

B(l)ooming Tourism

A Narrative Approach on

Evoking New Meaningful Connections

in the Touristic City of Amsterdam



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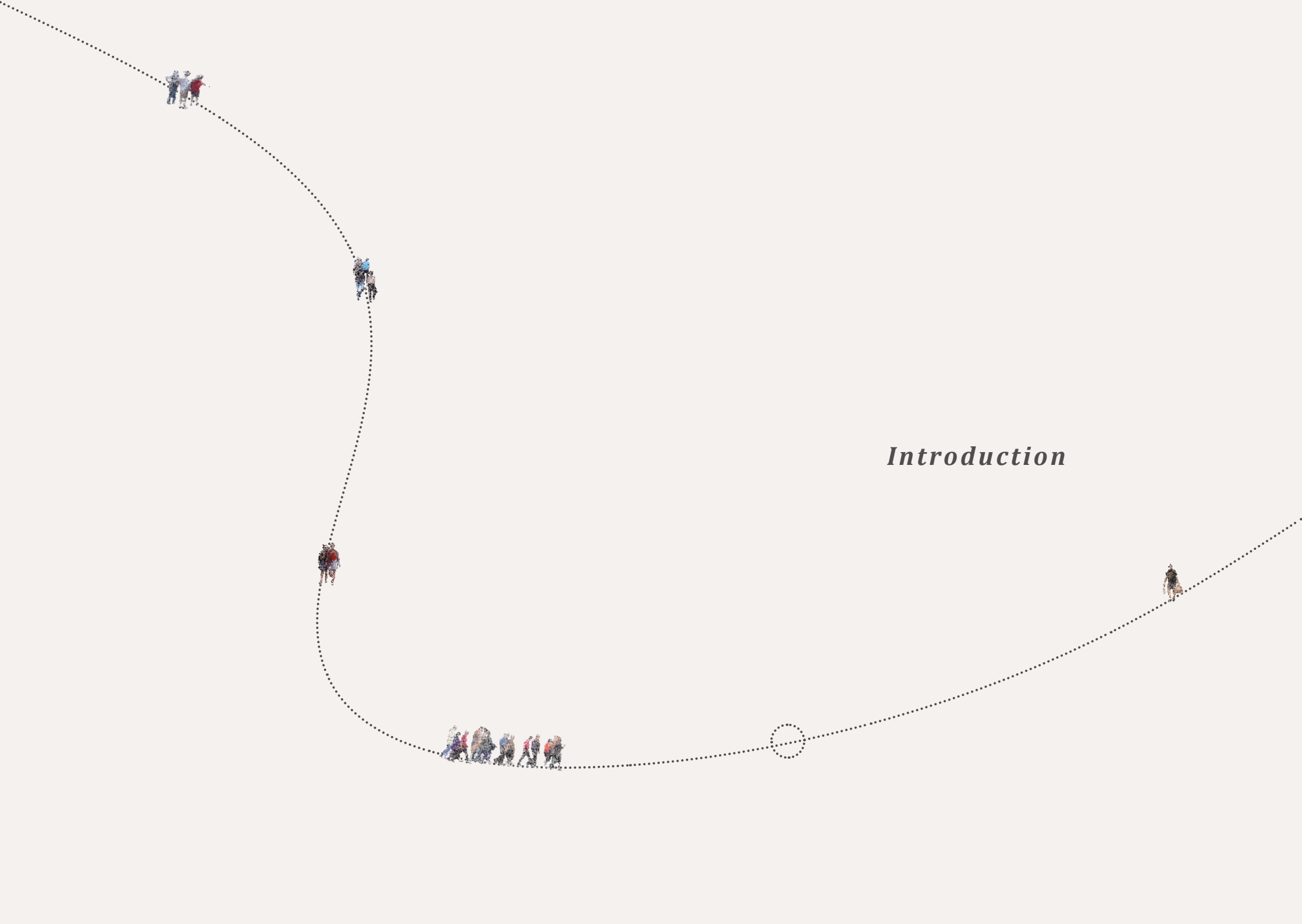
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Introduction

Problem Statement

Over the past decades, tourism has increased significantly world widely. With 51% of all international tourists arriving in 2019 (World Tourism Organization, 2019) overtourism has especially become a problem in Europe. While tourists are flocking European cities and city marketing is capitalizing and expanding urban tourism, the quality of life in the popular tourist areas of these cities is declining (Henley, 2020). One such tourist area is Amsterdam's city centre. Here the changes in the experience of place are affecting negatively the residents' quality of life, by causing feelings of alienation (Couzy, 2017).

Given that each place has its own unique character, atmosphere, appearance, feel, sounds or smells, the everyday experiences that residents have with their environment, can create a sense of connection to this place (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017). Also, the ability to identify with one's material, cultural and relational surroundings, can establish a sense of belonging (May & Muir, 2015). However, when massive and overwhelming changes occur in these urban environments (for example because of the presence of tourists), the everyday experience of these places also changes, and the residents can no longer identify with them. As a consequence, the opposite effect occurs and the experience of place suddenly evokes feelings of alienation.

According to The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (2018), alienation is "the state of feeling estranged or separated from one's milieu, work, product of work or self" (para. 1). For the residents of Amsterdam's city centre, this implies that they are experiencing feelings of estrangement from their own surroundings. In Amsterdam's city centre, there are primarily three matters related to tourism that cause the changes in the experience of place: over crowdedness, nuisance (noise pollution, dirt and deterioration of the place's physical appearance) and the change of the commercial landscape by tourist shops.

The density of tourism in Amsterdam's city centre has increased over the years, from 9,7 million in 2010 to 18,4 million in 2019 (Onderzoek, Informatie en Statistiek, 2020). With almost all tourist attractions located in neighbourhoods within the city centre, tourists stay concentrated in the inner city (Poel & Boon, 2015) and are overcrowding relatively small urban spaces. For the residents of these places the everyday experience of their surroundings had changed significantly, as crowds of tourists gather in the urban space of their neighbourhoods, filling them with unfamiliar faces and the sound of many foreign languages. Likewise, Airbnb accommodations which are often located in the same neighbourhoods, intensify this effect. With overcrowdedness comes also nuisance. As loud tourist activities are happening both day and night, residents are trying to escape these disruptions by closing their windows, curtains or relocating indoors (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017). However, when this is not enough and their attachment to the neighbourhood has already diminished progressively, residents decide to either retreat from the city during the weekends or move out all together; leaving the city centre in the hands of the tourists. In addition, the staggering number of 191 tourist shops in the city centre of Amsterdam (AT5, 2016) are changing the commercial as well as the sensory landscape. Authentic local shops, covering residents' everyday needs, get replaced with tourist cheese shops (which exaggerate elements of the Dutch culture) as well as Nutella shops that could be located in any other global city.

Nonetheless, residents are not the only ones who feel separated from their environment. Tourists visiting Amsterdam also do not feel a connection to its city centre. As philosopher Marli Huijer describes in a discussion about the radical change of Amsterdam due to tourism, "the tourist is a consumer in transit. The only connection he has with the city or region he is visiting is aesthetic. [...] He feels no responsibility to keep it going" (Huijer et al., 2013, para. 4). It is this lack of responsibility and connection to a place, which causes some tourists to produce nuisance to residents, subsequently causing feelings of alienation in the process.

However, as it is everyone's right to visit other places in the world, tourism in Amsterdam is most likely going to stay. Therefore, residents must create new connections to their surroundings in order to preserve the liveability and residential function in the city centre. By mitigating feelings of alienation, new meaningful connections with space can arise. Since architecture has the ability to positively influence peoples' sensory experience of space, architectural interventions can be created to evoke these new connections to the places overwhelmed by tourists. However, focussing on the sensory experience of space is not the only resolution to mitigate feelings of alienation. By stimulating interactions between residents and tourists, feelings of alienation can also partly disappear. In this way, residents become familiar with the individual behind 'the tourist' and their reasonings to visit Amsterdam, while tourists become more aware of the residents, creating a connection to the place and increasing their responsibility towards it.

By evoking new connections through architecture, mitigating feelings of alienation and stimulating meaningful interactions between tourists and residents, a new way can be paved towards a more balanced approach in the future of tourism in Amsterdam.

Research Questions

The aim of this research is to add architectural interventions in the city centre of Amsterdam, which will evoke new connections with the places overwhelmed by tourists, by mitigating feelings of alienation between residents and tourists.

In order to achieve this, new places must be created for both the residents and the tourists which can evoke a sense of identification, belonging or connection. To proceed with such design, it is first necessary to study and understand the identities and architectural atmospheres of these places. In addition, in order to allow tourists to better understand the situation of the residents and also to combat misunderstandings about the intentions of tourists, there is the aspiration to offer the new places the opportunity for meaningful interaction between tourists and residents.

This had led me to establish two main research questions:

- What *architectural interventions* can evoke a new connection with the places overwhelmed by the tourists, for the residents of these places?
- How can the design or staging of *architectural atmospheres* provide the possibility for meaningful interaction between tourist and residents?



Figure 1 | Tracking tourists with gps: map of Amsterdam showing which places tourists visit and which routes they take | NRC.next, 2015

Research Methods

In order to answer the two research questions, I am researching the *embodied experiences* of places in the city centre of Amsterdam where tourism has evoked feelings of alienation among its residents. I am doing that in two ways:

- by *immersing* myself in place and *observing* myself, other residents' and tourists' actions;
- by *creating narratives* from both the resident's and the tourist's perspective, in order to design inclusive spaces where alienation is bridged.

The first part of this research is a *fieldwork study*, in which I have practised an *emic approach*. From the perspective of a narrative's resident or tourist character, I immersed myself in place by visiting the locations and investigating media sources concerning informative content about the experience of these locations (e.g. old photographs, newspaper articles, short documentaries, video guides, Instagram posts of locations, etc.). When immersed in place, I observed myself by monitoring the sensations I felt when experiencing, as well as the thoughts and associations that emerged in my mind. In addition, I observed other residents' and tourists' actions in order to gain an understanding of how they use these places and what in these places is of importance to them. These observations have been recorded on site with field notes.

After the fieldwork study, the experiences recorded in the field notes have been used to create narratives from both the resident's and the tourist's perspective. For each character's narrative different literary writing techniques are used, the choice of which has been based on the narrative itself. Such techniques can be experiments with the use of language (e.g. formal writing style or the use of emoticons) or with the structure of a text or content (e.g. structuring the narrative on the basis of architecture or the content of a song) (Havik, 2014).

The reason why I chose narratives as a method for my research into the embodied experiences of places in Amsterdam, is because of literature's ability to describe the experience of place from multiple approaches simultaneously. Whereas literature makes it possible to describe places in all their sensory perceptions with great accuracy and detail, architecture-related methods remain mostly limited to the visual and tactile sense (Havik, 2014). Within the same narrative, literature can address the use of public space or architecture (Havik, 2014), which also plays a big part in the experience of place. At last, other methods that could have described the experience of space as well such as interviews, were not possible due to the circumstances surrounding COVID-19.



Theoretical Framework

I started my research with a preliminary *literature study* on the notions of perception, structures of space in a tourist city and narrative. In addition, *social media and online platforms* have also been studied, in order to learn more about the characteristics of Amsterdam's residents and tourists.

The study on perception provides a better understanding of how tourists and residents perceive and experience their surroundings. After discussing media's influence on perception, John Urry and Jonas Larsen's book *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (2011) explains the underlying structure of the visual perception of a tourist destination from a sociological perspective. Meanwhile, Maurice Merleau-Ponty's essays about the embodied experience in *The World of Perception* (2004) adds an extra dimension of knowledge to the perception of place by explaining from a philosophical perspective how a person perceives space using all of their senses, when immersed in place.

Next, the study on structures of space within a tourist city helped me gain a better understanding of how certain places in Amsterdam's city centre have changed due to tourism. In this text, two sociological theories about arrangements of social space and tourism are related and applied to the urban context of Amsterdam. While Erving Goffman's theory on front and back regions in his book *The Presentation of Self in the Everyday Life* (1956) explains the social structure of a place, Dean MacCannell theory on staged sets as found in his essay *Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings* (1973) elaborates further on these notions, while explaining what attracts tourists to these places and examining the changes of these places in relation to tourism.

Furthermore, in the study on narratives, the importance of narrative as an architectural research method has been investigated. While David Spurr's *Architecture & Modern Literature* (2012) explains how architecture and literature are related, Klaske Havik's book *Urban Literacy* (2014) addresses how literature can be used as a research tool in architectural research. After that, a study on Elaine

Scarry's *Dreaming by the Book* (2001) gives insight into how our imagination can construct the written (sensory) experiences, which helped me with writing the narratives in such way that the reader is able to experience the places for themselves.

Lastly, by investigating social media and other online platforms a better understanding was gained on who the residents and tourists of the overwhelmed places in the Amsterdam are. While city marketing reports provided information about the tourists' nationalities, a study on Instagram and YouTube gave me a better understanding of both the residents' and the tourists' age, gender, desires, expectations and their experience of space.

Based on the literature and online media study of these notions, I was able to set-up the narrative research by creating characters through the perspectives of which I conducted the field work study. The field work focuses on selected locations in the city centre of Amsterdam affected by tourism.

Tourists and residents perceiving Amsterdam

Perception

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2021), perception is “the ability to see, hear, or become aware of something through the senses” (para. 1). It is “the way in which something is regarded, understood or interpreted” (Oxford English Dictionary, 2021, para. 2). Thus, the perception of a tourist destination place is the experiencing and the understanding of the place through the interpretation of the obtained information by our senses. As each person interprets the external (objective) stimuli of the place’s environment differently, the perception of a place is always semi-subjective and personally bound. However, since all visitors of the place interpret the same stimuli, an overlap of these perceptions can bring out the underlying shared experience of the place.

With numerous studies from different disciplines having researched the workings and the structuring of perception, it can be stated that our perception and therefore the experience of place is influenced by various aspects in different ways, which are sometimes even happening simultaneously. In this text, I would like to argue that the perception tourists and residents have can be organised and constructed by three main influences: *external mediatised influences*, *personal social influences* and *external sensuous influences*. By discussing the structure of perception of place on the basis of these three influences, a better understanding of how both tourists and residents perceive the city centre of Amsterdam will be gained.

External mediatised influences: non-tourist media

In the current Information Age, tourists’ and residents’ perception of place has already been affected by external mediatised influences, even before the destination has been visited. Places, such as the city centre of Amsterdam, are chosen to be visited based on the pre-created expectations people have of the place

and hope to experience (Urry & Larsen, 2011). This anticipation is composed and maintained through various non-touristic media, such as literature, films, television shows and songs (Urry & Larsen, 2011). It is the genre of these media that also attracts their own target group to the city. For example, tourists’ interest in Amsterdam could have been sparked by watching films such as *The Fault in Our Stars* (2014) and *Kidnapping Mr. Heineken* (2015), or reading literature such as *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl* (1947) and *The Miniaturist* (2014). The influence that these non-tourist media have on the visitation of places in Amsterdam’s city centre can be evinced by the millions of history- and culture-orientated tourists that visit the Anne Frank House every year and the amount of teenage girls that pay a visit to the bench on the Leidsegracht (see figure 1) where *The Fault in Our Stars*’ characters Augustus and Hazel are having a romantic moment. Meanwhile, residents’ anticipation to visit specific places in their own city can also be evoked by these media, such as listening to songs like Wim Sonneveld’s version of *Aan de Amsterdamse Grachten* (1962) or George Ezra’s *Blind Man in Amsterdam* (2014), which can encourage residents to visit the front side of the Nieuwe Kerk on the Dam Square, where the now late Bennie Volken used to play an old Dutch tune on his organ for approximately 30 years.

Besides media, other ways which can stimulate one’s anticipation towards the visitation of a place can also include other people’s experiences which have been shared through conversations or through one’s general knowledge of the city’s image. Amsterdam’s image of the city as a tourist destination has been based on two of its most prominent and distinctive aspects. Firstly, Amsterdam is known for its 17th century urban plan of the Canal Belt and its picturesque canal houses (Dahles, 1998). For years, this has attracted many tourists interested in culture or architecture. Secondly, Amsterdam is also known for its gay scene and its tolerant and liberal attitude towards sex and drugs (Dahles, 1998). Tourists who are curious or are looking for such freedom are attracted to visit the city, and particularly the Red Light District, which fully embodies these tolerant attitudes.



Figure 2 (above) | Girls taking a selfie on 'The Fault in our Stars' bench | ANP, 2014
Figure 3 (below) | Characters Augustus and Hazel on the same bench in the film *The Fault in our Stars* | Bridges, J. & Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation, 2013

City marketing

The general image people have of the city is an important factor in how tourists and residents perceive and experience place. This image can be altered with the influence of city marketing. City marketing's task is to maintain and raise the position of the city in the world and to promote the city by improving its reputation and influencing people's behaviour to visit specific places, in order to eventually contribute to a liveable, appealing and affluent city for residents, tourists and businesses alike (amsterdam&partners, 2020). By adopting a city brand that is promoted through advertising, selling merchandised products and placing prominent objects in places valuable to the city, city marketing tries to influence the way one perceives, uses and subsequently experiences the city.

The city marketing of Amsterdam has conducted extensive research into how the city is perceived throughout the world, in order to promote the city on the basis of its three core themes for which it is known: creativity, innovation and spirit of commerce (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2004). One of these research studies can be found in figure 2, which is a valuation of 16 important dimensions of the city that show how Amsterdam was perceived during the set-up of its city marketing approach in 2004, and how city marketing ideally envisions people's perception of Amsterdam, which has become the guiding principle of their strategy. When looking at figure 2, the valuation shows that city marketing's strategy is aimed at weakening the aforementioned image of the city as a 'city of canals' and its reputation of 'sex, drugs and rock & roll', while also wanting to promote Amsterdam's three core themes by strengthening the city's image as an 'artistic city' and 'meeting place', next to profiling the city as a 'residential' and 'business city'. By focusing their marketing branding on 5 of their 7 target groups, the creative industry, international visitors, business decision makers, Amsterdam's inhabitants and active city dwellers, city marketing hopes to create this new perception and experience of Amsterdam.

A good example of city marketing's strategy to make tourists perceive and experience Amsterdam as an 'artistic city', was the placement of the life-size letters of their branding

slogan 'Iamsterdam' on Museum Square. Located on the square where both Amsterdam's and the Netherlands' three largest art museums are situated, the letters' instalment was a huge success in attracting tourists to visit this cultural part of Amsterdam. By placing the letters in front of the facade of the Rijksmuseum, the object has been used by tourists to show friends, family and online followers via social media and other digital platforms that they have visited (this cultural part of) Amsterdam. As a result, some of their acquaintances have become inspired to also visit Amsterdam and the Museum Square. However, due to its overwhelming success causing overcrowdedness on the square, the letters were removed in 2018 to the regret of both tourists and residents, and were relocated by city marketing to lesser-known places in Amsterdam in order to attract tourists to visit these places as well (Hitti, 2018).

Online media platforms

Once the interest and curiosity of the tourist has been awakened through either the use of non-tourist media or the influence of city marketing, an urge to explore the city can arise. By using online media platforms, the perception of place can be strongly influenced for both residents and tourists. Depending on the used platform, the chosen search terms and the platform's algorithm, which is based on previous search terms and clicked topics, a different orchestrated perception of the city appears in front of the perceiver.

For example, while Google Images shows Amsterdam in a generic way as a city of canals, canal houses and bikes (see figure 3), Pinterest depicts a more filtered and romanticised image, representing the city as a quiet and serene place full of water, greenery and flowers (see figure 4). While these perceived images of both platforms are enticing to many, they are one-sided. The possibility to perceive more diverse and realistic images and experiences of the city is therefore greater on online media platforms such as YouTube and Instagram. While on YouTube almost every possible experience of Amsterdam can be found, however dependent on the use of the correct search terms and one's own click behaviour, Instagram displays both filtered and

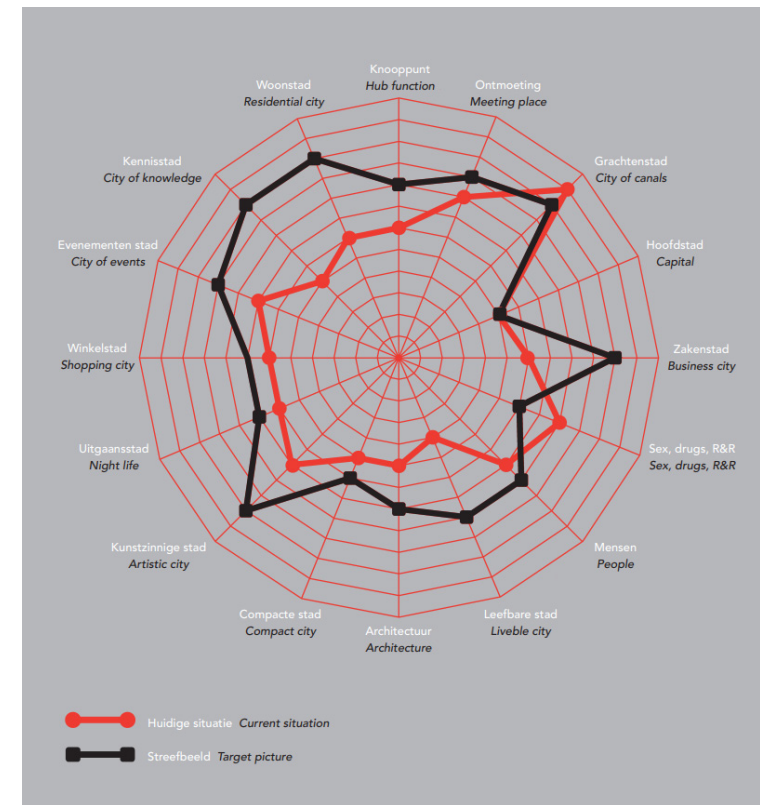


Figure 4 | The creation of city marketing's image of the city | Gemeente Amsterdam, 2004

romanticised images usually under ‘popular posts’ (see figure 5a) as well as realistic and current images of the city under ‘recent posts’ (see figure 5b). These posts contain and portray a variety of locations, people, actions and events that show the daily lives of Amsterdammers as well as the experiences of tourists. Nevertheless, the one media which depicts the most objective experience of place is the news, as it focuses on the underlying structure of the city’s daily life by conveying an up-to-date image through illustrating in word and text what is happening and how it is experienced.

As the variety between these images of the city is great and their position towards reality differs, the perception as shaped by these media is ultimately not what one will find when in place. This contrast between the images shown on media such as Google and Pinterest and the actual image one perceives when in place, is presented in figure 6. Here, one can see that the popular romantic images of ‘quiet’ places in Amsterdam actually cause the opposite to be perceived by both the resident and the tourist. As many tourists decide to visit these places because of these romanticised images, the ‘quiet’ places become overcrowded and nuisance is experienced. However, since most of these tourists have been inspired to visit these places because of these images, many of them want to reproduce these images and post them online, creating a vicious circle.

Personal social influences: structuring the gaze

In addition to the perception of place being framed by preconditioned media, tourists’ and residents’ own personal perspective also influences how a place is perceived. Although we humans look at what we encounter, we see not only what is presented to us, but rather the relationship between the perceived things and ourselves (Berger et al., 1972). This is because the gaze that one uses to visually perceive a place is socially organized and systematized (Urry & Larsen, 2011). As sociologists John Urry and Jonas Larsen explain in their book *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (2011), “people gaze upon the world through a particular filter of ideas, skills, desires and expectations, framed by social class, gender, nationality, age and education” (p. 2). Based on these personalised

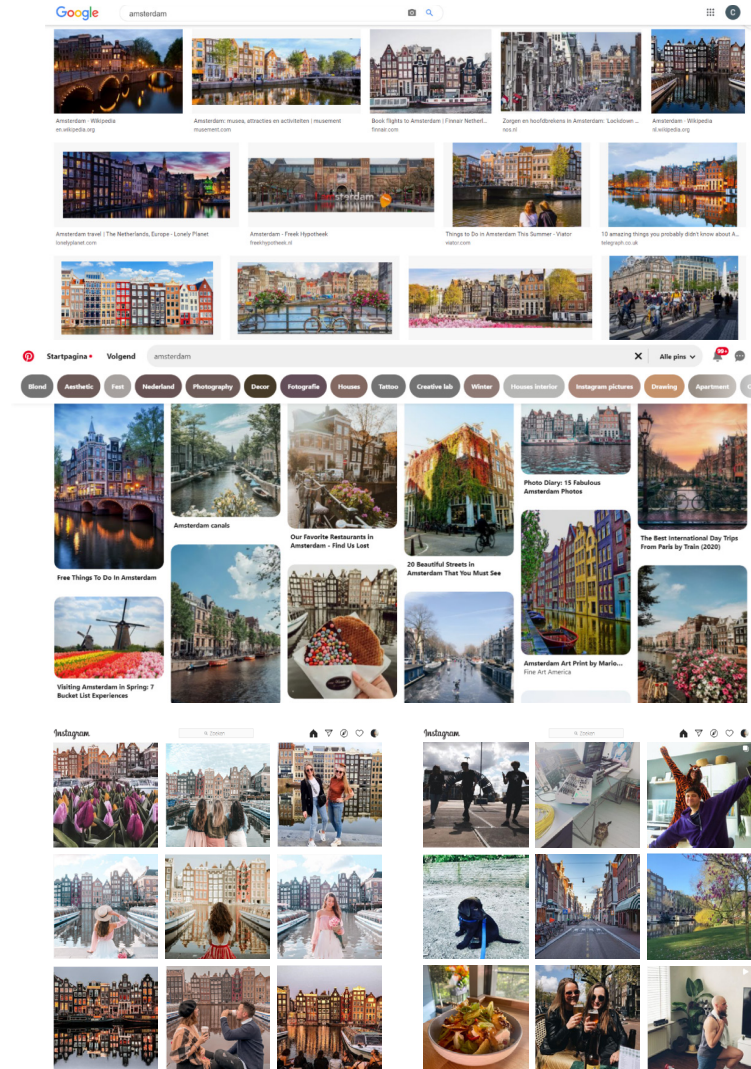


Figure 5 (above) | A generic perception of Amsterdam as created by Google | Google, 2021
 Figure 6 (middle) | A generic perception of Amsterdam as created by Pinterest | Pinterest, 2021
 Figure 7 (below) | The image of Amsterdam as constructed by Instagram’s popular posts (left) and Instagram’s most recent posts | Instagram, 2021



Figure 8 | The difference in the perception of Amsterdam, as perceived online (above) and in place (below) | Google & Pinterest, 2021

frames and filters acting as cultural lenses, tourists and residents assess their opinion of a place (Urry & Larsen, 2011), through which the perception of place is thus influenced.

