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Karina MoraesZarzar	*Paper: Dutch FUSION Architecture: Regionalism or Globalism?*

Topic: Architecture

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Abstract:

This article is part of a research project to study Dutch architecture through the 20th century and until now with regard to regionalism and globalism. This research is carried out by means of project analysis.

This article discusses two projects recently built in The Netherlands and classified by Wilfried van Winden as Fusion architecture . Van Winden's Fusion does not refer to Asian experiments on fusion architecture; it only refers to Dutch experiments. The aim of this article is to understand what fusion architecture means and to understand whether it belongs, even if partly, to the realm of regionalism or globalism. Since people looking at these buidings mostly recall a Disney theme park (a globalist process), we introduce Disneyism and its dimensions as defined by Alan Bryman, to see whether indeed it presents similarities with Van Winden's Fusion.

The first project is Wilfried van Winden's Inntel Hotel in Zaandam. Soeters, who is responsible for the Inverdam revitalization project of Zaandam centre, invited Van Winden to design the Inntel Hotel, an eye-catching building in the heart of this town. As presented in Dutch Profiles: Soeters Van Eldonk Architects, Soeters' intention is to "design buildings in such a way that they reinforce the local identity and that they allow you to recognize where you are." At a first sight, one might say that it is a kind of picturesque regionalism. This project is the first and last illustration in Van Winden's monograph Fusion.

The second project is Geurst's Le Medi in Rotterdam, which is one of Van Winden's prominent examples. Le Medi is a housing complex following principles of a (sanitized) Moorish-Moroccan housing complex. Van Winden's monograph also starts and ends with illustrations of this project, which does not strictly follow Soeters' idea to reinforce the local identity since it refers to other countries, and tries to reinforce the identity of the people (many of whom are not originally from The Netherlands) who currently live in the area.

The article's main questions are: would Fusion provide theoretical ground and design tools toward a possible non-homogenized world (regionalism)? Is Fusion indeed a new strategy or tendency in architecture, or is it a kind of Disneyism disguised under a new name (globalism)?

Last but not least, this article questions the essence of this theoretical approach by describing and comparing the strategies taken by Geurst & Schulze in their Le Medi and Van Winden in his Inntel Hotel using both Van Winden's Fusion and Alan Bryman's Disneyism strategies.

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Dutch FUSION Architecture: Regionalism or Globalism?

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Premise

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1. (Dutch) Fusion Architecture

Wilfried van Winden's monograph entitled Fusion is intended as a "plea for a gracious architecture" in an open (Dutch) multi-cultural society. This multicultural society includes non-European minorities (and their first and second generations) from countries such as Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, Aruba and Indonesia. Fusion, argues Van Winden, embraces the numerous cultures and religions with the hope of creating an open society with a harmonious future for all citizens.

Van Winden believes that this open society does not need many architects imposing their aesthetics on a place, but architects who reflect on features of the place and the people who will inhabit the area of intervention. Fusion architecture reflects the way an individual and a group want to present themselves. Fusion, argues Van Winden, builds on where post-modern thinking left off and envisions a kind of diversity wherein numerous truths may coexist.

Backing such a society, the architect should make use of diverse styles according to the desire of the client and/or the atmosphere that the architect would like to create. Van Winden affirms that one must consider the connection of characteristic architectonic elements of the past or other cultures to come to a new expression. In so doing, Van Winden considers the production of buildings which makes it possible for people to identify with them.

Fusion architecture, says Van Winden, refers to an inventive mix of identities, of past and present, tradition and innovation, high and low culture. In fact, the critical regionalists had already made such references. However, in contrast to Fusion, Critical Regionalism is critical of both regionalist and globalist forces. For fusion architects, it seems that the "atmosphere" plays too substantial a role to allow them to be critical.

Van Winden argues that Fusion responds to the demand for diversity and recognition or familiarity, or, as the critical regionalists would say, over-familiarity: the picturesque.

Besides the above mentioned descriptions of what Fusion architecture means, no clear strategy is given as to what direction to take in order to produce this architecture. This paper tries to uncover the strategies for this new expression by analyzing the above mentioned two projects. And because we have a hunch that Fusion architecture has either similarities to or is just another word for the less "gracious" term Disney architecture, we mostly use the systematic research of Alan Bryman on Disneyization to analyze the projects.

