Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

A Deeper Understanding of the Plan-, Decisionmaking- and Development Process in a Market Oriented Approach to Urban Regeneration and its Possible Physical and Socio-demographic Implications in Dutch Deprived Neighbourhoods

**Ruud Hoekstra** 

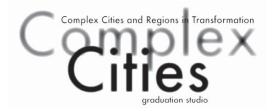


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# Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

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-MSC THESIS REPORT URBANISM-









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### Summary

Urban Regeneration; Private market influence; Decision Making Process; Spatial Planning; Segregation; Place-quality; Participation; Deprived Neighbourhoods; Rotterdam; Netherlands.

The Dutch government aims since 1990s at a more market oriented approach in urban planning with different implications in terms of who benefits and loses from interventions in vulnerable places such as neighbourhoods of empowerment. This policy shift and way of thinking about urban planning implicated big changes in the policies which affected all organisational levels. The changes led to other composition of actors on the local municipal scale whith more market oriented parties involved in urban regeneration. These changes are to be found controversial by many professionals in academic and the practising world. A different mix of parties will influence the outcomes and may lead to other consequences in physical and socio-demographic implications in vulnerable areas such as neighbourhoods of empowerment (krachtwijken). The objectives therefore in this research is to gain a better understanding of the physical and socio-demographic implications that appear in a more market oriented approach to urban regeneration in neighbourhoods of empowerment.

An in-depth case study resulted in tacit knowledge that can help explain possible distribution of benefits in terms of who benefits and who loses in urban regeneration interventions in vulnerable places.

Academic and practising professional authors have published concerns about mayor physical and socio-demographic implications of a market oriented approach to urban regeneration in vulnerable areas. The theoretical research has shown first that influence is likely to be found in the conditions and that policy and outcomes of project processes are more static. A better understanding of the conditions; composition of actors, interest, power and instruments led to handles for conducting an in-depth case study in the deprived neighbourhood of Katendrecht, The Netherlands.

The type of governance space determines which stakeholders can access the decision-making process. Different types of tendering determine which actor is involved at what stage of the plan-process. The so-called project envelope can contain one or more planning units and can been used by market parties for selective development.

The results of the research are valuable for authors whom try to make statements regarding the implications that appear when urban regeneration interventions take place under a more market oriented approach. They can be used for a better understanding of the implications in relation to project specific processes.

# Preface and acknowledgements

Delft, October 31<sup>st</sup> The start of this research lies within admiration to fight for good living quality by those who are less prosperous. This interest started by an urban design and strategy project executed under the chair of spatial planning and strategy in Buenos Aires. The goal was here to make an intervention in the city fabric that were beneficial for those who had less. As private companies overpower often decision of the public sector in this particular case it was an interesting abroad experience. This also made me look different to the situation in my own country The Netherlands. The increasing influence of market oriented parties involved in interventions of vulnerable areas such as neighbourhoods of empowerment (Krachtwijken) got my attention as a subject for my MSc thesis. Questions that I could ask myself were what if profit oriented companies are taking the lead in such kind of interventions would the social goal still survive? Though we have by far not a weak public sector it appeared that I was not the only one who was worried or interested in this phenomenon. The Netherlands comes from a strong tradition where the public sector is dominant in the urban interventions that is to be made. Since the last decade, as many other North Western European countries, The Netherlands had to face strong governmental budget cuts. This resulted in a government that needed to search for other financial investment strategies to perform its intervention. The result; more involvement of market oriented parties in the urban development process. In order to discover whether these market oriented parties actually influence the outcomes or results of the projects in specific a deeper understanding of the plan-, decision-making-, and development process is necessary. This approach is in line with what other researchers have done when they aimed to open

up the black box of what happens during decisionmaking processes.

The aim of this research is to create an understanding of what happens during the plan-, decision-making-, and development process and which factors play an important role that can possibly influence the outcomesof the interventions that are about to be made. To address these issues, we first present an introduction that reveals the context of The Netherlands and urban regeneration in specific. Followed by a theoretical chapter that explores the factors that are present in the decision making process which gives us a basic understanding of what is possibly happening in the development process prior to the actual execution. Two cases of urban regeneration interventions in a neighbourhood of empowerment Katendrecht are analysed. Concluded with the findings, conclusions, reflection and recommendations for further research this should bring me to the degree of Master in Science in Urbanism performed under the chair of Spatial Planning and Strategy.

The full year in which the research took place delivered lots of new knowledge, experiences and of course sometimes of track moments in which the project and I got lost in the tremendous subjects available in this direction. For guiding me back on track I have to thank my two tutors' professor Vincent Nadin and dr. Wenda Doff. They have been patient, sometimes critical but by far most helpful in bringing the research to a state in which it is ready to be published for the public.

Ruud Hoekstra, Delft, October 2012

## Content

Summ	ary	•••••	5				
Prefac	e		7				
[1]	Introduction and problem field						
	1.1	Neighb	ourhoods of empowerment and public private interventions: a problem definition.13				
	1.2	Social I	Social housing in The Netherlands: Public goals and private actor involvement: motives for				
		research15					
		1.2.1	Fragmented housing development in the Netherlands				
		1.2.2	The Dutch housing paradigm; from a public, Rhineland model to a more private				
			Anglo Saxon model in decision-making				
		1.2.3	Regeneration in deprived neighbourhoods; a case of public intervention				
	1.3	Objecti	ive and research questions21				
		1.3.1	Aims and objectives for this study				
		1.3.2	Research questions				
	1.4	Structu	re of the thesis23				
[2]	Theore	Theoretical framework					
[-]	2.1		tion of a market oriented approach27				
		2.1.1	The notion of privatisation				
		2.1.2	Arguments for and against more market orientation in urban development				
		2.1.3	Conclusion; a more market oriented approach				
	2.2	Concer	otualising influence and implications in the urban regeneration process				
		2.2.1	Composition of actors				
		2.2.2	Interest of stakeholders and actors				
		2.2.3	Power of actors and stakeholders				
		2.2.4	Instruments and tools				
[3]	Research problem theory						
[9]	3.1	RQ 1	How are the roles and approaches to urban regeneration changing in a market				
	0.1		oriented environment?				
		3.1.1	Urban policy in relation to physical and socio-demographic change in a market				
		5.1.1	oriented environment				
		3.1.2	Changing policy fields and focus urban regeneration				
		3.1.3	Changing roles: public and private sector involvement				
		3.1.4	Changing planning tools and instruments				
[4]	Analyt	Analytical framework					
	4.1	Conceptual framework69					
		4.1.1	Position of the research questions				
	4.2	d of analysis71					
		4.2.1	Literature review				
		4.2.2	Case study				

## Content

[5]	Empirical assessment					
	5.1	Selection of the case study77				
		5.1.1	Introduction			
		5.1.2	Case study framework			
		5.1.3	Case question, objective & methodology			
		5.1.4	Selection of the case study projects			
		5.1.5	Project case description			
	5.2	RQ 2	How is the plan-, decision-making- and development process organised and			
			are the conditions different for semi-public and private parties that lead to other			
			outcomes?			
		5.2.1	Composition of actors			
		5.2.2	Interest of stakeholders and actors			
		5.2.3	Power of actors and stakeholders			
		5.2.4	Instruments and tools			
	5.3	RQ 3	What physical and socio-demographic implications result from differences in the			
			conditions that influence the plan-, decision-making- and development process in			
			the study cases?113			
		5.3.1	Composition of actors			
		5.3.2	Interest of stakeholders and actors			
		5.3.3	Power of actors and stakeholders			
		5.3.4	Instruments and tools			
[6]	Conclusions and recommendations					
	6.1	Conclus	sions			
		6.1.1	Conclusions			
		6.1.2	A reflection to the used theories and theoretical arguments			
		6.1.3	Generalisability of the research outcomes			
	6.2	Recommendations for further research				
	6.3	Reflection1				
Biblio	graphy					
Class						
910558	ar y					
Appendix I		List of tables and figures				
Appendix II		List of interviews				

4.2.3

Validation

# Chapter

# Introduction and problem field

# 1.1	Neighbourhoods of empowerment and public pirvate interventions: a
	problem definition
# 1.2	Social housing in the Netherlands: Public goals and private
	actor involvement: motives for research
# 1.3	Objective and research question
# 1.4	Structure of the thesis

#### Introduction

The introductory chapter starts off with a vignette to introduce the subject and context related to the research of this thesis. It sets an outline of the objectives and assignment description and gives identification to the issues researched. Besides of the motives, social, academic and ethical relevance, problem statement, aims and research questions this chapter provides the reader short background knowledge in urban regeneration in order to establish fundamental knowledge for reading the residual part of the thesis.



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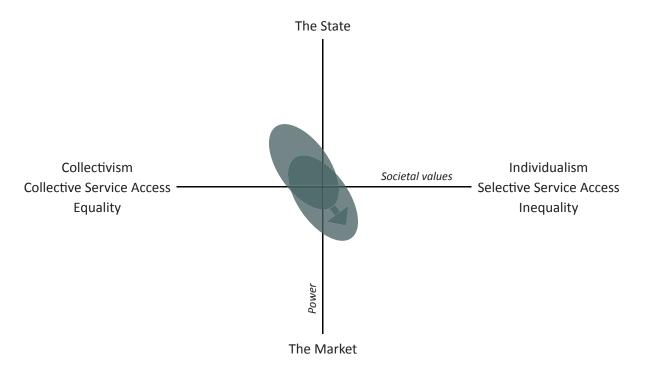


fig. 1.1.1 Value & power shift in context of Dutch urban development (Heurkens, 2012)

# 1.1

### 'Neighbourhoods of empowerment' and public private interventions: a problem definition

Central to this research lays an organizational problem within urban regeneration interventions in vulnerable areas (Krachtwijken)<sup>1</sup> in the Netherlands. Practising professionals (Priemus) and academic scholars (Kempen 2005, Priemus, Stouten, 2010 and Rendon, 2010) argue that urban regeneration is detached from an integral approach between physical and socio-economic interventions. With a government retrenching form financial involvement letting more space for private initiatives profit based decision can be expected fig. 1.1.1. Some also argue that public policy is not capable in acknowledgement of place or steering on diversity of place. We can entitle these as the consequenses fig. 1.1.2. This discussion fits within several contemporary debates which focus on the influence private actors can have in urban regeneration of vulnerable areas and the consequences of possible profit based decisions within these areas. Practical debates (e.g. van Kempen, 2007), and recent academic thesis (Rendon, 2011) often include questions about the social responsibility of profit driven organizations in realizing urban projects in the neighbourhoods of empowerment (Krachtwijken).

Most research and debates focus on either one of the aspect; physical or socio-economic results. In addition, our research aims at providing insight into how the market oriented actors can influence the outcomes of projects. Hence, in search of private actor influence it seems crucial to gain more insight in the plan, decision-making- and development process that guides the projects in organisational term since public policy is not able to steer upon those directly. But, we are not interested in providing a theoretical understanding of the decision making process between the public and private sector as a whole. Rather, this research builds on recommendations set by de Roo and Porter, 2007 and Boelens, 2010 who argue that it is crucial to research how the relation between involved actors takes place in practice. Thus, in this research, the aspects on which influence can be performed that can affect the outcome of the project are studied. This is in line with Heurkens (2012) suggestion that one of the important issues in guiding private involvement has to be studied upon influence in the decision-, plan-, and development process in relation to socialeconomic and spatial outcomes.

In specific, this research is interested in the possible influences market oriented parties can perform on the outcome of the development. Thus, we are interested in the kind of publicprivate collaboration and management that takes place in the regeneration of neighbourhoods of empowerment. The involvement of market oriented parties raises questions about the social goals pursued in the neighbourhoods of empowerment. It also raises questions about the control the public actors still can perform to steer upon its social goals since some authors argue that interventions of private actors in areas of the working-class turn out to be beneficial

notes

<sup>1.</sup> In total the Netherlands houses approximately 100 priority neighbourhoods with problems around housing, employment, education, growing up, integration and safety. In 40 neighbourhoods the accumulation of problems counted that many that they, since 2007, were entitled to extra attention of the national government. Minister for Housing, Integration and Environment Ella Vogelaar referred to districts as 'Neighbourhoods of empowerment' (Krachtwijken) better known under priority neighbourhoods .(aandachtwijken). In 2009 and 2010 a selected amount of municipalities with similar problems the so called 40+ neighbourhoods retrieved extra investment to improve those areas.

for the middleclass (Stouten, 2010). Moreover it is unclear if private actors are actual able to steer upon the outcomes in the plan-, decisionmaking- and development process.

The problem of the research therefore is;

An increasing involvement of the private market and a market oriented approach will lead to profit oriented decisions in vulnerable attention areas such as the neighbourhoods of empowerment (krachtwijken) and may lead to other consequences in social and spatial implications for current inhabitants of these areas.

The following section sets out three motives underlying the research problem. These motives are derived from a literature study in academic and professional literature. The goal of the section is to provide arguments for conducting this research.

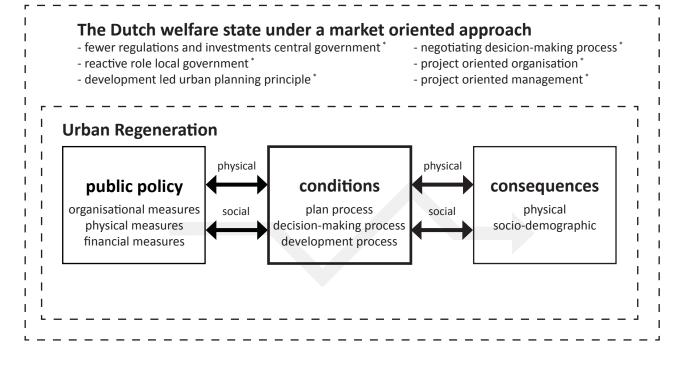


fig. 1.1.2 The potential problem of an influencing private market in spatial urban regeneration interventions \* aspects Anglo Saxon model urban regime: Heukens, 2012

### Social housing in The Netherlands: public goals and private actor involvement motives for research

# question 1.2.1 Fragmented housing development in The Netherlands

Before the Second World War housing associations or corporations where privately regulated institutions taking care about affordable housing for those most in need. After the Second World War, when there was a high demand on housing quantity, the Dutch central government took the lead in public policies, including housing (Aalbers, 2003; Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). Housing associations and corporations became increasingly subject to public regulation and where heavily financially supported by the central government (Aalbers, 2003). The shift from private to public dependent organisation also meant a undermining of the housing corporation's autonomy. No longer was build according to demand whilst the supply side was heavily regulated constructing a quasi-market (Salet, 1999). Until the 1970s four elements where used to meet the enormous needs of that time (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001: 326)

Building regulations linked to new, among others, prefab construction techniques; Central planning; Serial production; and A steady level of construction, guaranteed in the construction programmes of the central government.

At the beginning of the 1970s, it became more and more obvious that problems occurred as a consequence of:

- The separation of housing construction and spatial planning since 1962; and
- Less control by the government on the production of the building sector and on the determination of prices.

Between the 1975 and 1980 the government started to focus more on owner occupied dwellings and the policies where adapted to that focus (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). Though in the big inner city areas the social housing continued for the low income residents named under 'building for the Neighbourhood' this continued from 1975-1990 (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). Until the 1960 there was still a focus on demolishing old inner city areas but due to protest this changed to rebuild or modernize of the old housing stock mainly in the social sector (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). Also in this decade segregation of population groups became an issue and other aspects where given attention besides housing such as infrastructure and enterprises as parts of a more integrated approach (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). When unemployment rose in inner and extension areas in the policies where aimed at deprived areas and since the mid-1980s the social and spatial policies show a disassociated development and a disconnection between policies, meaning that different ministries have different goals and aims (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001; Priemus, 1998). Also from then on the spatial planning and housing show a disassociated development

(Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001).

Hulsbergen and Stouten (2001: 327-328) name three policy sectors with each different main focal points:

Within the urban design and planning disciplines the main discourse focuses on 'the new map of the Netherlands', the 'main ports', 'the advantages and dangers of sub urbanizations', and recently on the 'restructuring of existing (poor) neighbourhoods'. The current views are biased towards physical-spatial measures.

In the field of housing, the emphasis is on new, low-rise terrace housing for middle- and highincome groups, and on the 'repositioning of the existing neighbourhoods on the housing market'. The rehabilitation of 'problem areas' is a by-product (Hulsbergen and Westrik, 1998).

Within the social disciplines the present discourse is focused on the bi-partition and duality (tweedeling) of the society, on ethnic minorities and on poverty, often with a fear of 'American predicaments' (ghetto formation). The accent there is on social, cultural and economic issues but the physical ('technical') variables are hardly taken into account.

Examples of this fragmented development are to be found in the investment deviation where almost a billion guilders where invested in physical-spatial renewal against a 30 million for social measures in fully separated projects (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001).

Since the government from 1995 onwards wants to redistribute and restructure the dominant percentage in social housing the focus lies upon the production of owner-occupied housing stock (Carter, 1996). For physical planning at the municipal level it means that it must reflect the aims determined in the national policy. This implies that the development plan needs to contain a considerable amount of owner occupied dwellings. In the Netherlands the land use plan (bestemmingsplan) can entitle areas enforced with legal certainty for the development of a certain sector of buildings (Carter, 1996).

The rapid growth in owner-occupation increased the concentration of low-income households in the social rented sector (van Kempen & Priemus, 2002), although there is still a relatively broad socio-economic differentiation of tenants in Dutch social housing. Social rented housing accounts for a larger proportion of the housing stock in the Netherlands compared with all other European countries (Whitehead & Scanlon, 2007).

The government seems since 1995 be aware of the threat in spatial segregation that is looming in these areas with less dispersion (Priemus, 1998). It therefore establishes policies and corresponding instruments to redistribute and restructure the areas counteracting spatial segregation (Priemus, 1998).

