.g., proves to be an important intangible attribute both in the house, relating to rooms, and around the house referring to composition of the plot and the garden (Figure 6.7, 6.8). Quietness is mentioned as an attribute for rooms and garden but applies to the scale of the Almere Haven landscape, too (Figure 6.7, 6.8, 6.10). Beauty can be found as the end of a chain in many answers, stating "I just think it's beautiful". Beautiful is frequently related to (own) rooms, the garden, the green quality of natural areas and the canals in the city centre. For Almere Haven as a whole, this code is not used. Meeting others, collectivity and social contacts are mentioned on all levels of scale, except of the house. Especially on the level of collective courtyard or street, 'meeting others' is the central attribute in the web, relating to playing, organising with the neighbours, social control and comfort (Figure 6.9). Also, in the city centre and the green areas, social-led attributes are a reason for appreciation. Supplemented with "village atmosphere", "my own" and holiday atmosphere, these attributes in the top of the web can be regarded as the Almere Haven identity.

The Figures 6.7 to 6.12 present the Webs of Attributes on six scales of the living environment: My Home, My Garden, My Hofje (= courtyard), My Town, Urban Areas, Green Spaces.

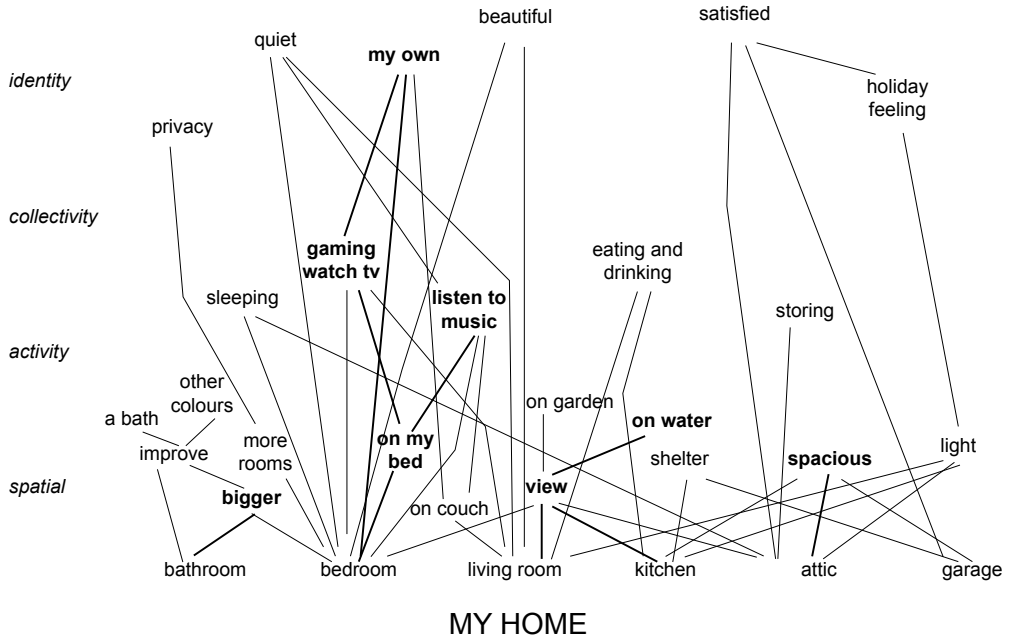


FIG. 6.7 Web of Attributes 'My Home'

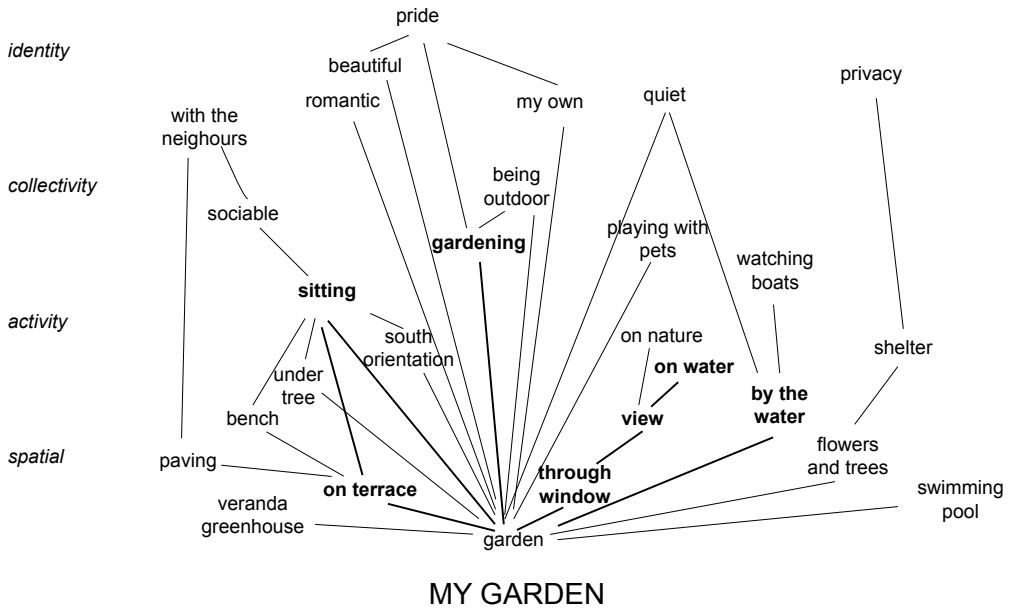


FIG. 6.8 Web of Attributes 'My Garden'

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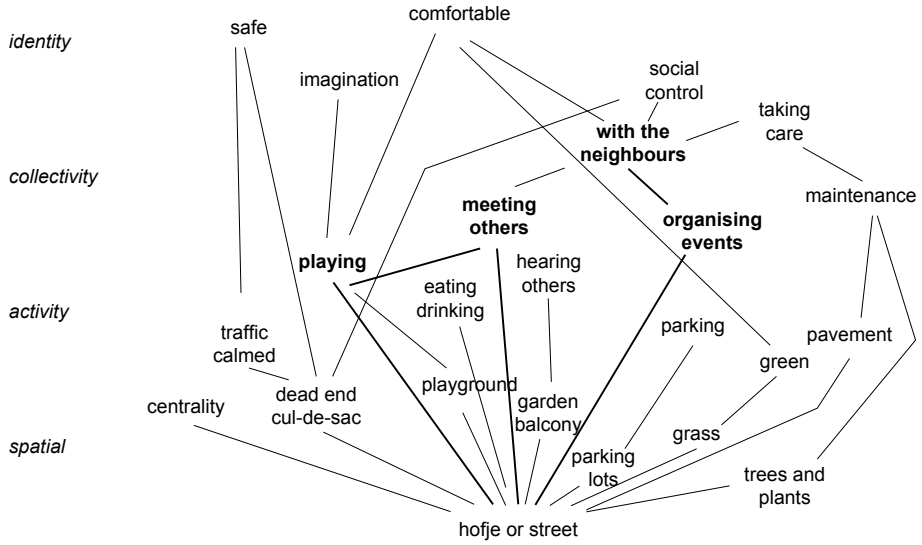


FIG. 6.9 Web of Attributes 'My Hofje' (= courtyard)

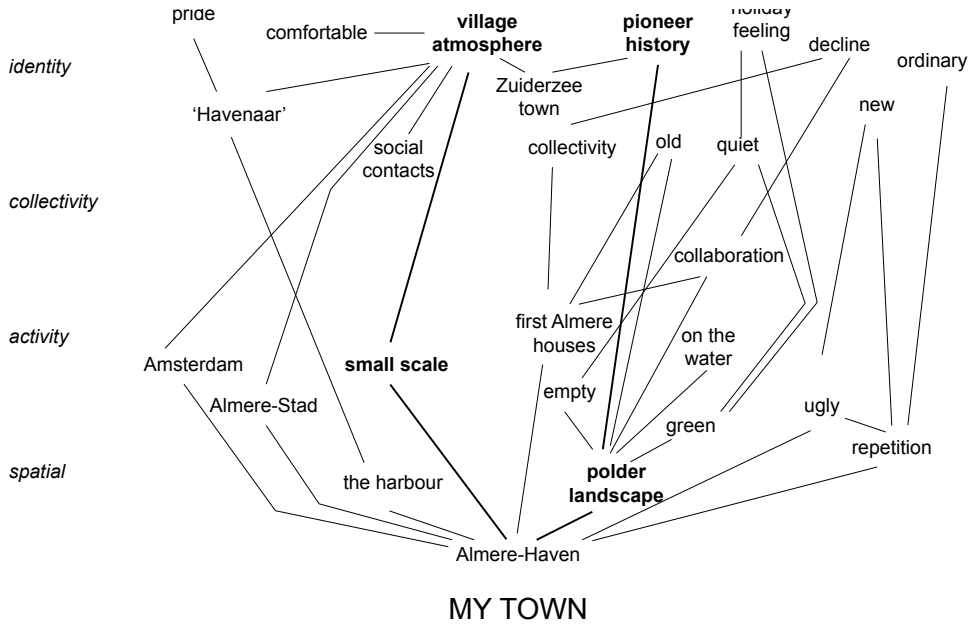


FIG. 6.10 Web of Attributes 'My Town'

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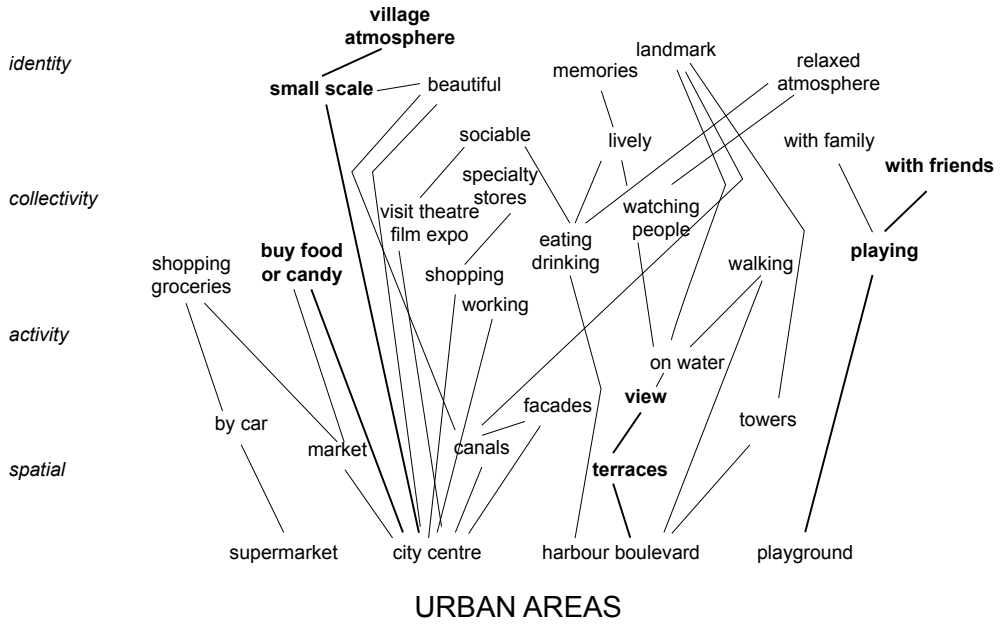


FIG. 6.11 Web of Attributes 'Urban Areas'

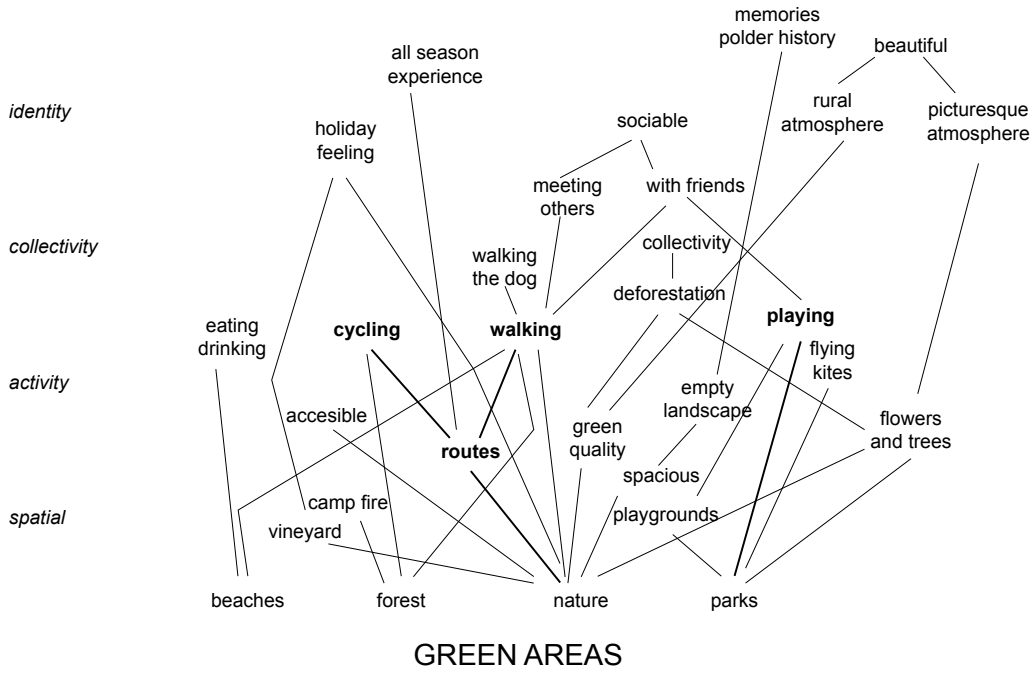


FIG. 6.12 Web of Attributes 'Green Areas'

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6.4 Discussion

This paper reported and discussed a significance assessment of an everyday living environment by its residents. The Web of Attributes is presented as a model for categorising and relating attributes of the living environment and their importance for residents, as appears from the case study Almere Haven. It builds on existing theories from the research fields of heritage and of housing preferences. It differentiates attributes by distinguishing categories, reveals relations between the attributes, combines individual responses into aggregate assessments for a specific place and explores further application in statements of significance.

