Atmospheric experience of modernist architectural environments: Towards a new model of embodied significance of heritage sites

Leij, Imme van der

Atmospheric experience of modernist architectural environments

Towards a new model of embodied significance of heritage sites

Imme van der Leij

Front-page image: The Claustrawand, R.K. Sint-Isidoruskerk, Nagele.

Atmospheric experience of modernist architectural environments

Towards a new model of embodied significance of heritage sites

Imme van der Leij
Master Thesis Heritage and Museum Studies | 1084VTHMY
Supervisor: Prof. dr. P.J. ter Keurs
Leiden University, Faculty of Archaeology
Leiden, 24 August 2022 | Final version

Index

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

List of figures

List of tables

List of appendices

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study has been a very personal project and constitutes the synergy of my academic development at Leiden University. A deep interest in the interchange of politics, art and society has resulted in a strong curiosity regarding the workings of architectural environments and heritage in human-environment relationships. Multiple people inside and outside of Leiden University have contributed to this incentive coming into being, thus it is not possible to name them all. The process of this thesis and the trust placed in me by my supervisor Prof. dr. Pieter ter Keurs has enabled me to pursue a topic which I feel I was intended to study when I arrived at university. I was also encouraged by dr. Maikel Kuijpers to pursue my interest in the agency of our spatial environment. I would like to thank both Prof. dr. Ter Keurs and dr. Kuijpers for their time, mentally stimulating conversations, and supervision during the process of this study. Furthermore, I would like to thank mr. Diederik Six for putting me on the track of conceptualizing a model to study experiential dimensions of heritage and the built environment. I owe a great deal of gratitude to Annemarie Snippe for connecting me with residents of the village Nagele and serving as a sparring mate. Without ms. Snippe, the empirical research would not have succeeded so fruitfully. I would like to express special appreciation for the many conversations I was allowed to have with dwellers of Nagele and experts connected to the case. The Noordoostpolder and Nagele truly are unique places in the history of the Netherlands, which I hope will inspire readers as it has inspired myself.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"I enter a building, see a room, and – in a fraction of a second – have this feeling about it" (Zumthor, 2006, p. 13)

Architect Peter Zumthor's frequently cited stream of consciousness (Canepa et al., 2019, p. 26) constitutes the crux of this research. The moment one enters an architectural environment people have an immediate experience which influences how one feels about it. Modernist architectural environments, often made of concrete, can particularly evoke strong feelings, which are often understood as ambiguous or uncanny experiences (Croft, 2004, p. 8). To some extent, these experiences are also shared. For example, the representation of modernist or concrete architectural environments is used as a cinematic strategy to elicit certain affective and embodied experiences. Cunha (2019, p. 178) states its usage often intents give the onlooker a sense of isolation, displacement or estrangement. The concrete brutalist architecture in Stanley Kubrick's renowned *A Clockwork Orange* (1971) for example, materializes his dystopian vision on the future (Martin, 2022). Millington (2016, p. 23) argues that cinematic urban images therefore always express properties of space that humans are at least partially, or unconsciously, aware of. The use of the cinematic image of built environments taps in, confirms, or rejects individual urban experiences.

Onlookers' ideas and expectations of urban experience are thus shared, or 'social', to some degree since cinematographers would otherwise not opt for this often-used cinematographic strategy. In short, urban or built space produces, elicits, and acquires meaning (Azhar et al., 2022). In this study, the affective and embodied experience of architectural environments is defined as atmospheric experience. Atmospheric experience in turn is understood as a foundational element of human *dwelling* and existence by Heidegger (1971). Specifically, everyday engagement with one's spatial living environment can have deep consequences for issues of identity and belonging (Billig, 1995). Therefore, the composition of one's spatial environment is significant. Recalling the ambiguous or uncanny experiences people tend to have in relation to modernist architectural environments, everyday engagement could have impact on their wellbeing or mode of living.

Various modernist living environments of the twentieth century have been preserved across the globe, but multiple modernist architectural environments hold tensions inherent in its design. For example, Brasilia (Brazil)[1] demonstrates tensions between its UNESCO World Heritage status, the architectural style, functional zoning, and scale on the one hand, and social relations and livability on the other (Banerji, 2012; Budds, 2019; Waldek, 2020). Sarin (2021) argues Chandigarh (India)[2], by Le Corbusier has exclusionary concepts at the basis of its masterplan by excluding a large portion of the (poorer) population from legal housing and employment. Yet, these sites are valued as modernist heritage and preserved based on its cultural-historical significance. The question becomes how the preservation of modernist structures, which are associated with ambiguous or uncanny experience or social tensions, impacts the atmospheric experience of its residents, its *dwellers*. Atmospheric experience, or experiential dimensions generally, have long been omitted from positivist academia, the paradigm of heritage significance, and the architectural discipline alike. Currently, heritage policy predominantly revolves around the cultural-historical significance and socio-economic value of heritage sites. Heritage is increasingly adopted as a policy-mechanism to improve the socio-economic wellbeing and livability of communities related to heritage sites (Ebbe, 2009, pp. 1-2).

Given the affective influence of atmospheric experience on modes of dwelling in one's spatial environment and related notions of subjective wellbeing, consideration of atmospheric experience could be a means to firstly address the significance of atmospheric experience for human existence and secondly to address tensions between heritage values attributed to modernist living environment and the lifeworld of those dwellers who engage with it. This is significant as affective and embodied experience is a constituting factor of notions of subjective wellbeing, which in turn contributes to overall livability of a spatial environment (Mouratidis, 2020, p. 265). This study therefore seeks to establish the role atmospheric experience could have for the livability of modernist architectural heritage. As such, this study aims to address the wide-spread omission of experiential dimensions of human-environment relations in positivist academia (Griffero, 2009) and heritage policy and practice (L. Smith & Campbell, 2015, p. 446). To that end, this study deliberately departs from the epistemology of

[1] Brasilia in Brazil was designed and built by architect Oscar Niemeyer (1907-2012) and urban planner Lúcio Costa (1902-1998) between 1956 and the early 1960s. Oscar Niemeyer was strongly influenced by modernist architect Le Corbusier.
[2] Chandigarh in India was designed and built by Le Corbusier (1887-1965) from 1951 until his death in 1965. Final construction was complete in 1969.

phenomenology, as this philosophy of science has focused on experiential *phenomena* but similarly lacked wide-spread applicability in other domains.

The phenomenological approach of this study informs a sensitivity for the subjective, inter-subjective and shared experiences of phenomena and interviews with dwellers as the primary source of data. The phenomenological framework produces a predominantly inductive research design which does not seek to falsification of hypotheses but verification of various lines of inquiry, which follow interpretation of the theoretical framework in Chapter 2, instead. In phenomenological ontology, the researcher cannot be separated from the object of study and thus is central in the production of knowledge (Howell, 2013). This study will thus address emergent themes from the data, aided by theoretical inquiry, instead of sub-questions to answer the thesis question. The theoretical framework in Chapter 2 informs various lines of inquiry and the construction of a preliminary model of embodied significance of heritage which is presented in Chapter 4. The deliberate choice is made to present the case study in Chapter 3, before the Methodology in Chapter, in order to empirically establish this study and to give the theory footing in an empirical case.

Th building of Nagele finished in 1956 and the village constitutes the epitome of the Dutch exponent of modernism in architecture called *Nieuwe Bouwen* (Baart et al., 1988, p .17). Nagele has regained attention from heritage agencies and the municipality following the degradation and decline of the cultural-historical qualities and related social challenges to the village (Blom et al., 2016, p. 9; Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, p. 44). After this, in Chapter 4 the operationalization of atmospheric experience and livability will be discussed, and the methodology will be elaborated on. Interviews with residents of Nagele constitute the primary source of data in this study, which is the foundation for the presentation of the results in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6 the results based on the lines of inquiry formulated in Chapter 2 will be discussed, aided by secondary literature and archive material. Following this, the preliminary model will be re-asserted and presented as a tool to establish atmospheric value, meaning the affective judgment of the embodied experience of architectural environments, as a means to critically expand and translate experiential dimensions to current debates regarding the significance of heritage and human-environment interaction.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Budling on a phenomenological framework, atmospheric experience of architectural environments is conceptualized in this study as a significant, if not essential, dimension of human interaction with one's environment. Specially in the case of living environments, how one experiences one's environment influences wellbeing, meaning making and a sense of belonging (Pallasmaa, 2019, p. 129; Smith & Campbell, 2015, p. 443; Viderman & Knierbein, 2018, p. 845). Current policy and practice regarding livability revolves around material and economic factors. Even though subjective wellbeing is increasingly being viewed as an important factor, it is a difficult dimension to translate to (quantitative) policy (Hupppert, 2014, p. 33). Today, heritage is viewed as a means to enhance the socio-economic status of communities (Ebbe, 2009, pp. 1-2). It will be suggested in the following discussion of the theoretical framework that the paradigm of values underlying livability and heritage values alike and the lifeworld of the policy audience could differ. Therefore, active consideration of atmospheric experience could not only expand general discussions regarding the significance of heritage but could also serve a s a means to address tensions and situated power-relations between notions of (subjective) wellbeing and livability regarding human-environment relationships.

2.1 Problem orientation

The academic domain of experiential dimensions of architectural atmospheres is not undebated. This is related to the academic affiliation of phenomenological philosophy with the domain of experiential phenomena, as argued by Griffero (2019). Phenomenology has been identified as a specifically German philosophical tradition since the seminal theorization by Heidegger (1927) in *Sein und Zeit* that "any kind of experience of atmosphere is (…) contingent on subjective disposition, mood or state-of-mind" (Griffero, 2019, p. 12; Sørensen, 2015, p. 64). Husserl (1970, 1989) coined 'pure phenomenology' as an ontology which departs from a purely autonomous object of study that is logically and conceptually independent of metaphysical or empirical facts (Noë, 2007, p. 231). Although Noë (2007, p. 232) indicates that this traditional approach is rarely adopted, the author does argue that dominant phenomenological practice strongly suggests the idea of 'autonomous', and therefore inherently subjective experience. This

theoretical stance has long limited widespread appreciation of phenomenology, and its associated academic attention for experiential phenomena, as a true 'scientific' pursuit.

Atmospheric experience, therefore, has long been omitted from positivist epistemology, which is one of the tenet of Western academia (Kincheloe & Tobin, 2009, p. 513). Positivism has been dominant in the development of European thought from the Renaissance, the Reformation, to the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment (Ryan, 2006, p. 14), inspired by philosophers Descartes and Locke (Park et al., 2020, p. 691). Ryan (2006, p. 14) states positivism is a philosophy of science based on a modernist outlook on the world. It can be defined as a movement of thought that value only certainty and empirical knowledge as valid. Modernism values the rational over other ways of knowing, such as intuition or emotion, argues Duara (1991, p. 67). Positivism fragmentizes human experience instead of treating it as a complex whole, seeking a reduction to abstract and universal principles. The ontology of methodological positivism assumes a single tangible reality exists, which can be understood, identified and measured (Park et al., 2020, p. 691). (Riley, 2007, p. 115) adds that positivist ontology "equates existence with objects that are observable." The nature of positivist knowledge revolves around absolute objectivity to develop certain truths. Modern thinking alike has been interested in observable, conscious and rational phenomena, argues (Pallasmaa, 2019, p. 124). Consequently, 'uncontrollable' and 'unconscious' individual subjective experiences and values such as atmospheric experience have been dismissed, argue Park et al. (2020, p. 692). As such, the study of the relationship between humans and architectural environments has been shaped, or limited, by positivism in multiple ways.

In fact, despite awareness that people have a variety of cognitive-emotional responses to architecture, Higuera-Trujillo et al. (2021, p. 1) indicate in their scopious review that most related research has focused on "architectural aspects most open to objectification". Experiential dimensions of architecture have been perceived to be individual, hence subjective and challenging to 'empirically' study. Higuera-Trujillo et al. (2021, p. 8) argue that this is symptomatic of the positivist academic bias towards those dimensions of the human-built environment that are most likely to be objectified and measurable. Yet, recalling Zumthor's (2006, p. 13) experience of architectural space, the engagement with a spatial environment induces an affective and embodied reaction. Significantly, next to the experiential nature of atmospheres, Albertsen (2019, pp. 3-5) states atmospheric experience is a holistic phenomenon with involves all the senses. A multitude of dimensions contribute to one's embodied and

affective judgement of human-environment interaction. Zumthor (2006) argues that (material) properties of architecture strongly impact people's atmospheric experience, highlights Murray (2007, p. 367). These material qualities arise from the affective influence materials have on people. Schmitz (1999) therefore theorizes in his *New Phenomenology* that atmospheres are therefore spatial in nature, and are engendered by their material grounding, such as smell, sound, taste, heat, illumination and tactile feel of a building. As summarized by Sørensen (2015, p. 65), the experience of atmospheres inherently means "being affectively disposed on the grounds of material surroundings." Bille and Sørensen (2016, p. 12) thus argue architecture is not only a physical experience, but also an "affective performance of sensing and making sense of space."

Bille and Sørensen (2016, p. 161) indicate there has been a recent proliferation of academic interest in people's atmospheric experience of spatial environments. Phenomenology was not studied extensively until social geographers took increased interest phenomenology in the 1970s (Jackson, 1981, p. 299), which was subsequently translated to the domain of environmental psychology (Seamon, 1982, p. 119). Following this, the significance attributed to affect, atmosphere and the emotive agency of space has increased momentum for a (new) phenomenology of space (Griffero & Tedeschini, 2019; Higuera-Trujillo et al., 2021). In this light, *New Phenomenologist* Schmitz (2007, p. 23) has defined atmosphere as "an emotive radiance in space" (Sørensen, 2015, p. 65) which exist between humans and things (subject and object) and is determined by various properties (Böhme, 1993, pp. 119). This has resulted in the theorization of atmosphere to be located *between* subject and object. As such, the phenomenon does not follow classical (or Cartesian) philosophy's ontology which separates subject and object. Albertsen (2019, p.3) clarifies atmospheres present or manifest themselves to the outside world in-between subject and object. Its properties do not determine or delimit its form as atmospheres become present in constellation with other things and properties. Atmospheres therefore radiate on the environment and its perceiver through so-called "ecstasies of things", as coined by Böhme (1993, pp. 121-122, 1995, pp. 32-34). Furthermore, Böhme (1993, pp. 122) argues "the atmosphere is the common reality of the perceiver and the perceived." Individuals do not project a psychic state onto things, but atmospheres are sensed through a physical presence, for "we perceive how we find ourselves bodily in our environment", argues Albertsen (2019, p.3), or how the individual, as a body, feels in an environment (Böhme, 1995, p. 15). As such, atmospheres act upon the emotion, mood, concern, or state of being of those who experience an environment (Böhme, 1993, pp. 120). Macdonald

(2013, p. 59) highlights the notion of 'affect' has been used more frequently in the phenomenological discourse than the concept emotion as affect places more emphasis on shared understandings of atmospheric experience instead of the more 'individual' realm of emotions.

As atmosphere become evident in between subject and object (or perceiver and perceived) (Böhme, 1993, pp. 119), the phenomenon cannot be called solely subjective based on individual perception. In addition, Griffero (2019, p. 28) argues that atmosphere is a "quasi-objective being responsible for one/s feeling well (or not) in a space that is constituted between perceiver and perceived as a "felt-bodily co-presence." Griffero (2017, p. 149) adds the phenomenological concept of *felt-body* (Schmitz, 2002) , which is defined as the "tool for sensing the affective radiation provoked by atmospheres" and communicates with one's conscious or unconscious sensing of certain atmospheres. Graumann (2002, p. 98) adds that phenomenologically, humans are to be understood as the sensing, and meaning giving, bodily center which experience their environment as meaningful. The human is the "*bodily* center of orientation" of the phenomenological concept of *lifeworld*. Lifeworld is the world as it is lived, meaning how it is experienced and acted upon and which in turn acts upon the experiencing subject, defines Graumann (2002, p. 98). In addition, Graumann (2002, p. 96), in line with *New Phenomenology,* argues that meaning from a phenomenological perspective is an intersubjective matter of people-environment relations. It is not an individual "subjective" state of mind nor an "objective" attribute in the extra-personal environment. As such, overcoming the "old phenomenological" perception of the mind as a "secluded inner world" of personal experiences, Schmitz (2003) seeks to rediscover those aspects of human life experience that have been missed or repressed by traditional phenomenology (Gugutzer, 2020, p. 186). Gugutzer (2020, p. 186) states Schmitz therefore argues *New Phenomenology* is an empirical science which identifies and analyzes empirical phenomena.

Following this, this study will adopt the *felt-body* (embodied affective experience), theorized in Schmitz 's (2002) *New Phenomenology*, and environmental affordances of atmospheric space (Sørensen, 2015) as nexus to investigate and discuss atmospheric experience. *New Phenomenology* as theorized by Schmitz (1980, 2002, 2003, 2011, 2016, 2019) and expanded upon by Böhme (1993), Sørensen (2015) and Griffero (2019) will provide the necessary bridge from individual (subjective) towards shared (inter-subjective) embodied experiences of architectural atmospheres. In fact, Sørensen (2015, p. 64) uses this stance to overcome the "clause of subjectivity" often attributed to phenomenology because the inter-subjective

approach of atmospheres strategically decenters human subjectivity. Atmospheres cannot be reduced to objective facts. Nevertheless, approaching embodied experience of architectural atmospheres as holistic 'quasi-things' in regard with environmental affordances enables the creation of a model in this study. This model can serve as a tool to discuss decentered, inter-subjective or shared experience of architectural atmospheres.

2.2 Wellbeing and heritage space

Atmospheric experience is defined as the affective and embodied experience of architectural environments. Architecture is not only a physical experience, but also an "affective performance of sensing and making sense of space", state Bille and Sørensen (2016, p. 12). Mouratidis (2020, p. 266) defines affect as a form of "emotional/hedonic wellbeing", meaning "the experience of positive and negative emotions during a specific time frame." Atmospheric experience therefore influences how people occupy their spatial environment. In fact, embodied atmospheric experience is a form of affective evaluative judgment that affectively influences wellbeing (Griffero, 2019, p. 12; Sayer, 2007, pp. 90-91). There has been recognition of the negative impact built-environments can have on psychological and physiological wellbeing, for example concerning windowless, isolated spaces. Lack of natural lighting, lack of daylight, exterior views, lack of fresh air and high humidity have been addressed as negatively impacting user-experience of the built space (Carmody & Sterling, 1987, pp. 59-60). Significantly, the intended time individuals expect to be in a space may also greatly impact the gravity of their negative experience, state Carmody and Sterling (1987, p. 61). Moreover, there have been numerous academic indications that high quality and well-maintained green and open space in urban areas create social and environmental value and contribute greatly to public health and wellbeing (Beck, 2016, p. 53; Ward Thompson et al., 2014, p. 7). In short, embodied and affective atmospheric experience of spatial environments contributes to notions of wellbeing (Carmody & Sterling, 1987, p. 59). Or in other words, the experience of architectural atmosphere, or atmospheric experience, is an affective and embodied experience which constitutes an important determining factor of wellbeing and meaning making of spatial one's environment (Pallasmaa, 2019, p. 129; L. Smith & Campbell, 2015, p. 443; Viderman & Knierbein, 2018, p. 845).

Specifically, Hupppert (2014, pp. 1- 2) defines wellbeing as a subjective notion of how people actually experience their lives, which could differ from the objective approach of wellbeing as determined by quality of life or welfare factors. In similar vein, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente (2019, p. 199) state the concept of wellbeing is often understood as "subjective well-being." Veenhoven (2008, p. 2) defines subjective wellbeing as the "overall judgment of life that draws on two sources of information: cognitive comparison with standards of the good life (contentment) and affective information from how one feels most of the time (hedonic level of affect). Subjective wellbeing is defined as "a cognitive and affective evaluation of one's life" by Mouratidis (2020, p. 266). Mouratidis (2020, p. 266) argues subjective wellbeing comprises of life satisfaction, eudaimonia (meaning self-actualization and meaning in life), and affect (meaning emotional/hedonic wellbeing). Subjective notions of wellbeing denote how people actually experience their lives, which may be strongly or weakly accordant with the objective measures of livability, argues Hupppert (2014, p. 2).

Yet, Mouratidis (2020, p. 265) states subjective wellbeing is currently an increasingly important subjective indicator of livability, or quality of life. Consequently, Hupppert (2014, pp. 1-2) argues subjective wellbeing in policy is defined at the societal level as being an objective state. It concerns factors in people's lives which are often used synonymously with welfare, such as education, housing, security and the environment (Hupppert, 2014, pp. 1-2). Even though wellbeing is envisioned as a subjective indicator, it is often materialized as an objective dimension of the overarching concept of livability. Burton (2014, p. 5312) argues livability in turn, is often understood in terms of material or economic welfare, such as the "(objective) quality of life, welfare, 'level of living' or habitability." In similar vein, Okulicz-Kozaryn & Valente (2019, p. 197) define livability as "the quality of life, standard of living, or general well-being of a population in a specific region, area, or city. It is the sum of factors that can add up to a community's quality of life (economic prosperity, social equity and stability, educational opportunities, recreation and cultural opportunities, etc.)."

Livability as the quality of a place is often understood as "the physical characteristics of community, the way it is planned, designed, developed and maintained" (Burton, 2014, p. 5312). As such, the understanding of livability as 'standard of living' signals that livability is generally perceived as a tangible and objective concept, which can be measured with indexes and indicators in policy and practice. In turn, the policy-occupation with wellbeing as an objective (and measurable) state reflects the paradigm of economic and material values which

are constitutive of livability policy. Wellbeing is inscribed with the (modernist) values of livability in order to transpose the concept to the policy-context and practice of livability. This is caused by the current particularly high government interest and policy attention to issues of enhancing livability and sustainable development of cities (Okulicz-Kozaryn & Valente, 2019, pp. 198-199; Zanella et al., 2015, p. 696).

Understanding subjective wellbeing as a policy-dimension is challenging though, as these subjective experiences of life satisfaction include changing emotions, attitudes, and behavior (Hupppert, 2014, p. 33). In terms of policy implications, the causalities are also less established than in other domains, states Hupppert (2014, p. 33). One should note however, that opting for *causalities* is again reflective of a positivist stance, which albeit necessary for widespread policy implementation, also obscures and abstracts more holistic human experience. In any case, Hupppert (2014, p. 2) adds objective factors of livability are central to policies that governments and organizations traditionally regard themselves responsible for.

Building on this, Pyer (2014, p. 113) summarizes Atkinson et al.'s (2016) argument to move away from the dominant research and policy approach of wellbeing as financial or material wealth, despite all academic debate. Instead, the authors stress the importance of holistic understandings of the concept, which encompasses more than physical wellbeing. It includes and is not limited to emotional, social, spiritual and embodied notions of wellbeing. In this light, Atkinson et al. (2016, p. 2) call for "empirically informed research on differently situated understandings and experiences of wellbeing" which can "expose situated conflict and power inequalities in terms of which perspectives are valued". In fact, critical analysis of notions of wellbeing in relation to values can interrogate "highly situated relations of power" (Atkinson et al., 2016, p. 2), as some determinants and meanings of wellbeing are privileged over others in different social spaces (Atkinson et al., 2016, p. 10). All in all, Atkinson et al. (2016, p. 9) reflect livability (and wellbeing) values are characteristic of the modern, such as materialism, economism, consumerism and individualism. These values may impact policy discourse but could also constitute the backdrop for individual judgments of a good life (Veenhoven, 2008, p. 2).

Values are thus significant in shaping worldviews and impact how meaning-making and experiences of these values are situated across socio-spatial environments. In fact, Atkinson et al. (2016, p. 10) argues that "understanding personal wellbeing as embedded with ethical

purpose and value has received very little direct attention in wellbeing studies." Therefore, this study will search for and address existing different and conflicting conceptualizations of wellbeing, based on values, in the same neighborhood as well as processes through which certain conceptualizations may become dominant over others, as proposed by Atkinson et al. (2016, p. 11).

2.3 Heritage values and livability

Embodied atmospheric experience is a form of evaluative judgment of one's environment that affectively influences wellbeing (Griffero, 2019, p. 12; Sayer, 2007, pp. 90-91). As such, people valuate or judge their environment partly based on embodied atmospheric experience of spatial environments. This constitutes the spatial environment as the locus of this embodied experiential judgement. Donohoe (2019, p. 192) argues "our embodied style of being in the world is structured by the places that we inhabit." Place in turn, is essential to heritage, argues Macdonald (2013, p. 94), as through place and its specific physical elements the past is made present. Avrami et al. (2000, p. 1) state heritage values are critical when conserving a material past as these conservation choices "will represent us and our past to future generations." Graham et al. (2016) however, adds "the discourses that form our understanding of heritage are a performance in which the meaning of the past is continuously negotiated in the context of the needs of the present", as referred to by Gentry and Smith (2019, p. 1149). Recalling the situatedness of values, Graumann (2002, p. 100) argues it is important "to account for an ultimately reciprocal relation between the geographical [physical] and the behavioral environment [psychological] since behaviors changes the geographic environment, which in turn acts back on behavior". The discourse of heritage values which is inscribed in the landscape therefore impacts atmospheric experience and related judgements of subjective wellbeing against the discourse of those specific values.

Currently, livability is a topic of interest in the heritage domain. Mostafa (2012, p. 254) argues that the environmental quality of valuable urban areas such as historical areas, is one of the main factors that determine quality of life in the city. Even though improved quality of life is assumed to be an intrinsically valuable outcome of historic preservation efforts, Mostafa (2012, p. 254) clarifies there have not been many academic attempts to make this relationship explicit. This omission has in part motivated this study. Nevertheless, Ebbe (2009, pp. 1-2) states today

heritage is often perceived as a policy-strategy to attain socio-economic improvement of local communities or populations related to heritage sites. Azhari and Mohamed (2012, p. 272) argue that most societies pursue the preservation and conservation of their heritage because heritage satisfies a variety of needs. For individuals and households, heritage valorization could satisfy aesthetic, recreational or cognitive needs. For owners of monuments and private companies, heritage could be used to earn profits from tourism. For local or national governments heritage can create a positive image of the area and improve the living environment (Greffe, 2004, p. 302). Significantly, Greffe (2004, p. 304) reflects this general stance when the author warns that awareness of conservation ensures that the heritage sector becomes a resource for development whilst lack of attention could lead to *destruction of the economic possibilities of this resource*.

Similarly, the World Bank has called to recognize heritage conservation as a significant opportunity for urban revitalization and economic development (Ebbe, 2009, p. 1). The World Bank, by means of Ebbe (2009, p. 1), states that "improving the conservation and management of urban heritage is not only important for preserving its historic significance, but also for its potential to increase income-earning opportunities, city livability and competitiveness." The World Bank and UNESCO have increasingly financed projects in developing countries which focus on conservation of "*cultural heritage assets* [italics by author] either for their own value or as a component of infrastructure and economic development strategies", especially related to tourism (Ebbe, 2009, p. 2). This signals a discourse in heritage policy which focuses on heritage as a strategy for local socio-economic development, by creating an environment in which communities can take advantages of the opportunities enabled by heritage. Expanding the community-approach, UNESCO argues that the role of heritage strategies is to "ensure an appropriate and equitable balance between conservation, sustainability and development" in order to protect heritage "through appropriate activities contributing to the social and economic development and the quality of life of our communities"(The Budapest Declaration on World Heritage, 2002, p. 4). All this reflects the worldview in livability policy and heritage policy alike that improvement of the socio-economic and material status of communities will also impact their (subjective) wellbeing and quality of life.

2.4 Heritage conservation practice

There is an intimate relationship between the rise of the archaeological discipline, the origin of the nineteenth century nation state and the modern conservation movement (Brück & Stutz, 2016; Diachenko, 2016; Gentry & Smith, 2019; Glendinning, 2013; Jones, 2017; Kohl, 1998). Architecture in turn, is also "one of the cornerstones of the archaeological discipline", argue Bille and Sørensen (2016, p. 5) and likewise of the modern conservation movement. Archaeologists tend to stabilize physical elements following their focus on material evidence for understanding past societies (Bille & Sørensen, 2016, p. 11). Their strong involvement in the modern conservation movement established the notion of intrinsic worth, connected to aesthetic and historic values, states Jones (2017, p. 21). Jones (2017, p. 21) argues this interplay has contributed to stable and objective notions of 'heritage values' in the heritage discourse which are the foundation of many international heritage charters that have resulted from the shared "moral duty of care".

Since the second half of the twentieth century, national and international heritage policies have incorporated the emphasis on social and communal values of heritage (Avrami et al., 2000; de la Torre, 2002; Jones, 2017). This is predominantly attributed to the Burra Charter (1979, revised in 1999) (Jones, 2017, p. 23). The Charter states that "places of cultural significance enrich people's lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape and to lived experiences" (ICOMOS Australia, 1999). Cultural significance is defined as the synergy of a range of values, including historic, aesthetic, scientific, social or spiritual values (Article 1.2). Jones (2017, p. 22) argues the complex concept of social value can be defined as "a collective attachment to place that embodies meanings and values that are important to a community or communities." Jones (2017, p. 22) adds these social values of historic environments to contemporary communities are "fluid, culturally specific forms of value embedded in experience and practice." This encompasses the ways in which a place or environment enables basis for belonging, identity, memory, distinctiveness, and social interaction.