2. Disneyism

Disneyization refers to the spread of principles exemplified by Disney theme parks all over the world[i]. Bryman in his *The Disneyization of the Society* argues, "…Disneyization takes up where McDonaldization[ii] leaves off", in particular in what refers to the homogeneous world, the sameness spread all over the world promoted by companies such as the McDonald's fast food chain.[iii] Both are concerned with consumerism; however, McDonaldization is rooted in rationalization and its associations with Fordism, scientific management and bureaucracy. Disneyism's roots are with a post-Fordist world of variety and consumer choice[iv].

Disneyization, says Bryman, is portrayed as a globalizing force and has four dimensions, which are: Theming, Hybrid Consumption, Merchandising and Performative Labor. However, these dimensions are not always fully expressed[v]. It seems that Bryman is particularly interested in the transference of these principles, when these principles are "reassigned to another sphere, such as a shopping mall"[vi].

Bryman avoids the term "Disneyfication" or "Disnification" because it has been too often used and discussed in a very narrow way, meaning mostly theming and hardly ever in an investigative, systematic manner. According to Bryman, "To Disneyfy means to translate or transform an object into something superficial and even simplistic". He quotes several authors to clarify how the term "Disneyfication" has been used, such as the author R. Schickel. The latter affirms that Disneyfication means "that shameless process by which everything the Studio later touched, no matter how unique the original from which the Studio worked, was reduced to the limited terms Disney and his people could understand" [vii]. The article will not avoid the term Disneyfication when referring to theming when it is appropriate, but will mostly follow the systematic approach of Bryman.

With these general definitions, the article discourses on whether the strategies and processes used in the following two cases, considered by Van Winden as Fusion architecture, are no more than cases of a Disneyization of architecture or whether one could call it either regionalism or globalism.

2.1 Theming

Theming consists of the application of a narrative to institutions or location. According to Bryman, "the source of the theme is external to the institutions or object to which it is applied."[viii] On Bryman's list below, one can see several sources which architects often draw upon: a. Place – nations, cities or even planets; b. Time – past, present and future; c. Sport – sport generally, as well as individual sports; d. Music – rock music and genres, such as Motown or country and western; e. Cinema – movies generally, as well as particular genres or influential figures; f. Fashion – clothes and models; g. Commodities – such as cars and motorbikes; h. Architecture – iconic buildings; Natural world – symbolic natural environments, such as the rainforest and savannah, as well as volcanoes; i. Literature – well known literary figures, such as Sherlock Holmes, Jekyll and Hyde, as well as fairy tales; j. Morality or philosophy – such as notions of conservation.

Often, says Bryman, a theme relies on more than one source. He gives the example of Las Vegas casino hotels using four sources to represent and reinforce the Wild West theme: a) elements of place (USA); b) time (a period in the past); c) cinema (cinematic version of the Wild West); and d) the natural world (the use of landscape features such as John Ford's use of Monument Valley).

We find the list quite comprehensive, except with regard to the source listed as Architecture. "Iconic building" seems to be too abstract to be a source. A building is iconic when it contrasts with its surroundings: be that its height, colors, materials, structure and/or form; therefore, an iconic building depends on the place (source) where it is built. A building which is iconic in one location would not necessarily be iconic in other location. In this sense, an iconic building is more a theme than a source and it may rely on other sources through a metaphor.

The above list covers diverse areas, but it covers numerous typical American sources. We believe that a look at other places and cultures would enrich the list with other sources.

2.2 Hybrid consumption

Hybrid consumption is, according to Alan Bryman, a "general trend whereby the forms of consumption associated with different institutional spheres become interlocked with each other and increasingly difficult to distinguish. What we end up with under hybrid consumption are de-differentiated forms of consumption in which conventional distinctions between these forms become increasingly blurred to the point that they almost collapse."[ix]

Forms of consumption are shopping, visiting a theme park, eating in a restaurant, staying in a hotel, visiting a museum, going to the cinema, playing or watching sports, gambling in a casino, etc. Disneyism refers to Globalism with consumption as a common denominator.

