

remodeling users' cognition of this place. Besides the complexity of immigrant and its following crime risk, the commercialization of the JST area has had a positive impact on the safety of the neighborhood. The impact on the street security can be analyzed from two aspects in term of spatial transformation and psychological impression. From the perspective of spatial performance, commercial placement to some extent breaks down the closeness of original area and has increased a number of "eyes on streets". It also enhances the brightness of the street night and decrease crime risk in this area. From the perspective of crowd psychology, the introduction of commercial functions has changed the residents' cognition on local blocks. The most effective way to enhance people's psychological security is to strengthen the management of business behavior and to increase public security services.

Approaches of revitalization in inner cities has brought a series of changes to local communities with regard to activities along streets, daily lives in public spaces, social atmosphere in neighborhood, and transportation flows. The paper argues that these changes have transformed streets in local neighborhood from an original enclosed, reserved place toward an open, inclusive public place for both residents and tourists. A mix-use community environment that is both vital and livable is possible if planners and urban designers incorporate elaborated urban safety issues into street design guidelines and if local society can adopt new management approaches on commercial and public space.

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## ID 1620 | VISIBILITY OF TURKISH IMMIGRANTS IN AMSTERDAM

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### 1 INTRODUCTION

Throughout history immigrants have always played a significant role in shaping the streetscape of Western European cities through their amenities, which are characteristic for the immigrant neighbourhoods. Some of the oldest examples of these are the Jewish and Chinese neighbourhoods located in many of the major cities like London, Paris, and Amsterdam. However, it was after the 1960s that the immigrants influenced

and changed the cultural landscape of European cities the most. This was due to the arrival of labour migrants from Italy, Turkey, Greece, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and Yugoslavia to northern European countries as a result of trade recruitment. This happened to support the need of workers in labour-intensive sectors due to the developing post-war economies (Vermeulen and Penninx 2000). The arrival of guest workers along with the migration from the post-colonial countries, later on followed by migration from the cold war areas, made a significant change in the demographic and spatial organization of major cities (Vermeulen and Penninx 2000).

More the immigrants settled, stronger they became visible on the streetscape of European cities through their shops, restaurants, cafes and religious places. These amenities which have distinctive languages, signs, or ways of street uses that they generate, created characteristic immigrant neighbourhoods, recognized as, for example, African neighbourhoods, Turkish neighbourhoods, Surinamese neighbourhoods, and many others.

Amsterdam has changed along with the political and economic circumstances, and so have immigrant neighbourhoods. Since the 1990s, the trends in real estate market and urban renewal approaches have strongly influence the residential concentration of immigrant groups in central and suburban neighbourhoods. These trends also influence the observable features of immigrant amenities as they adapt to these changes.

The main aim of this paper is to identify and describe the immigrant amenities in Amsterdam. The study operationalizes the concept of visibility of immigrant amenities, which is understood as the physical features of the amenities observed through their distinctive signs, languages, products, as well as practices.

Visibility can provide a new perspective on the relations between immigrant amenities and the built environment, which is important to understand the processes in which immigrants settle in the city and shape the built environment. The study focuses on Turkish amenities in streets of Amsterdam. The leading question is: How does the location of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam influence their visibility in terms of physical features?

To answer this question, the paper is organized as follows. The next section introduces the concept of visibility of immigrant amenities and its significance. A section explaining research approach and methods follows this. The next section introduces Turkish neighbourhoods in Amsterdam and their demographic and locational characteristics. The following two sections identify and describe Turkish amenities and their location. The last section presents the findings and concludes by answering the main question and reflecting on the findings.

## **2 CITY, THE STREET AND VISIBILITY OF IMMIGRANT AMENITIES**

The city has always been seen as a site of diversity of cultures, religious beliefs, economic status, professions, languages, practices and more. As Aristotle states “A city is composed of different kinds of men; similar people cannot bring a city into an existence” (Aristotle, cited in Sennett 1994:13).

Immigration plays a key role in promoting city diversity. People, driven by political, ecological, demographic pressures, move from their homeland and search for new opportunities (Sandercock 1998:14; Penninx and Vermeulen 2000:5-8). The city offers a plenty of opportunities for migrants, providing jobs, offering social networks, personal contacts or other associations for social and economic support (Blokland 2003). These opportunities help migrants settle in their new environment and establish their quarters.

Immigrant amenities are a manifestation of immigrant quarters. The shops with immigrant signs and products, culinary businesses from unfamiliar cuisines, religious places such as mosques, synagogues, and temples with special events characterize immigrant neighbourhoods through their physical features. These features are not only limited to the signs, languages, or products in these amenities, but also include their related practices. The distinctive time schedules of some of these amenities, such as praying time for religious places, religious events, or long working hours of shops in the weekends and evenings, enhance user diversity and influence user behaviour in the neighbourhood streets (Zukin et al. 2016; Hall 2015; Sezer and Fernández-Maldonado, forthcoming). These amenities’ observable features provide

visibility for the cultural characteristics of the immigrant groups on the public spaces, more precisely at street level. In other words, these amenities offer the general public the possibility to see, observe and experience immigrant cultural expressions.