Expert-driven value assessment, however, tend to focus on scientific and historic value (De la Torre, 2002, pp. 3-4), which therefore fail to address the embodied and dynamic interaction between people and their environment. Atkinson et al. (2016, p. 9) add that the individual experiences and meaning of values are situated or differ across socio-spatial environments. In

similar vein, Viderman and Knierbein (2018, p. 845) argue that meaning making of environment through affect is also indicative of power relations. All this aligns with the influential understanding of heritage as "the use of the past as a cultural, political and economic resource for the present", by Ashworth et al. (2007, p. 3). The selection of values and neglect of others is part of the so-called Authorized Heritage Discourse (hereafter: AHD). L. Smith (2006, pp. 11-12) theorizes the AHD as the widespread heritage discourse which naturalizes Western expert dominance in discussions and decision-making about heritage. The resulting heritage practice, evident in policies and charters, revolve around *conservation* and *preservation* of heritage, and more precisely, departs from stabilized social and cultural meanings, argues L. Smith, (2006, p. 12). The heritage values that are constitutive of the (authorized) heritage discourse are the foundation of wide-spread preservation and conservation decision-making (Mason, 2002, p. 5).

Following all this, the questions becomes whether a value-based model of heritage is even appropriate to address the significance of heritage, as models in essence "objectify and fix different categories of value" (Jones 2017, p. 22). Instead, Jones (2017, p. 22) wishes to highlight fluid processes of *valuing* environments. Value-based conservation nevertheless remains challenging because of the diverse nature of heritage values. Identifying, ranking and assessing what values to include also often revolves around conflicting stakeholder interests (Mason, 2002, p. 5). In order to overcome the diversity and complexity of heritage values, the renowned Getty Conservation Institute has proposed a provisional *typology of heritage values* (fig. 4.1). This study adopts this value-typology because of the status of the Getty Institute and the typology constitutes an integration of theoretical categorizations by various scholars and organization (Mason, 2002). The typology distinguishes between socio-cultural and economic values. Even though the Getty has included spiritual/religious and aesthetic qualities, still, L. Smith and Campbell (2015, p. 449) highlight that AHD, of which the Getty could be an exemplar, has strongly contributed to maintaining negative attitudes towards emotion in heritage. L. Smith and Campbell (2015, p. 449) argue traditional studies of heritage "privilege a modernist view of the rational subject". Expert-knowledge as the foundation of 'rational' and 'technical' decision making through typologies of heritage values to assess its significance, strongly reflects the positivist-phenomenological debate regarding objective or subjective (affective) dimensions of heritage. In short, preserving certain realities of urban existence as heritage by upholding specific heritage values or conceptualizations of wellbeing impacts embodied atmospheric experience, meaning making and a sense of belonging. In fact, L. Smith

and Campbell (2015, p. 446) signal there is “an elephant in the room” of heritage studies due to the neglect of affect and emotion as “essential constitutive elements of heritage making.”

2.5 Wellbeing in modernist architectural environments

Experiential dimensions of architecture are generally not addressed as a heritage value in heritage conservation, nor is atmospheric experience or phenomenology a widely accepted academic discourse. Specifically in terms of the architectural discipline, a further reason for the long minimal role of embodied experience in (modernist) architecture and spatial environments is based on the hierarchy of the senses. Vision is leading in the ordering of the five Aristotelian senses, which is inherently connected to positivist fundaments of objectivity, rationality, and empiricism. Pallasmaa (2005, p. 15) states that already in classical Greek thought, the basis of Western (positivist) science, vision and visibility constituted certainty. Visual phenomena can be seen by more than one individual, making the events more objective, describable, and empirical than other sensuous experiences which are deemed to be more personal and subjective. Pallasmaa (2005, p. 15) highlights Western philosophical writings have so frequently adopted ocular metaphors “to the point that knowledge has become analogous with clear vision and light is regarded as the metaphor for truth.” Jay (1988, p. 4) argues the Renaissance invention of Cartesian or linear perspectivism in the arts and humanities strengthened the eye as the center-point of the perceptual world and turned the eye into a symbolic form of itself which conditions perception. The so-called “ocularcentric paradigm”, mirroring the dominance of positivist modernist discourse, is “a vision-generated, vision-centered interpretation of knowledge, truth and reality” (Levin, 1993, p. 2). Pallasmaa (2005, p. 16) adds that this paradigm constitutes the epistemological privileging of vision in our concept of knowledge and relationship to the world.

The ocular bias in architecture is especially evident in modernist architecture. Hartoonian (2001, p. 54) states architectural thinking and design has seen a “marginalization of the tectonic and tactile dimensions of construction” since Le Corbusier (1887-1965). The ‘father of modernism’ in architecture separated the “visually apprehended surface” from the material form (Jay, 1993; Paterson, 2011, pp. 263-264), which means that the visual surface prevails over other sensuous perception of material qualities. With the rise of modernist architecture in the twentieth century, spatial conditions have altered greatly. This is partly caused by increased urbanization and the application of concrete as building material. Forty (2013, p. 14) states “to

talk about concrete means talking about modernity – and all the ambivalence that such a discussion brings with it" as it constituted the origin and development of modern architecture. As concrete is considered the most widely used construction material worldwide, states Meyer (2009, p. 601), it has significant impact on the built environment. Significantly however, Forty (2013, p. 14) adds that reactions to concrete should be understood as expressions of human's ambiguous stance towards modern existence. According to Forty (2013, p. 14), concrete is "one of the agents through which our experience of modernity is mediated." Also, concrete's malleable material properties add to its diverse affordances (Croft, 2004, p. 8), especially if one takes a multi-sensuous perspective. Yet, the visual surface is the only dimension relevant of inquiry following a positivist worldview. Le Corbusier's 'vision' of architecture is telling:

"Architecture is the masterly, correct and magnificent play of volumes brought together in light. Our eyes are made to see forms in light; light and shade reveal these forms; curves, cones, spheres, cylinders and pyramids are the great primary forms…; the image of these is distinct … and without ambiguity." (Le Corbusier, in Nornberg-Schulz, 1979).

The emphasis on structural, visual qualities which create an image *without ambiguity* are evident of Le Corbusier's seminal vision of utopian urbanism during the 1920s and 1930s (Pinder, 2005a, p. 187). In order to overcome the traumas and devastation of the First World War, Le Corbusier attacked the 'disorder' of large cities and sought to confront the upheavals of the city by constructing a new rational landscape "fit for a new human subject", states Pinder, 2005b, p. 59). Modernists alike sought to erase an "overburdening sense of the past" by newly adopted construction techniques and materials such as glass, steel and reinforced concrete, states Vidler (1992, p. 63). Fearing ambiguity and disorder, Pinder (2005a, p. 184) argues Le Corbusier's obsession with boundaries, hierarchies, classifications, and land-zoning meant to ensure "non-contaminating" land uses by "monstrous" ambivalences, masses and disturbances that always threaten the city from within. And yet, Cohen (1996, p. 20) states "monsters can be pushed to the farthest margins (…) but they always return." In similar vein, Vidler (1992, pp. 168-172) argues the "utopian" application of transparency in "radiant" modernist architecture and urbanism by creating "hygienic" space and eradication the irrational, cannot be seen as a "final triumph of light over dark but precisely on the insistent presence of the one in the other." As such, Modernist environments are not powerful because of their transparency (fig. 3.12), but because of the persistent threat of dark space within bright space, states Vidler (1992, p. 172). The idea of boundaries and classifications in space to prevent ambivalence transformed

into the modernist principle of functional zoning. The International Movement for Modernist Architecture (CIAM), of which Le Corbusier was a protagonist, formalized and spread this tenet of modernism. Significantly, the case of this study being the village Nagele in the Netherlands, was designed by the Dutch section of the CIAM. The functionalism and orthogonal lines of functional zoning are visible in its lay-out (Doevendans et al., 2007, p. 344).

Furthermore, Vidler (1992, 8) argues that the modernist avantgarde adopted the architectural uncanny, the tension between the familiar and the unfamiliar, as an instrument of 'defamiliarization' to deliberately create shock and disturbance. This could help overcome the traumas of the First and Second World War. Also, the threat of dark space (uncontrolled masses) in bright space was adopted to structure people's behavior into a utopian model of society. Vidler (1992, p. 25) summarizes Freud's notion of the uncanny (*Das Unheimliche*, 1919), as the development of *heimlich* (the homely) into ambivalence, until it has become the opposite, *unheimlich* (unhomely/ uncanny). In fact, when the *heimlich* and *unheimlich* coalesce, when the known becomes unfamiliar and the strange appears to be known, the uncanny occurs. Whereas twentieth-century modernists sought to represent "architectural utopias of social emancipation" through concrete architecture, Croft (2004, p. 8) argues that concrete is able to render an "uncanny" feeling of "not being at home" besides the intended aim to elicit a sense of awe. Given concrete's malleable material properties and diverse affordances (Croft, 2004, p. 8), the material manifestation of modernism through its buildings and materials mediates one's experience of modernism, states Forty (2013, p. 14). People have ambiguous stances towards modernism due to which the architecture and its material physicality can engender ambivalent, uncanny experiences.

All in all, affective and embodied experience of architectural atmospheres have been neglected in the architectural discipline, academia, the heritage discourse and. the conservation movement. Built environments "have solely become settings for the judgment and appreciation of the eye", argues Pallasmaa (2019, pp. 121-122). Pallasmaa (2019, pp. 121-122) states modern and contemporary architecture has in fact neglected "fundamental sensory and mental issues" which induce human relationships with natural and man-made physical settings. The complex interactions between human experience and environment influence wellbeing, place attachment, meaning making and shape behavior. Awareness of these interactions is therefore vital, especially in the case of heritage values which are inscribed in the living environment of people and in turn act on people's *lifeworlds* (Graumann, 2002, p. 98).

2.6 Lines of Inquiry

Recalling Heidegger's (1971) notion of *dwelling*, Seamon and Mugerauer (1985, p. 9) state dwelling is the process by which a place in which we exist "becomes a personal world and a home." If this sensitivity for this is lost in building, human existence and experience in relation to their spatial environment could go astray. In similar vein, when neglecting atmospheric experience as part of an architectural environment, preserving, or demolishing spatial structures has consequences for the embodied experiences of people who engage with these, especially for those who do so on a daily basis. Reminiscent of Heidegger's understanding of *dwelling*, Billig (1995) argues the banal and everyday can have deeper consequences to issues of identity and belonging than the extraordinary. Madgin et al. (2018, p. 587) add that identifying embodied experiences is not enough, but rather how these positive or negative emotions develop into emotional attachments between people and place. L. Smith and Campbell (2015, p. 449) add that affect within heritage studies should not only focus on dissonant and contested emotions (e.g., traumatic histories, nationalism, legacy of slavery), but also on the "unremarkable and every-day". Viderman and Knierbein (2018, p. 845) point out that inscribing affect in shared spaces is a means to overcome silences and absence of certain voices or groups of the public.

As such, the theoretical discussion in this chapter has given rise to multiple lines of inquiry (specifically not hypotheses in a positivist sense) (table 2.1) which will inform the discussion in Chapter 6. Firstly, it has been suggested there could be a difference between policy discourse of livability and heritage and the policy audience's lifeworlds and meaning of wellbeing could differ. Livability is chosen as the overarching theme in this study as subjective wellbeing constitutes an important dimension of the experience of quality of life. Moreover, livability policy approaches the subjective factor as an objective state in socio-economic or material terms. Secondly, discourses of heritage and livability are based on values which produce situated power relations and conflict. Thirdly, modernist architecture can elicit ambiguous, even uncanny, experiences and this in can in turn affect wellbeing, especially for people who engage with an architectural environment daily. Finally, this chapter will give rise to a preliminary model which equally considers atmospheric value, meaning the affective judgment of embodied atmospheric experience, in relation to socio-economic and cultural historical values of heritage. This could serve as a tool to overcome the difference between policy and residents' lifeworlds, and enables more sensitivity towers the situated power relations regarding values of heritage

and livability. The model considers experiential dimensions of architectural environments, which has long been omitted from academia, policy discourse and practice.

Recalling the impact of atmospheric experience on subjective wellbeing, the effect spatial environment, and in this case specifically modernist architecture, has on one's wellbeing through atmospheric experience should be taken into account in heritage conservation. Also, by including atmospheric experience urban planners, architects and heritage experts in turn could move away from "modernist fragmentation" of their discipline and take up more social responsibly in negotiating social difference in public space (Billig 1995). The incorporation of embodied, affective atmospheric experience of architectural environments is essential in understanding human dwelling

All in all, this study will explore the role considerations of atmospheric experience could have for the livability of modernist architectural heritage. This study builds on a phenomenological approach to address experiential dimensions of architectural environments. The modernist town of Nagele, the Netherlands will serve as case study. The discussion and analysis in Chapters 5 and 6 will address the role of atmospheric experience of modernist architectural environment in Nagele, how livability in Nagele could be revisited when atmospheric experience is strongly considered in valuing architectural heritage, and the opportunities of considering atmospheric experience for Nagele's modernist heritage in the future. These themes phenomenologically emerged from the data and the interview questions were partly shaped by the lines of inquiry presented here (table 2.1). The lines of inquiry also serve as the theoretical point of reference during the discussion in Chapter 6. Hereafter, the case of Nagele will be discussed in Chapter 3 to give an empirical introduction and footing to the discussion of atmospheric experience. After this, the research design, operationalization, and methodology will be addressed in Chapter 4.

Table 2.1: *Lines of inquiry following theoretical insights presented in Chapter 2.*

What role could atmospheric experience have for the livability of modernist architectural heritage?	
Line of inquiry	The policy discourse of livability and heritage does not correspond with the policy audience's lifeworlds and meaning of wellbeing, as these policies predominantly revolve around material and (socio-)economic values.
Line of inquiry	Discourse of heritage and livability are based on values which produce situated relations of power and conflict.
Line of inquiry	Modernist architecture can elicit ambiguous, even uncanny, experiences and this affects notions of wellbeing. The affective and embodied influence on physical environments in human-environment relations therefore needs to be considered in heritage conservation.
Line of inquiry	Inclusion of atmospheric value in a holistic model od heritage significance can function as a tool to study the limitations and effects of current heritage values and can be transposed to study (conflicting) notions of wellbeing and livability.

CHAPTER 3: THE CASE OF NAGELE – A UNIQUE VILLAGE ON UNIQUE LAND

In this chapter, the case of this study will be introduced to give empirical grounding and footing to the complex concept of atmospheric experience. Halfway this chapter a photo collection of Nagele's architecture and spatial design is presented in order to familiarize the reader with the case. Hereafter, the operationalization and the theoretical framework and the methodology will be addressed in Chapter 4. It is deliberately chosen to introduce the case before the methodology, as the chosen methods to some extent also relate to the nature of the case.

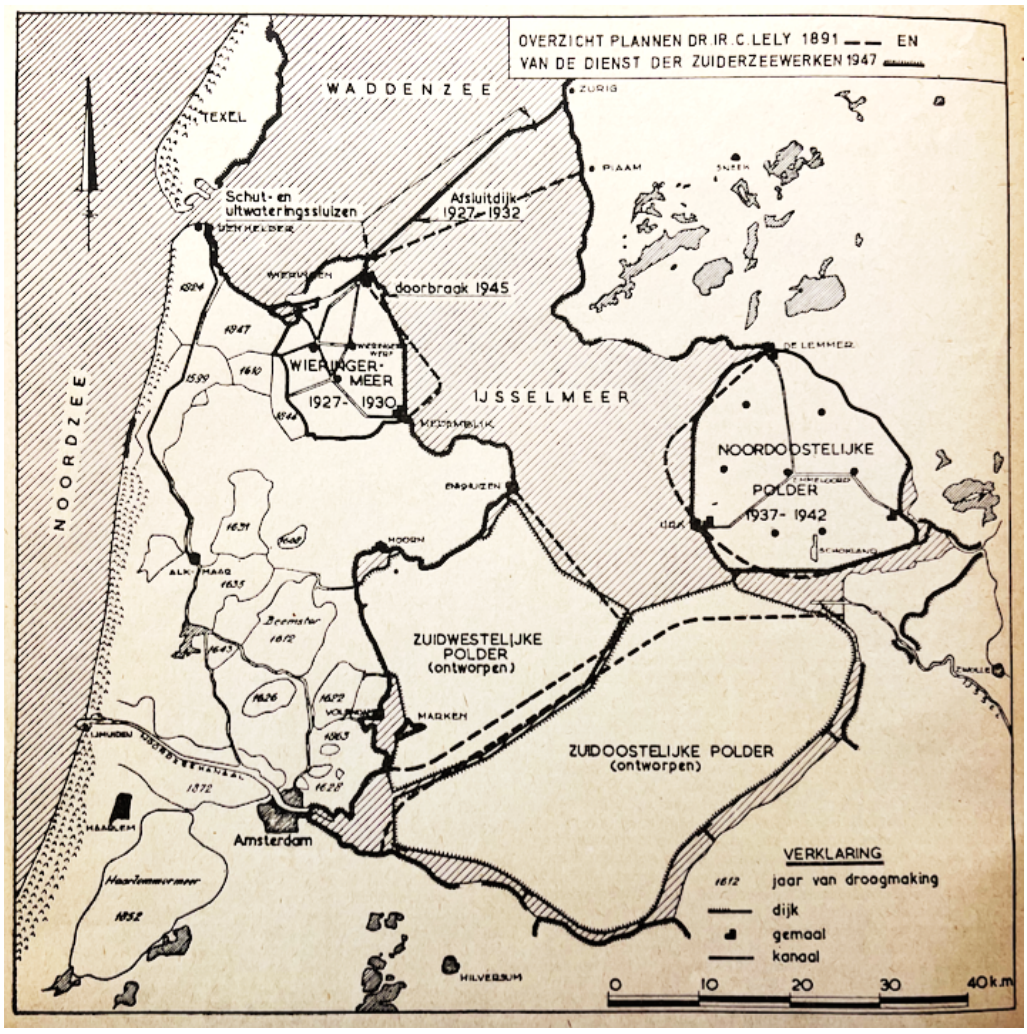

Figure 3.1: *Map of the planning of the Land Reclamation projects in the Netherlands during the twentieth century, including dates.*

From "Noord-Oostpolder", 1948, *Polytechnisch Tijdschrift | Uitgave B, 23-24 and 25-26*, p. 4.

3.1 The history of the Noordoostpolder, the Netherlands

In the 20th century, landscape in the Netherland underwent great change in the wake of increasing agricultural production. This resulted in intensification of agriculture and farming, modernization by re-allotment of farming land and rationalization, such as the creation of polders (Doevendans et al., 2007, pp. 338-339). The creation of new land, a polder, by draining a body of water to reclaim land has a long tradition in the Netherlands. Hoeksema (2007, p. 114) clarifies already in the sixteenth century, (artificial) lakes were drained and reclaimed for agricultural use and reclamations (*droogmakerijen*) reached a temporary height in the seventeenth century during the Dutch 'Golden Age'. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century however, plans were made by Cornelis Lely to create the largest polders thus far with the *Zuiderzee project*. After the finalization of a barrier closing the Zuiderzee from the North Sea in 1932 (the *Afsluitdijk*) and the *Wieingermeerpolder* (1930), the second polder, the *Noordoostpolder* (1942) was created (fig. 3.1). During the creation of the *Noordoostpolder*, for the first time a multidisciplinary team of social scientists, landscape architects and urban designers was assembled (fig. 3.2) (Doevendans et al., 2007, pp. 342). During the Interbellum, the Dutch tradition of comprehensive planning and land reclamation coincided with the development of social sciences in the Netherlands, such as rural sociology, spatial planning, and agricultural economies. Van de Grift (2017, p. 108) states social science "took a central role in defining problems and solutions and setting the political agenda, thus contributing to a 'scientization of the social.'

The technocratic government agency (*Directie van de Wieringermeer*) was responsible for planning and organizing the polder not only created a design experiment, but also a social experiment which included minute selection of future residents (Baart et al., 2006, p. 2). As such, Haartsen and Thissen (2018, p. 160) state the aim of the Noordoostpolder was "to create a modern agricultural production area based on scientific principles and according to the best traditions of Dutch engineering and planning." According to Haartsen and Thissen (2018, p. 160), the Noordoostpolder constitutes the climax of "modernist, top-down, blueprint planning" and the most artificial landscape in the Netherlands. With a strong belief in and aided by empirical social science, the planning of land allotment, settlement structures and new inhabitants aimed to create a 'new society' (Haartsen & Thissen, 2018, p. 165).

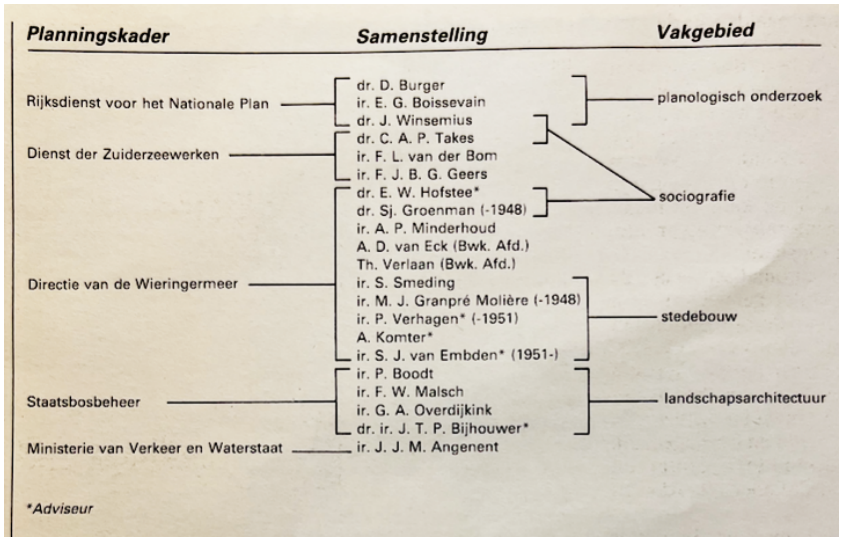

Figure 3.2: *Schema of the interdisciplinary composition of the Land Reclamation and colonization project of the Noordoostpolder. The divisions show the interdisciplinary composition of the different departments, including the substantial and overlapping academic involvement.*

From "Afstemming van norm en ontwerp: De planning van drie nederzettingen in de Noordoostpolder", by G. Andela and K. Bosma, 1985, *Wonen - TA/BK, 14*, p. 22.

Van de Grift (2017, p. 125) states the ideology behind the suggested selection was "the idea that the physical and mental qualities of individual farmers shape the quality of the community." After the Second World War, the housing shortage and increased demand for agricultural products lead to significant popular interest in the Noordoostpolder. The selection criteria were tightly defined and applied: 1) to be (a male) between 26 and 50 years of age; 2) to be married or engaged; 3) to possess agricultural knowledge, skills, working experience of a modern and rational agricultural enterprise; 4) good health; 5) impeccable walk of life; 6) possession of financial means and; 7) possession of a "pioneer spirit", operationalized as active community involvement, community organization membership and agility. Significantly, the concept of community development was a key theme in the selection process and the planning of the Noordoostpolder. Haartsen and Thissen (2018, p. 171) describe how candidate-tenants for a 48-hectare farm had to meet higher requirements ("real' pioneers", more leadership) than 24- or 12- hectare candidates (hard-working ethic and commitment). Therefore, sometimes the reasoning and decisions of the selectors were inscrutable and frustrating for many rejected applicants (Baart et al., 1988, p. 12). In fact, the assessment of applicants' 'pioneer-spirit' was decisive, argue Haartsen and Thissen (2018, p. 172). This made the strict, intensive, and bureaucratic process, which was viewed as highly systematic by the Agency, also subjective to some extent (Haartsen & Thissen, 2018, p. 172).

In the Noordoostpolder, ten similar-size villages, intended for 2000 inhabitants each, were laid out around its regional center Emmeloord (fig. 3.3 and 3.4). All settlements were planned at cycling distance from each other, around six to seven kilometers (Haartsen & Thissen, 2018, p. 166). The ultimate planning of the physical structure of the Noordoostpolder combined with the selection of its residents meant the 'new land' saw extensive 'social engineering'. In fact, the Noordoostpolder's extensive physical planning and social engineering based on scientific principles not only reflected a *Zeitgeist* of the early twentieth century, but also originated from earlier experience with land reclamation and colonization. Baart et al. (1988, p .9) describes how the reclamation and colonization project of the *Haarlemmermeerpolder* around the 1850s was not controlled by the government but by a private enterprise, leading to a lack of services, deprived circumstances, and hardship for the population there. Calls were made for future land reclamation projects to uphold strong and artificial selection of populations who could withstand initial though conditions on newly colonized land. This population would be constituted of 'pioneers'. The idea of individuals being "*kloek"* [valiant], was based on these ideas and extended into the selection criteria adopted by the selectors of the new population (Baart et al., 1988, p .11).

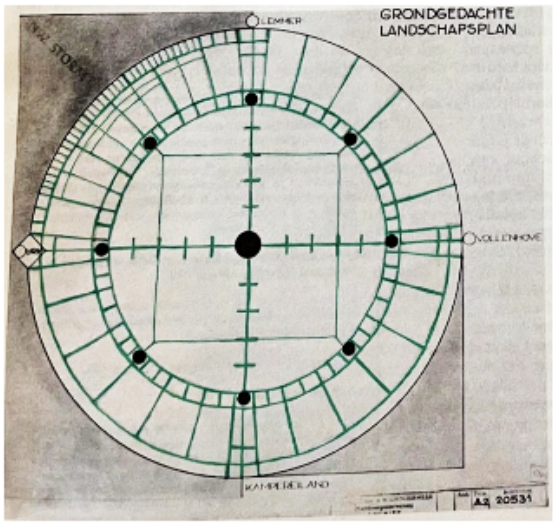

Figure 3.3: *Ground plan for the spatial lay-out of the Noordoostpolder, schematized for an exhibition in Delft in 1950. It combines a cross of axes and radio centric road system.*

From "Afstemming van norm en ontwerp: De planning van drie nederzettingen in de Noordoostpolder", by G. Andela and K. Bosma, 1985, *Wonen - TA/BK, 14*, p. 21.

Figure 3.4: *Current planning of the Noordoostpolder with 10 planned villages around the central town Emmeloord.*

Adapted from: *Google Maps*, 2022, https://goo.gl/maps/HugaM1bvvap8ysGEA

3.2 Foundations of Nagele – a model village for the future

Most villages in the Noordoostpolder were designed by the government agency, and a number of villages were issued to private architects, of which Nagele is the most significant (Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, p. 5). As such, the Noordoostpolder is a completely artificial landscape (fig. 3.3 and 3.5). Doevendans et al. (2007, pp. 349) argue a technological utopia of man-made systems and control was the driving force behind the vision of a rationalized construction of urbanity and modernized agriculture. Doevendans et al. (2007, pp. 349) states Dutch twentieth century landscape revolved around detailed and complete planning, of which the metrical approach was the most dominant. This is characterized by the aerial viewpoint on planning, and the existence of the landscape largely through representation by a map (fig. 3.5 and 3.6). This presented the Noordoostpolder as a *tabula rasa* for progress and development. The Noordoostpolder became the epitome of the 'makeable' society. Nagele is one of the ten villages circled around Emmeloord. It was planned as an "agricultural village" which would house farm workers and a few small entrepreneurs and dignitaries (Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, p. 44). Nagele's modernist architects, however, did not specifically design an agricultural village. In fact, they believed the distinction between countryside and city was artificial and outdated so they sought to give Nagele urban allure (Baart et al., 1988, p .19). Following the belief in the unity of humans and nature, one of Nagele's architects Cornelis van Eesteren (1897-1988) believed that city and countryside should become one single spatial unity, as a "green city" (Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, p. 57).

The Amsterdam architect group '*De 8*' acquires Nagele in 1947 as a 'study object' for the CIAM congress of Bergamo of 1949. '*De 8'*, which was associated with renowned Dutch architects such as Van Eesteren, Jaap Bakema (1914-1981), Aldo van Eyck (1918-1999), Mien Ruys (1904-1999) and Gerrit Rietveld (1888-1964). Together with the group '*Opbouw',* these architects of *Het Nieuwe Bouwen* [The New Building] constituted the Dutch exponent of the international movement of modernism in architecture in the Netherlands. Baart et al. (1988, p .17) state these architects envisioned architecture and urban planning could contribute to the creation of a new society and a "new spirit of life" by breaking with national or artisan tradition in building. This was materialized by a functional lay-out of houses where light and air could penetrate, the application of modern materials such as glass, steel and concrete, and the use of industrial techniques such as prefabricated building. The *Nieuwe Bouwen* architects believe that a synthesis of functional and aesthetic concerns in architecture can create a synergy of

development of modern life. A tenet of the *Nieuwe Bouwen* is that new, contemporary aesthetic can only occur by melting technique, science, and arts together into a functional whole. This is called “construction collective” by Van Eesteren, state Hemel and van Rossum (1984, p. 55).

Figure 3.5: *The land division plan of the Noordoostpolder.*

From *Noordoostpolder: Toonbeeld van de wederopbouw* (p. 17), 2016b, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed.

Functional zoning in urban planning was one of the key principles of modernist architecture of the 1920s and 1930s. Hemel and van Rossum (1984, pp. 44-45) state this vision was strongly influenced by the nineteenth-century belief that historical change per definition means progress, given the contemporaneous hardship in urban living environments. The modernists of the *Nieuwe Bouwen* were convinced that only a rational, scientific approach could solve societal issues. The architects resisted ornamentation in architecture, hierarchy, and democratic relations between individuals. Instead, they pleaded for a societal order which was just and functional, meaning that the material and psychological conditions of existence for every dweller are optimal (Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, pp. 44-45). As such, the architects envisioned an ideal society-model through their design (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2016a, p. 5). All in all, Baart et al. (1988, p .19) argue the designers envisioned a modern village in which

the conditions for a flourishing social life were present, which would also enable cultural development (Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, p. 53).