Since the nineties', when quantitative housing production was replaced by qualitative housing production the central government started to retrench themselves again from its ties with the housing associations (Aalbers, 2003). More attention was given to socio-economic issues however the main focus was on decentralization, deregulation and privatization (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). From here on the housing corporations were cut loose from central government (Aalbers, 2003)

After 1995, social housing administrators could add treasury management to their task portfolio. The trend in interest rates after 1995 was much more favourable than had been assumed before the Grossing Operation. As a result, most housing associations grew richer. They also started selling more dwellings.

The social rented housing stock in the Netherlands represents 40 per cent of the total market (Priemus, 1998). This could be reached while authorities in most Dutch cities were mainly concerned with the production of affordable dwellings for households with a low income before 1989 (Priemus, 1998). Another aspect which stimulated the overload on social housing was the collapse of the private market during the crisis in 1980 (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). In total social housing associations administer 2.4 million social housing units spread over the country (Kei-centrum, 2012). In the forty appointed by the minister 'neighbourhoods of empowerment' (Krachtwijken) the amount of social housing reaches up to 61 per cent (Keicentrum, 2012).

When the Dutch economy gathered strength and long-term interest rates dropped, the conditions for owner-occupiers gradually improved. In the years between 1950 and 1990 there were two winners on the housing market: social rented housing (mainly via new dwellings) and owneroccupation (via new dwellings and the sale of rented dwellings). In 1950 the percentage of homeownership was 28 per cent, social housing was 12 per cent and commercial rented housing was 60 per cent. In 2009 the tenure in the total housing stock consisted of 55 per cent owneroccupied housing, 32 per cent social rented housing and 13 per cent commercial rented housing. The commercial rented sector lost a considerable amount of market share.

#### 1.2.2 The Dutch housing paradigm; from a public, Rhineland model to a more private Anglo Saxon model in decision-making

A long time planners thought that management of the physical environment was deteriorated by technical, instrumental and procedural expertise. This rational approach of the 1960s led to a strong division into separate policy functions in the systems of public administration, producing a vertical logic of decision-making and limiting horizontal links between sectors. The absolute control founded on theoretical grounds producing blue print plans has however led to outcomes that are infeasible and impractical, particularly in an increasingly democratic and equitable society (De Roo & Porter, 2007; Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000). The rise of planning development can be attributed to this dissatisfaction with the visible shortcoming of the classical permitted planning (Healey, 2003; Heurkens, 2009; Hobma, 2005).

During the 1980s and 1990s a dispersion of new agents appeared on the stage. These agents were representing a wider spread of interest causing a shift in priorities to economic and social development and increasing the number of parties involved in the spatial planning process. Whilst the rational approach of the 60s was guided or controlled by relative simple policies the appearance of a multitude in actors and interest from the 1980-90s replaces the simplicity by changeability and numerous conditions in less fixed relationships creating a complex entity (Heurkens, 2009). This led to a reinforced coordination of public interventions across space and added complexity to most of the spatial planning systems in Europe (Healey et al., 1997).

The Netherlands can be entitled as a welfare state. Since the mid-1980s Dutch housing policy seems to be shifting towards a more significant role for the market (Carter, 1996; Priemus 1998). For example in both land and housing policy the pricing of land is less strictly regulated (Carter, 1996). This means for the municipality there is an increased responsibility in providing services and that objectives are achieved (Carter, 1996).

The public sector in the Netherlands plays an important role in the development process (Carter, 1996). Municipalities play the role of both planning and development agencies and purchase mostly up to 75 per cent of the land (Needham, 1992) and redistribute this to developers (Carter, 1996). The high amount of influence that the municipality in planning has can partly be designated to the geographical conditions in which the Netherlands is located. Since there are looming treats of flood risk and limited build space, 30 per cent of the country consists of water, coordination is needed around these environmental aspects (Carter, 1996).

At the municipal local level decentralisation and self-autonomy is a key planning issue (Carter, 1996). For example the reflection of land prices which should more stimulate 'free' market values (Carter, 1996). In addition to the central position of spatial planning and conceptualisation public authorities are trying to stimulate a developmental and entrepreneurial approach to spatial plans and position the financing of them more centrally (Priemus, 2002).

Under the pressure of a diverse landscape of actors involved in the spatial planning system and the wish for more flexible relationships the role of public and private actors is changing as well. Private parties are more often operating in the former field of the governmental sector. Including the change of view in the state of mind in the National Spatial Planning Act this will lead to a more active role for the private sector. The governmental sector will more often withdrawn themselves from the urban development processes and focus more on formulating conditions for plans and authorizing them through public law procedures (Heurkens, 2009).

Andersen & Van Kempen (2003: 77-86) state this as follows: 'This trend will lead to more economic

based decisions on urban development which often hardly includes social justice or place quality for all people included into the spatial area of development causing spatial or social segregation'. Stouten (2010) and Rendon (2011) add that besides increased influence from the market, deregulation, decline and decentralization of employment in major cities, housing provision and welfare changes took place alongside a shift of power from central government to housing associations.

## **1.2.3** Regeneration in deprived neighbourhoods; a case of public intervention

In the Netherlands forty deprived neighbourhoodsareentitlesas'neighbhourhoods of empowerment' (krachtwijken). This means that they are in care of extra attention and measures to counteract segregation and spatial fragmentation. Decisions are made between agents and actors with interests in these areas. Former local decision on urban regeneration processes appeared to be shared between the state and residents. Together they took care about the provision of social housing and social justice. Meanwhile the state withdrawn themselves from the urban development process (VROM, 2006) opening the field for private sector involvement and is therefore no longer the only 'appointed' party to take care of urban regeneration processes in low-income and minority neighbourhoods.

The state will steer the development process by public policy. 'However, public policy is not usually well adapted to meet; (1) the importance of place: people who have the resources can choose where to live, work and invest, while people who do not have these resources are confined to less desirable places; and (2) the importance of diversity: every place has a multitude of problems (economic, social, environmental, political) and a multitude of stakeholders (central, regional and local government, business and local residents)' Kempen (2005: 7).

Social goals are less easily appreciated as successful as the modification of physical space in urban areas and neighbourhoods (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). The social costs of the renewal projects are usually seen as a troublesome and imprecise budget item, to be handled by welfare institutions (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001).

Another issue to be found is that areas more dependent on public sector investments often marked by a decline in resources are in case of regeneration executed by one branch of government, not linked to other branches, more vulnerable for the disregard of place quality, policies and norms contained in development plans (Healey, 2003). Areas who meet these criteria are the poorer neighbourhoods where you can more often find the neglected issue of place quality than in areas dependent on private resources (Healey, 2003).

Urban renewal is focused on the physical shortages and deficits in terms of investments. The governmental involvement on housing finance has disappeared and housing development and management have become private initiatives (Stouten and Hulsbergen, 2001). Hulsbergen and Stouten (2001: 329) state that in fact the question is: 'will the connection be realized in planning and implementation at the district and project level?' This implies with a none-functioning integrated approach to social aspects the situation can increase fragmentation with private initiatives aimed at physical results. Hulsbergen and Stouten (2001) add that it is not the investments in urban renewal and regeneration that are diminished but that there is a strong focus on house ownership in practice for the more affluent.

### Objectives and Research Question

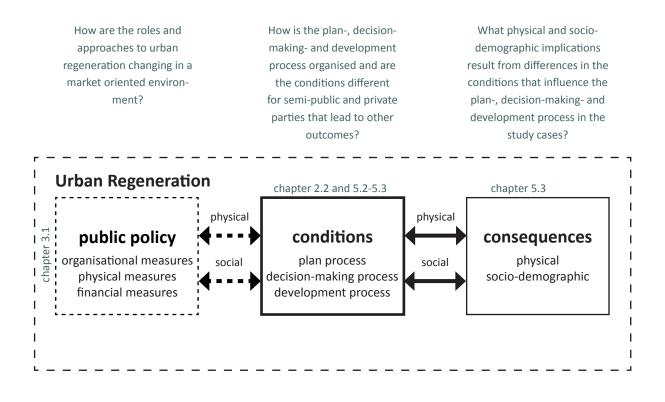
#### 1.3.1 Aims and objectives of this research

The objective of this research is to gain a deeper understanding of the plan-, decision-makingand development process in a market oriented urban regeneration, which may lead to less equal physical and socio-demographic outcomes in neighbourhoods of empowerment.

#### 1.3.2 Research questions

The research questions for this research are formulated as follows:

- How are the roles and approaches to urban renewal changing in a market oriented environment?
- How is the plan-, decision-making- and development process organised and are the conditions different for semipublic and private parties that lead to other outcomes?
- What physical and socio-demographic implications result from differences in the conditions that influence the plan-, decision-makingand development process in the study cases?



#### fig. 1.4.1 Structure of the thesis in conceptual diagram

# 1.4

### Structure of the thesis

#### Structure

After establishing the entry vignette the issue identification and an extensive narrative description in chapter one the following four chapters will explore on the involvement of market oriented parties in urban regeneration projects (fig. 1.4.1). Chapter two, the theoretical framework, conducts the development of issues related to a market oriented approach in the plan-, decision-making- and development processes such as the composition of actors, interest, power and instruments. In chapter three the problem research theory helps elaborating the theoretical concepts in the Dutch context of urban regeneration. The analytical framework in chapter four positions the research questions in a conceptual framework in such a way that the causal relations can be examined in chapter five; the empirical assessment. In this chapter data is analysed to confirm or dis-confirm the observations with descriptive details, documents, quotations and triangular data. Research question one describes how urban regeneration is changing (we can call it the playfield). Question two ellaborates on the way pawns (the actors) can move in the changing environment of the playfield and question three determines the rules of the game. This one by one elaboration results in the end to the paragraph where the findings are represented. The assertions made in the case study of the empirical assessment are in chapter 5.3 discussed followed by a conclusion and recommendations for further research. At

the end of chapter six the research process is reviewed.

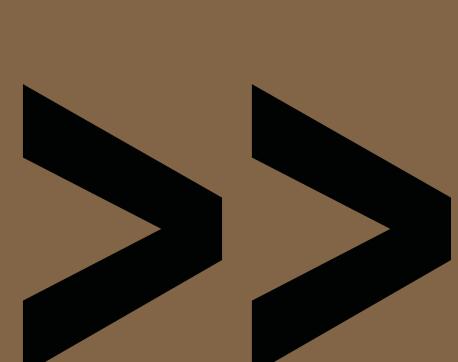
# Chapter

# Theoretical framework

# # 2.1 The notion of a market oriented approach # 2.2 Conceptualising influence and implications in the urban regeneration process

#### Introduction

"Imagining cities is about articulating the linkages of policy frameworks, developing a shared awareness of the space-time dynamics of the relationships weaving through and across an area. It is about trying to see established and emerging socio-spatial patterns in these dynamics and imagining how they might play out in the future. It involves thinking creatively about actions that could make the future different to what seems to be emerging, or to encourage it along a trajectory that appears more desirable or 'sustainable' than current dynamics seem to suggest. The mode of imagining needs to be interactive, involving many stakeholders (those who have a vested interest in relevant social, economic and environmental issues) and actors (those whose actions or knowledge have the potential to make a difference) in the imagining process" De Roo and Porter (2007: 37).



Thesis Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

# 2.1

# The notion of a market oriented approach

In this section we explain the choices made for the object and subject of this research. We do so by introducing several arguments, for and against a more market oriented approach, which have led us to identify the scope of research. Also, it enables us to identify the concepts and arguments which are used as a structuring device for carrying out this study. The theoretical framework gives direction for interpreting the data that will be gathered.

The next paragraphs conduct a conceptual exploration on the notion of privatisation (2.1.1), the arguments for and against a market oriented approach (2.2.2), how they possibly can influence within the process of urban development the physical and socio-demographic implications and a concluding paragraph (2.1.3). The objective is to establish a conceptual framework on which the empirical research can be based in chapter 4.

#### 2.1.1 The notion of privatisation

Until the 1980s, most cities in Western Europe were managed based on government initiative. Spatial investments in infrastructure, ecological areas and valuable landscapes and brownfield development were the responsible of the government (Priemus, 2002). Housing construction in the social rental sector was heavily subsidised, demanding a strong involvement form national and local government (Priemus, 2002). Since the 1990s Western European cities have seen many changes in the way they are governed. Budgets for local governments were cut, while at the same time more responsibilities were passed on from the national to lower levels, especially the municipal one. Governments had to adapt their working strategies which often meant privatisation of certain government functions (Elander, 2002 in Dekker and Kempen, 2009). In the Netherlands the memorandum for public housing (Nota Volkshuisvesting) in the year 1989 changed government funding for housing associations (Ekkers, 2002). The government retreated from financial subsidy obligations and cut financial relations with housing associations to a minimum (Ekkers, 2002). The housing associations in their turn were so able to act more flexiblyand conduct a market oriented rental policy.

In the 1990s the emphasis was put on urban governance instead of urban government (Dekker and Kempen, 2009). This meant that other parties were involved in policy-making process and that the dispersion of actors on the lower implications level changed from few to many.

The contrast to the traditional government in urban governance is the involvement of the civic society and especially the private sector (Dekker and Kempen, 2009; Healey, 2003). Urban governance is characterized by a range of stakeholders, fragmented political power between individuals and institutions, and an increased uncertainty regarding the social, economic, and political situation (Hall & Rowlands, 2005 in Dekker and Kempen, 2009).

## 2.1.2 Arguments for and against more market orientation in urban development

In the next two sections we review arguments for and against a market oriented approach. The main goal is to clarify the arguments and the connections between the market oriented approach and certain physical and sociodemographic implications in the plan-, decisionmaking and development process.

Different authors argue for the development of a more dominant role for the private sector and others for a more market oriented approach towards urban regeneration. In general, governments are facilitating more market involvement in housing, urban development and the provision of public services generally because of macro-economic conditions - limits are imposed on public expenditure. Political attitudes are also changing over the long term to favour less state involvement in service provision.

A principal argument against a more market orientation is that it imposes higher housing costs on lower income groups. Between 1982 and 2002 tenures in the rented and owned sector were repositioned opposite of each other. Whilst the owner occupied sector spends from 16.6 per cent to 16.1 per cent of their income on house purchase the rented sector faced a strong increase from 15.8 to 25 per cent (Stouten, 2010). Lower income groups spend since 2006 even more due to stagnation of income development raising the percentage to 27.8 per cent (Stouten, 2010). Stouten (2010: 94-95) describes the differences in price development between the rented sector and the owner occupied sector according to the following features:

 the influence of measures adopted by government and other important institutions;

- the dynamics of the free market;
- the development of economic variables;
- demographic development;
- developments in the housing market; dependence on the housing stock and the advantages and disadvantages of renting or buying;
- quality, income and level of housing costs.

The vision to encourage home ownership can be found back in the restructuring of housing districts built between 1950-70s (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). The aim here was to change the composition of the vulnerable districts to more owner occupied dwellings from 18 to 45 per cent and at the same time decrease the amount of social housing from 65 to 42 per cent (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). Figure 2.1.1 shows the development of the different tenures in Amsterdam. A clear increase of owner occupied housing is visible.

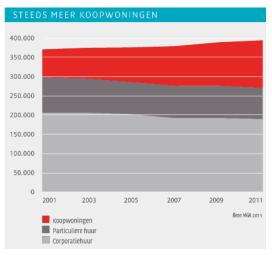


fig. 2.1.1 Development tendering type Amsterdam source: Nul20.nl

A counter argument can be found in the criticism that has been levelled at the typically Dutch approach to urban development. It is argued that government is incapable of bringing about sufficient differentiation in projects in which the state takes the lead. More involvement of market actors would improve the variety and quality of urban development. It is stressed that spatial planning must be oriented more towards implementation and development, and be less restrictive and administrative in character (Priemus, 2002).

Also, the involvement of the market will help to ensure more mixed communities in terms of housing tenure and social class, and avoid concentrations of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups. This mix may bring better facilities and services into poor areas of cities.

However, because private developers use a market making or market following strategy construction may not start until 70 per cent of the project is sold. This can result in vacant lots for a long time (Kei kenniscentrum, 2012). But the market following strategy may result in a better fit of dwellings built to the real demands of the market. This trend can be observed among the market oriented semi-public housing associations (fig. 2.1.2).

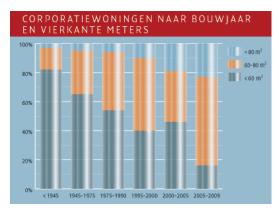


fig. 2.1.2 Market conform sized dwellings: Housing associations source: Nul20.nl

Another major argument against a more market orientation is that it may concentrate planning and development and planning power in 'few hands'. Dekker and Kempen (2009) argue that the policy or plan of what the neighbourhood should be like is adjusted according to who has the power to govern. In the same line Priemus (2002) adds that a handicap in public private cooperation can be found that market parties use their land positions to exclude all competition. This can mean that owners, mostly a single housing association (Stouten, 2010), of the current housing stock exercise control over development and exclude others.

Regarding to the process of decision-making, Hulsbergen and Stouten (2001) wonder if private actors are willing to adopt a 'social' role and if the interest of residents and neighbourhood is included in the plan making. Dekker and Kempen (2009) note that the market is more concerned with a general need for visible results rather than the process of negotiation with local interests. In that way the process is designed in such a way that the conditions are optimized for successful outcomes which can result in difficult to handle groups left standing on the side-line. On the other hand, Noordam & Gruis (2002) have found that market parties can (re)develop real-estate which housing associations cannot or do not want to develop, for example risky segments of housing, offices and shops, and that the market actors can bring communicative skills.