2.3 Merchandising

Bryman defines "merchandising" as "the promotion of goods in the form of or bearing copyright images and logos, including such products made under license" [x]. That could be t-shirts or mugs bearing logos. It is closely related to "hybrid consumption", because its products can be part of a hybrid consumption system.

2.4 Perfomative labor

Perfomative labor, says Bryman, is the "Rendering of work by managements and employers alike as akin to a theatrical performance park". It is a metaphor of the theatrical performance such as the terms cast members, auditioning, onstage, and backstage. "Work is a theatre" [xi].

3. WAM's Inntel Hotel, Zaandam, The Netherlands, 2006-2010
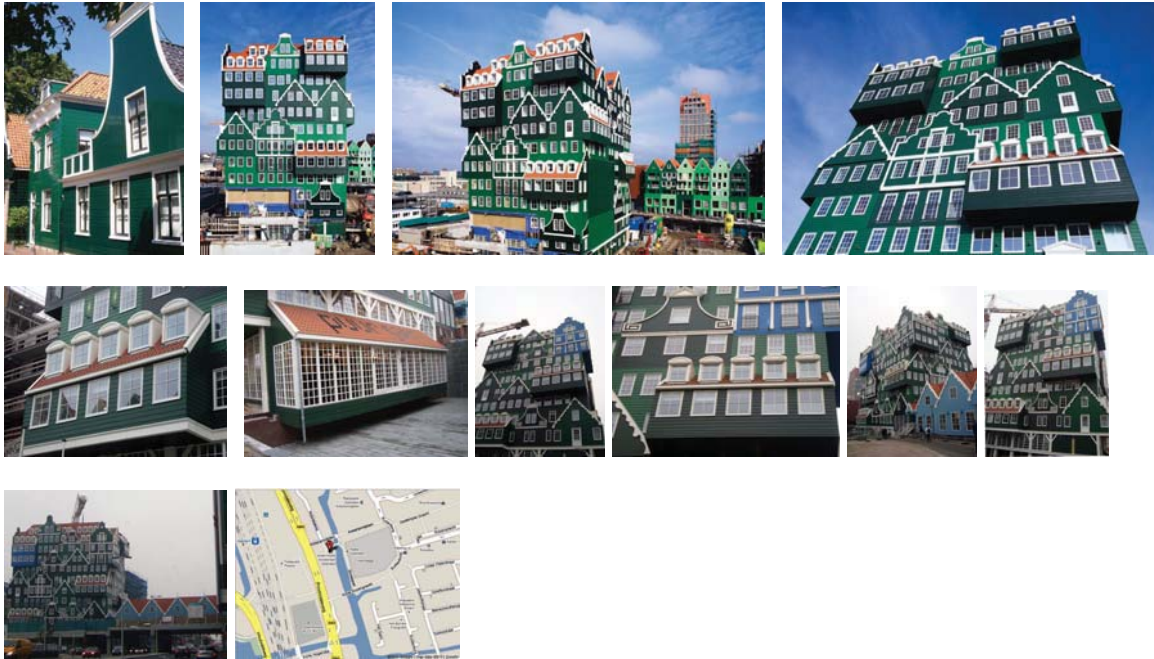
The Inntel Hotel (2006-2010) was designed by Wilfried van Winden from "WAM architecten" and the interior architect was Feran Thomassen. The Inntel Hotel is located at Provincialeweg 102, Zaandam, The Netherlands, near the train station and 16 minutes travel from Schiphol airport[xii].

The building, with its 7500 m^2 distributed in its 12 floors and bridge, has 160 guest rooms, and also has meeting and conference rooms for up to 300 persons, a bar-restaurant, a swimming pool, a Finnish sauna and a wellness center[xiii].

As mentioned above, the Inntel Hotel is part of a revitalization program carried out by Soeters in the city of Zaandam. Soeters' scheme was meant to reinstate the historical street layout, reopen a canal and restore an atmosphere of congeniality. In addition, he also designed the town hall of Zaandam using patterns of Zaandam vernacular houses, aiming to reinforce the local identity (theme).