Hemel and van Rossum (1984, p. 45) argue that the *Nieuwe Bouwen* was an important movement in the Western philosophy of the Enlightenment, as architecture was meant to materialize the vision of freedom in a rationally planned world. Next to modernist principles such as functional zoning, the architect group envisions to create a 'collective design', of different (landscape) architects and spatial planners working together to create a synergy in their design (fig. 3.6). Hemel and van Rossum (1984, p. 5) argue that despite great heterogeneity in the designers-collective, one communal theme was the problematic relationship between individual and community. The architects sought to create an architectural utopia in their design which would resolve social tensions. For example, the use of stepped open spaces (fig. 3.15 and 3.16), residential courtyards and the use of green would enable communal meeting places and individual space simultaneously (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2016a, p. 5).

Already in the earliest design stages of 1948, architect Gerrit Rietveld reflected on the problematic relationship between community life and the individual, so he reflects on the possibility whether "spiritual cohabitation" can be established by and in design (Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, p. 12). He conceptualizes this idea of community-life by a central open space in which a functional building is absent (in contrast to traditional urban lay-out), which is encircled by dwellings. Baart et al. (1988, p. 19) highlight Rietveld conceptualized the open space as the spatial connection between the lifeworlds of the residents (the individual family life and the community). The communal could penetrate the individual realm and vice versa through the intermediary of the open space. Architect Kamerling also reflected on the concept community, by stating that a circle around an open space is the most primeval expression of community, reminiscent of a fire or a village square. In short, individual space and cohabitation are both constituting factors in Nagele's design (Baart et al., 1988, p. 19). It is important to note that architects and planners involved with Nagele were greatly occupied with the lifeworld and emotional life of their 'ideal society's' future residents. In fact, it could be argued the (emotional) lifeworld and related atmospheric experience of the village constituted the vision, motivation, and foundation of their subsequent designs.

Figure 3.6*: Photograph of the documentary set 'Een Nieuw Dorp op Nieuw Land' by Louis van Gasteren (1960). The set illustrates the collective process of the design as well as the ultimate cartographic planning of the village by means of the aerial view on the maquette of Nagele in the background.*

From *Een nieuw dorp op nieuw land* [Working photo from the dossier 'Een nieuw dorp op nieuw land']. FDS25852: Filmdossier over Nieuw dorp op nieuw land, Een [17 scans] (FOT362158), Eye Collection, Amsterdam.

3.3 Materialization of Nagele – an avant-garde 'space in a space'

The architects' concern with the lifeworld, or "realities of daily life" (Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, p. 53), of Nagele's residents translated into its physical manifestation. Significantly, in contrast to other village in the Noordoostpolder, Nagele was positioned next to the intersection of the main roads in order to enable tranquility and enable optimalization of the largest possible spatial effect (Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, p. 16). Baart et al. (1988, p .7) note architect Aldo van Eyk's explanation regarding the difference between Nagele and a traditional village as "a core and further urban sprawl which is not really connected to the center". In Nagele, "everything must be a core" (Baart et al., 1988, p .7). Nagele is considered a village in one piece, situated next to a crossing of two roads, surrounded by a protective ring of forest. In the

green center space, the churches and schools are located. The pattern of a green center space is repeated in the adjacent residential courtyards around which houses are grouped (fig. 3.7). Baart et al. (1988, p .8) states Nagele becomes a protected space in the "vast, wind-controlled plain of the polder", due to which the village is called 'a space in a space' (*Ruimte in een Ruimte*) (fig. 3.7). *Light, air, and space* was the mantra for the Modernist architects (Blom et al., 2016, p. 16).

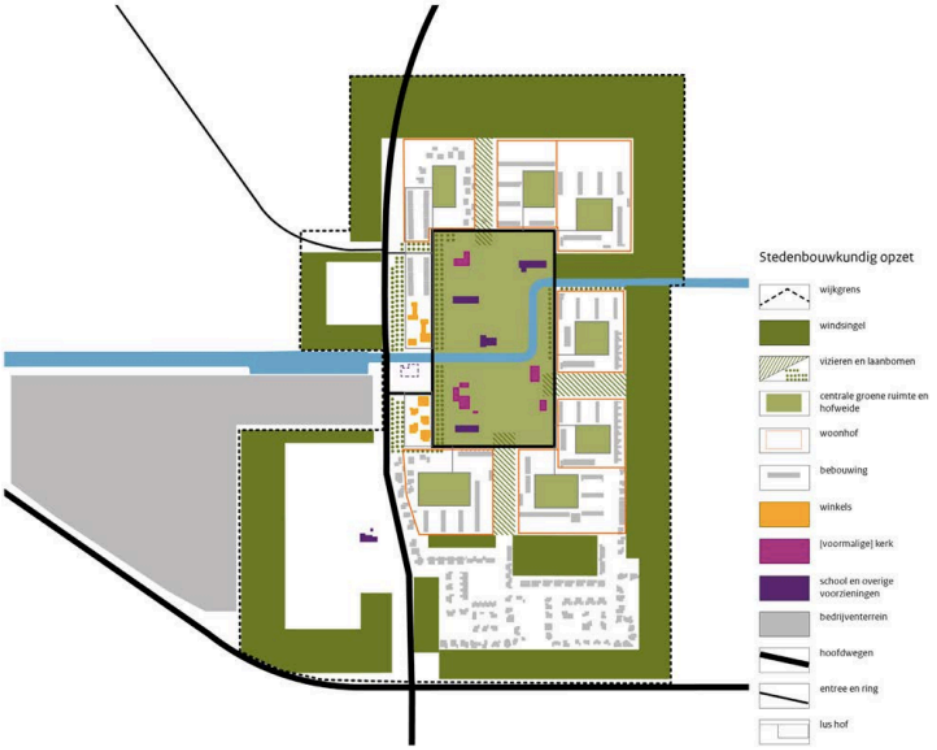

Figure 3.7*: Map of Nagele's contemporary lay-out. The central open green space, the residential courtyards with green spaces and functional zoning are clearly visible.*

From *Nagele; een wederopbouwgebied van nationaal belang, nr. 10* (p. 10), 2015, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed.

The government agency prescribed an assignment for Nagele with three hundred houses, three churches, three schools, a café-restaurant, a forge, a small number of stores, an industrial area, a sports field, and a cemetery. Baart et al. (1988, p .15) clarify during selection the government agency not only took into account the phycological character of 'pioneer' candidates or conceptions of the favorable effect of social hierarchy, but also considered religious denominations. The society of the polder should reflect the religious composition in the Netherlands. The government agency sought to prevent so-called "one-way-villages"

[*eenrichtingendorpen*], as only a melting pot of people from all over the country would be able to break traditions of the past and create a "new spirit" (Baart et al., 1988, p .15), meaning a *modern spirit*. Nagele was therefore designed with a Roman-Catholic and two types of Reformed Protestant churches, as well as three schools. In 1957, after ten years, thirty-three architects had produced a design which comprised of the prescribed three hundred houses, three churches, three schools, a cafe-restaurant, a forge, a small number of stores, an industrial area, sport fields and a cemetery. The impression of Nagele is dominated by buildings with straight lines, broad surfaces and flat roofs, surrounded by belt of trees. The product of their collective design, societal vision and avant-garde planning and design makes Nagele unique in the Noordoostpolder, and in the Netherlands (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2015, p. 4).

3.3.1 A photo collection of Nagele

Figure 3.8: *View on the green open center space from the side of houses at the Ring, Nagele.*

From Beeldbank Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed (12437-39031), Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, Amersfoort. https://beeldbank.cultureelerfgoed.nl/

Figure 3.9*: View on the green open center space, with channel 'Nagelertocht'.*

From *Beeldbank Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed* (12439-39094), Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, Amersfoort. https://beeldbank.cultureelerfgoed.nl/

Figure 3.10*: View on part of the central open space.*

Figure 3.11*: Residencies built in 1954 in the Klaverhof, Nagele.*

From *Beeldbank Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed* (12410-38519), Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, Amersfoort. https://beeldbank.cultureelerfgoed.nl/

Figure 3.12*: View on the Zuiderwinkels, Nagele. The use of straight lines, long lines of sight ('transparency') and flat horizons in Nagele's design are evident here. This used to be a commercial area, but apart from the snack bar the stores are vacant.*

Figure 3.13*: The new apartment complex in Nagele, located at the Voorhof along one of the main entrances to the village. When driving past Nagele across the main road, this apartment complex is highly visible.*

Figure 3.14*: Impression of the open central green space in the Nagele. The ring road which encircles the space and connects the residential courtyards is visible.*

Figure 3.15*: Impression of the use of green in the village. This is a view on the open central green space of the village, in which different heights of trees are used to connect private space to public space. The smaller trees and bushes are located closer to the homes and the higher trees are located in the central green space. The Nagelertoch (channel) curves through the green space.*

Figure 3.16*: Impression of the central open green space in the village from a different angle. The size of the green space has been compared to the size of the Museumplein, Amsterdam.*

Figure 3.17*: Houses designed by Rietveld in Nagele. The houses contain a particular kind of colored and armed glass which was a new building material adopted by the modernist architects during the 1950s.*

Figure 3.18*: Houses show visible signs of deferred maintenance..*

Figure 3.19: *Houses show visible signs of deferred maintenance.*

3.4 Nagele, a new village – critiques and appreciation

Since the start of the process in 1948, the first design was finalized in 1955 and the first buildings were already complete in 1956. This was the start of Nagele's habitation. Nagele's distinctive and renowned feature are its flat roofs. Baart et al. (1988, p. 22) clarifies this was intended as a radical break from traditional building styles but also as an emancipating measure for the residents: 'less is more' and simplicity as a core value in life. Having less possessions and clutter due to a lacking attic would make the residents more put-together and 'cleaned-up' people (fig. 3.8, 3.11 and 3.17).

In Nagele, the modernist vision of *De 8* and *Opbouw* is visible in various ways. New building-methods such as concrete, glass facades (fig. 3.17) and flat roofs (fig. 3.8; 3.10-12 and 3.17). Flat roofs were not a commonality in the 1950s, especially not in a rural village. The allotment types within the residential courtyards were innovative as well and consisted of terraced- and semi-detached houses in strips, around a common green space. In Nagele, functional zoning separates living, work, traffic, and recreations according to the principle of modernist architecture and CIAM. The main road circles the central green space and the residential courtyards are located on the north, east and southside it. In the central green space, social functions are situated (churches and schools). In order to increase the livability of the residents, the modernist adage *light, air and space* was important in the planning of the village and houses. The use of large windows and glass facades enabled maximal entrance of light in the houses (Blom et al., 2016, p. 16). Furthermore, an important feature of Nagele is the connection between the urban concept and the design of the green structure, which partly reinforces the architectural layout but also provides a spatial division between different elements. The space of the village is bordered by the windbreak, a small strip of forest encircling the village. The "*vizieren*" (visors) separate the residential courtyards from each other but also create an extra border to almost enclose the residential courtyards in green space. The green central space is repeated in the courtyards in smaller scale (fig. 3.7) (Blom et al., 2016, p. 17).

In the late 1960s, plans were made for expansion, which took a long time to complete due to a collapse of the housing market in 1978. Yet, Hemel and van Rossum (1984, p. 44) indicate that the idea of an agricultural village soon became obsolete due to mechanization of agriculture and its negative effects on employment opportunities. In 1988, Baart et al. (1988, p. 21) describe many services have left the village already, but the contemporaneous residents do generally

appear to appreciate the spacious layout, calm and abundant green in Nagele. Desk research led to the strong suggestion that subsequent publications have not focused on the reception and experience of Nagele's residents as a primary subject. In fact, resident experiences are only explicitly discussed by the RCE in the past tense. In fact, both Baart et al. (1988) and the RCE (Blom et al., 2016) base their assertions on Constandse (1964). Baart et al. (1988, p. 23) focuses on Constande's (1964) discussion of resident's practical objections to the lay-out and design of the houses. Residents' experiences of Nagele as crumbly, barren and too broad in scope are discussed in the light of non-completed building and green space. Similarly, the RCE report concerning Nagele discusses Constande's (1964) findings as residents who *have not yet been able to* [italics by author] adapt to their new living environment. Negative atmospheric experiences concerning lack of unity and cohesion in the village are attributed by the RCE to the contemporaneous lack of green (Blom et al., 2016, p. 32). Blom et al. (2016, p. 33) state that the green and the space were the most important aspects '*De 8*' wanted to give the village residents, so "*Als de huidige bewoners die nog steeds ervaren, dan is Nagele zeker gelukt!"* [If the current residents still experience this, then Nagele is a success!].

All in all, the discussion of Constandse (1964) in contemporary publications focuses on the positive or surmountable givens, instead of diving into more structural dimensions of Nagele such as lay-out and planning which caused negative experience by residents. Therefore, the importance of a thorough discussion of Constandse (1964) that reflects on all evaluations becomes evident. Furthermore, desk research has not brought up any subsequent publication which investigates experiences of wellbeing in relation to the spatial design and architecture by Nagele's residents. It could thus be argued Constandse (1964) addresses a topic which could be viewed as embodied or affective experience of the architectural environment, or architectural atmosphere. It is the only publication which revolves around a survey of resident' experiences of Nagele and demonstrates a wealth of insight about past resident atmospheric experience which seems not to be taken into consideration or deemed relevant in the present-day. Both Baart et al. (1988) and Blom et al. (2016) mention arguments regarding the use of green in Nagele, which addresses only part of Nagele's (atmospheric) experience and notions of wellbeing. Besides, green space and a spacious lay-out of the village were not just goals in itself of the architects, they constituted the physical manifestation of their vision to create and achieve a new ideal society and modern community with a strong sense of emancipation and cohesion (Baart et al., 1988, p .17; Constandse, 1964, p. 1138; Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, p. 53).

The significant and extensive survey conducted by sociologist A.K. Constandse and his student in the early 1960s regarded the housing wishes of Nagele's residents. As many urban planning and design projects during the first half of the twentieth century were based on scientific research such as surveys. In turn, the resulting projects also became the object of study (Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, p. 53). Constandse (1964, p. 1135) executed the first evaluation of the architectural design and underlying vision of modern dwelling in Nagele, by surveying half of Nagele's 772 residents at the time. Taking Nagele as the materialization of a holistic design of het *Nieuwe Bouwen*, Constandse was motivated by how residents experience the plan as a unity and its constituent parts. He was curious to what extent the design actually contributes to the realization of the societal ideal on which it is based, and to what extent this ideal contributes to the wellbeing of its residents (Constandse, 1964, p. 1136).

Constandse (1964, p. 1137) reveals even though most respondents are satisfied with Nagele, those who are negative base this on their lack of contact with other residents and a lack of recreation-possibilities. Constandse argues that formal social relationships, such as church and community associations, were quite established. He sates however that creating and maintaining informal relations between residents are more challenging. In fact, only 24 of the 82 surveyed families were positive about the spatial planning of Nagele. Critique can be summarized as a spatial planning which is too vast, too barren, a lack of unity and cohesion. Even though Constande acknowledges that the development of the green, such as bushes and hedges will contribute to more unity, he signals that most people experience the distances in the villages as "*hinderlijk en zinloos*" [annoying and pointless] and are negative about the street plan (Constandse, 1964, p. 1137). For the building nor the greens spaces were not completed yet, Constandse found that residents perceived Nagele as crumbly, barren and too broad in scope. The walking distances between housing, other courtyard residencies and services was considered too far. Constandse reflects on the functional zoning in Nagele and contends that this contributes to a lacking lively appearance, as "*alles wat enig leven en kleur in het dorpsleven kan brengen is op die manier buitne het gezichtsveld gebracht*" [everything which could give life or color to village-life is placed outside of the line of sight] (Constandse, 1964, p. 1138). Concerning the scale of the village, the residents argue there is no connection with the northern part of the village where the stores are located and "*de diagonal schikking van de panden geeft een te grote openheid met tochtige hoeken*" [the diagonal arrangement of the buildings gives a too much openness with drafty corners] (Constandse, 1964, p. 1138).

Constandse finds that respondents have little negative to say regarding the modernist architectural style of the churches and schools in the village. Constandse therefore contends that residents probably do not find the architecture terribly ugly and have accepted the style, in contrast to visitors from outside who find the architecture quite alienating (Constandse, 1964, p. 1138). Residents do have practical objections to the modern lay-out of their homes (Constandse, 1964, p. 1138). In terms of housing layout, people missed the dinner table in the kitchen. The architects however, deliberately sought to establish an emancipated lifestyle in which the kitchen and a separate living- and dining area would become accepted. Residents often resisted this and ate their meals in the small kitchen area, due to which Constandse (1964) concluded that 'the lifestyle of the residents of Nagele was not adapted to the modern small dwelling' (Baart et al., 1988, p. 23).

Significantly, Constandse (1964, p. 1138) dissects the architects' vision of community-life. The residents negatively perceive the lacking connection between different courtyards and lacking informal contacts between neighbors. Separate residential courtyards were meant to create nuclei communities with a great level of social cohesion. Constandse (1964, p. 1138) mentions however, a body of research posited that forced contact by architectural means does not lead to cohesion or social relations by itself. Constandse argues that the residents are too heterogeneous and individuals too selective in terms of informal contacts. As many residents also have contacts in other residential courtyards, Constandse (1964, p. 1138) asks whether perhaps "*de hoven niet eerder schadelijk dan bevordelijk zijn voor de groei van sociale relaties*" [the residential courtyards are more harmful than stimulating for the development of social relations]. Constandse (1964, p. 1137) therefore concludes "*valt er in het algemeen nog een betrekkelijke tevredenheid waar te nemen, dalen wij af in details, dan ontmoeten wij de kritiek*" [where the general conception is quite positive, when we descend into the details we meet the critical notions]. Constandse therefore argues that the objections of the residents should be taken seriously as they are generally willing to adjust to a new mode of living in a modern home. Those concerns which are most poignant should thus be considered valid (Constandse, 1964, p. 1139).

In short, the residents moderately appreciated the modern architectural style of their homes in general but had practical objections to components regarding lay-out or design. Residents express Nagele "*is te ruim op gezet, het is te brokkelig, kaal, het heeft geen eenheid, geen samenhang*" [too broad in scope, too crumbly, barren, with lacking unity and cohesion].

Specifically, the vision of the architects for a social experiment and ideal society was not evident. Residents' opinions substantiate the argument by prof. Wieger Bruin in 1955 (before Nagele was built) that the "*totale ruimte is zo groot en de totale groepering van de huizen-blokjes zo groot van schaal, dat de omsluiting door de singel m.i. onvoldoende binding zal blijken*" [the total space is so large and the total grouping of the houses-blocks so large in scale, that the enclosure by the girth will, in my opinion, prove to be insufficient binding], states Constandse (1964, p. 1137). In fact, community life and livability as tenets of the modernist endeavor for Nagele appeared to be limited instead of produced by its material presence, argues Constandse (1964, p. 1138).

Already in 1964, only seven years after the completion of Nagele's first structures, Constandse, (1964, p. 1139) concludes the moderate appreciation of the *Nieuwe Bouwen* demonstrates residents do not suffer a "cultural lag" and are willing to adjust to their new living environment. Remaining residents' critiques and housing whishes should therefore be valued. In similar vein, Constandse, (1964, p. 1139) states the societal ideal of the architects conflicts with the contemporary developments of societal life and that is not realistic to pursue this ideal because "*mensen laten zich niet opsluiten in een door architecten gewenste eenheid*" [people do not allow themselves to be locked up in a unit desired by the urban planner]. In short, the societal concept (or vision) that the builders wanted to create in Nagele is not a reality. Constandse concludes that despite the failure of Nagele's social experiment, the village does have "personality" in comparison with other villages in the Noordoostpolder. Nevertheless, given Nagele's lessons-learned, Constandse (1964, p. 1139) argues future building should continue the path of societal visions underlying the path of avant-garde experimental architecture.

3.5 'Core qualities' and livability of Nagele

The question has been posited whether Nagele could be considered a success and critical notes have been placed here regarding the vision of Nagele's social experiment; a new societal ideal. Constandse (1964, p. 1138) argues social cohesion and the success of the experiment have been challenged by residents' concerns with informal relations due to the lay-out of the residential courtyards, and the spacious planning, overall distances in the village and functional zoning in Nagele. Other mechanisms, however, have also challenged the livability of Nagele. Currently, approximately a thousand people live in the modernist village. Hemel and van Rossum (1984,

p. 44) indicate the idea of an agricultural village soon became obsolete due to mechanization of agriculture and its negative effects on employment opportunities. The village started to fall into demise as services were leaving, building-expansion stagnated, and the population came to include more socially challenged residents. Currently, the RCE argues Nagele is in need of renewal due to increasing ageing, a large portion of social housing, a too homogenous population, residencies which do not conform to current building standards and a decline in the social cohesion "*van weleer*" [of yesteryear] (Blom et al., 2016, p. 9). This has resulted in vacancies and visible degradation of the village (fig. 3.18 and 3.19).

In 2009, Nagele gained renewed attention when the Chief Government Architect of the Netherland [*Rijksbouwmeester*][3] Liesbeth van der Pol included Nagele in an experimental project for young architects called *Onderzoekslab Nagele* [Research lab Nagele], which was asked by the municipality to function as thinktank. The *Onderzoekslab* concluded that Nagele's challenge was not the creation of new housing. Instead, an overarching, holistic and widely supported view on the future of the village was deemed necessary to revitalize the village. More than in the past, the special cultural history of the village had to be involved in order to put a stop to further impoverishment of Nagele's qualities, Blom et al. (2016, p. 9) write. The thinktank's central question was how Nagele could *again* [italics by author] become an inspiring icon with a cultural-touristic meaning, and in extension how a lively village community could return. Blom et al. (2016, p. 9) write how Nagele's cultural-historical qualities and meaning are perceived as the central means to achieve this necessary revitalization.

Nagele has formally been considered a paragon of the Dutch Reconstruction period after WWII by the RCE since 2011. The RCE aims to generate more public awareness and appreciation for the selected site to ensure that the special characteristics and qualities of Reconstruction-areas remain recognizable in relation to urban development (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2015, p. 3). Development must solve the issues of wear and tear, vacancy and aging. Renovation and development are executed with the so-scalled 'core qualities' of Nagele in mind (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2015, p. 4). Blom and Van Geest (2011, p. 34) underline that the stakeholders concerned and involved with revitalizing Nagele since 2009/

[3]The Chief Government Architect of the Netherlands (*Rijksbouwmeester*) is the senior architect of the Dutch Government. The Chief Architect's responsibility is to stimulate and protect the architectural quality and urban suitability of government buildings in the Netherlands. The Chief Architect also provides visions on urban planning, architectural policy, the guarding of monuments, cultural heritage and the use of visual art in government buildings.

2010 (RCE, municipality, think tank) approach the development of Nagele from the perspective of existing heritage values, or so-called ‘qualities’, of the village. The core qualities of Nagele have been formulated as such: 1) the structure and buildings according to the principles of the *Nieuwe Bouwen*; 2) grouping of clustered buildings with flat roofs around a central open green space; 3) enclosure of the village by ascending vegetation (fig. 3.15). In order to approach the totality of Nagele, a categorization on scale-level was made: main structure, ensembles, buildings and art (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2016a, p. 6). In terms of physical intervention and heritage valuation of Nagele’s characteristics, traditional value-criteria from the *Monumenten Selectie Project* (Monument Selection Project) have been used and adapted. The criteria for the heritage value of Nagele’s structures are cultural-historical values, historical-spatial or urban planning value, situational value, intactness/recognizability, and rarity (Blom et al., 2016, p. 15).

These cultural-historical values are integrated in a method of conceptual historic preservation in which restauration, renovation and new construction can alternate. Guidelines create margins for new developments to which parties must uphold in order to preserve the vulnerable composition of space, green and architecture in Nagele. All the above has been transferred into the Image Quality Plan (*Beeldkwaliteitsplan*) which takes into consideration the core qualities, the cultural historical values of the buildings, ensembles and spatial structure of the village. These appreciations are linked to the quality requirements and welfare regime for Nagele. In short, the idea is that buildings or ensembles with “very high value” are restored, and buildings with a “less high value” allow demolishing and new buildings or innovation if the spatial concept of Nagele remains recognizable (Blom et al., (2016, p. 20). Significantly, when analyzing the RCE’s presented tabulation of cultural-historical values of Nagele (fig. 3.20), it appears that little innovation or transformation is possible if projects do not align with the current spatial planning of the ‘built and un-built space’ of the village, or if its position challenges present or adjacent ensembles of high value.

Ensembles		
Zeer hoge cultuurhistorische waarde	Van belang vanwege de gaafheid en herkenbaarheid als onderdeel van het stedenbouwkundig concept van Nagele. Van zeer hoge waarde vanwege de aanleg en/of onderlinge samenhang van de bebouwde en onbebouwde ruimte.	Behoud en herstel van de oorspronkelijke aanleg en/of maat, schaal en situering, in onderlinge samenhang, zijn uitgangspunt. Binnen dit kader ruimte voor kleinschalige invullingen die aansluiten bij het karakter van het ensemble.
Hoge cultuurhistorische waarde	Van belang vanwege de herkenbaarheid als onderdeel van het stedenbouwkundig concept van Nagele. Van hoge waarde vanwege de onderlinge samenhang van de bebouwde en onbebouwde ruimte.	Behoud van de maat, schaal en situering, in onderlinge samenhang, is uitgangspunt. Binnen dit kader ruimte voor eigentijdse invullingen die aansluiten bij het karakter van het ensemble.
Gemiddelde cultuurhistorische waarde	Van belang vanwege de positie in en ligging als onderdeel van het stedenbouwkundig concept van Nagele.	Ruimte voor schaalvergroting, innovatie en/of nieuwe invullingen. Bij functiebehoud is de huidige opzet van de bebouwde en onbebouwde ruimte zoveel mogelijk uitgangspunt. Bij functieverandering ruimte voor een nieuwe opzet rekening houdend met aanpalende ensembles en de positie van de plek op dorpsniveau.

Gebouwen		
Zeer hoge cultuurhistorische waarde	Van zeer groot belang vanwege de architectuurhistorische waarde, gaafheid en in relatie tot het ensemble waar de bebouwing zich in bevindt. Monumenten of potentiële monumenten die het aanzien van wederopbouwgebied Nagele kenmerken.	Behoud en/of herstel van de oorspronkelijke kwaliteiten van het exterieur (detaillering, kleur) en eventueel interieur zijn het uitgangspunt.
Hoge cultuurhistorische waarde	Van belang vanwege de beeldbepalende betekenis voor het aanzien van Nagele en in relatie tot het ensemble waar de bebouwing zich in bevindt.	Behoud en/of herstel van de oorspronkelijke kwaliteiten van het exterieur. Bij eventuele aanpassing zijn de huidige maat, schaal en vormgeving uitgangspunt.
Gemiddelde cultuurhistorische waarde	Van belang vanwege de relatie tot het ensemble waar de bebouwing zich in bevindt.	Bij aanpassing of vervanging is de huidige plek in relatie tot het ensemble of aanpalende ensembles uitgangspunt en een vormgeving die aansluit bij het modernistische karakter van Nagele. Ruimte voor vernieuwing en het toevoegen van eigentijdse invullingen en innovatie.

Figure 3.20*: Map and tabulation of the cultural historical value of built ensembles and structures in Nagele.*

From *Nagele: Een moderne erfenis* (pp. 19-20), by A. Blom et al., 2016, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed.

Furthermore, Blom and Van Geest (2011, p. 36) sate that in contrast to the past, cultural-historical qualities are now seen as a change for economic and touristic development of Nagele. Blom and Van Geest (2011, p. 38) also write that the actual projects can contribute to a sense of community, which is vital for a small-scale *agricultural* [italics by author] village. Significantly, Nagele is considered a "*wederopbouwgebied van nationaal belang*" [Reconstruction area of national importance] for its historical development (Blom et al., 2016, p. 13). The RCE describes the essence of the Reconstruction areas as the architectural and spatial materialization of the underlying social vision on the functioning of the community in a neighborhood or district: the so-called *Wijkgedachte* [Neighborhood Idea] (Blom et al., 2016, p. 15). The vision of a "model samenleving" [model society] (Baart et al., 1988, p. 23) could be deemed the immaterial heritage behind the material physicality of Nagele. Currently however, conservation and preservation are informed by the 'core qualities' of Nagele which only concern material heritage. Furthermore, even though Blom et al. (2016, p. 20) state preservation in Nagele does not mean 'a bell jar will be put over the village', conservation intents to retore and preserve core qualities of Nagele so future can experience "*het Nagele van toen*" [the Nagele of the past]. Blom et al. (2016, p. 20) conclude "*De betekenis en*

herkenbaarheid van het "oude" Nagele herstellen is daarom de opgave" [Restoring the meaning and recognizability of the 'old' Nagele is hence the assignment]. The question becomes however, what past sought to be resorted, according to whose view and whose values. Whilst the immaterial side of Nagele's heritage not only was the intended goal and vision for the architectural assignment, residents of the 'past' demonstrated Nagele did not succeed as a social experiment to achieve a new societal ideal. Materiality and material values dominate over immaterial values, which is reminiscent of the Authorized Heritage Discourse. L. Smith and Waterton (2012, p. 156) state this is "based on the assumption of inherent value, whereby the value of a place or item is somehow perceived to be embedded within the object itself".