However, when specifically addressing how tourists perceive place, the research of Urry and Larsen into the tourist gaze shows that in addition to unconsciously perceiving the relationship between oneself and the things perceived, the tourist is also actively looking for signs that confirm his ideas and expectations about the place. As Urry and Larsen (2011) state: “when we gaze as tourists what we see are various signs or tourists clichés” (p. 17). In other words, when tourists see residents buying tulips in Amsterdam, what they pick up is the confirmation of ‘Amsterdam as a city of flowers’. However, what tourists view as a sign, is of course dependent on one’s personal influences and the preconditioned image they have of the destination. As these influences can be similar for multiple people, a number of distinctive tourist gazes have emerged that tourists make use of while perceiving a destination. These distinctive tourist gazes can be divided into various themes that encompass different tourist preferences and ways of how a place is visually perceived.

Various tourist gazes

According to Urry and Larsen, some tourist gazes can fall under various discourses. These discourses include the larger theme for which one travels and what one is looking for at the destination (such as confirmatory signs or discourse related activities and programs). Such discourses entail *education*, traveling for or to study; *health*, traveling to restore one’s health; *pleasure and play*, recreational travel such as party holidays for young adults and all-inclusives; *heritage and memory*, culture-orientated travel; and *nation*, visiting a place to experience everything that is related to the tourist’s image of the city (Urry & Larsen, 2011). In Amsterdam, mainly the discourses pleasure and play, heritage and memory and nation are ruling tourists’ motivation to visit the city, as evidenced by the frequent visits of tourists to the Red Light District, the Heineken Experience, the Canal Belt and museums such as the Anne Frank House and the Van Gogh Museum.

Besides discourses, the different types of tourist gazes can also be divided into socialities. These socialities reflect how people prefer to experience a place on a social level and thus determine tourists' choice in whether a place will be visited or avoided. For instance, according to Urry and Larsen (2011) a tourist may prefer to have a *romantic gaze*. One is then in search of having a more personal and private relationship with the observed space or object. Places are preferred to be experienced either alone or with a few loved ones. In opposition, a tourist can also have a *collective gaze*. Hereby a tourist prefers to perceive a place collectively and only feels attracted to visit a place when he sees the presence of other tourists. For tourists having this gaze, such presence indicates that this place is of value (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

Lastly, Urry and Larsen also mention in their research other tourist gazes which are common among tourists in Amsterdam. For example, tourists can have a *spectatorial gaze*, with which they perceive the surroundings at a glance when passing in either a tour bus or a canal boat. They can also have a *reverential gaze*, where a certain subject is taken as a frame of reference and the environment is scanned for objects or signs that refer to it. Next is a *mediatised gaze*, which tourists use for looking for places that have either become important through media such as films and social media platforms or can provide new material for the same media (Urry & Larsen, 2011). An example is the aforementioned *The Fault in Our Stars* bench. At last, many tourists in Amsterdam also have a family gaze, where surroundings are studied in search of places where they can take pictures as a family (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

External sensuous influences: embodied experiences

Having so far addressed the perception of place only with visual-orientated influences such as gazes and photographic media, the indication may have arisen that a place is only perceived and thus understood through vision. This is however a misconception, as in reality, it is through one's embodied experiences that a place is fully perceived.

As Maurice Merleau-Ponty explains in his lecture *Exploring the World of Perception: space* of his book *The World of Perception* (2004), the relationship a person has to space is "is not that of a pure disembodied subject to a distant object but rather that of a being which dwells in space relating to its natural habitat" (p. 55). From this, two conclusions can be drawn. First of all, we humans are a mind in a body that resides in space or place. If we would not have a body and therefore only perceive visually, we would experience space as an image: flat and in front of us. Instead, we can be judged from our own experiences that space is enfolding us. In addition, this space or place which we are inhabiting provides sensory information about itself in the form of smells, textures, sounds and images. These external sensory stimuli make the place what it is and can be received and interpreted by us through the senses of our body. Because of this, we are able to relate ourselves to this space and have the ability to understand a place in its entirety. Had our perception only consisted of the visual, then a full understanding of a place would not have been feasible, as vision does not fully involve the perceiver and 4/5th of the information that a place presents would not have been grasped. Receiving and interpreting these sensory stimuli is thus important in understanding a place. However, it must be understood how these sensations relate to space, in order to find out how the meaning of a place can be uncovered by means of embodied experiences.

In general, an object or space is believed to be composed of sensory qualities that separately present themselves to our different senses, which are then experienced as a unity through their addition carried out by our unconscious cognitive process (Merleau-Ponty, 2004). However, this is not true. As Merleau-Ponty argues in his lecture *Exploring the World of Perception: sensory objects* again of his book *The World of Perception* (2004), it is precisely the interconnection between our experiences of these qualities, that reveals what the object or space is about. According to Merleau-Ponty, every quality of an object (and therefore space) is akin to qualities related to other senses (Merleau-Ponty, 2004). This means that when an object or place is being perceived, that the experience of one quality is recognizable in the perception

of another quality related to another sense, and are thus complementary. They confirm each other. Therefore, since only our embodiment can experience these qualities as interconnected while the visual sense cannot, it is important that the places in Amsterdam are researched through the embodied experiences, of which vision and its gazes are a part.

Front and back regions

Goffman's front versus back distinction

In his book *The Presentation of Self in the Everyday Life* (1956) sociologist Erving Goffman states that people present themselves to others by promoting impressions, which he refers to as performances. During his study of social space within public buildings Goffman describes a structural division between front and back regions, to which these performances are related. According to Goffman (1956) a front region is the place where a performance is happening. The back region can be viewed as a place, still related to the performance, but where actions occur that can discredit the impression fostered by the performance out front. Since both regions are related to each other by the performance itself, the places are spatially adjacent and are usually divided by some kind of partition or passage. All places other than the two already described, are part of what Goffman calls the outside (Goffman, 1956).

To further expand his theory, Goffman (1956) then describes that in these regions certain roles can be found, each of which has its own function in relation to the performance. Three roles can be distinguished. The first role is that of the performer who appears in the front region to perform his act and retires to the back region to relax and be himself. Second role is that of the audience member who appears only in the front and watches the performance. Last, is the role of the outsiders who are excluded from both regions and are neither observing the performance nor performing in it (Goffman, 1956).

In the urban context of Amsterdam, Goffman's theory can be applied, as I wish to argue, to the neighbourhood scale and the city scale. Understanding the difference between how this theory is applied on both scales is of great importance in order to subsequently understand how areas in Amsterdam have changed due to tourism.

Performers, audience and outsiders

In the context of a tourist city like Amsterdam, a performance is a promoted impression set up by the performers, to be presented to the audience. A performance only takes place on the neighbourhood scale, but the impression that it leaves behind in the minds of the observers does influence the urban scale, as I will explained later on. A non-performance, a term not explicitly named by Goffman but still present in his theory, is the unintended impression people give off when being themselves. This is usually done by outsiders and performers after or in between performances.

In general, it can be presumed that in the context of a tourist city, tourists adopt the role of the audience. Residents who have visible jobs in the tourist sector, assume the role of the performers. Examples of these performers are tour guides, street performers and museum employees. The large number of remaining residents adopt the role of the outsiders since they have no relation to the given performance.

Front and back regions on the urban scale

Applying Goffman's theory to the urban scale of a tourist city, a 'region' can be defined as a small urban area or neighbourhood. In general, one can argue that front regions are the bustling urban areas of social, economic, cultural or historical value, which are attracting residents and tourists alike. The back regions, on the other hand, are the adjacent neighbourhoods that mainly consist of residential areas with no touristic importance. All residual neighbourhoods are outside regions. In the city, partitions can be borders like streets, rivers or canals, while passages can be connective elements like squares and bridges. An example of these regions in the city centre of Amsterdam could be the Red Light District as a typical front region, whereas the adjacent Lastage neighbourhood could be a typical back region. The passage connecting these regions then could be the Nieuwmarkt Square.

A notion that must be addressed when applying this theory to the urban context, is the relation between the front and the back. While in Goffman's original theory, the back relates to the front's performance, on an urban scale, the front and back

are only spatially related. This is because on the urban scale no performances are given. As performances are held in the places contained by the region, Goffman's theory applied to the urban scale does not focus on the performance itself, but rather on the overall impressions cultivated by these performances or non-performances. These total impressions form the urban identity of such a region. For the front and back regions this means that both regions have different urban identities, which may overlap in certain aspects, but in reality, have no relation to each other. It is these urban identities of the regions that make tourists decide whether they will visit the place or not.

Front and back regions on the neighbourhood scale

As Goffman's theory is applied in its original form on the neighbourhood scale, it is on this scale that we can understand the arrangement of tourist places and how people experience performances. Since most neighbourhoods in a city contain both public and private spheres, a region does not only exist out of performance places or non-performance places. Therefore the region cannot actually be seen as 'only' a front or a back region. Most regions, whether they are a front or back stage, consist of front and back areas into themselves. On the neighbourhood scale, these front and back areas are called 'stages.' Whereas front stages are public spaces, back stages are private spaces. Examples of such front stages in a neighbourhood or urban area are public squares, streets, (tourist) shops and other public buildings, while examples of such back stages are houses and gardens. The outside stages are all the places not related to the particular given performance. In general, performances are given in front stages and non-performances are happening in back stages. However, as front stages are public spaces, it must be remembered that in a tourist city the audience of the performance in the front stage can also consist of a mixture of tourists and residents. Later on in the text, this notion becomes important when discussing the emergence of alienation.

The relation between the urban and the neighbourhood scale

As a performance is a promoted impression set up by the performing residents to be presented to the tourists in a front stage, a non-performance is an unintended impression given off by the residents when they are in the back stage. The collective impressions fostered by these (non-) performances, which people experience in the stages on the neighbourhood scale, are the urban identity of a region on an urban scale. Since a region consists of both front and back stages and thus a mixture of front and back impressions, its urban identity can in fact vary to different people. However, it are the impressions with the greatest impact that are of importance, as it influences the general urban identity of a region and determines whether this region is seen as a front or back area. It is this urban identity upon which tourists determine whether they are attracted to visit this region or not.

When the type and amount of stages and performances on a neighbourhood scale change, the general impression of this region on an urban scale changes as well, subsequently attracting either more or less tourists to the area. In this way, it can be stated that stages cause change in the experience of place, while regions cause the attraction to the area.

Staged sets and shifts in regions

Understanding the definition of front and back regions / stages and their interconnection to each other on the different scales of a tourist city, is important to understand how both residents and tourists act in these regions and how the neighbourhoods have changed over the years due to tourism.

Staged sets

As discussed earlier, on the urban scale of a tourist city the back region has been defined as a neighbourhood that mainly consist of residential areas with no touristic importance. While this definition is true for most back region neighbourhoods, some back region neighbourhoods have seen their touristic importance increase. As some tourists desire to experience life as it is really lived in the city they visit (including gaining access to having close relations with locals), they are drawn to the places within the city that they believe can provide them with these authentic experiences. Given that the urban identity of a back region mainly consists of non-promoted impressions of places and people, tourists have been attracted to visit back region neighbourhoods, for their believe that here authentic experiences and intimate relations with locals can be found (MacCannell, 1973).

Nevertheless, in his essay *Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings* (1973) anthropologist Dean MacCannell argues that both tourists and residents are fearful about strangers entering the back region, for they might violate this private sphere. To prevent this, residents therefore set up special tourist settings in both front and back regions, to cultivate the impression that the back region has been entered even when it has not (MacCannell, 1973). MacCannell terms these tourist settings as staged sets. A staged set can best be described as a place set up for tourists, which imitates and displays cultural, historical, architectural or social aspects of a back region in an exaggerated way, in order to provide tourists with an experience that for them seems authentic and intimate.

However, the experiences gained in these stages are always based on inauthenticity (MacCannell, 1973).

On the neighbourhood scale of a tourist city, staged sets can be encountered between front and back stages. As the audience of a front stage can consist of both tourists and residents, and back stages are only for residents, staged sets are specifically set up for tourists. In the city centre of Amsterdam, typical staged sets are then the Cheese & More by Henri Willig shops and the Delft Blauw shops, for they are both based on the Dutch culture and are exaggerating it to the point that residents consider it not for them.

The occurrence of alienation

With the increasing appearance of staged sets in the urban environment of Amsterdam's city centre, the difference between mere acts and authentic impressions becomes less clear (MacCannell, 1973). When encountering these tourist settings in their everyday surroundings, outsider residents (as defined earlier) can experience feelings of frustration and confusion. To explain this better an example will be given:

An outsider resident from the Jordaan goes to the commercial area around Dam square to buy trousers and have some lunch. As he is walking down Amsterdam's main shopping street the Kalverstraat, he comes across many Nutella, waffle and cheese shops where he expected to encounter clothing shops. Seeing these tourist orientated food shops, the outsider resident becomes frustrated as the branding of these shops are either exaggerating the Dutch culture to the point that it becomes a stereotype or they are not Dutch at all and could be located in every other global city. Also, the sudden appearance of these food shops in a street known among residents for selling clothing, confuses him.

Having eventually bought trousers, the outsider resident decides it is time to have some lunch. Turning to the Rokin to look for a nice place to eat, he becomes even more frustrated as he notices that here as well

most cafes are tourist orientated. Knowing that there is a restaurant on the top floor of the Bijenkorf, he decides to walk towards the Dam Square. On the Dam Square, the outsider resident encounters a large group of people standing around something and curious as he is, he decides to observe whatever they are watching. However, having managed to get to the open space of the encircling audience, the outsider resident is confronted with an acrobatic street performance which is being held to gain money of tourists. Again, the outsider resident encounters a tourist performance in a place familiar to him and is not being able to relate to it. Both frustration and confusion kick in, as he begins to notice that his familiar surroundings suddenly are unidentifiable to him.

As staged sets and other tourist settings will continue to settle in Amsterdam's city centre, residents' feelings of frustration and confusion will increase with it. When the number of staged sets has increased to the point that the experience of the urban environment feels as if it is more orientated towards tourists than residents, these feelings of frustration and confusion ultimately lead to the feeling of alienation from one's own surroundings.

Arrangements of tourist settings and regional shifts

The appearance of staged sets on the neighbourhood scale also influences the urban identity of a region on an urban scale. With the totality of impressions now also including inauthentic impressions of back stages, regions can no longer be viewed as just a front or a back area. Instead, they can be something in between. In his research on staged authenticity, MacCannell argues that the staged sets can be arranged in a sequence from front to back, in which theoretically six stages can be distinguished (MacCannell, 1973). In the urban context of Amsterdam, I wish to argue that MacCannell's sequence of stages can be applied to the urban scale, as it carefully describes within which phases the urban identities of the regions can be classified in. To avoid confusion with the word 'stage' on the neighbourhood scale, I will from now on use

its synonym 'phase', when discussing MacCannell's six stages.

Starting from the front and ending in the back, the first phase a region in a tourist city can be in, is that of the archetypal front region. This is the main front region as described earlier and is the place where typical tourist attractions or shops are located. Tourists looking for an authentic experience want to get behind this region (MacCannell, 1973). In a tourist city, this region usually contains the place that is seen as the heart of the city centre. In the city of Amsterdam, a typical phase 1 region could then be the Palace Quarter, as it contains Dam Square and the Damrak (a street filled with tourist shops and the first street tourists encounter when arriving in Amsterdam by train).

The second phase is that of a touristic front region that appears on some fronts as authentic (MacCannell, 1973). Here, only a few staged sets are located. The rest of this region consists mostly of front stages and several back stages. In a tourist city, this neighbourhood is more known for its economic, cultural or historical function rather than its residential function.

The third phase is a front region that contains many staged sets and thus appears as a place where authentic experiences can be found (MacCannell, 1973). In Amsterdam an example of a such front region could be the Red Light District. With having many staged sets appearing as back stages, this urban region is known by tourists as a place where Amsterdam's image as a city with a tolerant and liberal attitude towards sex and drugs can be experienced (Dahles, 1998).

The next phase a region can be in is that of a back region that is accustomed to visiting tourists and has an open character towards them (MacCannell, 1973). This back region contains recognisable tourist settings which are not staged. An example of a phase 4 region in Amsterdam is Chinatown, since this neighbourhood is mainly a region where residents of Amsterdam live or do their groceries, yet it is also an area where many tourist orientated restaurants are situated.

The fifth phase is a back region that has been altered a bit by setting up more tourist settings in the interest of tourist consumption (MacCannell, 1973). But, with the amount of back stages in this area still predominating, the urban identity of

this region is still known for its backstage characteristics. In Amsterdam, a typical phase 5 back region could then be the Canal Belt. As the Canal Belt is known for the authentic and intimate experience of its cultural, historical and architectural environment, its overall impression is that of a back region. However, in recent years more Airbnb accommodations and Tours & Tickets shops have appeared in this neighbourhood to capitalize the demand of tourism.

The last phase is that of the archetypal back region. Although this region has in reality no touristic importance since it is primarily a residential area, it does motivate tourists' desire to visit back regions (MacCannell, 1973). This is because of some tourists believe that the most authentic experiences can be encountered here. However, as discussed earlier, most tourists are afraid to violate these places and thus visit back regions in lower phases, as they are more accustomed to tourist visitation. In the city of Amsterdam, a typical phase 6 back region could then be the Lastage neighbourhood.

With staged sets being set up continuously within front and back regions, the possibility of regions shifting between different phases arises. In the city of Amsterdam this has already started to happen to two neighbourhoods: the Jordaan and the Canal Belt. Whereas the Jordaan was first an archetypal back region with little touristic importance, over the years it has become more known among tourists. With more tourists daring to enter this neighbourhood, staged sets have appeared on the outskirts of the area and the Jordaan has slowly started to shift towards phase 5 of MacCannell's six stages. In the Canal Belt something similar is happening. As the number of tourists visiting the Canal Belt has increased over the years, the amount of tourist shops, accommodations and attractions located in the neighbourhood has risen and residents have felt the urge to move. For the Canal Belt that is currently still in phase 5, this means that if these changes will continue to take place, it has the potential to rapidly shift into a front region.

Effects of staged sets on the city

As in Amsterdam's city centre back regions slowly shift into front regions due to staged sets changing the urban environment and its impressions, the urban identity of a region becomes increasingly distant from the image residents themselves have of their own neighbourhood. In this way, raising the feelings of alienation to a higher scale. However, the consequence of this problematic occurrence to a tourist city like Amsterdam is much bigger, for it are not only the current residents who experience this change of urban identity, but also new potential residents. When these new potential residents are looking for a place to live in Amsterdam, it is less likely that they will search for homes located in neighbourhoods known as heavily touristic front regions. As a consequence together with current residents moving out, these neighbourhoods start to lose their residential function, subsequently turning it even more into a tourist neighbourhood.

The importance of narratives

Relation between architecture and literature

Architecture and literature can be related to each other in multiple ways. Besides the fact that both architecture and literature are created through the mind's imagination, they are also both constructive and conceiving means that provide structure to either a building or text, as well as give physical or symbolic shape to the world (Spurr, 2012). However, it is the way in which both architecture and literature produce meaning, that reveals how these two disciplines intersect and subsequently uncovers their relation to the experience of a place.

In his book *Architecture and Modern Literature* (2012), David Spurr explains this intersection of architecture and literature on the basis of a comparison of architecture with mythology. When mythology is understood as a "set of symbols and narratives through which society gives meaning to itself", then according to Spurr, architecture can be seen as a "testimony to a latent mythology" (Spurr, 2012, p. 1). In architecture, this concealed mythology is evinced as it provides a possibility for interpretation in concrete form (Spurr, 2012). In other words, both literature and architecture produce meaning through symbols and narratives. Within the field of architecture, these symbols and narratives given by users and residents are hidden in the architecture of an urban place and together contain the meaning of this place. By trying to 'read' these hidden symbols and narratives, which is done through the embodied experiences that one has when immersed in place, these symbols and narratives can be written down and interpreted, eventually leading to the identification and understanding of the meaning of the place. As it is precisely this meaning that can answer how residents can find connection with the overwhelmed places, the way in which this meaning is investigated is therefore important in my research.

Literature in architectural research

The ability and skill to read, write and understand a city is referred to as urban literacy and can be used to uncover, accentuate and question the lived experience of places in the city (Havik, 2014). Urban literacy was first introduced by Charles Landry in *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* (1994) in which he rethinks how to creatively address urban problems through various methods. Literature was one of such methods, as it provides both the possibility to use multiple disciplines simultaneously and can approach the city from different perspectives and times, all while being able to accurately and in detail describe the experience of a city or urban place through a writer's gaze (Havik, 2014). For architectural research and practice, this idea of urban literacy has been made applicable by Klaske Havik. In her book *Urban Literacy: Reading and Writing Architecture* (2014), Havik introduces a theoretical framework of the three interrelated scriptive concepts description, transcription and prescription, which approach the important facets of urban literacy and offer literary tools to use during the architectural research and design process (Havik, 2014). One such literary tool is narrative, which is used in architectural research to connect urban space to the experiences of its users (Havik, 2014).

Narrative

In architectural research, using narrative as a research tool for the everyday experience of an urban place is more advantageous than other research tools commonly used in architecture, as it provides the possibility to investigate in a versatile way the different multiple aspects that make this everyday experience what it is; all while written in the course of one story. Such a narrative can contain and present evocative descriptions of the sensory experiences of place, as well as the descriptions of people's behaviour and the activities that are taking place in this urban space (Havik, 2014). While the evocative descriptions can be used to investigate the spatial characteristics and the architectural atmosphere, the descriptions of the users' behaviour and activities reflect how an urban place is lived and what types of spaces invoke what kind of behaviour (Havik, 2014). When in

addition the urban place is approached by numerous narratives written from the different perspectives of various characters, the research done through narratives will show both the multiple layers of how a place is experienced and used, as well as reveal the overarching image of the general experience of place. Besides using narrative as a tool in architectural research, it can also be utilised during the design process. By creating narratives about the possible design situated on site, both the new experience of the urban place as well as the use and behaviour of its users can be tested and, based on the results of these narratives, alterations can be made to the architectural design. This makes narratives not only multi-functional during its application, but also widely deployable during the multiple stages of the total architectural process.

Transferring experiences through writing

When writing a narrative both in architectural research as in general, it is important that the described experience of a place is transferred to the reader in an evocative and vivid manner. In architectural research, this imagining of a 'felt' experience helps to better understand the lived experience of the studied urban place. Since this experience cannot be felt literally and its imagining rather can be seen as a performance of perceptual mimesis (Scarry, 2001), it is essential that the writer applies a number of actions during the creation of the narrative, in order for its descriptions to be evocative and vivid. Primarily, when describing an existing urban place, the writer is expected to visit this place and observe and perceive everything that is happening therein (Havik, 2014). As written experiences can only be imaginary "felt" by the reader through the reproduction of perception, it is important that this perception is then described accurately and in detail (Scarry, 2001). When specifically addressing the sensory experiences of place, these descriptions should not only include the perceived outcome (e.g. feeling a rough grainy texture) but the material conditions that led to this perception as well (e.g. the grainy surface of brick pressed against the soft skin of my fingertips) (Scarry, 2001). The more detailed descriptions of multiple conditions are given, the better the reader's imagination

can build up the setting of the mimicked perceived experience. However, this build-up is not put into practice on its own by the reader's imagination, but is rather based on a set of instructions given by the writer to the reader. This is also the last action the writer has to apply during the creation of the narrative. According to Elaine Scarry, an essayist who analyses in her book *Dreaming by the Book* (2001) the main practices writers use to bring their stories to life for their readers, instructions in the text tell the reader how to imagine or construct the subject of perception in the narrative (Scarry, 2001). As one's awareness of participation in the construction of vivid image-making has been suppressed when reading (Scarry, 2001), these instructions are only noticed subconsciously by the reader.

Ultimately, it is through the application of these three discussed practices observing and perceiving, writing in detail and giving instructions during the creation of a narrative, that the written experiences are transferred to the reader, thus providing a better understanding of the everyday experience of the urban place that has been researched.

Findings of social media and online platforms

Set-up media study

During this study in which the characteristics of the tourists and residents of the overwhelmed places in Amsterdam were analysed via online media platforms, the findings of the previous two studies about touristic places and perception have been incorporated. Based on the study of *Front and back regions and staged sets*, four neighbourhoods have been selected around which the research will take place. The first two neighbourhoods are the back region Jordaan and its front region the Canal Belt, chosen because of their appeal to tourists' growing interest for authentic experiences which has led to the increasing appearance of tourists and tourist-orientated sets and activities in these neighbourhoods. The second two neighbourhoods are the front region Burgwallen Oude Zijde and its back region Lastage. These neighbourhoods were selected because of the abundant stage sets in Burgwallen Oude Zijde's Red Light District, causing residents to no longer recognize and properly use the public space of their neighbourhood, while also experiencing overcrowdedness in both urban areas. Alongside the selection of these four neighbourhoods, the characteristics of the tourists and residents were investigated by systematising their Instagram posts into the frames, filters and gazes as mentioned before in the study of *Tourists and residents perceiving Amsterdam*. In some cases, YouTube videos providing insight into one's experience, opinions, ideas and desires were also studied. Ultimately, the findings of these social media and online platforms were used during the creation of the characters of the narratives.