Van Winden's hotel is used as a Fusion architecture illustration at the beginning and end of Van Winden's monograph *Fusion*.

3.1 The idea

Van Winden followed the theming sources used by Soeters which are that of place (traditional vernacular houses of the region), and time (past); in addition, he used a metaphor as a source of his design: "the hotel as a temporary home." There is also an acknowledged secondary source, art, which can be seen by the reference to Claude Monet's blue house ('het Blauwe Huis') painted in Zaandam in 1871.

The metaphor "The hotel as temporary home" might have brought Van Winden to the idea to use these houses, in their own scale, as the "temporary home".

3.2 The translation

The Hotel is mainly composed of a cube, bridge and traditional Zaans houses. The vernacular houses are sometimes ornaments cladding the building like a collage, and at other times the houses become elements interlocking with the cube in numerous ways, either enlarging the size of the rooms or creating space for small living rooms adjacent to the bedroom. The so-called Albert Heijn room, on the 12th floor, has a nook in one of the vernacular houses.

The building is a straightforward quotation of 70 vernacular Zaans houses' facades from the worker's to the notary's house stacked and interlocked into each other and as such it does not go beyond more than a playful atmosphere created by a sentimental use of traditional houses.

The interior of the building designed by Thomassen follows the same themes of place and time. Images of the past are used in great prints in a tribute to the pioneers, industrialists and businessmen who started their careers in the area as well as to the industries themselves such as Verkade, Duyvis, Honig, Lassie and the supermarket chain Albert Heijn. In the reception, a giant print of a windmill stands as a reminder that Zaandam was once the first major industrial area of the world, possibly due to the invention of the wood mill at the end of the 16th century[xiv]. On the ground floor, separating the reception and the restaurant, there are partition walls resembling in colors, materials and patterns the facades of the vernacular Zaans houses.

3.3 Reflection: Fusion or Disneyism?

Van Winden applies a narrative to the location and its history by stacking traditional vernacular houses. As mentioned above, the theme sources are those of place, time and the metaphor "the hotel as a temporary home". The straightforward use of the houses of Zaandam brings the atmosphere of a picturesque regionalism, or to be more precise, a banalization of regionalism, hence, of a "Disneyfication" of the traditional houses (and life) of the region. There is no place for criticism in the quotation of these traditional houses; in fact, workers mostly lived in poverty and their homes were in decay; but what Van Winden used is only the nostalgic, sanitized and picturesque view of the past or just the creation of a pleasant atmosphere: a fairy-tale.

With regard to Hybrid consumption, Soeters, in the Dutch Profiles, says that to make the centrum of Zaandam successful he needs to concentrate facilities. As Bryman argues, "Hotels are often at the heart of hybrid consumption settings because the bigger they are, the more likely it is that people will be prepared to stay longer…"[xv]. The Inntel Hotel is the central point where all these kinds of consumption intersect one another. The hotel allows people to stay longer and thus consume more.[xvi]

Van Winden argues in an interview[xvii] that "the building is unique in the world because it is recognizable, yet original and sassy". In fact it is only becoming recognizable worldwide because it relies on touristic propaganda[xviii] of what is

promoted as "typically Dutch" outside Holland. As far as its originality is concerned, that should be looked at again because Soeters built the city hall (2004-2009) earlier, making an interpretation of the same precedent, changing its scale and abstracting some details, while Van Winden stacked whole pieces of houses on one another.

In some ways, the building has iconic characteristics which can be easily used as merchandising material to attract tourists who want to experience the Holland of the past in an uncritical manner. All in all, the recognition is an instrument in the marketing.

The project does not manifest any perfomative labor of the kind in evidence in a Disney park. However, as Bryman mentions in his "The Disneyization of Society", often institutions do not make use of all four dimensions of Disneyism.

4. Geurst & Schulze's Le Medi, Rotterdam, 1999-2008

Le Medi (1999-2008) is a housing complex designed by Jeroen Geurst from Geurst & Schulze Architecten and assisted by Korteknie Stuhmacher architects. The project involved a multidisciplinary team including dS + V[xix], Woonbron[xx], Stichting Com.wonen[xxi], Delfshaven[xxii], the municipality of Rotterdam, One Architecture and XS2N.