Furthermore, focusing on the material heritage according to cultural-historical values for socio-economic development assumes that resident's wellbeing will be improved along these lines. Instead, there are strong suggestions that residents' subjective wellbeing should be understood in *immaterial* (social) terms, as Constandse (1964) already focused on this dimension in his study. In any case, situated relations of power becomes evident through the socio-economic usage of heritage for improved wellbeing and related cultural-historical values of *material* heritage for the increase of tourism. Considering atmospheric experience of Nagele's residents, as Constandse (1964) already touched upon, is significant. Here, it has not only shed light on the engagement between Nagele's residents and their environment, it is also suggested current policy towards livability (in socio-economic terms) through increased tourism by restoring the cultural-historical material heritage of Nagele might not accord with the lifeworld of its residents. The social experiment, the *Wijkgedachte* nor the ideal society envision by the modernists were successful in the past and today. Preserving or conserving the material side of Nagele's heritage then would not contribute to overcoming the social challenges residents already experienced in the 1960s following Nagele's lay-out and design. The significance of Nagele's heritage is twofold; material and immaterial. The privileging of the material heritage does not accord with the vision of the architects, it affects residents and reflects the dominant discourse surrounding (material) cultural-historical values, specifically in relation to socio-economic development through tourism for increased livability. The discussion of residents' atmospheric experience in Chapter 5 can be viewed as a continuation of Constandse (1964) and a critical exploration on the mechanisms described above, in order to address the probably gap between policy discourse and the lifeworlds of the Nagele's residents. Hereafter, in Chapter 4 the operationalization of the theoretical framework, the research design and methodology will be discussed.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The goal of this study is to highlight the importance of embodied and affective experience of architectural atmospheres in the study of heritage-values and wellbeing. Exploratory and critical in nature, this study is therefore founded on the thesis-question: What role could atmospheric experience have for the livability of modernist architectural heritage? Current discourse of values generally revolves around a typology of sociocultural and economic values (Mason, 2002, p. 10) (fig. 4.1). These values alone, however, do not encompass the breadth of experiences related to architectural environments and heritage. Atmospheric experience through embodied or affective engagement, however, does impact notions of wellbeing and meaning making of the environment (Viderman & Knierbein, 2018, p. 845). As such, atmospheric experience shapes human interaction with the environment and is a form of evaluative judgement which impacts wellbeing (Griffero, 2019, p. 12; Sayer, 2007, pp. 90-91). As places in turn structure, one's mode of being in the world (Donohoe, 2019, p. 192) , the choices concerning what to preserve from the past actively shapes the environment and influences embodied atmospheric experience. Heritage values are central in contemporary conservation practice which represents elements of the past in the present (Avrami et al., 2000, p. 1). Therefore, a critical notion on what heritage values are considered in terms of conservation is necessary to encompass the breath of embodied atmospheric experience and wellbeing. It also allows to discuss situated relations of power in which some meanings are valued over others in places, policies and heritage (Atkinson et al., 2016, p. 10), which shapes wellbeing as well as related worldviews (socio-economic), meaning making and sense of belonging (Atkinson et al., 2016, pp. 9-11).

4.1 Operationalization: a provisional model of atmospheric experience

This study argues that the dominant approach of heritage revolving around cultural-historical and social-economic value is insufficient to address the scope of embodied atmospheric experience of one's environment and related notions of wellbeing. Furthermore, the question has been raised whether a value-based model of heritage is even appropriate to address the significance of heritage, as models objectify and fix value instead of recognizing the dynamic and embodied interaction between people and the environment. (De la Torre, 2002, pp. 3-4; Jones, 2017, p. 22). A discussion about values is still relevant for study however, as heritage

values currently constitute the nexus in policymaking regarding heritage and wellbeing, heritage appreciation, meaning making and identification. Thus, heritage values also constitute the focus in the case of this study, to allow for a point of departure for a critical exploration of its meanings, limitations, and effects. Atmospheric experience, defined as embodied and affective experience of architectural environments is a means to critically explore heritage values. Figure 4.2 demonstrates what the inclusion of atmospheric values, meaning individual and inter-subjective judgement based on atmospheric experience, could mean for a possible *embodied value model of heritage*. Even though a model is abstracted from 'reality', an embodied value model of heritage can serve as a critical tool which is necessary to translate and apply a phenomenological approach to an empirical case which is shaped by a different 'language' (architecture and heritage policy informed by social science).

Sociocultural Values	**Economic Values**
Historical	Use (market) value
Cultural/symbolic	Nonuse (nonmarket) values
Social	Existence
Spiritual/religious	Option
Aesthetic	Bequest

Figure 4.1*: Provisional typology of heritage values, proposed by the influential The Getty Conservation Institute.*

From "Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices", by R. Mason. *In M. de la Torre (Ed.), Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage* (p. 10), 2002, The Getty Conservation Institute.

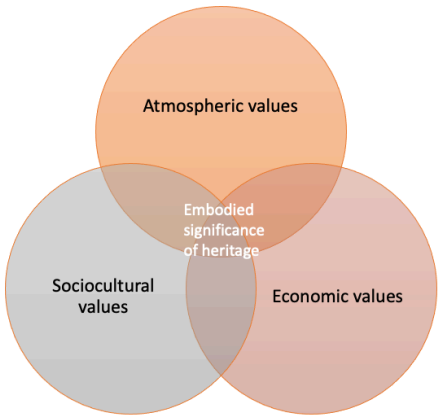

Figure 4.2*: Provisional value model of 'embodied significance of heritage' which incorporates atmospheric values (affective judgement of embodied experience of architectural environments) as an equal factor to address or assess embodied significance of heritage.*

Following this, the question becomes how to assess atmospheric experience in order to discuss *the value of atmospheric experience* in regard to wellbeing in people's living environment. Atmospheric experience has been defined as embodied and affective experience of architectural environments. This builds on Sørensen's (2015) adaptation of *New Phenomenologist* Schmitz (1999). Following this, this study adopts the body as the tool for embodied sensory experience (the *felt-body*) and environmental affordances as the departure for the operationalization of atmospheric experience. Atmospheric experience is strongly influenced by the affective quality materials can have on people who experience an environment (Sørensen, 2015, p. 65; Zumthor, 2006) Schmitz (1999) argues that atmospheres are produced by the experience of their material affordances, following smell, sound, tactility, illumination and heat. In addition, Griffero (2019, p. 28) argues that atmosphere is a "quasi-objective being responsible for one's feeling well (or not) in a space that is constituted between perceiver and perceived. Atmosphere can therefore be defined as a a 'quasi-objective' being. In fact, Sørensen (2015, p. 64) uses this stance to overcome the "clause of subjectivity" often attributed to phenomenology. The inter-subjective approach of atmospheres strategically decenters human subjectivity. Even though atmospheres cannot be reduced to objective facts, approaching embodied experience architectural atmospheres as 'quasi-things' in relation to environmental affordances allows to model a potential for exploring atmospheres as a tool to discuss decentered (Sørensen, 2015, p. 65), inter-subjective or shared experience. Therefore, *New Phenomenology* as theorized by Schmitz (1980, 2002, 2003, 2011, 2016, 2019) and expanded on by Böhme (1993), Sørensen (2015) and Griffero (2019) will provide the necessary bridge from individual (subjective) towards shared (inter-subjective) embodied experiences of architectural atmospheres.

The operationalization of atmospheric experience, or embodied affective experience of architectural environments, is presented in table 4.1. Even though the conceptual model in table 4.1 is a simplification of atmospheric experience, which is holistic and inter-connected, a surface-level categorization is needed for purposes of applicability and analysis in this study. Furthermore, this study does not seek to demonstrate certain 'truths' or unequivocal shared experiences by dwellers of modernist architecture such as the tradition of 'pure' phenomenologists sought to achieve, advocated by Husserl (1970, 1989) (Noë, 2007, pp. 231-232). In fact, this conceptual model (table 4.1) as operationalization of atmospheric experience enables an analysis which dissects the various dimensions which could lead to a *diversity* of experience amongst dwellers. Recalling the situatedness of values of heritage and wellbeing, this is a significant contribution. The operationalization of possible dimensions of atmospheric

experience informed interview-questions and conversations with dwellers of the modernist heritage site in the case of this study.

Table 4.1: *Conceptual model and operationalization of atmospheric experience of architectural environments after Schmitz (1999) and Sørensen, (2015).*

Atmospheric experience *Embodied and affective experience of architectural environments* After Schmitz, 1990 and Sørensen, 2015	
The felt-body *Embodied sensory experience*	**Environmental affordances**
Senses (Merleau-Ponty, 1964; Pallasmaa, 2014; Zumthor, 2006)	**Material affordances** (Hodder, 2011; Schmitz, 1999; Sørensen, 2015)
Time (Pallasmaa, 2014)	**Climatic elements** (Griffero, 2019; Ingold, 2013; Sørensen, 2015)
Affect (Macdonald, 2013)	

4.2 Operationalization: wellbeing and livability in heritage environments

After the operationalization of atmospheric experience of architectural environments, the concept of wellbeing and livability need to be operationalized. Firstly, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente (2019, p. 197) refer to livability as "the quality of life, standard of living, or general well-being of a population in a specific region, area, or city. It is the sum of factors that can add up to a community's quality of life (economic prosperity, social equity and stability, educational opportunities, recreation and cultural opportunities, etc)." Wellbeing is generally understood as a subjective experience of life satisfaction (Okulicz-Kozaryn & Valente, 2019, p. 199) which draws on a cognitive comparison with standards of a good life (contentment) and affective information from how one feels most of the time (hedonic level of affect), states Veenhoven (2008, p. 2). This study thus revolves around the role of atmospheric experience for livability as livability (established standards of a good life) is the benchmark on which subjective assessment of wellbeing are made (Mouratidis, 2020, p. 266). Moreover, the paradigm of material and economic welfare (Burton, 2014, p. 5312) understands livability as in tangible, objective and measurable terms which are translated in policy indexes and indicators (Okulicz-Kozaryn & Valente, 2019, pp. 198-199; Zanella et al., 2015, p. 696). Wellbeing is increasingly viewed as an important subjective factor of livability (Mouratidis, 2020, p. 265), but in order to transpose this dimension to the policy-framework of livability, subjective wellbeing is

understood as an objective state which denotes wellbeing at the societal level (welfare) (Hupppert, 2014, pp. 1-2). Subjective notions of wellbeing however, denotes how people actually experience their lives, which may be strongly or weakly accordant with the objective measures of livability, argues Hupppert (2014, p. 2). One could draw a comparison with the notion of lifeworld, how the world is actually experience and acted upon (Graumann, 2002, p. 98).

In terms of operationalization, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente (2019, p. 199) continue that the relationship between livability and subjective wellbeing should be positive: if livability is high, human needs are satisfied and positive affective notions of wellbeing should follow. This is visualized by figure 4.3 in which livability as Florida (2009) pyramid of place (panel A) mirrors Maslow (1987) pyramid of a person's needs (panel B). Florida places higher dimensions of livability at the top, which is mirrored in Maslow's psychological and self-fulfillment needs. Panel C shows that when basic needs are satisfied (foundation of the pyramids), subjective wellbeing depends on the higher dimensions conceptualized in both pyramids (Okulicz-Kozaryn & Valente, 2019, p. 199). Despite scholarly debate on the livability- subjective wellbeing nexus, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente (2019, p. 200) conclude that defining wellbeing (subjective) and livability (objective) as such is complementary and allows for critical use of subjective indicators in usually economically focused measures of livability in policy and practice.

Furthermore, Mouratidis (2020, p. 266) posits the concept of life domains, which can be used to operationalize the relationship between experiences of subjective wellbeing and the environment, social life, personal relationships, neighborhood satisfaction and housing satisfaction. According to Mouratidis (2020, p. 266), life domains are "direct pathways to assess urban livability and their role in subjective wellbeing. Reminiscent of Veenhoven's (2008, p. 2) notion that subjective wellbeing is partly cognitively compared with perceived standards of livability, Mouratidis (2020, p. 266) clarifies "objective and perceived characteristics of the urban environment shape neighborhood satisfaction which may in turn influence subjective well-being'. In other words, perception of objective facts and affective emotional engagement shape neighborhood satisfaction, or other life domains, which can impact subjective wellbeing. Figure 4.4 demonstrates this influence of the urban environment on subjective wellbeing via domain satisfactions. The presented mechanism between individual experience of environmental givens, satisfaction with certain life domains and resulting subjective wellbeing

mirrors the mechanism discussed in this study concerning atmospheric experience. In fact, here, domain satisfactions are used as the operationalization of wellbeing in the context of atmospheric experience (fig 4.5). It can be argued Mouratidis (2020) describes an embodied affective judgement of environmental factors and subjective experiences, which holistically one could call atmospheric experience. In any case, the mechanisms between an urban environment and subjective wellbeing via domain satisfaction (shaped by "objective and perceived characteristics of the urban environment) or atmospheric experience (embodied affective experience of an architectural environment) appear to coalesce.

Significantly, domain satisfaction (subjective wellbeing) is even positively associated with generalize satisfaction (Mouratidis, 2020, p. 266). Therefore, when cities or villages would promote well-being for all residents by focusing their domain satisfactions regarding the urban environment, overall livability could be increased. Significantly, Mouratidis (2020, p. 266) found that residents consider their local environment, or neighborhood as highly important for their life in general and therefore for subjective wellbeing in relation to livability. Furthermore, neighborhood satisfaction is directly related to subjective wellbeing and indirectly through personal relationship satisfaction, housing satisfaction and leisure satisfaction. Residential neighborhoods can influence life domains such as personal relationships (Mouratidis, 2020, p. 267). Also, Mouratidis, 2020, p. 273) states housing satisfaction has a significant direct effect on subjective wellbeing, due to which he concludes "neighborhood satisfaction, and housing satisfaction are reliable indicators of urban livability." Therefore, the question becomes how residents of Nagele express or evaluate their domain satisfaction related to the life domains of neighborhood and housing. This is a tool to not only assess related notions of atmospheric experience, but also subjective wellbeing and experience of heritage values in Nagele (fig. 4.5).

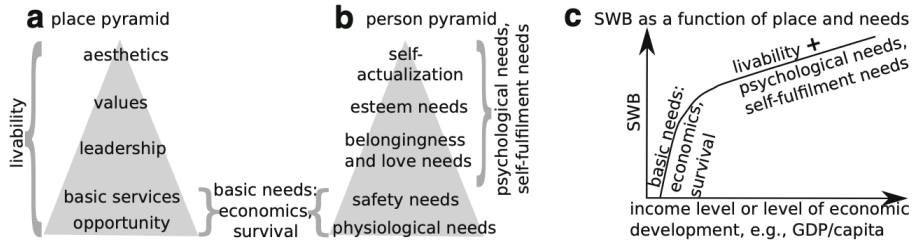

Fig. 1 **a** Livability as place pyramid; **b** Maslow's hierarchy of needs; **c** SWB as a function of (**a**) and (**b**)

Figure 4.3*: Depiction of Florida's (2008) pyramid of place and Maslow's (1987) pyramid of a person's needs. Together, these can be related to subjective wellbeing (SWB) in panel C.*

From "Livability and Subjective Well-Being Across European Cities", by A Okulicz-Kozaryn and R. Valente, 2019, *Applied Research in Quality of Life, 14*(1), p. 200.

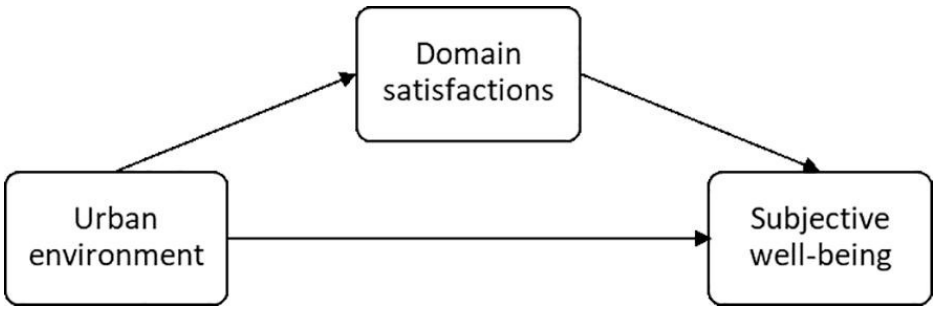

Figure 4.4*: Operationalization of the concept of subjective wellbeing through the concept of domain satisfaction as a means to approach subjective wellbeing in a spatial environment.*

From "Commute satisfaction, neighborhood satisfaction, and housing satisfaction as predictors of subjective well-being and indicators of urban livability", by K. Mouraditis, 2020, *Travel Behavior and Society, 21*, p. 266.

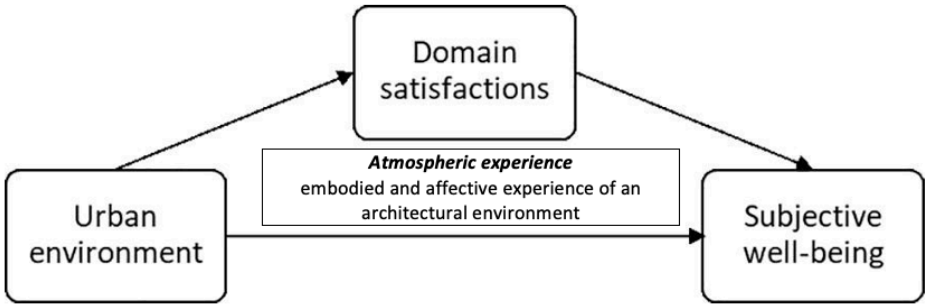

Figure 4.5*: Operationalization of subjective wellbeing (and related livability) in relation to domain satisfaction and atmospheric experience of architectural environments.*

Adapted from "Commute satisfaction, neighborhood satisfaction, and housing satisfaction as predictors of subjective well-being and indicators of urban livability", by K. Mouraditis, 2020, *Travel Behavior and Society, 21*, p. 266.

4.3 The qualitative discourse

One background of this study revolves around the limitations of positivists science in relation to understanding experiential dimensions of the built environment. Positivism is epistemologically related to empiricism and quantitative study. Kohlbacher (2006, p. 1) refers to the ongoing academic dispute between quantitative and qualitative research designs. Qualitative research has often been presented as a contraposition of quantitative approaches. Cassel and Symon (1994, p. 7) describe the qualitative approach as a "focus on interpretation rather than quantification; an emphasis on subjectivity rather than objectivity", with sensitivity for contextual factors linked to experience and "explicit recognition of the impact of the research process" on the results. This is where the scientific resistance against qualitative research methods often stems from, argue Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 7). Schmitz (1999) however, understands his *New Phenomenology* as an empirical science (Gugutzer, 2020, p. 186), and empiricism is certainly not rejected in this study. As such, within the qualitative method there are multiple interpretative approaches besides phenomenology, such as grounded theory or discourse analysis approach (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007, p. 1372). Choosing a particular qualitative approach guides the research towards specific research questions and aims. Specifically, "phenomenology emphasizes the meaning of an [empirical] experience" argues Creswell (2007, pp. 62-63). Hereafter, this study's phenomenological approach, including methodology and research strategy are discussed.

4.4 Research design: the phenomenological framework

Significantly, this study is highly informed by phenomenology. The theoretical framework builds on the philosophical foundations of phenomenology, as developed by Böhme (1993, 1995); Griffero (2019); Heidegger (1927, 1971); Merleau-Ponty (1964); Schmitz (1980, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2016, 2019) and Sørensen (2015) amongst others. Embodied experience of architectural environments as subject of this study develops from phenomenological philosophy. It is therefore fitting to extend the phenomenological approach in the research design and methodology of this study. Oiler (1982, p. 178) clarifies that "phenomenology is a philosophy, an approach, and a method". Starks and Brown Trinidad (2007, p. 1374) state that phenomenology understands reality as embodied experience. Creswell (2007, p. 57) also discerns that traditional phenomenological study, in contrast to the narrative approach,

describes the lived experiences of a phenomenon or concept for several individuals by seeking to reduce individual experience to a description to the universal essence of a phenomenon (Van Manen, 1990, p. 177). Significantly, Creswell (2007, p. 58) argues that contemporary scholars adopt a diversity of philosophical arguments when discussing phenomenology. Moving away from traditional phenomenology and its methodological limitations, Sørensen (2015) decentered his approach from the 'clause of subjectivity' and *New Phenomenoloy* by Schmitz (1999) allows to move from subjective to inter-subjective experiences. All assumptions of the phenomenological approach however, boil down to the study of conscious lived experiences of persons. Van Manen (1990, p. 168) adds that qualitative, or phenomenological, researchers thus identify a phenomenon as an object of human experience. Methodologically, contemporary phenomenological study thus collects data from individuals who have experienced a certain phenomenon in order to develop a composite description of a shared experience. The 'what' and 'how' of the experience is described (Moustakas, 1994). As stated, this study is highly informed by the phenomenological approach in studying an embodied and experiential phenomenon but does seek to move beyond *describing* experience nor seeks to find an *essence.* Instead, by integrating the neo-phenomenological approach and the case study design, the aim of this study is to explore, analyze and theorize inter-subjective experience of architectural atmospheres based on the empiric case of Nagele. As such, this study seeks to generate awareness of atmospheric experience's salience and sensitivity for the complexities of subjective or inter-subjective experiences, as these eventually shape notions of subjective well-being and human engagement with their environments.

4.5 The case study design

As phenomenological methodology encompasses the collection of individuals who have experienced a certain phenomenon in order to describe shared experience (Van Manen, 1990, p. 168), atmospheric experience of Nagele could be called a case. In line with this, Atkinson et al. (2016, p. 7) argue that case studies are the most fitting method to study experiences which are understandable "only in the context of particular places". Following the discussion of the phenomenological approach as a theoretical framework and a method, applying the case study design in this study will make this study's phenomenological approach empirical and concrete. The phenomenological- and case study method are also complementary in nature, as phenomenology's written report presents an in-depth description of an experience, whilst the

case study's report develops a detailed analysis of the case (Creswell, 2007, p. 79). This study therefore integrates both research designs, being phenomenology with the case study design (table 4.2).

There is debate on how to define the case study approach. It is argued that a case study is not a method but a research strategy, as Stake (2000, p. 435) argues a "case study is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied". In fact, a case study research strategy can encompass multiple methods to collect and analyze data, even quantitative methods (Yin, 2003, pp. 14-15). Stake (2000, p. 435) argues therefore that case studies must be defined through their theoretical orientation and interest in individual cases, rather than through its diverse research methods. Creswell (2007, p. 73) however, adds that understanding case study research as a methodology means the exploration of a bounded system (a case) or multiple cases *over time*, involving *multiple sources of information* as data, to describe and analyze an issue in-depth.

Case study research therefore consists of a detailed investigation of phenomena in their context, often with data collected over a period of time (Hartley, 2004, pp. 323-325). The distinctive choice for case study research design therefore "arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena" because case studies allow the researcher to "retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events", argues Yin (2003, p. 2). From a theoretical perspective, case studies thus often function to generate hypotheses and build theory (Hartley, 2004, p. 325). Case study designs are therefore increasingly being perceived as a rigorous research strategy, states Kohlbacher (2006, p. 4). Frequent prejudices, however, are that case studies lack reliability, rigor and do not allow for scientific generalization in contrast to quantitative methods (Hartley, 1994, p. 208; Yin, 2003, p. 2). Yet, Yin (2003, p. 10) argues that case studies are not used for statistical generalization towards a population, but to generalize theoretical propositions for a particular phenomenon, which aligns more with the goal of this study. From a methodological point of view, this study adopts the single instrumental case study approach, as discerned by Creswell (2007, p. 74). This revolves around an issue or concern as study focus (*atmospheric experience of architectural environments*), after which a bounded case is selected to illustrate the issue (*the modernist village Nagele*). Even though one overarching concern with the case-study design and qualitative research in general is the limited generalizability from one case to another, choosing a representative case for the theoretical subject is crucial for internal validity of the findings.

Table 4.2: *Demonstration of the methodological framework of this study, which departs from phenomenology and integrates complementary dimensions from the case study design.*

Theoretical framework Research design	***Phenomenology*** *- from an interdisciplinary perspective* **Qualitative research**	
Research approach	**Phenomenology**	**Case study**
Goal	Describe the meaning of the lived experience of a phenomenon	Developing in-depth and detailed insight into complex phenomena within clear boundaries
Methodology (data collection)	Interviews	**Interdisciplinary approach**: interviews, archival records, policy documents, secondary literature, photographs, documentary analysis, fieldwork observations
Analytic methods	Thematic analysis	Thematic analysis
Product	A thematic description of the structures of the lived experiences	Inductive: generate hypothesis or model Deductive: assess the preliminary model

4.6 Case selection

The case of Nagele is selected for its representativeness in relation to the theoretical framework following its modernist architectural environment, issues of livability and wellbeing and existing heritage discourse. Moreover, the goal of this study is to understand embodied atmospheric experience of modernist architectural *living environments*, or dwellings, related to wellbeing and livability in heritage sites. Many examples of modernist architecture by Le Corbusier and followers include single or a limited number of structures, such as the *L'Unité d'Habitation*. Marseille by Le Corbusier. The spatiality and scale of Nagele's modernist design is rare. Also, Nagele is the most accessible modernist heritage site which also functions as a living environment in comparison with Le Havre by Auguste Perret; Brasilia by Oscar Niemeyer and Chandigarh by Le Corbusier. Choosing a foreign case or opting for a comparative case study design would limit the availability and collection of data within the limitations of this study. Modernist spatial environments in Europe specifically also vary greatly across space and time, such as 1930s Italian rationalism in comparison to 1960s Brutalism. In fact, by choosing a single (instrumental) case study approach of Nagele, a diversity of data-sources can be collected. After the data-collection, emerging patterns and themes during analysis can give rise to hypotheses, conceptual lines of inquiry and a model. This will enable an in-depth view of the atmospheric experience of Nagele's residents. The goal of this study is not to compare,

but to gain deep insight in the complexities of the case. Furthermore, considering the limited availability of academic literature regarding atmospheric experience, and the strong phenomenological involvement of the researcher in the interpretation of emergent themes ((Howell, 2013) this study's research design is primarily inductive. A provisional value-model (fig. 4.2) and a conceptual model of atmospheric experience (table 4.1) will guide data-analysis and the discussion of the findings will be strengthened by secondary sources and the theoretical lines of inquiry (table 2.1). This study's latter stages of analysis and discussion will thus be executed in a partly deductive manner.

4.7 Data gathering and selection

The data collection method in case study research is typically extensive and includes multiple sources of information, highlights Creswell (2007, p. 75). Interviews are generally used to acquire data for case studies as these are used to "obtain the descriptions and interpretations of others", argues Stake (1995, p. 64). Stake (1995, p. 51) argues there are multiple essential factors in the data-gathering process, being a definition of the case, a list of the research questions, identification of helpers, overview of the data sources, overview of the allocation of time, expenses and intended method of reporting the results. Different types of sources demand different methodological procedures for analysis. At any rate, after analysis and interpretation, the researcher should report its ascribed meaning of the case (Creswell, 2007, p. 75)

As a case study design allows for a multitude of sources, in this study archival sources, policy documents, interviews, photographs and publications will be used. The analysis and discussion in Chapters 5 and 6 will be complemented by academic literature. The archival sources and desk research have predominantly been used in the discussion of the case study Nagele (Chapter 3). Interviews with Nagele's residents are the primary source of empirical data of this case study (Appendix C). Hereafter, the data gathering, selection and procedures surrounding the qualitative research interview will be discussed will first be discussed and the primary sources thereafter. Qualitative interviews are in fact equally suitable for both the phenomenological approach (gathering individual experiences) and the case study design (obtaining data from a variety of respondents for an in-depth analysis).

4.7.1 The qualitative research interview

Following the phenomenological approach, Starks and Brown Trinidad (2007, p. 1373) state that those who have experienced the phenomenon of interest are sampled in a case study. Here, dwellers of Nagele's modernist architectural environment include residents who consciously or unconsciously experience the architectural atmosphere. Residents of the outlying areas of Nagele are also included. These people do not dwell in Nagele on a daily basis but are reliant on the village for their basic necessities. They could therefore reflect on their experiences of the architectural atmosphere of Nagele on the one hand and on the other hand present a somewhat 'external' view on the phenomenon.

The necessity of residents' interviews became apparent as embodied (architectural) experience of Nagele has not been explicitly addressed in academic literature since Constandse (1964). Conducting interviews with Nagele's *dwellers* was the only way to do justice to the study's phenomenological framework. Before interviews with the residents were undertaken, three one-hour interviews were conducted with experts related to Nagele in order to gain more insight into the complexities of the case. These experts constituted of an urban designer and architect affiliated with the heritage projects in Nagele since 2010; a architectural historian specialized in modernist architecture, affiliated with the RCE; and Marian Uitdewilligen who was an alderman of municipality Noordoostpolder and responsible for village policy, housing, livability and village renewal up until her service ended in 2022 (appendix A). Four in-depth interviews were also conducted with residents of the Noordoostpolder who did not live in the residential core of Nagele (yet) but engaged with the village frequently through their efforts as tour guide at Museum Nagele (Appendix B). Two interviews were conducted by phone. As the level of positivity differed among these respondents, all were valuable for their in-depth insight into individual motivations and opinions, and historical experiences of the region.