Nationalities in Amsterdam

Before discussing the characteristics found within each neighbourhood, first the characteristic of the frame nationality must be addressed, as it is not specific to a neighbourhood but

rather applies to the entire city. As can be seen in figure 7, which shows the overnight hotel stays in Amsterdam, in 2018 there was a total of 16.673.000 hotel stays, of which 83% of the tourists were from abroad. Of these, the largest group was of British nationality with 2.551.000 visitors, followed by 1.780.000 Americans. Furthermore, Amsterdam was predominantly visited by other tourists of Western European nationalities, including German, French and Italian, of which the latter had 837,000 overnight stays. Striking about this figure is that the groups of tourists that are most often noticed by residents in the streets, such as the large Chinese and Japanese tour groups, do not necessarily belong to the largest groups of nationalities visiting Amsterdam. Instead, they belong to the smaller groups of nationalities, which are combined under the group 'other' and make up for 5.5156.000 visitors.

The Canal Belt

Zooming in from the city to the neighbourhoods, the various characteristics of the residents and tourists of the Canal Belt were studied by analysing the posts tagged under the location 'Grachtengordel'. Figure 8 presents an overview of these results. When focussing on the residents, this table shows that when filtering the frames of age, gender, education and social class, this group mainly consists of highly educated, upper middle to upper class households over 60, who are living in canal houses or houseboats. Some of these residents have moved here about 40 years ago and helped rebuild the neighbourhood after it fell into disrepair in the 1970s (AT5 extra, 2017). In addition to these over-60s, young adults between the ages of 16-25 were also frequently encountered during the study, however it is not clear whether they actually live in this neighbourhood or, like many other Amsterdammers, just make frequent use of the Canal Belt's public space.

When examining the filters of these residents, it can be concluded from figure 8 that this group values the appearance and atmosphere of their environment. It is the architecture and nature in this part of the city that gives the neighbourhood a serene atmosphere, which value residents both expect to preserve and desire to increase. They do this by applying their renovation

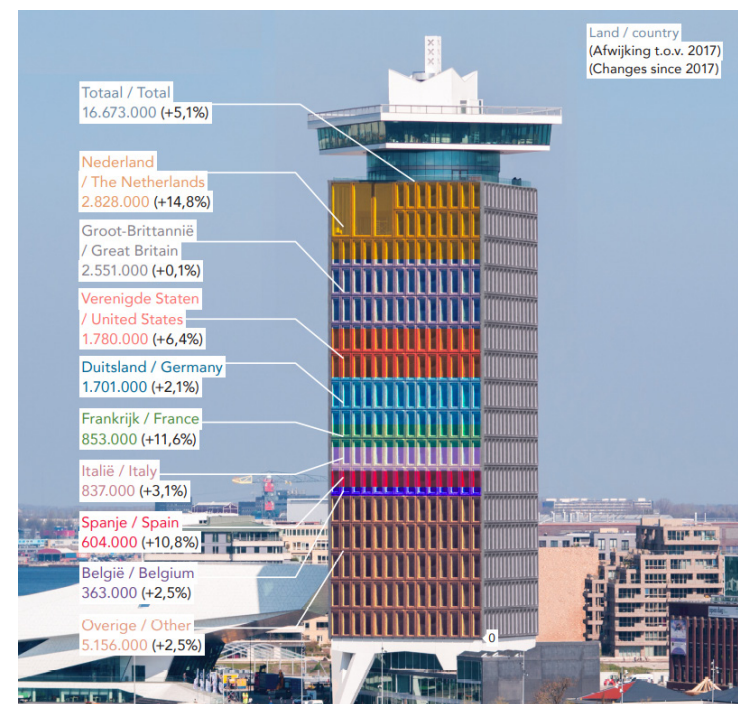


Figure 9 | The overnight hotel stays in Amsterdam in 2018 | Amsterdam&partners, 2019

and gardening skills in both private and public spaces, after which they then implement their ideas about the use of these spaces by enjoying them with a good book or with family and friends. In these respects, the residents of the Canal Belt differ little from the tourists who wanders here.

For instance, part of these tourists also consist of a group of over-60s who use their retirement to travel and enjoy beautiful places elsewhere in the world. On Instagram, these are mainly Americans. The other tourists consist of a diverse group of different ages who mostly visit Amsterdam with their family or with their partner for a romantic weekend away. Other similarities can be found in the ideas, desires and expectations that the tourist has about the Canal Belt. Although tourists expect to see Amsterdam's typical image as a city of canals, flowers and bicycles, they are culture-oriented and long to enjoy the architecture and nature of this part of the city by experiencing the Canal Belt from the water. Tourists want to do this by taking canal cruise.

Based on these findings, the gazes of these tourists were determined. First of all, it can be stated that the perception of these tourists are controlled by the discourses nation and heritage and memory. This is explained by both their search for and capturing of Dutch signs such as flowers and bicycles in photographs and their admiration for the 17th century canals and canal houses. In addition, these tourists have a romantic gaze, as is evinced by the small and close company they travel with. Lastly, some of these tourists also have a spectatorial gaze, which is obtained when taking a canal cruise, as a mediated gaze, which can be derived from the strategically selected filters, poses, locations and objects that are depicted in their posts. An example of such a location can be found in 10 of the 18 tourist Instagram posts made on bridges overlooking an Amsterdam canal.

The Jordaan

Focussing next on the characteristics found in the Jordaan as shown in figure 9, it can be stated that the residents of this neighbourhood can be divided into three groups. First, there are the families, consisting of (young) children, parents and grandparents. They have been settled in the Jordaan for decades

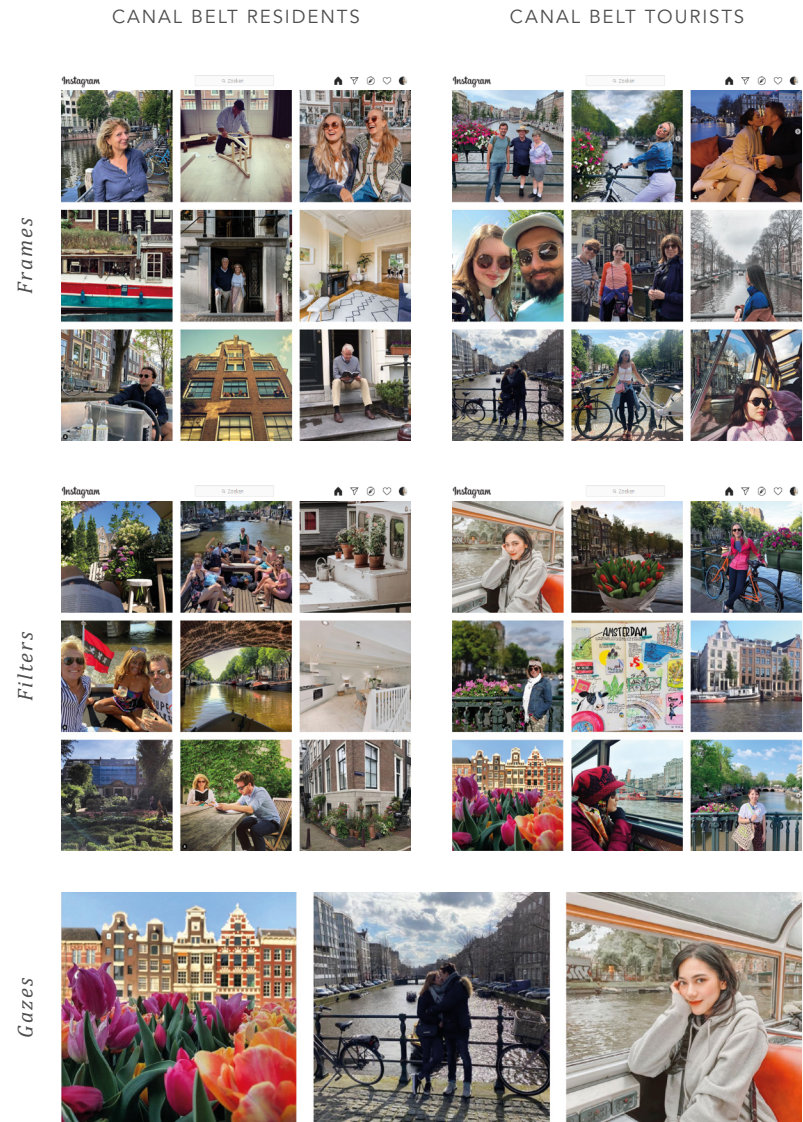


Figure 10 | Instagram characteristic study of the residents and tourists of the Canal Belt | Instagram, 2021 | For all source accounts see the Bibliography of Images

and have ancestors who lived in this neighbourhood when it was still a slum. All of them descend from the poor to the working class. In addition, in recent years middle class people in their 30s have also started living in this area, some of them busy starting families. Lastly, there is also a group of students residing in this neighbourhood.

When analysing the Instagram posts under the residents' filters in figure 9, it can generally be said that the ideas, desires and expectations that these residents have are mainly dominated by the typical Jordanese culture. This culture is governed by the feeling of togetherness and is manifested in the meeting and gathering of neighbours on the street. For some residents, this leads to the ideas of dancing and singing together in the streets or cafes. This culture is based on the filters of previous generations that already had these ideas and undertakings. Furthermore, from the posts can also be derived that many residents have a desire to make the public space greener or to enlarge their own outdoor space. In addition, the Westertower is also of great value to these residents, as it is always seen from everywhere in the neighbourhood.

If the residents would be appointed gazes, then some of them would observe the neighbourhood from a nostalgic perspective that is governed by the discourse heritage and memory. Moreover, it can be stated that a large part of these residents have a collective gaze and some also have an environmental gaze, in the sense that they look and care about the nature in their surroundings.

Looking then into the tourists who visit the Jordaan, it was concluded that these tourists are very similar to the ones in the Canal Belt. In the Jordaan, the tourists primarily consist of 25 to 45 year old friends and couples, who are also culture-orientated and share the same ideas and expectations about Amsterdam. However, by studying their filters it can be assumed that the tourists who visit the Jordaan make a greater effort to gain these 'Amsterdam' or authentic experiences. This is evident from the locations they have chosen where these tourists take photos. While some are still taking photos of stereotypical Amsterdam features such as flowers and cheese, others take photos in front of

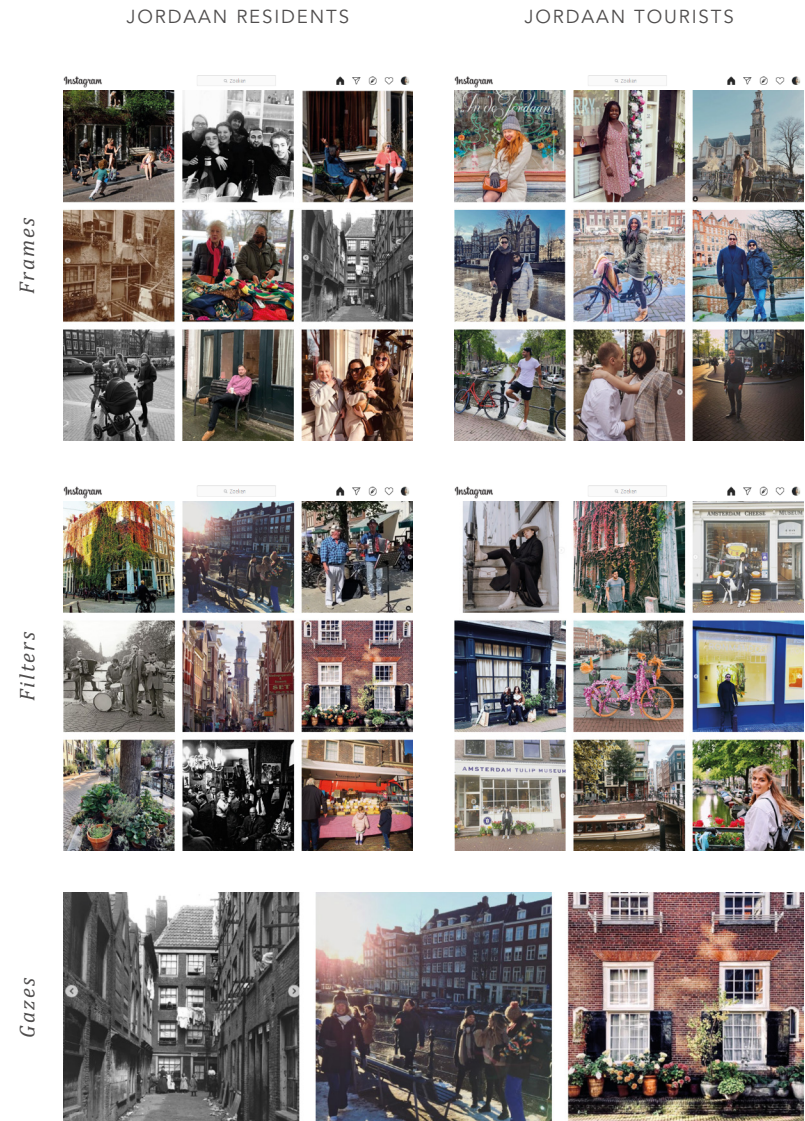


Figure 11 | Instagram characteristic study of the residents and tourists of the Jordaan | Instagram, 2021 | For all source accounts see the Bibliography of Images

local spots such as houses and art galleries. In addition, from the same Instagram posts can also be concluded that these tourists too have a mediated gaze.

The Red Light District

Where similar characteristics can be found in both the Canal Belt and the Jordaan, in Burgwallen Oude Zijde's Red Light District the residents and the tourists appear to be very different from each other. As seen in figure 10 under the residents' frames, the red light district's 4000 inhabitants consist of various groups. Students, singles, couples and even families live in this urban area. Moreover, there is also a large group of residents with a Chinese background and a Christian community. The ages of these groups vary from young to old.

With differences in demographic characteristics comes a diversity in ideas and desires. By analysing Instagram, information was found about the younger residents (age 18-30) enjoying artistic activities such as tattooing and making music. An episode of VICE's documentary series about the life behind the Red Light District informed me on the Christian community wanting to present the Christian faith and provide social and medical assistance to the uninsured in this area (VICE, 2019b). While nothing is known about the personal ideas and desires of the families and elderly in this neighbourhood, from the Instagram posts in figure 10 can be concluded that a large part of these residents wish for respect from the tourist and hope that tourists will eventually understand that this neighbourhood is also a residential area. By putting up posters on their front doors regarding their living situation, the residents hope to inform the tourists about this. In addition, residents also have the desire to be able to use the neighbourhood's public space in a normal way. Examples can be found in the Instagram posts posted during lockdown, including one of a man who can walk his dog in an empty street, and in an interview with a female resident who was finally able to plant her small front yard with plants after the tourists had disappeared (AT5, 2020).

Besides the residents in the Red Light District, prostitutes are also prominent in this area. For a large part, these are poor

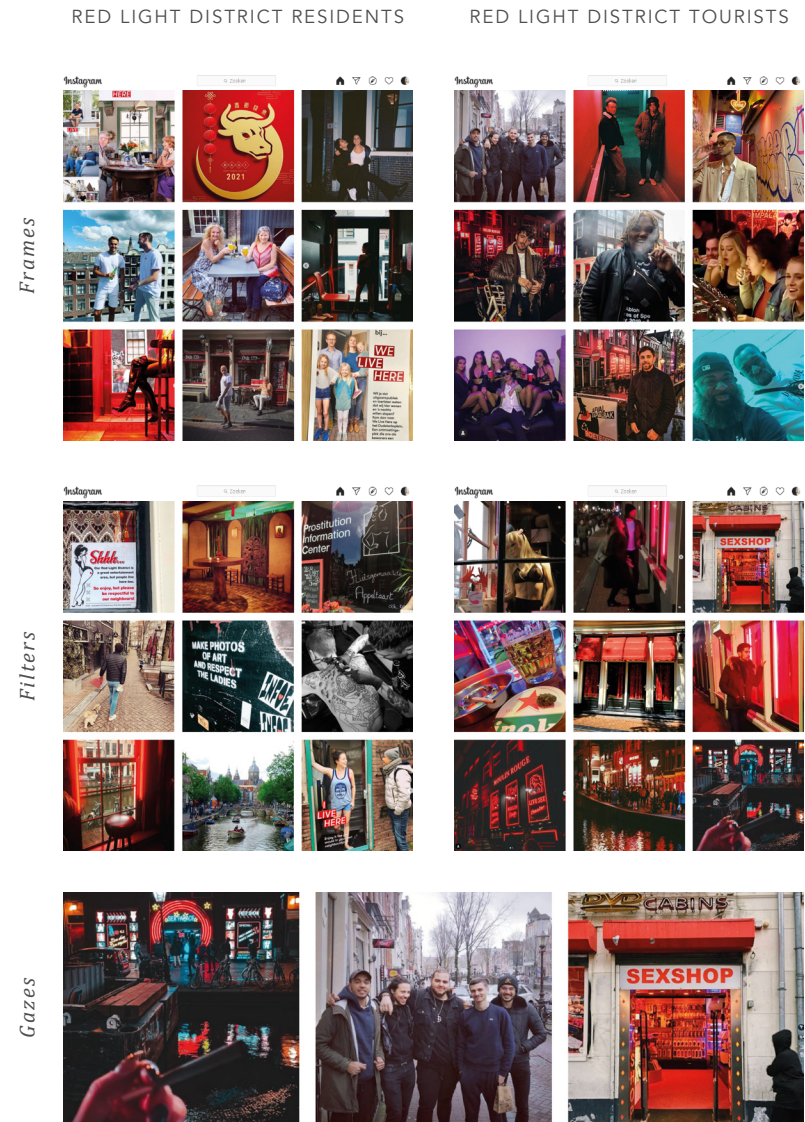


Figure 12 | Instagram characteristic study of the residents and tourists of the Red Light District | Instagram, 2021 | For all source accounts see the Bibliography of Images

young women from Eastern European or South American countries (AT5, 2019b). The other sex workers are male or transgender. A portion of these women are forced to do this work (either by other or due to personal situations) while others take pride in their work (AT5, 2019b). The latter expects respect and understanding from the tourist towards the sex workers and their rights and want to make this clear through art and setting up of an information centre (AVROTROS, 2016).

Focusing then on the Red Light District's night-time visiting tourists, research shows that, unlike the residents, they are not a diverse group. As can be seen in figure 10 under the tourists' frames, the vast majority of these visitors are males between the ages of 18 and 30. Most of them also have the British nationality. These men visit this entertainment area in large groups of friends that sometimes take the form of stag parties. The reason for them to visit the Red Light District is Amsterdam's tolerant attitude towards their desires: alcohol, sex and drugs. As can be derived from the filters in figure 10, these tourists expect in this area to be able to go out, drink, party, smoke weed and watch scantily clad women. Although the tourists are causing nuisance to many residents, another episode of the VICE documentary series shows that many of these tourists do not intend to do so and when they are informed that this is also a residential area, most of them do behave more quietly (VICE, 2019c).

By studying these findings, the gazes of these tourists were determined. First of all, their perception is influenced by the discourses nation and pleasure and play, which are based Amsterdam's image as a tolerant place for sex and drugs. In addition, these tourists have a collective gaze, since they move in large groups and are mainly attracted to places where many other tourists hang out. Finally, all tourists also share a referential gaze, where the subjects of reference are sex and women.

The Lastage

Before addressing the residents' characteristics found in the Lastage, it must first be mentioned that in terms of Instagram posts and other online media platforms, very little information was available about the tourists in this area. In general, the tourists

LASTAGE RESIDENTS

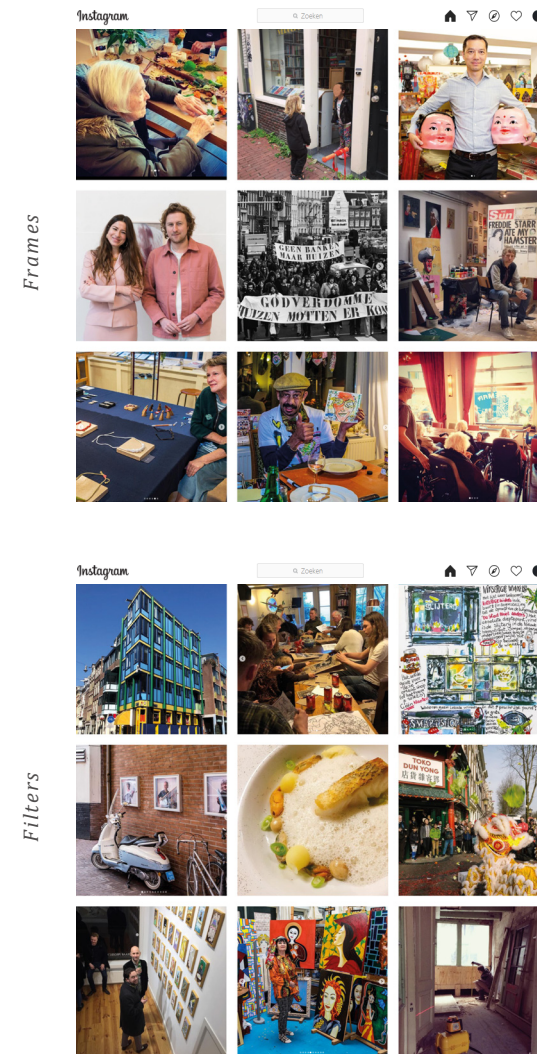


Figure 13 | Instagram characteristic study of the residents and tourists of the Lastage | Instagram, 2021 | For all source accounts see the Bibliography of Images

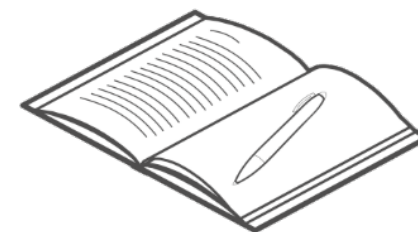
who go to the Lastage are people who visit cultural institutions such as the Rembrandt House and the Jewish Historical Museum. Others are the tourists who stumble upon the Lastage after their daytime visit to the Red Light District.

Investigating then the residents of the Lastage, a strong image of who these people are was presented in the Instagram study as depicted in figure 11. Here, one can see that the residents of this neighbourhood consist of a diverse cultural mix of people in their 30s with and without children, 80+ elderly and a number of men and women between the ages of 50 and 60, who share a history as former squatters who took part in the Nieuwmarkt riots of the Lastage in the 1970s. Striking about these Instagram posts are that a large part of these residents have a job in the creative sector and therefore most likely fall under the working and lower middle class. For these residents, expressing and showing their creativity is one of their greatest desires. According to their posts, they do this through painting, photography and culinary cooking. Their ideas and desire to share and celebrate their art with the rest of the neighbourhood is evident in the outdoor exhibits and the artworks they have scattered around the Lastage. In addition to the expression of creativity, being part of a collective is also important for the residents. This is made apparent by the many neighbourhood events organised by the residents. Such events encountered on Instagram were the April festivals, Chinese festivals and the open studio days.



Creation of Characters

As mentioned earlier, this study examines the embodied experiences of the Grachtengordel, the Jordaan, Burgwallen Oude Zijde's Red Light District and the Lastage from the perspective of their residents and tourists. Based on the previous four studies, I created seven different characters, consisting of three tourists and four residents. In total, they will provide eleven narratives. Of these, at least each neighbourhood is described by one resident as well as one tourist. They portray the most common and typical characters of the area. In addition, the two front regions are also visited and described by other tourists. Which characters and how many of them do this depends on the discourses that influence these characters' interests and the storyline they follow. The map in figure 12 illustrates which characters eventually visited which locations. A short description of each character is given.



Canal house owner Frank

Frank is a Dutch male upper-middle class resident of the Grachtengordel. He is 67 years old and 35 years ago he bought a canal house, which he renovated after it fell into disrepair in the 1970s. In his narrative, Frank looks back on this renovation and describes both his embodied experience during his walk through the dilapidated house as the technical construction of that house. As a literary writing technique, the structure of the house guides the structure of the content of the narrative. The narrative is written in a diary. The choice of the diary was made because of its literary relation with time, making it possible to address multiple timelines in one literary form. In addition, the informal text gives the writer of the narrative the personal freedom to add his own drawings or photos which can support the story. Furthermore, writing in a diary about the experience of a house in this neighbourhood also has a symbolic meaning, as it refers to Anne Frank who also wrote in her diary about her experiences living in the Secret Annex in the Canal Belt.



Italian Influencers

Elisa and Luca are an Italian couple who are 30 and 33 years old respectively. They are in Amsterdam for a romantic weekend away and would like to get to experience everything that Amsterdam stands for. They therefore visit both the Grachtengordel and the Red Light District, where they have the desire to visit both the highlights and the more authentic locations of these neighbourhoods. Their perception is thereby influenced by the discourse nation and they have a romantic gaze, which makes them prefer to experience and seek these typically Dutch and local characters in a personal and private way. Based on the characteristics of the tourists in the Canal Belt, Elisa and Luca also have a mediated gaze. To support this as well as possible, it was decided to use Instagram posts for their narrative. These posts present both drawn atmospheric impressions of the visited locations as well as share their most noticeable experiences in text by means of a short description and hashtags.