The visibility of immigrant amenities closely relates with the diversity and vitality of the street. In terms of diversity it provides immigrants and other groups opportunities to interact with each other, or simply witness one another presence and activities. This is important to be able to appreciate distinctive group characteristics and cultures and helps for developing mutual respect and recognition among these groups (Young, 1990). The visibility of some types of amenities might be associated with fear and may raise unease towards certain groups. Public unease for communal amenities as mosques and tea-houses are examples of such situations in some European cities (Gole 2011, Wohl 2016), and might influence their visibility. This may be different for commercial amenities, more open for interaction with the general public. Nevertheless, in either cases, the encounters promoted by immigrant amenities might give opportunities to overcome prejudices and help to learn how to live in a diverse city (Sennett 1970).

The visibility of immigrant amenities also helps to stimulate vitality in street life, due to the variety of users, programmes, and functions (Jacobs 1961; Montgomery 1998; Gehl 2010). For example, the long working hours of restaurants makes the streets attractive to be used most of the day and binds people to the place (Jacobs, 1961; Young, 1990). It also increases the attractiveness of the street for visitors by giving the enjoyment and excitement of experiencing something new and unexpected; “a different atmosphere and a different crowd of people” (Young, 1990:239).

However, different streets have different abilities to accommodate diversity and vitality. Shopping streets, being the attraction areas of their neighbourhoods, are more likely to be open for diversity and able to have higher levels of vitality than backstreets (Zukin et al. 2016). There are also differences between shopping streets in the city centre and in the suburbs. The former are more cosmopolitan in character, because they are able to attract both residents and visitors, while in the suburbs shopping streets are more local by character. This implies that there is a connection between location and features, which is the matter of this study.

### 3 THE RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODS

In this study, the visibility of immigrant amenities at street level is studied through their physical features in terms of signs and related practices. The amenities have been distinguished as communal and commercial. Since streets differ in their character according to their location, it was considered relevant to pay special attention to it.

The study focuses on the visibility of Turkish amenities in the streets of Amsterdam. For practical reasons, we call the study area Amsterdam, but it includes Amsterdam Metropolitan region. Amsterdam offers an interesting case study because almost half of the city population has a foreign origin. Turkish immigrants are one of the largest immigrant groups in the city, coming after Moroccan and Surinamese groups, with 53,948 people representing 5,5% of the almost 1 million inhabitants of the metropolis. Migrants from a Turkish background are considered to be poorly integrated to the Dutch society due to their low education profile and high dependency on the welfare benefits (Crul et al., 2008). Nevertheless, they are also known due to their entrepreneurship skills compared to the other immigrant groups (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000), which influence their visibility on the street.

The study collected data on the physical features of the amenities in terms of their visible signs and practices. The research is conducted in four steps:

1. Description of the context regarding the main changes in residential concentration of Turkish immigrants in Amsterdam in the 2000-2015.
2. Identification and description of the characteristics of Turkish amenities through data collection of the types, visible physical features and location of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam. The data was collected in April-June 2007. The observation during the fieldwork was carried out walking and cycling, and documented through field notes and photography.

3. Mapping of the location of Turkish amenities in central or suburban areas. For practical reasons, the clusters of Turkish amenities have been labelled as Street 1 (S1), Street 2 (S2), and so on.
4. Interpreting these findings regarding the cultural visibility of Turkish amenities by comparing the relations between their physical features and location.

Figure 1 shows analytical framework of this study and its relation with the research steps.

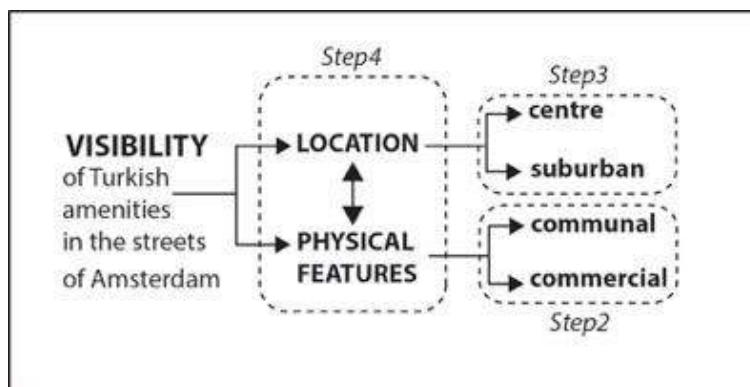


Figure 1 -Analytical framework and its relation with research steps.

#### 4 THE CONTEXT: TURKISH NEIGHBOURHOODS IN AMSTERDAM

Turkish migrants arrived to Amsterdam as guest workers around the 1960s. After they received a permanent status and acquired the right to register for social housing areas at the beginning of the 1980s, the number of the Turkish migrants increased as a result of family reunification, marriage immigration or asylum. Recent demographic dynamics of Turkish immigrants show a steady increase until 2007 and stability from then on (see Table 1).