Gaining access

As embodied atmospheric experience of Nagele by its residents constitutes the focus of this study, gaining access to the community was vital. The logical step was to contact the local museum, *Museum Nagele* for guidance, for the Museum also concerns itself with the unique heritage of Nagele. It sees around 4000 visitors per year, has voluntarily tour guides and is

involved in municipal heritage project (Gemeente Noordoostpolder, 2021, p. 16). As a result, a contact served as a valuable informant during the later process of this study. In order to gain access to Nagele's residents and acquire data, the first set-up constituted a questionnaire which could be distributed online and offline. The questionnaire was enriched with a QR-code, an embedded link and a short introduction and photograph of the researcher. An online questionnaire however did not suit the generally elderly population of Nagele. Also, questionnaires would also only suit this study if only open questions were asked, as numerical data is not of relevance for a phenomenological approach. An online questionnaire with only open-ended questions, however, is not quite user-friendly. Distribution would also prove to be difficult as the Board of the Museum did not want to cooperate with the research-project by distributing the questionnaire through its online newsletter. The local tennis- and soccer club were contacted with limited response. After the set-up of an online questionnaire was abandoned, a solely offline format also appeared challenging withing the time constraints of this study. All in all, the type of data acquired by a survey with questionnaires is not fitting for a phenomenological approach as its methodology and method are eventually associated with the quantitative paradigm (Murray, 1999, p. 148). The initial questionnaire did help shape the most significant lines of inquiry for the interviews, but the use of questionnaires as primary data-collection method was abandoned. In order to understand atmospheric experiences from a phenomenological perspective, in-depth, semi-structured, and face-to-face interviews were chosen as the most suitable method. This enables the researcher to converse with the respondents and adjust questions or significant themes along advancing insight. Phenomenologically, conversation between researcher and respondent enables the acquisition of the richest data in term of interviewing.

The informant set up interviews with contacts associated with the museum and facilitated contact with the local supermarket. The local supermarket the busiest location in the village and thus the most suitable place to ask residents for a short interview. There were two days of interviewing in the supermarket in Nagele. Day one was 28 June 2022 (09:30-16:30 hours) and day two was 1 July (10:30-13:00 hours). In total, 31 interviews were conducted with 29 individuals, as two respondents elaborated on their story on a later moment. Whereas the intended questionnaire guided initial questioning, during the interviews salient themes and theoretical saturation already emerged. Interviewing was an incremental process whereby the line of questioning adapted according to advancing insight. Informed consent was asked prior to the conversation. Respondents were told that the interviews would be used for master thesis

about the experience of Nagele's heritage. Questions regarding livability were posited only halfway the interview in order to prevent steering of the respondents' answers due to social desirability. Social desirability in research is defined as a "mismatch between participants' genuine construction of reality and the presentation of that reality to researchers" by Bergen and Labonté (2020, p. 783). Bergen and Labonté (2020, p. 784) argue social desirability bias can be problematic because positive responses can be overestimated and possible heterogeneity in responses can be diminished, "resulting in a questionable appearance of consensus."

It became immediately evident a laptop discourages supermarket clients to join in conversation. The laptop was abandoned for a notebook and a pen on a tall table, in which the researcher made minutes of the conversations. Notes also contain literal quotes and the researcher's impressions of the overall interview. The choice of two field-working days allowed to interview people for a longer period of time as people seemed more willing to engage in conversation in the mornings. In the afternoon of the second day, an extensive walk around the village was conducted in order to observe the environment, take photographs and to visit Museum Nagele and *Huis Polman*[4]. As such access was gained to a wealth of experiences, data, and observations of Nagele. The location of the supermarket enabled access to a heterogenous group of people in a short period of time. Even though representativity in the positivist sense is not fundamental in phenomenological research, it is necessary reach theoretical saturation in order to discuss *shared*, inter-subjective experiences. Therefore, the heterogeneity and number of respondents was a valuable contribution to the strengthening of the emergent shared themes from the interviews. The themes and related questions which arose from the interviews and informed subsequent questioning are presented in table 5.1.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Based on the phenomenological theoretical framework and research approach of this study, interviews with residents are the main source of data to gain insight into the lived and embodied experience of those who engage with architectural environments. Interpretative phenomenological analysis, as one form of qualitative content analysis, will be used to

[4] Huis Polman is a 'museum house' which has been restored and is currently exploited by Hendrick de Keyser. Hendrick de Keyser is a heritage society which preserves historically valuable houses and interiors for the future. Huis Polman is a house located at the Karwijhof and was built in 1956. It has been restored in its original state and now open for the public.

"facilitate the identification of shared experiences across a group of participants" (J. A. Smith et al., 1999, p. 229). The 31 qualitative interviews were transcribed and closely read. In the first stages, the entirety of the transcripts is viewed as potential data. The first emergent themes are categorized and compared in order to find connections (J. A. Smith et al., 1999, pp. 221-222). The emergent themes might be assumed or new, but (J. A. Smith et al., 1999, p. 224) argues these themes can move the project in a different direction. Thematic analysis is a cyclical process and the different stages of reading and coding according to emergent themes means some themes could be dropped to enable others to emerge (J. A. Smith et al., 1999, p. 225).

After the first stages of coding and thematic and thematic analysis, the level of deconstruction limited the initial oversight of interpretative themes by the researcher. In order to explore the relationships between different conceptual groupings after deconstruction, the researcher strongly engages with the text in order to from a more holistic perspective on the data (J. A. Smith et al., 1999, p. 232). Memo writing and diagrammatic representations can assist this (J. A. Smith et al., 1999, p. 234). In this case, after the first stages of the interpretative phenomenological analysis, the overall deconstruction of the text was abandoned to adopt a stronger involvement of the researcher-perspective in the formation of interpretative categories.

Starks and Brown Trinidad (2007, p. 1337) state thematic content analysis from a phenomenological approach means the researcher must cluster descriptions of the phenomenon into themes as "core commonalities and structure these experiences. The role of the researcher is thus to "bracket views". After this, Creswell (2007, p. 60) states, the researcher must develop a textural description of what the participants experienced, and a structural description of their experiences in terms of conditions, situations, or context. A final combination of the textural and structural descriptions will convey an "overall essence" (here: in-depth understanding) of the experience. This phenomenological approach adopted and adjusted in Chapter 5 and 6. Chapter 5 will present a thematic and structural description of the experiences after which Chapter 6 will continue with in-depth analysis of the textural and structural descriptions of

4.7.2 Available literature and archival sources

At the start of this study, desk research clarified that readily available academic publications were not sufficient to address the research questions. Therefore, various archives were visited to access primary and secondary sources that are not available online. Specifically, recent

publications regarding Nagele almost exclusively refer to a number of publications from 1950s-1980s which are not available online (Baart et al., 1988; Bruin, 1955; Constandse, 1964; Hemel & van Rossum, 1984; The working group of the "Vereeniging “de 8””, 1952). The first goal of the archival research was to acquire these publications from the *Leiden Special Collections*[5], the TU Delft Library[6], and the *Eye Collection*[7]. Furthermore, *Het Nieuwe Instituut*[8] in Rotterdam holds the National collection for Dutch Architecture and City Planning. Even though a wealth of material is also available here, 44 archives and 109 publications concern Nagele, the most significant documents for this study could be acquired from the beforementioned archives. Also, the 44 archives in the *Nieuwe Insituut* mostly pertain to architects involved in the planning and design of Nagele between the 1940s-1950, which is not directly relevant for the current research-problem at hand. The archival sources and previously inaccessible academic publications have been mentioned and used in the discussion of the case of Nagele in Chapter 3.

4.8 Validity and ethics

When conducting qualitative research, Yin (2003, p. 85) states that it is crucial to continuously assess the internal and external validity of the arguments, as well their reliability. For this, Yin (2003, p. 85) lists three principles, being the use of multiple sources, the creation of a case study database and maintenance of a chain of evidence. In this case study, a multitude of sources and data allows for a nuanced and in-depth view of Nagele’s history and heritage. The findings of this study are thus not guided by residents’ experiences alone, which prevents a one-sided narrative. All interviews have been conducted anonymously and the responses are not traceable to specific individuals. In similar vein, it was important to deeply familiarize with the complexities of the case for this study concerns the environment which people engage with daily. It is where they *dwell*. This makes the topic very personal for the respondents and respondents entrusted the researcher with their personal experiences of the environment they call home (or not). Therefore, the researcher must take responsibility and care to do justice to

[5] The archives of the Leiden University Library (Leiden Special Collections) of Leiden University, the Netherlands: Bakema (1964); Constandse (1964); de Jonge (1964b, 1964a).
[6] The library of the Technical University of Delft, the Netherlands: Baart et al. (1988); Hemel and van Rossum (1984).
[7] The archives of the Eye Film Museum, the Netherlands: Andela & Bosma (1985b, 1985a); Bruin (1955); The working group of the "Vereeniging “de 8”” (1952)
[8] *Het Nieuwe Instituut*, the Netherlands: access to the database via https://zoeken.hetnieuweinstituut.nl/nl/zoeken?category=all&trefwoord=Nagele

the shades of grey which exist in the realities and complexities of the case when the findings and conclusions are presented. This is vital for the validity of the findings, but also in terms of ethics. As such, awareness of researcher bias is also important. Reflexivity and advancing insight during the interviews led to an increasingly nuanced view on the complexities of the case. From the start of this study, a notebook was kept for memo writing. Starks and Brown Trinidad (2007, p. 1376) call this a strong reflexive practice to trace how researcher's thoughts and ideas evolve which aids analysis and deeper engagement with the data. Memos or notes can also establish an audit trail (rigor) to keep track of how impressions are related, how understanding has been shaped throughout the process and how hypotheses have developed through time.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

5.1. Introduction

This study discusses and analyses what role embodied atmospheric experience could have for the livability of modernist architectural heritage. Specifically, the modernist village Nagele is the case of this study. Nagele epitomizes the Dutch endeavor of engineering and planning a new agricultural society in the reclaimed land of the Noordoostpolder. Whilst this entire project followed modernist and scientific principles, Nagele fundamentally embodies the vision of modernist architecture and urban planning in this area, state Haartsen and Thissen (2018, p. 165). The modernist architects of *Nieuwe Bouwen* and CIAM environed to create a new and fair societal order by means of rationally planned architecture and urban design. Functional zoning, resistance of ornamentation, the use of new building materials and shapes would materialize and create a utopian community (Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, pp. 44-45). The resulting flat roofs and open green central space, mirrored by surrounding by residential courtyards, are distinctive of the motive 'space within a space' (Baart et al., 1988, p. 22). Through a modernist and functional design with 'light, air and space', the architects sought to create a livable and pleasant society (Blom et al., 2016, p. 16). The village has its challenges though. The mechanization of agriculture, a too one-sided composition of the community and the departure of services have led to physical degradation, challenges to social cohesion and overall livability (Blom et al., 2016, p. 9; Hemel & van Rossum, 1984, p. 44). Since 2009, the degradation of this modernist heritage, symbolizing the Reconstruction period in The Netherlands became more salient. Currently, the RCE and the municipality seek to restore and conserve the 'core qualities' of Nagele to ensure its heritage, an icon of the Dutch Reconstruction period, is preserved for future generations (Blom et al., 2016, p. 20). In parallel, it is believed conservation of Nagele's cultural-historical values will enhance the village's livability by attracting more tourists and new residents 'from outside' who contribute to the local economy and a sense of community (Blom & Van Geest, 2011, pp. 36-38). Heritage preservation is a goal in itself, but also a means to improve the livability of Nagele (Appendix A).

Following the lines of inquiry posited in Chapter 2, it has been suggested that embodied atmospheric experience by those who engage with Nagele on a daily basis can shed insight in

heritage policy and practice in relation to livability. How residents holistically experience their village today could shed light on what it could become in the future. Hence, this study explores the way livability of Nagele's modernist environment could be revisited when atmospheric experience constitutes an (equal) consideration within the current value model of heritage. This study therefore addresses the omission of experiential dimensions in academia, architecture and the heritage discourse whilst its significance has been demonstrated in discussions regarding wellbeing and livability of living environments. In Chapter 3, the case of Nagele has been discussed extensively, including the underlying the architecture and design's underlying vision, its planning, and current heritage policy and practice. Chapter 3 is therefore the contextual frame for the discussion of the findings in this chapter. The phenomenological approach in this chapter revolves around interviews with residents of Nagele to study their individual and inter-subjective embodied experiences of modernist architectural atmospheres. In this chapter, a description of the residents' atmospheric experience will be presented (partial deconstruction of experiences) according to emerging themes during the interviews (table 5.1) and the operationalization of life domains presented in Chapter 4. Table 5.2 presents a comparison between the recurring themes during the interviews and the concept of domain satisfaction (Mouraditis, 2020). Therefore, when certain emergent themes are discussed, it is valid to relate these insights to specific domain satisfactions by residents.

Table 5.1*: Recurring themes during the interviews with dwellers of Nagele.*

Emergent themes during the interviews with dwellers of Nagele
Experiences of the architecture and spatial environment of Nagele
Experiences of wellbeing and livability in Nagele
Ideas and opinions concerning the heritage policy of the municipality
Future vision of Nagele

Table 5.2*: Operationalization of dwellers' embodied and affective experiences of Nagele in relation to life domains, as conceptualized by Mouraditis (2020).*

Recurring themes during the interviews with dwellers of Nagele	**Operationalization towards life domains (after Mouratidis, 2020)**
Experiences of the architectural and spatial environment of Nagele	*Neighborhood satisfaction, housing satisfaction*
Experiences of wellbeing and livability in Nagele	*Neighborhood satisfaction, housing satisfaction*
Ideas and opinions concerning the heritage policy of the municipality	*Neighborhood satisfaction, housing satisfaction*
Future vision of Nagele	*Neighborhood satisfaction, housing satisfaction*

5.2 Dimensions of atmospheric experience of the Nagele's dwellers

In this study, atmospheric experience is defined as the embodied and affective experience of architectural environments. Specifically, this study revolves around dwellers (residents or frequent engagers with the environment), of Nagele, as everyday experiences greatly impact human existence (Heidegger, 1971, pp. 150-151) and the everyday could have deeper consequences to issues of identity and belonging than the extraordinary, argues Billig (1995). Understanding the role of atmospheric experience for notions of wellbeing and livability in modernist heritage sites firstly requires a thorough description of the atmospheric experience of Nagele's residents. Table 5.3 presents residents' experiences regarding the operationalization of various (and not conclusive) dimensions of atmospheric experience in Chapter 4 (table 4.1). Even though this operationalization deconstructs a holistic phenomenon (J. A. Smith et al., 1999, p. 232), dissecting the experience allows to 'descend into the details' as proposed by Constandse (1964). Table 5.3 allows the first discussion of the complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon of atmospheric experience. Adapting the *New Phenomenology* approach by (Schmitz, 1980, 2003, 2019) and Sørensen (2015) the tabulation of atmospheric experience is presented along the nexus of the *felt-body* and environmental affordances. In order to gain insight in the atmospheric experience of Nagele's dwellers, they were asked what their 'experience of the architecture and spatial environment' of Nagele was. This was a somewhat challenging formulation for multiple residents, so conversations regarding atmospheric experience were revert to their 'experience or perception (*beleving*) of Nagele'.

Table 5.3*: Operationalization of the atmospheric experiences of Nagele's residents, after table 4.1.*

Atmospheric experience *Embodied and affective experience of architectural environments* After Schmitz, 1990 and Sørensen, 2015	
The felt-body *Embodied sensory experience*	**Environmental affordances**
Senses • Vision is the only sense respondents discuss in relation to the architecture, the spatial design and other tourists	**Material affordances** • People are generally positive about the green spaces: spacious and calm • In relation to the architecture and the spatial design, materials as such are not mentioned by respondents. It is the design they mention
Time • People do not notice the distinct planning as they have been born and raised in Nagele • People came to appreciate Nagele after some time. • People found Nagele different at first but are now used to it • Calm atmosphere • With the passing of time, the village has changed: a decline of services, a different social composition and a some (older) residents mention a different mentality	**Climatic elements** • People reflect on good weather or summer in relation to tourists • A flat roof is warm during summer • Nagele is beautiful during spring

As part of the environmental affordances, climatic elements were mentioned four times. Two respondents mentioned climatic elements in relation to tourism. For example, "*Met mooi weer komen hier mensen specifiek langsfietsen*" [During nice weather people specifically come and bicycle here] (Appendix C). One respondent mentioned climatic elements in relation to architecture, specifically the inconvenience of having a flat roof during summer because of the warmth: "*Een plat dak is namelijk heel warm in de zomer en een puntdak heeft meer ruimte*" [A flat roof is very warm in summer and a pointed roof gives more space] (Appendix C). One resident mentioned climatic elements in relation to the spatial design of Nagele, in a positive way: "*Ik ben trots op Nagele; op de natuur, de bomen, elk seizoen is hier mooi. In mei vooral, als alles gaat bloeien*" [I am proud of Nagele; of nature, the trees, every season is beautiful here. In May especially, when everything starts to bloom] (Appendix C).

Material affordances are also part of the conceptual model of atmospheric experience. Recalling the ability of modernist architecture to elicit ambiguous or uncanny experiences by means of concrete and other building materials (Forty, 2013, p. 14), residents did not specifically reflect on specific building materials. Reflections were based on a more general appearance of form, architecture and (spatial) design-elements. The only discussed material quality, and very often, was extensive presence of green space in Nagele, for example: "*Prachtig. Ruimte en groen*" [Beautiful. Spacious and green] (Appendix C). One respondent mentioned that he specifically chose to live in Nagele because of the green: *"Het voelt hier als een vakantiedorp, daar hebben we bewust voor gekozen. We wonen hier nu 1 jaar. We hebben alle dorpjes bekeken maar deze was het ruimst, het groenst. We kozen bewust voor de Noordoostpolder na ons pensioen vanwege het groen"* [It feels like a vacation village, we made a deliberate choice for this . We have lived here for 1 year now. We visited all villages, but this was the most spacious, the greenest. We deliberately choose the Noordoostpolder after our pension because of the green space] (Appendix C). The green is generally mentioned as a beautiful aspect of Nagele which makes residents positive about Nagele in general or about this feature: "*Ik vind Nagele mooi, weids, groen, bos*" [I find Nagele beautiful, spacious, green, forest] (Appendix C).

In terms of the *felt-body*, all references to senses concerned vision. Explicit references generally related to tourists, such as: "*Ik zie ze niet en ik vind dat niet nodig*" [I don't see them and I don't find that necessary] (Appendix C). Other responses concerned the visual appearance of Nagele in terms of the overall environment and specifically the houses. There were positive and

negative reflections, such as "*Verder dat het er goed uitziet, specifiek de huizen. De rest is prima*" [It looks good, specifically the houses. The rest is fine] (Appendix C), but also "*niet mooi, die blokken als je die zo ziet*" [not attractive, those boxes when you see them like this] (Appendix C). Two statements are relevant in relation to the dimension of material affordances and the discussion of housing satisfaction and livability. One resident stated that she was very content with her "*lego blokje*" [lego box], "*maar wel omdat het er vanbinnen niet meer zo uit ziet"* [but that's because it doesn't look like that anymore on the inside] (Appendix C). Also, one respondent argued that new people would move to Nagele "*als het er vernieuwd uitziet*" [when it looks renewed]. Finally, one respondent clearly reflected on atmospheric experience purely in terms of vision: "*ik ben totaal niet bezig met hoe het dorp eruit ziet*" [I am really not occupied with what the village looks like] (Appendix C). The reflection on environmental elements purely from a visual perspective reflects the dominance of vision in the hierarchy of the senses (Pallasmaa, 2005, p. 15).

Concerning reflections on time, respondents state they have gotten used to his environment through time. For one respondent it therefore does not feel like he lives in a unique village anymore: *"Ik vond het eerst wel bijzonder maar nu zie ik dat niet meer, het is een gewoonte. Misschien is dat jammer maar dat hoort erbij. Het voelt niet alsof ik in een bijzonder dorp woon"* [I did find it special at first but now I don't see it like that anymore, it has become a habit. Maybe that's a pity but that part of life. It doesn't feel like I live in a special village.] (Appendix C). One residents states: "*Mijn schoondochter is hier ook komen wonen en die zei dat het net Centerparks leek toen ze hier kwam. Maar nu woont ze er met plezier*" [My daughter-in-law said it looked just like Centerparks when she came here, but now she enjoys living here] (Appendix C). Multiple (older) residents also reflect on the village which has changed through time, a decrease in the number of services, a different social composition of the village, a different sense of community or mentality: "*Nu zijn mensen veel meer op zichzelf, door allerlei dingen kan dat: tijd, de samenstelling van het dorp. Een andere mentaliteit*" [Now the people are much more to themselves, which could be cause by a lot of things: time, the composition of the village. A different mentality] (Appendix C). Furthermore, people argue that tourists and residents alike experience a calm atmosphere, of which one dimension is no rush of time. Residents who have were born and raised in Nagele or have lived here all their lives state they do not see Nagele as a unique village: "*Voor mij is het niet heel bijzonder, want ik woon hier al mijn hele leven*" [To me it is not very special, because I have lived here for all my live] (Appendix C). The clearest reflection on atmospheric experience in relation to time was stated

by one resident: "*Ik snap het vanuit de opzet maar ik vind het niet eens leuk om door Nagele heen te lopen. De wandeling lijkt dan een half uur te duren in plaats van tien minuten*" [I get the idea of the spatial planning but I don't even like walking about Nagele. The walk seems to take half an hour instead of ten minutes] (Appendix C).

In conclusion, it becomes clear that residents reflected on the multiple dimensions of atmospheric experience which were operationalized in Chapter 4. Residents reflected often and most positively on the use of green space in Nagele (material affordance). Concerning reflections on time, some residents did not experience any special atmosphere or unicity of Nagele as they grew up in the environment, and habituation by others to the at-first unfamiliar environment was evident. The dominance of vision in relation to the dimension of senses in this case is noteworthy, as Albertsen (2019, pp. 3-5) has clarified that all senses are actively involved in shaping atmospheric experience. Climatic elements were discussed positively in relation to the seasons and green space in Nagele. Even though formulation of interview-questions concerning about specific 'experience of the architectural and spatial environment of Nagele' was challenging for some residents, overall insight is gathered in the various elements responsible for an overall 'experience' or 'perception' of those dwellers of Nagele who were interviewed.

5.3 Reconstructing embodied and affective experience of Nagele's environment

After the first deconstruction of atmospheric experience in Nagele according to the operationalization presented in Chapter 4, here, a reconstruction will be made to regain a more integrated and holistic overview of the atmospheric experience of Nagele's dwellers. Firstly, table 5.4 demonstrates an integrated, reconstructed and categorized overview of dwellers' embodied and affective experience (*felt-body*) of architectural environments (*environmental affordances*). The dimensions presented in the table constituted the themes dwellers most reflected on in their overall assertion of their experience of Nagele. These constitute the architectural design, the spatial design and community. Taken together, these dimensions also accord with notions of neighborhood satisfaction (Mouraditis, 2020) (table 5.2). Therefore, this presentation of an integral view of atmospheric experience, or embodied and affective experience of Nagele's architectural environment, aligns with the operationalization of atmospheric experience through the notion of subjective experience of domain satisfaction

(neighborhood satisfaction specifically) as posited in Chapter 3 (fig. 3.5). Following discussions regarding atmospheric experience, architectural design, spatial design and community are the most significant dimensions in the discussions regarding neighborhood satisfaction.

Table 5.4*: Presentation of the findings regarding embodied and affective experience of Nagele.*

Atmospheric experience *Embodied and affective experience of architectural environments* After Schmitz, 1990 and Sørensen, 2015				
Neighbourhood satisfaction	**Very positive**	**Positive**	**Moderately positive**	**Negative**
Architectural design	Positive	Moderately negative	Negative	Negative
Spatial design	Very positive	(Very) positive	Positive	Positive/ Neutral
Community	Very positive	(Very) positive	Positive	Neutral/Negative

When touching upon neighborhood satisfaction in relation to architectural design, many respondents discuss the distinctive flat roof architecture of their village. One respondent expresses the whish that new buildings shall also exclusively have flat roofs: "*dan blijven we een bijzonder dorp*" [If so we remain a special village] (Appendix C). Residents express awareness of the unicity of the flat roofs and their significance for Nagele's modernist heritage. Residents almost exclusively argue that the flat roofs should remain, for "*de ruimtelijkheid en het geheel, de harmonie*" [for the spatiality and the wholeness of the village, the harmony] (Appendix C) or as they "*zet Nagele op de kaart*" [place Nagele on the map] (Appendix C). Those residents who are negative about the architectural design, "*dat platte: daardoor is het een beetje saai*" [the flatness, that makes it a bit boring] (Appendix C) or generally "*weinig variatie*" [a lack of variation] (Appendix C), understand the heritage of the flat roofs but do not appreciate its appearance. One could also interpret this reversed, as residents might feel negatively about the architecture but still value the heritage: "*Ik snap de bijzonderheid, met de platte daken, maar mooi…. Nee*" [I understand the peculiarity, with the flat roofs, but nice… No] (Appendix C) or "*het platte dak is minder, maar het is zo want het is een kunstdorp*" [I like the flat roofs less, but it is just the way it is because this is an art-village] (Appendix C).

Significantly, when respondents reflect on their experience of the architecture and the spatial design of the village, residents very frequently refer to the flat roofs and open green central space in their descriptions. These two elements are mentioned in almost all those accounts, and often in coherence. Whilst respondents are frequently positive about the green space, experiences regarding the architecture (specifically flat roofs) are more diverse. These are either neutral, "*ik ben niet zo heel erg van de architectuur*" [I am not really occupied with architecture] (Appendix C), or negative accounts of the architecture (often with the flat roofs as point of reference), which either depend on aesthetics or on practicality: "*een plat dak is namelijk heel warm in de zomer en een puntdak heeft meer ruime*" [A flat roof becomes very hot in summertime and a gable roof provides more space] (Appendix C). Significantly, respondents do find the architecture hindering as the municipality does not allow visible alterations to the façade. It is interesting to note it the group of residents who state that they find Nagele a pleasant place to live for reasons such as the spacious, green environment or the calm, but which have a negative stance towards the architecture. For example: "*In Nagele is de ruimtelijkheid heel fijn (...) qua architectuur vind ik het minder mooi. Er is weinig variatie*" [In Nagele the spaciousness is beautiful (…) I don't like the architecture as much. There is little variation] (Appendix C), or "*De architectuur is ook mooi, maar het belemmert wel"* [The architecture is nice, but it does hinder] (Appendix C).

In many cases, residents (implicitly) reflected on their atmospheric experience of Nagele in relation to social dimensions such as the sense of community: "*Wel een dorpsgemeenschap, maar geen mooie uitstraling*" [It is a village community, but it does not have a nice appearance] (Appendix C). Here, the general trend is that most residents are positive about the (strong) sense of community in Nagele. Multiple residents, however, also mention that there is a lack of connection with the community of immigrant workers which resides in Nagele: "*Iedereen ging naar de dorpsfeesten, naar de kroeg. Nu is dat alleen een bepaalde groep. Dat komt deels door de voorzieningen, maar er zijn ook teveel nationaliteiten in het dorp vind ik*." [Everyone went to the village festivals. Now this is only a specific group. That is partly caused by the services, but I believe there are also too many nationalities in the village] (Appendix C). Residents also reflect on a sense of decline in terms of social cohesion, sense of community and related services and general appearance of the village: "*Vroeger was er meer harmonie, meer met elkaar. Mensen zorgden voor elkaar"* [In the past there used to be more harmony, more togetherness. People took care of each other] (Appendix C).

Significantly, when reflecting on atmospheric experiences, residents often referred to other villages in the Noordoostpolder in social or community terms: "*De sfeer is niet anders dan in andere dorpen. De gemeenschappen zijn daar ook vergelijkbaar*" [The atmosphere is not different than in other villages. The communities there are also comparable] (Appendix C) or "*De sfeer in Nagele is niet wezelijk anders dan in andere dorpen, want fijn wonen is het overal hier*" [The atmosphere in Nagele is not really different from other villages, because one can live happily anywhere here] (Appendix C). Another resident demonstrates the implicit connection between social dimensions, atmospheric experience and physical appearance of the village: "*Er is geen andere sfeer dan in andere dorpen. De woningen zitten in de lage sociale huursector, dus best veel andere mensen in sociaal opzicht. Misschien daardoor een andere sfeer*" [The atmopshere here is not different from other villages. The houses are part of the low social rental sector, so there are quite a few different people in social terms. Maybe this creates a different atmopshere] (Appendix C).

The researcher's general impression of dwellers' atmospheric experience (or neighborhood satisfaction) is presented in various levels. *Very positive* notions of atmospheric experience were specifically positive about community and spatial design (especially green and space), in lesser extent regarding the architectural design. This is mirrored in the *positive* stance towards Nagele's atmosphere. *Moderately positive* respondents were more explicitly negative concerning Nagele's architectural design. Those who were negative were remained the most positive concerning the spatial design and remained the already present negative stance towards Nagele's architecture. In fact, experiences of community as a dimension of embodied and affective experience of the architectural environment were decisive. Significantly, the social dimension appears to be crucial in negative atmospheric experiences by Nagele's residents. In similar vein, the social dimension of neighborhood satisfaction appeared the most poignant during the interview-process and data-analysis. It will be demonstrated that atmospheric experience of social/ community dimensions is transposed in the spatial and architectural domain. As a result, reflections on neighborhood satisfaction and livability in the present and future tend to revolve around social dimensions or concerns.

Table 5.2 shows a comparison and operationalization between the recurring themes during the interviews with dwellers of Nagele in relation the life domains (domain satisfaction) approach, adopted from Mouraditis (2020). This shows recurring themes during the interviews can be

related to affective experiences of neighborhood satisfaction and housing satisfaction. Affective and embodied experiences of the architectural and spatial environment in relation to atmospheric experience and neighborhood satisfaction has been discussed above. Therefore, livability as the next theme of interest will be discussed hereafter.