Fortress resident Dahlia

Dahlia is a 72-year-old female resident of the Jordaan, with ancestors who lived in the time when the neighbourhood was still a slum. In her narrative she describes the experiences of her mother and grandmother and the circumstances in which they lived during their life in the fortresses of the Jordaan. She does this on the basis of the song *De Afgekeurde Woning* (1955) by the famous folk singer Johnny Jordaan, who is also from this neighbourhood. As a literary writing technique, certain quotes from the song guide the content of the narrative. As for a literary form, the email has been chosen for Dahlia because the literary style of the email stimulates to write a text concisely while also offering the possibility choose between the use of a formal writing style and a somewhat informal writing style. In addition, the email can be seen as a modern variant of the letter and is a reference to the rapid development that the Jordaan has undergone in recent years.



Understanding New Yorker

This New York lady is 70 years old and is based on both the characteristics of the Canal Belt and the Jordaan, as on a real elderly female New Yorker I have met during her holiday in Amsterdam and who told me about her perspective on tourism. The character is culture-oriented and visits Amsterdam for a week long art / work trip. On the days when she is free, she likes to take strolls through the city which are described in her narratives. Being familiar with living in a tourist city herself, she understands Amsterdammers' frustration well and therefore prefers to discover the authentic and local places in the city. In order for her to visit these back regions, she also passes by the front regions, making her the only character who describes the embodied experiences from all four neighbourhoods. Her perspective is influenced by discourse heritage and memory and she has a romantic and referential gaze. The narratives were written in the form of letters to her son James. This literary form has been chosen because of its ability to sustain long and detailed content.



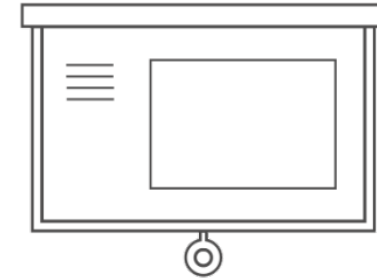
Prostitute Rose

Rose is a 28-year-old woman from Romania, who lives in the Red Light District and works there as a prostitute in order to support her child in her home country. She is both new at work and in the neighbourhood and writes in her narrative about these new experiences of life in the Red Light District. Her narrative is written through WhatsApp conversations with her colleague Mira, her neighbour Catherina and her old Romanian friend Iulia. For this narrative, WhatsApp messages have been chosen as a tool, since it offers the possibility to address multiple (conversational) topics in a clear and short manner, while also being able to offer multiple perspectives on the same topic through the dialogue that is being conducted by the two people in the narrative. In addition, the WhatsApp messages made it possible for me to experiment with the use of language, as for certain words, descriptions and feelings emoticons can be used. These emoticons provide ways to experiment with the transmission of the by the writer written embodied experience to the reader.



English group of friends

Charlie, Bradley, Lewis, Turner, Tom, Toby, Alfie and Gary are eight English friends between the ages of 18 and 30 who visit the Red Light District for Charlie's stag party. They are in Amsterdam for a short weekend and have come to the city to have fun and let loose. Amsterdam and especially the Red Light District are known to them as a tolerant place for their desires: alcohol, drugs and sex. When on location, they look for signs confirming these themes. Therefore, their gazes are influenced by the discourses nation and pleasure and play. In addition, they also have a collective gaze, as they are searching for attractions that they can enjoy together and feel attracted to go to the attractions where lots of other similar tourists are. The narratives of the English friends group have been approached from each individual's perspective during their pub crawl and night out in the red light district. The narratives of these men are written on the back of beer coasters and provide as well a collective and chronological narrative of the group, when bundled in the order of the names.



Artist Jan

Jan is a Dutch male lower-middle class resident from the Lastage. He is 50 years old and participated as a squatter in the Nieuwmarkt riots in the 1970s. Today, he is an artist who likes to sell his art to both domestic and international clients. The character of the understanding New Yorker is one of these clients. In his narrative, Jan gives a lecture about the experience of the artistic atmosphere of the Lastage, which has been around since the emergence of the neighbourhood. This lecture is part of the Open Studio Day that is organized and celebrated by the neighbourhood every year. The choice to write the narrative in a lecture form was made due to a lecture's ability to deal with several major themes on one subject. In addition, the experience of the narrative written in text can also be supported with images depicting the atmospheric impressions. The literary writing technique that has been applied to this narrative is a thickened and clearer version of the instructional writing style as mentioned by Elaine Scarry in *Dreaming By the Book*.

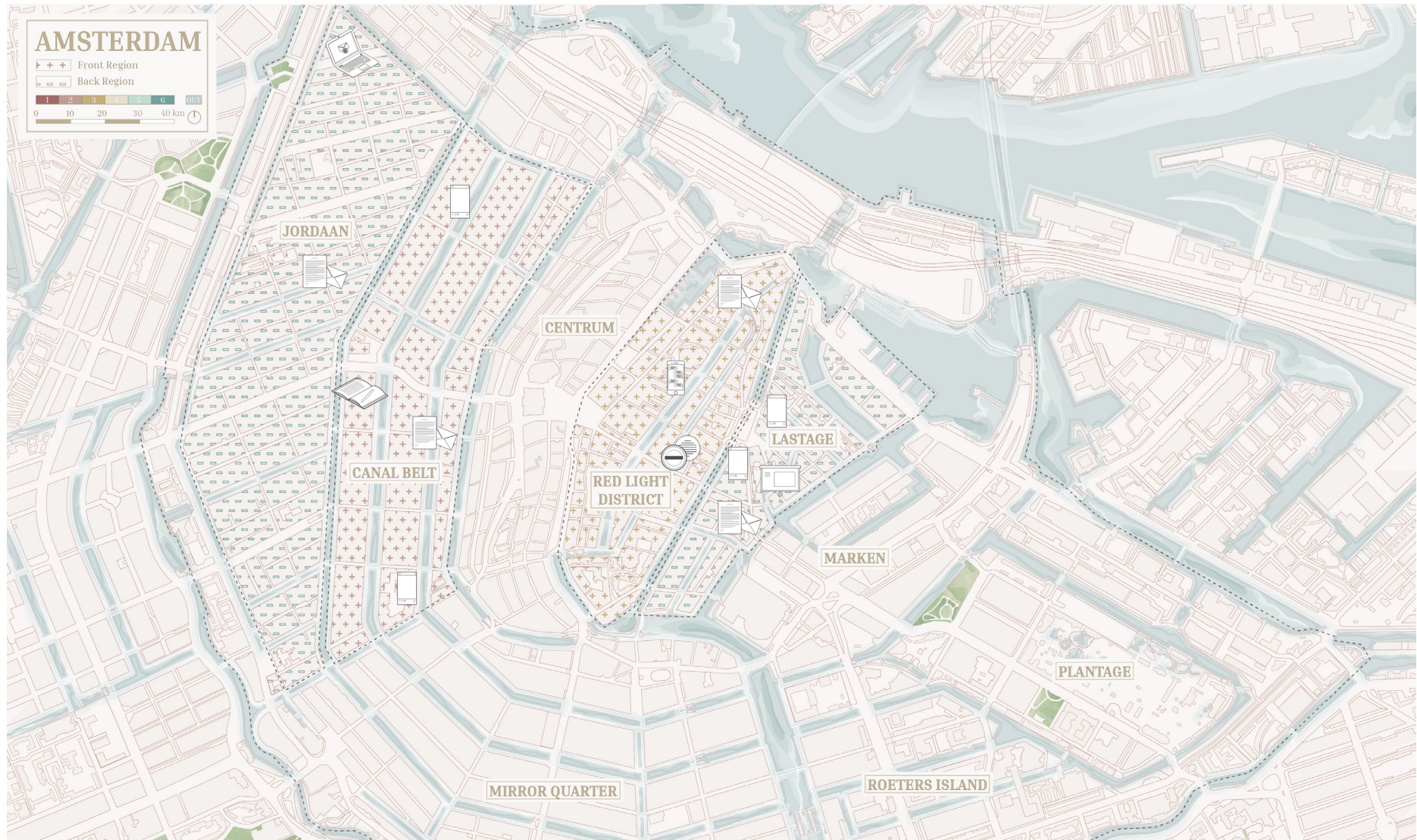
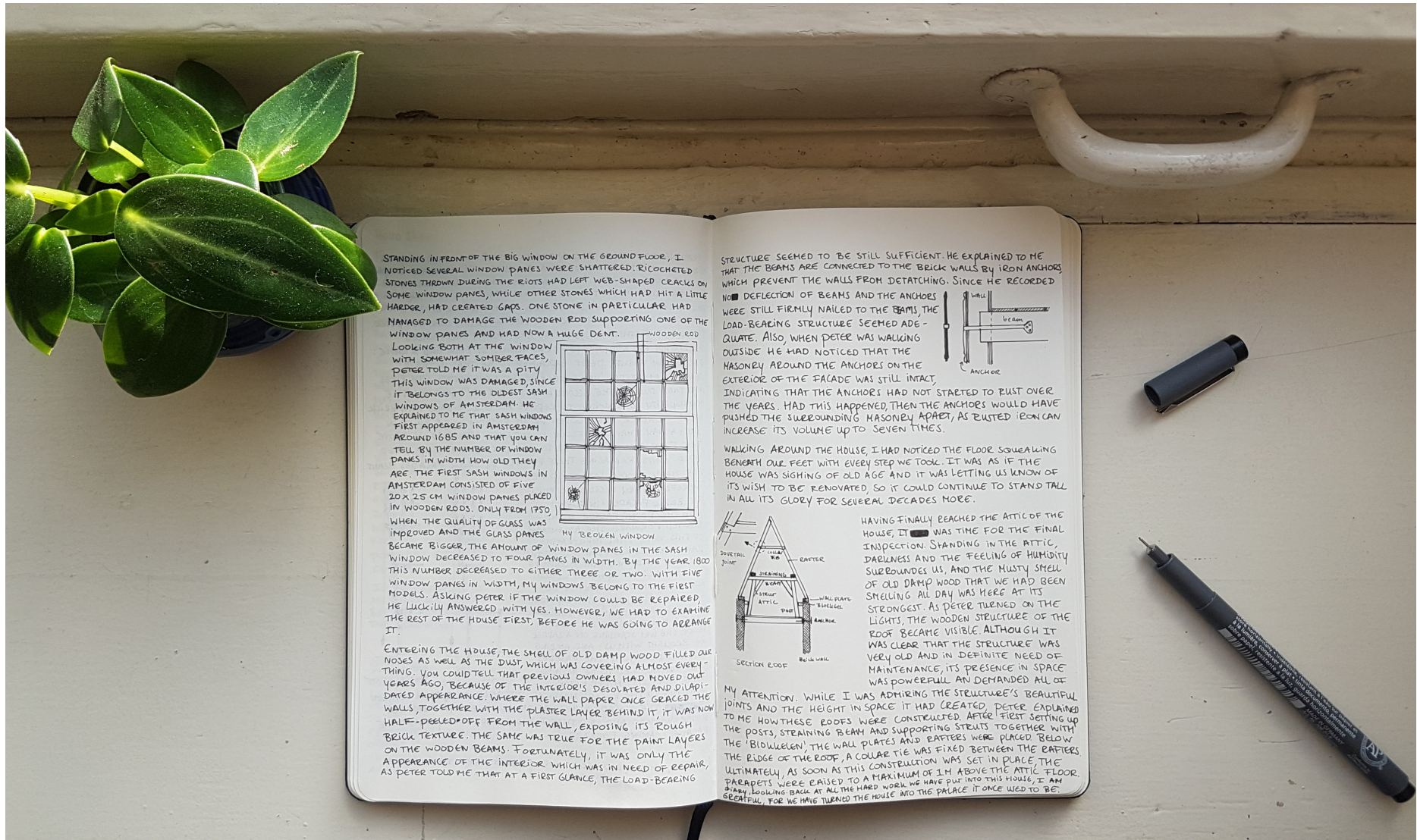


Figure 14 | Map of Amsterdam showing the locations of characters and the written narratives | Own image

A dotted line path starts from the left edge, moves horizontally, then curves upwards and to the right, then curves downwards and to the right, then curves upwards and to the right, and finally continues horizontally to the right edge. Small human figures are placed at various points along this path: a group of about seven people at the top of the first curve, two people at the top of the second curve, one person at the bottom of the first curve, one person at the bottom of the second curve, one person on the horizontal segment before the final curve, and a group of about five people at the bottom of the final curve.

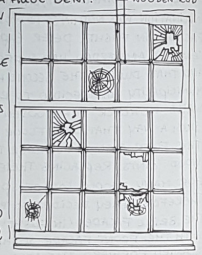
*Narratives of Places
in Amsterdam's City Centre*



STANDING IN FRONT OF THE BIG WINDOW ON THE GROUND FLOOR, I NOTICED SEVERAL WINDOW PANEES WERE SHATTERED. RICOCHETED STONES THROWN DURING THE RIOTS HAD LEFT WEB-SHAPED CRACKS ON SOME WINDOW PANEES, WHILE OTHER STONES WHICH HAD HIT A LITTLE HARDER, HAD CREATED GAPS. ONE STONE IN PARTICULAR HAD MANAGED TO DAMAGE THE WOODEN ROD SUPPORTING ONE OF THE WINDOW PANEES AND HAD NOW A HUGE DENT.

LOOKING BOTH AT THE WINDOW WITH SOMEWHAT SOMBER FACES, PETER TOLD ME IT WAS A PITY THIS WINDOW WAS DAMAGED SINCE IT BELONGS TO THE OLDEST SASH WINDOWS OF AMSTERDAM. HE EXPLAINED TO ME THAT SASH WINDOWS FIRST APPEARED IN AMSTERDAM AROUND 1685 AND THAT YOU CAN TELL BY THE NUMBER OF WINDOW PANEES IN WIDTH HOW OLD THEY ARE. THE FIRST SASH WINDOWS IN AMSTERDAM CONSISTED OF FIVE 20 X 25 CM WINDOW PANEES PLACED IN WOODEN RODS. ONLY FROM 1750 WHEN THE QUALITY OF GLASS WAS IMPROVED AND THE GLASS PANEES BECAME BIGGER, THE AMOUNT OF WINDOW PANEES IN THE SASH WINDOW DECREASED TO FOUR PANEES IN WIDTH. BY THE YEAR 1800 THIS NUMBER DECREASED TO EITHER THREE OR TWO. WITH FIVE WINDOW PANEES IN WIDTH, MY WINDOWS BELONG TO THE FIRST MODELS. ASKING PETER IF THE WINDOW COULD BE REPAIRED, HE LUCKILY ANSWERED WITH YES. HOWEVER, WE HAD TO EXAMINE THE REST OF THE HOUSE FIRST, BEFORE HE WAS GOING TO ARRANGE IT.

ENTERING THE HOUSE, THE SMELL OF OLD DAMP WOOD FILLED OUR NOSES AS WELL AS THE DUST, WHICH WAS COVERING ALMOST EVERYTHING. YOU COULD TELL THAT PREVIOUS OWNERS HAD MOVED OUT YEARS AGO, BECAUSE OF THE INTERIOR'S DESOLATED AND DILAPIDATED APPEARANCE. WHERE THE WALL PAPER ONCE GRACED THE WALLS, TOGETHER WITH THE PLASTER LAYER BEHIND IT, IT WAS NOW HALF-PEELED OFF FROM THE WALL, EXPOSING ITS ROUGH BRICK TEXTURE. THE SAME WAS TRUE FOR THE PAINT LAYERS ON THE WOODEN BEAMS. FORTUNATELY, IT WAS ONLY THE APPEARANCE OF THE INTERIOR WHICH WAS IN NEED OF REPAIR, AS PETER TOLD ME THAT AT A FIRST GLANCE, THE LOAD-BEARING



STRUCTURE SEEMED TO BE STILL SUFFICIENT. HE EXPLAINED TO ME THAT THE BEAMS ARE CONNECTED TO THE BRICK WALLS BY IRON ANCHORS WHICH PREVENT THE WALLS FROM DETACHING. SINCE HE RECORDED NO DEFLECTION OF BEAMS AND THE ANCHORS WERE STILL FIRMLY NAILED TO THE BEAMS, THE LOAD-BEARING STRUCTURE SEEMED ADEQUATE. ALSO, WHEN PETER WAS WALKING OUTSIDE HE HAD NOTICED THAT THE MASONRY AROUND THE ANCHORS ON THE EXTERIOR OF THE FACADE WAS STILL INTACT, INDICATING THAT THE ANCHORS HAD NOT STARTED TO RUST OVER THE YEARS. HAD THIS HAPPENED, THEN THE ANCHORS WOULD HAVE PUSHED THE SURROUNDING MASONRY APART, AS RUSTED IRON CAN INCREASE ITS VOLUME UP TO SEVEN TIMES.

WALKING AROUND THE HOUSE, I HAD NOTICED THE FLOOR SQUEAKING BENEATH OUR FEET WITH EVERY STEP WE TOOK. IT WAS AS IF THE HOUSE WAS SIGHING OF OLD AGE AND IT WAS LETTING US KNOW OF ITS WISH TO BE RENOVATED, SO IT COULD CONTINUE TO STAND TALL IN ALL ITS GLORY FOR SEVERAL DECADES MORE.

HAVING FINALLY REACHED THE ATTIC OF THE HOUSE, IT WAS TIME FOR THE FINAL INSPECTION. STANDING IN THE ATTIC, DARKNESS AND THE FEELING OF HUMIDITY SURROUNDED US, AND THE MUSTY SMELL OF OLD DAMP WOOD THAT WE HAD BEEN SMELLING ALL DAY WAS HERE AT ITS STRONGEST. AS PETER TURNED ON THE LIGHTS, THE WOODEN STRUCTURE OF THE ROOF BECAME VISIBLE. ALTHOUGH IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE STRUCTURE WAS VERY OLD AND IN DEFINITE NEED OF MAINTENANCE, ITS PRESENCE IN SPACE WAS POWERFUL AND DEMANDED ALL OF MY ATTENTION. WHILE I WAS ADMIRING THE STRUCTURE'S BEAUTIFUL JOINTS AND THE HEIGHT IN SPACE IT HAD CREATED, PETER EXPLAINED TO ME HOW THESE ROOFS WERE CONSTRUCTED. AFTER FIRST SETTING UP THE POSTS, STEERING BEAM AND SUPPORTING STRUTS TOGETHER WITH THE 'BIJWIKELLEN', THE WALL PLATES AND BATTERS WERE PLACED BELOW THE RIDGE OF THE ROOF, A COLLAR TIE WAS SET IN PLACE. THE ULTIMATELY, AS SOON AS THIS CONSTRUCTION WAS SET IN PLACE, THE PARAPETS WERE RAISED TO A MAXIMUM OF 1M ABOVE THE ATTIC FLOOR.

LOOKING BACK AT ALL THE HARD WORK WE HAVE PUT INTO THIS HOUSE, I AM GRATEFUL FOR WE HAVE TURNED THE HOUSE INTO THE PALACE IT ONCE WED TO BE.

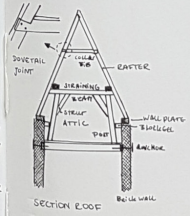


Figure 15 | Diary of Canal house owner Frank | Own image

Canal house owner Frank

The Canal Belt

Hello Diary,

Today it is 35 years ago that I bought a house in the canal belt and I had it renovated. As you probably remember, Amsterdam's city centre had fallen into disrepair during the 1970s to the mid-1980s. It was during this period in time, that the municipality of Amsterdam had plans to turn the historic city centre into an economic business centre (Duivenvoorden, 2018). By decreasing its residential function (in Dutch we call this *cityvorming*), while at the same time focusing on the construction and development of new neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city, many buildings in the historic city centre became neglected and in dire need of maintenance (Duivenvoorden, 2018). As a result, many wealthy Amsterdammers decided to move out of the Canal Belt and into the rural country side, leaving behind numerous dilapidated canal houses (Huisman, 2013). If I had to describe to you how I experienced the Canal Belt at that time, then I must tell you that it was "in a ruinous state where almost everything seemed to collapse" (AT5 extra, 2017, 01:02–01:11). Fortunately, after years of protests and riots (especially in other parts of the city), the municipality eventually decided to keep the historic city centre and its residential function (Huisman, 2013). Hence, enabling me and my present neighbours to buy and renovate canal houses and transforming the Canal Belt again into a neighbourhood of pomp and circumstance, just as it used to be in the 17th century.

In celebration of this anniversary, I have flipped through my old diary of 1985 and selected a text that best describes my experience of the state my house was in, prior to the renovation. I have written it below:

Hello Diary,

As you know I recently bought a house in the Canal Belt, located at the Prinsengracht. Today, I paid a visit to the house together with my brother-in-law Peter, who happens to be a contractor. I still remember the house's obsolete appearance when I visited it for the first time and I wanted to know what Peter's take on it was. Walking together in and around the house, I learned a great deal about the construction of these canal houses.

Strolling down the street and approaching the house from its side, I noticed the front facade was leaning forward, compared to the more recently built neighbouring house. Describing the facade's inclination as if it was standing on its tiptoes and extending its neck forward to take a look in the canal, I discussed my concern about its risk of falling over with Peter. Peter, on the other hand, laughed and said the facade's inclination was nothing to worry about. It even had a name: facade 'in flight' (Janse, 1993). Peter explained to me that in the 15th century, Amsterdam had suffered two devastating city fires and that during the second half of the 15th century, the municipality had decided to replace all wooden walls with brick walls (Janse, 1993). However, the wooden facades were built in such a way that each floor protruded about 20 cm above the floor below, in order to prevent making complicated wood joints (Janse, 1993). Replacing these facades by brick facades meant for many people loss of space (Janse, 1993). Therefore they decided to build the brick facades 'in flight': with the front facade slightly slanted forward. The advantages of this, were that infiltrating rainwater could stream out of the masonry and that furniture or goods lifted upwards would not bump into the facade or windows (Janse, 1993). Also, as Peter explained to me while holding his measuring tape 1 meter above the first floor (he was standing on a ladder we brought with us) and holding a ruler next to it, the facades were

not allowed to be inclined more than 2,5 cm per meter (Janse, 1993). Pointing to the ruler's measured distance of 2,0 cm between the façade's inclination and the tape measurer, Peter winked and said that I should not worry about the façade leaning forward.

However, what I did had to worry about were the windows. Standing in front of the big window on the ground floor, I noticed that several window panes were shattered. Ricocheted stones thrown during the riots had left web-shaped cracks on some window panes, while other stones which were thrown a little harder, had created gaps. One stone in particular had managed to damage the wooden rod supporting one of the window panes and had now a huge dent. Looking both at the window with somewhat somber faces, Peter told me that it was a pity this window was damaged, since it belongs to the oldest sash windows of Amsterdam. He explained to me that sash windows first appeared in Amsterdam around 1685 and that you can tell by the number of window panes in width how old they are (Janse, 1993). The first sash windows in Amsterdam consisted of five 20 x 25 cm window panes placed in wooden rods and only from 1750, when the quality of glass was improved and the glass panes became bigger, the amount of window panes in the sash window decreased to four panes in width (Janse, 1993). By the year 1800 this number decreased to either three or two (Janse, 1993). With five window panes in width, my window belongs to the first models. Asking Peter if the window could be repaired, he luckily answered with yes. However, we had to examine the rest of the house first, before he was going to arrange it.

Entering the house, the smell of old damp wood filled our noses as well as the dust, which was covering almost everything. You could tell that the previous owners had moved out years ago, because of the interior's desolated

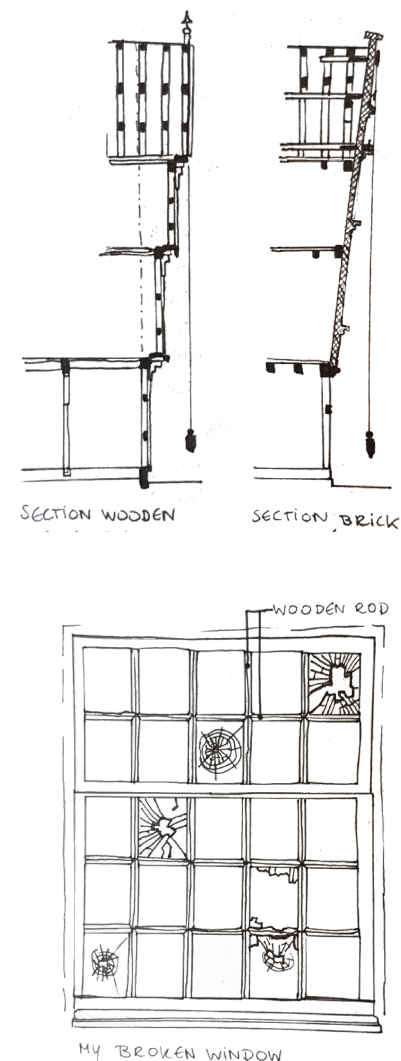


Figure 16 | Sketches of the canal house's structure, part of the narrative
| Own image

and dilapidated appearance. Where the wallpaper once graced the walls, together with the plaster layer behind it, it was now half-peeled off from the wall, exposing its rough brick texture. The same was true for the paint layers on the wooden beams. Fortunately, it was only the appearance of the interior which was in need of repair, as Peter told me that at a first glance, the load-bearing structure seemed to be still sufficient. He explained to me that the beams are connected to the brick walls by iron anchors, which prevent the walls from detaching (Janse, 1993). Since he recorded no deflection of beams and the anchors were still firmly nailed to the beams, the load-bearing structure seemed adequate. Also, when Peter was walking outside he had noticed that the masonry around the anchors on the exterior of the facade was still intact, indicating that the anchors had not started to rust over the years. Had this happened, then the anchors would have pushed the surrounding masonry apart, as rusted iron can increase its volume up to seven times (Janse, 1993).