6.4.1 Assessments of Almere Haven

Based on the results three main themes stand out. Social-led attributes like “meeting others” appear to be an important characteristic for Almere Haven. It is a central attribute in webs on all urban scales, relating to many tangible and intangible attributes. Landscape attributes, relating to greenery or water, are also omnipresent on all scales. On the small scale of the home, individual ‘own’ attributes play a more important role. The last two themes and many attributes in the webs are linked to Almere’s suburban character. This indicates that the suburban identity that was explicitly envisioned when new town Almere was established as a beckoning alternative to the urban identity in old cities is recognised and highly valued by today’s residents. Maintaining this can be a challenge with the current demand for densification, although several design studies show that by strategically adding housing, sustainability and support for neighbourhood facilities can actually improve while maintaining suburban character (KAW, 2020; Waaldijk, 2022).

The extent to which the diary method and participant sample influenced the results can be discussed. Overall, children were more likely to draw, while adults were more likely to use text and pictures. Although visual accounts need more interpretation, it seems a method to invite other groups and contributions. Results also illustrate that visual research methods applied by individual respondents in everyday environments produce a very rich and intimate description of engagement with place, including a wide range of possible conceptions of heritage (Cooke, 2021, p. 148). Although personal profile and its influence on assessments is not the focus of the study, some observations can be made. People who have lived in Almere for a long time mention many attributes related to its genesis, such as the pioneer days and the

term “Havenaar”, for typical Almere Haven residents. Moreover, they refer more to other or previous living environments. “Holiday feeling”, for example, compares Almere to denser cities and the proximity to Amsterdam is valued for social and practical reasons. However, this is not (only) related to age group, but also to length of residence or migration to Almere, as people from various ages, backgrounds and household types migrate to Almere (Tzaninis, 2018). Children also mention history but emphasise Almere’s age, rather than its newness. They report for example that their father and grandparents also grew up in Almere in that neighbourhood, that their house looks very old, or that Almere has existed for a very long time. Interestingly, the difference between the age groups illustrates a different view of historical value and age value, the traditional domain of heritage assessment. More research with larger samples would be recommended to further investigate the relationship between personal profiles and significance assessment, as other research has indicated differences in significance assessment between household compositions (Wekker, 2016) and different life-place trajectories (Garrow, 2021).

More generally, the results contribute to the body of knowledge on the cultural significance of 1970-80’s residential neighbourhoods. It includes the resident’s voices in alternative heritage narratives, enabling further comparison to expert narratives about Dutch new towns by Ubbink and Reijndorp (2012; 2011). Moreover, it provides more detailed interpretation of living environments in addition to surveys e.g. Quaedflieg (2013). As the Dutch new towns that have been developed according to the Groeikernen policy share many characteristics regarding urban patterns, housing typologies, demographics and identity, the results of this research based on Almere Haven, could be compared to other new towns and related neighbourhoods. In other countries in North-western Europe similar developments took place, like the New Towns in the United Kingdom and Villes Nouvelles in France. Although there are important differences in planning policy, culture and scale of the towns, they share the characteristic low-rise suburban living environment mainly existing of single-family homes. (Nio, 2016, p. 11). Further research could study other neighbourhoods and cities, in national and international contexts. Together, this can contribute to the significance assessment of the 1970-80’s residential neighbourhoods, informing future renovations without disregarding their cultural significance.

6.4.2 Differentiating attributes

Studying the chains of attributes in the responses, attributes were found often linked in statements of significance. In the example, “My room is the best place, because that’s where I can listen to loud music”, the activity is an affordance of the room. Compared to the attribute-value distinction common in the heritage discipline, this study confirms the added value of the attribute-consequence-value chain from Means-End theory (Coolen, 2001). In the responses of this research, the introduced mid-category of consequences is stretched to a chain, where many attributes were given as the consequences of each other. Some intangible attributes came closer to values as defined in value systems. The attribute “holiday feeling” e.g., can be related to values “unity with nature” and “enjoying life” as defined by Schwarz (Coolen, 2001, p. 22). Many attributes in the web could be interpreted as ‘social values’ and ‘aesthetical values’ (Pereira-Roders, (2007). However, the responses did not literally mention values. This may be a consequence of the diary method used, which does not allow for probing into ‘why’. Previous research that did ask further questions by a method called laddering, shows that sometimes the chain stops without reaching the level of values, because the interviewee gets stuck at the level of attributes or consequences (Coolen, 2001). Further research is needed for interpreting values and attributes in citizen responses in an integrated way, as well as the relation between values and intangible attributes.

The juxtaposition of multiple answers in the web reflects the aggregate responses on the attributes of a living environment and the complexity of the respondents’ answers. Like in oral history the juxtaposition of statements will make a more realistic construction of the past (Thompson, 2003, p. 24), also in heritage identification, the multiplicity of opinions can build up into a shared narrative. Moreover, the web structure enables relations between scale levels, tangible and intangible attributes of all kinds. Also Coolen (2008) and Meesters (2009) have used graphic representations of Means-End theory to explain the relations between attributes, consequences and values. They use network representations to understand generic housing, by relating various individual meanings to one general attribute. However, the webs in this paper start from a specific architectural or urban place and aim to paint a picture of its valuable attributes. This is the essential difference in the translation of Means-End theory to its application for heritage significance assessment. The Webs of Attributes aim to build a narrative about a certain place. By combining multiple responses in one web, for the small scale of the private home or the larger urban environment, the web represents the collective assessment of that place.

The relationships between attributes in the webs and their loose positioning confirm the absence of clear boundaries between tangible and intangible attributes, as explained by Cotte (2021). Also categorizing attributes, sub-attributes/ indicators and meaning as proposed by Sobhani (2016) and Skounti (2021) is reflected in the webs, albeit in a more irregular manner. An inductive decoding process resulted into four categories of attributes: spatial, activities, collectivity and identity. In the Web of Attributes the intangible attributes clearly predominate. This could be the result of the means-end chains, and the unravelling of the attribute's meaning in the responses. Almere recently drew up new valuation criteria for Post 65 heritage, adding two societal values to the traditional valuation criteria (Onclin, 2021, p. 14). Experience value identifies how an object, structure or landscape is experienced and lived by people in a subjective sense. Identity value indicates the significance of the heritage role to the identity of a municipality and/or its inhabitants. The latter in particular is well represented in the results of this study, suggesting that there could be a relationship between young heritage and new, intangible categories.

6.4.3 Everyday heritage

Everyday living environments have been listed as heritage in the past century e.g., domestic architecture in historic cities as Venice and Amsterdam. Also younger residential neighbourhoods are sometimes considered as significant heritage but with a different legal status, like for example the selected areas from the reconstruction period (1940-1965) in the Netherlands for which local and national government work together on developments while preserving qualities (RCE, 2011). This raises the question if everything and anything could become heritage, how or why would we select objects for special treatment or protection? And what would it mean for approaches to conservation and management (Glendinning, 2013, p. 424)? However, the approach in this research is not necessarily a preparation for listing them as heritage. By understanding what the significant attributes for residents and other stakeholders are, decision-makers can decide how best to use them in future developments. That use might include preservation as often assumed for heritage, but it could also include other decisions (Fairclough, 2009, p. 33). Knowledge of where value lies creates insight into opportunities for strategic sustainable change, while maintaining significant attributes.

In this new concept of heritage, everyday aspects are included in the meaning of heritage, assessed by citizens who have been asked to indicate as attributes "the extraordinary in the ordinary" (Lefebvre, 1987). In doing so, the difference between heritage and everyday disappears. If we zoom in, however, what appears to be an

individual, subjective and contemporary attribute often turns out to have a historical explanation specific to the origins of Almere. For example, the top attribute “my own” (see section 6.3.1.4) related to bedroom, house, garden, etc. is specific to the Almere legacy (and other new towns) because its creation aimed to provide a suburban living environment with single-family homes and sufficient privacy for the overcrowded city of Amsterdam where many people lived in rundown, small and shared dwellings (De Liagre Böhl, 2012, pp. 20-21). The same applies to the top attribute “water view” (see paragraph 6.3.1.1). As a new city on new land, water management is Almere’s blueprint. At the time, the IJsselmeer polder was a heroic and innovative water machine, in which drainage was regulated down to the smallest detail and was strongly integrated into the design of cities and the layout of forests and recreational areas (Steenbergen, 2009, p. 194). Also conceptually, living on polder land reclaimed from the sea is an historically key characteristic for the Almere landscape. These links can be made for most of the attributes, confirming that there is no clear divide between individual/ contemporary/ everyday heritage and collective/ old/ traditional heritage.

An accurate understanding, on the one hand, of what is significant about a place and, on the other hand, of how cultural heritage value is created through everyday patterns is useful for the preservation and improvement of historic and younger urban environments (Törmä, 2021, p. 190). The inextricability of intangible attributes, related to e.g. social or identity aspects, and tangible attributes of the living environment is important for the development of statements of significance, as affecting one attribute could create a chain reaction to many other attributes. Referring to the stages to understand significance as stated in the Burra Charter (Australia-ICOMOS, 2013), the diary method and attribute analysis have been employed for ‘understanding the place’ and ‘assessing significance’. The Web of Attributes could serve as visual reporting of the ‘statement of significance’. It can be part of a monument description in the case of a protected monument or of an environmental vision as a basis for future developments. When policymakers, planners and designers develop urban renewal plans, they can preserve or reintroduce the attributes valued by residents and other stakeholders. Decision-makers can take into account what citizens find valuable, increasing support for urban renewal plans. The Web of Attributes can contribute to all cases that want to include citizens in processes of heritage significance assessments, in older and younger housing neighbourhoods, listed or not listed, and integrate the significance they convey to their living environments into broader statements of significance.

6.5 Conclusion

This paper reported and discussed a significance assessment of an everyday living environment in Almere Haven by its residents. It revealed main attributes, “meeting others”, “green” and “water” as landscape elements and “my own” indicating individual ownership, that can be regarded as important ingredients of the Almere Haven identity. The results contribute to the knowledge about the cultural significance of residential areas in the 1970-80s, with the perspective of residents complementing expert opinion.

The Web of Attributes is presented as a model for categorising and relating attributes of the living environment building on existing theories from the research fields of heritage and of housing preferences. It differentiates attributes by distinguishing categories, reveals relations between the attributes and combines individual responses into aggregate assessments. The Web of Attributes uses Means-End theory for application in heritage significance assessment. The novelty of this approach consists of a shift from assessing generic characteristics, to building a specific narrative about a particular place. The Web of Attributes can serve as visual reporting in statements of significance, for listed and non-listed buildings and areas.

The Web of Attributes is regarded as a model to be further developed, to assess the significance of an architectural or urban place conveyed by often unrepresented individual voices in everyday neighbourhoods. For researchers in the housing field, it shows how to research the significance of a specific existing built environment to make optimal use of its attributes, tangible and intangible. For researchers in the heritage field, it presents the opportunity to include citizens in the assessment of heritage significance, opening to new methods to assess heritage and to support a broader identification of what heritage can be.

Acknowledgements

The research has been conducted in collaboration with PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, as part of the program 'Heritage as a value of the living environment' (https://themasites.pbl.nl/leefomgevingskwaliteit-erfgoed/). Graduation students of Delft University of Technology, section Heritage & Architecture, have been involved in the making, distribution and collection of the diaries. Moreover, they have interviewed respondents and contributed to the research development and analysis.

Ethical approval: The Havenhart 2.0 project organisation (Almere municipality) agreed to the research method and approach of residents as interviewees. Respondents have signed a statement on consent to participate and consent to publish (General statement: 'The diary responses are processed anonymously in the study. Personal data will not be used or published in research findings'). The illustrations and quotes in this paper have been selected on condition that they do not contain any retrievable personal information.

Competing interests: The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could influence the work in this article.

Funding: The researchers have received a financial contribution from PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency. This concerns a contribution to fundamental research where the data are available to both parties.

Availability of data and materials: The datasets used in the study cannot be made accessible because they contain information from which personal data could be retrieved.

APP.6.1 List of questions as asked in the diary, the corresponding scale level and type of question.

	Question	Scale level	Type of question
Day 1	Draw and describe your home and garden.	Individual house	Description or drawing
	What is your favourite place in the house or garden, and why? Multiple answers possible. Indicate it on your drawing.	Individual house	Prioritise. Mark in drawing
Day 2	What is your neighbourhood? Outline it on the map.	District	Mark on map
	What do you find beautiful or nice places and why? Describe them and indicate on the map.	District	Mark on map
Day 3	What have you changed about your home? Draw or describe the changes.	Individual house	Description or drawing
	What else would you like to change about your home? Or to the court? Or to your neighbourhood? What exactly should never be changed, why not?	Individual house/ Court/ Neighbourhood	Open question
Day 4	Draw on the map your daily routes for e.g., shopping, leisure, work or school.	District	Mark on map
	Which places do those routes go to? Also indicate the places on the map.	District	Mark on map
Day 5	What are your top three fine courtyards or streets in your neighbourhood? Describe or take photos.	Courtyard	Prioritise. Photo's optional
	What do you like or like about those courtyards or streets?	Courtyard	Open question
Day 6	What do you find beautiful about the outside of your own home?	Individual house	Open question
	What are your top three beautiful homes in Almere Haven? Why do you like them? Describe or take photos.	Individual house	Prioritise. Photo's optional
Day 7	What do you know about the history of your neighbourhood?	Neighbourhood	Open question
	Make a postcard of your neighbourhood. What is on your card? Fill in the name of your neighbourhood at the bottom of the card.	Neighbourhood	Drawing assignment in pre-drawn frame
End	What have you discovered about your home, neighbourhood or town? What would you like to know more about?	Individual house/ Neighbourhood/ Town	Open question
	Is there anything else you want to say that was not covered in the questions?	-	Open question

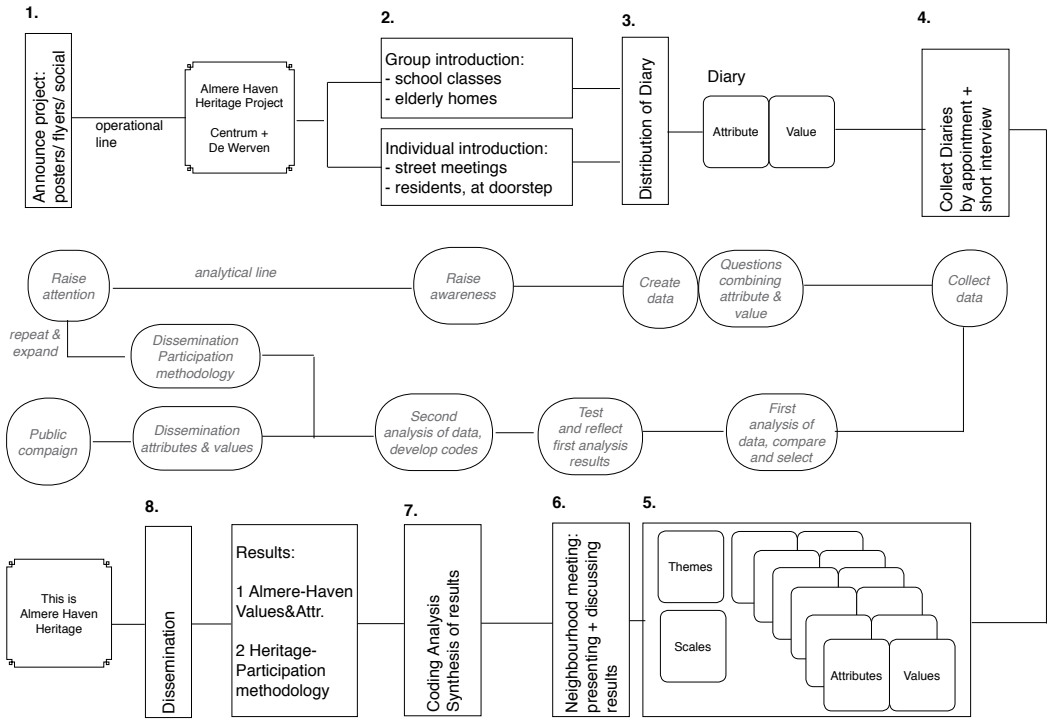
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APP.6.1 List of questions as asked in the diary, the corresponding scale level and type of question.