	Amsterdam Population	Amsterdam Population of Turkish origin	% of Amsterdam Population of Turkish origin
000	858,587	39,486	4.6%
007	884,472	49,007	5.5%
015	973,815	53,948	5.5%

Table 1. Turkish residents in Amsterdam 2000, 2007, 2015\*  
(Own elaboration with data from Gemeente Amsterdam, 2000, 2007, 2015; Zaanstad in cijfers, 2000, 2007, 2015).  
\*data valid for the municipalities of Amsterdam and Zaanstad

In their first arrival, Turkish immigrants settled in dormitory areas close to the harbour and industrial areas in Amsterdam North and Zaanstad. Figure 2 gives an impression of how these areas looked like. Otherwise, adult men settled in rooms in pensions or dwellings in poor quality located close to their working areas (Cortie and Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, 1985). Figure 3 illustrates daily life in one of these pensions.

Later on, within the framework of the family re-unification, and the recruiting of brides and bridegrooms from home countries the demographic composition and the housing needs of Turkish changed to relatively larger households (Van Amersfoort and Cortie 1996). Almost in the same period there was an increasing suburbanisation process where lower middle class Dutch families were moving to the suburbs leaving houses in the lower end of the market available for immigrant groups.

During the 1980s, many Turkish households moved to the Western Garden towns, a large social housing suburb built in post-war period in Amsterdam West (Van Amersfoort and Cortie 1996). Figure 4 shows this area in its earlier phase. Other neighbourhood options for Turkish households were affordable social housing estates in inner city areas such as the Pijp in the Old South and the Indische Buurt in the East district.



Figure 2. Ataturk Turkish Village (Turkendorp) in Amsterdam North, NDSM Port area. Anonymus (NDSM Museum, n.d.)



Figure 3. Life in Ataturk Turkish Village (Turkendorp) in Amsterdam North, NDSM Port area. Anonymus (NDSM Museum, n.d.)



Figure 4. Social housing in Amsterdam West. Anonymus (Fotoleren, n.d.)

Turkish immigrants concentrated in two kinds of neighbourhoods: in those within inner city districts such as Amsterdam Old West, Old South and East; and in neighbourhoods located in suburban districts such as New West, Amsterdam North and the municipality of Zaanstad. Figure 5 shows the location of Turkish residential concentration in 2000, 2007 and 2015, illustrating the trends in these concentration areas: in the inner city neighbourhoods they diminished, while in the suburban areas they increased. Table 2 presents the differences in growth and decline of Turkish population in the two largest concentration areas in Amsterdam, Indische Buurt and Sloterveer in 2008 and 2015.



Figure 5. Residential concentration of Turkish immigrants in Amsterdam region in 2000, 2007 and 2015 (Own elaboration with data from Regiomonitor Groot Amsterdam, 2017)

	Turkish immigrants	Non-western foreigners	Total residents
<b>Indische buurt</b>			
2008	2770	13627	2324
2015	2145	11422	2282
Difference	-22,56%		
<b>Slotermeer</b>			
2008	3673	14218	2539
2015	4538	16570	2648
Difference	+23,55%		

Table 2. Turkish residents in the Indische Buurt and Slotenmeer in 2008 and 2015 (Source: Gemeente A'dam, 2008; 2015).

The changes in residential concentration of Turkish immigrants should be seen within the context of the general urban development trends of Amsterdam. Two important factors are salient. The first factor influencing these changes has been the real estate tendencies in the housing market, by which house prices in Amsterdam inner city have vastly increased since the mid-1990s. The city has become highly attractive for tourists and young professionals, which has greatly increased the housing demand (Rath, 2007). Figure 6 shows the sharp increase in the price of houses sold in the period between 1995 and 2016 in Amsterdam (presented in red) in comparison to the national average.

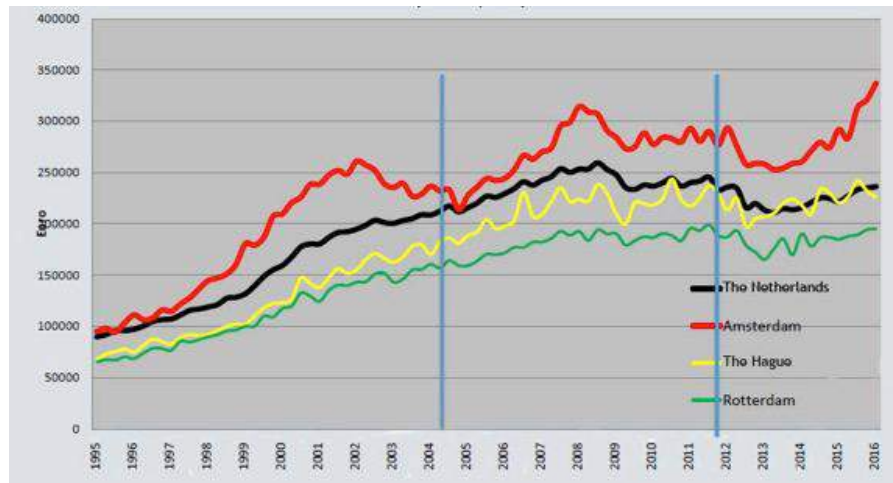


Figure 6. Average price of homes sold in the Netherlands and the three largest cities, 1995-2016 (Source: Boterman, 2016).