Walking around the house, I had noticed the floor squeaking beneath our feet with every step we took. It was as if the house was sighing of old age and it was letting us know of its wish to be renovated, so it could continue to stand tall in all its glory for several decades more.

Having finally reached the attic of the house, it was time for the final inspection. Standing in the attic, darkness and the feeling of humidity surrounded us and the musty smell of old damp wood that we had been smelling all day was here at its strongest. As Peter turned on the lights, the wooden structure of the roof became visible. Although it was clear that the structure was very old and in definite need of maintenance, its presence in space was powerful and demanded all of my attention. While I was admiring the structure's beautiful wood joints and the height of space it had created, Peter explained to me how these

roofs were constructed. After first setting up the posts, straining beam and supporting struts together with the 'blokkelen', the wall plates and rafters were placed (Janse, 1993). Below the ridge of the roof, a collar tie was fixed between the rafters (Janse, 1993). Ultimately, as soon as this construction was in set in place, the parapets were raised to a maximum of 1 meter above the attic floor (Janse, 1993).

Diary, looking back on all the hard work we have put into this house, I am grateful, for we have turned the house back into the palace it once used to be.

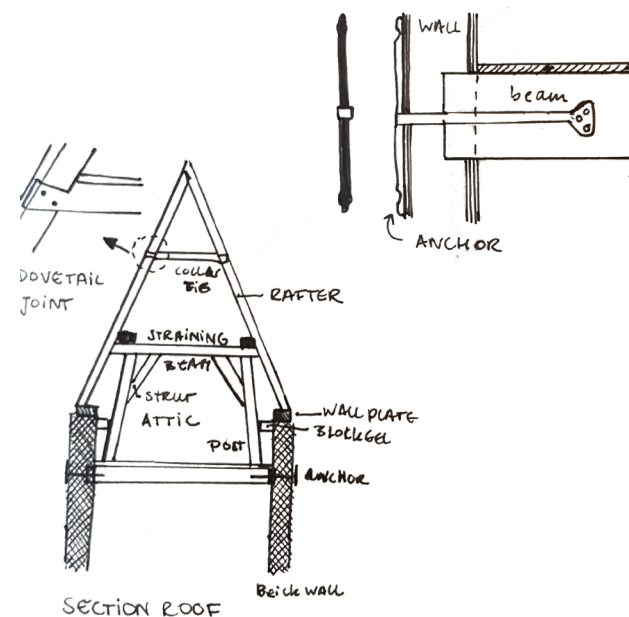


Figure 17 | Sketches of the canal house's structure, part of the narrative | Own image



Dear James,

How are you? And how are my grandchildren?
As promised I am writing to tell you about my stay in Amsterdam.
After having arrived in Amsterdam yesterday evening, I decided to
get up early in the morning and to explore the area around my hotel.
As you know, I am staying in the Hoxton Hotel which is located in
Amsterdam's Canal Belt. In the few trips that I have taken to Amsterdam
this has always been my favorite place to visit. It can be both quiet
and vibrant, depending where you are, and maybe best described to
us New Yorkers, its appearance has a kind of 'picturesque stateliness'.
I will of course explain this to you as I describe my stroll of the day.
I started my stroll at the Herengracht which is next to the '9 streets',
a vibrant shopping area consisting of 3 parallel streets that are also
split perpendicularly by the main canals. However, since it was still
early, I decided to leave the side streets for later and to enjoy the
stroll along the canals.
This early in the morning, with only a few people outside, the tranquility
of this place was palpable. The calm water of the broad canal in
comparison to the slim streets on both sides, and the many thin
trees with their green leaves swaying in the wind, gave me the
feeling as if I was walking in nature. However, it were the tall stately
houses and the streets, that reminded me that I was walking in a
city (in that sense, seeing all the cars and bicycles crammed on the
edges of street next to the canal, helped as well of course).
To me, these houses are enigmatic. Being both small and tall
vertically orientated, these houses appear higher than they are.
Their first floors are raised above the ground and in combination
with their predominant straight lines of both their dark plain
facades and their window pane grid, they appear stately and as
if they are looking down on me. Yet on the other hand, they
seem to want to cover up their strict appearance with white frames
and elegant curly ornaments. However they do this in a modest
way, as it stays at the decoration of the details, reminding me
of white lace added to the hem of a dress. With that little but
white decoration against their dark colored strict facades, it is
as if they want to show me how humble they are, but at the same

James Smith
322 W 52nd St
New York NY 10019
United States

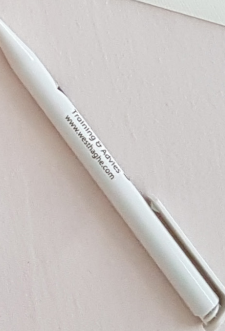


Figure 18 | Letter of the Understanding New Yorker about the Canal Belt
| Own image

Understanding New Yorker

The Canal Belt

Dear James,

How are you my son? And how are my grandchildren?

As promised I am writing you to tell you about my stay in Amsterdam.

After having arrived in Amsterdam yesterday evening, I decided to get up early this morning and to explore the area around my hotel. As you know, I am staying in the Hoxton Hotel which is located in Amsterdam's Canal Belt. In the few trips that I have taken to Amsterdam, this has always been my favorite place to visit. It can be both quiet and vibrant, depending where you are, and maybe best described for us new Yorkers, it's appearance has a kind of 'picturesque stateliness'. I will of course explain this to you, as I describe my stroll of the day.

I started my stroll at the Herengracht which is next to the '9 streets', a vibrant shopping area consisting of 3 parallel streets that are also split perpendicularly by the main canals. However, since it was still early, I decided to leave the side streets for later, and enjoy my stroll along the canals. This early in the morning, with only still a few people outside, the tranquility of this place is palpable. The calm water of the broad canal in comparison to the slim streets on both sides, and the many thin trees with their green leaves swaying in the wind, gave me the feeling as if I was walking in nature. However, it were the tall stately houses with their many (many!) windows and the brick appearance of both the houses and the streets, that reminded me that I was walking in a city (in that sense, seeing all the cars and bicycles crammed on the edges of the street next to the canal, help as well of course). To me, these house are enigmatic James. Being both small and tall and vertically orientated, these houses appear higher than they are. Their first floors are raised above the ground and in

combination with the predominant straight lines of both their dark plain facades and their window pane grid, they appear stately and as if they are looking down on me. Yet on the other hand, they seem to want to cover up their strict appearance with white frames and elegant curly ornaments. However they do this in a modest way, as it stays at the decoration of the details, reminding me of white lace added to the hem of a dress. With that little but white decoration against their dark colored strict facades, it is as if they want to show me how humble they are, but at the same slyly want to showcase their beauty. I also noticed this contradiction in how they present their interiors to me. On the one hand, they do not seem to want to reveal their secrets to me because of their windows being so highly placed above the ground, yet on the other hand, they are begging for my attention with their curtains open and their window panes framing their wealth inside.

Walking back towards the 9 streets, having crossed many bridges, I noticed all the houseboats they have here in the canals. They are either old looking cargo ships or wooden floating bungalows and most of them have created their own gardens by placing plant pots on top of their roofs or annexing the streets. It all looks like a bit of a cute cozy mess to me. I wonder what living there must be like. Do you think they would feel separated from the rest of the streets, or would it more feel like a small oasis? I was unable to find out, since I didn't see any houseboat residents outside.

Having arrived back at the 9 streets around lunch time, this part of town has become vibrant. Both tourists and residents are roaming the streets and cyclists are rushing by, with their bells ringing and their chain locks bouncing. Like I said before, it is a vibrant and picturesque area, consisting of a mixture of charming boutiques, art galleries and some nice restaurants and cafes, behind authentic but painted wooden shop fronts. Public life is different here, when compared to the streets along the canals, however you can tell that both parts of this Canal Belt neighborhood are all about enjoyment.

So, as I am ending my letter, that is what I am going to do now James and it is also what you should be doing now. I will leave it to you, and I will speak to you when I will write my next letter.

With all the love,

Mom



Figure 19 | Instagram posts of the Italian Influencers about the Canal Belt
| Own image

Italian Influencers

The Canal Belt



Figure 20 | Instagram post about experiencing Amsterdam from the water | Own image



Figure 21 | Instagram post about the Canal Belt's courtyards | Own image

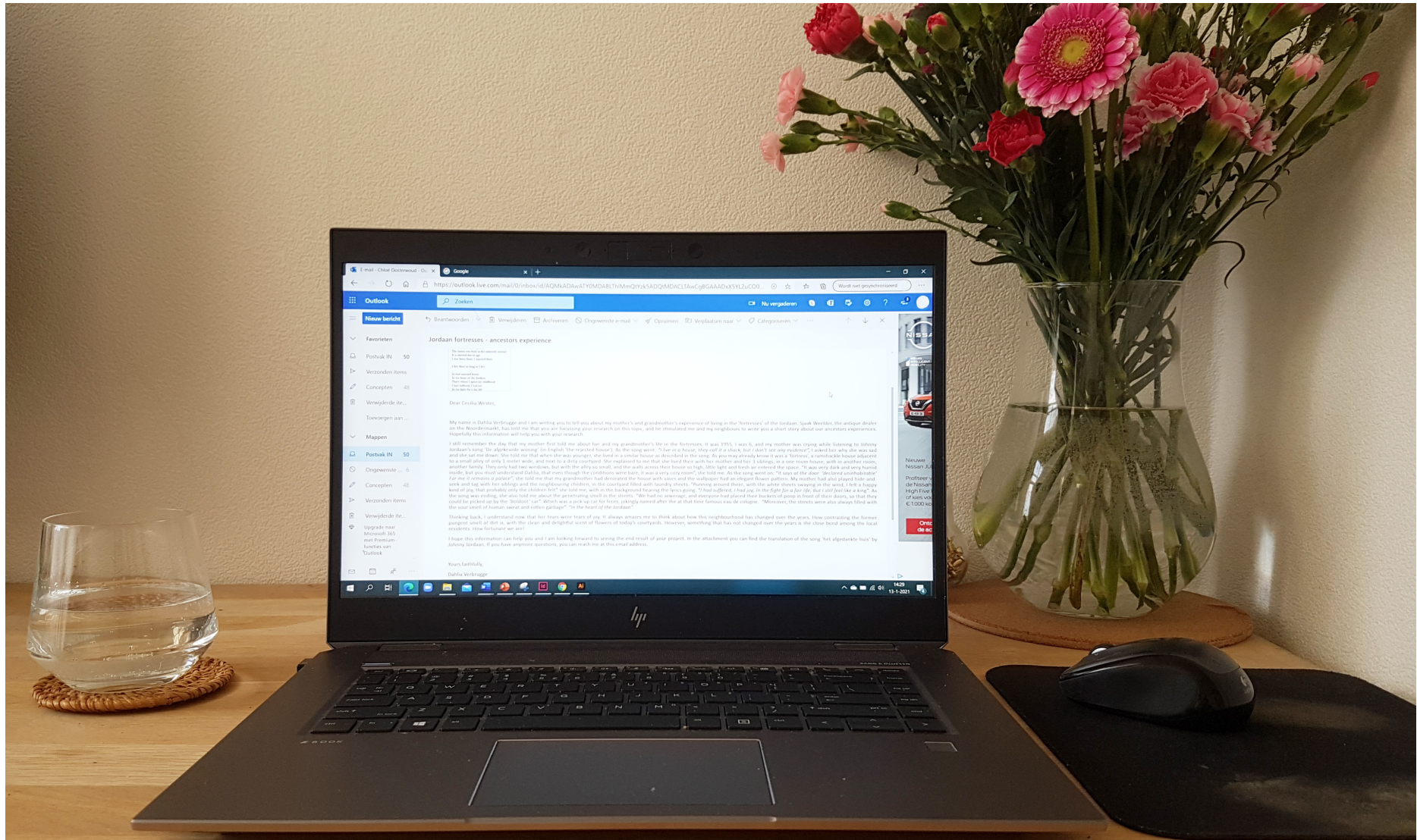


Figure 22 | Email of Fortress resident Dahlia | Own image

Fortress resident Dahlia

The Jordaan

Dear Cecilia Wester,

My name is Dahlia Verbrugge and I am writing you to tell you about my mother's and grandmother's experience of living in the 'fortresses' of the Jordaan. Sjaak Weelder, the antique dealer on the Noordermarkt, has told me that you are focussing your research on this topic, and he stimulated me and my neighbours to write you a short story about our ancestors experiences. Hopefully this information will help you with your research.

I still remember the day that my mother first told me about her and my grandmother's life in the fortresses. It was 1955, I was 6, and my mother was crying while listening to Johnny Jordaan's song *De Afgekeurde Woning* (1955) (in English 'the rejected house'). As the song went: "*I live in a house, they call it a shack, but I don't see any evidence*", I asked her why she was sad and she sat me down. She told me that when she was younger, she lived in a similar house as described in the song. As you may already know it was a 'fortress', a ramshackle house adjacent to a small alley of only 1 meter wide, and next to a dirty courtyard (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020). She explained to me that she lived there with her mother and her 3 siblings, in a one-room house, with in another room, another family. They only had two windows, but with the alley so small, and the walls across their house so high, little light and fresh air entered the space (Jordaan Museum, 2020). "It was very dark and very humid inside, but you must understand Dahlia, that even though the conditions were bare, it was a very cosy room", she told me. As the song went on: "*It says at the door: 'declared uninhabitable' For me it remains a palace*", she told me that my grandmother had decorated the house with vases and the wallpaper had an elegant flower pattern (Weismüller, 1895a). My mother had also played hide-and-seek and tag with

her siblings and the neighbouring children, in the courtyard filled with laundry sheets (Weismüller, 1895b). "Running around there, with the white sheets swaying in the wind, I felt a happy kind of joy, that probably only the children felt" she told me, with in the background hearing the lyrics going: "*I had suffered, I had joy, In the fight for a fair life, But I still feel like a king*". As the song was ending, she also told me about the penetrating smell in the streets. "We had no sewerage, and everyone had placed their buckets of poop in front of their doors, so that they could be picked up by the 'Boldoot' car" (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020). Which she then explained to me was a pick-up car for faeces, jokingly named after the at that time famous eau de cologne (Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 2019). "Moreover, the streets were also always filled with the sour smell of human sweat and rotten garbage". "*In the heart of the Jordaan*".

Thinking back, I understand now that her tears were tears of joy. It always amazes me to think about how this neighbourhood has changed over the years. How contrasting the former pungent smell of dirt is, with the clean and delightful scent of flowers of today's courtyards. However, something that has not changed over the years is the close bond among the local residents. How fortunate we are!

I hope this information can help you and I am looking forward to seeing the end result of your project. If you have any more questions, you can reach me at this email address.

Yours faithfully,

Dahlia Verbrugge

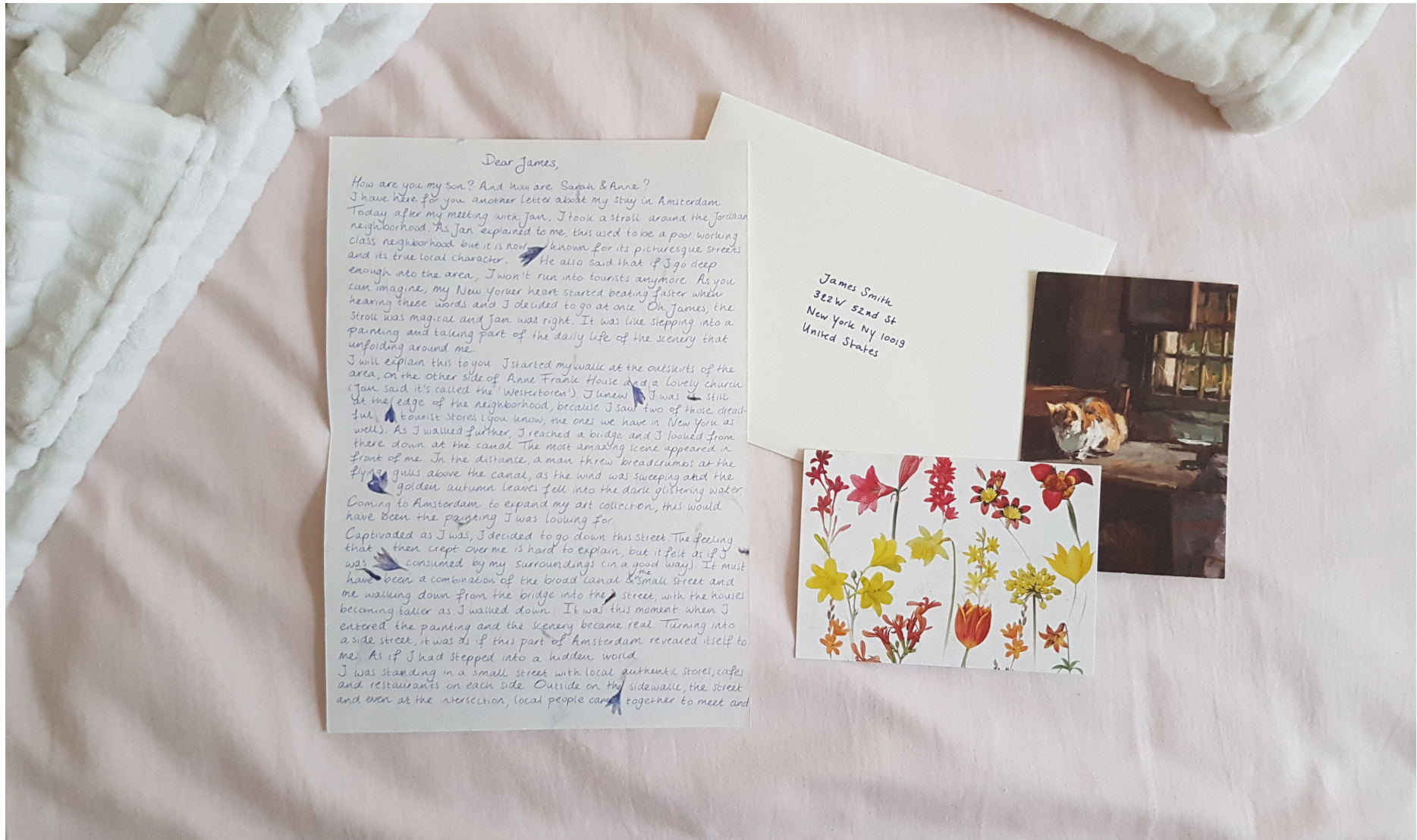


Figure 23 | Letter of the Understanding New Yorker about the Jordaan
| Own image

Understanding New Yorker

The Jordaan

Dear James,

How are my son? And how are Sarah and Anne?

I have here for you another letter about my stay in Amsterdam. Today after my meeting with Jan, I took a stroll around the Jordaan neighborhood. As Jan explained to me, this used to be a poor working class neighborhood but it is now known for its picturesque streets and its true local character. He also said that if I go deep enough into the area, I won't run into tourists anymore. As you can imagine, my new Yorker heart started beating faster when hearing these words and I decided to go at once. Oh James, the stroll was magical and Jan was right. It was like stepping into a painting and taking part of the daily life of the scenery that was unfolding around me. I will explain this to you.

I started my walk at the outskirts of the area, on the other side of the Anne Frank House and a lovely church (Jan said it's called the 'Westertoren'). I knew I was still at the edge of the neighborhood, because I saw two of those dreadful tourists stores (you know, the ones we have in NYC as well). As I walked further, I reached a bridge and I looked from there down at the canal. The most amazing scene appeared in front of me. In the distance, a man threw breadcrumbs at the flying gulls above the canal, as the wind was sweeping and the golden autumn leaves fell into the dark glistening water. Coming to Amsterdam to expand my art collection, this would have been the painting I was looking for.

Captivated as I was, I decided to go down this street. The feeling that then crept over me is hard to explain, but it felt as if I was consumed by my surroundings (in a good way). It must have been a combination of the broad canal & the small street and me walking down from the bridge into the street, with the houses

becoming taller as I walked down. It was this moment when I entered the painting and the scenery became real. Turning into a side street, it was as if this part of Amsterdam revealed itself to me. As if I had stepped into a hidden world.

I was standing in a small street with local authentic stores, cafes and restaurants on each side. Outside on the sidewalk, the street and even the intersection, people (locals) came together to meet and talk. Some of them even spoke to me. It was as if the quiet canal streets on the outside of the Jordaan were protecting the cozy narrow inner streets from outsiders by creating the appearance that nothing else is happening there; while actually this inner world is where life takes place, and only the ones who are eager enough to enter will discover it.

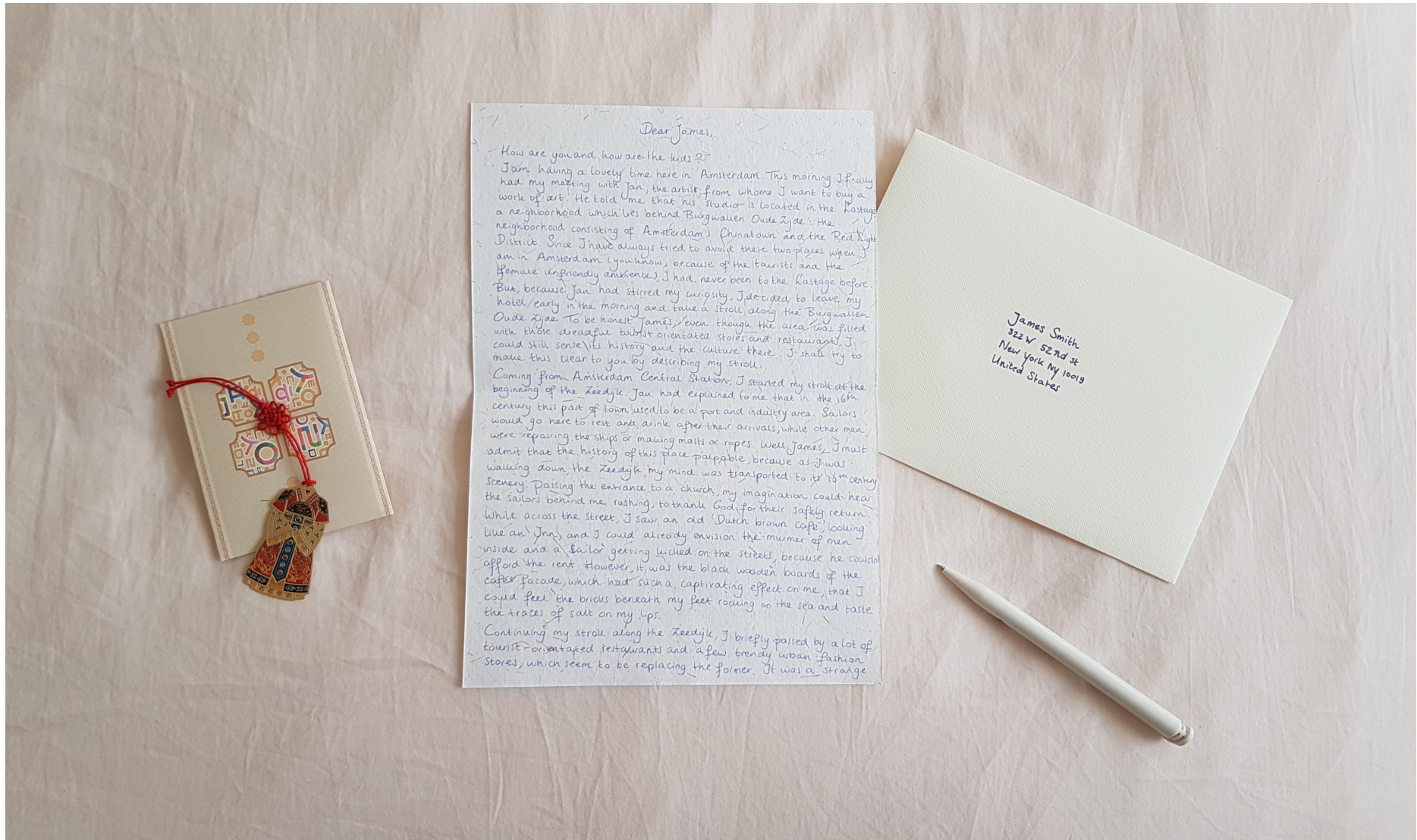
As I continued my stroll, I discovered more and more of these hidden worlds. Looking into the interior of the houses (Dutch people seem to not use curtains, don't ask me why James, I don't know why) I noticed a lot of wooden stairs leading to entresols. I also came across a store with a spare back display and he had used it to build a wooden miniature version of a part of Amsterdam (as I understood it was a toy store for mice...). But the most wonderful hidden place I stumbled upon was a big courtyard filled with plants and flowers. It was hidden behind one of the quieter side streets and as I entered I was introduced to an oasis of stillness & greenery. It was lovely!

I must have sat there for at least half an hour, until a lady around my age sat down next to me and we started to talk about the greenery of the Jordaan (James I am serious, they have plants and pots everywhere. Even the facades are covered with plants). Dahlia, the lady, told me that in this neighborhood all the streets are named after flowers and plants and that rumor has it that the name 'Jordaan' comes from the French word 'jardin', which means garden (Janse, 1993).

All the love,

Mom

PS.: I am sending you some postcards as well! Please give them to Sarah for me, I know she collects them. Tell her that they reminded me of the hidden inner worlds & the flowers of the Jordaan! Funny story, I even came across the same cat. It was following me when I was walking down the streets with all the stores.