	Question
General	Name
	Age
	Male/ Female/ Other
	In which neighbourhood do you live in Almere Haven? De Werven/ Centrum/ De Hoven/ De Marken/ De Grienden/ De Meenten/ De Wierden/De Gouwen/ De Velden/ other
	How long have you lived in Almere Haven?
	Address
	How many adults and how many children live in the house?
	Do you rent the property or did you buy the property?

APP.6.2 Scheme of the process design for the operation of the study.

Process Design



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Bijlmerplein, Amsterdam

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7 Case Study 3

Discovering the significance of housing neighbourhoods by assessing their attributes with a digital tool

This chapter was first published ahead of print as part of the issue "Citizen Participation, Digital Agency, and Urban Development"
Spoormans, L., W. de Jonge, D. Czischke, A. Pereira Roders. (2024). Discovering the significance of housing neighbourhoods by assessing their attributes with a digital tool.
Urban Planning, Vol. 9(1), https://doi.org/10.17645/up.6998

ABSTRACT Much of the building stock subjected to the upcoming European Renovation Wave is neither listed as heritage, nor considered valuable architecture. This also applies to Dutch housing built between 1965-1985, which is more than 30% of the Dutch housing stock, for which there is no consensus on their cultural significance. Their successful renovation process requires broad support. What attributes do citizens consider important in their neighbourhood? How to include a multitude of stakeholders? And can digital methods help collect and process responses? This paper reveals attributes of residential neighbourhoods from 1965-1985, assessed by various stakeholders with a digital tool, based on case studies in Amsterdam and Almere. A mobile application allowed individuals to identify significant attributes at various scales, while visiting the neighbourhood. By qualitative data analysis of survey and interview results, groups of tangible and intangible attributes were deduced. Results show that identifying attributes by current stakeholders broadens existing expert assessments on 1965-1985 neighbourhoods, by including e.g., generic attributes not originally intended by the designers. Asking open-ended questions is considered essential to identify undiscovered attributes and alternative stakeholders, although dealing with large numbers of responses is recognised as a challenge to cluster and classify. Lastly,

the mobile application appears to be a useful digital tool but integrating scientific consistency and usability is recommended for further development. Engaging multiple stakeholders with such mobile applications allows for collecting opinions, anticipating conflicts or shared interests between stakeholders and integration into renovation designs. It can empower citizens in preserving the neighbourhood attributes most important to them.

7.1 Introduction

The European Green Deal announced a Renovation Wave for 35 million residential and non-residential buildings by 2030 to foster deep energy renovations (European-Commission, 2020, p. 3). “Respect for aesthetics and architectural quality” is stated as one of the key building principles for this massive renovation operation, next to energy efficiency and affordability. It refers to the Davos Declaration that promotes the concept of a high-quality Baukultur in Europe, stressing preservation of the quality of the built environment and the value of cultural heritage (Office-Fédéral-de-la-Culture, 2018), hereinafter referred as cultural significance. Making these high-quality renovations possible in a short period of time and on a large scale requires broad support from both decision-makers and citizens. Support is necessary not only for legal and organisational reasons, but also to create living environments that meet citizens’ values and preferences. Policies at national and European level call for stakeholder participation and promote digital technology to encourage citizens’ initiatives and share information (BZK, 2021; Council-of-Europe, 2005).

A large part of the building stock to be renovated is not listed as heritage, nor considered by experts as valuable architecture. In the Netherlands, almost a third of the residential stock dates from 1965-1985 (CBS, 2020). These buildings do not meet contemporary demands and are seldomly listed as heritage properties. In recent years, both academic and societal interest in younger buildings is increasing, with national heritage institutes taking steps to assess their cultural significance. In particular, The Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency has defined 1965-1990 as the Post 65 period and identifies the urgency for its research in the upcoming energy transition and demographic changes (RCE, 2019, pp. 6, 16). Earlier research on the Dutch residential neighbourhoods 1965-1985 mainly addresses intentions of original planners and architects, and how these translated into urban and architectural attributes. Publications are available describing societal developments and design

ideologies, including documented conferences and interviews from that time (Haan, 1981; Leupen, 1990; Roegholt, 1984) as well as contemporary survey works of e.g., design themes (Vletter, 2004), architects' retrospect (Scipio, 2007) urban typologies (Ubbink, 2011, p. 11) and new towns (Reijndorp, 2012).

However, few scientific studies research the cultural significance of '65-'85 housing neighbourhoods, from the perspective of residents and other non-expert stakeholders. Moreover, evaluation of 1965-1985 architecture is often argued from the historic intentions (Abrahamse, 2019; Blom, 2021; Somer, 2020; Vletter, 2004), but rarely from its current significance (Provoost, 2023). This paper studies the assessment of neighbourhood attributes by the stakeholders involved, using a digital tool. By integrating significance assessment and digital participation methods, this research explores the potential and limitations of digital participation to engage a large group of stakeholders in identifying and assessing neighbourhood attributes on their cultural significance. It is qualitative research, taking neighbourhoods in Amsterdam and Almere as case studies. Stakeholders from different groups participated in identifying significant attributes at different scales, by using a mobile application. Although previous research shows important differences between the assessments of various stakeholder groups (L. Spoormans, D. Czischke, A. Pereira Roders, W. de Jonge, 2023), participant profiles and how they influence their assessment are not the focus of this paper.

This paper uses heritage theories and methods to study residential areas, not listed as heritage. It adopts Fairclough's definition of 'new heritage' which states that unlike the traditional definition of heritage that is based on the selection of buildings and areas, new heritage is "whatever people value in a wide range of ways". Heritage is not special but ordinary and includes everything that we have inherited (Fairclough, 2009, pp. 30, 35, 41). Professional and civic engagement in both heritage and renovation processes can improve mutual understanding and accelerate development processes, as well as increase civic engagement and empowerment.

The theoretical framework in section 2 introduces the main concepts: attribute assessment and digital participation methods. The case studies and their history are illustrated in section 3. Section 4 explains the methods used for the (digital) data collection and analysis after which section 5 presents the results. Section 6 discusses some challenges in identifying attributes through participation by digital methods, after which section 7 presents the study's conclusions.

7.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework distinguishes two dimensions: first, attribute assessment through participation, and second, the use of digital participatory methods. In this research, a digital tool is employed as a method of promoting participation. Participation is deployed to identify significant attributes. First unravelling purpose and means and then exploring their mutual influence, allows us to explore whether digital participation engages a wider range of stakeholders in heritage assessment processes in neighbourhoods and how it influences the resulting attributes.

7.2.1 Attribute assessment through participation

In heritage discourses, the term attribute is gaining ground and provoking debate. The distinction between values and attributes in relation to heritage was introduced in international documents, by the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) (UNESCO, 2011a). In heritage studies, attributes were defined as what we value, and values as the reason(s) why (Pereira Roders, 2007; Tarrafa Silva, 2012; Veldpaus, 2015). The publication Attributes, a way of understanding OUV, contextualises the term attribute to a "world heritage site broken down into smaller parts", to operationalise the abstract concept of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) for managers, local populations and various stakeholders (Kazuhiko, 2021, p. 10). In this publication, Cotte (2021, pp. 32–35) defines an attribute as a part of a whole and, reciprocally, a property consists of a set of attributes that form a coherent whole and carry specific meanings. Attributes exist in two complementary dimensions: as tangible facts that physically describe the property or as bearers of associated intangible features. He sees no rigid boundary between tangible and intangible attributes, but intangible meanings complement tangible attributes. Similarly, Van der Hoeven makes no distinction between tangible and intangible attributes because e.g., cultural activities always take place in a building or public place and are therefore inseparable (Hoeven, 2020, pp. 136–137). But different approaches to attribute terminology are observed. Some regard attributes neutrally as all the attributes of a property, while others use the term evaluatively for only those attributes that contribute to the OUV (Wataru, 2021, p. 106). Contrary to Van der Hoeven's approach, Skounti proposes to further distinguish the definition of the attribute, as something intangible (e.g. typology of elements), and the indicator as a tangible embodiment of the intangible definition (e.g. number of tangible accessories) (Skounti, 2021, p. 135). One attribute can have several indicators. In

the earlier article Captain, where can we find the attributes, a similar distinction was explained (Sobhani Sanjbod, 2016, pp. 5-6). Aiming to identify and locate attributes of the Amsterdam Canal Zone (a UNESCO listed site in the centre of Amsterdam), they distinguish 1) attributes, 2) sub-attributes, 3) architectural indicators and 4) values. Attribute is explained as an (in)tangible general theme (e.g., Port city), 'sub-attribute' to a specific embodiment of the main attribute (e.g., warehouses), 'indicator' to a recognizable element of sub-attributes (e.g., spout gable) and 'value' to categories of meaning (e.g., aesthetic, economic or historic values).

The identification of attributes, as well as other heritage processes, should involve everyone in society, as advocated by the European Faro Convention (Council-of-Europe, 2005, p. 5). The development of legal, financial, and professional frameworks to enable joint action by stakeholders, is stated as a public responsibility for national governments. It is recognised that including individuals and communities from various stakeholder groups enlarges the concept of cultural heritage. Besides the variety and multiplicity of people to be involved in development practices, non-experts' participation can change the definitions of heritage. The essential factor is the recognition, representation and identification of heritage by a group of people and their wish to conserve it for future generations (Howard, 2003, p. 6). In New Heritage Frontiers, Fairclough (2009, pp. 30, 40) proposes a 'new heritage' approach, promoted by the Faro Convention. This includes adding new categories of objects, e.g., recent buildings, and developing new practices, based on recognising the importance of the local and the ordinary and on the embedding of heritage values into social attitudes. By taking heritage out of its sectorial isolation, and making it a part of wider debates, the approach not only becomes more democratic, but also more forward looking, including present day stakeholders in spatial developments for the future. In this all-encompassing concept of heritage, things that so far have been considered marginal, such as the neglected ordinary things, could become central.

This paper uses 'attribute' for the intangible quality or meaning and 'sub-attribute' for its multiple tangible embodiments or intangible manifestations. The definition and application of these terms evolve from Sobhani Sanjbod (2016) and others. Attributes and sub-attributes can be all the things that participants mention for various reasons and can be positive or negative. In doing so, the paper applies the broad 'new heritage' approach, adopted by Fairclough (Fairclough, 2009, pp. 30, 35, 41), both in heritage as object (recent, not listed stock) and in democratic methods. It includes the participation of both professionals from different fields related to heritage and renovation practices and also non-expert stakeholders. Their assessment is open to all attributes.

7.2.2 Digital participatory methods

Although most participatory heritage practices use conventional methods like meetings, interviews and workshops, digital and automated methods for data collection are growing (Foroughi, 2023, p. 5). Foroughi's literature review of articles from 1985–2019 shows that from the studies applying qualitative methods, 23% use digital methods and 7% a mix of digital and analogue. Digital methods like collaborative online platforms or digital surveys are assumed to have advantages like easy accessibility regardless time and place (Shen, 2012, p. 202) and less time-consuming and costly (Foroughi, 2023, p. 6). However, also difficulties are observed like a lower response rate for digital than for paper-based surveys (Brown, 2012, p. 320), inability to communicate directly and in person, and the need to possess and be able to use a computer (Shen, 2012, p. 202). Moreover, general challenges for participatory processes as discussed by Finka (2017) also apply to digital methods, like declining public interest over time and the effect that people are more (or only) interested when personally confronted with a change or decision, the so-called NIMBY effect. The known problem of low trust in organising institutions and the participation process can be compounded by distrust in digital methods. Misunderstanding or different interpretations of terminology can also be extra problematic with digital methods, as there is no direct interaction to clarify ambiguities. (Finka, 2017, pp. 2, 6-7).

Besides practical reasons, digital technologies are emerging to enhance citizens' experience or connection with heritage. Lewi and Smith have distinguished three categories of digital tools that collect user-generated data (UGD) in relation to a specific place (Lewi, 2016, pp. 16-18). The tools are mostly used by smartphones to guide exploration of a (historic) site. In 'curated sites' an expert institution offers authoritative information, and the participant has the role of a visitor. In 'content hosting sites', the citizen is a contributor. These tools are built to document and interpret heritage and offer a more open framework for contributions and exchange. The 'social network sites' are fora for discussion on a particular place e.g., a Facebook group, and are usually not curated. Also emerging studies on Post 65 architecture in The Netherlands use digital participation to map unexplored architectures and opinions (e.g. Post-65 Photo competition by RCE, Wakelet inventory of architecture 1965-'90 by Rotterdam municipality, online platform Love 80's architecture). In general, these digital methods, such as social media, polls and surveys are suggested by the Dutch Government as contemporary methods to collect opinions (RCE, 2019, pp. 22-23, 30). But while these tools are widely used, the contribution of the collected data in formal heritage processes of identifying attributes and their cultural significance is a challenge (Lewi, 2016, p. 22). However, automated processing of UGD is gaining importance and may provide solutions.