Another important factor influencing the changes in residential concentration of Turkish immigrants has been the new policy approaches in urban renewal, aimed to promote socially mixed neighbourhoods. Since the 1990s urban renewal policies both at national (e.g. the Big Cities Policy) and Amsterdam level (Nota Stedelijke Vernieuwing) have aimed to avoid the residential concentration of low-income households in social housing areas (Beckhoven and Van Kempen, 2003). It was considered that the concentration areas create a negative neighbourhood image and limits the opportunities for daily contacts between different social groups. Urban renewal policies promoted social mixing to improve neighbourhood quality in these areas by creating differentiation in housing market through demolishing, selling and upgrading a part of social-rented stock and building expensive privately-owned dwellings (van Kempen and van Beckhoven, 2003; Kleinhans et. al. 2000). This provided new housing opportunities for young professionals, but also led to gentrification processes in inner city areas by displacing vulnerable households towards the suburban areas, where more affordable housing was available (SakizliDlu 2014; Uitermark 2009).

## 5 TURKISH COMMUNAL AND COMMERCIAL AMENITIES IN AMSTERDAM

The purpose of this section is to describe and identify the types and visible characteristics of the Turkish amenities in Amsterdam. This study found 456 amenities in 2007, which are mapped according to their visible and functional characteristics under two types: communal and commercial amenities.

### 5.1 COMMUNAL TURKISH AMENITIES

Turkish communal amenities include mosques, teahouses, and Turkish oriented organizations.

#### 5.1.1 MOSQUES

Turkish mosques are places for religious practices, but they also function as places of social contacts, which provide a basis for informal exchanges about personal and collective issues, such as finding a job, an apartment, or raising money for charity purposes (see Figure 7). In Amsterdam, besides a main hall for

praying, almost every mosque buildings consist of a teahouse, a grocery, a hair salon, and even -in some cases -a billiard room.

In Amsterdam, we found 10 mosques which have different visible qualities, which in many cases, are not only associated with images of Islamic symbols, or signs, but also through their communal activities (e.g. street festivals in religious days). While in inner city areas, they are less noticeable from their architecture,



signs, and symbols. However, they are usually a part of a cluster of other amenities, such as Turkish shops, restaurants and cafes located in a close proximity, which provide them visibility. In suburban locations they are more noticeable, because they occupy larger areas, they extend their activities to the street, and use larger symbols, such as flags and name boards.

Figure 7. Wall board from a Turkish mosque with the announcements for job seekers, vacancies, houses for rent (Author,2009).

### 5.1.2 TEAHOUSES

A Turkish teahouse is a small café where men exclusively gather and drink non-alcohol drinks, mainly coffee and tea. Throughout history, Turkish teahouses have been places for social gathering where men chat, and exchange ideas, political views and practical knowledge (Wohl 2016). Teahouses in Amsterdam generally gather men from similar social status, political views, education, income, and even city of origin (Veraart 1987).

In 2007, there were 16 teahouses in Amsterdam, excluding those located within the mosques. It is difficult to notice teahouses at street level as they generally block the inside view with curtains, or frosted glass windows. Most of them are only recognizable by their names, generally referring to Turkish places. These characteristics make teahouses introverted places that do not welcome women or outsiders. In few cases, however, they extend the tables and chairs to the street, giving them a more open appearance.

### 5.1.3 ORGANIZATIONS

Turkish organizations in Amsterdam have many different interests, but most of them function as religious organisations, providing religious education for women and children and organising events to raise funding for the own organisation. These organisations are generally located in a close proximity to the mosques, but some of them are separate enterprises. Secular woman organisations occupy a small portion of all the organisations, which give language and health education programmes for women emancipation (e.g. Stichting ANDK). Another group of organisations function for secular educational purposes, for example, to teach Turkish language, musical instruments, or folkloric dances (e.g. Stichting Turks Onderwijs Centrum). Some organizations are also specialized in sport activities; giving training and organising sport competitions (e.g. Stichting Fenerbahce).

In 2007, 35 organizations with visible Turkish signs and marks could be counted in Amsterdam, almost one fifth of the officially registered number of organisations in the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce. These organizations have a weak cultural visibility at street level, but a careful observer can notice them through their names. It is during the public events that they organize that they increase their visibility. Some of these events target large groups occupying parks, streets, and squares; while some others target



limited groups – such as wedding parties – holding these events in existing public buildings such as school halls.

## **5.2 COMMERCIAL AMENITIES**

Turkish commercial amenities include daily food shops, eating and drinking places, service enterprises, and other type of shops.

### **5.2.1 DAILY FOOD SHOPS**

Food shops are those, which sell daily food, such as bakeries, groceries stores, butchers, and supermarkets with distinctive visible signs of Turkish origin. Besides daily food, they generally sell Turkish products, which are not available in regular shops. They are mostly small-scale, labour-intensive and low-skilled enterprises, offering job opportunities for those who occupy the lower end of the social ladder. They mostly rely on informal economic activities to sustain their businesses, which depend on social networks among Turkish immigrants (Kloosterman et al., 1999:252). To survive in the city economy, they offer relatively cheap products, sometimes even cheaper than in the street markets, which may attract customers from beyond their own neighbourhood.