Dear James,

How are you and how are the kids? I'm having a lovely time here in Amsterdam. This morning I finally had my meeting with Jan, the artist, from whom I want to buy a work of art. He told me that his studio is located in the Rastage, a neighborhood which lies behind Burgwallen Oude Zijde: the neighborhood consisting of Amsterdam's Chinatown and the Red Light District. Since I have always tried to avoid these two places when I am in Amsterdam (you know, because of the tourists and the female friendly ambience), I had never been to the Rastage before. But, because Jan had stirred my curiosity, I decided to leave my hotel early in the morning and take a stroll along the Burgwallen Oude Zijde. To be honest James, even though the area was filled with those dreadful tourist orientated stores and restaurants, I could still sense its history and the culture there. I shall try to make this clear to you by describing my stroll.

Coming from Amsterdam Central Station, I started my stroll at the beginning of the Zeedijk. Jan had explained to me that in the 16th century this part of town used to be a port and industry area. Sailors would go here to rest and drink after their arrivals, while other men were repairing the ships or mending masts or ropes. Well James, I must admit that the history of this place is palpable, because as I was walking down the Zeedijk, my mind was transported to its 16th century scenery. Passing the entrance to a church, my imagination could hear the sailors behind me, rushing, to thank God for their safety return. While across the street, I saw an old Dutch brown cafe, looking like an Inn, and I could already envision the murmur of men inside and a sailor getting lashed on the streets, because he could not afford the rent. However, it was the black wooden boards of the cafe's facade, which had such a captivating effect on me, that I could feel the boards beneath my feet rocking on the sea and taste the traces of salt on my lips.

Continuing my stroll along the Zeedijk, I briefly passed by a lot of tourist orientated restaurants and a few trendy urban fashion stores, which seem to be replacing the former. It was a strange

James Smith
 322 W 52nd St
 New York NY 10019
 United States

Figure 24 | Letter of the Understanding New Yorker about the Burgwallen Oude Zijde | Own image

Understanding New Yorker

Burgwallen Oude Zijde

Dear James,

How are you and the kids?

I am having a lovely time here in Amsterdam. This morning, I finally had my meeting with Jan, the artist from whom I want to buy a work of art. He told me that his studio is located in the Lastage, a neighborhood which lies behind Burgwallen Oude Zijde: the neighbourhood consisting of Amsterdam's Chinatown and the Red Light District. Since I have always tried to avoid these two places when I am in Amsterdam (you know, because of the tourists and the female-unfriendly ambience), I had never been to the Lastage before. But, because Jan had stirred my curiosity, I decided to leave my hotel early in the morning and take a stroll along the Burgwallen Oude Zijde. To be honest James, even though the area was filled with those dreadful tourist orientated stores and restaurants, I could still sense its history and the culture there. I shall try to make this clear to you by describing my stroll. Coming from Amsterdam Central Station, I started my stroll at the beginning of the Zeedijk. Jan had explained to me that in the 16th century, this part of town used to be a port and industry area. Sailors would go here to rest and drink after their arrivals, while other men were repairing the ships or making masts or ropes. As mentioned before, I must admit that the history of this place was palpable, because as I was walking down the Zeedijk, my mind was transported to its 16th century scenery. Passing the entrance to a church, my imagination could hear the sailors behind me, rushing, to thank God for their safely return. While across the street, I saw an old 'Dutch brown café', looking like an Inn, and I could already envision the murmur of men inside and a sailor getting kicked on the streets, because he couldn't afford the rent. However, it was the black wooden boards of the café's façade, which had such a

captivating effect on me, that I could feel the bricks beneath my feet rocking on the sea and taste the traces of salt on my lips. Continuing my stroll along the Zeedijk, I briefly passed by a lot of tourist-orientated restaurants and a few trendy urban fashion stores, which seem to be replacing the former. It was a strange sight, like this part of the street had not yet decided what it wanted to be. But before I could think about what the identity of this place was, the scenery changed again.

Where the facades of the stores were initially white with black window frames, they suddenly changed their color to either yellow, red or green and were now decorated with Chinese rooftiles or golden ornaments. Entering one of the stores to buy a snack, my nose was filled with the smell of spices, which smell were just as colorful and strong like the facades in the street. Walking further, I passed by a big Chinese temple, which was compared to the buildings across the street, the size of 5 buildings next to each other. The temple appeared to me as a solid yellow building with some of its volumes pushed back and had three grand arches as entrances while being decorated with red Chinese rooftiles. Yet, while it might sound to you James like it doesn't belong between the small historic brick houses of Amsterdam, somehow it does.

Having reached the end of the Zeedijk street, I have ended up at the Nieuwmarkt square. Behind this square lies the Lastage neighborhood. As I walk across the square, I can see market vendors setting up their stalls; their white tarpaulins swaying in the wind, like the sails of the 16th century ships must have done ages ago.

Thinking back at that moment, as I am now writing both the letters of the Burgwallen Oude Zijde and the Lastage, I cannot help but smile. Because James, knowing now what I am about to experience next, these white tarpaulins represent for me as fresh white canvases on which the colors of the Lastage neighborhood have yet to be painted on.

With all the love,

Mom

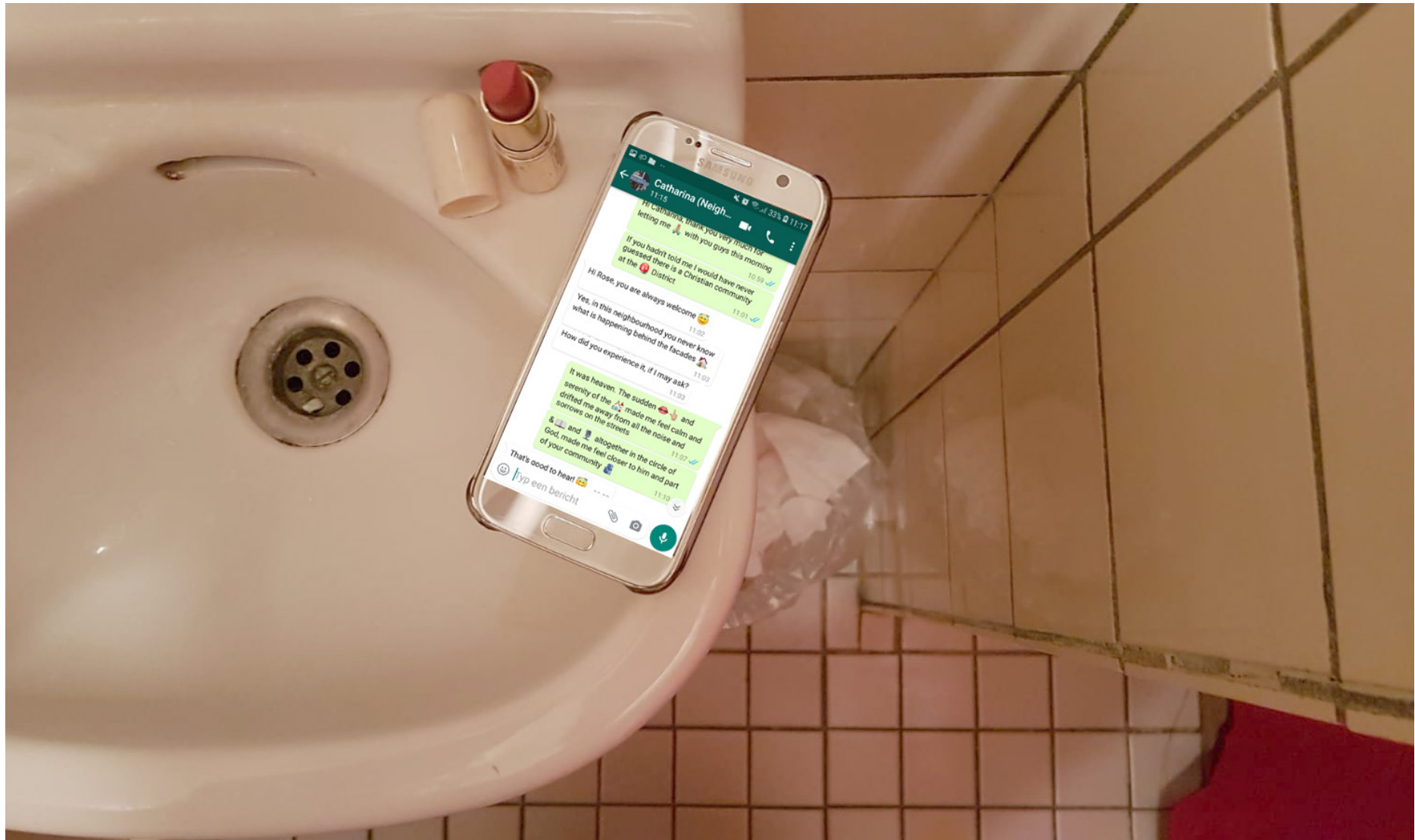


Figure 25 | Whatsapp messages from Prostitute Rose | Own image

Prostitute Rose

Burgwallen Oude Zijde

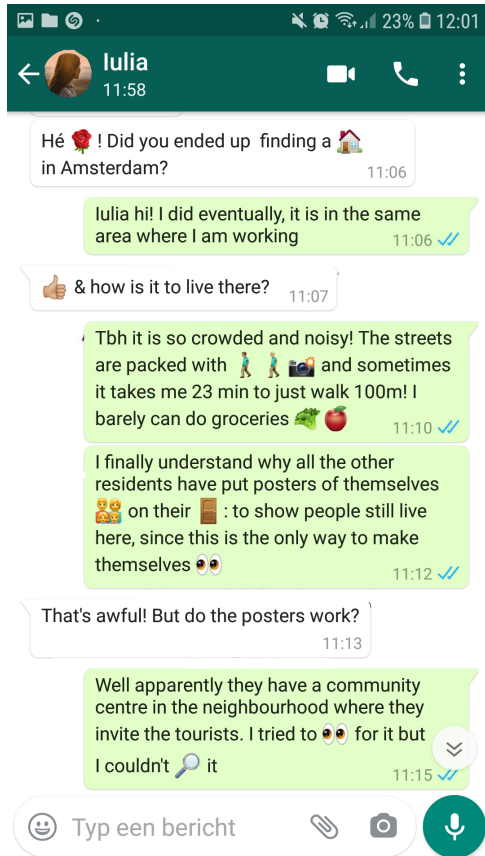


Figure 26 | Whatsapp messages with old friend Iulia about the experience of living in the Red Light District | Own image

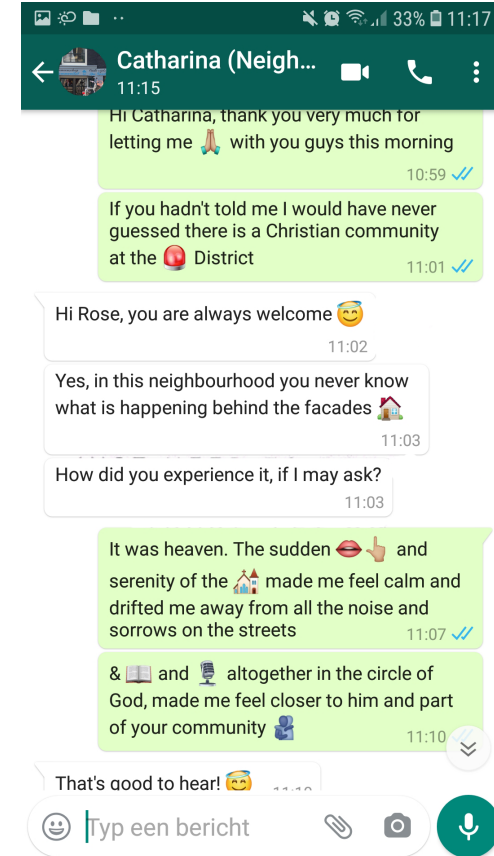


Figure 27 | Whatsapp messages with neighbour Catharina about a hidden Christian community in the Red Light District | Own image

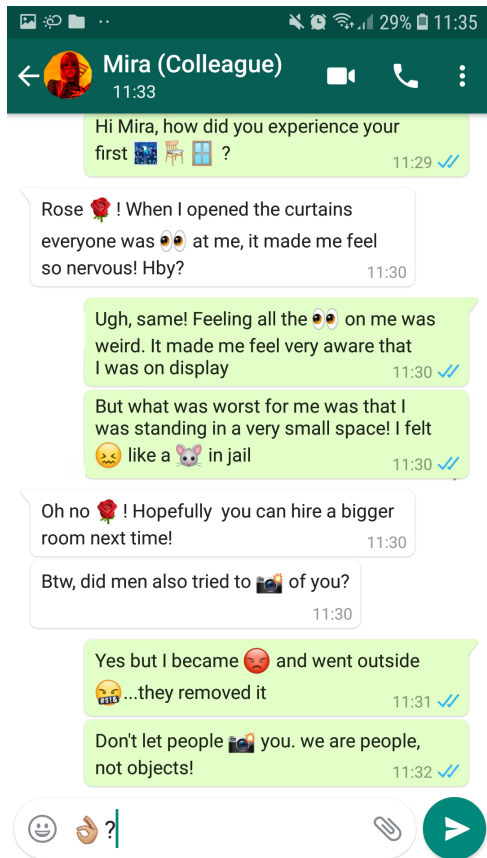


Figure 28 | Whatsapp messages with colleague Mira about the experience of working behind the windows in the Red Light District | Own image



Figure 29 | Beer coasters of the English group of friends | Own image

English group of friends

Burgwallen Oude Zijde

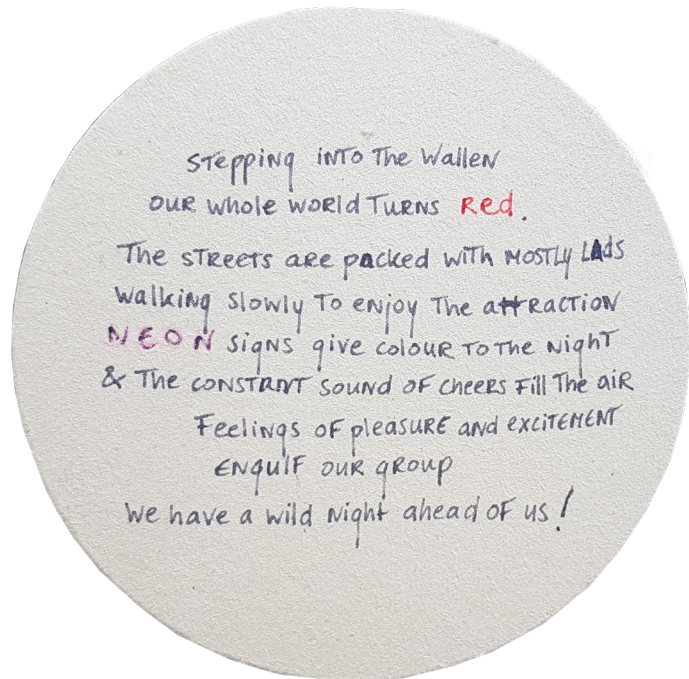


Figure 30 | Beer coaster of Charlie | Own image

Stepping into the Wallen, our whole world turns red. The streets are packed with mostly lads, walking slowly to enjoy the attraction. Neon signs give colour to the night and the constant sounds of cheers fill the air (Norma Robbie, 2019). Feelings of pleasure and excitement engulf our group. We have a wiiiild night ahead of us!

- Charlie, entering the Red Light District.

Ordering liquid gold,
money flows like our beers.
We are chanting and cheering
as the world around us begins to spin.

- Bradley, inside a bar.

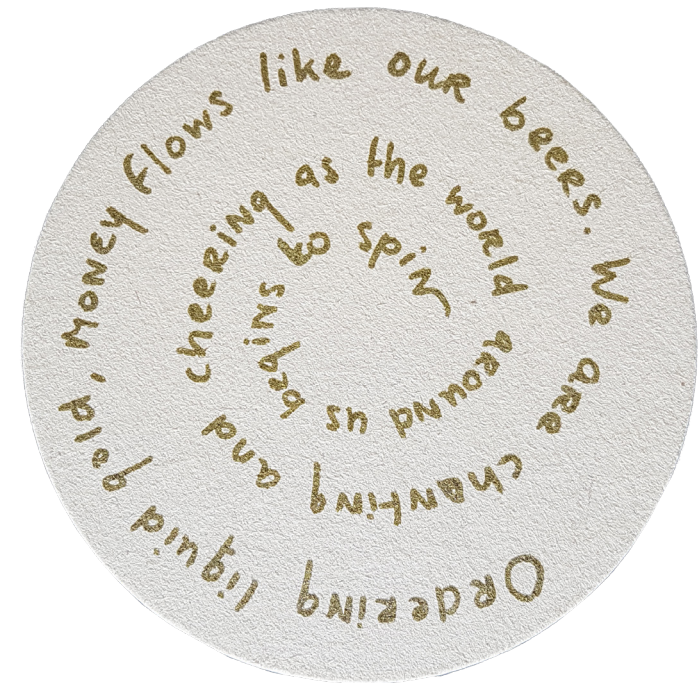


Figure 31 | Beer coaster of Bradley | Own image

Escaping the action to a place of relaxation.
Sitting on the softest cushions, a mist of smoke hangs in the air.
Inhaling deep, my pupils widen.
A new world presents itself to us.

- Lewis, in the coffeeshop *The Bulldog* no. 90.

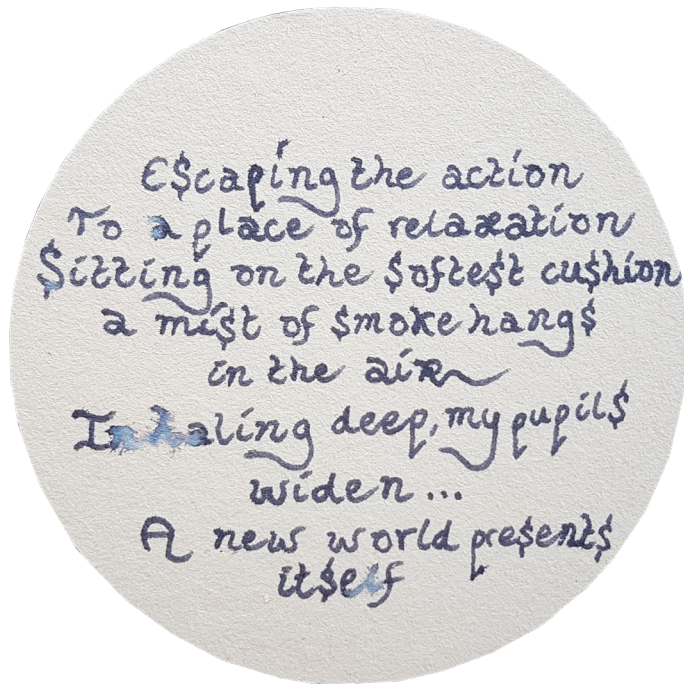


Figure 32 | Beer coaster Lewis | Own image

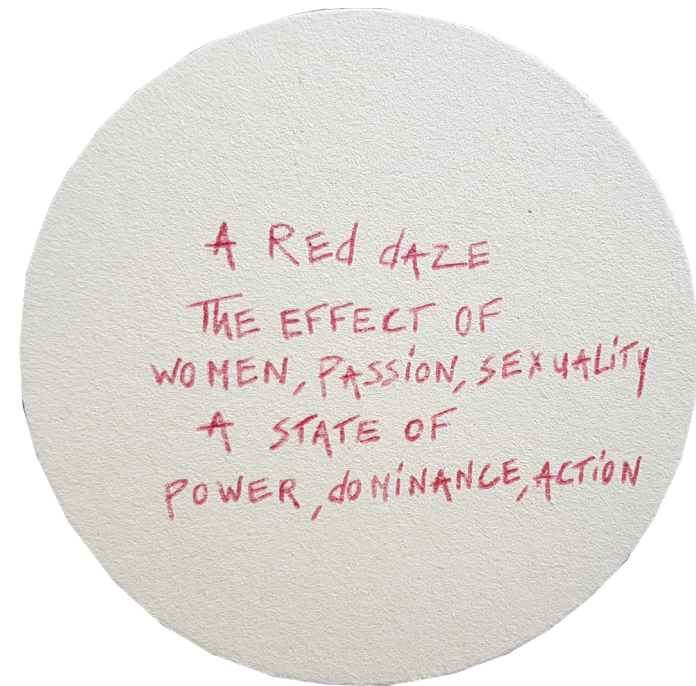


Figure 33 | Beer coaster of Charlie | Own image

A red daze.
The effect of
Women, passion, sexuality.
A state of
power, dominance & action.

- Turner, walking in around the Red Light District.

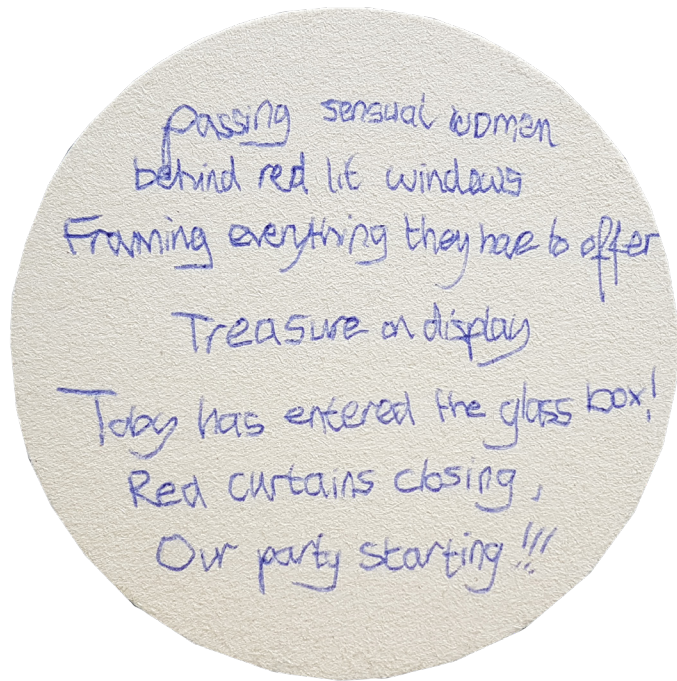


Figure 34 | Beer coaster of Tom | Own image

Passing sensual women behind red-lit windOoows. Framing Eeverything what they have to offer. Treasure on displaayyyy. Toby has entered the glass box! Red curtains closing. Our party startingggg!

- Tom, standing in an alley in front of a window.

Smooth tiles and harsh pink light.
Mirrors placed around the latex mattress (VICE, 2019a).
For what should be a warm intention,
such a sterile sight.

- Toby, inside a working room, part 1.

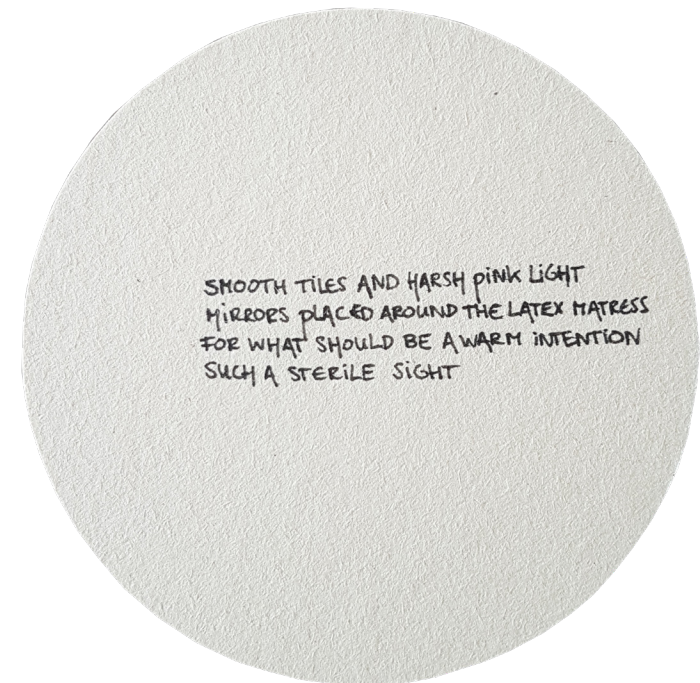


Figure 35 | Beer coaster Toby, part 1 | Own image

Hand on my upper leg.
Fulfilling my unmet need:
talking about my problems (Burgess, 2020).
Sharing intimacy with a stranger.