Social media networks, including non-specific heritage initiatives, can be used to map attributes by collecting images, texts and geographical locations expressed by online citizens. (Alviz-Meza, 2022, p. 11). Moreover, UGD can be also combined into multi-modal datasets, revealing temporal, spatial and social relationships. But although working with well-trained machine learning and deep learning models, it is stated that for applications where more accurate conclusions are needed, human evaluations on the models' validity, reliability, and coherence are still needed (Bai, 2022, pp. 3,24). The study by Sobhani Sanjbod and others (2016, p. 9), conducted by researchers on a selected sample of attributes, also addressed the need for digital methods in support of automated data collection to scale up the application of attribute identification for urban landscapes. For tangible attributes, the authors suggest using GIS data, other existing databases or laser scanning may be feasible. However, how to find the meaning or intangible attributes in automated ways is an unresolved issue. Moreover, very precise descriptions of the attributes, including their relationships which are intangible attributes, would be needed to establish a network of attributes that fully describes an urban landscape. To specify attributes in significance statements on a larger scale (e.g., for a district), in order to include them in management frameworks, automation of both data collection and data analysis seems to be required.

In this study, digital methods are applied for data collection, including visual and textual input, by a sample of invited users. Although small scale, it has the character of 'content hosting sites' relating to the categories by Lewi (2016, pp. 16-18). The analysis of UGD is human work in this study, but ideas on automated processing of UGD are discussed in this paper to project future applications.

7.3 Context and case studies

Housing in the Netherlands built after 1965 is characterised by a turn away from the urban planning and architecture of the post-war Reconstruction period. Modernist repetitive schemes were replaced by varied compositions of housing types, forms of streets, squares and building blocks (L. Spoormans, A. Pereira Roders, W. de Jonge, L. Reinders, 2021). The housing shortage had become less acute and rising prosperity allowed for more attention to quality rather than mere quantity. In 1968, the Secretary of Housing and Spatial Planning set up an experimental housing programme, to promote innovations that would contribute to a better quality of life

through a highly varied range of housing and living environments. This development was sparked by a broad dissatisfaction with the monotony and uniformity of housing construction in the Reconstruction period (Barzilay, 2018, pp. 9, 19). The pursuit of a better quality of life and identification has a variety of material and visual manifestations. During the 1980s, the rich variety was toned down when the economic crisis led to a more "no-nonsense" approach, lower budgets, and the emergence of market-oriented developments. Although low-rise is dominant in numbers (69%), midrise residential typologies embody an essential change in the ideology of the time. In 1976, an article was published describing the revival of midrise typology in alternative forms. Its title Stacked low-rise buildings: multi-family houses, but cosy expressed the idealisation of low-rise and the resistance to high-rise. The development of innovative midrise models is explained from a re-valuation of traditional urban and natural environment. However, new objectives are an increase in density, including commercial and community facilities and public transport, a mix of living and working, and opportunities for social contact (Steemers, 1976, pp. 5, 9).

After literature studies of other Dutch cases (Spoormans, 2022) and discussions with project partners, Goedewerf in suburban new town Almere-Haven (chapter 3.1) en Bijlmerplein as the urban centre of Amsterdam Zuidoost (chapter 3.2) are considered as examples representing residential areas from the 1965-1985 period in the Dutch context. Next to the national context, international comparisons can be made. In the same period, the ideal model of garden cities was tested around European metropolises, like the New Towns in the United Kingdom and the Villes Nouvelles in France (Gaborit, 2010, p. 24). Although there are important differences in planning policy, culture and scale of the towns, also these residential areas developed as counterpart of the largescale developments of the earlier years. In his comparative study of Almere, Cergy-Pontoise and Milton Keynes, Nio has described their characteristics as 'suburban urbanity' (Nio, 2016). In the European context, academic interest in the heritage significance of architecture from the 1960s onwards is emerging, for example by some German-speaking countries discussing the characteristics and challenges of the Postmodern Legacy (Weimar Bauhaus-Universität, 2022) or the heritage value of the Brussels housing stock 1975-2000 by Parein in the project ArchBXL (Brussel Vrije Universiteit, 2021). Lastly, citizen engagement in significance assessment of younger residential areas is studied in other European countries, for example by Swiderski regarding the 1970s Polish town Ursynów (Ducci, 2022) or the iconic 1970s Byker Wall in Newcastle upon Tyne UK (Pendlebury, 2009; Yarker, 2014)

7.3.1 Goedewerf, Almere Haven

De Werven is the first neighbourhood built new town Almere. In 1979, the first inhabitants, mainly coming from Amsterdam, arrived in this neighbourhood (TH Delft, 1977, p. 1). Almere-Haven was designed as a suburban area with mostly low-rise neighbourhoods. The urban plan for its centre refers to the traditional Dutch city with urban attributes like canals, canal houses and narrow street profiles. The Goedewerf residential complex was designed by architectural firm INBO and dates from the 1970s. It has a woonerf character which involves traffic-free courtyards, clustered parking, private garages, a collective green area and playground in its centre (see Figure 7.1 and 7.2). The aim was to create an enclosed semi-public courtyard, geared to use only by local residents. The architects aimed to avoid a smooth façade wall but envisaged human scale dimensions and a diversity of balconies, loggias, stairwells, galleries (RIJP, 1976, p. 1). The residential complex consists of a diversity of dwelling typologies and sizes, combining single-family houses and flats. The facades are in red brickwork complemented with various materials and colours including wooden window frames, balcony railings, various panelling and exposed concrete lintels and gravel concrete elements. Due to the organic shape of the block and the sloping roofs, the roof shape is complex. The houses in Goedewerf are partly owned by private homeowners and partly by social housing corporations.



FIG. 7.1 Photo from woonerf (residential yard). Casus Goedewerf



FIG. 7.2 Photo as seen from the surrounding. Casus Goedewerf.

7.3.2 Bijlmerplein, Amsterdam Zuidoost

The Bijlmerplein district in Amsterdam was built in the mid 1980s and exists of seven clusters designed by five architectural firms under supervision of architects Van den Broek en Bakema. It is planned as a 'city within a city', integrating a large number of functions, such as commercial and social facilities, housing and offices (Stedenbouw, 1988, p. 13). As a counter movement to the CIAM model for the Bijlmermeer as a whole, the public space is designed as a sequence of enclosed, intimate spaces, such as city squares of different proportions enclosed by perimeter blocks, narrow streets and stairs leading up to elevated decks with collective and private outdoor spaces (see Figure 7.3 and 7.4). The designers' aim to achieve urban vitality was inspired by traditional urban concepts (Bruijn, 2020). However, the infrastructural ideology of CIAM is still part of the mixture, separating slow and fast traffic at different levels, and separated parking zones in garages or courtyards. The elevated highways give access to elevated decks where the entrances to the housing units are located (Horst, 1991, p. 113). Housing types range from units for singles or couples to large family flats aimed at a diverse mix of households. The five-storey blocks on a retail plinth have flat roofs and feature white brick facades with white-yellow patterns in specific places. A strong relief characterised the facades due to canopies, balconies and alcoves of different shapes.



FIG. 7.3 Photo from woondek (residential deck). Casus Bijlmerplein.



FIG. 7.4 Photo from public square. Casus Bijlmerplein.

7.4 Method

The study was conducted in the context of the TU Delft project Respectful Renovation. As part of the research project, a smartphone application Search for Values (hereinafter app) was developed, and a varied group of stakeholders was invited to participate. The survey and focus group interviews took place between April-September 2021. A survey and focus group interview with residents of Bijlmerplein took place in March 2023. The entire process undertaken must be considered as a pilot project.

7.4.1 Participants

Various groups of stakeholders participated in the survey by app and follow-up interviews. All professionals involved work in housing renovation in their work: architects, sustainability consultants, staff of municipal government employees specialising in heritage or sustainability, representatives of a housing corporation, housing union and owners' association (see Table 7.1). Heritage experts (municipal/ national advisors, deciding on heritage listing and policies) are included in the governments group. Also, a group of architecture students from a MSc course in Heritage & Design have participated. The research team saw an opportunity to involve these students, as an informed and critical group, in testing the digital tool and educating them about heritage participation processes. Lastly, an invited group of residents participated. For the residents group, the app was improved, based on comments by the professionals and students, by adjusting the language, avoiding jargon and complexity. All individuals participating were informed about the goals and methods of the research. Moreover, the concepts attribute, value, tangible and intangible were explained and illustrated by a tangible (façade or balcony) and an intangible (atmosphere) example. The explanation emphasised the importance to voice someone's individual opinion. Although some participants, like heritage experts, are more familiar with these terms, most other professional and non-professional participants were not.

TABLE 7.1 Number of participants per stakeholder group

	Case: Bijlmerplein	Case: Goedewerf	Focus group Interview
Architects and advisors	4	5	3
Governments	4	4	3
Owners	2	2	2
Students	3	5	5
Residents	5	1	7

7.4.2 App and focus group interviews

The survey was developed using Qualtrics software, creating an app for smartphone (see Figure 7.5). This app allows participants to complete the survey on location, while walking, watching, and experiencing. The COVID-19 restrictions prompted the development of this app, as group meetings were not allowed. The app-based survey contains the following questions and information:

1 Introduction, explaining the project and case studies, asking for name (optional), stakeholder group and consent

2 Attribute assessment (asked for each case, on several scale levels):
- what do you think is valuable?
- why do you think it is valuable?
- possibility to upload photo (optional)
- is there anything you would like to change?

3 Open question about general experience of survey and comments

After completing the individual on-site survey, focus group interviews were conducted in a meeting (in most cases online). With each stakeholder group individually, their responses were discussed, and further clarification was sought by the researchers. These focus group interviews were recorded and transcribed using Amberscript transcription software.



FIG. 7.5 Illustration of digital tool (app on smartphone)

TOC

7.4.3 Coding and analysis

The results of both the survey by app and the follow-up focus group interviews were coded, using Atlas.ti software. Attributes (what) and values (why) were deduced from the full dataset. Classifications from theory (Kamari et al., 2017; Pereira Roders, 2007) were used for coding, but also 'in vivo' codes were developed, meaning that the content of the quotation was deduced and classified as a code. The latter category led to specified 'attribute codes', tangible and intangible, which are the focus of this paper. An initial analysis was based on frequency of occurrence, leading to ranked attributes. The co-occurrence of attributes was also studied i.e., how often an attribute is mentioned in relation to another attribute. Attributes were also controlled for positive or negative sentiments, association with one or both case studies and distribution by stakeholder group. From these analyses, groups of related attributes were identified.

7.5 Research Results

The research results are divided into the outcome of attributes that emerged from the survey responses and their classification, followed by the functioning of participation with the app.

7.5.1 From responses to attributes

The participants' responses were clustered in groups, relating to architectural and urban concepts. Seemingly very different sub-attributes at various scales were considered part of the same overarching attribute. For instance, private home entrances (dwelling level), open accessibility via stairs and gates (ensemble level), the residential yard or deck (ensemble level) and separation of infrastructure (neighbourhood level) are all a consequence (or a facilitator) of the intangible attribute of 'semi-public residential atmosphere'.

Several such groups of sub-attributes have been identified and a selection is presented in Table 7.2. The names for the sub-attributes were derived from the data and indicate what the participants found valuable, although responses may have sometimes referred to them using different words or terms.

TABLE 7.2 Selected attributes categorised and illustrated by quotations from the data.

Classification	Attribute	Sub-attributes tangible (t) or intangible (i)	Scale	Case study
Specific attributes, tradition-inspired	Traditional city	Mixed use program (i)	Neighbourhood	Bijlmerplein
		Midrise blocks (t)	Neighbourhood	Goedewerf+Bijlmerplein
		Formal architectural coherence (i)	Ensemble	Goedewerf+Bijlmerplein
	Traditional use of material	Masonry facades (t)	Component	Goedewerf+Bijlmerplein
		Brick applications and ornaments (t)	Component	Goedewerf+Bijlmerplein
Specific attributes, innovation-driven	Differentiation	Housing typologies (i)	Ensemble	Goedewerf
		Ownership structure (i)	Ensemble	Goedewerf
		Balconies and bay windows (t)	Building	Bijlmerplein
		Recesses, corners, and gates (t)	Building	Goedewerf+Bijlmerplein
		Mix of materials (t)	Component	Goedewerf
	Semi-public residential atmosphere	Separated infrastructure (i)	Neighbourhood	Goedewerf+Bijlmerplein
		Stairs and gates (t)	Ensemble	Bijlmerplein
		Residential yard/ deck (t)	Ensemble	Goedewerf+Bijlmerplein
		Private home entrance (t)	Dwelling	Goedewerf+Bijlmerplein
	45 degrees design	Complex roof shapes (t)	Building	Goedewerf
		Kinked shapes and spaces (t)	Building	Goedewerf
		Multi-sided orientation (i)	Dwelling	Goedewerf
Generic attributes	Pleasant public space	Benches on squares (t)	Neighbourhood	Bijlmerplein
		Trees, planters (t)	Neighbourhood	Goedewerf+Bijlmerplein
		Green areas (t)	Neighbourhood	Goedewerf+Bijlmerplein
	Quality Housing	Good quality social housing (i)	Dwelling	Goedewerf+Bijlmerplein
		Open kitchen (t)	Dwelling	Goedewerf+Bijlmerplein

The expressions “attic-like atmosphere”, “all those angled corners and shapes”, “organic”, “sheltered”, “you can look to all directions” all refer to the attribute ’45 degrees design’. Many attributes apply to both case studies, but some are specific for one site, highlighting their differences e.g. a mixed-use program in the urban context of Bijlmerplein and only residential function in suburban Goedewerf.

Various intended attributes of 1965-1985 neighbourhoods, known from the literature, are recognised and valued by respondents. They mention e.g. “The small scale, the winding of the street and those little corners. That’s so cosy.”, which was exactly the design ambition. However, responses often mention the sub-attributes, e.g. midrise blocks, mix of shops and homes, balconies or the private home-entrances from yards and decks, but rarely mention the overarching intangible attribute like ‘traditional city’ or ‘semi-public residential atmosphere’.

7.5.2 Attribute classification

The attributes were further classified, relating them to spatial or societal concepts, which often have their basis in the original planning ambitions of the 1965-1985 housing neighbourhoods. The attributes ‘traditional city’ and ‘traditional use of material’, are categorised as specific to that time, representing the reintroduction of traditional architectural ideas. Other attributes are also specific for the time but instead represent the innovation and experiment of the 1965-1985 architecture. These are ‘differentiation’, ‘semi-public residential atmosphere’ and ‘45 degrees design’.