Le Medi is located in Bospolder, Rotterdam, surrounded by four streets: Schippersstraat, Blokmakersstraat, Zeilmakersstraat and Medinastraat (see illustration above). It has a gross floor area of 15,552 square meters[xxiii] and contains 93 dwellings and an indoor parking garage on the ground floor[xxiv] behind the houses of Blocks A, B1 and B2 (see illustration below). The house size ranges from 105 m^2 to 155 m^2. There are several types of houses; all types have a flexible layout and may be extended in the future. The types include units with a private garden, houses with a terrace (above the garages), port houses, and houses with a terrace in the central courtyard.

This complex was used twice in Van Winden's *Fusion* to illustrate what fusion architecture means.

4.1 The ideas

Its initiator was Hassani Idrissi and initially it had no precise location. Only at a later stage, this Mediterranean housing scheme became part of the urban renewal district Bospolder replacing three former blocks.

There were several objectives reflecting the parts involved in the process, the main objective being to revitalize the neighborhood.

Economic ideas: to make the area attractive for inhabitants with a middle-high income and higher education as well as to make the area attractive for the current inhabitants of a growing purchase power to remain in the neighborhood.

Ethnic ideas: to create housing complexes which mirror the multicultural population of Rotterdam. *One Architecture* together with *XS2N* "studied the possibilities for introducing Mediterranean living cultures in the Dutch city, as a way to reflect the growing ethnic diversity of the Netherlands".[xxv]

Design ideas: to create a local identity using Moorish-Moroccan elements of architecture to express the ethnic ideas and accelerate economic developments in the neighborhood.

4.2 The translation

According to the "Kenniscentrum Stedelijke Vernieuwing" (KEI), the team involved in the development of the Le Medi selected the following set of design issues to be expressed in this "modern" Moorish-Moroccan housing scheme: a. Walled city: safety and rest; b. Water in the central space; c. Ports for access; d. Semi-private streets; e. Colors and materials.

And in addition: a. Possibility to extend the house; b. Facilities on the ground floor; c. All house types have a free plan or variation possibilities for the infill [xxvi] of the houses.

The Moroccan "walled city" is the metaphor guiding the project aiming to offer safety and rest. Contrary to the above set list, Geurst, in the interview "Dutch Profiles," affirms that he tried to avoid the idea of a "gated community". He preferred to refer more to Dutch Courtyard houses which have their gates open during the day and closed at night. It seems that Geurst recognized the risk of designing a housing complex which could become stigmatized in the near future or considered sham architecture. It might also be that by compiling this set list he realized that Dutch Courtyard houses also show this characteristic, and thus one did not need to look so far from home.

This "walled city" is accessible via five ports. The main port is on Schippersstraat. This "Moroccan" port is here transformed to avoid an overdose of iconography[xxvii]. The original horseshoe section is transformed into a parabolic section. It leads the person towards the geometric, symmetric square with a fountain in the middle. Two secondary ports face Blokmakerstraat and the last two face Medinastraat.

Iwanhof (Iwan Court) and Agadirhof (Agadir Court) are in fact two small streets and they could be seen as the continuation of one another. Iwan Court starts at a port which gives access from Medinastraat; and Agadir Court starts at the port which provides access to Blokmakersstraat; Iwanhof and Agadirhof meet each other at the east side of Oasis Square.

Kasbahhof, parallel to Agadirhof, is accessed via the second port that gives access to Blokmakersstraat and ends at the west side of Oasis Square. The last port, the second at Medinastraat, gives immediate access to the west side of Oasis Square.

The houses of these "courts" are bright and colorful, with Iwanhof and Agadirhof in red, white, and orange, and Kasbahhof in yellow, white, and green.

These Courts were previously public streets giving access to the house-units of the three demolished blocks. Nowadays the streets are semi-public areas and access is for pedestrians only. During the evenings and on Sundays access is for residents and their visitors only.

The housing complex is designed as a building block or urban assembly to fit in its direct environment, having houses facing the public streets.

Garages are provided on the back of the houses and accessed via Blokmakersstraat and/or Medinastraat. On the ground floor, the house type adjacent to the garages has one room which can be used, for example, as an atelier or a lounge-kitchen (woonkeuken). The living rooms are on the first floor and the back yard is raised above the garage.