Although in many problem definitions a connection of both social and physical dimensions is formulated, eventually it is physical improvement that dominates the (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). To stimulate the so-called residential differentiation, the current strategy seems to be to build terraced housing for the owner-occupied sector and the sale of social rented housing (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). Often good-quality housing for the social rented stock was replaced by, more expensive, terrace housing for the owner occupied sector (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001; Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). The idea is to create opportunities for residents to improve their housing situation in the neighbourhoods and to stimulate higher-income groups to move development

to these districts. Less attention is paid to the position of the present less-affluent residents (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). The intervention sometimes resulted in social upgrading but also often in displacement of social problems to other neighbourhoods (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2005 in M&O, 2008). Aalbers (2003) even accuses the private actors from stimulating overconsumption in the upmarket section of the owner-occupier sector; that the private market fails to produce sustainable and energy-efficient housing, and that they are far from tenure-neutral by encouraging owner-occupiers to take risk on the financial markets.

Bergeijk et al. (2008) argue that there should be more attention to amenities regarding a market oriented approach in vulnerable areas. The market is likely to pay less attention to the provision of public goods such as the quality of open spaces around development sites.

Furthermore, at the city or regional scale it may be that areas that require regeneration are not tackled at all with more a more market based approach. The regeneration of vulnerable housing areas in the city mostly have a high risk profile (fig 2.1.3) and are for market parties less attractive as are new development possibilities on the outskirts of the city fabric. This development might have to do with the so called project envelope in which the development rights are offered. An optimisation of scope could, developing a commercially attractive project in combination with the junction on the corner or public green space surrounding the project, enhance the balance between public and private development (Priemus, 2002).

The strategic development in the region that changes the housing stock can affect a particular neighbourhood elsewhere in the region (Needham, 1988). This is also the scale in which the private developer performs its market

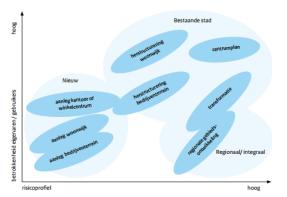


fig. 2.1.3 risk profile urban area development (source: 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling', 2011)

analysis. They are seeking for commercial attractive projects to develop. This leaves the projects that require subsidies for the local authorities (Priemus, 2002). Examples of these developments are for the public sector the green spaces, traffic infrastructure and the non-profit amenities and for the private developer the owner-occupied houses, shopping centres and offices (Priemus, 2002).

From these arguments we can derive that the effects of a more market orientation may be a change in housing typologies, displacement of existing residents, and gentrification, less provision of public goods, and less involvement of local communities in planning and urban regeneration.

In summary the findings of the previous arguments for and against in a chart would look like this:

- Physical
- Tendering type Housing typologies Services typologies Public space typology Plot variety

Socio-demographic Displacement Gentrification Dispersion inhabitants Ethnic diversity Classes (lower, middle, upper)

Figure 2.1.4 respresents the findings positioned in the conceptual diagram.

## 2.1.3 Conclusion; a market oriented approach

The market oriented approach consists of a major shift in public policy that has moved from restrictive and administrative to implementation and development led. Several authors (Ekkers, 2002; Heurkens, 2012) have pointed to more Anglo Saxon influences in urban development policy in which the legal environment is more oriented towards the market.

The different outcomes that could be affected by a more market oriented approach in vulnerable areas would mean another composition of the mostly one-sided social housing oriented stock. This would influence the dispersion and typologies in housing type and public space. By a middle and upper class oriented development amenities are needed to serve this target group and once the area is popular and has a strategic location in the city fabric it could result in displacement or gentrification.

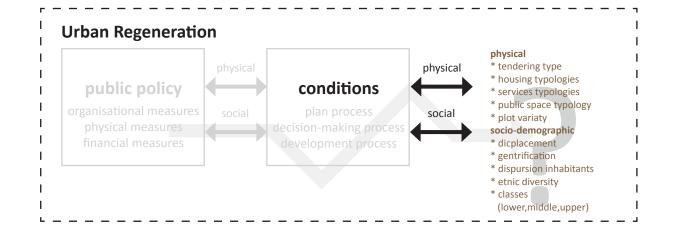


fig. 2.1.4 Conceptual framework: The potential problem of an influencing private market in spatial urban regeneration interventions

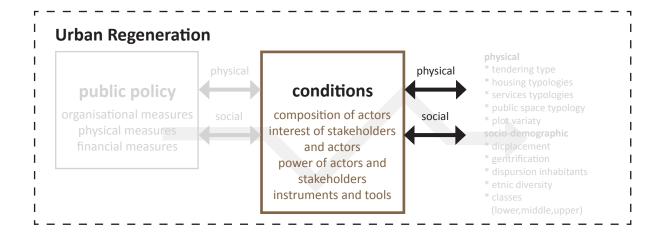


fig. 2.2.1 The potential conditions that influence the plan-, decision making-, and development process

# 2.2

### Conceptualising influence and implications in the urban regeneration process

The objective of this theoretical review is to reveal how the different conditions function and the way they possibly occur. The findings in this research will be used in the case study of research question two. If we want to define whether or not market oriented parties are able to steer upon physical and socio-demographic outcomes we first have to define the conditions that possibly might influence the outcomes in the plan-, decision-making- and development process (fig. 2.2.1). The aim of this research is a better understanding in the physical and sociodemographic consequences which might occur when a more market oriented approach is been used in urban regeneration. Therefore, as the theoretical exploration in paragraph 2.1 'the notion of a market oriented approach' points out, we study upon the possible conditions that might influence the outcomes in a more market oriented approach to urban regeneration. The next sections will constitute the conditions; composition of actors, the interest of stakeholders and actors, the power of actors and stakeholders and the instruments and tools which are all possible able to steer upon the urban development.

#### 2.2.1 Composition of actors

Before we introduce the composition of actors we first need to introduce the terminology of a so called actor. An actor is someone that performs an action in order to influence the process or product (fig. 2.2.2). A person, organisation or

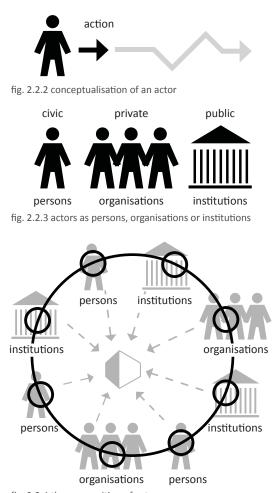


fig. 2.2.4 the composition of actors

institution, the actor, can be active in the public, private and civic sector (fig. 2.2.3). The actors are the ones who make the decisions and since we have no solitaire parties who can produce urban development on their own in The Netherlands the composition of actors influences the decision (fig 2.2.4). In first instance the composition of

the actors is influenced by the type of tendering.

#### **Tendering type**

The ministry of BZK et al. (2011) names 10 types of tendering:

Unsolicited proposal (ongevraagd voorstel) Self-realisation (zelfrealisatie)

Market exploration (marktverkenning)

This method constitutes a non-committal contact between the public sector and the market. Research on the possible assignment, market situation, feasibility and the possible role of the market parties are being performed.

#### Market consultation (marktconsultatie)

When there is a draft plan established by the municipality it can organize a market consultation.

Different market parties are asked to give their opinion from a market point of view. It doesn't have to, neither as the market exploration, lead to further cooperation between the composition of actors. There is no legal binding.

**Consulting assignment** (adviesopdracht)

Design contest (ontwerpwedstrijd)

This tender construction is used to develop a design for landscape, urbanism or architecture and can contain advice, a bid or the manufacturing of a design. In the contest the municipality ask different parties to create a design.

**One on one development** (een op een ontwikkeling)

**Development assignment on quality** (vision) (ontwikkelingsopdracht op kwaliteit) (visie) **Development assignment on price and quality** 

process type decision plan development initiative feasibility realisation exploitation definition design preperation Methods by market initiative Unsolicited proposal zelf realisation market exploration market consultation consulting assignment design contest by government One on one development development commission initiative on quality (vison) development commision on price / quality (plan) development commision on price (highest bid)

Tendering type versus process involvement

fig. 2.2.5 tendering type versus process involvement (source: 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling', 2011)

(plan) (ontwikkelingsopdracht op prijs/kwaliteit) **Development assignment on price** (highest bid) (ontwikkelingsopdracht op prijs) (hoogste bod)

The moment that the market is involved in the area development process determines partly the input and the additions there are still to make to the plan (Ministry of BZK et al., 2011). Involvement of the market in an early stage can deliver a more market fit plan and a higher bid on land allocations (Ministry of BZK et al., 2011). Involvement in a later stage can provide valuable comparison possibilities among different offers made by the market, the government is more in control (Ministry of BZK et al., 2011). Disadvantage of this process is that the advice of market parties can less efficient be embedded because much of the legal procedures have already proceeded (Ministry of BZK et al., 2011). See fig. 2.2.2 for a conceptual representation of the tendering types.

When the public sector is aiming at publicprivate partnerships (PPS) they have to be aware of a number of points (Priemus, 2002). It has to identification the long-term stakeholders in the programme phase and creates together with the long-term stakeholders a programme of requirements for the area-directed development (Priemus, 2002). The programme of requirements is circumscribed in a bid book and considers according to Priemus, 2002: 26)

"Scope optimisation: a division in space and time to make the feasibility of the project as high as possible;

**Value capturing**: agreements made between public and private actors so that surplus profits remain available for increasing the quality of the project and for the realisation of unprofitable parts of the project;

Promotion of competition: the selection of

private actors to carry out the project must be based on competition on the basis of the bid book; concessions are rendered to the applicant who can add the most value to the project, or requires the lowest costs, given the programme of requirements".

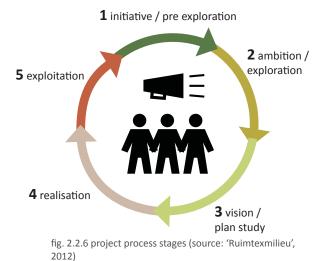
There are different aspects that can possibly obstruct the promotion of competition. If land positions are held by a private developer this means in practise that there is little or no competition (Priemus, 2002). Land in potential development areas are obtained by private developers and transfer it to the municipality in exchange for development rights on the plot. Related to this phenomenon is the way the municipality offers the development rights the so called project envelope (Priemus, 2002). This project envelope can contain one planning unit dividing the development area in profitable projects and the lossmaking ones. This makes it possible for the private development to realize the profitable planning units and leave the unprofitable to the public sector. Another important condition that can influence the situation of development rights is the organisational space where the decision is about to be made, the governance space.

#### **Governance spaces**

The governance space, the organisational structure in which the decisions are about to be made influences the composition of actors as well, it determines whether external stakeholders can influence the decision making processes and the way in which decisions are made (Dekker and Kempen, 2009). For example Gaventa (2004) and Healey (2006) argue that different used participatory concepts do not automatically lead to empowerment of weaker stakeholders and suggest a closer look into the creation of the governance spaces in which the decision process takes place. Gaventa (2004: 35) defines three types of governance spaces: "

- **Closed spaces**: Here 'decisions are made by a set of actors behind closed doors, without any pretence of broadening the boundaries of inclusion';

- **Invited spaces**: 'Efforts to widen participation involve the creation of new or "invited" spaces, i.e. those into which people (as users, as citizens, as beneficiaries) are invited to participate by various kinds of authorities, be they government, supranational agencies or non-governmental organisations' (Cornwall, 2002: 24 in Gaventa, 2004: 35).



- **Claimed or created spaces**: 'spaces which are claimed by less powerful actors from or against the power-holders, or created more autonomously by them'. These might arise out of mobilization around issue based concerns or where organizations are formed to represent local interests."

## actors involved at what stage of the project process

Beside of the governance space the moment that actors or stakeholders are involved in the project process is important.

The different phases (fig. 2.2.6) entitled by 'Ruimteexmilleu' are:

- initiative or pre exploration phase
- ambition or exploration
- vision / plan study
- realisation
- exploitation

The moment that a stakeholder or actor is involved in the plan or decision making process can determine to which extend influence can be performed on the outcome of the project (fig. 2.2.7).

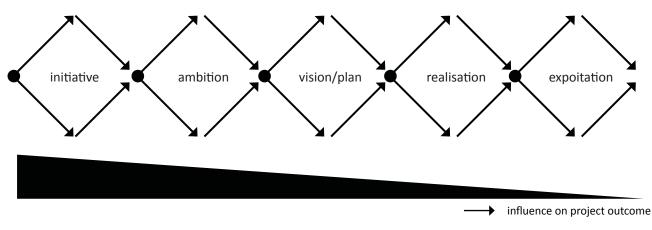


Fig. 2.2.7: project phases vs project influence (based on: 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling', 2011; Ruimtexmilieu.nl)

# Project envelope

The project envelope contains restrictions regarding development type and building prescriptions and regulations (fig. 2.2.8). It is often used by the municipality in combination with a ground act (grond akte) to issue development to potential developers.

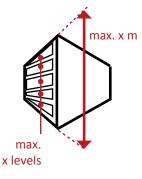


fig. 2.2.8 project envelope

# 2.2.2 Interest of stakeholders and actors

Parties, stakeholders or actors, have different goals that they pursue, this difference is natural because off interest. Kempen and Dekker (2009) name an example of a housing corporation that have an interest in maintaining the value of property, are concerned about managerial issues and have long-term goals. Residents of the same housing have more interest in shortterm goals related to their direct environment such as vandalism that needs to be counteracted upon. The different interest means also that there are different perceptions of participation in the decision-, plan-, and development process among the different stakeholders.

Though these different interests are to be found among the different stakeholder groups there are also shared values. The diversity in ethnical background, individualization, high population density the common use of portals and the anonymous character of public space are all found to lead to conflicts (Amin, 2002 in Dekker and Kempen, 2009). Shared interest can be found by the housing associations which are concerned about these issues as it can cause conflicts and therefore damage to their property (Dekker and Kempen, 2009). Among the private and civic stakeholder groups different interests and shared values can be observed which in practice mostly means that organising parties find it hard to handle this diversity of interest into the plan-making process.

Validity in the representation of interest should be reached by the consultation of all relevant stakeholders who might have a possible interest in opportunities of the future development of the area (Bailey, 2010). These could be stakeholders that live, work or recreate in the area but also parties representing the environmental quality or use the area in another way (Bailey, 2010). The organizing party should consult these interests and be aware about those stakeholders that are underrepresented in the decision-, plan-, and development process (Bailey, 2010).

The travel guide for area development (reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling) designed two charts that can help determine the actors and the possible risk profile attached to the development (fig 2.2.10 and 2.2.11). Insight in these factors can help explain the interest pursued by different actor in relation to the outcomes in spatial and socio-demographical configuration.

### **Distributional effects**

The public sector affects the outside environment by the measures taken. It affects the decision and therefore the actions taken by private persons and organisations (Needham, 1988). Desired effect of the public sector have therefore to be translated in the private decision by which they

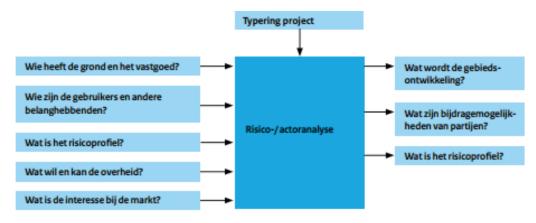


Fig. 2.2.10: risk profile urban area development (source: 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling', 2011)

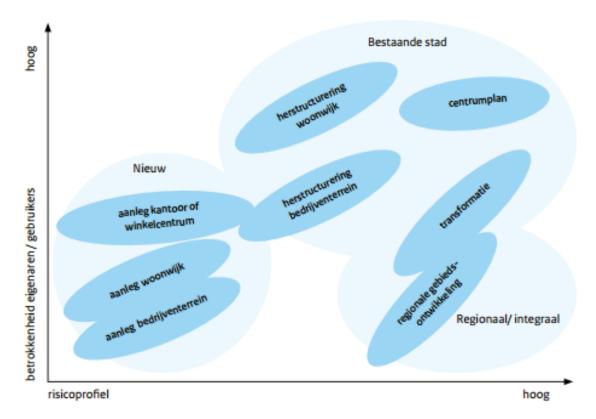


Fig. 2.2.11: risk profile urban area development (source: 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling', 2011)

are to be brought (Needham, 1988). Needham (1988: 27) "urban renewal for the existing residents requires that the existing residents want to continue living in the renewal area and that others, should they want to live there also, are not allowed to". In order to distribute this effect different measures such as stimulating, steering and forbidding have to be devised (Needham, 1988). There are different sorts of distributional effects to define, Needham (1988: 90) defines three types:

# "Within one area, between different groupings,

e.g. the new housing must go to those local residents who have been longest on the waiting list;

**Between different areas**, e.g. the extra employment is to benefit the local residents, not those living in the next city;

In the short and long term, e.g. those adversely

affected during the construction of the metro must not be the people already badly off; the new metro when constructed is to be for the benefit of those who cannot afford cars".

Aside note on distribution of benefits in the longer term is that these are predicted on expectation which might not be realised (Needham, 1988). Needham (1988: 28) "either because of changes which cannot be influenced by public agency (e.g. changes in consumer preferences, changes in the availability of substitutes) or because of changes caused or influenced by public actions taken in different policy fields (e.g. macroeconomic policy affecting public and private expenditures). Therefore, the measures might not have their desired effect on the distribution of benefits in the longer term".

To achieve the different types of distributional

effects there are different sorts of instruments. The instruments are classified by the sort of private decision on which they have a direct effect (Needham, 1988). Needham (1988) defines direct effect as the first or immediate effect of the public measure on the outside environment. The instruments are described in the section instruments.

On the first or the immediate effect of the public measure can be steered upon with long and short term distributional effects.

# Action on the short term

Physical instruments can help achieve desired distributional effects in two ways: 1 by choosing the location of the application adverse effects of this intervention will be distributed to those living nearby (Needham, 1988) though they would also be the ones who can benefit the most of the intervention. For example the construction of a new road brings extra traffic and noise though it also brings extra accessibility. Needham (1988) adds that these kinds of interventions are dependent on a lot of externalities and considerations and thus the risk is that these types of interventions would likely to be ineffective to distribute the effects aimed at. 2 By making changes which have a differential appeal such as building with specific programs being offices, factories or play grounds (Needham, 1988). Reversed could also be the case by forbidding the building of certain program in specified location Needham (1988) defines buildings that would have appealed to those not to be benefitted for example luxury flats on a desirable location.