5.4 Experience of wellbeing and livability in Nagele

Livability is of concern in this study as it has been demonstrated that atmospheric experience of architectural environments is related to subjective wellbeing and thus overall livability. During the interview process, advancing insight emerged that livability was a topic of interest for the residents. Sooner or later, the conversation would lead to implicit or explicit references to dimensions of livability. The Dutch term *leefbaarheid* [livability] was often used by the residents, whilst the term *welzijn* [wellbeing] has not been used at all. The term livability is defined as "the quality of the person-environment relationship", in terms of "how well the built environment and the available services fulfill the resident's needs and expectations" by Mouratidis (2020, p. 266). Mouratidis (2020, pp. 265-266) states notions of (subjective) wellbeing is an important subjective indicator of wellbeing, which is operationalized as the "cognitive and affective evaluation of one's life" in terms of specific life domains (domain satisfactions). Even though Nagele's dwellers mention their views on *livability*, they express their experiences and judgements regarding their environment (cognitive/affective evaluation). Therefore, even though residents discuss livability, they generally refer to their experiences of wellbeing. When asked about their experience of livability in Nagele, residents noticeably appeared to be more comfortable faster to reflect on this topic than on (atmospheric) experience of Nagele's architecture and spatial design (Chapter 5.2). One theoretical assumption of this study is that architecture or spatial elements can cause positive or negative experiences of one's environment. By itself, the discussion in Chapters 5.2 and 5.3 demonstrate that this is likely the case. In the broader discussion of livability and neighborhood satisfaction, the human-environment interaction in Nagele becomes more complex.

Advancing insight during the interviews confirms residents' occupation with livability and wellbeing, as posited by the lines of inquiry (table 2.1). Multiple residents expressed themselves positively about the livability of Nagele. Even though most respondents are negative about the limited number of services, some respondents are positive about the livability despite the lack of services: "*de leefbaarheid is voldoende, maar niet heel veel voorzieningen*" [The livability

is sufficient, but there are not that many services] (Appendix C). Some remarked that there were sufficient services in the village to sustain primary needs. Positive notions of livability are connected to the extensive use of green and space in the village, for example "*voor kinderen die kunnen spelen"* [for children who can play outside] (Appendix C) or "*het is veilig, groen, en er is veel ruimte*" [It is safe, green, and there is lots of space] (Appendix C). Significantly, multiple respondents referred to social aspects or community-life in Nagele when expressing themselves positively about Nagele's livability: "*De sociale kant van leefbaarheid is hier prima. Het ligt eraan hoe je met je buren omgaat*" [The social side of livability is fine here. It depends on how you engage with your neighbours] (Appendix C) or "*De leefbaarheid is prima, er wordt veel georganiseerd, mensen letten op elkaar"* [the livability is fine, as much is organized and people look out for each other] (Appendix C) and "*Ons kent ons, dat is ook leefbaarheid*" [Like knows like, that also constitutes livability] (Appendix C). It could thus be argued positive notions of livability explicitly and implicitly relate to the social or community dimension of the village. Neighborhood satisfaction is generally positive as dwellers' experience of personal relationships is positive (Mouratidis, 2020, p. 267).

Furthermore, figure 5.1 presents an overview of the different negative experiences of livability of Nagele. Within the recurring theme of reclining livability, three dimensions could be discerned. Taking the limitations such a categorization into account, concerns about the livability of Nagele related to social challenges; a negative appearance of Nagele; and a lack of renewal and development. Significantly, figure 5.1 also demonstrates that almost all experiences, even when categorized under different dimensions, can be related to residents' experiences of social challenges to the livability of Nagele.

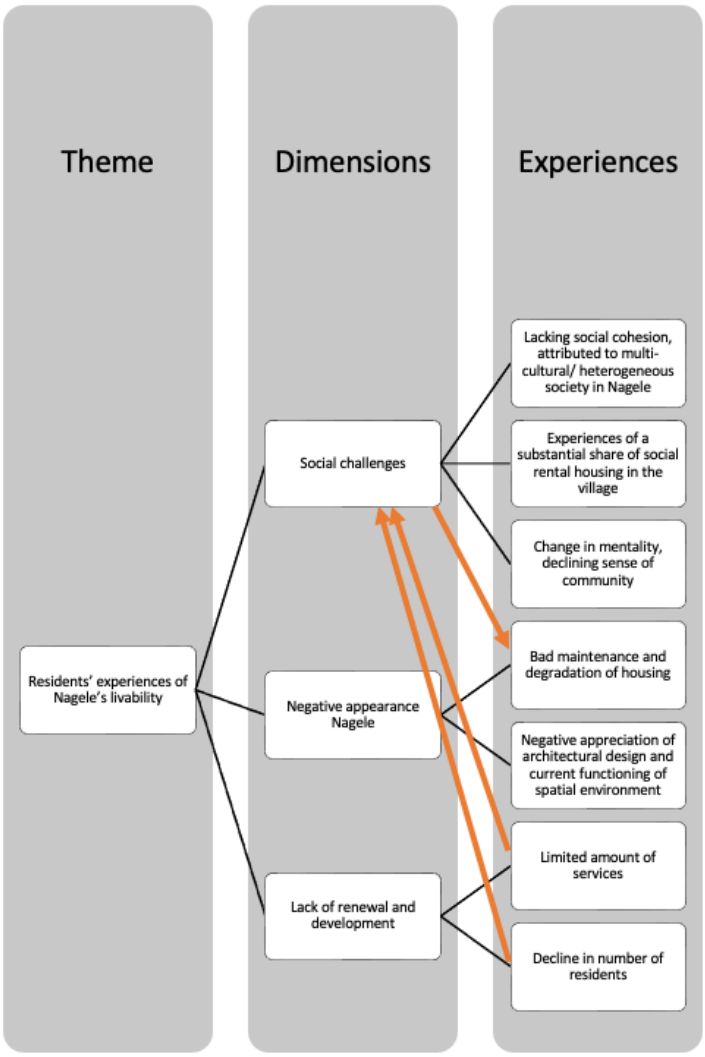

Figure 5.1*: Presentation of findings concerning negative experiences of livability by residents of Nagele.*

Challenges to livability are often attributed to bad maintenance: "*Ze [the municipality] moeten harder inzetten om Meractus [the housing corporation] te laten verbouwen want in de winter zit ik met een hoge energierekening. Er is meer onderhoud nodig*" [They have to push Mercatus harder to renovate the houses because I will now have a high energy bill during the winter. More maintenance is necessary] (Appendix C). Frequently, remarks about bad maintenance are related to a negative appearance of the village, and specifically of the parts of the village where social housing and immigrant residents are dominant: "*Sommige hofjes hebben meer onderhoud nodig. Daar wonen meer allochtonen en er zijn meer huurwoningen, dus die zijn minder mooi*" [Some residential courtyards need more maintenance. Over there, more immigrants live and there is more social housing, so these houses are less beautiful] (Appendix C).

Experiences of aesthetic appeal and livability are thus frequently connected to remarks about Nagele's community or social dimensions: "*Er zijn nu veel huurwoningen, dat is niet zo gezellig. Dit zijn voornamelijk Poolse mensen, een dichte gemeenschap*" [There is currently a lot of social housing in the village, which is not so cosy or sociable. These are predominantly Polish people, a closed community] (Appendix C). Another resident expressed he specifically came to live in Nagele for its strict building-regulations and heritage policy as a "*rustgevende gedachte*" [calming thought] (Appendix C), "*zeker nu met de buitenlandse mengeling, de onderhuur in de rest van de polder*" [especially now with the foreign medley, the sublettings in the rest of the polder] (Appendix C). A respondent stated that "*de oude stukken van Nagele ogen oud, verdrietig, slonzig*" [the old parts of Nagele look old, sad, sleazy] (Appendix C). Residents reflect on the decline of livability of Nagele, also in relation to the social: "*De leefbaarheid is hier de laatste jaren erg achteruit gegaan. Ik ben niet discriminerend maar vooral door de Polen en de mensen uit de andere landen*" [The livability of Nagele has declined greatly through the years. I am not discriminatatory but mainly due tot o the Polish people and those from other countries] (Appendix C) or, "*Ik vind Nagele niet zo'n fijn en mooi dorp. Een beetje een achterstandsdorp*" [I don't find Nagele a very pleasant or appealing village. It is a bit of a deprived village] (Appendix C). Significantly, one resident states that livability for her does not equate services. Instead, livability represents community life: "*Voorzieningen, dat is niet het dorp. Leefbaarheid, dat is de gemeenschap*" [Services, that does not represent the village. Livability, that is the community] (Appendix C). In similar vein, one respondent stated "*De leefbaarheid is erg achteruitgegaan. Ik denk dat dat te maken heeft met mentaliteit*" [The livability has declined greatly. I think this has to do with mentality] (Appendix C). Another supermarket visitor overheard the conversation and strongly reacted and affirmed the notion of a changed mentality. In short, it becomes clear that negative experiences of livability are predominantly related to neighborhood satisfaction from the perspective of social and personal relationships and community.

5.5 Experiences of heritage to enhance Nagele's livability

First of all, residents expressed awareness of Nagele's heritage on all levels. Some dwellers express to have no knowledge or interest in Nagele's heritage, "*Plat, meer weet ik eigenlijk niet*" [Flat, that is all I know] (Appendix C) or "*ik weet dat het een Rietveld dorp is maar verder weet ik weinig"* [I know it is a Rietveld village, but I know little else] (Appendix C). Generally, however, residents do express attachment to the spacious and green lay-out of the village and show awareness that the flat roofs are a distinctive characteristic of the village. A young girl accompanied by her mother even stated that the children were taught about the history of Nagele at elementary school: "*platte daken zijn uniek en passen bij Nagele!*" [flat roofs are unique and belong to Nagele!] (Appendix C). A number of residents also express awareness and a positive stance towards the entire history of the polder: "*Ook de hele opzet van de Noordoostpolder. Niets is verder dan een half uur fietsen, dat vind ik een goed idee"* [Also the entire planning of the Noordoostpolder. One can cycle anywhere within half an hour, which I believe is a good idea] (Appendix C) or "*de polder als geheel is ook wel bijzonder*" [The polder in its entirety is also quite special] (Appendix C).

Residents are positive about the history of the Noordoostpolder in its entirety and express the wish to put Nagele more on the map: "*Dit moeten ze [municipality] meer uitbuiten, het cultureel erfgoed*" [They have to exploit our cultural heritage more] (Appendix C) and regarding the multifunctional center (MFC): "*het is ons enige culturele centrum en we hebben een museum als een van de weinige plekken in de polder, dat is ook heel mooi*" [It is our only cultural center and we have a museum as one of few places in the polder, which is very nice] (Appendix C). These positive stances related to (moderately) positive notions about the municipal policy of Nagele's socio-economic improvement by means of restoring its cultural-historical qualities. By improving the cultural-historical qualities of Nagele, one aim is to attract tourists. One resident agrees as "*extra toeristen zijn misschien goed voor wat ondernemers*" [Extra tourists are perhaps nice for a few entrepreneurs] (Appendix C). Residents do notice tourists visit Nagele: "*toeristen komen steeds meer, in het weekend zie je ze vanuit Hong Kong*" [There is an increasing number of tourists, in the weekends one can see tourists from Hong Kong here] (Appendix C) or "*Met mooi weer komen hier mensen specifiek langsfietsen*". Another policy-strategy is to attract more people from outside, "*maar of mensen specifiek vanwege de architectuur hier komen wonen weet ik niet, of misschien toch omdat het goedkoop is*" [but I

am not sure wether people specifically come to live here because of the architecture, or just perhaps because it is cheap] (Appendix C).

These positive and moderate observations are flanked by more pronounced experiences which relate to wellbeing. In terms of tourism, some residents are cautious about the present attention and possible greater influx of tourists in the future: "*Er komen veel studenten en toeristen, busladingen. Ik ben geen aap in een kooitje*" [A lot of students and tourists come to visit, busloads. I am not a monkey in a cage] (Appendix C). Furthermore, residents also reflect on the effect of the stringent heritage policy on their lives: *"Maar er moet geen gemeentelijk beleid richting complete cultureel erfgoed komen. Dat is een slechte ontwikkeling want we moeten geen museum worden. Het moet niet zo zijn dat de mensen uit de Randstad gaan bepalen hoe het hier gaat, want dat is de kans als het te veel cultureel erfgoed. De gemeente moet een beetje zeggenschap houden.*" [But municipal policy should not regard Nagele as complete cultural heritage. That would be a bad development because we should not become a museum here. It should not be the case that people from the big city will decide what life is like here, because that is the danger when it becomes too much cultural heritage. The municipality must keep some say in the matter] (Appendix C). These notions reflect a concern with the involvement of the local community in the plans for Nagele's heritage and future. Similarly, people question the process of the multicultural center (MFC) as the "*functionaliteit is lasting*" [functionality is difficult] (Appendix C) and *"er is onvrede over de locatie. Hij is te ver. Er zijn inspraakavonden over geweest en iedereen mocht meepraten, maar de locatie is niet goed*" [people are dissatisfied with the location. It is too far away. There have been consultation evenings, and everyone could have a say, but the location is not right] (Appendix C).

In similar vein, respondents already call Nagele a "*museumdorp*" [museum village] and warn for "*te veel erfgoed, zoals een museum. Want dan gaat alles terug naar vroeger"* [too much heritage, like museum. Because then all returns to the past] (Appendix C). When asked what her experience of Nagele was, one respondent answered: "*platte daken en bussen Chinezen*" [flat roofs and busses with Chinese people], expressing awareness of Nagele as a tourist destination for its architecture. In terms of the policy-agenda to improve Nagele's livability by increased tourism, one resident stated: "*alles is weggegaan, geen middelen hebben geholpen. Het inzetten van erfgoed voor touristen heeft geen zin, want er is hier niks. Wat de oplossing voor leefbaarheid is, geen idee*" [Everything has left, and no means have helped to preserve them. Using heritage for tourists makes no sense because there is nothing here. What the

solution for livability is, no idea] (Appendix C). One respondent expressed she already felt as "*aapje*" [a monkey in a cage] sometimes and she expressed a lack of ownership about the role of heritage in Nagele's future: "*Belangrijk om na te denken over huidige en toekomstige bewoners en niet zo gericht zijn op toeristen*…" [It is important to forefront current and future residents and not to focus on tourists too much] (Appendix C). From the interviews emerged the conception that those residents of Nagele who personally reflect on heritage (as some do not and do not express the same concern), are specifically concerned with ownership of current policy and practice, Nagele's heritage and the future of the village: *"Ik ben het niet eens met de insteek van de gemeente om het erfgoed te behouden. Dat helpt de leefbaarheid juist niet."* [I do not agree with the approach of the municipality to preserve the heritage. It does not contribute to the livability] (Appendix C). Concerns are predominantly related to social dimensions of livability. Other negative stances towards livability also explicitly or implicitly relate to community and social relationships, as the positive notions do as well. Therefore, interviews with residents suggest their primary concern with livability does not lie with economic or material factors and socio-economic improvement (paradigm of heritage policy for improved livability),but is more occupied with the social realities and complexities of everyday experience.

5.6. Experiences of Nagele's future

The final recurring theme in the interviews was how residents envisioned the future of Nagele, as this constituted the concluding question of the interview whenever this was suitable. This question allowed residents to touch upon a multitude of experience and to make a holistic summation of their judgment of Nagele as a living environment. This question also sheds light on the elements residents either want to preserve or change in the future, which also demonstrates their (affective) attachment to it. Furthermore, the theme and the responses were a logical continuation of residents' reflections on the often-preceding theme of livability.

Multiple residents discuss the role of the central open green space. Even though residents generally demonstrate a rather strong attachment to preserving the spacious and green lay-out of the village and specifically of the central green space, its contemporary function is questioned. Residents express the wish to improve the function of the central green space. They are concerned with Nagele's livability caused by the strict conservation of the central green

space as ‘core quality’ of Nagele. Little intervention is possible. One resident expressed she wanted a skating track for the children, but this was not allowed. She viewed this as part of a solution to current issues, such as “*er is veel hangjeugd, veel glas en rotzooi ligt hier, rommel*” [there are a lot of loiterers, lots of glass and garbage around, clutter] (Appendix C). The resident sought a meeting place for children: “*er moet een plek zijn voor deze generatie. De kinderen zijn de generatie van de toekomst*” [There has to be a place for this generation. The children are the generation of the future] (Appendix C). Therefore, notions of livability are connected strongly to the social and to cohesion. This is most clear in residents’ assessment that the open green space does not function as a ‘village square’, as the architects envisioned (Baart et al., 1988, p .19): “*Dat zou een centrale ontmoetingsplek moeten zijn maar dat is het nu niet maar zou wel moeten*” [That should function as a central meeting place but that is not the case at the moment, but it should be] (Appendix C) and “*Je zou wel een central ontmoetingsplek willen, een parkfunctie*” [You would want a cental meeting place, a park function] (Appendix C).

Multiple residents argue for a future of the central green space as: “*De middenruimte functioneert dan als plek van recreatie, ontmoeting en heeft verschillende functies*” [The central space functions as a place of recreation, encounter and has various functions] (Appendix C). Implicitly, some residents view the functioning of a physical dimensions as an obstruction to the improvement of the social dimensions of the village and cohesion: “*Ik woon hier en ik wil ook wat. Dus dat open middenveld is een idee van 60 jaar geleden, dat is niet waar we nu zijn. Het is 2022. Een veld met alleen gras en een boom kan niet meer!*” [I live here, and I want someting too. So, the open central space is an idea of 60 years ago, that is not where we are today. It is 2022. A field with just grass and a tree is not possible anymore!] (Appendix C). It mirrors the remarks regarding a decline in cohesion, sociality or possibly even mentality; residents feel they want the village to come together again and form a whole: “*Mijn hoop is dat Nagele wordt zoals het was 37 jaar geleden. Toen mensen één waren met elkaar. Mensen zorgden voor elkaar. De centrale binnenruimte was vroeger een ontmoetingsruimte. Hij zag er niet anders uit, misschien wat meer bomen. Maar het had een ander gebruik. Nu zijn mensen veel meer op zichzelf, door allerlei dingen kan dat: tijd, de samenstelling van het dorp. Een andere mentaliteit. Daarom werkt de opzet niet meer nu zoals toen*” [My hope is that Nagele will return to the way it was 37 years ago. When people were one with each other. People looked after each other. The central open space used to be a meeting place. It did not look very different, maybe had more trees. But it had a different function. Now people are more focused on themselves, perhaps caused by many different things: time, the composition of the village. A

different mentality. Therefore, the spatial lay-out of the village does not work like it used to] (Appendix C).

Table 5.5*: Presentation of findings concerning residents' vision on the future of Nagele.*

Dimensions of liveability in the present and the future	*Challenges for Nagele in the present*	*Wishes for Nagele in the future*	*Vision on a strategy to improve Nagele in the future*
Social	Multicultural society, social rental housing, lack of social cohesion	More social cohesion, more community spirit and solidarity	Going back to how it was in the past (community spirit) and expansion of the village for more residents from outside who want to contribute and move the village forward
Physical/spatial, social	Lack of maintenance, negative appearance of the village	Adequate maintenance, more services (catering industry) and positive appearance	Maintenance, development of the village with vision, creative use of the spatial qualities of Nagele
Physical/ spatial	Limited number of services and accessibility	More services and better accessibility	Attracting tourists and residents from outside who can contribute to the local economy Counter-argument: Focus on the community first before tourists are attracted, because there is nothing for to cater for tourists yet.
Spatial/architectural, cultural	Liveability of a heritage site: practical inconveniences, limited possibilities for development and the future of tourism	More appreciation of Nagele and the Noordoostpolder Tourists are welcome but the calm atmosphere of the village must remain. The village must not turn in a 'museum village'	Preservation of the open centerfield and the flat roofs as unique features More creative use and possibilities for development of the centerfield and cultural centre for social use Nagele as a location of avant garde architecture

In similar vein, residents generally express a wish for a flexible and creative stance towards Nagele's heritage. This is demonstrated in the tabulation of table 5.5, which presents an overview of resident's various expressions of their future vision for Nagele. Even though most residents want to keep preserve the flat roofs, open central green space and the general calm, green and spacious lay-out of the village, multiple citizens referred to the immaterial heritage of Nagele as a driving force for future development. Instead of conserving, or holding on to, the physical qualities of Nagele's heritage, a resident calls on the intangible heritage of Nagele: its modernist avant-garde experimental vision on urban planning to create a fair and 'modern' society. One respondent states: *"Nagele was een toekomstvisie voor stedenbouw, dus er moet hier ruimte zijn voor dat soort projecten. Er moet geen wildgroei komen, maar wel een proeftuin voor woningbouw van de toekomst in plaats van alles behouden. Zoals zelfvoorzienende woningen, andere experimentele materialen. Sommige aspecten moeten behouden worden, zoals de platte daken, de kerk, de gevellijnen, het open gedeelte."* [Nagele was a future vision of urban planning, so there has to to be space here for these kinds of projects. There should not

be a sprawl but a testing ground for housing of the future instead of preserving everything. Such as self-sufficient housing, or other experimental materials. Some aspects need to be preserved, such as the flat roofs, the church, the facade lines, the open area] (Appendix C). Another resident stated: *"vernieuwing maakt het dorp aantrekkelijk en dat versterkt de leefbaarheid. Het zou ook veel leuker zijn, en ik denk dat toeristen juist de ontwikkelde versie veel leuker zouden vinden. Je moet juist wat doen met het middenveld. De blokkendozen/ lego blokjes zijn weinig opwekkend"* [Renovation makes the village attractive and that enhances the quality of life. It would also be much nicer, and I think tourists would like the developed version much more. You have to do something with the midfield. The block boxes / Lego blocks are not very exciting] (Appendix C).

These responses suggest residents are concerned with the (aesthetic) appeal and experience of Nagele by onlooking parties. Renewal and development are key in this, especially in terms of the cultural historical significance of Nagele. As such, residents demonstrate concern not only with the significance of Nagele's heritage but combine this with a strong sense of involvement what role this cultural heritage should have in the future of *their* village: "*Ik ben geen aap in een kooitje …. Vernieuwing is belangrijk. Het gevoel beter maken. Je kan visie wel gebruiken maar dan juist in een nieuw jasje. Dat trekt juist veel mensen aan en is spannender dan het bij het oude laten. Het oog wil ook wat. Het moet getrokken worden naar een volgend punt om geintereseerd te blijven. … Als het er vernieuwd uitziet, vestigen zich nieuwe mensen: dat is belangrijker [red. nadruk van de respondent] dan toeristen, want die blijven het hele jaar door"* [I am not a monkey in a cage…. Innovation is important. Make it feel better. You can use vision, but in a new jacket. That attracts a lot of people and is more exciting than leaving it as it is. The eye wants something too. It has to be pulled to the next point to stay interested. … If it looks renewed, new people settle in: that is more important [ed. respondent's emphasis] than tourists, because they stay all year round] (Appendix C). Although residents have shown various degrees of satisfaction with Nagele as a tourist destination, the statements above discuss future development of Nagele in terms of building activities and residential improvement. Overall, residents of Nagele have expressed a wish for expansion of the village, but not of a great rise in tourism. New residents could contribute to the local economy and especially to the community and social cohesion more sustainably than tourists who stay temporarily.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

Nagele is a unique village in the Noordoostpolder. This has been recognized, acknowledged and put forward by the *Rijksbouwmeester* in 2011, the National Agency for Cultural Heritage (RCE) and the municipality of the Noordoostpolder. One motivation for Nagele's renewed attention stemmed from the visible decline, deterioration, and degradation of the spatial and architectural product of the *Nieuwe Bouwen*, in parallel with social challenges for a small rural society of about 2000 inhabitants (Blom et al., 2016, p. 9). Whereas preserving and protecting the cultural heritage is the primary goal itself for the RCE (appendix A), the municipality has utilized the opportunity as a strategy to enhance the socioeconomic status of the community and to improve Nagele's livability: "*Het was een doel en het moet langzamerhand een middel worden om de leefbaarheid in Nagele te versterken*" [It was a goal but slowly is must become a method to enhance Nagele's livability] (appendix A). This policy framework is reminiscent of the larger trend where heritage is (partly) utilized as a socioeconomic resource (Azhari & Mohamed, 2012, p. 272). By restoring, preserving, and enhancing the cultural historical qualities of the village, the municipality seeks to attract new residents who specifically choose for Nagele for their love of green, space and/or architecture. Furthermore, the idea is to attract more tourists who can contribute to Nagele's local economy (Appendix A). Currently, the municipality also seeks to create an area of interest for international tourism by connecting Nagele to the adjacent UNESCO World Heritage site of Schokland (Gemeente Noordoostpolder, 2021 p, 27). Regardless of the policy-goals, the endeavors of the RCE, the municipality and experts who are involved in planning for Nagele revolve around the conservation of the cultural historical qualities of the architectural environment.

This study however revolves around the question what role atmospheric experience could have for the livability of modernist architectural heritage when this phenomenon would be appreciated as a significant heritage value. The embodied and affective experience of architectural environments (atmospheric experience) influences notions of subjective wellbeing. In turn, integration of a subjective and holistic critical factor instead approaching wellbeing as an objective state of societal welfare, could bridge the gap between the lifeworld of the residents and the policy discourse. Defining heritage predominantly from cultural

historical, aesthetic, or socio-economic value limits the breadth of understanding in which a living heritage site can impact notions of wellbeing, modes of dwelling, meaning making and attachment to place. Furthermore, the developed lines of inquiry (table 2.1) have highlighted the saliency to expand the current policy discourse of heritage as a means for socio-economic improvement, as embodied value of heritage could also be quite relevant for its significance. It is suggested that this discourse surrounding situated values of livability and heritage does not always align with the lifeworld of the policy-audience. Including atmospheric value of heritage, therefore, not only allows to expand the understanding of heritage's significance, but also explore and critically assess current policy-dynamics of the heritage and livability discourses. Awareness of atmospheric value could become a tool to explore the limitations of current discourse related to the lifeworld of the communities related to heritage sites. This could help to overcome silences or overlooked interests in the public and residential sphere (Viderman & Knierbein, 2018, p. 845). Moreover, this case revolves around the modernist heritage site of Nagele. It has been demonstrated that the architecture and spatial design elicits diverse responses and ambiguous experiences. Negative and positive affective and embodied experiences of physical environments can affect notions of wellbeing, due to which the focus on Nagele's cultural historical significance by the RCE and the municipality needs to be expanded. All this could contribute to a more sustainable way forward for Nagele with regards to creating a living environment in which people feel at home.

This chapter will discuss the findings presented in Chapter 5. It will retrace the preliminary model of embodied atmospheric experience and the operationalization of atmospheric experience through domain satisfaction as both presented in Chapter 4. Consequently, this chapter will seek to demonstrate that the role atmospheric experience could have for the livability of modernist architectural heritage lies in its significance for (1) negating inequalities of values in the heritage and livability policy discourses. The consideration of atmospheric value could contribute to (2) negating the difference between policy discourses of livability (material and socio-economic) and heritage (cultural historical for socio-economic development), and the lifeworlds and wellbeing of the dwellers of Nagele.

6.2 Overcoming situated power relations by the atmospheric value of heritage

This study has proposed a preliminary model of embodied significance of heritage as a means to do more justice to the holistic, embodied and affective experience of one's environment. As one enters a room, this immediately has an effect (Zumthor, 2006). This dimension of human-environment relationships has long been overlooked, whilst embodied and affective experience of one's spatial environment is very significant for notions of wellbeing, related livability, meaning making and attachment to place. Adopting the *New Phenomenology* approach, this study seeks to move towards inter-subjective or shared notions of atmospheric experience. This can contribute to a critical assessment and better understanding of policy-dynamics of heritage and livability, which overlooks the effect atmospheric experience as embodied and affective judgement of spatial environment has on human existence (Heidegger, 1971, pp. 150-151).

Firstly, a significant role consideration of atmospheric experience could have for the livability of modernist architectural heritage, in this case: Nagele, is to negate situated power relations, power inequalities or overlooked interests in terms of which values are departed from in the heritage and livability policy discourses (Atkinson et al., 2016, p. 11; Viderman & Knierbein, 2018). This brings up the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) (Chapter 2), which is theorized by Smith (2006, pp. 11-12) as the naturalization and dominance of Western expert views in discussions regarding heritage. Smith (2006, p. 11) states the AHD "privileges monumentality and grand scale" and "innate artefact/ site significance" judged by scientific and aesthetic arguments. Furthermore, resulting heritage policy and practice revolves around conservation and preservation of heritage and departs from a stabilized social and cultural meanings (Smith, 2006, p. 12). The focus on the materiality, monumentality and innate value prescribed to heritage, and predominantly to architecture (Smith, 2006, p. 11), derives in part from the intimate relationship between the archaeological discipline, the origin of the nineteenth century nation state and the modern conservation movement (Brück & Stutz, 2016; Diachenko, 2016; Gentry & Smith, 2019; Glendinning, 2013; Jones, 2017; Kohl, 1998). As archaeologists tend to stabilize physical elements following their focus on material evidence for understanding past societies (Bille & Sørensen, 2016, p. 11), their strong involvement in the modern conservation movement and focus on architectural remains established the notion of intrinsic worth, connected to aesthetic and historic values (Jones, 2017, p. 21). This interplay has contributed to stable and objective notions of 'heritage values' in the heritage discourse which are the

foundation of many international heritage charters (Jones, 2017, p. 21) and subsequent local heritage policies.