Le Medi relates to the outside world as a block surrounded by extant blocks by size, colors and materials.

4.3 Reflection: Fusion or Disneyism?

From the interviews that Sabine Meier conducted with the inhabitants of Le Medi, it became clear that the second and third generation of immigrants (70% of the inhabitants) are more interested in safety and comfort than living in a themed neighborhood[xxviii]. The Dutch autochthones are those who appreciate the reference to other cultures and enjoy it and find it authentic.

This Moorish-Morocco project symbolically aims to reinforce the multicultural society of Rotterdam, having the theme sources of place and history. Geurst shows a concern in not producing a pure décor or architecture with no meaning. He uses

colors and ornaments from Mediterranean countries, but shows also a concern in limiting iconography such as with the use of a horseshoe shape as the Arabic Port for Le Medi Ports. In fact, he preferred to refer to the urban Dutch Port which marks the entrance of a neighborhood (Amsterdam School)[xxix].

Exotic houses attract the consumer. The municipality, the district, housing corporation and association are working together in the revitalization of the area of Le Medi. The building of exotic houses and environment is a way to "invite" the growing local middle class to stay rather than moving out of the city. These powerful purchasers will consume more in that neighborhood and prevent the area from sinking into decline. The house complex is placed in an area which, when safe and restful, may be attractive due to the facilities and services around it. In other words, the house complex is placed on the central point of a hybrid consumption system.

Metaphors are also used in the marketing of these houses. But despite the fascination created due to theming, almost every respondent of Meier's interview cites the branding a "sales gimmick" such as the use of the metaphor of Oasis, a place which offers protection in the middle of an "inhospitable" environment; the desert (Bospolder-Tussendijk); or the North-African Kashba: romantic, aesthetical and sanitized North African houses which with their bright colors remind the buyer of their sunny vacation destinations.

However, this Moorish Moroccan image, different from others in the regular housing stock alongside the services and facilities on offer (private garage, market, public transport), might play an important role in their merchandize system.

Also in this case there is no interest in using performative labor. Perhaps in this project there is even a certain aversion toward it since it could stigmatize the area.

5 Comparison and Insights

Do these projects (and not the architect's oeuvre) use the same strategies?

Theming is carried out at the **Inntel Hotel** using a tinkering strategy (stacking and interlocking the traditional vernacular houses of Zaandam); and it is done with no critical consideration, or, in other words, with the banalization of the history of the region in the past; while theming is carried out at **Le Medi** through the recollection of characteristics of diverse places as well as the (slight) transformation (main port) and recombination of these characteristics[xxx]. The Le Medi strategy left open the possibility of combining with modern techniques and modern references such as the variations of plan layout which are reminiscent of Le Corbusier's free plan and John Habraken's SAR method.

Using Bryman's Disneyism as an analysis tool, it becomes clear that the two projects have some notable differences. So, one might see that theming is done at the facades and interior of the **Inntel Hotel** while theming is kept inside the urban assembly of **Le Medi** housing scheme.

Theming at the Inntel Hotel does not support any extraordinary functional innovation. The hotel, functionally, remains an average hotel Disneyfied for contextual and economic reasons. **Theming at the Le Medi** also shows a sanitized view of the actual Medinas. However, its composition seems to offer the rest and safety promised to the buyers as well as flexibility and adaptability which is essential in modern societies. One may say that it seems to be more meaningful than the Inntel Hotel. However, if Dutch cities were to be populated by these housing schemes, the country would sooner or later be transformed into a Magic Kingdom with its Main Street connecting all its little kingdoms, many with gates which would be closed during night time. In other words, it seems clear that if this practice becomes generalized, the city will lose in its publicness and, in a drastic scenario, the city would become fragmented into ghettos instead of reaching the desired harmonious multi-cultural society.