# Steering on the long term

Distributional effects with financial instruments could be achieved in the same two ways 1 by choosing the location with for example a subsidy on industrial investment in an area of high unemployment. This will affect the most to those living nearby because it creates job opportunities for them. Or 2 by making changes that have a differential appeal Needham (1988) names the example of subsidising public transport and taxing car usage.

The advantage of financial instruments is that they can be changed fast and that the effects of the measures change quickly reacting on circumstances in order to distribute the desired effects (Needham, 1988).

Steering on the long term can also be achieved by organisational instruments. The distribution of cost and benefits can be affected by appropriate rules (Needham, 1988). Advantage of this type of instrument is that they can be adapted more easily than physical measures and so can steer on the longer term if the distribution of benefits doesn't appear in the way expected in the short term.

Needham (1988) describes that all types of instruments have their own strength and weaknesses. It is often the combination of instruments that can achieve the desired distributional effects. An example is 'social' housing where basic housing (physical) is built, the rents are subsidised (Financial) and it is only let to those with lower incomes (organisational) (Needham, 1988). When the organisational measure is missing mostly the ones who profit in this example is that working class housing in made available for sale to the middle-class residents (Needham, 1988).

This means long term distributional effects of territorial planning should be considered. Needham (1988) argues that they are often taken for granted as they are to be assumed to be the same as in the short-term. Moreover physical measures alone are not capable of reacting to changes in the long term which affect the distributional effects.

The different defined interests in summary of

the previous arguments in a list would look like this:

- Public sector interest
- Private sector interest
- Interest local inhabitants
- Other stakeholders
- Shared values
- Validity

## 2.2.3 Power of actors

## The notion of Power

Different authors circumscribe power in literature as being the relation among actors where one actor, A, can get another actor, B, to do something that B would not have done otherwise (Weber, 1947; Pfeffer, 1981 in Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997) (fig. 2.2.12).

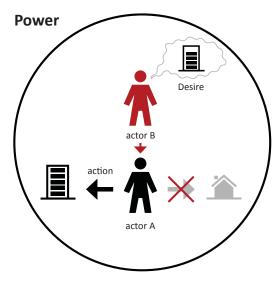


fig. 2.2.12: terminology 'power'

Salancik & Pfeffer 1974: 3 in Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997 describe that "it is the ability of those who possess power to bring about the outcomes they desire". Power can be based on physical resources of force, violence or restraint entitled by Mitchell, Angle and Wood (1997) to coercive power. It can be based upon material or financial resources entitled as utilitarian power and power can be based upon symbolic resources entitled as normative power. In order to recognize power a party should have access to one of these means to impose its will in the relationship (Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997). They add that power is transitory because the access to these means is a variable. Possession of power does not have to mean that it is actual used or that the actor is aware of it or that the perceivers are aware of it (Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997).

In order to retrieve an overview of the powerplay that takes part we have to introduce the stakeholders that have a stake and therefore can affect the organisation (fig. 2.2.13). Actors who are excluded from having a stake are those who cannot affect the organisation, have no power and are not affected by its acting. They

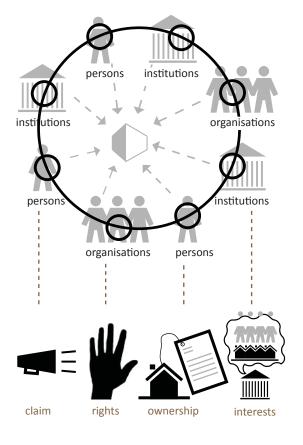


fig. 2.2.13: terminology 'stake'

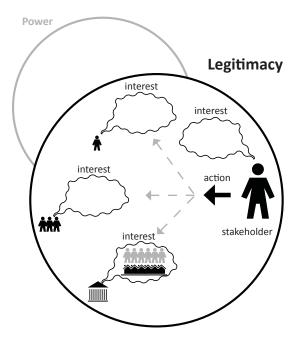


fig. 2.2.14: terminology 'power'

have no claim or relationship to the organisation (Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997). There are voluntary stakeholders, those whom invest in the intervention and take some form of financial, value or human capital risk, and there are involuntary stakeholders because they are

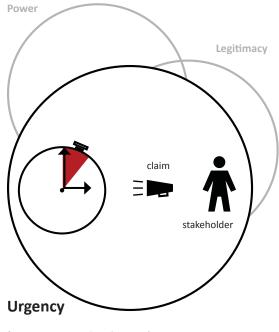


fig. 2.2.15: terminology 'urgency'

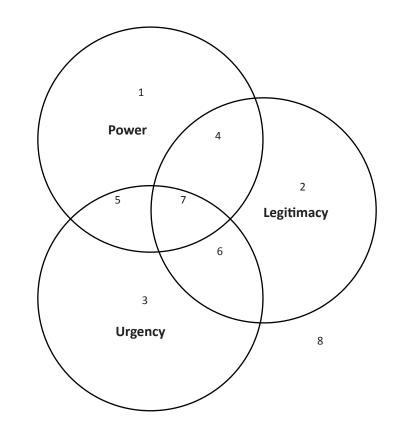
opposed to risk of the organisations activities. Without these risks there is no stake (Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997). In this sense those who have a stake are those who are opposed to risk either voluntary or involuntary and therefore these stakes are legitimate claims.

A closer look to the term of "stake" makes clear that that a stake is determined by two attributes (1) a claim and (2) the ability to influence the organisation. Those who are able to influence the decision have power either their claims are valid or invalid. Claimants have a legitimate or illegitimate claim and can possess power to influence the organisation (Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997).

The relation among a claim and power is described by Mitchell, Angle and Wood (1997: 29) as "power which gains authority through legitimacy and it gains exercise through urgency. Legitimacy gains rights through power and voice through urgency. Urgency promotes access to decision-making channels, and in combination with power, it encourages one-side stakeholder action. Urgency in combination with both power and legitimacy triggers acknowledgement and action between stakeholders and actors. These relations are not static but in constant flux".

Within the figure 2.2.14 the different aspects of Power, Legitimacy and Urgency are positioned followed by the terminology in figure 2.2.15.

Within the definition of Power, Urgency and Legitimacy distinction is made among the different stakeholder typologies. Areas 1,2 and 3 are termed as "latent" stakeholders (Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997). This group only possesses one of the three elements. Two attributes, the areas 4,5 and 6, are termed as "expectant" stakeholders since they expect something (Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997). All three is defined as dominant stakeholder, Fig. 2.2.16: qualitative classes of stakeholders (source: Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997)



area 7 since this type has force to impose its will (Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 2007). The latent stakeholders are defined as dormant, discretionary and demanding stakeholders and possess as said one attribute. The expectant stakeholders are the dominant, dependent and dangerous stakeholders and have possession over two attributes. Possessing three attributes are defined as definitive stakeholder. A nonstakeholder, area 8 would mean no possession of either of one of the attributes (Mitchell, Angle and Wood).

The organising constellation of actors has to reconcile divergent interest by making strategic decision and allocating strategic resources in a manner that is most consistent with the claims of the other stakeholders. Though power differences between the partners influence the degree to which each is listened to (Dekker and Kempen, 2009). For example in a co-option or PPP it is likely that the constellation of actors reacts on those stakeholders whom possess two or even three elements. So those whom possess most means, power, legitimacy and urgency, are able to influence the decisions that are about to be made (Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997).

In practise a changing field of power can be observed as private parties have seen their power increasing, the public sector retaining their powers and the residents have been losing power in comparison with ten years ago (Dekker and Kempen, 2009). Healey (1997) adds that policy did not reach the ideal situation in which all stakeholders where involved and saw their interest represented. Instead, governance processes satisfy the needs and interest of those who were involved and parties with less power were left standing on the side-line (Dekker and Kempen, 2009).

Different literature indicates (Dekker and Kempen, 2009; Healey, 1997) that it seems that actors who are involved in the decision-making can see their interest best expressed. A more

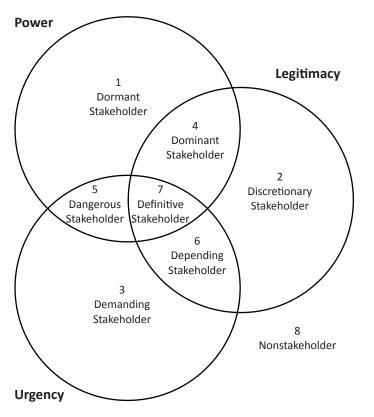


Fig. 2.2.17: stakeholder typology (source: Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997)

detailed observation to power differences in the actor composition that can influence the outcome is therefore necessary.

We can define three types that are of influence:

- Institutional power (policy makers)
- Financial power (possession, investment)
- Organisational set up 'plan-, decisionmaking- and development process'

# Institutional power

The municipality has the most influence on land use of the planning agencies in the Netherlands (Needham, 2007). Within the Netherlands the planning agencies are the national, provincial and municipal government. The municipality has the only legal binding to its oppose, the land use plan (Bestemmingsplan). However this instrument is often not used for legal binding because it is used in such a flexible way that legal certainty cannot be determined on behalf of it (Needham, 2007). Though the municipality is the only planning agency which can issue a building permit, nothing can be built without a building permit. The building permit is tested against the backdrop of the land use plan if the proposed building plan corresponds to the land use plan the permit is provided. The municipal government has therefore the most institutional power regarding land use (Needham, 2007).

Municipalities are keen on keeping their power and want to be able to keep control over development. If they are not in this position they at least want to try to prevent un-wishful development from happening. (Needham, 2007). The municipality has to take property rights, which a citizen might have in the aimed land, into consideration (Needham, 2007). The owner of the land may not change the use of it without prior permission, an application to do so will be judged against the backdrop of the land use plan (bestemmingsplan) which specifies the uses permitted on that land (Needham, 2007). Needham (2007: 156) names an example of how the municipality can use its power 'Suppose, for example, that local government wants an inner city site to be redeveloped for high quality housing. The demand for that housing in that location might be undermined if at the same time such housing is built on the edge of the city. So the local government uses its passive powers of development control to improve the conditions for a successful redevelopment.

Another example of how the municipality uses its institutional power by creating a land use plan for a planned development area or redevelopment area is that it tries to buy all the land in the plan area rather than letting others to take the initiative (Needham, 2007). In this sense the municipality can combine the powers of a planning authority (to grant or refuse planning applications) with the powers of the land-owner (anyone wanting to build has first to buy or lease the land from the municipality). Under those latter powers the municipality can (Needham, 2007: 184); Decide whether or not to dispose to the prospective purchaser. If to dispose, then to include in the contract stipulations referring to the type (tenure) of housing to be built, the design and size, prices (sale or rent) of housing to be built, restrictive covenants, positive obligations, when the building must start and when it must be completed. These aspects are included in the deed of conveyance (grondakte).

All parties involved in the development of housing private and public want continuity in their development and for that they need good relations with the municipality (Needham, 1988). The co-operation between public and private on the subject of housing supply goes much further than the building teams, it includes the planning and programming stages and can stretch over many years. In this sense the public body, the municipality, has great powers to influence in detail the supply of housing not in the last place the 'housing permission' (huisvestingsvergunning) in which no one is allowed to occupy a house, rented or owneroccupied without it. (Needham, 1988).

# **Financial power**

The government has available an arsenal of financial instruments, such as subsidies, capital participation, guarantees and the granting of rights. Through putting such instruments into force the government can raise the anticipated value of a project, limit the risks and provide a stimulus for private participation (Priemus, 2002). A more extensive description of financial instruments can be found in the section of distributional effects and instruments. We continue here by listing the sorts of cost related to plan realisation and those who can or should pay them. Needham (2007: 175) defines the following cost to be made in plan realisation:

- Making the plan and supervising its realization;
- b. Acquiring the land and any existing buildings;
- c. Making the land suitable for the new development. This can include demolishing existing buildings, draining the land, cleaning it of any contamination;
- d. Constructing the infrastructure in the plan area (on-site infrastructure). This can include the estate roads, footpaths, laying the gas water and electricity, laying the sewers and drains;
- e. Providing the shared facilities in the plan area, such as play spaces, planting, shared parking;
- f. Connecting the infrastructure in the plan area to the existing infrastructure off site, possibly increasing the capacity of that off-site infrastructure

too. Examples are connecting the estate roads to the existing road system and constructing a traffic roundabout th handle the extra traffic on the new junction;

- g. Possibly, making land available for social uses such as affordable housing, or schools at a price below the (average) costs of providing it;
- h. It is possible that compensation has to be paid to those whose interests are damaged by the planned development;
- i. And of course, erecting the buildings.

Some of those costs can be made only by the municipality. These are the costs of:

- Making the plan and supervising its realization;
- f. Connecting the infrastructure in the plan area to the existing infrastructure off-site, possibly increasing the capacity of that off-site infrastructure too;
- g. Possibly, making land available for social uses at a price below the (average) costs of providing it;
- h. Compensation for 'worsenment'.

Some of those costs can be made under all circumstances by the developer. These are the costs of:

- Acquiring the land and any existing buildings;
- i. Erecting the buildings

Some of the costs can be made under certain circumstances by the developer, because they are essential for the development or they increase the value of what is built. These are the costs of:

- c. Making the land suitable for the new development;
- d. Constructing the infrastructure in the

plan area (on-site infrastructure); Providing the shared facilities in the plan area.

e.

The greater the local authorities own financial involvement, the greater the possibility that it will allow financial considerations to influence the type of housing supplied (Needham, 1988).

## 2.2.4 Instrument and tools

After the establishment of policies it needs to be executed. In order to do so laws, implementing acts, subsidies, levies and plans are used (Ekkers, 2002). In general we can call these instruments. We can circumscribe an instrument as that what the public sector, the government, has available to steer upon processes in the society in order to achieve a particular goal or distributional effect (Ekkers, 2002; Needham, 1988). Needham (1988: 89) defines an instrument as "the power which is available to a public body by which it can legally take actions which affect the outside world: instruments are the general legal means by which a public body takes particular measures".

Ekkers (2002: 117) and Needham (1988: 90) defines four types of instruments:

**Legal instruments** which contains laws, ordinances and regulations;

**Physical instruments** allow measures to be taken which have a direct effect on peoples' decisions about how they use or change the physical environment. The change in the spatial condition should achieve desired behaviour. Examples include public building works (roads, parks, housing, etc.) and controls on private land development and private building works.

**Financial instruments** allow measures to be taken which have a direct effect on the financial circumstances within which people make decision. Included therefore are taxes, subsidies, levies, price controls, loans, macro-demand or monetary management. An example could be a tax relief if you decide to take a mortgage on a house. This is positive instrument where the negative penalty could appear when a house owner sub-rents his house without a housing permit to other persons.

**Organisational instruments** focus on consensus among different actors. They can be seen as a residual (but certainly not unimportant) category. Such instruments allow measures to be taken which set (other types of) rules which affect peoples' decisions. Included are all rules and regulations which restrict what people may do (which restrict their effective decisions) such as traffic laws, pollutions control, allocation rules; but also schemes to influence private decisions positively, such as giving advice, participation and say, training, promotion, research, experiments and transfer of knowledge.

Within the next section we name legal instruments that are available to the public body and are relevant for this research and could have an influence on urban regeneration.

# Municipal structure plan (structuurplan)

The municipality has the possibility to represent its future development ambitions in a structure plan. It sets the framework for the separate land use plans within the municipal area or for the various sectorial plans of the municipality for housing, transport and employment (Needham, 2007). In this way it can co-ordinate investment plans of the municipalities. The structure plan is not obligatory and does not have to conform to the existing land use plans. Reverse it is also not obligatory that new land use plans have to conform to the structure plan.

# Municipal land use plan (bestemmingsplan)

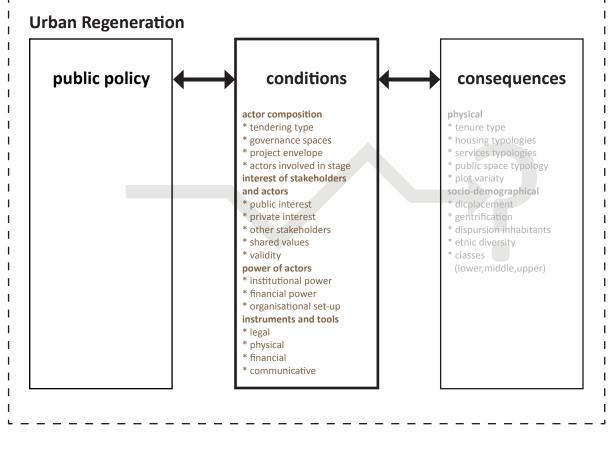
By law all Dutch municipalities need to have a plan about their un-built space, the land use plan (bestemmingsplan). The land use plan is not obligated for the built-up space within the municipality. However almost all municipalities have created land use plans for the built up areas as well because it is the only document with legal rights. In combination with the building permit municipalities can perform control on the development within the built-up areas (Needham, 2007).

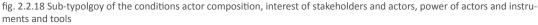
The land use plan contains activities

(bestemmingen) designated to the land and can set rules on how the activity may take (gebruiksvoorschriften) place (Needham, 2007). The land use plan can also state rules (bouwvoorschriften) about form, mass, height, breadth of buildings, building lines (rooilijn), ridge line of the roofs, height of the roof gutter, building density though nothing about the aesthetics such as colours or materials (Needham, 2007). To influence aesthetical issues the municipality sometime uses an aesthetical test performed by a commission (Welstandscommisie). The amount of detail circumscribed in a land use plan can be very detailed or very general and is not fixed by law.