Turkish food shops have the highest number of visible Turkish amenities in Amsterdam, with 150 shops in 2007. They are visible through their names, colourful and rich display, and halal products. The long working hours of groceries stores and bakeries increase their visibility.

### **5.2.2 EATING AND DRINKING PLACES**

Turkish immigrants enrich the food culture of Amsterdam with restaurants specialised in regional Turkish cuisine home-made products and street food (such as Turkish pizza). They generally offer economical options for lunch and dinner. The affordable prices of the Turkish food made these businesses attractive not only for Turkish, but also other Amsterdam residents. Drinking places, on the other hand are less specific with their specialities. They are mainly pubs, selling alcohol products open from late hours until midnights.

We found 128 Turkish eating and drinking places in Amsterdam, the second largest group of Turkish amenities. Many of them are highly visible due to their Turkish names and products. Remarkably, some restaurants have Greek-Turkish, or Italian-Turkish names, probably due to the similarity between Turkish and Greek and Italian cuisines, what has been used by the Turkish entrepreneurs to make their restaurants attractive for a wider clientele.

Drinking places are not very characteristic in their cultural visibility, except by their names and the advertisement boards of Turkish events in their front windows.

### **5.2.3 SERVICE ENTERPRISES**

There are two types of service enterprises. The first includes tailors, clothing and shoe repair, automobile repair, and hair and beauty salons, and the second includes travel agencies, lawyers, architecture and engineering offices. The first type has the same features as food shops, being small-scale, labour-intensive and low-skilled enterprises, answering to the need to have a job in a very competitive job market. Many Turkish immigrants initiated their own businesses as repair workshops in Amsterdam. In such way, repair shops became an important part of the history of Turkish immigrants in Amsterdam (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000). Most clothing repair shops in Amsterdam are owned by Turkish immigrants, which make them very visible. Turkish hair and beauty salons are also popular in Amsterdam, especially among women customers. The second type of service enterprises is evidently more formal, with highly educated workers offering professional services.

In Amsterdam, we noted 46 service enterprises in 2007. Their visibility is characterized by their names, but also their long working hours and exceptional working days (e.g. Sundays). Turkish hair and beauty salons are visibly different from Dutch salons, also because they target exclusively male or female clientele.

#### 5.2.4 OTHER KIND OF SHOPS

There are a large variety of shops with goods such as furniture, household products, clothing, souvenir, fabric, and music shops with Turkish visible signs in Amsterdam. Among these, furniture and household shops are the largest number. Some of them are branches of Turkish furniture brands. Household products shops are small-scale shops that sell a variety of products for domestic use, such as lighting, kitchen utensils and appliances. Turkish clothing shops are mainly specialised in Islamic clothing. There was one Turkish music shop in Amsterdam.

In our fieldwork, we found 76 of these amenities in Amsterdam in 2007. Without any exception, they have all Turkish names and products, which make them very visible.

## 6 LOCATION AND PHYSICAL FEATURES OF TURKISH AMENITIES

This section maps the location of culturally visible Turkish amenities and describes their observable physical features in relation to the locational characteristics of the streets in which they are situated. These characteristics are presented in relation to the residential concentration areas of Turkish immigrants in inner city and suburbs, and street types.

### 6.1 LOCATION

The location of commercial and communal Turkish amenities and the streets where they are clustered in Amsterdam in 2007 is presented in Figure 8. Most street clusters are located in inner city districts such as Amsterdam Old West, South and East. A third of them (approximately 35 per cent) is located in Turkish residential concentration areas outside of the city ring, suburban areas with an increasing Turkish population, such as Amsterdam North, New West and the city of Zaandam.

Turkish amenities are mostly located in Turkish neighbourhoods, but in few cases they are also located in areas with no significant Turkish population. Commercial amenities represent approximately 95 per cent of the total Turkish amenities, and are widely distributed across the city. They are generally clustered along the main or secondary shopping streets of their neighbourhoods (see S1, S2, S3, S4 in Figure 8). The rest is dispersed and located in busy shopping streets (see S11, S12) or in quiet neighbourhood backstreets (see S13, S14).

Communal amenities represent approximately 5 per cent of the total Turkish amenities. They generally cluster around mosques, teahouses and communal organizations, but the clusters may also include commercial amenities as grocery stores and eating places. Communal amenities are located in the inner city and suburban Turkish concentration areas, with the exception of the Fatih mosque, located in Amsterdam Old West. Within their neighbourhood, they locate at quiet streets, but in few cases they locate on main streets, as the Fatih mosque and the Sultan Ahmed mosque in Zaandam (see S6).

The different types of Turkish amenities according to their functions were mapped and are presented in Figure 9. Most commercial amenities located on main streets are daily food shops, eating and drinking places, and some service amenities such as travelling agencies, and clothing, souvenir, and furniture shops. Some food shops, such as groceries stores, and service amenities such as beauty salons, clothing or automobile repair shops, or shops with household articles are located on secondary shopping streets. Those dispersed amenities generally belong to the service sector such as clothing and car repair shops, but also some eating places such as snack bars.