Within the specific attributes, it appears that the tradition-inspired are predominantly viewed positively, while the innovation-oriented attributes are more contested. For example, the assessment of the attribute ‘semi-public residential atmosphere’, the innovative concept of ‘stacked low-rise buildings’ (Steemers, 1976) intended as safe haven, is ambiguous. It is assessed as both safe and unsafe, sheltered and labyrinthine, cosy but also unwelcoming. Respondents state for example: “It is open, but it feels private.”, or “The ‘yard’ feeling is nice for children and the elderly because it is car-free. But for visitors, it is a maze.”. The use of brick as an example of tradition-inspired attributes is assessed positively because of its recognisable Dutch identity, craftsmanship, building physical properties, low maintenance and good condition. Addressing the masonry facades, a respondent states “Bricks are heavy, so it has a delaying effect when it is very hot outside. So that provides comfort.” About brick applications and ornaments, it was said that “Those masonry facades, have a kind of richness. It’s reminiscent of the monumentality of the Amsterdam School.”, which is an interbellum architectural style.

Respondents also mentioned generic attributes, not specific to 1965-1985 neighbourhoods, such as ‘pleasant public space’ in the form of greenery and seating in squares that facilitate meetings. Residents say e.g. “The green areas makes it pleasant to live in. And it makes it possible to walk in the greenery.” At the dwelling scale, ‘quality housing’ with various sub-attributes is listed as valuable, one respondent stating, “Nowadays, they only build identical houses with all same

floor plans. So, I would definitely cherish the differentiation of this kind of housing.". Attributes not originally aspired to but developed later, such as 'mixed ownership' in Goedewerf, are also identified as significant. Respondents think that "The mix of buyers and tenants ensures a healthy balance of social classes in the complex". The generic attributes were mentioned by all stakeholder groups, but remarkably often by residents.

Assessments are broadly similar across stakeholder groups, as they largely mention the same attributes and do not show opposing views. Sub-attributes belonging to e.g., differentiation of traditional material are frequently mentioned by all professional stakeholder groups. Differences were found in their disciplinary areas, such as more focus on public space by governments and more aesthetic and spatial attributes by architects and consultants. Residents referred more to neighbourhood activities, cultures and social structures and clearly less to buildings.

7.5.3 Digital participation process

In response to the last open-ended question of the survey, participants formulated their feedback on the use of the app. The repeated wording of the questions ("what do you find valuable about ...?") was perceived as boring. This 'fatigue' is also observed in formulating answers. Later questions are answered more concisely or state 'see above'. Another observation mentioned by all groups is that the survey asks for "value" while participants sometimes did not see anything of value. However, many participants still mentioned also negative assessments in their responses. Participants say they like that the survey includes the wider environment, but regret not being able to enter the building and dwelling (which was impossible due to COVID-19 restrictions).

Completing the on-site survey using the app had both positive and negative aspects. For professional stakeholders, it was an opportunity to explore the neighbourhood saying this led to unexpected findings. Some residents, however, did not see the added value of walking around because they already know the neighbourhood well. Residents had more difficulty using the app than other groups. Some did not have a smartphone or could not get the app to work, excluding some from participating. However, they did participate in the focus group interview. Residents were also more likely to quit the survey early without completing it. Comparing the results of the app and the follow-up interview per stakeholder group, we found that participants in the focus group interview were influenced by their peers, while the app functioned to collect individual responses and obtain more independent opinions, as participants were asked to go alone.

7.6 Discussion

In the research, digital participation is employed to identify significant neighbourhood attributes. This section discusses how digital methods can promote large-scale participation in attribute assessment and how digital participation affects the resulting attributes.

7.6.1 The challenge of identifying attributes from a multitude of varied responses

Open questions allowing participants to explain choices are important when using digital methods, as it is the underlying motivation that enables understanding. Moreover, open-ended questions allow participants to indicate the places, events, practices, stories and people they find meaningful (R. Madgin, 2021, pp. 87,90). This is essential in participation processes and was reflected in our participants' feedback. But how to identify attributes from a multitude of varied responses?

While digital methods are generally believed to be a solution to time-consuming and costly participation processes (Foroughi, 2023, p. 6) their wider dissemination entails a greater volume of responses that need to be processed, while the use of open-ended questions also makes responses more diverse. In this research, the collection of data made use of digital methods, but the data analysis process was mainly human work and therefore time-consuming and dependant on researchers' interpretation, knowledge and skills. One way to avoid this challenge would be to standardise data collection e.g. through multiple-choice questions or classification which simplifies the processing of answers but would rule out unexpected answers. Another direction would be to overcome human involvement in the data analysis using artificial intelligence (AI) to identify attributes. Moreover, the use of UGD technologies in data collection and processing could provide a much wider audience and already available free data. Referring to Bai, AI and the combination of UGD in multi-modal datasets would even be able to identify attributes, relate them and find their meaning (Bai, 2022). However, some attributes are likely to be easier detectable than others as for some attributes, the terminology is more consistent. For instance, the codes for 'masonry facades' could be programmed as masonry, brick, stone, traditional material, tiles, detailing, craftsmanship, etc. But new patterns are harder to identify because AI is trained with existing digital data, which is so far incomplete because it does not cover, for example, all time periods, cultures, languages and

perspectives. Finka already addressed the confusion between professionals and citizens, but also between different professional disciplines in the use of terminology as a risk in participation processes. But beyond that general risk, digital analysis of terms is an additional challenge (Finka, 2017, p. 7). Other research is already working to resolve terminology issues, e.g. by training a 'semantic word embedding model' to learn terminology in several languages (even as a way to discriminate stakeholder groups) for the instaBarcelona project (Gomez, 2019, pp. 530-544).

7.6.2 Known and unknown attributes

Besides terminology, the complexity of concepts also plays a role in automated data analysis. The question is whether AI can detect complex patterns, like the attribute 'semi-public residential atmosphere' with all its varied sub-attributes, if not specifically trained. Knowing the societal and design ideologies and wider context, a researcher can recognise its elements and how they are sub-attributes of the same concept. This can be considered the opposite direction of identifying attributes and sub-attributes by Sobhani Sanjbod and others (2016). In their study they search for sub-attributes (gables in merchants houses) of an attribute (Port City) known from historical research and statements of significance. The historical attribute is the starting point and sub-attributes can be programmed and found 'easily'. But a current assessment including non-professional stakeholders can reveal attributes that were not intended, nor described in historical research and literature. As presented by Van der Hoeven studying participatory heritage websites, most attributes mentioned by citizens regard social, economic and cultural activities (Hoeven, 2020, pp. 136,137). This corresponds to our results showing that residents refer more to neighbourhood activities, cultures and social structures and clearly less to buildings and tangible attributes in general. In analysing possible relations between these current undescribed attributes and known concepts from the literature, one should be able to connect a variety of sub-attributes to a main overarching attribute. Identifying intangible attributes and their relations, is difficult to automate and, also pointed out by Bai (2022), still requires an educated, informed understanding of the concept. In this respect, the study by Clemetsen and Van Laar (2000) offers a potential direction. Their research assessing landscape quality by a standardised checklist distinguishes subjective appreciation and objective appreciation. The questions assessing subjective appreciation relate to sensorial and personal perceptions, while the objective valuation relates to professional knowledge and functionality (Clemetsen, 2000, pp. 135-138). While their study acknowledges the difficulty of separating the subjective from the objective, combining attribute theories with stakeholder surveys could be a two-way process where professional knowledge and current assessment complement each other.

7.7 Conclusion

This paper presents a pilot project to assess neighbourhood attributes by relevant stakeholders using a digital survey. It discusses how the assessment of the cultural significance of attributes results from 1) a broad 'new heritage' definition 2) from current significance assessment 3) through a participatory process 4) by a broad group of stakeholders 5) using a digital tool 6) analysed by 'skilled' researchers.

7.7.1 The added value of current attribute assessment

Results show how the identification of significant attributes by current stakeholders differs from the assessment by (heritage) experts in the literature on the 1965-1985 neighbourhoods. Firstly, it reveals mainly sub-attributes, whereas the present literature mainly describes overarching original principles and concepts. This confirms that extracting attributes and sub-attributes as a "site broken down into smaller parts", indeed serves to operationalise the abstract concept of value for local populations and various stakeholders (Kazuhiko, 2021). Secondly, the current assessment includes also tradition-inspired attributes or later emerged attributes not originally intended. The present literature mainly focuses on specific and innovation-driven ambitions, like e.g. the evaluation of government promotion of experiments (Barzilay, 2018). The reintroduction of traditional concepts and materials is less described in literature, although reverting to tradition and neo-styles can be observed in many Dutch 1965-1985 projects (Spoormans, 2022). This confirms that by including current stakeholders from different groups, the concept of heritage is enlarged, as was acknowledged by the Faro Convention (Council-of-Europe, 2005). This research shows, as also concluded by Van der Hoeven, that using digital participatory methods is a way to include citizen opinions "on their own terms" leading to a greater variety of attributes (Hoeven, 2020, pp. 133,141). Lastly, it shows a shift from specific and authentic to generic but relevant, illustrating that in the 'new heritage' definition by Fairclough, "things that can be considered marginal, such as the neglected ordinary things we have inherited, become central" (Fairclough, 2009). Current assessment of attributes, as carried out in this research, is therefore considered complementary to the existing expert assessment.

7.7.2 Potential and limitations of the app

The app proves to be a promising tool for collecting authentic answers while engaging a wide audience in identifying unexplored (heritage) attributes. Digital tools, as 'content hosting sites', in which the citizen is a contributor (Lewi, 2016) can combine individual responses into collective responses and reflect the combination of voices on dealing with and recognising values in the built environment (R. Madgin, J. Lesh, 2021, pp. 11,98). To achieve this, as the research shows, open-ended questions are needed to enable understanding and an open mind for undiscovered attributes and alternative stakeholders. However, dealing with large numbers of free responses is acknowledged as a challenge. With the introduction of ChatGPT, the software Atlas.ti (used in this research) has also recently launched its Open AI's GPT model, which promises higher coding speed. But although using AI could offer possibilities, the fact that such systems are trained with existing digital knowledge is a limitation in finding unknown attributes and complex relationships.

Lastly, the app appears to be a useful digital tool that can be applied to any neighbourhood in which the involvement of a wide range of stakeholders in exploring neighbourhood attributes is desired, listed or not listed. However, its' format should be developed. The scientific consistency demanded by the researchers appeared to conflict with its usefulness for participants. This was evident from participants' feedback in which the succession of the same questions, albeit at different scales, was called boring and even counterproductive to their participation. This feedback provides insight into possible reasons for lower response rates on digital surveys, as Brown described (2012, pp. 320,323). Both the advantages of digital methods, like accessing the survey unrestricted by place and time, and disadvantages like difficulty for some people to operate the app, as described by Shen (2012, p. 202) were confirmed in this research. Developing a user-friendly and attractive digital tool that also provides accurate data for scientific research is a challenge for further development and crucial for dissemination to a wide audience of non-professional users. Moreover, extensive testing on other case studies, national and international, and with larger numbers of participants, possibly with automated data processing, is recommended in future research. At a local level, this can provide input for upcoming renovations or area developments and increase support for interventions. For academic research, it would contribute to knowledge development in the field of heritage participation processes.

Although actual impact is not guaranteed with such a digital tool but depends on subsequent decision-making processes, the app Search for Values is promising for stakeholder engagement and preparing neighbourhood renewal processes based on cultural significance and broad support.

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PART D

Conclusions and Discussion



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8 Synthesis of the Empirical Research

This chapter formulates the main findings, through a comparative analysis of the empirical case studies discussed. Although the three case studies showed differences in the stakeholder groups represented, the location and the interview method used, similarities were found. This chapter discusses findings regarding identified attributes, participatory methods, stakeholder differences, and their relationships.

8.1 Stakeholders' interests are not conflicting but have a different focus

No opposing views are found in the case studies that involved a wide range of stakeholders (case studies 1 and 3), including various professional and user groups. No cases were observed where one stakeholder group assesses a specific attribute e.g., a building or material, very beautiful or important while another stakeholder group finds it ugly or unimportant. Also, when comparing the attributes and their heritage significance, the results on all three case studies (including case study 2 with only user participants) are quite similar.

However, the empirical research shows that different stakeholder groups do have a different focus on the categories of attributes that are important to them. The scale at which their assessment focuses also varies per group. Case study 1 showed the breakdown by stakeholder group. In these results, it is notable that no attribute groups or scales are absent, but each stakeholder group's proportion shows clear differences. For example, residents have a wide scope on what attributes they convey significance, including tangible categories like objects, spatial and appearance, but also intangible categories like activity, comfort, collectivity and identity. Other groups have a more one-sided focus, such as the makers on spatial attributes, the visitors

on appearance or the owners on identity. In terms of scale, residents mainly focus on the small scale of the block, street or neighbourhood. At the same time, academics, makers and local professionals mention a wider attributes spread in scales, ranging from element or dwelling level to district or city levels.

The finding that stakeholders do not disagree but focus on different attribute categories and scale levels, has implications for participatory practices. Explaining the Heritage Cube that integrates attribute categories, scale levels and stakeholder groups as faces of a cube, Howard states that "each individual dispute of heritage management can be imagined as existing somewhere within the cube, there being frequent difficulties between fields, between levels and between markets" (Howard, 2003, p. 52). However, reasoning from this finding, rather than a conflict at a specific intersection in the cube, the conflict is about where in the cube the heritage significance is located. This is relevant, especially when the focus of policymakers differs from that of users. This means that what matters to users may not be listed as heritage and opted to be changed or demolished in future developments. Relating this to participatory heritage practices in identifying the attributes of neighbourhoods and their heritage significance, it is mainly the open scope/ heritage definition that matters. So, participation in defining attributes is proven important as stakeholder groups complement each other. In doing so, asking the right question is crucial. Differences in assessments will only surface if asked what (tangible) object or (intangible) concept on any scale they may consider important. If asked about prioritising or rating pre-identified objects, conflicts may not appear. Still, neither will justice be done to participation, as the pre-identified objects/ attributes may differ from the ones the stakeholders would identify themselves.