Change in the type of land use can only take place if a proposal to do so is tested against the land use plan (Needham, 2007). An owner of land is not obligated to change the type of land use only if it wants to change from function. So the content of the land use plan is not obligatory. As described earlier the land use plan is legally binding and a building permit may not be issued if the proposed land use is not in accordance with that plan, nor may a permit be refused if it is in accordance (Needham, 2007). To overcome the inefficient side of this system, a public body that wants to approve a development that is not in accordance to the fixed appointed land use can therefore design a new land use plan that is made for the area of the new development only, a postage stamp plan (Needham, 2007).

Although this great influence for the public body has not a full control over the type of land use. By law the only legal person who is able to decide to actually change the activity on the land





in accordance to the land use plan is the owner of that land. In this sense land use planning can only work by influencing how the owner of a plot of land decides to use it (Needham, 2007). Needham (2007: 30) describes it as "the way in which that influence is most commonly exercised is by requiring the owner of the land to apply for a permit before she changes the use of it. That permit is granted only if the proposed change conforms to the desired land use. However, the planning agency cannot in all circumstances realise the land use it desires by giving or withholding permits. If the land owner herself is not interested in applying for a permit, the only way in which the planning agency can realise its aims is by acquiring ownership of that land".

# Chapter

# Research

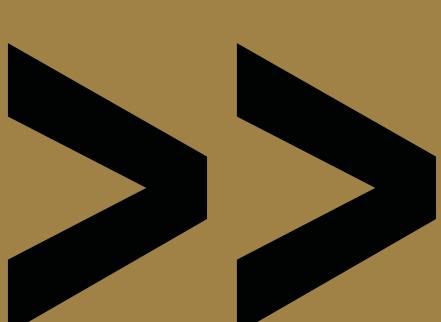
# problem theory

# 3.1

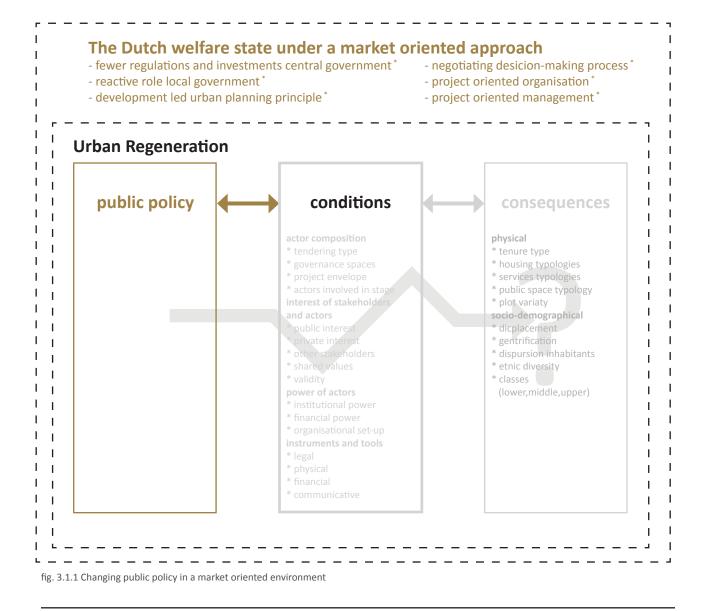
RQ1: How are the roles and approaches to urban regeneration changing?

# Introduction

This chapter continues on the theoretical concepts explored in the theoretical framework. It tries to understand the concepts in the context of the Dutch urban regeneration process.



Thesis Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment



# 3.1

RQ 1: How are the roles and approaches to urban regeneration changing in a market oriented environment?

This chapter provides a historical description of urban regeneration in relation to how the type of intervention has changed over time. Several components such as policy, spatial intervention, social demographic implications and used physical instruments used are reviewed based upon a literature study.

The chapter tries to answer the research question: *How are the roles and approaches to urban regeneration changing in a market oriented environment?* 

The overall goal of this research question is to determine what 'market oriented' actually means for urban regeneration and create a better understanding of the public and private roles that are changing under an increasing market oriented approach towards urban regeneration. This chapter continues on the conceptual path exploration elaborated in chapter 2.1 and is oriented more to the Dutch context of urban regeneration in specific. It sets out the independent variables of the research as drawn up in the conceptual diagram (fig. 3.1.1.). Questions that relate to this chapter are; how have policies changed under the market oriented influence?, how did it affect the roles of the public and private sector?, which tools and instruments have changed? and did the spatial intervention change? These subjects are one by one elaborated in the next sections and concluded by a chart that collects the most important changes in the last concluding section.

# 3.1.1 Urban policy in relation to physical and socio-demographic change in a market oriented environment

Since the wave of industrialisation swiped across Europe cities had to deal with social change, modernisation and economic restructuring. These different phases in modernisation meant that cities had to improve their industrial competiveness, infrastructure and bring up solutions to overcome the social tension in the inner city areas (Stouten, 2010). In order to do so policies where since 1960 introduced to tackle severe social deprivation and aged housing stock by programs known under slum clearance and rebuilding (Stouten, 2010; Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). This meant often demolishment of the houses. Due to protests by residents and a lack of financial capital available for demolition at the end of the 60s the term 'urban renewal' appeared in Dutch literature (Stouten, 2010). This replaced demolition in the 1970s by modernization of the existing housing stock (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). The physical state was the responsibility of the owner, mostly private, paying less or no attention to their stock. Deteriorating areas where bought up by local governments forcing private owners to sell their property (Stouten, 1987). The housing stock was modernised and transferred in social housing. This new direction was followed by the management philosophy 'building for the neighbourhood'. This strategy was used in urban renewal districts from 1975 up to the 1990s

(Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001).

The relation between policies and social-physical aspects can be lead back to the beginning of the 20th century where the housing act (Woningwet 1901) can be entitled as the first law on urban renewal (Stouten, 2010). Social en physical rules were established for hygiene and healthcare reasons. This was the first time that hygiene and social healthcare was observed in connection to the physical built environment. In 1930 this led to the term of 'redevelopment' or 'slum clearance' (Stouten, 2010). The hope was that interventions in the physical structure would also have an effect on the social structure in a positive way (Stouten, 2010).

Before World War II urban renewal was market by Central Business Districts (CBD) guided by theoretical conceptions aiming at accessible central parts of the city which should be stimulated economically (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). Older neighbourhoods were redeveloped in order to make room for firms, banks, shops and municipal government institutions. Housing policies followed this aim of accommodating services.

Throughout the 20th century strong interventions of national and local government can be found in financing spatial projects such as infrastructure, brownfield development and the production of social housing (Priemus, 2002). Policies evolved from the 1970 onwards show an on-going disconnection of social and physical programmes as well as the separation of spatial planning and housing (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001)

From this review we can understand that policies were used to steer upon the physical and sociodemographic environment and that those policies change over time. The next section explores the different policy fields and the accompanying public- and private sector roles.

# 3.1.2 Changing policy fields and focus

# Added themes and the integrated approach to urban renewal

The mid 1970s again swiped a wave of rapid change among traditional industrial structures of many cities. Unemployment in inner city centres rose during the 1980s (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001; Priemus, 1998) because of automatized production processes. These changes caused changes in the notion of urban deprivation and segregation (Stouten, 2010). Companies moved to the well-connected city fringes (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). This problem occurred in the four largest cities as well as the smaller ones resulting in a new policy focus on deprived areas (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001) and the re-differentiation of the dominant social rented housing stock and a powerful improvement of the environmental quality (Priemus, 1998).

Throughout the 20th century strong interventions of national and local government can be found financing spatial projects such as infrastructure, brownfield development and the production of social housing (Priemus, 2002). Policies evolved from the 1970 onwards show an on-going disconnection of social and physical programmes as well as the separation of spatial planning and housing (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001)

The economic crisis of 1982 led to deregulation and decentralization because of budget cuts in central government expenditure. This change stimulated the area based consultative management which replaced the former project offices in urban renewal areas (Stouten, 2010). The crisis also led to the privatization of housing associations in that form that they should be more financial independent. Before privatizing in the 1990s projects where developed by the state and later was sought for private investments (Priemus, 2002). During this period the understanding of urban problems changed from seeing individual located problems as unemployment in one neighbourhood to renewal areas in the bigger city context and social and economic issues as quality of life, security, unemployment and jobs (Stouten, 2010).

With the urban renewal act in 1985 twenty separate funds where designated into one programme in order to match the new management philosophy of an integrated approach towards urban renewal. These are to be found in the 'Big Cities Policy' aiming at the physical, economic and social aspects at the same time (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). The intention was to lay focus upon the different aspect relating to the appearing problems such as consideration to traffic, business, education, art, services, assistance, employment, unemployment and management (Stouten, 2010).

The changing conditions in the 80s affected especially the rented social sector (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). Cuts in governmental expenditure resulted in sharp reductions of subsidies for the provision of social housing forcing the social housing associations to become more self-reliant (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). Subsidies where no longer provided direct but instead more indirect and urban policy was focused towards more involvement of the private market sector (Boelhouwer, 2002). The role of the private sector was especially oriented towards financial aspects whilst the public sector kept is regulating role (Stouten, 2010).

A long time the government made below market land cost possible for the development of social housing (Carter, 1996). Another is example to supress the cost was the allowance for municipalities to distribute the cost to other sectors in most cases private housing or commercial property uses (Carter, 1996). With these instruments the housing production on the local level could effectively be steered upon (Carter, 1996).

The social housing production decreased under the influence of cuts in subsidies for social housing construction on the one hand and the stimulation of home-ownership on the other (Carter, 1996; Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001).

Projects evolved under public private partnerships in target districts where not only oriented towards the most needy people (Rendon, 2011). For instance the projects in Rotterdam are also developed to achieve the goals of the city vision, more diverse groups in income and social improvement, and for the sake of profit and economic development (Rendon, 2011).

# Decentralisation, deregulation and privatisation

In the Late 1990s most countries in Western Europe faced governmental cuts in expenditures. They saw their financial power decreasing resulting in encouragement of the central government to develop in combination with private investors (Stouten, 2010). A vertical co-ordination in planning was established in where the local authority brings the national policy into practice. The budget cuts forced goverments to organize their restructuring plans in other ways resulting often in privatizing certain government functions, decentralisation, deregulation (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001) and involving other parties in the policy making process (Dekker and Kempen, 2009; Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). The result was a variety in policies related to urban regeneration and the Netherlands can therefore be entitled as a 'policy-dense' country (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). Housing associations had to organize their

own finances and could count less on subsidies provided by the state (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). After the 90s Urban renewal became a component of urban regeneration and was concerned with reducing inequality and socioeconomic arrears (Stouten, 2010).

In the late 90s the aim of urban renewal was re-formulated by the central government "Urban renewal is an intensified adjustment of the residential, working, production and living environment (in the built-up area before 1970) to the current demands and standards, in such a way that the existing deprivation is overcome stepwise, for the benefit of those who live in, work at and have their business in the deprived districts; maintenance and management are therefore excluded. "They are no longer the task of the central government but the responsibility of the local authorities and the house owners". (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001 : 328).

# Urban renewal in the 21st century

Urban renewal nowadays is dominated by the idea that social mixture is the solution to social problems. Therefore budgets are invested into home-ownership since the urban renewal areas of the 1950-70 consist of 64% social rented houses (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001).

Restructuring was defined as: "A quality impulse, aiming to use the strengthening of area structures to increase the social and economic vitality of those areas and so of the city as a whole" and "Measures which aim to bring about a more differentiated housing stock in areas where a problematic quality of life has resulted in part from a stock composed of monotonous, mainly cheap, housing" (Ministry of Housing, Physical Planning and the Environment, 1997: 8 in Stouten, 2010: 66).

From single policy towards a multi-facetted approach: Urban renewal vs. urban

### regeneration

In an era of massive migration of firms from the (inner) city to the suburban zones, urban renewal did not concentrate at all on economic aims, such as the preservation of jobs in the city, but focused completely on housing for the urban poor: in poor neighbourhoods with bad housing conditions, urban renewal concentrated on the building of new houses and, in a later stage, on the improvement of existing houses, not for new residents, but for the poor residents already living in that area. (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). The definition given by Stouten (2010) for urban renewal is that it leads to an increase of the lifespan of the building and neighbourhoods and their adaptability and flexibility. It is aimed at improving social sustainability, development in the neighbourhood economy and the economic value of dwellings (Stouten, 2010). Later on when a more integrated approach was used regarding physical restructuring, diversification of employment and the economy, social empowerment and planning for the development and environment of the city (Stouten ,2010). In this perspective urban renewal can be seen as part of the urban regeneration nowadays. It is defined as a "strategy adopted for urban regeneration that involves a continuous process of refurbishment and modernisation of the urban fabric rather than short-term fixes" (Stouten, 2010: 31). the official definition can best been described by Roberts (2000: 17 in Stouten, 2010: 32) who gives as a definitions of urban regeneration "a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change".

### The integrated approach

The integrated approach in strategic urban

planning and regeneration brought development in different themes such as social, economic and environmental related development. Urban renewal focussed mostly on inequality issues in social and economic sense. Other issues that can be found in relation to the integrated approach are:

- The choice between an integral approach and more simple, one-dimensional ideas;
- The choice between multi functionality and mono functionality, for example directed purely and simply at social housing issues;
- The choice between mixed use and single land use
- Stimulating local synergy by initiatives that act as a draw for other activities, or on the other hand aiming at the realisation of separate, possibly competitive projects; (Bekkering et al., 1998).

Relevant measures include revitalising and restructuring the supply of housing, renovating and opening industrial areas, fine-tuning openspace planning and other physical measures for ensuring and improving safety in traffic, the physical environment and society. Municipal authorities have joined forces with store owners, entrepreneurs, project developers, investment companies and building cooperatives to establish and integrated, specialised approach. Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008).

It seems that previous strategies to attract the middle incomes that left from the neighbourhood are difficult partly due to the stigmatising effect (Kei kenniscentrum, 2012). Current strategies aim therefore on the preservation of social advancing inhabitants in the neighbourhood. These inhabitants can be the example of other

inhabitants to climb the social ladder (Kei kenniscentrum, 2012).

Now we've observed that policies and policy focus have changed over time with different organisational, physical and financial measures to steer upon urban renewal and later urban regeneration a closer look to the specific roles might be helpful to understand the behaviour of different actors. The previous section already indicates that the roles among public and private actors have changed. The next section continues to explore these changing roles in more detail.

# 3.1.3 Changing roles; public and private sector involvement

The next sections describe the role of the public sector and the role of the private sector in urban regeneration. The objective is to create a basic understanding of the different role-types that can occur during the urban development process and the general content of each phase from initiative to realisation.

### The public sector

The Netherlands consist of three formal planning levels, the national government, the 12 provinces and the local authority; the 430 municipalities. A highly institutionalized system (Heurkens, 2012) in where the public sector is involved to a greater degree in the development process than local authorities in for example the United Kingdom. On the national level the government establish national spatial planning memorandums (Heurkens, 2012). The memorandums are indicative and organise national spatial investments to regional and local projects. They are not law though the lower governmental bodies have to follow the main line of reasoning by making structure plans on the scale of the region, province, city or neighbourhood. The memorandum has as

main goal to organise the built environment in economic, social and ecological aspects (Heurkens, 2012). The municipality is the lowest legal institution in the row, except in Amsterdam and Rotterdam where sub-municipalities for the districts exist, they serve under policies created by the province and the national government (Kei, 2012). Municipalities can take the role of both planning and development agencies. They are involved as the primary purchasers of land for development and around 75% of all land for building is supplied by the municipalities (Needham, 1992). Infrastructure is provided in 90% of the housing schemes by the municipalities (BMBau, 1993 in Carter, 1996).

The role of the local public body, the municipality, for this research most relevant has changed over time. After WWII the production in housing needed to accelerate and the public sector came involved in housing production in a large scale. Here the dominant position of municipalities came into being and for a long time they had possession over large amounts of money and lots which they developed by themselves. When complexity rose in societal and urban assignments due to a multitude of actors and interests the role of the municipalities shifted to a central but more levelled party in a broad network of actors. Municipalities at this time do not realise housing anymore, they only realise amenities, public space and infrastructure and take care about maintenance and sometimes construction of societal facilities.

Since housing associations are privatised in their relations with the public sector but still have the social task to provide social housing the municipality has got a directing role (regierol). The municipality needs to direct upon differences in interest between inhabitants; renters and house owners and the housing associations as the owners of most housing stock in neighbourhoods of empowerment. The central role of the municipality is in this case the cornerstone of the system since they have to, in consultation with the national government, project developers and other actors, establish visions and preconditions for future development. In order to execute its central role the municipality has a set of instruments available. For a more detail description of the instruments see section 5.2.4 of the empirical assessment chapter. Here we describe a view general ones:

- Creating or modifying rules and visions in order to steer other parties or stimulate to invest in urban regeneration.
- Provide a financial contribution to unprofitable but socially desirable developments in urban regeneration, usually in cooperation with other parties.
- Purchase or sale of land and property to other parties to generate revenues or opportunities for development in the urban regeneration

With these instruments the municipality steers upon measures referring to the scale of the city and neighbourhood. On the level of the urban blocks, streets and housing units' housing associations or developers are responsible for execution. Municipalities often use an active land policy in which they purchase land (investment), prepare it for construction (taking risks) and distribute it to developers based upon land market prices (obtaining revenues) and therefore the role of the municipality can be regarded as entrepreneurial (Heurkens, 2012). To classify the role of the local authorities Heurkens (2012: 101) distinguishes four role types that they can perform:

Initiator; as project initiator, problem owner or policy maker

- Director; as commissioner or development partner
- Participant; as shareholder, financier or contractor
- Facilitator; as stimulator, examiner, advisor or permission giver

This classification indicates that local authorities have several options to manage urban development projects at different times within development processes.