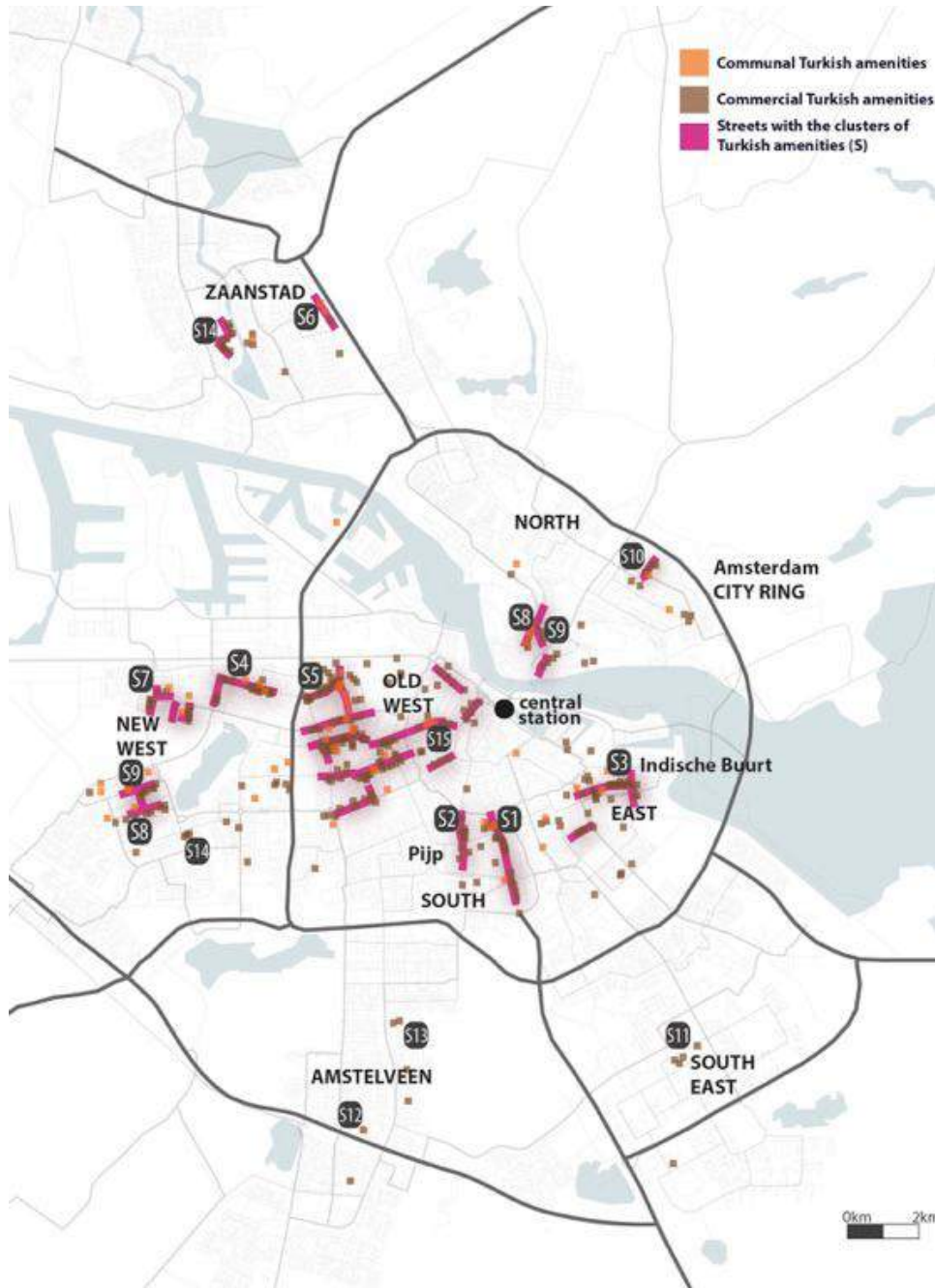


Figure 8. Streets clustering communal and commercial Turkish amenities in Amsterdam (Own elaboration with data collected by the author).