It is evident that cultural historical values are dominant in the case of Nagele. This is propagated and explained by the involvement of the National Office for Cultural Heritage (RCE), as national heritage agencies have historically been involved with conservation of heritage for purposes of nation building, argues Smith (2006, p. 11). Furthermore, a focus on the material dimension of Nagele's heritage becomes evident throughout the existing policy practices, as discussed in Chapter 3 (3.5 especially). The 'core qualities' of Nagele, which are the extension of Nagele's cultural historical significance, are physical elements in Nagele's environment. The cultural historical significance of *material* structures in turn informs the possibilities for restoration, conservation, or development. It is evident the 'immaterial' heritage of Nagele, being its underlying modernist vision of a social experiment; a fair and just model-society and community enabled by avant-garde architecture, cannot be physically conserved. Yet, even though increasing efforts are made to gain attention for the pioneering history of the Noordoostpolder and its significance as a 'makeable society' of the Reconstruction era after the Second World War (Blom et al., 2016, p. 20), current policy focuses on restoration of the physical qualities of Nagele to make the past experienceable for visitors in the present (Gemeente Noordoostpolder, 2021). It has been discussed however, that the underlying vision for Nagele constitutes an equally important dimension of its design. With the involvement of social sciences and the *Zeitgeist* of the early twentieth century, the modernist architects envisioned.

One reason for the dominant, and arguably naturalized, focus on cultural historical value of material structures could derive from the involvement of the RCE in Nagele. Given the scope and complexity of Nagele's challenges, funding is necessary to advance planning and projects. Alderman Marian Uitdewilligen states that there is a great deal of state funding involved: "*vanuit de RCE en vanuit het ministerie*" [from the RCE and the Ministery] for "*de gemeente betaald mee maar de overgrote geldbron om Nagele op te knappen komt niet van de gemeente*" [the municipality contributes but the majority share of funding to restore Nagele does not originate from the municipality] (Appendix A). Recently in 2021, the municipality Noordoostpolder attracted new government funding through the RCE for its project *Erfgoeddeal: Stijlicoon Nagele* [Heritage Deal: Style Icon Nagele]. The entire project involves half a million euros. The submission by the municipality takes the cultural historical heritage

values of Nagele as the point of departure in order increase the livability of Nagele. (Appendix A). The municipality and partners seek to make these values more experienceable amongst visitors and residents, also by connecting Nagele to other heritage sites such as Urk and the UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland. By means of marketing and product development, a bicycle path between Nagele and Schokland, renovating the Museum and the MFC and a watch tower over Nagele, the goal is to improve Nagele's livability by increased tourism. Alderman Marian Uitdewilligen states she expects the residents to benefit socially and economically through improving the number of services and increased livability. The goal is to give Nagele a positive impuls ("Nagele krijgt ruim vijf ton voor de ontwikkeling van het dorp", 2021). When asked what the opportunities of Nagele's heritage value are for its livability, Marian Uitdewilligen instantly responded with "*bedrijvigheid, toerisme*" [business activity, tourism] (Appendix A). The centrality of the number of services in services reflects the general focus in policy on factors and dimensions that are measurable (Okulicz-Kozaryn & Valente, 2019, pp. 198-199; Zanella et al., 2015, p. 696). This also mirrors the view on wellbeing and livability as an objective, as argued by Hupppert (2014, pp. 1-2).

Noticeably, the Heritage Deal intends to create a forward-looking vision and to unite all previous plans and developments as earlier endeavors have shown limited success. The municipality states there have been improvements, but there is a lack of support in the village to create the necessary new impulses which are necessary for the preservation of the livability and the present heritage. "*Dit heeft te maken met onder meer de huidige verschillen in bewoners en een grote hoeveelheid aan verenigingen*" [This is attributed to fragmentation by the diversity of social societies involved in the process and differences among residents] (Gemeente Noordoostpolder, 2021, p. 10). The residents have been asked to join social activities which are meant to create social cohesion and 'educate' residents to start valuing their living environment. As little residents participated (appendix A), the question becomes what residents did participate and what their motivations are. The Gemeente Noordoostpolder (2021, p. 23) states that there is a large gap between the "*groot aantal sociaaleconomicsch zwakkere bewoners in het oorspronkelijke dorp*" [large share of socio-economic weaker residents of the original village] who feel they have little involvement in what is happening in the village, and "*een klein groepje actieve bewoners, voornamelijk afkomstig uit de begin 21ste-eeuw gebouwde (koop)woningen in het buitengebied rondom Nagele*" [a small group of active residents who generally reside in the early-21st century new-built houses in the outlying areas of Nagele]. These have been called the "*buitenwegen"* [outlying areas]. Similarly, Marian Uitdewilligen

states: "*er is een verschil tussen contact hebben met een aantal bewoners van Nagele en contact met de inwoners van Nagele*" [there is a difference between having contact with a number of residents of Nagele and having contact with Nagele's inhabitants].

A resident of the Noordoostpolder has explained the dynamic between the residents of the outlying areas and the original village as a hierarchical interdependency. Even though the farmers of the *buitenwegen* and the workers in the village historically did not socially mix, the farmers are dependent on the villages for services and employees. Therefore, traditionally residents of the outlying areas want to be involved and commit themselves to improving the village (Appendix B). Significantly, during the interviews, respondents who lived outside of the village along the *buitenwegen* specifically mentioned this, as if they (unconsciously) wanted to make the researcher aware of this fact. It could be interesting to learn whether their stance towards Nagele's heritage values differ from those who live in the heritage site itself. Residents' responses suggest that the *buitenwegers* take on a more external view which aligns with the RCE and tourist narrative because they are more aware of Nagele as a heritage-destination. It is possible they thus focus less on the practical effects of the architecture and the spatial lay-out for they do not engage with this on a daily basis or experience practical issues. Tellingly, one *buitenweger* stated: "*Ik moet de dorpswandeling nog maken*" [I still have to make a walk around the village].

Furthermore, it is significant to note that the policy-measures taken are aimed at potential tourists and residents from outside: "*Het doel is om op deze manier de leefbaarheid in Nagele een positieve impuls te geven. Onder meer door het behoud van bestaande kwaliteiten, door het bevorderen van meer lokale en regionale samen werking en samenhang en door het versterken van de lokale economie en het aantrekken van meer toerisme en pioniers*" [It is the goal to enhance the livability of Nagele in this way. For example, by preserving the existing qualities, the improvement of local and regional collaboration, the strengthening of the local economy and the attraction of more tourism and pioneers] (Gemeente Noordoostpolder, 2021, p. 10). The policy goal is the enhancement of livability of Nagele's residents, but audience of the mechanisms to achieve this are tourists and people ('pioneers') from outside. In order to increase cultural tourism to the village, the restoration of the cultural historical significance is the way to achieve this: "*een betere beleefbaarheid van het bijzondere verhaal en een stevigere profilering van Nagele als cultuur-toeristische bestemming. Dit alles met als doel een impuls teg even aan de leefbaarheid van het dorp*" [a beter experiencability of the unique story and a

better profiling of Nagele as cultural-tourist destination. This all is intented to give Nagele's livability an impulse] (Gemeente Noordoostpolder, 2021, p. 10). Marian Uitdewilligen states in other words: "*je trekt dus andere inwoners naar je toe, waarmee je ook weer de bestuurskracht van zo'n dorp beter op peil houdt*" [you will attract other residents due to which you will also be able to better maintain the administrative power of such a village] (Appendix A). If Nagele was to become more attractive, "*daar komt een nieuw type mens op af*" [a new type of human woudl be attracted] or "*een andersoortige populatie waardoor er ook meer gemeenschapskracht ontstaat*" [a different kind of population, which also creates more community power] (Appendix A).

Therefore, the heritage values focused on in the village align with the AHD paradigm, the involvement of the RCE, and the current policy discourse which revolves around heritage as an (socio)-economic resource. This demonstrates the cultural historical significance of Nagele's material (visible for others) heritage is privileged to attract certain groups of people (tourists, 'pioneer' or culturally-minded residents from outside). Through the stressing of cultural-historical or aesthetic values, the AHD downplays "the 'local' and other diverse expressions of human social experiences", argue L. Smith and Waterton (2012, p. 156). It could be that besides local experiences of certain values, interests of the residents are also overlooked. The intended policy goal is socio-economic improvement for the residents, but their concern is mostly focused on social relations in the village, community and cohesion. Residents' expressions regarding services express the which for a place of social gathering.

As an example of Nagele's heritage as a resource of tourism, the planned watchtower is the most significant example. The new plans revolve around improving the visibility of the heritage to make it more *experienceable*. A watchtower would enable visitors to view the village from above. This suggested project reflects Hannabuss (1999, p. 295) postmodernist critique on the 'commodification' of cultural artefacts and heritage, which is specifically a 'bourgeois' process by those who have the cultural competence to know the value of such heritage (reminiscent of the expertise-knowledge paradigm of AHD). Hannabuss (1999, p. 297) notes that there has been an increasing emphasis in the heritage industry on "experience", "usually in the form of re-enactments and open air museums." Even though Nagele is not planned to become an open air museum (contrary to how some residents experience it already), the act of installing a watch tower in the village will impact the experience of the residents greatly. It is clear the intended goal of the watch tower is to make Nagele's heritage more *experienceable* because its spatial

and architectural design can be *appreciated from above* (reminiscent of the spatial and social engineering of the Noordoostpolder). The tourists will *gaze* at the village and inevitably its inhabitants as well. As the tower is a locus of the act of onlooking, the village will per definition as a *spectacle*; something to be spectated. It could well be hypothesized that the cultural historical integrity of the core qualities will be preserved more stringently as the spatial and architectural unity can be discerned and assessed more thoroughly from above.

For this is a critical study of the current paradigm the cultural-historical and socio-economical nexus of heritage, one last remark is the impact a watch tower or similar structures could have on atmospheric experience of Nagele. As stated by Vidler (1992, 8), modernist avantgarde architects adopted the architectural uncanny to disturb dwellers in their spatial environment, in order to pave the way for a new utopian society. Adopting Freud's notion of *Das Unheimliche*, when the known becomes unfamiliar and the strange appears to be known, the uncanny occurs (Vidler, 1992, p. 25). It has been argued that modernist architecture in itself can engender a feeling of "not being at home", by Croft (2004, p. 8). Specifically, Vidler (1992, p. 172) states functional zoning and the centrality of vision or spectacle in a transparent and "radiant" modernist architecture should not be seen as a completion of overcoming the irrationality, hardship and clutter of traditional urban environments, but on the fear and threat of the "dark" within bright space. Following this, installing a watch tower could possibly greatly adhere to modernist principles. The modernist concept however, was intended to induce uncanny atmospheric experience by architecture for dwellers in order to control the dark space that lurks within bright space. In other words, to control the irrationality, ambivalences, and disorderly behavior that lurks within mankind and "always threatens the city from within", clarifies Pinder (2005a, p. 184).

A final layer of critique on the privileging of the cultural-historical values of Nagele for a tourist audience is the issue of authenticity. Hannabuss (1999, p. 295) clarifies that heritage "presents itself as an object in its own right" (reminiscent of heritage's 'innate value' by the AHD). Similarly, experiences are often marked as "authentic" and as "experiences" of the past. Hannabuss (1999, p. 298) notes an ambivalence in heritage consumption however, as the past is not solely a place of things that have happened, but the onlooker also invests feelings in the place and embodies part of it in his own living past. The past is therefore a "commodity which can therefore manipulated or shaped into things worth selling or providing for others", as it becomes the "domain of nostalgia." Therefore, how heritage is presented and interpreted is a

vital question. What past is selected and presented not only challenges the question of authenticity (which is often also presented as an innate value of itself), but it also impacts how people engage, experience and identify with that past.

This brings us back to the starting point of this discussion; the dominance of cultural historical values of a material past, instead of the social experience of an intangible history of Nagele. The municipality seeks to make the Nagele of 'yesteryear' experienceable for its visitors and restore the Nagele of the 1950s. But what was the Nagele of the 1950s? On a physical level, Nagele was not completed until the late 1960s. Furthermore, Constandse (1964) demonstrated that the village was not yet so green in the early 1960s; people had not become adapted (yet) to the practicalities of their modern housing; and there were concerns regarding Nagele's spatial lay-out and distances. In terms of the intangible past of Nagele, the modernist vision of the architects was to create a model society with a great level of cohesion and emancipation. It is doubtable whether this was the case in the 1950s and whether this is successful now. It is therefore unclear what (authentic) past the administrators want to show to the visitors and whether this has even existed. Furthermore, preserving a material past is not the same as the intangible social experiences connected to these physical remains in the past and the present. The material heritage of Nagele was intended as an architectural manifestation which would induce a new social order with a strong community.

Even if this existed intangible dimension existed in the past, it does not exist in the present. Residents agree that the current physicality of Nagele also does not work towards this. Alderman Marian Uitdewilligen even states: "*Ik denk wel dat het niet zo heel aantrekkelijk zijn van Nagele, omdat het niet als een gezellig dorp gezien werd, toch iets vervreemdend, kleine huizen, dat dat meegewerkt heeft aan het feit dat Nagele nu een van de armste wijken van Nederland is"* [I do believe that Nagele's limited attractiveness, because it was not seen as a plaesant, somewhat alienating place, small houses, contributed to the fact that Nagele is now one of the poorest neighborhoods of the Netherlands] with a specifically low "*inkomen, opleiding en welbevinden*" [income, education and wellbeing] (Appendix A). When preserving a physical manifestation of a societal ideal which in itself did not take place or succeed, this potentially affects the dwellers of that particular environment greatly. In terms of atmospheric experience, the material environment does not align with the social reality the dwellers experience. Besides issues of authenticity, Hannabuss, 1999, p. 300) warns for issues of

personal and community identity, issues of spectacle, social fragmentation, and tourist behaviors as a result of heritage consumption.

6.3 Overcoming dominant policy discourse and the lifeworld of Nagele's dwellers

The present debate in this study revolves around the use of Nagele's heritage as a resource for socio-economic development in relation to the understanding of livability and subjective wellbeing in material and (socio)economic terms. It has been suggested that there could be discrepancy between the policy discourse surrounding heritage as a resource and livability, and the lifeworlds of the policy-audience. The provisional model of embodied atmospheric significance is used as a tool to involve subjective wellbeing, following affective and embodied experience of an architectural environment, in discussions regarding the workings of heritage and heritage value on the lives of people. Specifically, if atmospheric experience is taken as the framework to discuss these dynamics, the question is raised whether the ambitions and strategies laid out in current policy discourse can accomplish increased livability. Furthermore, what would this level of livability *mean* for the residents and how would they experience this in terms of wellbeing? It is therefore significant to notice that the approach of livability by the municipality relates to the number of services and number of residents (from outside) in the village, which aligns with the policy logic that approaches wellbeing as a subjective dimension of livability policy which is measured 'objectively' in societal terms (Hupppert, 2014, pp. 1-2).

Even though the municipality works towards increased livability, Significantly, in the RCE (Blom et al., 2016) publication of Nagele which discusses the policy-efforts since 2009, the word livability (*leefbaarheid*) (or affiliated 'livable' or *leefbaar*), is only used four times in the running text, of which three times as part of the title of one of five implementation projects ('*Vitaal en Leefbaar',* Vital and Livable). These run parallel to the main program of 'preservation and redevelopment' (Blom et al., 2016, p. 11). Alderman Marian Uitdewilligen explains this: "*Hun scope is het erfgoed beleefbaar maken en zorgen dat het behouden blijft (...) leefbaarheid is niet hun scope*" [Their scope is to preserve the heritage and make the heritage experiencable, livability is not their scope] (Appendix A). When analyzing the implementation project 'Vital and Livable', the policy goal was to 'bind, activate and attract' residents to Nagele's social living environment. Activities such as 'greendays'(*groendagen*), a cleaning day and painting day were meant to enhance active involvement and cultural

awareness of the residents as the history of Nagele was woven through the program, if possible, in direct relation to their physical living environment (Blom et al., 2016, p. 26). In other words, social activities sought to familiarize residents with the programs and policy-goals of the RCE and the municipality. In fact, the RCE states that an integral approach depends on voluntarily organizations such as Museum Nagele, bus especially on 'residents who want to fulfill an active role'. Yet, implicitly, the RCE argues residents generally did not participate as efforts dried up. A think-tank with 'active and committed residents' discussed various issues and 'gave valuable insight for some projects.' This was integrated by the implementation committee to a 'fitting approach and organization' in which was deemed 'necessary to keep Nagele vital, stimulate external parties to join in and preserving the cultural heritage in the process' (Blom et al., 2016, p. 27). Even though concern with livability by the municipality and the RCE is demonstrated by their extensive endeavors, the report shows limited 'tangible' success of the renewed attention for Nagele since 2009 in terms of improving the quality of life and resident wellbeing. Even though it should be taken into account that these processes take time to manifest themselves, it is argued in 2021 Heritage Deal that residents show limited involvement (Gemeente Noordoostpolder, 2021, p. 10).

Significantly, the projects under the implementation project 'Vital and Livable' demonstrates a top-down policy-approach. Residents are asked to join in the projects and to join in the expert view on the cultural-historical significance of Nagele's heritage by active participation in social activities which are believed to create social cohesion and 'educate' residents to start valuing their living environment. Those residents who did engage are often actively involved in voluntarily work already and are generally from the *buitenwegen*. In contrast, the courtyards which see most deterioration are those in which the more socially and socio-economically challenged resident live. If previous policies have not been successful in engaging residents by connecting them to the cultural-historical significance, the question becomes how these communities could be reached and whether the current policy mechanisms are effective to enhance livability by itself, let alone wellbeing or social cohesion In fact, even though measurable standards of material and economic levels of livability increase, this does not automatically mean notions of subjective wellbeing improve (Veenhoven, 2002, p, 38). In turn, wellbeing constitutes a vital factor for overall livability. Cultural heritage is seen as the method and the means to achieve livability, whilst the route along heritage-awareness and eventual heritage conservation might not align with the life worlds of the residents of concern. In the words of Marian Uitdewilligen: "*Als je met RCE-ogen of met architecten-ogen kijkt naar*

Nagele krijg je dus niet wat de inwoners van Nagele nodig hebben" [If you look at Nagele with RCE-eyes or architect eyes, you do not see what residents of Nagele need] (Appendix A). Marian Uitdewilligen argues that there is a tension between "*de inwoners en de doelstellingen van het cultureel erfgoed. En de gemeente dient beide belangen*" [the residents and the objectives of the cultural heritage. De municipality serves both interests] (Appendix A).

Embodied and affective experience of architectural environments as a means to assess notions of subjective wellbeing is operationalized through the concept of domain satisfaction (Mouraditis, 2020). Neighborhood satisfaction and housing satisfaction are the most directly related to subjective wellbeing (Mouratidis, 2020, p. 273). It was demonstrated in Chapter 5.3 that reflections on neighborhood satisfaction and livability in the present and future terms tend to revolve around social concerns, cohesion and community. In other words, challenges to Nagele's atmospheric experience are related to the social. Furthermore, given the holistic nature of atmospheric experience of Nagele's environment, these concerns with social dimensions in Nagele are transposed into the experience of spatial or architectural elements of Nagele. Therefore, the physical restoration of cultural-historical elements to improve the socio-economic status of the village appears to miss the social element which weaves through residents' concerns with wellbeing.

6.4 A model of embodied significance of modernist architectural heritage

Despite the efforts of the municipality to bridge the gap between cultural historical qualities and livability, Marian Uitdewilligen states: *Het zijn echt twee werelden! Hoe krijgen we die nou bij elkaar?* [It are really two worlds! So how do we bring these together?] (Appendix A). This study revolves around the question what role atmospheric experience could have in the livability of modernist architectural environments. For this, a preliminary model of embodied significance of heritage which considers atmospheric value (affective judgement of atmospheric experience) equally to socio-economic and cultural-historical value was developed (fig. 4.2). The answer to the research question can be formulated as follows: The role atmospheric experience could have in the livability of modernist architectural environments is that it enables the consideration of (emotional) experience in our understanding of human-environment interaction, which has long been neglected in academia, architecture and the heritage domain. The contribution and role awareness of this phenomenon presents is sensitivity

towards the fact that one's spatial environment (especially dwelling-environment), has a great impact on one's subjective wellbeing and human existence (Heidegger, 1971, pp. 150-151). Furthermore, atmospheric experience exposes dominance and situated power relations of cultural-historical and socio-economic values in the heritage policy discourse, which is also related to the dominance of material and economic values in the livability policy discourse. These values which inform livability-heritage policy, however, do not always align with the lifeworld and experienced realities of the policy-audience or those who will engage with the measures. Atmospheric experience is a tool to reveal and discuss these issues. The inclusion of atmospheric value in a heritage model allows to translate the sensitivity towards embodied and experiential dimensions towards policy-discussions which generally revolve around objective measures, factors and models (Okulicz-Kozaryn & Valente, 2019, pp. 198-199; Zanella et al., 2015, p. 696).

Finally, by including atmospheric experience in discussions of the significance of heritage, dimensions other than the innate or material could be highlighted, which could even be more relevant for the dwellers of that living heritage space in terms of embodied experience. All in all, atmospheric experience could function to enhance the sensitivity towards subjectivity and inter-subjectivity in an essential domain of one's life, being the environment in which we dwell. Atmospheric value is an exploratory and critical means to shed light and assess policy-dynamics which might obstruct wellbeing in a spatial environment. In the end, if wellbeing in one's living environment increases, "*het gevoel beter maken*" [making it feel better] (Appendix C), so will the overall livability and quality of life. Following all this, this study presents the model of embodied significance of heritage (fig. 6.1) in definitive form. This model incorporates affective judgement of embodied experience of architectural atmospheres as a critical tool to locate subjective wellbeing in the broader heritage and livability discourse. The motivation to create a model of embodied significance of heritage stemmed from the specific livability dynamics associated with modernist architectural environments.

In the case of Nagele, atmospheric experience operationalized through domain satisfaction demonstrated that residents are predominantly concerned with the social, which is then translated into their experience of other life domains. Therefore, the heritage policy which seeks to increase tourism for measurable improvement of the livability of Nagele (number of services and houses), might not be the most effective way to achieve increased subjective wellbeing, in contrast to the understanding of wellbeing and livability as an objective state of welfare. It is

evident Nagele's heritage is unique and needs protection, but currently the residents are not involved to a great extent. Instead, they feel the heritage, the cultural-historical values and the policy obstruse their own endeavors for improving their living environment and their ability to take ownership (Appendix A). Put differently by Marian Uitdewilligen: "*Alles wat je niet mét bewoners doet, doe je vóór ze, en dan zijn de inwoners geen eigenaar*." [Everything you do not execute with residents, you will do for them. And the residents have no ownership] (Appendix A).

Multiple residents expressed awareness and appreciation of the history of the Noordoostpolder and would like more general recognition of this area. Multiple residents implicitly express they would like to become proud of their village. As Marian Uitdewilligen stats: "*Nagele is er nog. Er wonen nog mensen. Dat is eigenlijk wel heel erg bijzonder*" [Nagele is still here. People live there. That is actually quite special] (Appendix A). Taken together, the socio-historical history of Nagele's underlying vision as a modernist social experiment, Reconstruction area and social engineering in, the Noordoostpolder makes Nagele the epitome of this intangible heritage of the Noordoostpolder. Solely preserving material remains which were intended as a means to structure a new societal-ideal only shows part of the heritage. Nagele's concerns lie in the social, and the social history of Nagele in relation to the Noordoostpolder is what residents want to address, as some identify as (decedents from) pioneers. Focusing more directly on the social intangible dimension of Nagele's heritage enables a more direct approach of the contemporary social challenges to the village. Even though the question is whether the modernist vision of a new society ever came into existence, working towards this in the present could make Nagele a progressive or lighting example of a community with a great deal of cohesion. This is especially relevant in the context of ageing rural areas, but also for visitors from outside who could long for more community in the more individualistic society in the present. Learning lessons from the intangible heritage of Nagele and the Noordoostpolder could be an inspiring example for those who come to live in a new living environment (pioneering), especially with regards to the Dutch housing assignment at present.

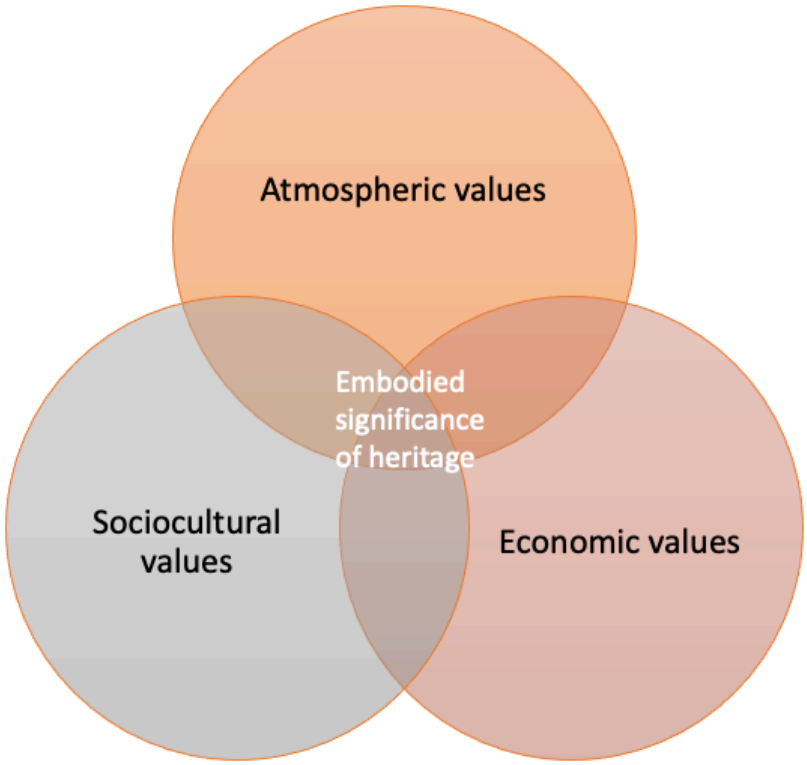

Figure 6.1: *Model of 'embodied significance of heritage' which incorporates atmospheric values (affective judgment of atmospheric experience) as an equal dimension to address or assess embodied significance of heritage.*

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This study has aimed to identify the role atmospheric experience could have for the livability of modernist architectural environments. Critical and exploratory in nature, this study has demonstrated that consideration of embodied and affective experience of architectural environments in the discourse of heritage values is significant for understanding the broader scope of wellbeing and related livability in a living heritage site. This study has focused on livability as the overarching outcome of the embodied significance of heritage because notions of subjective wellbeing through atmospheric experience constitutes a significant dimension of the overall quality of life of one's living environment.

The motivation for this study stems from the observation that when *"I enter a building, see a room, and – in a fraction of a second – have this feeling about it"* (Zumthor, 2006, p. 13). The affective and embodied experience of spatial environments (atmospheric experience) humans dwell in greatly impacts human experience of wellbeing, meaning making (Carmody & Sterling, 1987) and overall existence (Heidegger, 1971). Consequently, phenomenology was deliberately chosen as the theoretical foundation for this study due to its philosophical affiliation with affective and experiential phenomena, and its suitability to study atmospheric experience as a holistic and complex affective phenomenon. Positivist academia, however, has long omitted and undervalued experiential dimensions from its discourse. This study thus seeks to contribute to increased attention for experiential dimensions in scientific study, heritage, and architecture. More so, this study strives to establish phenomenology is a valuable scientific approach to gain insight in those complex and holistic dimensions of human life which are often neglected in academia, policy and practice.

Whereas traditional phenomenologists such as Husserl (1970, 1989) seek to gain insight in the 'essences' of phenomena, this study adopts specifically adopts the approach of *New Phenomenology* as theorized by Schmitz (1980, 1999, 2003, 2019) and Sørensen (2015). In short, atmospheres are "affectively disposed on the grounds of experience of material surroundings (Sørensen, 2015, p. 65). Therefore, the *felt-body* (Schmitz 2002), meaning embodied affective experience, and environmental affordances are the nexus on which atmospheric experience manifests itself. In this way, this study seeks to move towards a 'quasi-objective', shared or intersubjective understanding and to overcome the 'clause of subjectivity'(Sørensen, 2015, p. 64) which is often attributed to traditional phenomenology.

The phenomenological concept of *lifeworld* describes how the world is experience and acted upon, which in turn acts upon the experiencing subject (Graumann, 2002, p. 98).

The values and framework which underlines policy on livability therefore acts upon the experiencing subject and impacts affective judgements of subjective wellbeing. Subjective wellbeing increasingly understood as an factor of overall livability (Mouraditis, 2020). Nevertheless, current discourse of livability predominantly revolves around objective measures of quality of life and build on (measurable) material and economic values (Burton, 2014, p. 5312). In the present, heritage is utilized as a policy-measure to enhance socio-economic livability through increased tourism and population expansion. In heritage, situated power relations and dominance of the Western expert view, as theorized by the Authorized Heritage Discourse, focuses on the innate, material, monumental, architectural and cultural historical significance of heritage. The conservation of heritage's cultural-historical significance is seen as a *natural* means to attract tourists and residents from outside, who also possess the 'cultural baggage' to appreciate this (L. Smith, 2006). By enhancing cultural-historical qualities of an environment, its socio-economic status can be improved. In turn, situated or social experiences are generally neglected as the AHD downplays the "local and other diverse expressions of human social experiences" (L. Smith & Waterton, 2012, p. 156). More specifically, these mechanisms in heritage policy align with the policy discourse around livability and its associated positivist approach of measurable socio-economic factors. Even though the policy goal is to increase the overall livability of a heritage site for its residents, the measures are directed at attracting tourists and economic activity from visitors from outside. Following this, it has been questioned in this study whether these policy dynamics actually contribute to residents' experiences of wellbeing and whether their lifeworld matches the discourses of heritage and livability policy. Furthermore, it has been theorized that modernist environments can elicit ambiguous, and often uncanny, experiences. These experiences can affect notions of wellbeing. Significantly, it has been demonstrated modernist architects utilized the concept of atmospheric experience in their designs to create social experiments and utopian visions of society and community. Modernist living environments are therefore of particular interest in terms of experiential dimensions of human dwelling.