# The Private sector

Public private partnerships changed both the role of the involved parties and the development decision making processes (Heurkens, 2009). Since more often private parties are operating in former governmental issues such as risk management and financial funding a slight shift towards Anglo Saxon characteristics can be observed (Heurkens, 2009). The governmental focus is on the provision of development conditions and the provision of public law procedures to authorize and control the development (Heurkens, 2009). The private developer is judged on the yield it retrieves by divesting the property after construction. For that all housing developers – private and public - want continuity and for that they need good relations with the municipality. This counts also for the reversed way where the public body needs the private investment. So the public-private cooperation over the supply of housing goes much further than the building teams: it includes the planning and programming stages also and it stretches over many years. In this respect the degree of involvement in plan development (design activities) and feasibility (financial, urban planning, societal and market technically) changed. Local governments still take the initiative, within their own constitutional limits to launch programmes of urban regeneration but need financial investment of the private

sector for realisation. These changes in roles appeared from of the 1990s where privatisation took place along different parts of governmental institutions as public services (train, telephone etc.) and housing. Housing associations were financially cut loose from the government. Since the physical assignment in neighbourhoods of empowerment became urgent a lot was expected of the so called new composition with collaboration between public, private market and market oriented semi-public housing associations (Kei, 2012). Though according to Kei (2012) there are different signals to be observed. Market parties that are not able to intervene in by housing associations dominated areas and private parties not willing to intervene in high risk profile areas such as neighbourhoods of empowerment.

An important development, according to Hulsbergen and Stouten (2001), might be that private investors leaf the central city districts for projects that are located on strategic locations around the corridors. This attracts important functions out of the city centre such as shopping malls and businesses and therefore employment (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001). Examples are Arena Amsterdam and Alexandrium Rotterdam. Also interventions from market oriented parties does not mean that the profit from the development automatically stays in the concerned area, it often goes to the private company and is used for company continuation.

In order to define market oriented parties and the characteristics four groups can be distinguished in Dutch urban development (Heurkens, 2012: 102):

- the project developer
- housing association
- investors
  - contractors

# **Project developers**

A project developer creates market fit real estate concepts for own account and risk. The business model is based upon the profit that is made by selling the property after it is developed. Their role in urban development does often start in the feasibility phase where plan development and feasibility regarding financial, urban planning, societal and market technical aspects are studied upon. The project developers have project and process management skills and can bear risk in the land allocations.

Dutch examples of project developers (Kei, 2012) are: AM, Boufwonds MAB ontwikkeling, Blauwhoed Eurowoningen, Proper-Stok Groep, Rabo Vastgoed, Timpaan.

There is also a group that are named after their main line of business 'the building developers'. Their main objective is to build and they are mostly involved in feasibility studies in combination with realisation. Their ability to create pre-investments in land allocations is limited.

Examples (Kei, 2012) are: BAM Wongingbouw, Dura Vermeer Stedelijke Ontwikkeling, ERA Bouw, Slokker Vastgoed.

### **Housing associations**

In total there are 430 (Nov, 2009) housing associations in the Netherlands. Since fusions took place among different housing association they grew in size and decreased in number. In 1998 there were 791 and in 1985 1152 housing associations active in the Netherlands (Kei, 2012). Due to the fusion many neighbourhoods have only one social housing association that is the owner of a large part of the housing stock in that neighbourhood. In neighbourhoods of empowerment this can rise up till 90% of the total housing stock in the Netherlands they represent 2,4million social housing dwellings which is a share of 35% in the Dutch housing stock (Kei, 2012). Compared to other European countries this amount is almost twice as high (fig. 4.3.1).

With the governmental act on management of the social rental sector (Besluit Beheer Sociale Huursector) the role of the housing corporations changed. After they were already privatised from financial ties with the government in the 1990s they retrieved a new set of tasks oriented to social housing (Ekkers, 2002).

- appropriate housing for the target group
- maintain the quality of the housing possession
- involvement of residents in policy and management
- ensuring financial continuity
- improving the quality of life in
- neighbourhood and community
- contribute to the combination of housing and care

The governance of these goals by the central government, that previously stated preconditions in advance, changed towards testing upon achieved performance afterwards (Kei, 2012). In this sense the public sector cannot longer steer upon the direction of the housing associations but can only make agreements on presentations together. For example on investment policies in which the social housing associations got more freedom, especially in their stock policies and company management. On the other side housing associations cannot retrieve land allocations for a below market price anymore as used to be for social housing development. In this sense there has arisen more competition among housing associations and market parties.

### Investors

The institutional investors has contributions that the need to invest in order to be able to serve pensioners or shareholders in a later stage. Their interest is an as high as possible but stable flow of revenues in the form of rent or value increase. The investors are therefore interested in a longer binding with the property and therefore they can also be seen in overall area development.

Examples of investors (Kei, 2012) are: Achmea Vastgoed, Nieuwe Steen Investment and Corio.

# Contactors

This group is only focussed on construction within the realisation phase. Their influence on content of the development is limited and the urban pre conditions, visual quality plan and program of requirements are already set by legal procedures. It is often the project developer or housing association that acts as the client.

Examples of contractors (Kei, 2012) are: Heddes Bouw, Slokker Bouwgroep and Waal Bouw.

A fifth group which operates on a commercial bases but bare no risk regarding their participation in the development are the consultancy firms (Heurkens, 2012). These firms could be active in process management, architecture, urban design, financial engineering and their contribution in urban project development is content-related or process oriented (Heurkens, 2012).

# 3.1.4 Changing planning tools and instruments

Most housing stock in appointed regeneration neighbourhoods is owned by social housing associations. Renewal strategies are therefore most implicated and directed by these organisations (Kei kenniscentrum, 2012). Under the direction of municipalities, whom establish the development vision, the housing associations can apply for subsidies for renewal and regeneration (Kei kenniscentrum, 2012). The goal of these subsidies is not only to achieve the aims from the development vision but also to attract a multitude of private investment capital for every euro spend on subsidy by the government known under the notion of Multiplier effect (Kei kenniscentrum, 2012).

# Instruments

Whilst urban renewal before 1989 focussed on 'building for the neighbourhood' meaning that the improvement of housing and the physical environment in pre-war urban renewal areas have to remain for the current inhabitants (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001; Priemus, 1998). The current inhabitants had the first right on the new and modernized dwellings (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001) these inhabitants generally had a low income resulting in a low production of housing for high income households. The high income households had to move to the expansion areas at the city fringe (Priemus, 1998). The traditional urban renewal policy thus gradually eroded the urban economy of the city centres (Priemus, 1998).

In the late 90s the vision on social and economic improvement in urban renewal areas became that the city should be made attractive to higherincome households (Priemus, 1998). This should also promote social mix in the more vulnerable areas.

The policy related to the urban renewal vision of the 90s to promote re-differentiation was constructed around three objectives (Priemus, 1998: 33):

- it should break the current one sided composition of too many inexpensive, small, medium quality social rented dwellings of the housing stock in certain neighbourhoods (Priemus, 1998).
  - ensure an environment that was

suitable and attractive for high income households (Priemus, 1998).

 provide access and choice for low income households not only in the urban renewal areas but also in the VINEX expansion areas.

A strategy aimed at achieving re-differentiation of the housing stock has some five instruments at its disposal (Priemus, 2001):

- A rent adjustment policy. For example,
   a relatively high increase in rent can
   lead to the harmonisation of rents.
- An improvement in housing quality, possibly in combination with a rent adjustment. This is certainly attractive in cases where the price/quality ration is not particularly favourable. It does however require agreement from the tenant.
- Demolition or amalgamation of dwellings.
- Purchase and sale of dwellings.
   For example, the purchase of private dwellings can play a proper part in a policy of re-differentiation only after an increase in quality or an adjustment in rent (or both). The sale of rental housing can prevent higher income households leaving the area.
- Measures to improve the level of facilities and the urban fabric.
   (Stouten, 2010: 101).

Neighbourhood approaches nowadays are mainly executed by housing associations, private development agencies and financial institutions in combination with local authorities (Rendon, 2011). Different strategies and instruments are used to fight back urban decline and social spatial segregation (Rendon, 2011):

The 'maintain or sell approach' (aanschrijving) summons are used as an instrument to de-

concentrate low-income and minority citizens (Rendon, 2011). A legal order forces the owner to maintain their property or else the owner is obligated to sell.

The 'housing permit' (huisvestingsvergunning) known as the Rotterdam law (Rotterdam wet) is used to control the influx of marginalised households (Rendon, 2011). This instrument is appointed to specific areas where the one sidedness is most present. The municipality can refuse low income households in these areas (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008).

Decayed teeth (fig. 3.1.3a/b) (Rotte tanden): a project which selected 150 decayed and badly maintained buildings in 2008. These buildings where located at sight locations in the city fabric. This project functions according to a summons principle. First the municipality approaches the owner and notifies the deficiencies. In collaboration with the owner an action program is proposed attached to a certain timeframe. Within the timeframe the building needs to retrieve its agreed (according to the land use plan) (Bestemmingsplan) maintenance. If the owner renounces its maintenance the municipality can give a fine. Another possibility is that the municipality takes care of the maintenance and present the bill to the owner. In the latter case the owner will retrieve a fine above the actual made costs.

According to the success of the project 100 buildings are added to the project in 2011.

Other strategies to improve the physical conditions, to boost the private housing sector and to stimulate financial trust for mortgages are the **purchase-renovation-sale** approach (aankopen-verbeteren-verkopen aanpak), **buy your tenement** (koop je huurhuis) and **job properties** (klushuizen) (Rendon, 2011). These strategies are used to stimulate choices in affordable housing for the middle incomes (Rendon, 2011).

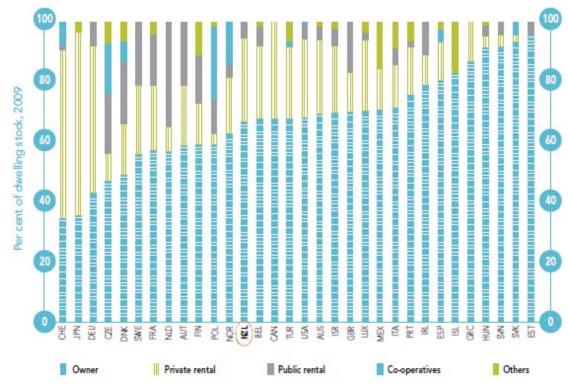
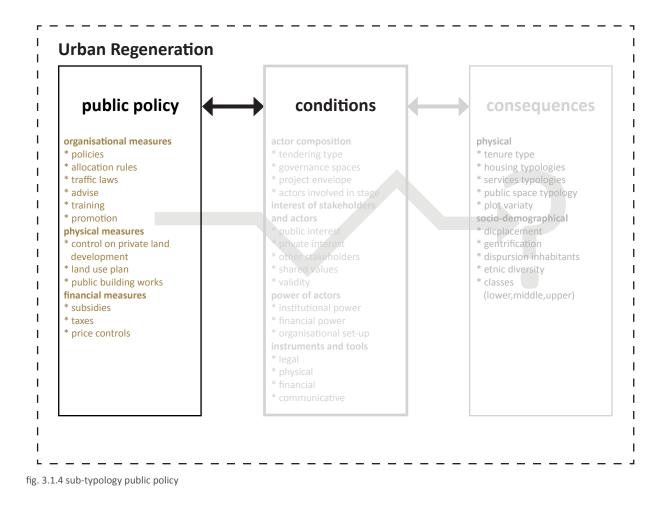


fig. 3.1.2 Tenure structure across countries in Europe: source: Andrews, D.A. Sanchez and A. Johansson (2011).



fig. 3.1.3a Decayed teeth: before intervention source: rotterdam.nl/spoorsingel\_4

fig. 3.1.3b Decayed teeth: after intervention source: rotterdam.nl/spoorsingel\_4



65

Thesis Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

# Chapter

# Analytical framework

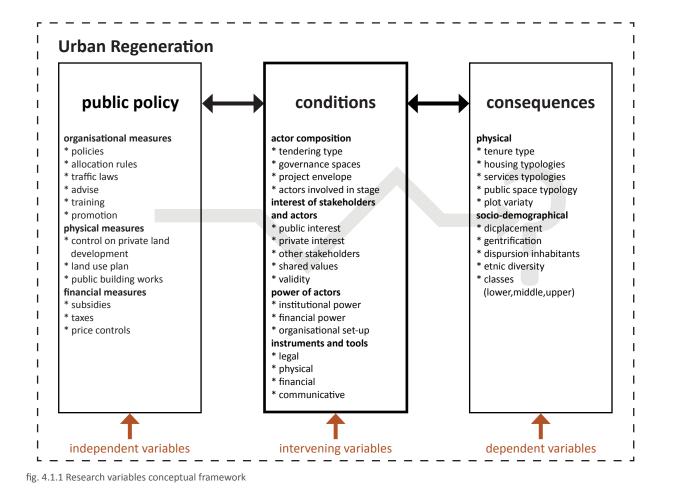
# 4.1	Conceptual framework
# 4.2	Method of analysis

# Introduction

The analytical framework constitutes a scheme of how the relationships between the variables are researched in this particular case. From out of the theoretical models in the previous theoretical chapter the conceptual framework is built. In other words theoretical models are used for the application of assumptions that can reveal the relations between different aspects related to this research. In the analytical part of the thesis a conceptual framework is established which creates an analytical understanding of the issues investigated in this research. To research the causal relations the different research questions are positioned into the conceptual framework.



The<mark>sis</mark> Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment



# 4.1

# Conceptual framework

### 4.1.1 Conceptual framework

Based upon the assumption that 'there is a potential problem of an influencing market oriented party in spatial urban regeneration interventions' a conceptual representation is built to test this assumption. The conceptual framework is established upon the literature review in the theoretical framework and research problem theory. The research questions are focussed on the research of influencing causal relations that can proof or disproof the assumption.

The Urban Regime that consists out of the policy, conditions and consequences focus on the total paradigm of spatial planning in urban regeneration. The split up in policy, the independent variables, conditions representing the intervening variables and the consequences with dependent variables tries to breakdown down the urban regime in pieces in order to make it general assumption researchable (fig. 4.1.1).

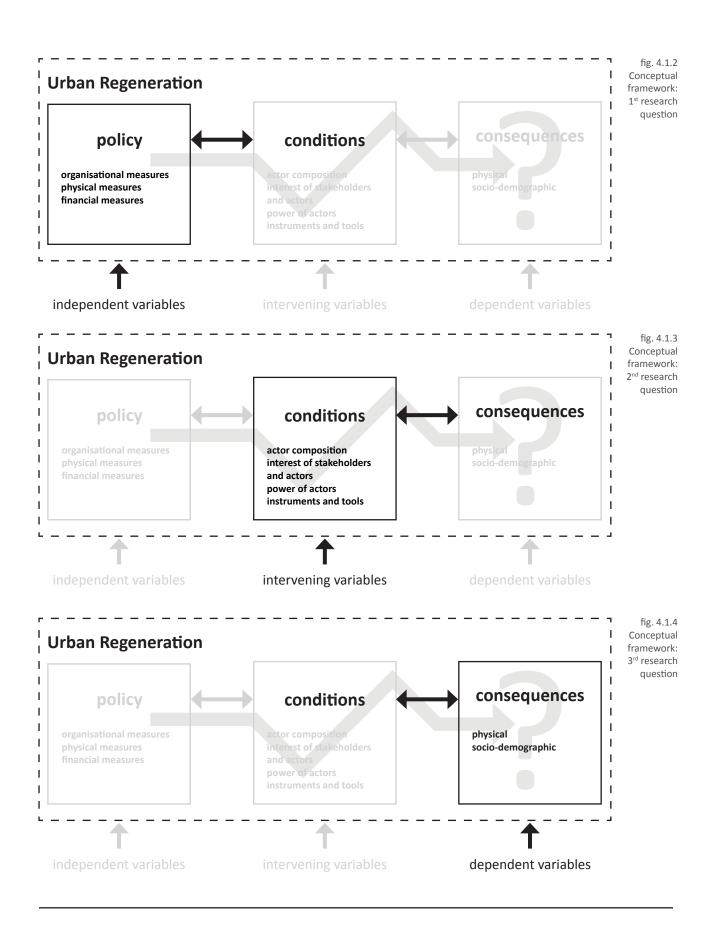
## 4.1.2 Position of the research questions

The first research question focuses on the urban regime, the organisational structure in urban area development and how the private sector got involved in urban regeneration. Therefore the first research question focuses on the independent variables, the policy (fig. 4.1.2). The data that is researched constitutes

a better understanding of the changing roles and approaches to urban regeneration. It is a historical review that observes the renewal policies and financing structures. The data is therefore more incontestable then those to be find in the other research questions.

In the second research questions the focus lies upon intervening variables that can influence the dependent ones (fig. 4.1.3). It tries to reveal which conditions are vulnerable to influence the physical and socio-demographic configuration. In other words are market oriented parties able to steer the development?

The third research question has an analytic character that builds upon the results in research question 2. In the conceptual scheme it is positioned on the outcomes in physical and socio-demographic implications of the urban interventions (fig. 4.1.4).



# 4.2

# Method of analysis

# 4.2.1 Method of analysis

The objective of this study research is to retrieve a better understanding of the possible influence market oriented parties can perform in the plan-, decision-making- and development process. This means beside of the theoretical exploration that is conducted in the theoretical framework the study needs to investigate the practise. Therefore the focus of this research lies upon an in-depth case study. The aim is to achieve information on the phenomenon of market oriented parties that are involved in interventions of vulnerable places e.g. neighbourhoods of empowerment (Krachtwijken).

An understanding oriented perspective is used to clarify the deeper causes behind the assumed or expected differences and consequences of market oriented parties in vulnerable areas. Through the selection of two cases with a maximum in variation, being one private and one semi-public market oriented composition of actors a greater generalizability of the case study can be expected.