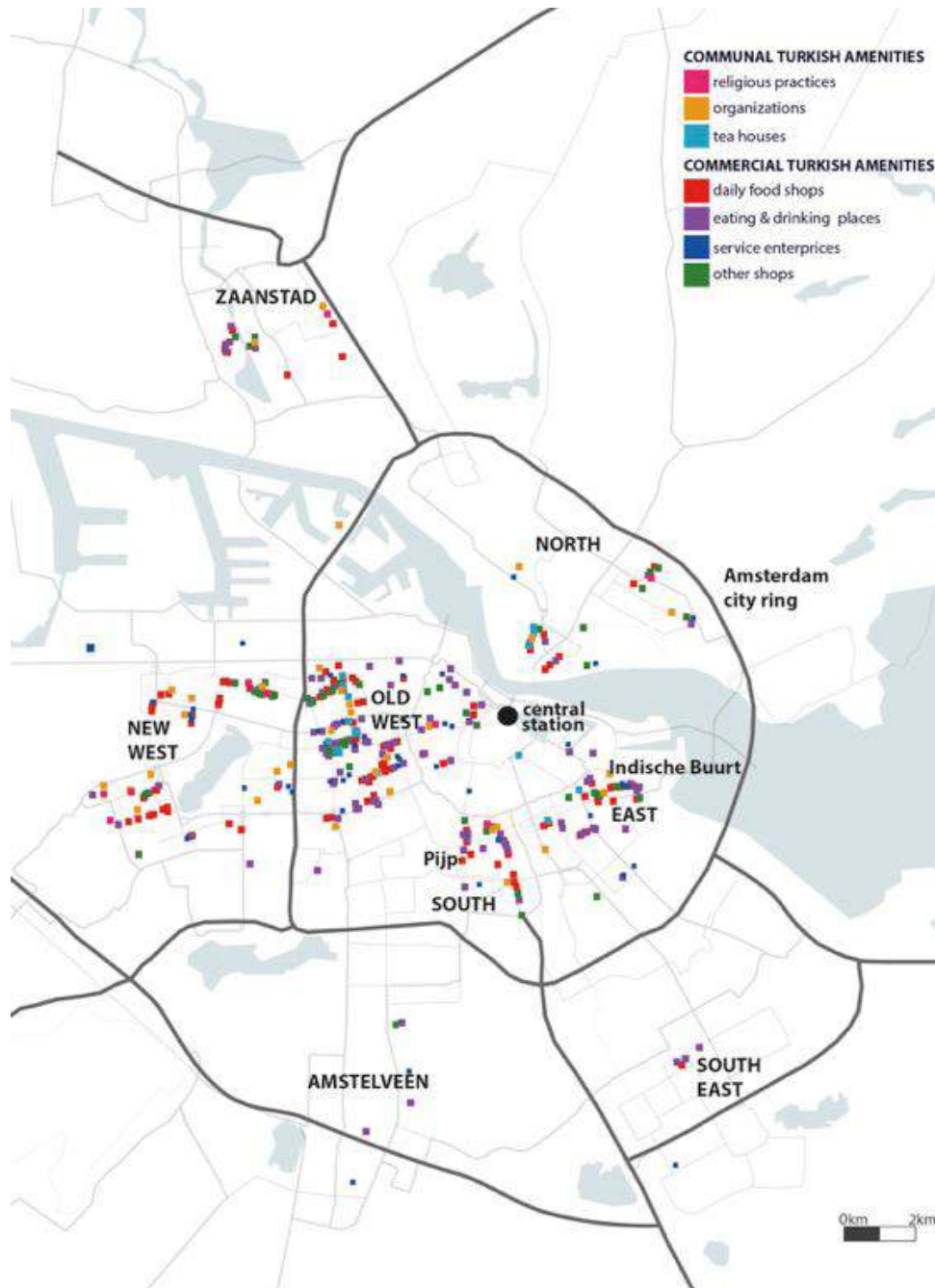


Figure 9. The types of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam according to their function (Own elaboration with data collected by the author).

## 6.2 PHYSICAL FEATURES

Turkish amenities, noticeable at street level through their distinctive names, have different physical features (such as size, window presentation, advertisement boards) and related practices (such as street use, working hours) depending on their types and location in the city. The differences between communal and commercial amenities are especially clear.

Commercial amenities are very visible at street level due to their window display, large name boards, and advertisements of events on their windows. But their visibility goes beyond their physical appearance and is also related to the practices and activities that they generate. Such amenities generally have longer working hours than the traditional shops that close at 18:00 hours. This is especially happening during the weekend and evenings, increasing the vitality of the street where they are located.

Commercial amenities in the inner city have different features than those in suburban areas. In the former, amenities offer a wider variety of products aiming to attract groups beyond Turkish residents. For example, eating places in the inner city generally mix Turkish cuisine with Greek, Italian, or Moroccan cuisines. Many Italian and Greek restaurants in the inner city have a menu with Turkish dishes and are owned by Turkish immigrants. On the other hand, commercial amenities in the suburbs are more exclusively oriented to the residents of Turkish origin.

Communal amenities have almost no visibility at street level. Since they specifically target Turkish interest groups, their window display and entrances do not clearly suggest their function for other residents. In some cases, even their entrances are hardly noticeable. The case of mosques is useful to illustrate the differences between commercial and communal amenities. Mosques are scattered around the city, and established in individual buildings or in part of a building. Those located in inner city areas are hardly noticeable, even for a careful observer, as they do not have boards with their names, signs or religious symbols, a common feature of mosques.

Since mosques are clustered with other communal and commercial amenities, they bring vitality to the streets where they locate, increasing their visibility. This is more obvious in the communal clusters located



in suburban areas, which often occupy a larger area with a garden, and extend the street use with tables and chairs, especially in the summer period. Figure 10 shows a cluster of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam New West which includes a mosque, a teahouse, a food shop, a sport centrum and a traveling agency.

Figure 10. A cluster of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam New West (Author, 2009).

The praying activities of mosques, dominantly by men, create a specific and rhythmic street use during the day, in the morning, afternoon and in the evening. In such way, the clusters surrounding mosques create a small niche for Turkish men and keep the neighbourhood active during day and night times in the week and weekdays.