8.2 Today's attributes types

The research approach to assess heritage significance in the current time, has led to a wider range of 'new' attributes that the original planners and designers did not intend. These include for example, colour schemes added later, new urban developments in the area, emerging events and activities, or the mixed ownership structure resulting from recent housing sales by housing associations. In more traditional methods to assess heritage significance focusing on historic values, often prioritising original design ambitions and status of authenticity, these new attributes

have not been understood as significant, but rather as 'disturbances', withholding authenticity and integrity. In addition, many originally intended attributes are also recognised. These include, for example, the attributes related to collectivity and small-scale atmosphere in Almere Haven or the vibrancy through a mixed functional programme in Amsterdam Zuidoost. These were indeed important original aspirations, elaborated as attributes at various scales, which are also recognised and acknowledged in the present. Thus, for current stakeholders, both original and newer attributes can convey heritage significance.

In addition to the time perspective of the assessment (from the now rather than from a historic perspective), including a broad set of stakeholders also affects the resulting attributes. All stakeholder groups, and residents in particular, convey significance to generic attributes. These include, for example, the presence of green areas and trees in the neighbourhood, a spacious house with many rooms, or available facilities and amenities. Although not specific for the 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods, they appear to be relevant for participants. In addition, specific attributes are mentioned by all stakeholder groups. Responses by architects or heritage experts include more 'educated' terminology, like "gestapelde laagbouw" (stacked low-rise) or "Amsterdam School style", and historic perspectives, stating for example "the way it was done back then" or "a true epitome of that time period".

Table 8.1 presents the attributes resulting from the three case studies in this research. The classification of attributes was most elaborate in case study 3, which therefore structures the table. The overview shows specific and generic attributes in all case studies. Also, the intangible overarching attributes that were deduces in case study 3 (second column from left) are represented in all case studies. Case studies 1 and 2 show the most differences in their attributes, with the former having more attributes related to traditional city and diversity and the latter having more generic attributes particularly related to nature. This difference in balance/ focus can be explained by the sites assessed. In case study 2, the research object was suburban Almere Haven and the participants were mainly residents. Case study 1 deals with the heritage assessment of the more urban context of Bijlmerplein by a wide range of stakeholders. In case study 3, Almere Haven and Bijlmerplein were assessed by various stakeholder groups, representing most of the attributes of case studies 1 and 2. In addition to differences in the urban typology of the site (urban/ suburban), the overview of attributes illustrates the different focus of stakeholder groups, as discussed before.

TABLE 8.1 Attributes resulting from the case studies in the empirical research.

Classification	Case 3 Attributes	Case 3 Sub-attributes	Case 2 (in: Almere Stories) (L. Spoormans, 2021)	Case 1 (in: Values of Post 65 Housing) (L. Spoormans, et al., 2021)
Specific attributes – Tradition inspired	Traditional city	Midrise blocks		Low-/ mid-rise
		Mixed use program		Mono-/ multi-functionality
				Businesses
		Formal architecture and coherence		
	Traditional use of material	Masonry facades	Village atmosphere	
		Brick applications ornaments		80's Aesthetics
Specific attributes – Innovation driven	Differentiation	Housing typologies		Dwelling sizes and types
				Distinctive identities
		Balconies and bay windows		
		Recesses corners and gates		80's Aesthetics
		Mix of materials		Colour and art
		Ownership structure		
	Semi-public residential atmosphere	Residential yard/ deck	With the neighbours	
			Community	Sense of ownership
		Private home entrances	Social control	
			Gezelligheid	
		Separate infrastructure		Elevated roads and decks
		Stairs and gates		
	45 degrees design	Kinked shapes and spaces	Village atmosphere	
		Complex roof shapes	Shelter	
		Multi-sided orientation		

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TABLE 8.1 Attributes resulting from the case studies in the empirical research.

Classification	Case 3 Attributes	Case 3 Sub-attributes	Case 2 (in: Almere Stories) (L. Spoormans, 2021)	Case 1 (in: Values of Post 65 Housing) (L. Spoormans, et al., 2021)
Generic attributes	Pleasant public space	Benches on squares		Public space
		Multi-cultural atmosphere		Cultural diversity
	Nature	Green areas	Green quality	Greenery
		Trees and planters	View (water/ nature)	
			Outdoor recreation	
			Empty landscape	
			Holiday feeling	
	Social housing	Good quality social housing	Size	
			My Own	Sense of ownership
		Open kitchen		
		Portiek (walk-up)		

Although heritage practices in general are broadening their approaches, both in terms of stakeholders involved and in the range of objects, attributes and values, the perspective of experts remains mainly historic. For assessing Post 65 heritage, the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency (RCE), uses historical 'storylines' in dialogues with citizens, serving as "a starting point for defining heritage values to complement the classical architectural-historic approach". Three groups of professionals endorsed their historic narrative approach, namely historians, heritage caretakers and former designers (Werkgroep-Verkenning-Post65, 2019, p. 23). The new and generic attributes found in this research are not likely to be found by such historical methods. But if participatory processes are meant to accept the assessment of heritage significance by different stakeholders on their terms, new and generic attributes are also ought to be part of heritage significance. Thus, heritage significance assessments by stakeholders can complement traditional methods, which are primarily historic-driven.

8.3 Attributes in gradations and relations

In all empirical case studies, attributes were found in a variety of categories that resulted from the inductive coding analysis. The chapters on case studies 1 and 2 describe similar attribute categories, where case study 1 (conducted later) was an elaboration and refinement of the categories found in case study 2 (conducted earlier). Both case studies confirmed that tangible and intangible attributes are to be found at all scale levels. However, the small scale (home/ dwelling) emphasises tangible spatial attributes, while intangible social attributes are more prevalent at the larger urban scale. In all three case studies, a diversity of attributes was found: from small to large, tangible to intangible, individual to collective, historical to new, specific to generic and majority to minority opinion. This also showed that these guises cannot be sharply delineated but have the character of a spectrum, illustrated by the webs of attributes in case study 2. This diversity is considered the result of open-ended questioning.

The chapters about case studies 2 and 3 described the unravelling of attributes in webs (case study 2) and the clustering of sub-attributes into overarching attributes and a further classification (case study 3). Finding relationships between attributes resulted from asking about the what and why of a key attributes, the probing in interviews and from distilling separate attributes and their connections in the responses. The grouping of attributes was done in different ways. In the webs of attributes (case study 2), multiple responses were juxtaposed in a shared narrative of a certain scale or place. Grouping here reflected the aggregate response, constructed from individual responses. In case study 3, the clustering of various tangible and intangible sub-attributes was content driven. Starting from the sub-attributes in the responses, overarching attributes (or themes) were found, often, but not always, related to original design intentions. Both methods show that attributes do not stand alone but are part of a chain or group.

The notion that attributes are not isolated is relevant for future designs and developments in renovation. As explained by Cotte, the “idea of a set of attributes making a whole leads to a broader understanding of the property, in particular of the relationships between the attributes” (Cotte, 2021, p. 36). Moreover, the case study results show that significance is not only represented in ‘a set’, but often embodied in a chain of attributes. In redesign proposals, removing one attribute from the chain can have a rolling effect. Insight into how attributes are grouped and related can inform redevelopment. To find the diversity of attributes, their relations and groupings, approaches that use various methods, open-ended questioning, probing and intensive coding, analysing and interpretation can be applied.



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9 Revisiting the Research Framework

In the first phase, the research framework of this thesis was developed. Furthermore, based on the review of suitable research approaches for identifying significance, and on exploration of the research topic of Dutch residential neighbourhoods 1965-1985, an operational framework was tested. The choice of working with particular methods and selected examples determined the approach of the empirical research. This chapter reflects on the components of the research framework and considers how well they functioned and how this influenced the results.

9.1 Research approach ‘the integral view’

In the literature review for methods in assessing values of architecture in residential neighbourhoods (Part B, chapter 2), research storylines were drawn, each characterised by their combination of research methods and sources, focus on value categories and stakeholders involved. The approach developed in this research is based on the storyline The ‘integral view’ (L. Spoormans, A. Pereira Roders, 2021, p. 498). Research into this storyline integrates multiple sources and methods, like interviews, surveys, literature reviews and building surveys. Mixed sources and methods were used in this research, increasing the range by visual methods. In the empirical research, photo elicitation in interview (case study 1), diary method (textual and visual records) and follow-up interview (case study 2) and survey by mobile application and focus group interview (case study 3) were used for data collection. These are all variations of the interview as a method of collecting assessments and testimonies.

The second ‘integral’ aspect of the storyline is the combination of value categories that one looks for in this type of research, including social, aesthetical, economic, ecological, and historic values (Pereira Roders, 2007). This research was open to attributes of any value category and therefore the questioning of participants was focused as little as possible on object or value category.

The storyline the ‘integral view’, as identified in the literature review, combines quantitative and qualitative methods. However, quantitative research steps only served as an overall ‘check’, e.g., identifying the aggregate opinion’s focus points. The qualitative enquiry into the meaning of the participants’ responses forms the core of the study.

Lastly, the research also integrates various stakeholder perspectives. Considering a wide range of perspectives (more than two) in research into values appears to be an exception, as found in the literature review, both in the storyline ‘integral view’ and in other storylines and related disciplines. While residents are important stakeholders of residential neighbourhoods, there are multiple users such as local professionals, visitors or even future residents. Professionally involved stakeholders such as developers, governments or architects are directly involved in decision-making in urban development of those neighbourhoods, acting with their own perspective on values. Therefore, this study deliberately adopted the broad perspective of a diversity of stakeholder groups, addressing differences between groups and within groups.

The ‘integral view’ as a research approach had its contributions but also limitations. Overall, the broad scope was found to fit the broad definition of heritage, which was a starting point in this PhD thesis. Another storyline identified in the literature research e.g., ‘Highlighting architectural legacy’ would have focussed on different values (mainly historical), different perspectives (mainly expert) and would not have suited the research ambitions. The aspect of integrating multiple user and professional stakeholder perspectives, is regarded as a main contribution of the research approach, resulting in novel knowledge. Naming stakeholder groups based on the heritage markets as formulated by Howard (2003), was tested in chapter 4 and studied in detail in case study 1.

Integrality on a wide range of aspects also entails a risk. Designing, conducting, analysing and assessing a research approach focusing on multiple values, stakeholders, sources and quantitative and qualitative methods may require a multidisciplinary approach. This research was mainly conducted by one researcher. A study by a multidisciplinary team using the same approach may yield more, richer or different results.

9.2 Research object

Residential neighbourhoods built in the Netherlands between 1965-1985 were explored as a research topic through the comparative analysis of a series of examples. Urban and architectural attributes of low-rise (chapter 3a) and mid-rise (chapter 3b) neighbourhoods were identified and interpreted, using archival material and literature as main sources. For both typologies, low-rise and mid-rise, an 'average' example was found from a selection of five neighbourhoods, assuming they represent characteristics of a large part of the stock. These examples, De Werven in Almere Haven and Bijlmerplein in Amsterdam Zuidoost, including their wider surroundings, served as case studies in the empirical research. Case study 1 examines Amsterdam Zuidoost, case study 2 focuses on Almere Haven and in case study 3 both are studied. While this appears to be an even spread across the two examples, the representation of low-rise and mid-rise neighbourhoods is not quite balanced, as Almere Haven includes low-rise and also mid-rise, but Amsterdam Zuidoost does not include low-rise. Although mid-rise housing types may be overrepresented in the empirical research, the suburban character of Almere Haven versus the urban character of Amsterdam Southeast are equally represented in the study.

The research focussed on two examples from a selected set of five low-rise and five mid-rise neighbourhoods. Although the selection of the two examples was based on their representation of a multitude of characteristics, they cannot represent the entire 1965-1985 housing stock, which consists of almost 2.5 million dwellings (ca. 30 % of the total Dutch housing stock). When choosing other examples, the resulting attributes may differ. If, for example, the Weerwolf district designed by the humanist architect Alberts (see chapter 3a) had been chosen as a low-rise example (instead of the 'middle ground' De Werven), its' organic, social and natural attributes might have stood out more in the results. Moreover, when including specific projects, such as sustainability or co-housing experiments, which do not represent the bulk but are also characteristic of 1965-1985 housing, other attributes would certainly appear in the results. But while the resulting attributes and participation experiences are not exhaustive, they can be considered a starting point for further research. A wider selection of examples may put the results in broader perspective, confirm or enrich them.

Overall, the ten examples as a 'pool' for comparison and selecting a low-rise and one mid-rise example for the empirical study worked well. In addition, focusing on a single neighbourhood (case studies 1 and 2) and then comparing the same two neighbourhoods (case study 3) allowed comparing different methods and different stakeholder perspectives.

9.3 Operational framework

The Heritage Cube was used as a conceptual model, to implement the identification of attributes of residential areas 1965-1985 from an 'integral view'. The model by Peter Howard (2003) organises ranges of categories in three dimensions: fields (attributes), and identity levels (scales). It reflects the integral view and proves a suitable framework for operationalisation. The Dutch city of Almere had already conducted several participatory pilots on heritage and neighbourhood assessment, whose data collection served to test the framework. The cube by Howard was adapted to the 'Almere Cube', prior to, but also during the data analysis. The four pilots, their objectives, initiating/ organising party (heritage or non-heritage), the participatory methods employed, and the participating stakeholders brought a rich variety to the test.

Although the variety between the four pilots makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions, as also described in Chapter 4, it appeared appropriate to test how data, coding and classification worked and to adjust the model. The data collection of the four pilots was used for classification purposes only, not leading to the identification of Almere's significant attributes. The test showed clear differences in representation and combinations of all dimensions, i.e., attributes, stakeholders and scales. Moreover, comparing the methods, questions and terminology used in the pilots led to clear directions for the empirical research. The lesson that prioritising buildings or using the term 'heritage' leads to buildings and objects and excludes other categories, served as an important clue for open-ended questioning to arrive at a broader definition of heritage significance.

Although the model of the Heritage Cube, in adapted form, suits the research aim well, its' scientific basis is not very strong. In the book Heritage – Management, Interpretation, Identity (Howard, 2003), the model is outlined as an idea, without rigorous foundation, argumentation or testing. Also, the categories of heritage fields (attributes), heritage markets (stakeholders) and identity levels (scales) are listed in an anecdotal fashion rather than explaining their composition and validity. To date, no other studies have been found that have tested this Heritage Cube model. However, this research has proven that the model in its concept is useful for mapping diversity in attributes, stakeholders and scales, as well as their interrelation. For heritage practices, it can serve as an operational model that provides insight into the assessment of heritage significance by different individuals and groups and their potential conflicts or overlaps. For academic research, the integration of three dimensions, i.e. attributes, stakeholders and scales, is particularly valuable. Many studies distinguish one of these variables or a combination of two, but the three-dimensional approach deserves further research.