The case study is useful for generating tacit knowledge and testing the proposition of market oriented parties influencing the outcomes of regeneration projects in vulnerable areas. Also the case study has also the intention to generalize the results of the research.

In order to understand the urban regime and

attached policies in which market oriented parties are involved the first research question focuses on a literature study on the urban regime in the face of time.

The assumption can be tested inductive based upon related aspects in that sense what we would aspect to see that have a relation with the assumption. Research question two focus therefore on these aspects according to an indepth case study with interviews and a review of practical documents.

The selection of the cases focuses on the used mechanisms and tries to reveal the studied information by the selection of two cases with a maximum in variation on one dimension e.g. the composition of actors. The maximum variation cases should result in knowledge that relates to the general assumed proposition of negative results caused by private sector influence in urban regeneration of vulnerable places e.g. neighbourhoods of empowerment (Krachtwijken).

For the selection of the cases we are looking for an information-oriented selection. The cases are selected on the basis of expectation we derived from the literature studies in the theoretical framework and research question one about their information content. In order to derive the information the research is searching for cases that are selected on a maximum in variation to obtain information about the significance

of various circumstances for case process and outcome. The two cases that are selected are different on one dimension e.g. the composition of actors. Other circumstances are equal such as the legal environment of the same land use plan (bestemmingsplan), same spatio-physical location and the same period of development.

# 4.2.2 Validation

In order to retrieve accuracy and alternative explanations we use triangulation to validate the interpretations retrieved from the case study research. With triangulation we can be more accurate in measuring but also more logical in interpreting the meaning of those measurements. We see the data observed from the interviews as descriptive data and therefore any particular description given could not be fully valid. In the research the meaning of multiple additional observations gives grounds for our interpretation and is therefore more valid to draw conclusions upon.

The approach starts off with the incontestable description of the socio-physical context in which everyone would almost judge the same. An observation of literature that circumscribes the context, policies and approaches to urban regeneration, and aspects that have to do with influence of actors on the plan decision-making- and development process. As it conducts an important issue the research tries to present more detail and try to present other sources of evidence. So triangulation is used for the issues that are important to answer the research questions. The next matrix (fig. 4.2.1) circumscribes the need for validation in each of the data situations.

Data situation	Need for triangulation
Uncontestable description	needs little effort toward confirmation
Dubious and contested description	needs confirmation
Data critical to an assertion	need extra effort toward confirmation
Key interpretations	need extra effort toward confirmation
Author's persuasions, so identified	need little effort toward confirmation

\*fig. 4.2.1.: data triangulation source: Stake, 1995

Data source triangulation

Observe whether different actors behave differently in the same space.

# Theory triangulation

By choosing reviewers from alternative theoretical viewpoints we approach the assertion, key interpretations or dubious and contested description. The proponents would suggest other behaviour from private actors' involvement in urban regeneration than the opponents. To the extend they describe the phenomenon with similar detail, the description is triangulated. To the extent they agree on its meaning, the interpretation is triangulated.

# Methodological triangulation

To increase confidence in the made interpretations minutes, reports and practical documents are reviewed and observations and interviews are made.

Actors play a major role in directing the research. They regularly provide critical observations and interpretations, sometimes making suggestions as to sources of data. In this sense they help to triangulate the by authors made observations and interpretations.

## Chapter

# Empirical assessment

# # 5.1 Selection of the case study # 5.2 RQ2: How is the plan-, decision-making- and development process organised and are the conditions different for semi-public and private parties that lead to other outcomes? # 5.3 RQ3: What physical and socio-demographic implications result from differences in the conditions that influence the plan-, decision-making- and development process in the study cases?

#### Introduction

The challenge in this chapter is to determine the correlation among different characteristics that influence the physical and socio-demographic outcome of urban regeneration strategies. By descriptive detail; documents, quotations and triangulating, data assumptions are tested against the backdrop of two study cases; Park- and Laankwartier, two regeneration projects in the hearth of Rotterdam. The cases representat a semi-public and a private sector intervention under the same legal and timeframe conditions. They are therefore a relevant case for this research on differences in physical and socio-demographic implications in a market oriented decision environment.



Thesis Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

### Selection of the case study

5.1.1 Introduction

The empirical chapter provides insight into the urban regeneration process and tries to reveal possible influences on plan-, decision-makingand development processes by a market oriented approach in urban regeneration. It does so by investigating two cases in which one is semi-public and another is a private sector led urban development. Before an extensive case study is represented on plan-, decision-making-, the development process and the relation to possible implications on physical and sociodemographic outcomes of the project (section 5.2-5.3), the case study framework (section 5.1) is introduced in order to clarify the objectives and choices for the case study and case study projects. The findings are presented in section 5.3; these are the basis for the conclusions and recommendations presented in chapter 6.

#### 5.1.2 Case study framework

The increased number of private parties involved in urban regeneration projects, especially in neighbourhoods of empowerment (Krachtwijken) can be regarded as an tendency in a changing relationship between public and private actors (Heurkens, 2012). Different authors, as described in chapter 1, contest this development with in mind the social goals pursued in these vulnerable areas which are often non profitable. However, a systematic empirical analysis of possible influences to steer upon project outcomes in cases of a market oriented approach to confirm or reject the statements provided in literature has been minimal so far. Conducting an empirical case study seems to be a suitable method to add tacit knowledge to the academic field. With the underlying principles of the conditions that can possibly influence the plan-, decisionmaking- and development process the case study can explore upon causation to find underlying evidence for the arguments made against and for a market oriented approach to urban regeneration in vulnerable areas. The case study method makes it possible to analyse systematically and in-depth context dependent cases. It is an excellent option to retrieve a sharpened understanding of why instances happened as they did and a case study is able to handle multiple sources of evidence. These latter arguments make clear that a case study for this research might be a suitable method to reach the aim; to gain a better understanding of the physical and socio-demographical implications that appear in a more market oriented approach to urban regeneration in neighbourhoods of empowerment.

### 5.1.3 Case Question, Objective & Methodology

Here, the main case study research questions, objective and methodology are presented.

**Research question:** 

How is the plan-, decision-making- and development process organised and are the conditions different for semi-public and private parties that lead to other outcomes?

#### Objective

The objective is to find out whether or not market oriented parties are able to steer the urban development conditions in the cases analysed.

#### Methodology:

Multiple interviews with practitioners in combination with case documents and literature review should validate the findings of this case study.

In line with the presented conceptual model in chapter 2 the case description is focused on the plan-, decision-making-, and development process and the possibility to steer upon the physical and socio-demographic outcomes. First, the description of the case is provided. Second, the actor composition and their involvement in the process, interest of different actors, power and the used instruments and tools are described as the conditions where possible influence might arise. The Formulated research question allows us to achieve this objective. This case study research also tries to answer the following question to provide a basis for a systematic answer and overview of the private and publicprivate led urban regeneration project.

#### Research question:

What physical and socio-demographic implications result from differences in the conditions that influence the plan-, decision-making- and development process in the study cases?

#### Objective

The objective is to determine which conditions influenced the physical and socio-demographic

outcomes. It also tries to formulate a better understanding of the relation between the researched conditions and the physical and socio-demographic implications.

#### Methodology:

This question has an analytic nature and tries to formulate its answer based upon the findings in the previous research question. In combination with the qualitative information of the interviews and the set-up of causal paths, arguments pro and against, in the theoretical research it should validate the findings.

Hence we've established the objectives and proposed methodology of these research questions we are able to set up the practical selection criteria for the case study and case study projects.

#### 5.1.4 Selection of the case study projects

Within the Netherlands 40 neighbourhoods are since 2006 entitled as neighbourhoods of empowerment (Krachtwijken). This means that they suffer under accumulating problems such as criminality, public space deterioration and unemployment in the social, physical and economic environment. They retrieve extra attention on physical and socio-demographic aspects in order to brake with the downward focussed spiral. A detailed observation of the selected neighbourhoods shows that Rotterdam leads the list with seven selected neighbourhoods (table. 5.1.1).

The intervention approach in Rotterdam South is seen as prosperous and is assigned to the 'Pact op South' collaboration program (CCV, 2009). A program in which the government, municipalities, housing associations and different other neighbourhood related institution made appointments to tackle the problems. The analysis 'Kwaliteitssprong Zuid' made

Rotterdam (7)	Utrecht (4)	Alkmaar (1)	Maastricht (1)
Rotterdam Oud West	Kanaleneiland	Overdie	Maastricht Noordoost
Rotterdam Oud Noord	Ondiep		
Bergpolder	Overvecht	Amersfoort (1)	Nijmegen (1)
Overschie	Zuilen Oost	De Kruiskamp	Hattert
Oud Zuid			
Vreewijk	Arnhem (4)	Deventer (1)	Schiedam (1)
Zuidelijke Tuinsteden	Klarendal	Rivierenwijk	Nieuwland
	Persikhaaf		
Amsterdam (5)	Het Arnhemse broek	Dordrecht (1)	Zaanstad (1)
Bos en Lommer	Malburgen/Immerloo	Wielwijk/Crabbehof	Poelenburg
Amsterdam Noord			
Nieuw West	Eindhoven (3)	Enschede (1)	
Amsterdam Oost	Woensel West	Mekkelholt/Deppenbroek	
Bijlmer	Doornakkers		
	Bennekel	Heerlen (1)	
Den Haag (4)		Meezenbroek	
Stationsbuurt	Groningen (2)		
Schilderswijk	Korrewegwijk	Leeuwarden (1)	
Den Haag Z-West	De Hoogte	Heechterp/Schieringen	
Transvaal			

table. 5.1.1 40 Neighbourhoods of empowerment (Krachtwijken): rtl nieuws, 2007

to measure the progress on neighbourhood interventions names Katendrecht as an example project for successful area development (Mak, 2011). It delivers dues and best practices in times of economic recession (Mak, 2011). The approaches taken in Katendrecht are a combined force of private parties, housing associations and the municipality.

If rationality and urban planning are weak in the face of market oriented parties in Katendrecht, then most likely, they would be weak anywhere, at least in the neighbourhoods of empowerment in the Netherlands, because Katendrecht is the test case for area redevelopment in vulnerable areas and special attention is given to involvement of market oriented parties. Last but not least the results are measured on many aspects e.g. social liveability, safety and issues concerning spatiophysical conditions on which Katendrecht are entitled as a successful example of improving a neighbourhood of empowerment. Katendrecht in this sense is an interesting and representable case to test our research questions.

Now we've found a representative area we should select case study projects. Within Katendrecht several urban development projects are on the agenda (table 5.1.2.).

Within the analytical framework we have mentioned that it is important to test two cases with a maximum in variation on one dimension e.g. the composition of actors. If we test the project we can see that there are three legal areas that divide Katendrecht fig. 5.1.3. (the so called legal context). This means that the projects are split up in three areas. In order to select upon on a maximum in variation on the

New Katendrecht				
Project	actor	sector	status	
European China Centre	Volker Wessels	private	under construction	
Pakhuis Santos	Volker Wessels	private	under construction	
Codrico complex			plan	
De Passie			plan	
Finix loodsen I & II	Proper Stok	private	plan	
Rijnhavenbrug	Public works	public	realised	
Maashaven businesspoint en binnenvaartcentrum			on hold	
2e Katendrechtsehaven	Woonstad	semi-public	realised	
Rivierkwatier			posponed	
Parkkwartier	Proper Stok	private	realised	
Havenkwartier			plan	
Laankwartier	Woonstad	semi-public	realised	
Existing Katendrecht				
Deli plein	Woonstad	semi-public	realised	
Kaapseveer	Woonstad	semi-public	realised	
De driehoek (job properties)	Woonstad	semi-public	realised	

table. 5.1.2 Projects Katendrecht and project selection criteria

actor composition we need to look to a set of two cases in where we can find one private sector executed project and one semi-public sector led urban development, since public sector realisation in housing does no longer exists in the Netherlands e.g. municipalities do not built housing by themselves anymore. If we relate these criteria to data selection criteria the cases have to meet the next conditions:

Actor: private or semi-public Projects in the same legal area

For the practical side of the research it is necessary to have cases that are executed since there otherwise will not have been a completed plan-, decision-, and development process.

Within the legal area of 'Katendrecht Kern' there

are only semi-public development realisations to be found. These do not confirm to our selection criteria.

Within the legal area of 'Katendrecht Pols' most development is still under construction or still in plan phase. We cannot establish our case study in these legal area since there are no two project deviations that meet the selection criteria.

Within the legal area of 'Katendrecht Zuid' there are up till now, Jan. 2012, two projects realized, Park- and Laankwartier (fig. 5.1.4.) which meet the selection criteria. We will use these two projects to perform our case study. In the next section a brief description of both projects is presented. Starting with the neighbourhood Katendrecht in which the two projects are positioned.

#### 5.1.5 project case description

#### Katendrecht

Katendrecht is part of Rotterdam South and belongs to the district municipality Feijenoord. It is a peninsula centrally located in the built up space of Rotterdam. With the redevelopment of the 'Wilhelminapier' and the creation of the 'Erasmusbrug' Katendrecht received a position oriented towards the center. Katendrecht was a former destination for harbour activities but since those activities move towards open sea the area became available for redevelopment. A start was made at the end of the 1980s under the working title; 'Katendrecht old with New: transformation of de Kaap'. In first instance the so called 1e Katendrechtse haven was damped and built with mostly social housing in the rental sector. The former housing stock concisted out of 1700 dwellings from which 90 per cent was owned by one housing association (Kei, 2008). During the 'Vinex' period the second harbour mouth (2e Katendrechtse haven) was occupied with the creation of 300 dwellings.

The accessibility of Katendrecht is provided by the metro station 'Rijnhaven', a bus line, since 2011 a pedestrian bridge towards the 'Wilhelminapier' and two main roads; 'de brede Hilledijk' and 'de Hillelaan'.

In Katendrecht three different areas can be defined; the existing housing area, the so called wrist area (Polsgebied) and Katendrecht South. The existing part has a pre-war renovated area and a post war area. The level of amenities is divers with two small museums, kindergarten, day-care, school, neighbourhood accommodation, healthcare centre, a church, a certain amount of small catering industry and an amount of small shops. However this divers stock is declining year by year in advance of the new development period.

The so called wrist area (Polsgebied) was characterized by an industrial estate but lies fallow in anticipation to the new development of approximately 900 houses, office and business spaces and a recreational amenity program (DS+V,2009). The Katendrecht South area became available for development since the allocation of the transhipment company 'Hanno' in 1998. An area of 13,5 acres on which the '2e Katendrechtse haven, the Parkkwartier and Laankwartier are realised up till now. In total this south area should make place for 1000 new houses. Between this so called 'new Katendrecht' and the 'old Katendrecht' (existing) the park 'Kaappark' is realised with in mind the new developments.

After a big part of the plans are realised Katendrecht consists out of a more diverse composition (table. 5.1.5).

	Katendrecht	
inhabitants	4244	
labour force	2881	
job seekers	263	
allowances (WWB)	322	
residential houses	2095	
owner occupied	27%	
social rental	63%	
private rented	9%	
Typologies		
porch storey flat		
apartment		
ground served house		
single family house		
companies	93	
employed persons	537	
stores	41	
social safety index	7,6	

table. 5.1.5 Neighbourhood in numbers: Gemeentelijke Basis administratie (GBA) bewerking door het COS, 2011.



EMPIRICAL ASSESSMENT

Phase 1, Block I 78 single family houses 20 apartments Phase 3, Block II 82 single family houses 32 apartments Phase 2, Block III 39 single family houses

> Phase 3, Blok C 28 single family houses 27 apartments 8 free development plots 1 Chinese church

Phase 2, Blok B 49 single family houses 5 free development plots

Phase 1, Blok A 34 single family houses 1 primary school 5 free development plots

fig. 5.1.4 Katendrecht with Park- and Laankwartier development; source: Bouwwereld 2012

#### Parkkwartier

A design contest for a developer combination with an architectural firm led to a winning team that could realise the plans that were created. In a difficult economic situation this appeared to be difficult and the project never saw daylight. Another private developer, Proper Stok, took the initiative years later to realise a new plan and different approach.

The Parkkwartier development consists out of 106 single family houses and 27 apartments in three urban blocks with a wide dispersion of housing typologies. Besides of the private actor there were possibilities for private development (vrije kavels) by owner-occupiers.

The development is part of the so called 'new Katendrecht' were approximately 1000 houses are planned in the former industrial site of the transhipment company Hanno. The area should transforms to a living environment which refers to 19th century architecture as in Delft or Delfshaven Rotterdam.

#### Laankwartier

The Laankwartier was developed by Woonstad, a social semi-public housing association.

The Laankwartier development consists out of 78 owner occupied houses and 20 senior apartments in the first phase, 46 single family houses and 36 apartments in the second phase and 39 owner occupied houses in the third phase. This project is also part of the large scale development in 'new Katendrecht'.

85

Thesis Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

5.2

How is the plan-, decision-makingand development process organised and are the conditions different for semi-public and private parties that lead to other outcomes?

This chapter provides a in depth case description of two urban regeneration interventions in relation to the conditions in the plan-, decisionmaking- and develompent process. The conditions are one by one elaborated every time over both projects Park- and Laankwartier.

The chapter tries to answer the research question: *How is the plan-, decision-makingand development process organised and are the conditions different for semi-public and private parties that lead to other outcomes?* 

The overall goal of this research question is to determine if a market oriented approach and involvement of parket oriented parties in the project process lead to other outcomes.

#### 4.3.1 Composition of actors

#### **Tendering type**

The type of tendering has a great influence on which actor is involved at what stage of the planprocess. In the next section we determine which tender type is used in the study cases. In chapter 5.3 the possible influence of the tendering type in the plan-, decision-making- and development process is analysed.