The Inntel Hotel, in a sense being an iconic image (when disconnected from its urban context), becomes a merchandising instrument attracting tourists eager to experience the cozy Holland of the past in an uncritical manner. The hotel supports another dimension of Disneyism, namely Hybrid Consumption by making possible the prolongation of the stay of consumers on the site with its theatres, restaurants, cinemas etc. **The Moorish-Moroccan** image of Le Medi brings diversity into the regular housing stock. It is meant to attract well educated and high income second-generation Dutch immigrants to remain or go back to the cities and with their purchasing power to improve the economy of the particular neighborhood. In and around the housing complex, the services (such as private garage, markets and public transport together) work as a merchandize instrument.

In the case of theming, the Inntel Hotel uses as its sources place and time, or more precisely, an (autochthone) history of the place. Vernacular Zaans houses are quoted to create a picturesque regionalism, easy to recognize and leaving nothing to the imagination.

However, if we consider the actual (desired) multi-cultural society and match identity with culture, one could say that the Inntel Hotel shows all but not a mix of identities, neither as a building nor in relation to the city. There is only a mix of identities if we match identity with social classes. But then, the identities expressed refer to social classes of the "autochthone" Dutch society in the past; The result is more on tradition than on innovation and seems to be more part of a "light" chauvinism than multi-culturalism.

Le Medi is a design to mirror the multi-cultural society, the identities of immigrants who are currently part of Rotterdam which has 175 nationalities and wants to place this fact in a positive light. Theming in Le Medi has the same sources as the Inntel Hotel, place and time. However, it does not refer to the history of the place Bospolder, but to (historical) places of origin of ethnic groups who currently live in the neighborhood. The precedents of the two projects have a different origin, but both try to define or redefine the local identity.

It is interesting to note that the use of Moorish-Moroccan characteristics is not so far from some typical Dutch configurations as the Dutch "hofjes" (courtyards, such as

Begijnhof in Amsterdam). Also the port, which in Le Medi was intentionally not so iconographic as it could have been if it had the section of a horseshoe, is also seen in Dutch neighborhoods; and the free plan, the possibility to extend the houses over time and the parking facility as well as rest and safety are all concerns for typical Dutch configurations.

The ornaments are typically Moroccan, but the site configuration is also found in The Netherlands. Hence, Le Medi deals with the multi-cultural society in Rotterdam but is also concerned with a kind of integration of the groups avoiding the possible stigmatization of the area.

Do these projects belong to a Fusion or Disney architecture? Fusion shows few aspects of the designs because it considers neither the four dimensions of Disneyism nor other systematic approaches to precedents (theming sources) and it does not provide tools to work with themes (recollection models). Thus, if it is used with no criticism, it could be compared to Disneyfication. All in all, Fusion seems to be an unnecessary "new" term. The gracious architecture can be analyzed in depth in all its dimensions using the systematic research of Alan Bryman on Disneyism.

Bryman's tools were used in the analysis and comparison of the strategies taken during the design process of these two projects and showed that these two projects belong to the realm of Disneyism. However, the design composition, the method of recollection of precedents (quotationism and syncretism) and the use and adaptation of the precedents were carried out in different ways.

According to the results of these two cases, one would say that even when Fusion expresses a regionalism, involving history and identity, it is often a banalization of regionalism. Its characteristics concern a Disneyization of the architecture, and therefore, it is in the realm of globalism.

6. References

[i] Though very well exemplified by Disney theme parks, says Bryman, it precedes the constructions of the parks. Alan Bryman in his The Disneyization of the Society avoids the use of the term Disneyfication because this term became a straightforward synonym for shallow products, which makes it difficult to analyze the phenomenon in a neutral tone.

[ii] Ritzer, G. 1993. The McDonaldization of Society. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge (quoted by Bryman)

[iii] However, Bryman goes back in saying that there is also a kind of Disneyization allied to the McDonald Company.