- *Toby, inside a working room, part 2.*

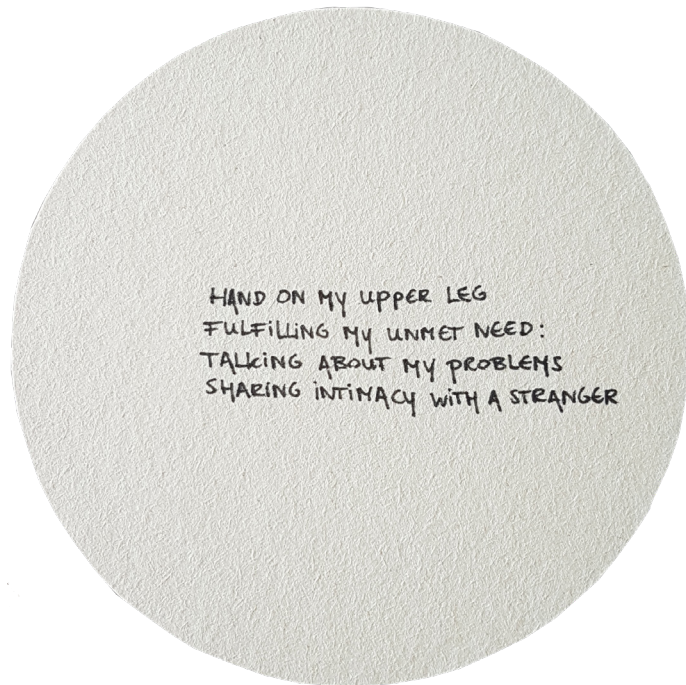


Figure 36 | Bear coaster Toby, part 2 | Own image

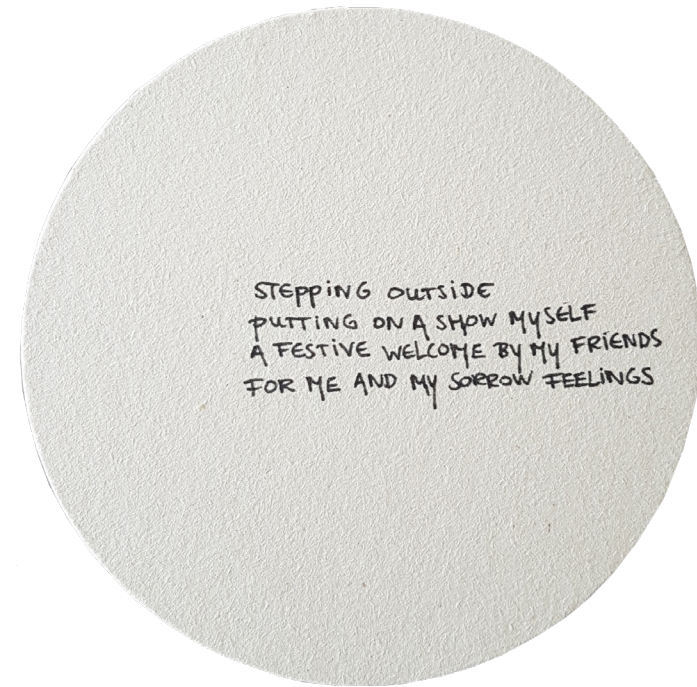


Figure 37 | Beer coaster of Toby, part 3 | Own image

Stepping outside,
putting on a show myself.
A festive welcome by my friends,
for me and my sorrow feelings.

- *Toby, inside a working room, part 3.*

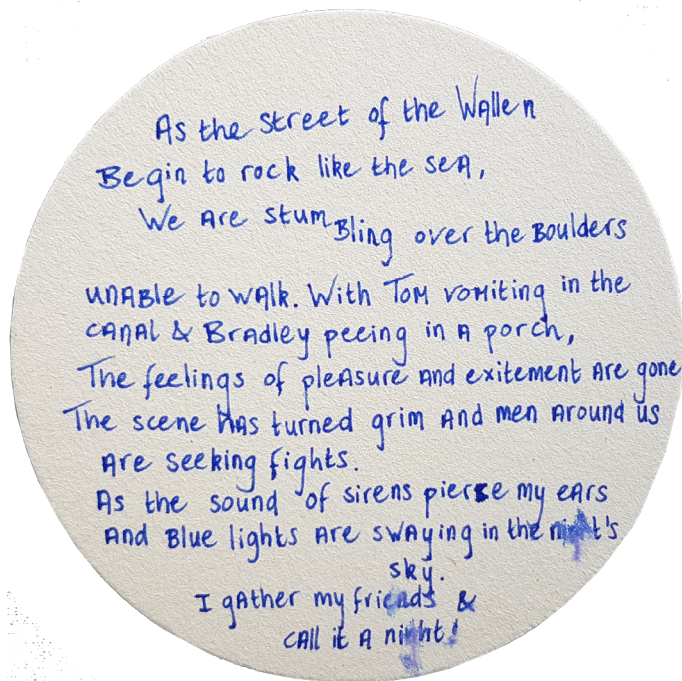


Figure 38 | Beer coaster of Alfie | Own image

As the streets of the Wallen begin to rock like the sea, we are stumbling over the boulders, unable to walk. With Tom vomiting in the canal and Bradley peeing in a porch, the feelings of pleasure and excitement are gone. The scene has turned grim and men around us are seeking fights (Damen & Pen, 2016). As the sound of sirens pierce my ears and blue lights are swaying in the night's sky, I gather my friends and decide to call it a night.

- Alfie, later in the evening outside on the streets of the Red Light District.

End of the night, start of the morning.
The show is over, when cleaning ladies are entering the stage.
As the sun rises, we go to bed.

- Gary, hostel The Flying Pig

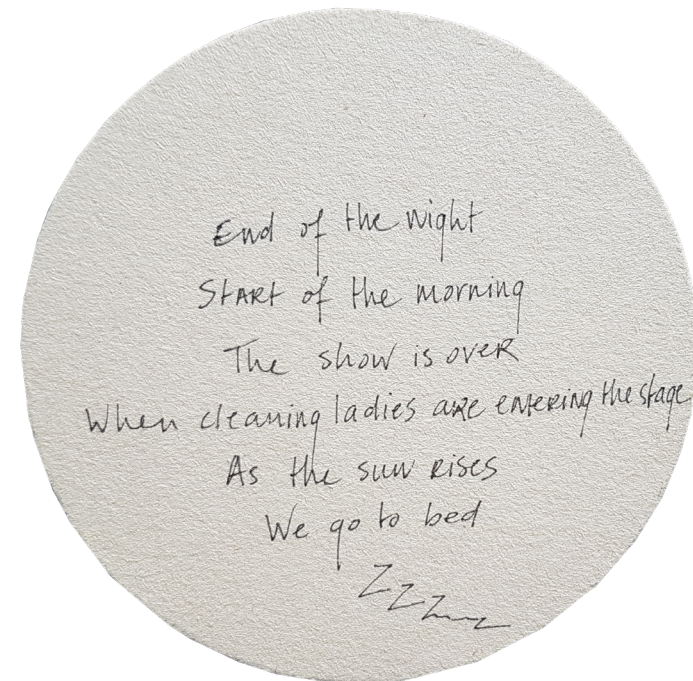


Figure 39 | Beer coaster of Gary | Own image



Figure 40 | Instagram posts of the Italian Influencers about the Burgwallen Oude Zijde | Own image

Italian Influencers

Burgwallen Oude Zijde



Figure 41 | Instagram post about Burgwallen Oude Zijde's Chinatown | Own image



Figure 42 | Instagram post about visiting a sexshow in the Red Light District | Own image



Dear James,

How are you and Sarah and Anne?
I hope you enjoyed my letters about my strolls around Amsterdam for this is my last one before I head back to the States to see your lovely faces again. My time here in Amsterdam has been wonderful and I really enjoyed getting to know all the places I have visited. One truly learns from just walking around and observing. For my last stroll I visited the neighborhood Lastage where I went to to have my meeting with Jan. Visiting the Lastage was like stepping into a Wes Anderson film. The facades' abundance of bright colors and the residents' visible passion and creativity made me feel cheerful and optimistic. However, as is always the case in a Wes Anderson film, a certain melancholy could also be felt throughout the neighborhood which I couldn't seem to shake off. As usual, I will explain this to you while describing my stroll.
Coming from the Nieuwmarkt and entering the bustling Sint Antoniebreestraat (which is the main street of the Lastage) it surprised me how different this neighborhood looked in comparison to the other parts of Amsterdam that I have visited. Where normally the old small modest brick canal houses characterize the streets of Amsterdam, in the Sint Antoniebreestraat it are the 1980's brightly colored apartment blocks with arcades on the street level. Here rich colors of blue and green, and softer tones of yellow and pink seem to be dripping off the facades, balustrades and window frames, as if someone had splashed buckets of paint over them and colored each building in with its own color palette. It was in this way that the buildings were introducing themselves to me as if they were the outside of a Wes Anderson set, each containing their own scene or telling their own story inside.
One building in particular that represents this description well, was actually the first building I saw when I entered the street. Its facade consisted of earth-toned brown masonry on the street level, while displaying pastel yellow colored bricks on its upper floors. This, in combination with the leafy green & warm-toned oily yellow window frames, the building reminded me of a field of sunflowers in the morning. Just the reminder of such a field, made me feel happy and free.

James Smith
322W 52nd St
New York NY 10019
United States



Figure 43 | Letter of the Understanding New Yorker about the Lastage
| Own image

Understanding New Yorker

The Lastage

Dear James,

How are you? And how are Sarah and Anne?

I hope you enjoyed my letters about my strolls around Amsterdam, for this is my last one before I head back to the States to see your lovely faces again. My time here in Amsterdam has been wonderful and I really enjoyed getting to know all the places I have visited. One truly learns from just walking around and observing. For my last stroll I visited the neighborhood Lastage where I went to, to have my meeting with Jan. Visiting the Lastage was like stepping into a Wes Anderson film. The facades' abundance of bright colors and the residents' visible passion and creativity made me feel cheerful and optimistic. However, as is always the case in a Wes Anderson film, a certain melancholy could also be felt throughout the neighborhood which I couldn't seem to shake off. As usual, I will explain this to you while describing my stroll.

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Strolling further down the Sint Antoniebreestraat, I came across other brick buildings with their windows frames, doors and balustrades colored in, in different tones of yellow, blue and green. And although this colorful spectacle looked cheerful at first glance, if you looked closer, it was noticeable that the materials of these buildings were cheap and it seemed as if these buildings were erected quickly and without love. Looking then at these buildings from this colder perspective, the colors of the components looked more as if they were applied by the residents themselves to brighten up the neighborhood's collective experience of this place. Thinking of this action, whether it was true or not, I felt a certain kind of melancholy was over me.

However James, the collective creativity that the residents of this neighborhood share and display with joy is admirable. Coming across a (as I believe Sarah would call this color) 'millennial' pink building, I noticed an art project of one of Lastage's residents hanging on the columns of the building's arcade. The idea that one could make art and put it on display in

the public space of one's own neighborhood, I find just wonderful. Also, this wasn't the only art work I had encountered. Throughout my stroll around the Lastage, I had noticed many artworks that actually contributed to the sets and the stories these buildings and places were displaying. For instance, I had seen a mural of tropical birds in nature and colorful mosaic street tiles, that had transformed the adjected quiet courtyard into a somewhat tropical park, before my mind's eye. Just as well, the sound of a waterfall installation I had encountered at a square with a 17th century church and storehouses, transported me back to the time when this neighborhood was still a harbor area.

Having reached the end of the Sint Antoniebreestraat, I noticed how many of these 1980's buildings made a distinction between the public and private sphere. Where most of the public spaces such as stores were situated on the street level, private spaces such as apartments were located on the higher levels. While this might sound normal to us James, to me this phenomena was very striking, since in the other parts of Amsterdam that I have visited, one has to literally stand in front of the window to uncover whether the interior space of a building's first floor is a store or a living room. Also noticeable was how the buildings seemed to shift their volumes as they got higher. Like protruding stacked blocks the private building volumes seemed to shift forward, as if they wanted both to be private and to have a view of public life.

Walking around other parts of the Lastage on my way to Jan's atelier, I see how here as well old brick canal houses are interspersed with pastel colored buildings with colorful window frames. Also quirky attributes like the handlebars of a bicycle serving as a doorknob make an appearance. With this, I think I can conclude that the Lastage is a mix of many sets and stories that at first glance can make it difficult to understand this neighborhood's identity. However, I believe James, that it actually is the collective creative freedom of the neighborhood's residents, that define the Lastage as it is.

With all the love and see you soon,

Mom

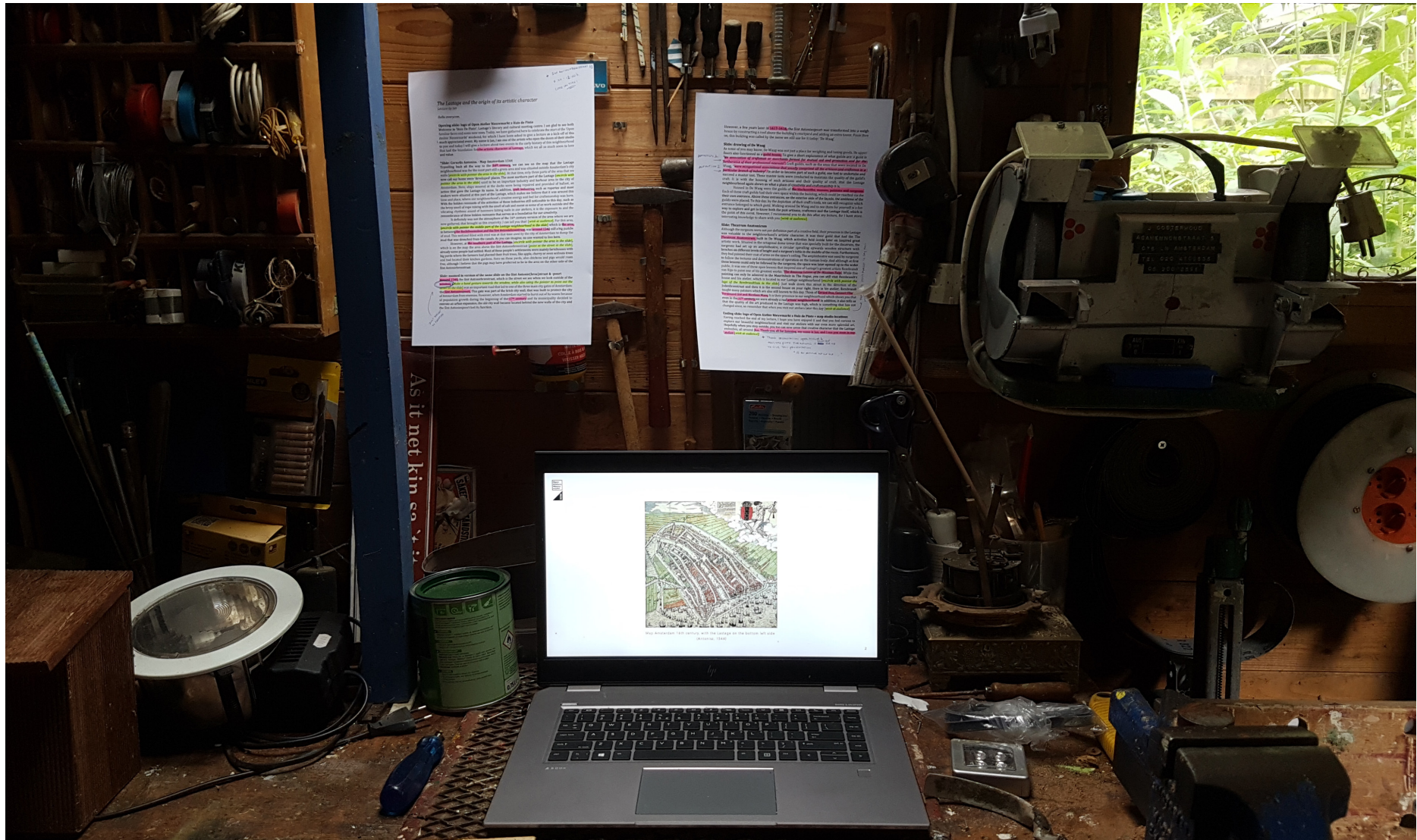


Figure 44 | Lecture presentation of Artist Jan | Own image

Artist Jan

The Lastage

Hello everyone,

Opening slide: logo of Open Atelier Nieuwmarkt x Huis de Pinto

Welcome in 'Huis De Pinto', Lastage's literary and cultural meeting centre. I am glad to see both familiar faces and some new ones. Today, we have gathered here to celebrate the start of the 'Open Atelier Nieuwmarkt' weekend, for which I have been asked to give a lecture as a kick-off of this much appreciated event. My name is Jan, I am one of the artists who open the doors of their studio to you and today I will give a lecture about two events in the early history of this neighbourhood that laid the foundation for the artistic character of Lastage, which we all so much seem to love and value.

***Slide: Cornelis Antonisz. - Map Amsterdam 1544**

Travelling back all the way to the 16th century, we can see on the map that the Lastage neighbourhood was for the most part still a green area and was situated outside Amsterdam's city walls [encircle with pointer the area in the slide]. At that time, only three parts of the area that we now call our home were 'developed' places. The most northern part of the Lastage [encircle with pointer the area in the slide] used to be an important industry and harbour area to the city of Amsterdam. Here, ships moored at the docks were being repaired and provided of ballast, an action that gave the Lastage its name. In addition, craft industries such as roperies and mast makers were situated at this part of the Lastage, which makes me believe that it was around this time and place, where our neighbourhood's creative energy and feel for craftsmanship was born. With the hidden remnants of the activities of these industries still noticeable to this day, such as the briny smell of rope mixing with the smell of salt and sweat as some of us work outside and the vibrating rhythmic sound of hammers hitting nails

in our ateliers, it is the exposure to and the remembrance of these hidden remnants that serves as a foundation for our creativity.

It definitely was not the atmosphere of the 16th century version of the area where we are now gathered, that brought us this creativity. I can tell you that! [wink at audience]. For this area, [encircle with pointer the middle part of the Lastage neighbourhood in the slide] which is the area in between the Rechtboomsloot and the Sint Antoniebreestraat, was around 1544 still a big puddle of mud. This wetland filled with reed was at that time used by the city of Amsterdam to dump the mud that was drenched from the canals (de Vries et al., 1983). As you can imagine, no one wanted to live here. However, at the southern part of the Lastage [encircle with pointer the area in the slide], which is on the map the area above the Sint Antoniebreestraat [point at the street in the slide], already some people had settled. Most of these people's settlements were mainly farmhouses with big yards where the farmers had planted their fruit trees, like apple, cherry or even walnuts trees and had located their kitchen gardens (de Vries et al., 1983). Here on these yards, also chickens and pigs would roam free (de Vries et al., 1983), although I believe that the pigs may have preferred to be in the area on the other side of the Sint Antoniebreestraat.

Slide: zoomed in version of the same slide on the Sint Antonie(bree)straat & -poort

Around 1540, the Sint Antoniebreestraat, which is the street we see when we look outside of the window, [Make a hand gesture towards the window, while also using the pointer to point out the street on the slide] was an important road that led to one of the three main city gates of Amsterdam: the Sint Antoniespoort. This gate was part of the brick city wall, that was built to protect the city of Amsterdam from enemies. However, when Amsterdam started to burst out of its seams because of population growth during the beginning of the 17th century and its municipality decided to execute an urban expansion, the old city wall became located behind the new walls of the city and the Sint Antoniespoort lost its function (Janse, 1993). However, a few years later in 1617-1618, the Sint Antoniespoort was transformed into a weigh house by constructing a roof above the building's courtyard and adding an

extra tower (Waag technology & society, z.d.). From then on, this building was called by the name we still use for it today: 'De Waag'.

Slide: drawing of De Waag

As some of you may know, De Waag was not just a place for weighing and taxing goods. Its upper floors also functioned as a guild house (Waag technology & society, z.d.). To give a short explanation of what guilds are: a guild is “an association of craftsmen or merchants formed for mutual aid and protection and for the furtherance of their professional interests” (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019, para. 1). Craft guilds, such as the ones that were located in De Waag, “were occupational associations that usually comprised all the artisans and craftsmen in a particular branch of industry” (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019, para. 2). In order to become part of such a guild, one had to undertake and succeed a master test. These master tests were conducted to maintain the quality of the guild's craft. It is with the housing of such artisans and their quality of craft, that the Lastage neighbourhood again shows us what a place of creativity and craftsmanship it is.

Housed in De Waag were the guilds of the blacksmiths, masons, painters and surgeons. Each of these craft guilds had their own space within the building, which could be reached via the their own entrance. Above these entrances, on the exterior side of the façade, the emblems of the guilds were placed. To this day, by the depiction of their craft's tools, we can still recognize which entrance belonged to which guild. Walking around De Waag and to see them for yourself is a fun way to explore and get to know both the past artisans, craftsmen and the Lastage itself, which is the point of this event. However, I recommend you to do this after my lecture, for I have more interesting knowledge to share with you [wink at audience].

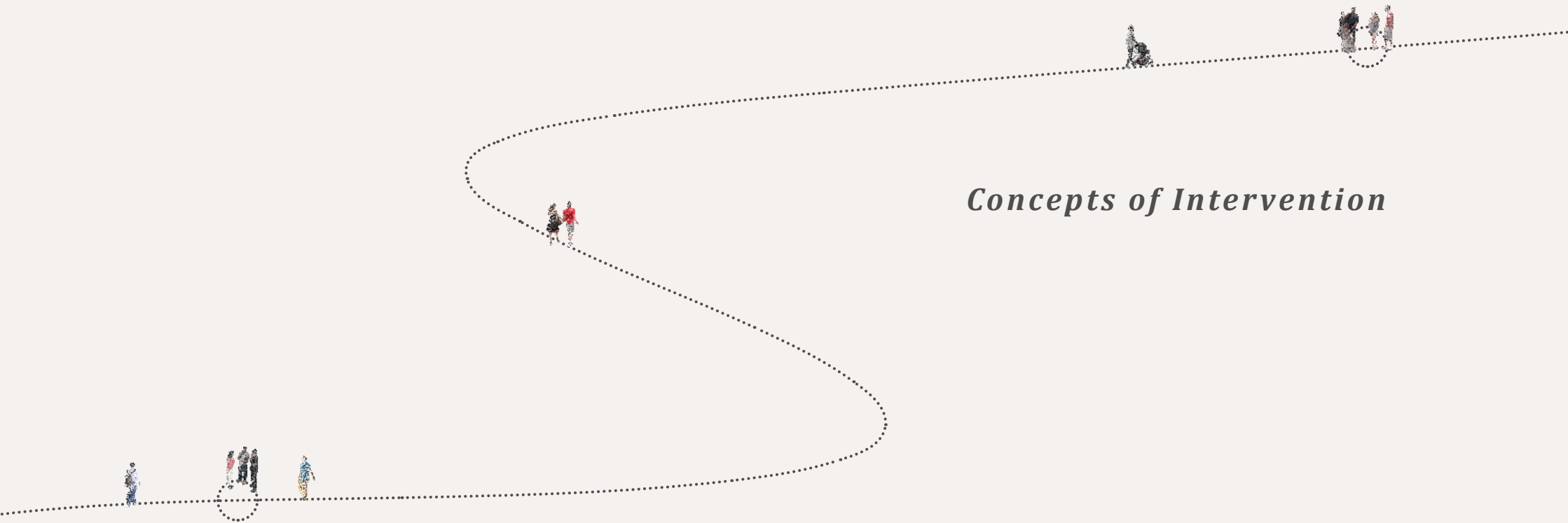
Slide: Theatrum Anatomicum

Although the surgeons were not per definition part of a creative field, their presence in the Lastage was valuable to the neighbourhood's artistic character. It was their guild that had the Theatrum Anatomicum built in De Waag, which activities

held inside later on inspired great artistic work. Situated in the octagonal dome tower that was specially built for the theatrum, the surgeons had set up an amphitheatre (Waag technology & society, z.d.), a circular spiralling upwards wooden structure with benches on different levels of height and a surgeon's table in the middle of the room. Furthermore, they had painted their coat of arms on the space's ceiling. The amphitheatre was used by surgeons to follow the lectures and demonstrations of operation on the human body. And although at first these lessons could only be followed by the surgeons, the space was later opened up to the wider public (Waag technology & society, z.d.). It was one of these open lessons that inspired one of Lastage's greatest artists Rembrandt van Rijn to paint one of his greatest works: 'The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp'. While this painting can only be admired in the Mauritshuis in The Hague, you can still visit Rembrandt's house and his atelier, which is located in our Lastage neighbourhood [encircle with pointer the logo of the Rembrandthuis in the slide]. Just walk down this street in the direction of the Jodenbreestraat and then it is the second house on your right. Here in his atelier, Rembrandt taught many painters which are also still known to this day. Think of Gerard Dou, Govaert Flinck, Ferdinand Bol and Nicolaes Maes (Museum Het Rembrandthuis, 2020). It is their presence in our neighbourhood which shows you that even in the 17th century we were already a real artists' neighbourhood. In addition, it also tells us that the quality of the art produced in the Lastage was high, which is something that has not changed since, so remember that when you visit our ateliers later this day [wink at audience].

Ending slide: logo of Open Atelier Nieuwmarkt x Huis de Pinto + map studio locations

Having reached the end of my lecture, I hope you have enjoyed it and that you feel curious to explore our beautiful neighbourhood and visit our ateliers with our even more splendid art. Hopefully when you step outside, you too can now sense that creative character that the Lastage embodies, all around you. Thank you all for listening, my name is Jan, and I see you soon in my atelier [wink at audience]!



Concepts of Intervention

General

Having created multiple narratives from both the resident's and tourist's perspective, a collection of narratives on the four selected neighbourhoods in Amsterdam has been obtained, containing descriptions on their narratives' characters, use of space and the embodied experiences of place. Each of these descriptions contain components that belong to the architectural atmosphere or identity of that place, which in turn evoke a sense of identification, belonging or connection in residents. By dividing these descriptions or components under the five aspects of users, activity, experience of place, structure and architectural atmosphere, an overview of themes has been established that indicates on which theme the architectural aspects of the architectural intervention should focus on, in order to evoke a new connection for the residents of the places. Put together, the five aspects lead to a coherent concept for the architectural interventions.

During the selection of useful descriptions for these five aspects, similarities were sought between the residents and the tourists as well as between the front region and the back region. The reason for this was to ensure that residents and tourists not only connect with the place, but that the possibility for meaningful interaction between the two was also created. In addition, similar aspects of the front and the back region can help the placement of the architectural interventions in both areas to soften the hard experiential border between the regions, which is caused by their different experiences of tourism.

Next, first all five aspects of the Canal Belt and the Jordaan are be discussed. Subsequently, the research question "What architectural interventions can evoke a new connection with the places overwhelmed by the tourists, for the residents of these places?" is be answered. At last, the second research question "How can the design or staging of architectural atmospheres provide the possibility for meaningful interaction between tourist and residents?" is answered. This structure is then repeated for the neighbourhoods Burgwallen Oude Zijde and the Lastage.