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10 Conclusions and Discussion

The main research question of this doctoral thesis is:

What attributes in residential neighbourhoods, built in The Netherlands between 1965-1985, can be identified as significant by the involved stakeholders?

The research question was deconstructed into three sub-questions:

1 **How to assess the significance of attributes of residential neighbourhoods? (Methods)**

2 **What are the main types and categories of urban and architectural attributes of Dutch residential neighbourhoods, built between 1965-1985? (Attributes)**

3 **What stakeholders are involved and what attributes convey heritage significance, from their perspective? (Stakeholders)**

These three components were discussed in the research framework (Part B), conceptualised in the operational framework, based on the Heritage Cube (Howard, 2003) and tested for application. The empirical research (part C) discussed three case studies with various combinations of the three components, different combinations of stakeholder groups (who), neighbourhoods and housing types and (what) and methods of data collection and analysis (how) and their relationships. In this chapter, first the sub-questions will be answered, listing the main findings from the research. The main research question is then answered by articulating the findings succinctly.

10.1 Answering the research questions

The sub-questions represent the three components of the study, how (methods), what (characteristics) and who (stakeholders) are addressed in that order.

1 **How to assess the significance of attributes of residential neighbourhoods?**

Based on the methods and techniques applied in this study, the main findings address how methods affect the research outcomes, through the participants and the process. Integrating multiple methods, according to the 'integral view' approach, combining textual, spoken, and visual data, leads to a richer data collection that enables the identification of a wider range of attributes. It must be regarded that participants show differences in their ability, willingness and inclination to use the various methods. For example, children draw more often, adults are more likely to use photos, some have difficulty with digital techniques, are elaborate or, on the contrary, concise in a (group) interview, etc. A variety of question types is better appreciated and (therefore) leads to more elaborate answers with richer results than a repetitive set of questions where fatigue gets in the way of in-depth answers. All applied methods used open-ended questions, which is considered a prerequisite if the participatory project intends to identify non-expert 'new' attributes. Also, the participatory process influences the outcomes, as individual surveys or interviews result in more independent and possibly divergent answers, while group interviews are more likely to lead to consensus.

The open-ended questioning, the variety of data (textual, spoken, visual) are challenging in the data analysis processes. Inductive coding analysis, followed by clustering, relating, and grouping attributes proves to be a time consuming, yet effective process to arrive at coherent attributes and sub-attributes. The juxtaposition of individual assessments, including their overlaps and divergences, appears to be a way to build a collective narrative about a certain place and can serve as a visual statement of significance.

2 **What are the main types and categories of urban and architectural attributes of Dutch residential neighbourhoods, built between 1965-1985?**

Based on the resulting attributes in this research, the main findings address attribute classification by category and scale, specific, generic and new attribute types and case study differences. After open-ended questioning and inductive coding, attributes can be classified into the following categories: objects, locations,

infrastructure and routes, spatial, comfort, appearance, activity, collectivity, identity and story or memory. However, depending on the method, scale level, stakeholder and neighbourhood not all categories always occurred. All attribute categories can exist at different scales: element, dwelling/ home, block, street/ hofje (courtyard), neighbourhood, district, city/ town, nation. Results show that tangible attributes are represented more at the smaller scales, while participants are more likely to associate intangible attributes with the larger scale levels. They can be further classified when relating the attributes to the original design intentions and societal ambitions. Attributes that are regarded specific for 1965-1985 housing neighbourhoods exist as tradition-inspired and as innovation-driven attributes. Additionally, generic attributes, that are not specifically related to 1965-1985 housing neighbourhoods, are assessed as relevant by stakeholders. The latter applies to residents in particular, although they also occur with other stakeholder groups. Attributes intended in the original design, as known from the literature, are often recognised by participants. In addition, attributes added, changed or developed later are sometimes also found significant. A current assessment by current stakeholders can therefore serve to complement a more historical approach to assess heritage significance.

Beyond the many shared attributes discussed in case study 3, differences were also found between Almere Haven and Amsterdam Zuidoost. In neighbourhood De Werven and the wider Almere Haven area, attributes related to nature stood out, including one's own garden, trees, water, recreation in greenery, social encounters in greenery, landscape quality and memories of and associations with the landscape. This was particularly evident from case study 2, which involved residents as participants. In Bijlmerplein and the surrounding area, the mixed program of housing, shops, amenities and the associated lively atmosphere and cultural diversity stood out for all stakeholder groups (case studies 1 and 3). Regarding the empirical case studies and the wider exploration of 1965-1985 neighbourhoods (chapter 3), four main types were found. These are low-rise ensembles organised in an irregular organic setting, low-rise ensembles in a repeating orthogonal setting, midrise complexes with a complex cross-section and buckled shape (snake) and midrise complexes around a raised deck (mesh). In their design concepts and visual language, many housing complexes combine attributes of rational, humanist, structuralist, modernist and traditional architectural styles. This mixing, that is reflected in individual projects but also in the collection of Post 65 residential neighbourhoods, can be named pluralism or Post-Modernism. This research presents attributes of Dutch residential neighbourhoods 1965-1985, largely based on two examples. Although shared attributes were found, the resulting set of attributes cannot be regarded as complete nor applicable or representative of the total stock.

3 **What stakeholders are involved and what attributes convey heritage significance, from their perspective?**

Adopting the 'heritage markets' by Howard, and adapting to this research, the main findings address differences and similarities between and within stakeholder groups. Studying multiple perspectives, according to the 'integral view' approach, did not yield clearly conflicting assessments between stakeholder groups. However, results show that the focus of stakeholder groups varies widely, both regarding attribute categories that are important for them as in the scale level on which attributes convey significance. So, there seems to be no conflict in whether a neighbourhood has value or not, but rather a difference in what attributes are valued by the involved stakeholders. Although a clear majority opinion emerges for most stakeholder groups in their focus on attributes and scales, divergent minority reports can also be found across all stakeholder groups.

Some groups stand out among the used stakeholder classification, based on Howard's 'heritage markets'. In the study of residential districts from 1965-1985, the 'makers' are considered a new group of stakeholders. When it comes to young heritage in general, the architects and planners of the original buildings and neighbourhoods, who are often still alive, should be acknowledged as stakeholders with specific original knowledge. Participants with mixed profiles (e.g. resident and architect or academic and government) are regarded special, and potentially valuable participants, since they see more and show a wider spread over attribute categories and scale levels. Compared to other groups, residents have a wide scope on what can be attributes, including tangible categories like objects, spatial and appearance, but also intangible categories like activity, comfort, collectivity and identity.

Main research question:
What attributes of residential neighbourhoods, built in The Netherlands between 1965-1985, can be identified by the stakeholders involved?

By an 'integral view' research approach on examples of Dutch residential neighbourhoods built between 1965-1985, attributes can be identified in tangible and intangible categories and on successive scale levels. The stakeholders involved in the identification have an influence on the attributes, as different stakeholder groups and different individuals may focus on different attribute categories and scale levels. There is both overlap but also difference in the attributes in residential neighbourhoods they identify as conveying heritage significance. Attributes that were intended in the original planning and design of the neighbourhoods are currently assessed as significant but also later added or changed attributes are qualified as such. The research results also suggest that attributes specific for 1965-

1985 neighbourhoods are noted, but also generic attributes. The identification of this wide range of attributes, according to the 'integral view' and a broad definition of heritage, results from open-ended questioning by multiple participatory methods. A process of inductive analysis, classifying and relating attributes then results in a coherent set of attributes and sub-attributes that presents a shared narrative of a certain place.

10.2 Discussion and Recommendations

This chapter discusses the meaning of the research findings, in relation to the validity and limitations of the approaches and methods used. Looking forward, recommendations are made for further research, significance and application in practice.

10.2.1 New approaches

This research expands the concept of heritage in several ways. Firstly, it studies the heritage significance of relatively recent 1965-1985 neighbourhoods. Secondly, it adopts a broad 'new heritage' definition (Fairclough, 2009), including 'everyday' neighbourhoods not listed as heritage. Thirdly, a wide range of stakeholders are involved in assessing meaning, as promoted by the Faro Convention (Council-of-Europe, 2005), and fourthly, various assessment methods are used. Compared to more traditional heritage approaches, that are focused on listing and conservation, based on historical values mainly and articulated by heritage experts' analysis (De la Torre, 2002; R. Mason, 2002), this research expands the concept of heritage. The object assessed as heritage is stretched in two ways (recent + everyday), as is the process of assessing it (range of stakeholders + various methods).

Why change four variables simultaneously? Indeed, exchanging one variable e.g., study recent heritage but through a traditional expert approach, could inform us about the differences in the assessment of unlisted and listed heritage. However, from the conviction that cultural significance is 'extrinsic', i.e. socially as well as spatially constructed (R. Mason, 2002, p. 13) and only exists if recognised and supported, as is the assumption of this research, the involvement of various stakeholders through appropriate methods is a prerequisite. Once convinced that the earth is a sphere,

you don't draw a newly discovered continent on a flat map. However, applying the same process as applied in this research (engaging stakeholder groups by various methods) on both unlisted and listed heritage is a recommendation. Comparisons of neighbourhoods built in different periods will provide further knowledge on the extent to which attributes are specific or generic. Complementing expert assessments with other perspectives, also in listed heritage, as now happens in many places and practices promoted by intergovernmental policies as e.g. the Faro Convention (Council-of-Europe, 2005) and the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) (UNESCO, 2011b), provides greater understanding on the diversity of heritage values. Like redrawing the old continents on the new map.

10.2.2 Representativeness of the attributes

This research identified the attributes of Dutch neighbourhoods built between 1965-1985, through a selection of these neighbourhoods. An empirical research explored the main types presented in chapter 3, Almere Haven and the H-Buurt and Bijlmerplein in Amsterdam Zuidoost. The criteria for selection were their central position in the spectrum of diversity, integrating attributes of various architectural standpoints, housing typologies and visual languages (see chapter 3a and 3b). The selection was a result from the fieldwork observations and analysis of project descriptions authored by architects and planners from that time.

The set of attributes resulting from the empirical research cannot be regarded as complete, or representative of the total stock. Moreover, the representation of the used case studies in relation to the period 1965-1985 are not unambiguous, as they were mostly completed in the 1970s and 1980s. However, as explained in the introduction (section 1.4.4.2), it is the evolution in architecture, they are positioned in-between the rational repetition and industrialised building systems, and, the re-urbanisation of VINEX neighbourhoods. According to De Vreeze (1993, p. 405), this change to new ideals and architectural expressions started in 1972. In their standard work on non-traditional housing systems in the Netherlands, Van Elk and Priemus confirm that already in 1971 housing preferences and housing sales evidenced that most households turned their backs on high-rise and medium-rise and industrial builders had started to focus on low-rise systems (Elk, 1971, pp. 76-77). However, the overview of high-rise flat buildings in Appendix 3.1 shows that flats were completed also after 1971. On the other hand, the development of low-rise neighbourhoods in woonerf areas started before that moment, such as the Pleintjesplan in Zoetermeer whose design process began in 1968 and was completed in 1972 (see chapter 3.2.4 and Appendix 3.5). However, although there

is a transitional period where ideas emerge and construction materialises them, differences in the prevailing ideas and their architectural expression can be observed for certain periods. A focus on the early phase of what is indicated as the Post 65 architecture, roughly between 1965 and 1971 when housing production was still dominated by industrialisation would probably lead to different attributes. Also, between the 1970s and late 1980s differences might be found. More research could refine the results and allow for more differentiation within the Post 65 period.

The attributes resulting from the three case studies in this research (see Table 8.1, chapter 8) can be compared to themes, trends and attribute categories described in recent literature, although still limited, evaluating Post 65 architecture in The Netherlands. Some publications that offer a range of themes, often as a structure of chapters, are listed here, after which they are broadly compared with the resulting attributes of this study. De Vletter (2004) present characteristics of seventies architecture, including building types and styles, represented in The Netherlands. The publication by Somer (2020), part of the Post 65 pilot program of RCE, describes architectural trends and movements from 1965-1990. Barzilay, Ferwerda and Blom (2018) evaluate experimental housing projects from 1968-1984. Abrahamse (2019) also describes housing but focuses on 'bloemkoolwijken' (low-rise suburban neighbourhoods) specifically. Most publications represent the perspective of the architectural expert. A publication by Quaedflieg and Mooij (2013) also presents the evaluation of 'bloemkoolwijken' but from the perspective of both residents and professionals. Provoost (2023) presents opportunities for Dutch Groeikernen (new towns) starting from current strengths and weaknesses. That publication reports the result of 'New Town Labs' by local and external professionals, including governments, designers and architectural historians.

Some tentative observations can be made when comparing the attributes resulting from this PhD research with the themes addressed in these publications on Post 65 architecture. Firstly, the expert evaluations mention generic attributes significantly less. However, the publications that include the user, government or owner perspective, like Quaedflieg (2013) and Provoost (2023) address more generic attributes, like the extensive natural landscapes and the presence of good quality housing. This indicates the complementary value of assessment from today's perspective versus starting from original intentions, as addressed in case study 3. Secondly, publications from the architectural expert perspective, like Abrahamse (2019), Somer (2020), De Vletter (2004)and Barzilay (2018), all mention participation as a significant attribute of 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods. In contrast, the non-expert or mixed perspectives do not mention participation. The fact that participation in neighbourhood developments, both in urban renewal as in new neighbourhoods, was an important starting point at the time, does not seem to be assessed as significant now. Lastly,

various attributes result from the case studies of this PhD research but are not mentioned in the present literature. Their character is diverse, including attributes related to material like masonry facades, brick applications, ornaments and mix of materials. The knowledge gap of literature on aesthetics, form and use of materials in Post 65 architecture was also indicated by Waaldijk (2022). Also, ownership or the sense of it emerges as an important attribute but is hardly addressed in other Post 65 literature. Other notable attributes from the case studies are e.g. holiday feeling, or ordinariness. They might be the result of specific case studies, the interview methods or indicate a later developed or generic attribute not acknowledged by the historic perspective.