To this end, this study has discussed the case of the modernist village Nagele, in the Noordoostpolder of the Netherlands. The social challenges to the village have contributed to a decline and degradation of the village' physical environment and its modernist heritage (Blom

et al., 2016). By conserving Nagele's 'core qualities' of cultural-historical significance, the RCE seeks to preserve this 'epitome of the Dutch Reconstruction era' for future generations. In turn, the municipality seeks to improve the socio-economic livability of Nagele by attracting more tourists and residents from outside. The renewed attention for the significance of Nagele's cultural-historical heritage since 2009 has led to many initiatives (with limited success) (Gemeente Noordoostpolder, 2021), but also to a stringent relationship between residents and the conservation of Nagele's 'core qualities'. These dynamics are illustrative dominance of the material, monumental and cultural-historical value of heritage from an expert point of view, as theorized by the Authorized Heritage Discourse (L. Smith, 2006).

This study has produced a preliminary model of embodied significance of heritage as a critical tool to include atmospheric value in discussions regarding the dominant understanding of heritage's cultural-historical and socio-economic significance. Atmospheric value, meaning the affective judgement of embodied experience of architectural environments, was operationalized through the concept of domain satisfaction in relation to subjective wellbeing and livability (Mouraditis, 2020). Based on the phenomenological approach and case study design, interviews constituted the dominant source of primary data. Dwellers of Nagele who experienced its atmospheric environment expressed and demonstrated that their concerns with Nagele's livability are predominantly connected to social issues, cohesion and community. Atmospheric experience, as part of an embodied heritage model which equally considers atmospheric value to cultural-historical and socio-economic value, demonstrates that the policy-mechanisms in Nagele probably do not align with the lifeworld and wishes of the residents. In terms of neighborhood satisfaction and subjective wellbeing, this could impact Nagele's overall livability and policy-efforts to improve this. In turn, sensitivity in policy towards the significance of atmospheric experiences could improve their sense of ownership and pride of Nagele, which can contribute to wellbeing, livability and maintenance of the environment. It is suggested that the social history of Nagele, its intangible but very significant underlying modernist 'ideology', could be utilized in a new narrative or other take on Nagele's hertiage. Nagele could be the epitome of a proud modern pioneering society amidst the unique (social) landscape of the Noordoostpolder.

As such, the empirical case study has tested and strengthened the preliminary model of embodied significance of heritage. The model is now brought forward in definitive form a as a tool which seeks to overcome the omission of experiential and affective dimensions of human-

environment relations in heritage domain, architecture, and positivist academia. The deliberate choice to present atmospheric value as part of a model adopts the 'language' used on heritage policy-discourse. As such, the phenomenological framework of this study is made applicable and translatable to other domains. A model of embodied significance of heritage contributes to understanding and possibly negating situated power relations in policy and practice. The model could contribute to overcoming differences between the lifeworld of a policy-audience, in this case dwellers of a modernist architectural environment, and a policy discourse. Furthermore, the model can underline the significance of experiential dimensions in human-environment relations. Specifically in terms of the ambiguous or uncanny experiences modernist architectural heritage can elicit, it is significance to not only focus on material but also on intangible dimensions and effects of a spatial (heritage) environment, the ambiguous and uncanny feelings it can give elicit makes it

This study seeks to establish embodied and affective experience of one's environment, understood as atmospheric experience and operationalized through domain satisfaction, as a significant factor of wellbeing and related livability. Zanella et al. (2015, p. 696) argue further research is necessary to define the components and appropriate weights used in livability policies. Future research should also focus on the translation and applicability of phenomenological approaches, methods, and occupations into other (academic) domains. Overcoming academic biases and appreciating different jargons could enrich academia, policy and practice with the interpretive method of phenomenology. Understanding the in-depth and holistic nature and meaning of every-day experience is fundamental for human existence (Gibson & Hanes, 2003, p. 182). Specifically for social sciences, "an ontological understanding of the human being in the world with others" is necessary, argue Gibson & Hanes (2003, p. 182).

Firstly, limitations of this study related to the phenomenological framework concern the use of interviews and interpretative phenomenological approach. This method is time-consuming, and the role of the researcher has been substantial in the process. Specifically in terms of interpretation of salient emerging themes, the understanding of the researcher has guided the discussion and conclusions. An open mind and reflexive practice proved important for the validity of the findings. Despite the valuable conversations which were intended to gain insight in the atmospheric experiences and lifeworld of Nagele's residents, social desirability could

have resulted in certain skews or evasions in their responses. After all, the interviews concerned their living environment, their home, so the conversations were inevitably very personal.

Limitations of this study also revolve around the generalizability of the findings, following the single case study design and phenomenological approach. The goal was however not to generalize atmospheric experience to universal essences as traditional phenomenology would seek to do, but to find and analyze shared experiences of a modernist spatial environment. These shared experiences have given insight in shared notions of subjective wellbeing in relation to the spatial environment. Further research should expand this however, possibly by a comparative case study design which can test the presented model of this study and gain deeper insight in similar or different dynamics between different modernist heritage environments. Suggested examples of modernist living environments are Le Havre, Brasilia, and Chandigarh. One should be cautious however with using a quantitative approach. Case studies can opt for a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. From a phenomenological stance however, translating experiential experience to a statistical method or survey reduces experiences to different components and loses the holistic understanding of atmospheric experience. The inclusion of atmospheric value in a model of embodied significance of heritage, following a phenomenological grounding, transposes this subject to a context in which it can be discussed on equal footing with the dominant paradigm policy and practice is based upon. Phenomenology as the study of holistic experiential phenomena can thus be transposed to other academic discourses. As human (subjective) experience constitutes an essential dimension of human dwelling and existence, it is imperative to do so.

ABSTRACT

This study critically explores the role atmospheric experience could have for the livability of modernist architectural environment. Atmospheric experience and the wider domain of experiential engagement with one's (architectural) living environment have long been omitted from positivist discourse, heritage, and policymaking, despite its fundamental significance for human existence. Atmospheric experience is defined as the affective and embodied experience of a spatial environment which impacts subjective notions of wellbeing, a sense of belonging and meaning making. In turn, subjective wellbeing is a significant dimension of overall livability. In this study, *New Phenomenology* as defined by Schmitz (1999) and Sørensen (2015) informs the theoretical discussion and subsequent methodology and analysis. This study therefore seeks to contribute to a re-evaluation of phenomenology as a scientific approach with a significant contribution for understanding holistic experiential phenomena as part of human existence. This informs the conceptualization of a preliminary model of embodied significance of heritage (the affective judgement of embodied experience), which is tested on the empirical case of the modernist village Nagele, the Netherlands. Consequently, this study presents a new conceptual avenue for a more holistic approach of the value and significance of heritage, which considers atmospheric experience on equal footing regarding the dominant cultural-historical and socio-economic values of heritage in current policy and practice. Atmospheric experience is operationalized as neighborhood satisfaction in relation to subjective wellbeing. Insights from interviews, archive material and secondary literature demonstrated that the preliminary model could serve as a critical tool to incorporate and translate subjective, inter-subjective and shared experience in discussions regarding heritage value, wellbeing, and livability. It is argued that atmospheric value creates more sensitivity for the holistic nature and complex lifeworlds of dwellers of modernist heritage sites. A model is necessary to transpose phenomenologically informed findings and discussion to the (positivist) paradigm of policy and practice.

Keywords: atmospheric experience, modernist architecture, heritage values, Nagele, wellbeing, livability.

REFERENCE LIST

Albertsen, N. (2019). Urban Atmospheres. *Ambiances*, *29*(4), 5-29. https://doi.org/10.4000/ambiances.2433

Andela, G., & Bosma, K. (1985a). Afstemming van norm en ontwerp: De planning van drie nederzettingen in de Noordoostpolder. *Wonen - TA/BK*, *14*, 20–35.

Andela, G., & Bosma, K. (1985b). De maakbaarheid van de Noordoostpolder: Mentaliteit en instrumentaliteit van de maatschappijwetenschappen. *Wonen - TA/BK*, *14*, 9–19.

Ashworth, G. J., Tunbridge, J. E., & Graham, B. J. (2007). *Pluralising pasts: Heritage, identity and place in multicultural societies*. Pluto.

Atkinson, S., Fuller, S., & Painter, J. (2016). Wellbeing and Place. In S. Atkinson, S. Fuller, & J. Painter (Eds.), *Wellbeing and Place* (pp. 1–14). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315547534

Avrami, E., Randall Mason, C., & de la Torre, M. (2000). *Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report*. The Getty Conservation Institute.

Azhar, J., Gjerde, M., Vale, B., & Asif, M. (2022). Perception of Urban Leftover Spaces: A Comparative Study of Built Environment and Non-Built Environment Participants. *Architecture*, *2*(2), 231–244. https://doi.org/10.3390/architecture2020013

Azhari, N. F. N., & Mohamed, E. (2012). Public Perception: Heritage Building Conservation in Kuala Lumpur. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *50*, 271–279. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.08.033

Baart, T., Markerink, C., & van Veen, A. (1988). *Nagele [NOP]*. Fragment Uitgeverij.

Bakema, J. B. (1964). Naar een samenlevingsarchitectuur. *Bouw*, *8*, 255–259.

Banerji, R. (2012, December 7). *Niemeyer's Brasilia: Does it work as a city?* BBC World Service. https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-20632277

Beck, H. (2016). Understanding the Impact of Urban Green Space on Health and Wellbeing. In S. Atkinson, S. Fuller, & J. Painter (Eds.), *Wellbeing and Place* (pp. 53–72). Routledge.

Bergen, N., & Labonté, R. (2020). "Everything Is Perfect, and We Have No Problems": Detecting and Limiting Social Desirability Bias in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Health Research*, *30*(5), 783–792. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732319889354

Bille, M., & Sørensen, T. F. (2016). A sense of place. In M. Bille & T. F. Sørensen (Eds.), *Elements of Architecture: Assembling Archaeology, Atmosphere and the Performance of Building Spaces* (pp. 159–162). Routledge.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. Sage.

Blom, A., Timmer, P., & Zwikstra, W. (2016). *Nagele: Een moderne erfenis*. Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed.

Blom, A., & van Geest, J. (2011). Nagele, een modern dorp in de Noordoostpolder. *Vitruvius*, *4*, 34–38.

Böhme, G. (1993). Atmosphere as the Fundamental Concept of a New Aesthetic. *Thesis Eleven*, *36*, 113–126.

Böhme, G. (1995). *Atmosphäre: Essays zur neuen Ästhetik*. Suhrkamp.

Brück, J., & Stutz, L. N. (2016). Is archaeology still the project of nation states? An editorial comment. *Archaeological Dialogues*, *23*(1), 1–3. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1380203816000027

Bruin, W. (1955). Over de dorpen van de Noordoostpolder. *Forum*, *10*(1–2), 23–27.

Budds, D. (2019, June 7). *Inside Brazil's 'cautionary tale' for utopian urbanists: Brasilia is reconciling its historic identity with the realities of contemporary life*. Curbed. https://archive.curbed.com/2019/6/7/18657121/brasilia-brazil-urban-planning-architecture-design

Burton, M. (2014). Quality of Place. In A. C. Michalos (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of quality of life and Well-Being research* (pp. 5312–5314). Springer.

Canepa, E., Scelsi, V., Fassio, A., Avanzino, L., Lagravinese, G., & Chiorri, C. (2019). Atmospheres: Feeling Architecture by Emotions. *Ambiances*, *5*. https://doi.org/10.4000/ambiances.2907

Carmody, J. C., & Sterling, R. L. (1987). Design strategies to alleviate negative psychological and physiological effects in underground space. *Tunnelling and Underground Space Technology*, *2*(1), 59–67. https://doi.org/10.1016/0886-7798(87)90143-X

Cassel, C., & Symon, G. (1994). *Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research: A Practical Guide*. Sage.

Cohen, J. (1996). Monster culture (seven theses). In J. Cohen (Ed.), *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (pp. 3–25). University of Minnesota Press.

Constandse, A. K. (1964). Het dorp met de glamour. *Bouw*, *33*, 1134–1139.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Croft, C. (2004). *Concrete Architecture*. Laurence King Publishing.

Cunha, M. (2019). Minimal gestures: Displacement, affect and urban experience in A hora da estrela/The Hour of the Star (Amaral, 1985). *Studies in Spanish & Latin-American Cinemas*, *16*(2), 177–193. https://doi.org/10.1386/slac.16.2.177_1

de Jonge, J. (1964a). Een sociologische benadering van het wonen. *Bouw*, *25*, 892–895.

de Jonge, J. (1964b). Ontwerpen, beleven en bewonen van huis, wijk en stad. *Bouw*, *9*, 274–276.

de la Torre, M. (2002). *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage: Research Report*. The Getty Conservation Institute.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (2000). The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 1–32). Sage.

Diachenko, A. (2016). Archaeology and the nation state. The case of eastern Europe. *Archaeological Dialogues*, *23*(1), 3–10. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1380203816000039

Doevendans, K., Lörzing, H., & Schram, A. (2007). From modernist landscapes to New Nature: Planning of rural utopias in the Netherlands. *Landscape Research*, *32*(3), 333–354. https://doi.org/10.1080/01426390701318270

Donohoe, J. (2014). *Remembering Places: A Phenomenological Study of the Relationship Between Memory and Place*. Lexington Books.

Donohoe, J. (2019). Cities Remade: On Deciding the Fate of Building in the City. In K. Jacobs & J. Malpas (Eds.), *Philosophy and the City: Interdisciplinary and Transcultural Perspectives* (pp. 191–204). Rowman & Littlefield.

Duara, P. (1991). Knowledge and Power in the Discourse of Modernity: The Campaigns against Popular Religion in Early Twentieth-Century China. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, *50*(1), 67–83. https://doi.org/10.2307/2057476

Ebbe, K. (2009). *Infrastructure and Heritage Conservation: Opportunities for Urban Revitilization and Economic Development. Directions in Urban Development*. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/10260/480190BRI0REPL1irections0301PUBLIC1.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Florida, R. (2009). *Who's Your City?: How the Creative Economy Is Making Where to Live the Most Important Decision of Your Life*. Basic Books.

Forty, A. (2013). *Concrete and Culture: A Material History*. Reaktion Books.

Gemeente Noordoostpolder. (2021). *Een erfgoeddeal voor stijlicoon Nagele*.

Gentry, K., & Smith, L. (2019). Critical heritage studies and the legacies of the late-twentieth century heritage canon. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *25*(11), 1148–1168. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2019.1570964

Gibson, S. K., & Hanes, L. A. (2003). The Contribution of Phenomenology to HRD Research. *Human Resource Development Review*, *2*(2), 181–205. https://doi.org/10.1177/1534484303002002005

Glendinning, M. (2013). *The Conservation Movement: A History of Architectural Preservation*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203080399

Graham, B., Ashworth, G., & Tunbridge, J. (2016). *A Geography of Heritage*. Routledge.

Graumann, C. F. (2002). The Phenomenological Approach to People-Environment Studies. In R. B. Bechtel & A. Churchman (Eds.), *Handbook of Environmental Psychology* (pp. 95–113). John Wiley & Sons.

Greffe, X. (2004). Is heritage an asset or a liability? *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, *5*(3), 301–309. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2004.05.001

Griffero, T. (2017). Felt-Bodily Resonances. *Yearbook for Eastern and Western Philosophy*, *2017*(2), 149–164. https://doi.org/10.1515/yewph-2017-0013

Griffero, T. (2019). Is There Such a Thing as an "Atmospheric Turn"? Instead of an Introduction. In T. Griffero & M. Tedeschini (Eds.), *Atmospheres and Aesthetics: A Plural Perspective* (pp. 11–62). Palgrave Macmillan.

Griffero, T., & Tedeschini, M. (2019). Introduction. In *Atmosphere and Aesthetics: A Plural Perspective* (pp. 1–8). Palgrave Macmillan.

Google Maps (2022). *Nagele*. https://goo.gl/maps/HugaM1bvvap8ysGEA Accessed on 20 August 2022.

Gugutzer, R. (2020). Beyond Husserl and Schütz. Hermann Schmitz and Neophenomenological Sociology. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *50*(2), 184–202. https://doi.org/10.1111/jtsb.12240

Haartsen, T., & Thissen, F. (2018). Physical and social engineering in the Dutch polders: the case of the Noordoostpolder. In *Twentieth Century Land Settlement Schemes* (pp. 159–178). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315167886-9

Hannabuss, S. (1999). Postmodernism and the heritage experience. *Library Management*, *20*(5), 295–303. https://doi.org/10.1108/01435129910276280

Hartley, J. (1994). Case studies in organizational research. In C. Cassel & G. Symon (Eds.), *Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research: A Practical Guide* (pp. 208–229). Sage.

Hartley, J. (2004). Case study research. In C. Cassel & G. Symon (Eds.), *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research* (pp. 323–333). Sage.

Hartoonian, G. (2001). The limelight of the House-Machine. *The Journal of Architecture*, *6*(1), 53–79.

Heidegger, M. (1927). *Sein und Zeit*. Max Niemeyer Verlag Tübingen.

Heidegger, M. (1971). *Poetry, Language and Throught (A Hofsdater Ed. & Trans.)*. Harper & Row.

Hemel, Z., & van Rossum, V. (1984). *Nagele: een collectief ontwerp 1947-1957*. Nederlands Documentatiecentrum voor de Bouwkunst.

Higuera-Trujillo, J. L., Llinares, C., & Macagno, E. (2021). The Cognitive-Emotional Design and Study of Architectural Space: A Scoping Review of Neuroarchitecture and Its Precursor Approaches. *Sensors*, *21*(6), 2193. https://doi.org/10.3390/s21062193

Hoeksema, R. J. (2007). Three stages in the history of land reclamation in the Netherlands. *Irrigation and Drainage*, *56*(1), 113–126. https://doi.org/10.1002/ird.340

Howell, K. (2013). *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Methodology*. Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473957633

Hupppert, F. A. (2014). The State of Wellbeing Science: Concepts, Measures, Interventions, and Policies. In F. A. Huppert & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Interventions and Policies to Enhance Wellbeing: Wellbeing: A Complete Reference Guide* (Vol. 6, pp. 1–50). John Wiley & Sons.

Husserl, E. (1970). *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology*. Northwestern University Press.

Husserl, E. (1989). *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy: Second Book Studies in the Phenomenology of Constitution*. Kluwer Academic Publishers.

ICOMOS Australia. (1999). *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (The Burra Charter)*.

Jackson, P. (1981). Phenomenology and social geography. *Area*, *13*(4), 299–305.

Jay, M. (1988). Scopic Regimes of Modernity. In H. Foster (Ed.), *Vision and Visuality* (pp. 2–23). Bay Press.

Jay, M. (1993). *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought*. University of California Press.

Jones, S. (2017). Wrestling with the Social Value of Heritage: Problems, Dilemmas and Opportunities. *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, *4*(1), 21–37. https://doi.org/10.1080/20518196.2016.1193996

Kincheloe, J. L., & Tobin, K. (2009). The much exaggerated death of positivism. *Cultural Studies of Science Education*, *4*(3), 513–528. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11422-009-9178-5

Kohl, P. L. (1998). Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote past. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *27*, 223–246.

Kohlbacher, F. (2006). The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis in Case Study Research. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *7*(1), 1–30.

Levin, D. M. (1993). *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision* (D. M. Levin, Ed.). University of California Press.

Macdonald, S. (2013). *Memorylands: Hertiage and Identity in Europe Today*. Routledge.

Madgin, R., Webb, D., Ruiz, P., & Snelson, T. (2018). Resisting relocation and reconceptualising authenticity: the experiential and emotional values of the Southbank Undercroft, London, UK. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *24*(6), 585–598. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2017.1399283

Martin, M. (2022, March 17). *9 Examples of Brutalist Architecture in Film*. Architectural Digest. https://www.architecturaldigest.com/story/brutalist-architecture-in-film

Maslow, A. (1987). *Motivation and personality*. Longman.

Mason, R. (2002). Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices. In M. de la Torre (Ed.), *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage: Research Report* (pp. 5–30). The Getty Conservation Institute.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1964). *Sense and non-sense*. Northwestern University Press.

Meyer, C. (2009). The greening of the concrete industry. *Cement and Concrete Composites*, *31*(8), 601–605. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cemconcomp.2008.12.010

Millington, G. (2016). *Urbanization and the Migrant in British Cinema*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-47399-8

Mostafa, A. M. (2012). Quality of Life Indicators in Value Urban Areas: Kasr Elnile Street in Cairo. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *50*, 254–270. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.08.032

Mouratidis, K. (2020). K. *Travel Behaviour and Society*, *21*, 265–278. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tbs.2020.07.006

Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological research methods*. Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412995658

Murray, P. (1999). Fundamental issues in questionnaire design. *Accident and Emergency Nursing*, *7*(3), 148–153. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0965-2302(99)80074-5

Murray, S. (2007). Material Experience: Peter Zumthor's Thermal Bath at Vals. *The Senses and Society*, *2*(3), 363–369. https://doi.org/10.2752/174589307X233594

Nagele krijgt ruim vijf ton voor de ontwikkeling van het dorp (2021, October 8). *Nagele*. https://nagele.nl/nagele-krijgt-ruim-een-half-miljoen-euro-voor-de-ontwikkeling-van-het-dorp-vanuit-erfgoeddeal/

Noë, A. (2007). The critique of pure phenomenology. *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences*, *6*(1–2), 231–245. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11097-006-9043-x

Noord-Oostpolder. (1948). *Polytechnisch Tijdschrift | Uitgave B*, *23–24 and 25–26*, 1–33.

Nornberg-Schulz, C. (1979). *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*. Rizzoli.

Oiler, C. (1982). The Phenomenological Approach in Nursing Research. *Nursing Research* , *31*(3), 178–181.

Okulicz-Kozaryn, A., & Valente, R. R. (2019). Livability and Subjective Well-Being Across European Cities. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, *14*(1), 197–220. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-017-9587-7

Pallasmaa, J. (2005). *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. John Wiley & Sons.

Pallasmaa, J. (2019). The Atmospheric Sense: Peripheral Perception and the Experience of Space. In T. Griffero & M. Tedeschini (Eds.), *Atmospheres and Aesthetics: A Plural Perspective* (pp. 121–131). Palgrave Macmillan.

Park, Y. S., Konge, L., & Artino, A. R. (2020). The Positivism Paradigm of Research. *Academic Medicine*, *95*(5), 690–694. https://doi.org/10.1097/ACM.0000000000003093

Paterson, M. (2011). More-than visual approaches to architecture. Vision, touch, technique. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *12*(3), 263–281. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2011.564733

Pinder, D. (2005a). Modernist urbanism and its monsters. In T. Mical (Ed.), *Surrealism and Architecture* (pp. 179–190). Routledge.

Pinder, D. (2005b). *Visions of the City*. Edinburgh University Press.

Pyer, M. (2014). Wellbeing and Place. *Emotion, Space and Society*, *10*, 113–114. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2013.03.007

Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed. (2015). *Nagele; een wederopbouwgebied van nationaal belang, nr. 10*.

Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed. (2016a). *Nagele: Toonbeeld van de wederopbouw*.

Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed. (2016b). *Noordoostpolder: Toonbeeld van de wederopbouw*.

Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed (2022). *Beeldbank Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed*. https://beeldbank.cultureelerfgoed.nl/ Accessed 20 August 2022.

Riley, D. (2007). The paradox of positivism. *Social Science History*, *31*(1), 115–126.

Ryan, A. B. (2006). Post-Positivist Approaches to Research. In M. Antonesa (Ed.), *Researching and Writing Your Thesis: A Guide for Postgraduate Students* (pp. 12–26). MACE: Maynooth Adult and Community Education.

Sarin, M. (2021). *Urban Planning in the Third World: The Chandigarh Experience*. Routledge.

Sayer, A. (2007). Class, Moral Worth and Recognition. In T. Lovell (Ed.), *(Mis)recognition, Social Inequality and Social Justice: Nancy Fraser and Pierre Bourdieu* (pp. 88–102). Routledge.

Schmitz, H. (1980). *Neue Phänomenologie*. Bouvier.

Schmitz, H. (1999). Der Gefühlsraum unter anderen Raumstrukturen. *Geographische Zeitschrift*, *87*(2), 105–11587.

Schmitz, H. (2002). Hermann Schmitz, the "New Phenomenology." In A. T. Tymieniecka (Ed.), *Phenomenology world-wide. Foundations – expanding dynamics – life-engagements. A guide for research and study* (pp. 491–494). Springer.

Schmitz, H. (2003). *Was ist Neue Phänomenologie?* Koch.

Schmitz, H. (2007). *Der Leib, der Raum und die Gefühle*. Aisthesis Verlag.

Schmitz, H. (2011). *Der Leib*. de Gruyter.

Schmitz, H. (2016). Atmospheric Spaces. *Ambiances*. https://doi.org/10.4000/ambiances.711

Schmitz, H. (2019). *New Phenomenology. A Brief Introduction*. Mimesis International.

Schmitz, H., Müllan, R. O., & Slaby, J. (2011). Emotions outside the box—the new phenomenology of feeling and corporeality. *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences*, *10*(2), 241–259. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11097-011-9195-1

Seamon, D. (1982). The phenomenological contribution to environmental psychology. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *2*(2), 119–140. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-4944(82)80044-3

Seamon, D., & Mugerauer, R. (1985). Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World. In D. Seamon & R. Mugerauer (Eds.), *Dwelling, place and environment: An introduction* (pp. 2–15). Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Smith, J. A., Jarman, M., & Osborn, M. (1999). Doing Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. In *Qualitative Health Psychology: Theories and Methods* (pp. 218–240). Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446217870.n14

Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of heritage*. Routledge.

Smith, L., & Campbell, G. (2015). The Elephant in the Room: Heritage, Affect, and Emotion. In W. Logan, M. Nic Craith, & U. Kockel (Eds.), *A Companion to Heritage Studies* (pp. 443–460). Wiley-Blackwell.

Smith, L., & Waterton, E. (2012). *Constrained by Commonsense*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199237821.013.0009

Sørensen, T. F. (2015). More than a feeling: Towards an archaeology of atmosphere. *Emotion, Space and Society*, *15*, 64–73. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2013.12.009

Stake, R. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Sage.

Stake, R. (2000). Case studies. In N. Denzin & Lincoln. Y. (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 435–453). Sage.

Starks, H., & Brown Trinidad, S. (2007). Choose Your Method: A Comparison of Phenomenology, Discourse Analysis, and Grounded Theory. *Qualitative Health Research*, *17*(10), 1372–1380. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732307307031

The working group of the "Vereeniging “de 8””. (1952). Een plan voor het dorp Nagele. *Forum*, *7*(6–7), 172–178.

The Budapest Declaration on World Heritage, 1 (2002) (testimony of UNESCO).

van de Grift, L. (2017). Community building and expert involvement with reclaimed lands in the Netherlands, 1930s–1950s. In S. Couperus & H. Kaal (Eds.), *(Re) Constructing Communities in Europe, 1918–1968: Senses of Belonging Below, Beyond and Within the Nation-State* (pp. 108–129). Routledge.

van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*. State University of New York Press.

Veenhoven, R. (2002). Why Social Policy Needs Subjective Indicators. *Social Indicators Research*, *58*(1/3), 33–46. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1015723614574

Veenhoven, R. (2008). Sociological theories of subjective well-being. In M. Eid & R. Larsen (Eds.), *The science of subjective well-being: a tribute to Ed Diener* (pp. 44–61). The Guilford Press.

Viderman, T., & Knierbein, S. (2018). Reconnecting public space and housing research through affective practice. *Journal of Urban Design*, *23*(6), 843–858. https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809.2018.1475222

Vidler, A. (1992). *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely*. MIT Press.

Waldek, S. (2020, August 21). *60 Years Ago, The Modernist City of Brasília Was Built From Scratch: The Brazilian capital is a case study in urban planning, full of triumphs and shortcomings*. Architectural Digest. https://www.architecturaldigest.com/story/60-years-ago-modernist-city-brasilia-built

Ward Thompson, C., Roe, J., Robertson, L., Aspinall, P., Mitchell, R., Miller, D., Clow, A., Brewer, M., & Duff, E. (2014). *GreenHealth: Contribution of Green and Open Space to Public Health and Wellbeing* (D. Miller & J. Morrice, Eds.). James Hutton Institute.

Wetherell, M. (2012). *Affect and Emotion: A New Social Science Understanding*. Sage.

Wetherell, M. (2015). Trends in the Turn to Affect. *Body & Society*, *21*(2), 139–166. https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X14539020

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: design and methods* (3rd ed., Vol. 5). SAGE Publications.

Zanella, A., Camanho, A. S., & Dias, T. G. (2015). The assessment of cities' livability integrating human wellbeing and environmental impact. *Annals of Operations Research*, *226*(1), 695–726. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10479-014-1666-7

Zumthor, P. (2006). *Atmospheres: Architectural environments, Surrounding Objects*. Birkhäuser Verlag.

APPENDICES

The transcripts and documentation of the interviews are not available to the public. The records are stored by the researcher.