Results and conclusions of the Canal Belt and the Jordaan

Gardeners

Users – In the Canal Belt and in the Jordaan, the users' corresponding characteristic that can be found between the residents and the tourists is their appreciation for plants and flowers. For the residents of the Jordaan and the Canal Belt, this becomes clear from the narratives of the understanding New Yorker. In her narrative about the Canal Belt, she observes during her stroll along the houseboats that its residents "have created their own gardens by placing plant pots on top of their roofs or annexing the streets", implying residents' interest for gardening and need for more arable green spaces. In the narrative about the Jordaan, this residents' interest becomes apparent through the New Yorker's observation of "a big courtyard filled with plants and flowers", which points out residents' involvement in taking care of their shared green space. It is at the end of this narrative, that it becomes clear that this appreciation for plants and flowers goes even further than just residential interest and is even embedded in the identity of this neighbourhood, as the understanding New Yorker is being told by resident Dahlia that all the streets in the Jordaan are named after plants and flowers and that the name of the neighbourhood originates from the French word for garden 'jardin'.

Focussing then on the tourists, multiple studies in this research conclude tourists' appreciation for plants and flowers. The preliminary research into the frames and filters of the tourists in the Canal Belt and the Jordaan shows that these tourists have a perception dominated by the discourse 'nation', which in these neighbourhoods expresses itself as the (un)conscious search for signs of Amsterdam as a city of flowers. In both the Instagram study and the narrative of the Italian Influencers this manifests itself in the search for, taking pictures of and the posing with flowers, plants and gardens.

Working and enjoying

Activity - The activities that strongly define the identities of the Canal Belt and the Jordaan are that of working and enjoying. In the narrative of the understanding New Yorker, it is first noted that the Jordaan used to be a “poor working class neighbourhood”. The narrative of resident Dahlia elaborates further on this by describing the circumstances and actions of these residents when the Jordaan was still a slum. A good example of this is the description of the courtyard, which in her mother’s childhood was “filled with laundry sheets”, hinting at actions ruled by labour. When this is compared to Dahlia’s mention of the “delightful scent of flowers” that can be smelled in the present day courtyards, the transformation of the Jordaan as a place filled with actions ruled by labour to that of enjoyment is emphasized. Other narratives show that the Canal Belt went through a similar kind of transformation and can therefore be characterized by the same activities. According to the narrative of canal house owner Frank, during the 1970’s the houses in the Canal Belt used to be in a “ruinous state”. It was because of the hard working residents, who by means of renovating, transformed the houses back into their original state of glory, which are now greatly enjoyed by residents and tourists alike. This action of enjoying is confirmed by the understanding New Yorker who, after having observed people in different parts of the Canal Belt, concludes in her letter that the neighbourhood is “all about enjoyment”.

Hidden worlds

Experience of place - The corresponding experience of place in the Canal Belt and in the Jordaan is that of the hidden worlds. Both neighbourhoods contain hidden places where the experience of place is completely different compared to that of the busier main streets. In addition, the routes to these places are experienced as if stepping into another world. For example, in her letter about the Jordaan, the New Yorker dedicates part of her text to these hidden worlds, by describing her experience of a place when she first entered the neighbourhood. “Turning into a side street, it was as if this part of Amsterdam revealed itself to me. As if I had stepped into a hidden world”. She then begins to describe how the

lively Jordanese life plays out in these side streets and how the design of the spatial experience of the streets ensures that this world remains hidden: “It was as if the quiet canal streets on the outside of the Jordaan were protecting the cozy narrow inner streets from outsiders by creating the appearance that nothing else is happening there; while actually this inner world is where life takes place”. In addition to the busy side streets, according to the New Yorker the quiet courtyards also belong to these hidden worlds.

While in the Jordaan the hidden worlds can take shape as courtyards, in the Canal Belt they appear as large gardens of the canal houses. Compared to the vibrant nine streets that the New York lady describes, these gardens are, according to the Italian Influencers, a secluded place where serenity can be felt. Another hidden world discovered by the influencers is that of the biodiverse life that takes place in the Amsterdam canals. By taking a canal cruise and experiencing Amsterdam from a lower level, the influencers were able to meet “some of Amsterdam’s smaller residents” and become aware of how the seasons change the Amsterdam experience “#swans #seasons #breeding season”. However, in the Canal Belt it is not only through the embodied experience of place that these hidden worlds are experienced, but also by looking at the physical appearance of the facades. For instance, the New York lady describes that the facades of the Canal Houses on the one hand “do not seem to want to reveal their secrets [...] because of their windows being so highly placed above the ground”, but that on the other hand they show glimpses of their interiors since their curtains are left open and their window panes are framing their wealth inside.

Wooden grid

Structure - The experienced structure that can be associated with both the identity and the architectural atmosphere of the Canal Belt and the Jordaan is that of the wooden grid. In both neighbourhoods, similar houses appear and her letter about the Canal Belt, the understanding New Yorker notes that the facades of such houses are ruled by “the predominant straight lines” and their “window pane grid”. On the latter, Canal House owner Frank

elaborates on this in his diary by stating that these “20 x 25 cm window panes” were “placed in wooden rods” which were serving as construction. From the same narrative can be concluded that not only the structure of the exterior is perceived as a wooden grid, but that of the interior. Frank mentions this in his diary when describing the wooden structure of the attic as “its presence in space was powerful and demanded all of my attention”.

From shack to palace

Architectural atmosphere - For both the Canal Belt and the Jordaan, the shared architectural atmosphere can best be described as having changed from shack to palace. During the last century and the past 20 years, both neighbourhoods have undergone a drastic transformation in which the sensory experience of place has changed significantly for the better. This is shown in the narrative of Frank which explains that the present Canal Belt “of pomp and circumstance” was in a “ruinous state” during the 1970s to the mid-1980s and where the houses seemed to be about to collapse. Frank, who in the narrative visits one of these houses with his brother-in-law Peter, describes this state by telling about the wallpaper hanging half-peeled off from the walls and hearing the floor squeaking beneath their feet with each step they took. “It was as if the house was sighing of old age and it was letting us know of its wish to be renovated, so it could continue to stand tall in all its glory for several decades more”. Also the description of their visit to the attic, where “darkness and the feeling of humidity surrounded us and the musty smell of old damp wood that we had been smelling all day was here at its strongest” reflects the Canal Belt’s architectural atmosphere as a shack accordingly. It was by renovating these canal house, that the neighbourhood changed it “back into the palace it once used to be”.

Starting from mid-twentieth century, the Jordaan underwent a similar transformation. Before that time, the Jordaan used to be a slum, which living conditions were described in Dahlia’s narrative as “bare”. “We had no sewerage, and everyone had placed their buckets of poop in front of their doors”. “Moreover, the streets were also always filled with the sour smell of human sweat and rotten garbage”. Giving then in her email a

description of what it was like for her mother to live in one of the Jordanese fortresses, she writes “It was very dark and humid inside” and “little light and fresh air entered the space”. However, in the narrative her mother indicates life in such houses were always experienced as cosy despite their conditions and that it for her “remains a palace”. Dahlia ends the email by describing the transformation the Jordaan as “how contrasting the former pungent smell of dirt is, with the clean and delightful scent of flowers of today’s courtyards”.

Blooming pavilion

Architectural intervention - In order to evoke a new connection for the residents of the Canal Belt and the Jordaan with the places within their neighbourhoods that are overwhelmed with tourists, the architectural interventions must focus their five aspects on the target group gardeners and plant lovers, the activities working and enjoying, the experience of place as a hidden world, an architectural atmosphere based on ‘the transformation from shack to palace’ and a structural construction consisting of a wooden grid. For the architectural interventions of these neighbourhoods, I propose with these aspects a concept of a wooden pavilion that can be used for the gardening of plants and flowers, by both the residents and tourists of these two neighbourhoods. This pavilion will consist of a wooden 3D grid filled with earth, which in winter and autumn will be perceived as a ‘shack’: its exterior will look neglected and in its interior darkness and humidity will be experienced, while somehow still a certain feeling of cosiness will be felt. But, by letting residents and tourists maintain the greenery throughout the year, it will blossom into a pavilion of “pomp and circumstance” in spring and summer. With this seasonal transformation, the pavilion thus exudes the architectural atmosphere of the two neighbourhoods. In addition, the exterior of the pavilion will be experienced differently than the interior, whereby either the outdoor space is used for social places and the interior space is used for experiencing tranquility, or vice versa, in order to refer to the experience of space as a hidden world. Besides the pavilion containing the five aspects that evoke an association with place for the residents of these

two neighbourhoods, it is the joint gardening that this pavilion introduces that evokes for them a connection with place. This is because, as residents (and tourists) will maintain and take care of the flowers and plants that they have placed themselves in the pavilion, over time a feeling of responsibility and attachment to their gardening work and the pavilion itself will arise, which will strengthen the connection with the place.

The way in which the design or staging of the architectural atmosphere will provide the possibility for meaningful interaction between tourists and residents, is because residents and tourists will have to work together to obtain the pavilion with an architectural atmosphere of pomp and circumstance which they want to enjoy. The residents will enjoy working on the pavilion since they love gardening and currently have little space in their residences to do so. This is evident from the observed plants and flower pots that are placed everywhere by the residents on the public pavement. Tourists, on the other hand, will visit the pavilion because their perception is ruled by the discourse 'nation' and they have a mediated gaze. This will stimulate them to visit these pavilions and to take picture with them. They will not only do this when the pavilion has blossomed but as well when the pavilion still needs to be planted, since tourists (but also people in general) like to show their followers on social media that they have contributed to something. Moreover, it can be concluded from observations of tourists in other tourist cities that tourists would also like to leave behind a memory or proof of their visit to a city (e.g. love locks in Paris) or take them with them (souvenirs). By making it for tourists possible to both contribute as take a flower from the pavilion, the likelihood that tourists will participate in the gardening of this pavilion increases. The interaction between the residents and tourists will take place during this action of gardening, as the residents will have control of the pavilion's maintenance and tourists will have to approach them to find out where certain gardening tools, seeds or bulbs are stored. In addition, the possibility for meaningful interaction will arise when the resident and the tourist are gardening next to each other, start a conversation and decide to continue this conversation in the designed social places of which the pavilion will consist. Because

these social places will be publicly accessible and be part of the public space, the opportunity for residents and tourists to have meaningful interactions with each other will be made possible even without the gardening. However, the gardening is a means to facilitate and encourage the interaction between the two groups.

Results and conclusions of the Burgwallen Oude Zijde and the Lastage

Hidden communities

Users - In the Burgwallen Oude Zijde and the Lastage, no similarities can be found between the resident and the tourist, except in their diversity. From the preliminary research it can be concluded that almost every tourist with a perception dominated by the discourse 'nation', regardless of what his frames and filters are, visits the Burgwallen Oude Zijde and sometimes the Lastage when in Amsterdam. An example of such tourists in the narrative study are the Italian Influencers. Because interests already differ within this large group of tourists, it was even more difficult to find an interest that also corresponds to that of the diverse group of residents. Nevertheless, in these neighbourhoods there is one particular type of tourist that can be specifically approached, namely that of the partygoer. However, their interests do not correspond in any way with the interests of the residents, who on top of that are both online and in place difficult to find and therefore to understand, due to the abundance and dominance of online tourist posts or tourist-oriented shops and attractions. Nonetheless, in precisely this hiddenness of the visibility of the residents, a similarity can be found in the desires of the residents of the Burgwallen Oude Zijde and the Lastage.

From the narratives can be derived that both neighbourhoods have communities which are either hidden or have the wish to be more seen. In the Red Light District, the largest hidden community is that of the residents themselves, since tourists do not know that they live there. The narrative of prostitute Rose in which she has a conversation with childhood friend Iulia shows that the residents want to make themselves and their community known and visible to the tourist by sticking life-size posters of themselves on their front doors, which should guide them to their community centre. However, for both tourist and resident

this is difficult to find, which, according to Rose's conversation with neighbour Catherina, is because "in this neighbourhood you never know what is happening behind the facades". This implies that within the buildings of the Red Light District too many staged sets providing concealed programs and performances have appeared, making it impossible for tourists and residents alike to know whether there are still buildings left that facilitate resident-related functions and where they are. Furthermore in the Lastage, the community that also wishes to be more seen is that of the artists. As stated in the narrative of the understanding New Yorker about the Lastage, this community already makes itself visible by displaying residents' small art projects in the streets. However, according to the narrative of the artist Jan, their desire to be more known to outsiders as an artistic neighbourhood becomes evident in their organisation of an annual open studio day.

Performing and informing

Activity - While in the Red Light District the most prominent activity is experiencing performances (e.g. watching and visiting prostitutes, sex shows and doing drugs) and in the Lastage it is creating art, the corresponding activities found between the two neighbourhoods are that of performing and informing. In the Red Light District the performing is mostly done by the prostitutes standing behind the windows, an experience Rose describes as "feeling all the eyes on me was weird. It made me feel very aware that I was on display". Yet, occasionally tourists are also performing themselves. This has become evident from the narrative of Toby, one of the guys from the English group of friends, who in his narrative feels the need to put on an act for his male friends about having had sex with a prostitute for fun, rather than coming clean about his need of wanting to talk about his problems. Notable is how both cases emphasize not only the activity of performing, but also the underlying miserable feeling that comes with it and is continuously suppressed and ignored in the Red Light District. In the Lastage the activity of performing is happening on the basis of exhibiting art. From Jan's narrative it can be concluded that this mainly happens during the annual open studio event, but as discussed before, according to the narrative

of the New York lady, there are also occasional exhibitions on the street. With these events and exhibitions, the artists of the Lastage try to inform people about their own work and about the identity of their neighbourhood. In the Red Light District, prostitutes try to inform tourists about their job by having set up an information centre, while residents try to inform tourists about their living situation by displaying posters.

Framing happenings

Experience of place – Besides the experience of the immense crowdedness in both neighbourhoods, the experience of place in Burgwallen Oude Zijde and the Lastage can best be described as a place where multifarious happenings take place, which are brought into being by its diverse and expressive residents in the interior or private sphere. In the narrative of the understanding New Yorker, this has been made clear in the Lastage through her observation of the buildings when she first visited this neighbourhood, which she described as “each containing their own scene or telling their own story inside”. In the Red Light District, the multifarious happenings are the sex shows and the various performances given behind the windows as encountered respectively in the narratives of the Italian Influencers and the English group of friends. However, it is the detailing of the architecture in these neighbourhoods that are making visible and emphasizing these happenings, to the extent of exhibiting them to the people in the public space. According to the narrative of Tom, one of the guys of the English group of friends, in the Red Light District this framing of happenings is done by the bordering bright neon red lights around the windows, while in the Lastage it are the colourful window frames. However, in both neighbourhoods some of these framed happenings exhibit and therefore contribute to an female unfriendly experience of place. While in the Red Light District almost all happenings focus on exhibiting and sexualizing women, in the Lastage the New York lady also encountered during her stroll some elderly women who were put away behind windows with metal balustrades looking like prison bars. However, such female unfriendly experience does not apply to every happening in the Lastage, as this neighbourhood “is a mix of many sets and stories”.

Frames, boxes and circuits

Structure - The structures that are most experienced in the Burgwallen Oude Zijde and the Lastage are that of the frame, the box or the geometric circuit pattern. Earlier it was discussed how the frames of or around the windows are prominent in these neighbourhoods because of their bright colours or because they are made of red fluorescent tubes. An example of this can be seen in the narrative of the Italian Influencers about their visit to the Red Light District. The box shape has been observed in different locations in both neighbourhoods and is mentioned in multiple narratives. In Tom’s narrative set in the Red Light District, the windows behind which the prostitutes stand are experienced and distinguished as glass boxes. In Amsterdam Chinatown, the understanding New Yorker notices how some of a temple’s building volumes are pushed back like blocks while also in her letter about the Lastage it is mentioned how in this neighbourhood the buildings’ volumes are protruding like “stacked blocks”. Furthermore, throughout Amsterdam Chinatown and on the Nieuwmarkt (the square that connects the Burgwallen Oude Zijde with the Lastage) “Chinese golden geometric circuit patterns” can be found in the architectural details of the buildings, as can be observed from the Instagram post about Chinatown of the Italian Influencers.

Creative port and colourful attraction

Architectural atmosphere - In Burgwallen Oude Zijde and the Lastage two architectural atmospheres can be experienced. First, there is the underlying architectural atmosphere of the creative port which stems from the shared history of both neighbourhoods. From the narrative of artist Jan it can be understood that in the 16th century these neighbourhoods were “an important industry and harbour area to the city of Amsterdam” and that in the 16th and 17th centuries, especially in the Lastage, many creative crafts such as roperies, mast makers, craft guilds and painters were located here. As some of these crafts are still present in the area today, and other new creative crafts are based here as well, it is in the actions of performing these crafts and the sensory stimuli they produce that the architectural atmosphere of the creative port can

partly be evoked and experienced. Examples of such actions and sensory stimuli are according to the narrative of Jan, the “vibrating rhythmic sound of hammers hitting nails in our ateliers” and the colourfully painted facades and balustrades in the streets. The other aspect that evokes this architectural atmosphere are the port related features in these neighbourhoods. According to the narrative of the New Yorker, this architectural atmosphere is palpable in Burgwallen Oude Zijde’s Zeedijk through the buildings’ appearances and functions (such as the church and the old Dutch brown café) which stimulated her to imagine 16th century harbour life. In addition, it were especially the materials of the facades and streets such as the “black wooden boards of the café’s façade” which evoked her to feel the bricks beneath her feet “rocking on the sea” and “taste the traces of salt” on her lips. It is at the end of this narrative when the total architectural atmosphere of the creative port is evoked, through the New Yorker’s sight of the market’s “white tarpaulins swaying in the wind” which reminded her of “the sails of the 16th century ships” and which was a reference for her to the “fresh white canvases” that the artists in the Lastage use for their artworks.

The second architectural atmosphere as experienced in Burgwallen Oude Zijde and the Lastage can best be described as a colourful attraction. In both neighbourhoods, this atmosphere is mostly evoked by colourful facades and brightly lit neon signs as seen on the street, in combination with the tourist orientated programs (targeting partygoers) and the to-tourists-unfamiliar-looking interiors. An example of this is given in the narrative of the understanding New Yorker. Here, she gives a description of her experience of entering the Lastage as “like stepping into a Wes Anderson film”, referring to “the facades’ abundance of bright colors” and the “mix of sets and stories” taking place in the interiors of the Lastage. However, it is also the lived experience of the place that makes this architectural atmosphere a colourful attraction. In the Red Light District, this becomes clear in the narrative of Charlie, one of the guys from the English group of friends. In his narrative, he describes how the combination of the neon signs that “give colour to the night” and the “constant sounds of cheers filling the air” from other men around him, make him

want to enjoy the attraction that is the Red Light District.

La Stage

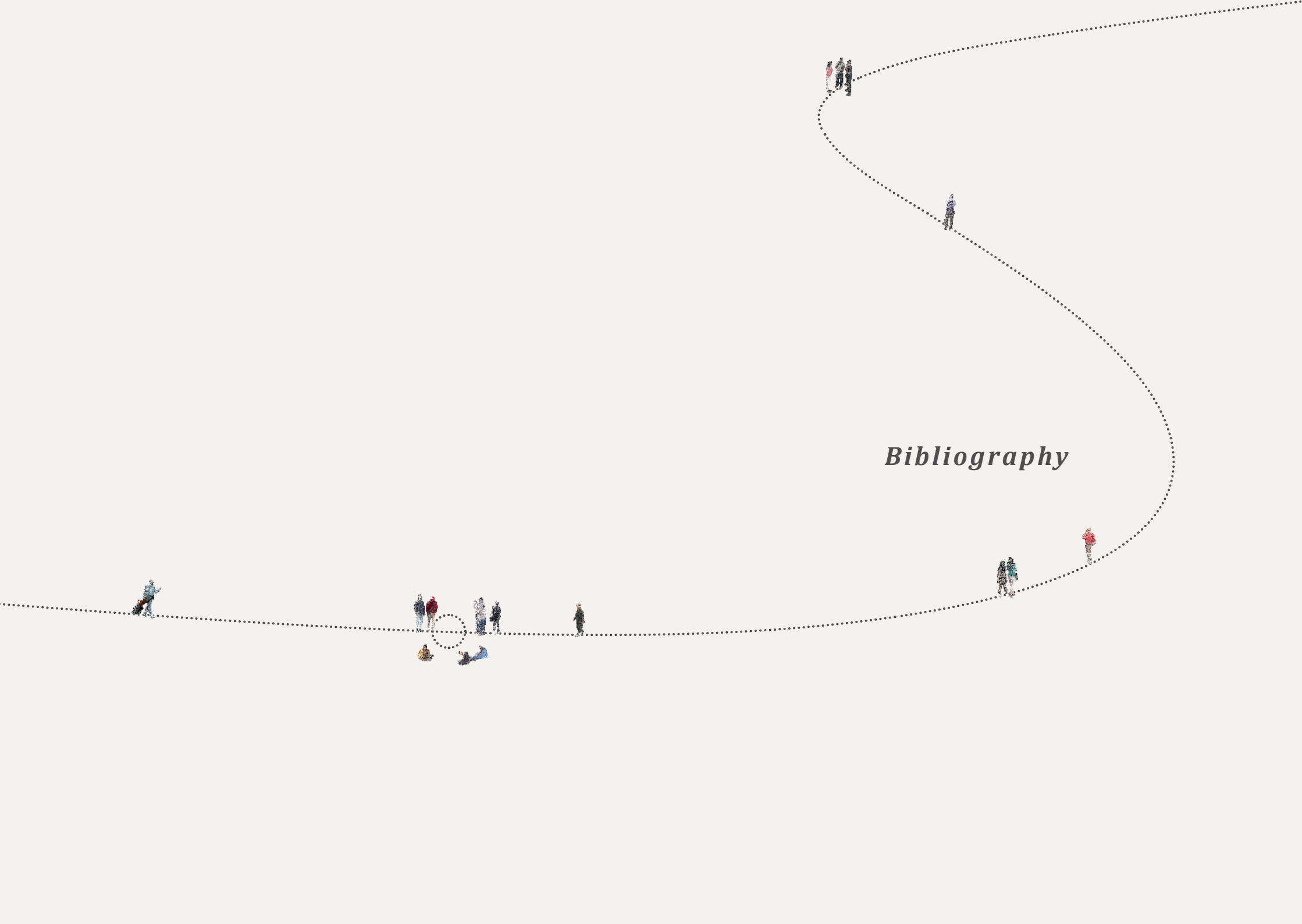
Architectural intervention - In order to evoke a new connection for the residents of the Burgwallen Oude Zijde and the Lastage with the places overwhelmed with tourists, the architectural interventions can focus their five aspects on the target group hidden communities, the activities performing and informing or creating art, the experience of place as framed happenings, an architectural atmosphere based on either a colourful attraction or the staging of a creative port and a structural construction consisting of frames and circuits or the use of a box shaped structure. For a concept for the architectural interventions of these neighbourhoods, these aspects can be translated for me into a collection of small recreational boxes with a day and a night program, spread over the two neighbourhoods. These box pavilions will consist of a cube-shaped open wooden frame structure, in which the wooden elements are connected through traditional Japanese joints. Bright red translucent linen curtains will be hung on the wooden frame structure at four sides of the box pavilion and will have the possibility to be opened and closed. Inside the box, there will be a floor element with a mattress covering the entire floor area, on which visitors can sit or lie down comfortably.

The pavilions will be located in visible but semi-remote places in the neighbourhood, such as on the water, raised into the air or in a public back stage which has a historic or meaningful connection with the neighbourhood (for example the Waag’s Theatrum Anatomicum). During the day, these pavilions will serve as places for relief where residents can go to escape from the hustle and bustle of their own neighbourhood, to relax, to gain inspiration or to meet each other in tranquil conditions. The pavilions can accommodate up to four people. The intention for these pavilions is that they allow the resident to establish a new relaxed connection with place. The architecture of the pavilion in combination with the qualities of the location contributes to this. To give an example, the bright red curtains of the pavilion blowing in the wind will bring about a calming and serene experience for

the visitor, as well as evoke the atmosphere of the creative port with which residents are familiar. In addition, the pavilion also aims to inform the tourist about the presence of residents in the neighbourhood, by making the wooden open structure frame the relaxing residents as a living painting, which is experienced by tourists as another framed happening in the neighbourhood and thus demands their attention to spectate the pavilion and notice the residents' presence.

In the evening, the pavilion's program will focus more on improving the social connection to and within the two neighbourhoods. In the evening, the pavilions will turn into colourful attractions, in which the tourist and the resident have the opportunity to meet and get to know each other better. The pavilions with their red translucent curtains will be illuminated from the inside in the evening, so that they will attract the attention of the tourists on the street. Inside the pavilion will sit a resident, who from the outside of the pavilion is experienced as a shadow, which creates mystery and entices the tourist to visit the pavilion. Once a tourist has entered the pavilion, the curtains will open and the 'show' will begin. Being inside the pavilion, the resident and the tourist have the opportunity to have deep conversations with each other in an auditory private setting and to inform each other about their situation (something that the results show that some of both groups are interested in). The spectator, who watches the happening from afar, will only see a mysterious performance in which resident and tourist come together for a conversation but where there is no sound for the spectator. This makes the spectator curious and afterwards he also wants to visit to the attraction, that is the box pavilion. In this way, performing and informing provides an continuous opportunity for meaningful interactions between residents and tourists.

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home #neighborhood @gemeenteamsterdam
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#flesseman #amsta #lovelyjob #togetherwebeat
corona @kyradunya @jeannetgroot [Instagram
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@koosbuster @cleogoossens @johan_kleinjan
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#freddiestarr #lammuseum #thesun [Instagram

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