## 7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study has been useful to verify a strong relationship between the location of the different types of amenities and their physical features, which in turn, shape their visibility. This is more obvious in commercial and communal amenities, particularly in those located within the Turkish concentration areas, which in the context of the general city trends in Amsterdam, tend to decrease in the inner city and increase in the suburbs.

How does the location of Turkish amenities influence their visibility in terms of physical features in Amsterdam? There are multiple indications of clear differences in the physical features of commercial amenities located in inner city and suburban areas, visible through their types, names, products sold and window displays. In the suburbs they are dominantly catering local residents. In the inner city, they target wider groups of people beyond the residents. This is particularly visible in the case of those neighbourhoods involved in a process of gentrification, which increasingly attract residents from the middle and higher income groups as well as visitors such as day-trippers and international tourists.

Studies on the gentrifying neighbourhoods of Amsterdam suggest that the residential gentrification goes hand-to-hand with the commercial gentrification (Zukin, 2012; Sezer and Fernández-Maldonado, forthcoming) and results in the displacement of long established specialized businesses or their transformation into other kinds of businesses. Commercial amenities in inner city areas are mostly adapting or transforming their businesses according to the demand of the new residents and visitors. However, not all the commercial amenities can modify their businesses following neighbourhood transformation processes. For example, those specialized on the needs of a specific target group (e.g. woman clothing shop for Muslim women) have difficulties to adapt to the changes and eventually may lose their businesses. This situation may have a negative effect on the visibility of distinctive immigrant amenities.

In regards to the physical features of the communal amenities, the findings suggest that communal amenities have a limited visibility, with some differences between suburban and inner city locations. In the suburbs, they are more noticeable since they use larger spaces and extend their street use depending on the availability of space. In the inner city, they are almost invisible because they mostly lack names, signs and in some cases clear entrances. However, the clustering of these amenities with some other businesses, for instance with shops and restaurants, provides them with an increased visibility. Additionally, the periodic use of some of the communal amenities (e.g. mosques) also increases their visibility.

The focus on visibility has been useful to give good insights into the practices performed by immigrants at street level. The concept of visibility appears as a valuable tool to get relevant neighbourhood data generally hidden from statistical and official data. The findings suggest that to study the visibility of immigrant amenities, not only their characteristic physical features matter, but also their location. They also imply that neighbourhood transformation programmes should be aware of the issues and assets related to the visibility of immigrant amenities to develop neighbourhood strategies that effectively improve the lives of local people. This would support the promotion of diversity and vitality of public life of the city.

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## **ID 1633 | REPRESENTATION OF TERRITORIAL HERITAGE & DEVELOPMENT: CONJECTURED MAPPING TO UPDATE PORTUGUESE POSTULATES OF CITY-MAKING IN SÃO MATEUS, ES, BRAZIL**

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### **1 INTRODUCTION**

This article is part of the state of the art regarding the methodology and technique of Representation of Territorial Heritage, capable of fostering reflections on heritage values through the elaboration of conjectured maps of four moments of the historical evolution of the urban heritage of São Mateus (1764, 1819, late nineteenth century, and early twenty-first century), in the state of Espírito Santo, Brazil.

Representation is one of the stages of planning, design and management for a self-sustaining local development, according to the Italian Territorialist Approach, whose research-intervention is directed to the overcoming of traditional analysis models, through: a theoretical revision, in which refers the enlargement of the concept of heritage, and an instrumental suggestion of geoprocessing and illustration production. The territorialist approach is a current of research-intervention thinking created and consolidated by the iconic figure of Alberto Magnaghi and the Society of the Territorialists.

This approach prioritizes the conservation and valorization of areas, figures and heritage elements in the territory, in the search for the widening of the concept of heritage, from the scale of the building to the scale of the city, the region and the territory. It questions the role of the territory, in the contemporary world, in the face of the problematic of political, economic, environmental and social unsustainability, and reveals technical and methodological paths for a local self-sustainable development.

The objective is the elaboration of conjectured mapping of Heritage Values of São Mateus, with support of geoinformation technology, as digital model synthesis in the iconographic ambit, identifying heritage elements, that can be point, lines and / or polygons materialized in the territory; and in the conceptual ambit, reflecting on the concept of territorial heritage and the relation with the local economy that provides a reproducibility of the Portuguese model of urban settlement.

In order to carry out the mapping, the method is based on the territorialist approach, concerning environmental, territorial and urban analyzes, and supported by georeferenced data; and of conjectural-cognitive analyzes, based on historical reports and iconography, to identify the main components of the place.

For the elaboration of the conjectural mapping elaboration, it is used a two-dimensional illustration program, which is constructed based on historical reports and iconography, in order to identify the main components of the site. And for the elaboration of the mapping of the graphic representation of heritage values, based on the Italian territorialist approach, concerning the analysis of weights of "values of use", "values of existence" and "values of actuality". The map of the representation of values is developed in the free and open source software QuantumGIS, whose graphic design constructed is georeferenced on the Orthophotomosaic basis.

The results obtained, in the state of the art, cover a discussion of methodology and technique of representation of values in heritage sites, when carrying out conjectural mapping, with geoinformation technology in order to reconstruct the evolution of the urban heritage of São Mateus, and to reflect critically