[iv] Alan Bryman, 2004. The Disneyization of Society. India: Sage Publications Inc. p. 13

[v] Alan Bryman, 2004. The Disneyization of Society. India: Sage Publications Inc. p. 175

[vi] Alan Bryman, 2004. The Disneyization of Society. India: Sage Publications Inc. p.12

[vii] Schikel, R. 1986. The Disney Version: The Life, Times, Art and Commerce of Walt Disney, revised edition, London: Pavilion (quoted by Bryman)

[viii] In disneyfication, theming has been criticized as being a shallow version of reality, from the literature or any source that has inspired it. It is a "sanitized" or "trivialized" version of their source. (pp. 5-10)

[ix] Alan Bryman, 2004. The Disneyization of Society. India: Sage Publications Inc. p. 57

[x] Alan Briman, 2004. The Disneyization of Society. India: Sage Publications Inc. p. 79

[xi] Alan Briman, 2004. The Disneyization of Society. India: Sage Publications Inc. p. 103

xii "Het Inntel hotel Amsterdam Zaandam ligt op een absolute toplocatie vlakbij het NS station in de historische stad Zaandam. De directe treinverbinding brengt u in 12 minuten naar Amsterdam Centraal en in 16 minuten naar Schiphol" (http://www.hotels.nl/nl/zaandam/inntelhotel/).

xiii "Het is eigenlijk meer een uitgestrekt complex dan een gebouw. Het beslaat 7.500m2, is 12 verdiepingen hoog en herbergt 160 hotelkamers. Het tweede wat me opvalt, is de slordige afwerking. Behoorlijk wat dode hoeken, loze muren en andere onvolmaaktheden. Vorm volgt hier duidelijk niet functie. Het derde opvallende element is de locatie zelf. Wie verzint het om hier in Zaandam zo'n enorm hotel neer te zetten? Het gebied rond het station is een tamelijk troosteloos gebied: halfbakken, verloren industrie in een scheefgegroeid provinciestadje. Wanneer een toerist kan kiezen tussen dit, of een hotel aan de Prinsengracht in Amsterdam, dan kiest hij toch liever voor het origineel?" NAi, HEILIGE HUISJES, Opinie, Architectuur en stedenbouw, Jorn Konijn, 21-04-2010 http://www.nai.nl/content/681004/heilige_huisjes

xiv InntelHotel Folder: "Slapen in een Historische Setting!"

xv Alan Briman, 2004. The Disneyization of Society. India: Sage Publications Inc pp.67-8

xvi In a capitalist society, these activities do not seem to have a direct negative influence on the whole, since they do generate jobs and sources of income for the inhabitants.

xvii Inntel Hotel Folder: "Bijzondere architectuur met gestapelde Zaanse Huizen

xviii An already existent merchandise of Holland associated with its traditional houses, tulips and windmills

xix The name is used as shorthand for "Town Planning and Housing"

xx Woonbron is one of the largest housing corporations in the Netherlands and works in the South Wing of the Randstad. Woonbron serves some 50,000 households. htpp://www.woonbron.nl/

xxi Com.wonen is a housing association with over 31,000 homes. http://www.comwonen.nl/

xxii Delfshaven is a district of Rotterdam on the right bank of the "Nieuwe Maas" River.

xxiii htpp://wwww.architectuur.nl

xxiv KEI Centrum - http://www.kei-centrum.nl/

xxv One Architecture: http://www.onearchitecture.nl/projects/le_medi/

xxvi As proposed by John Habrakens in for example: *Supports: an Alternative to Mass Housing*, U.K., Urban International Press, Edited by Jonathan Teicher. Reprint of the 1972

xxvii Meier, S. 2009. "Le Medi: Mediterraan gevoel te koop in Rotterdam. Over de aantrekkingskracht van gethematiseerde woningbouw voor de nieuwe stedelijke middenklasse". Sociologie, jg. 5, nr. 2, pp. 277-299

xxviii Sabine Meier and Arnold Reijndorp. 2010. Themawijk, wonen op een verzonnen plek. Bussum: Thoth publishers

xxix Sabine Meier and Arnold Reijndorp. 2010. *Themawijk, wonen op een verzonnen plek*. Bussum: Thoth publishers

xxx About the use of design precedents: K.Moraes Zarzar. 2003. *Use and Adaptation of Precedents in Architectural Design,Toward an Evolutionary Design Model*. Delft: DUP Imprint: Delft University Press; K. Moraes Zarzar and A. Guney (edts.). 2008. Understanding Meaningful Environments: Architectural Precedents and the Question of Identity in Creative Design. Volume 4: Research in Design Series. Amsterdam: IOSpress-Delft University Press