These comparisons should be considered preliminary. Referring to the phases of an empirical research cycle as defined by De Groot, this research has completed 1) observation, 2) induction, resulting in 3) deduction, i.e. “deriving particular consequences from the hypothesis in the form of verifiable predictions” (Groot, 1994, p. 29; Priemus, 2002, p. 250). However, phases 4) testing the hypotheses and 5) evaluation have yet to take place. This is true for this thesis, but also for exploring and evaluating the Post 65 architecture and neighbourhoods in general, as the research is just beginning and still developing. The Dutch Heritage Agency (RCE) finalised the Post 65 exploration phase and policies (Velzen, 2022; Werkgroep-Verkenning-Post65, 2019). In February 2023, the Ministry of Education Culture and Science commissioned the Cultural Heritage Agency (RCE) to launch a designation programme for Post 65 heritage and operational programs, on local, regional and national level, are expected (RCE, 2023). The existing literature and case studies in this study contribute to knowledge development. It is therefore recommended that this research be expanded, and findings serve as hypothesis for further testing and evaluation. The mapping of significant attributes in this PhD thesis can serve as a basis. More research on larger numbers of neighbourhoods with a wider variety of typologies, locations and scales can confirm and enrich the results.

10.2.3 Scaling up participation, or not?

The case studies in the empirical research of this thesis must be regarded as pilot projects. The three case studies used experimental methods and a relatively small number of participants. Scaling up these pilot projects would increase understanding of both the heritage significance of attributes in neighbourhoods and how participation methods can be successfully deployed.

To what extent is it feasible and desirable to scale up the participation methods used? The diary method in case study 2 is intensive for participants and may therefore reduce the number of applicants. Due to the different assignments, textual,

photo, drawing, it requires a lot of interpretation from the researchers. Also, the assessment by mobile application in case study 3, requires interpretation work and knowledge in the analysis process, as discussed in chapter 7. Although the app has the potential to be widely deployed, it proved not to be useful for every participant. In contrast, the interview, supported by photo-elicitation, is a method in which everyone could participate. However, compared to the app, it has a practical limit to how many people you can interview and involve in the research.

Klasen (2022) suggests that in small projects with relatively few stakeholders, asking participants how they would like to participate is recommended, avoiding choosing a method that does not match their wishes and capabilities. In large projects with many stakeholders, she recommends using multiple different methods of participation in parallel, including easy and accessible methods. This way participants can choose the method that suits their wishes, knowledge, mobility, available time etc. (Klasen, 2022, p. 102).

The consideration of whether to scale up participation, or not, depends on the intended purpose of participation. If the research aims at finding significant attributes of residential districts from 1965-1985 (or any other research object) in general, scaling up is needed, both in the number of districts and in the number of participants. In that case, methods suitable for that purpose can be applied, such as, for example, the app or another type of (digital) survey. But when participation is applied to identify the attributes of a specific neighbourhood, in preparation for a renovation that seeks to conserve them, a diverse but limited number of participants is appropriate. In that case, more intensive methods such as diary or interviews can be applied.

10.2.4 Research implications for heritage practices

This research has studied the identification of attributes in residential neighbourhoods, built in The Netherlands between 1965-1985, by the stakeholders involved. It has revealed methods to examine the attributes (how), identified types and categories of attributes (what) and similarities and differences of assessment by the stakeholders involved (who). The study provides insights and recommendations for practitioners in heritage participation, for example, regarding the participatory methods to be applied in relation to the stakeholder groups to be involved. These can contribute to a more equal and reciprocal relationship between citizens and government in heritage processes and thus democratic renewal as proposed in the ‘Faro implementation agenda’ (Linssen, 2022, p. 21). It provides the 'integral

vision' as a way of thinking for heritage professionals and agencies to examine Post 65 neighbourhoods. This approach can help follow up on the recommendations for Guidance on safeguarding Post 65 heritage (Velzen, 2022, p. 9), which calls for identifying and safeguarding the sometimes still unknown heritage values of the Post 65 period by involving a wide range of stakeholders in the decision-making process. The attributes and attribute categories identified in the empirical study can provide a basis for further exploration in the Post 65 inventories expected in Dutch municipalities and at the national level in the coming years. .

10.2.5 Research implications for heritage theory

For academics, this research provides insights into the assessment of heritage significance by various stakeholders and individuals and the related influence on types and categories of attributes. The main contribution of this thesis for heritage theory and discourse is the further elaboration of the concept of attribute. It builds on the existing theory about attributes as an embodiment of values (Kazuhiko, 2021; Pereira Roders, 2007; Sobhani Sanjbod, 2016; UNESCO, 2019; Veldpaus, 2015) and the gradual transition between tangible and intangible attributes (Cotte, 2021; Hoeven, 2020) but adds new knowledge in several theoretical directions. First, the used participatory methods and inductive analysis of the resulting data has led to a new set of ten attribute categories. Their definitions may be less detailed than e.g. the attribute taxonomy by Veldpaus (2015) but show a larger representation of intangible categories of attributes. Second, the involvement of a wider set of stakeholder groups based on Howard's heritage markets (Howard, 2003), has given more insight in the focus on attributes from the perspective of various groups. Moreover, next to confirming the inseparable link between tangible and intangible attributes, it revealed 'new' attribute types, like generic attributes in addition to specific, and later developed attributes in addition to the originally intended. Although other studies had referred already to the typification of different groups of residents, like by Ennen (1999) and Garrow (2021), these are profiles within one stakeholder group (residents) and do not include variety of both user and professional groups. Third, this research has explored the significance of attributes in relation to scale. The attribute taxonomy by Veldpaus (2015) orders the tangible attribute categories by three scale levels (asset, area, landscape). In this thesis, all attribute categories (from the tangible element to the intangible story/ memory) can relate to all scale levels. And although the findings on attribute-scale relations are preliminary, this is an unexplored field that needs more research. Fourth, this thesis has revealed the importance of relations between multiple attributes in chains. The irregularity and ramifications of the chains into webs, adds a new dimension to the

clustering and dependency of attributes, sub-attributes and indicators in present theories (Skounti, 2021; Sobhani Sanjbod, 2016). Lastly, the focus of this PhD research on everyday neighbourhoods, not listed or protected, sheds new lights on attributes as the embodiment of values. In addition to what can be regarded as attribute (categories, scales, types), also the purpose of identifying attributes might change compared to theories focussing on World Heritage (Kazuhiko, 2021) and/ or historic city centres (Ennen, 1999; Garrow, 2021; UNESCO, 2019; Veldpaus, 2015). Further research should reveal differences or overlap in the attributes of listed heritage sites and everyday neighbourhoods and how this impact conservation strategies. Earlier research studying the (heritage) significance of everyday places (Atkinson, 2007; Cooke, 2021) have not categorised attributes in a structured manner. This thesis promotes bridging the gap between listed heritage and everyday places by heritage scholars and finding a comprehensive understanding of the concept of attribute and its appearances and categories.

Although the starting point to include various stakeholders in the identification of significance and the focus on everyday neighbourhoods not listed as heritage can be seen as political, this thesis has not engaged with the 'critical heritage' discourse. However, the approach and methods to analyse participant data 'on their own terms', i.e. not by existing heritage definitions, contributes to the notion that "heritage matters because it has emotional, political and intellectual consequences in people's lives"(Smith, 2012).

The research focused on identifying attributes of 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods, but related values have not yet been investigated. This research assumes values to be extrinsic i.e., socially constructed (see chapter 1.4.2), with the aim of understanding the multiple perspectives on significance as explained in chapter 1.3.1. However, other scholars distinguish explicitly intrinsic and extrinsic values (R. Mason, 2002), or recognise intrinsic, instrumental and relational values (Arias-Arévalo, 2017). As experienced in the empirical research on case studies, also a distinction between positive and negative values could be useful. Further research should reveal why these attributes are identified as significant and how this relates to the different paradigms regarding values. By assessing the heritage significance of attributes in everyday neighbourhoods, by participatory methods, involving various stakeholder groups, including various scale levels, this research has explored the boundaries of what constitutes heritage.

10.2.6 Research implications for development approaches

For developments in the built environment, involving urban planners, architects, owners and municipalities, this research contributes to the further development of theoretical models that can support the practices of values-based design. Although the research does not address the renovation of existing buildings, as stated in the introduction (chapter 1.1), identifying valued attributes is considered a necessary step for the process of sustainable renovation. Generally, working on existing buildings and areas, also referred to as a Tabula Scripta, as opposed to a Tabula Rasa, asks for "sophisticated and sensitive studies into the values of that which already exists" to "facilitate improved perceptions and produce insights" (Alkemade, 2020, p. 22). In renovation, this preparatory research forms an integral part of the redesign strategy (Kuipers, 2017, pp. 11,27). The identification of attributes known in heritage theory to operationalise heritage significance (Kazuhiko, 2021, p. 10) also translates to recent design approaches identifying valuable "fragments" in the existing city as a way to select, continue and adapt attributes instead of replacing them (Grootveld, 2023, p. 7). Where these research presents attribute identification mainly by professionals from their disciplinary perspectives, the inclusion of various stakeholders in this PhD research results in a more comprehensive range of attributes. This allows to insure that the renovation preserves the valued attributes of various types (specific/ generic, original/ new, tangible/ intangible) and from various groups of residents and experts. Moreover, the knowledge that attributes of different natures are clustered (chapter 7) and related in chains or webs (chapter 6), asks for a more careful approach when opting to change one specific attribute, risking breaking the chain and losing more significant attributes than foreseen. Even if the change of certain attributes is sometimes unavoidable in urban development and renovation designs, such awareness and assessment clarify the gains and losses on what should be explained to stakeholders or compensated for in the redesign.

In facing the climate crisis, various models for intervention strategies have been published, with the degree of intervention being inversely proportional to the environmental impact (Alkemade, 2020; Pereira Roders, 2007; Petzet, 2012; Rood, 2019). In these ascending series of interventions, the least drastic strategies are preferred, because they use fewer new resources, by making the optimal use of the existing resources and their related attributes and values. As stated by Petzet and Heilmeyer, describing several design strategies (indicated by >) of "Reduce" (2012, p. 50):

Avoiding and minimizing are rarely thought of as architectural tasks. Yet even a small shift in >Perception can effect a complete re-evaluation of existing buildings and prevent the need to alter or demolish them. Reducing expectations and changing >Behaviour can help to avoid unnecessary interventions. Constant >Maintenance effectively counters alterations to the existing structure. Care and repair are material expressions of how much the existing structure is valued.

The identification of existing attributes, of all buildings and sites, helps in choosing these "Reduce" strategies, or in the terminology of the circularity-ladder, to "Refuse", Rethink", or "Reuse" (Rood, 2019, p. 24). Especially for the strategies "Perception" and "Behaviour", a broad assessment by stakeholders, including users/residents, is essential to either strengthen or change these intangible attributes. For these strategies, the participatory process of attribute identification not only informs a renovation design but is part of it. Such a values-and-attributes-based design approach requires broadening the scope of the planners' and architects' field of action. Appropriating this approach prevents the loss and promotes the conservation and/or reuse of building materials, embodied energy and carbon, social structures, and historical, financial and use values.

10.2.7 Everyday Heritage

By adopting a 'new heritage' definition that includes "everything that we have inherited" (Fairclough, 2009, pp. 30, 35), also the previously unnoticed 'ordinary' things are included in the assessment of heritage significance. Starting from this broad approach and combining theories and methods from heritage and housing, the difference between heritage and everyday disappears. Further developing, testing and applying this broader heritage definition and related research methods can contribute to more informed and sustainable conservation and development of the built environment, informed by its heritage significance, regardless of its heritage status. This research approach will open new perspectives on the heritage significance of everyday heritage.

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Curriculum Vitae

Lidwine Spoormans (Nijmegen, 1977) is a researcher, teacher and architect. She was trained at Delft University of Technology and studied at Arkitekthøgskolen in Oslo. In 2002, she obtained her Master's degree both in Architecture and Building Technology. After working in the architecture office biq stadsontwerp on designing new construction and renovation of mainly large-scale housing projects, she founded Studio LS, a practice for design and research in architectural transformation. Since 2010, she has worked as a lecturer and researcher for the chair of Heritage & Design at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, Delft University of Technology. She teaches various Bachelor and Master courses and organised a series of graduation studios on the topic of housing heritage and neighbourhood renovation. She specialised in housing renovation, building systems, intervention methods and young heritage. Researches she conducted include strategies for energy-efficient housing transformations, analysis of adaptations of traditional Japanese townhouses, an overview of end walls of Dutch housing typologies and evaluation of post-WWII building systems for housing. In 2017 she launched the digital platform Love 80's architecture (www.love80sarchitecture.nl). She is a member of the Management Committee of the COST Action on European Middle-Class Mass Housing and a board member of DOCOMOMO International. In 2019, she started her PhD research 'Everyday Heritage' at the Department of Architectural Engineering and Technology of the Delft University of Technology, studying the gap between listed heritage and everyday residential neighbourhoods and related research methods and theories.



23#21

Everyday Heritage

Identifying attributes of 1965-1985 residential neighbourhoods by involved stakeholders

Lidwine Spoormans

In improving the sustainability of our built environment, European institutions emphasize the importance of protecting and advancing cultural values. As most of the stock is not listed, nor is its heritage significance assessed, future sustainable developments risk neglecting present attributes, causing the loss of resources and their significance. This problem applies to 1965-1985 Dutch housing, comprising over 30% of the stock, with no clarity on its heritage significance. This thesis aims to reveal significant attributes of residential neighbourhoods, built in The Netherlands between 1965-1985, as identified by involved stakeholders. A research framework integrating attributes, stakeholders and scales, is used to examine case studies in Almere Haven and Amsterdam Zuidoost. The identification of attributes results from open-ended questioning by multiple participatory methods. A process of inductive analysis, classifying and relating attributes revealed categories, chains, and networks of attributes, representing a shared neighbourhood narrative. Results show that attributes can be identified on successive scale levels in tangible and intangible categories. Participants convey significance to attributes originally intended and to attributes added or changed later, to attributes specific to 1965-1985 neighbourhoods and to more generic ones. Different stakeholder groups and individuals do not disagree in their assessments but focus on different attribute categories and scale levels. By combining a broad definition of heritage and participatory methods to identify attributes, this thesis bridges the gap between listed heritage and everyday neighbourhoods. Further developing and applying this approach can support the sustainable development of our built environment, informed by heritage significance, regardless of heritage status.

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