#### Parkkwartier

The senior project developer from Proper Stok can confirm that the Parkkwartier development was realized under a private initiative: "We performed an unsolicited proposal. Together with several other parties we wrote a letter stating: 'we observed that the development with Bemog from Utrecht did not work out, we would love to take the initiative and we have this vision in mind for the development, it contained one a4, that's how it is started' (...) 'So it was actually a market initiative, that's how you should call it."

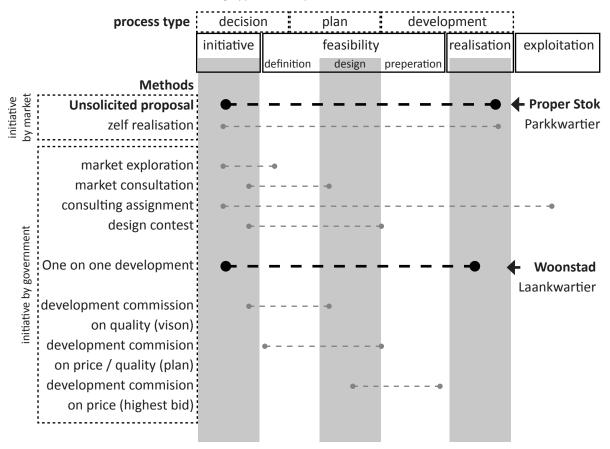
Comparing this information with the selection and types of tendering mentioned in the 'travel guide for area development ' 2011 we can observe that the actor Proper Stok was involved from the beginning of the development process (fig. 5.2.1). The early participation of Proper Stok means that they were involved in the development process before legal procedures have proceeded. In case of the Parkkwartier development this meant that the market party had a say in the amount of dwellings developed. The senior project developer form Proper Stok states:

"We thought it trough from beginning up till the end. For the design we attracted Geurst & Schulze architecten from Scheveningen and figured out how we wanted to have this, the architect elaborated this for us".

#### Laankwartier

The Laankwartier development is realized by the housing association Woonstad, previous known under 'de Nieuwe unie'. This is a semipublic party with social goals. Before Woonstad

signed for the development of the Laankwartier the location was openly offered to the private market. Later when Bemog developers retrenched in the Parkkwartier development and Proper Stok appeared on the scene the situation became different. Increasing criminality, physical deterioration, unemployment and other deprived neighbourhood attached problems "The municipality and Woonstad came together as they felt the urgency of a total vision on the area development of Katendrecht. From that point of new legal procedures in the Land use plan where started by the municipality after the previous procedure was never finished. At this point Woonstad got involved in the Laankwartier development and regards its tendering type as a



Tendering type versus process involvement

Fig. 5.2.1: tendering type versus process involvement case Parkkwartier and Laankwartier (based on 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling', 2011)

one on one development".

lead to a sense of urgency for intervention in the area by both Woonstad and the municipality. Woonstad owned at that time 90% of the housing stock in the neighbourhood of Katendrecht. Together with Proper Stok, the municipality and Woonstad agreements were made to attack the downward spiral. The program manager of Woonstad states:

The 'one on one development' means that Woonstad as semi-public actor was involved from the beginning of the project process through all phases until realisation (fig. 5.2.1).

#### **Governance space**

The type of governance space determines which stakeholders can access the decisionmaking process. In this section we entitle the governance spaces that are present in the study cases and that possibly influence the decision making. The latter aspect is elaborated in the analytical chapter 5.3.

#### Parkkwartier

Within the Parkkwartier development a distinction between the different parts that are elaborated should be made. The school was in the plan-, and decision-making process taken apart. The senior project developer from Proper Stok mentions:

"users of the school where invited for negotiation and discussion about the program (...) We negotiated with the municipality about the cost price of the school. There was no discussion possible about the ground price since this is fixed for societal real estate in Rotterdam. So we needed to pay these. Then we searched for parties that also wanted to purchase space so that it became a real community school (brede school)".

The housing program of the Parkkwartier development is a different case where the senior project developer mentions:

"that Proper Stok was the only involved party together with the municipality and the submunicipality. The role of the sub-municipality was to take care about a so called procedural article 19 procedure<sup>1</sup> (artikel 19 procedure) in which the department for urban development and housing from the municipality was involved. (...) There was no master-plan, no urban plan so Proper Stok set the preconditions. On behalf of the work that Proper Stok delivered discussions where settled (ontwerp teams) to steer upon from out of the municipality". If we relate this information to the definition of governance spaces we can entitle an invited governance space in the development of the school. The users of the school where invited for negotiation and discussion about the program. The development of the housing program points to a closed governance space in which Proper Stok and the municipality made decisions behind closed doors without any pretence of broadening the boundaries of inclusion. The interview with a senior project developer can confirm this observation:

"the architect (Geurst and Schulze Architects), the project leader from the municipality, Urban planner (from the Municipal department of urban planning and housing DS+V) and the project developer from Proper Stok were in an open conversation around the table. We all made clear our interest in which the municipality was clear; I need this amount of money, Urban planner; I want this image, Architect; wanted a bit of this. There were in our plans no other parties involved except all stakeholders that were necessary to get this job done. The only risk bearing party was Proper Stok.

From this interview we should made a side note to the entitled closed governance space. The actor Woonstad (developer of the Laankwartier) was informal involved in communication agreements to make both developments a success. All steps that were taken such as going into sale or the start of construction were done together. Both developments got into sale at the same time and they tried to match the products that both wanted to offer on the market.

"It was most important that the municipality, Woonstad and Proper Stok together established an advertisement campaign to put the development on the map and which was successful (senior project developer Proper Stok, 2012)".

Note

1. With an article 19 procedure one could get exempted from the building use and planning regulations obligated in the land use plan (bestemmingsplan). This exemption would mean the plan could be executed though it did not confirm the land use prescriptions. Before the development was granted citizens could submit their arguments against the development. Since July 1st 2008 the procedure does no longer exist.

#### Laankwartier

The Laankwartier development consists out of three phases and merely housing program. For the development of the total area of the Hanno strip a vision is created by Proper Stok, the municipality of Rotterdam and Woonstad.

In the design phase of the project the foundation that represents the interest of inhabitants (KBO) was involved in aspect that matter local inhabitants. Issues that were discusses are floor plans, social security and accessibility. The KBO had an advisory role which was not formal though regarded as Woonstad as important and effective as the program manager states:

"they have made addaptions in the original urban plan after suggestions of KBO which made the plan better".

The definition of governance spaces leads us to consider the advisory role of KBO in the development of Woonstad as an invited space. A side note can be placed on the informal status which keeps Woonstad in control over the final decision.

#### **Project envelope**

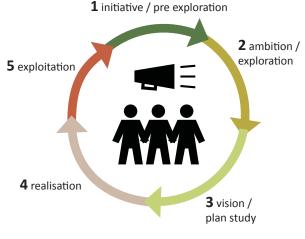


fig. 5.2.2 project process stages

#### Actors involved at what stage

Other than the tendering type and the closely related governance space the involvement of actors at what time of the project process is important to the possible influence on the outcomes. Whether or not an invited governance space is apparent it says something in relation to the stage the project process is in.

#### **Development Katendrecht**

According to the foundation for inhabitants in Katendrecht (KBO) they were involved in so called institution consultations (instellingen overleg) (KBO, 2007). Within these consultations all institutions that played a role in Katendrecht were represented. Later on the sub-municipality decided that the managerial view changed and that the foundation KBO should be excluded from the consultations (KBO, 2007). The foundation regards this a a disablement and contra productive situation. They found a so called solution in which all represented parties of the institution consultation have separate contact with the foundation (KBO, 2007). After intensive negotiations in late 2004 and beginning of 2005 there was raised a marginal substitute, the so called participation consultation. Within this consultation the sub-municipality, de Nieuwe Unie (now known as Woonstad), OBR and the foundation participate. They discuss about information containing the so called area agreements (gebiedsafspraken) for the old part of Katendrecht and the new development areas 'Pols' and 'South'. The intention is to establish a meeting 8 to 10 times a year. In 2007 this happened 7 times (KBO, 2007).

#### Parkkwartier

From the interview we can determine that Proper Stok, the municipality of Rotterdam and district municipality Feijenoord where involved from the beginning:

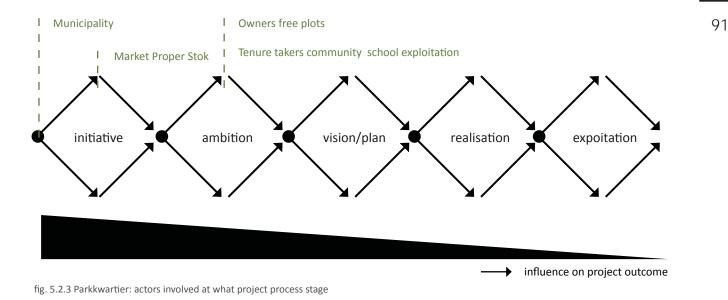
"...there was nothing, nog master plan, no urban

plan, preconditions for the development were established during the process".

During the feasibility phase (haalbaarheidsfase) actors around the development of the community school (brede school) were involved for negotiation and discussion about the design. The senior project developer from Proper Stok states:

"... the Jos, sport and recreation department, sub-municipality Feijenoord and another private company, those four parties were exploiters. We had to make a deal and all withing one year".

An agreement based on informing each other with the actor Woonstad is also been made in that period. Current inhabitants of the so called free plot development had a say in compensational activities such as access possibility to their not expected garden and a nice looking storage of the new neighbours. No other actors are known for their involvement in the development process of Parkkwartier.



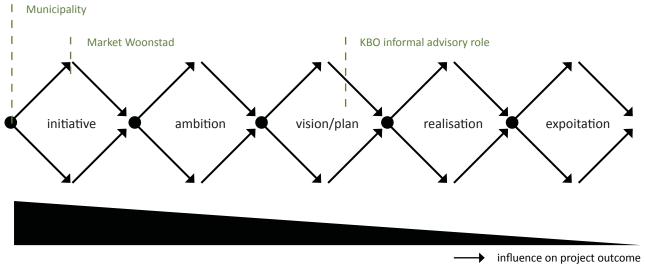


fig. 5.2.4 Laankwartier: actors involved at what project process stage

#### 4.3.2 Interest of stakeholders and actors

Parties, stakeholders or actors have different goals that they pursue. This difference in natural because off interest. In the next sections we define the interest of the public, private, local inhabitants and other stakeholders. We also define the shared values and the validity of the interest pursued by different parties.

#### Interest by the public body

Since the departure in 1998 of the transhipment company 'Hanno' at the North side of the 'Maas' harbour and the Southside of Katendrecht a large area became available for urban development (fig. 5.2.8.). The municipality of Rotterdam has formulated as starting point in their housing vision (Woonvisie) that all new housing should be realized in the category of middle and upper market segment (DS+V, 2009). Exception is the possibility where it concerns housing for elderly people, large housing or housing with in the basement a supermarket (DS+V, 2009). For the whole of the development area, the so called 'Hanno strip' the municipality has a division of cheap vs. market, 30 vs. 70 per cent (DS+V, 1999).

In March 2006 the first phase of both the Parkand Laankwartier development went into sale. The interest from potential buyers was extensive and within a short period all properties were sold out. The sub-municipality was therefore interested if the realisation of the next phases could be accelerated (sub-municipality Feijenoord, 2006).

For the public sector the interest needs to be translated in the distributional effects they want to achieve. They can use instruments such as organisational, financial or physical measures. These are described in section 5.2.4.

#### Parkkwartier

The program of requirements for the Parkkwartier development contains different goals which are stated by the municipality. Starting points are a residential area with a high quality living environment with its own identity though with a great discrepancy in variation (DS+V, 2009). The density and scale of the building typology should refer to the city of the nineteenth century. Referred is to the old city centre of Delft or the Delfshaven in Rotterdam. The emphasis is on dwellings that are served from street level (grondgebonden) with heights rising to three or four stories (DS+V, 2009).

Though the municipality has the goal of a cheap vs. market deviation of 30 vs. 70 per cent in the 'Hanno' development strip, DS+V (1999) sees a 100 per cent market oriented housing, middle and high prized dwellings, in the Parkkwartier development. The reason DS+V gives is that this project will contain most of the dwellings served from street level (DS+V, 1999). Administratively in legal procedures is established that the Parkkwartier development has a percentage of 20% housing in the cheap category.

The programmatic mix of living and working is stimulated with an emphasis on workspaces at home. An explicit desire from the municipality can be found in the request for houses realised under own responsibility (zelfrealisatie). A specific 10 per cent of the total houses should be realized in this category (DS+V, 1999). The municipality mentions that the design objectives for the design contest are already been made as also a concept land use plan that has been approved by the sub-municipality Feijenoord and that the subject of 100 per cent housing in the middle and high end market are sensitive at the sub-municipality and the foundation for the interest of the current inhabitants of Katendrecht (KBO; Katendrechtse bewoners organisatie) (DS+V, 1999). DS+V (1999: 4-5) states:

"This subject is sensitive to both the submunicipality Feijenoord as the foundation that

serves the interest of the local inhabitants KBO and a discussion would take some time on this subject".

Though the municipal development department (DS+V) stays at her opinion of 100 per cent middle and expensive housing as the next citation from DS+V (1999: 5-6):

"the managing director OBR takes the background of the note 'Woonstadbeleid' (a policy for housing on city level) and has the opinion that the aim should be 100 per cent housing in middle and expensive sector on the new development sites in Katendrecht".

It is important to know that at this particular moment there was no private market party selected. At that time a design contest was organised based on the program of requirements to select an architect and market party couple which could create elaborated sketches and an urban allotment deviation (DS+V, 1999). In 2006 the Aldermen writes in a letter to the board of the municipality that the Parkkwartier development still contains a goal of 10 per cent in the social buy or achievable rent (Bereikbare huur) (Karakus, 2006).

The design contest was won by the couple of Bemog project developers and van Winden Architects. Due to an economic dip and the offer of 200 houses at once and only six that were sold the development never started. Since this couple retreated the municipality had to search for a new developer, this time through an unsolicited proposal from Proper Stok. At this time the municipality had an accommodation demand for a school in combination with a gym and the wish for a community school (brede school) in combination with a day-care, sport facilities and a kindergarten:

"There was a accomodation request form the municipality of Rotterdam for a school. The so called 'Globetrotter' needed to alocate to the Parkkwartier development. the demand was actually that this was supposed to be a community school with a kindergarten and sport facilities and a playgroup".

The municipality requested the private developer to realize the first phase with the school if possible and look ahead to the development of phase two and three and please realise a certain amount of houses above 300.000 euros.

"The municipality had a clear formulated question: realise the first phase, take note of the school if possible and look with this development ahead to the 2nd and 3rd phase and pleas realise a certain amoint of dwellings above three hunderd thousand euros".

#### **Private sector interest**

#### Parkkwartier

For the Parkkwartier development Proper Stok made an analysis based upon the demands of the municipality. These were the attraction of people that would live in Katendrecht, a neighbourhood of empowerment, in the range of middle and expensive housing. According to the market analysis of Properstok these where the creative class, and the so called frontiers (pioneers) as the senior project developer states:

Municipal interest Parkkwartier	Municipal goal
Dwellings above 300.000	diversification
100% middle and high end market dwellings	

Fig. 5.2.5: Interest and goal public sector Parkkwartier development

## "A high quality of public amenities and public space could attract the frontiers".

Regarding the housing prices Proper Stok didn't took the current catalogue (WOZ) values in the surrounding area as leading points to determine the price of the new developments. They analysed what a property should be worth at a place with the geographical conditions that is has i.e. near to the centre, next to water a green park and a view. They realized that this wasn't a top neighbourhood at that moment so they slightly diminished the price. They calculated the ground prices for the municipality, the building costs and some additional costs and then determined the level of housing quality they needed to retrieve the amount of money aimed at.

Several authors mention the advantage of a market party that is involved at an early stage of the plan-, and decision-making process. Because of their market insights this would result in better market fit plans. In this particular case Proper Stok got a considerable part in the design composition of the project by inviting an architect/urban designer on its own risk and advantage (Cooiman, 2012).

"It was the wish of the company to invite its own architect in order to bring the project to a success".

To summarise the interest and goals the following chart 5.2.7 is made:

#### Laankwartier

Woonstad (2007) mentions as one of its important pillars from the city vision (Stadsvisie)

the conservation of people with a middle income within the city of Rotterdam. This means that they want to create more offer for this part of the housing market and mend in typology more street served housing (grondgebonden) and less apartments (Woonstad, 2007). Because of delay due to this state of mind in 2007 in other projects, phase two of the Laankwartier development was accelerated built from the end of 2007 (Woonstad, 2007). In general Woonstad is a semi-public housing organisation which is market oriented but does not have the working philosophy of obtaining land allocations for new development, especially not when it concerns upper market housing:

"...we do not focus to aquire all kinds of land allocations to start of new developments. Especially not when those are in the upper market, we have a lot of assignments within our own pocession".

Their task lies within the existing stock that they possess, in case of Katendrecht 90% of all housing before the new development in the so called 'Hanno' strip.

The interest of Woonstad for the Laankwartier development comes forward out of the unprofitable expenses they made in the existing property in Katendrecht as the program manager Woonstad mentions:

"the development of the Laankwartier has everything to do with compensating loses in interventions in the existing stock which are not profitable".

Together with the municipality they took

Municipal interest Laankwartier	Municipal goal
10% social rent	

Fig. 5.2.6: Interest and goal public sector Laankwartier development

care about an extensive upgrading project 'Deliplein' in which a large amount of money was spend to kick-start the whole regeneration of the Katendrecht neighbourhood. For their unprofitable expenses in these and forthcoming projects at that time in the existing housing stock they wanted to be able to cover costs by a development which consisted of new dwellings. See also risk profile 'Deliplein/Laankwartier (fig. 5.2.8).

Social goals of this former public housing association can be found back in the interest to build new apartments for people that have to move out (verplicht uitverhuizen) from interventions around the 'Deliplein' intervention. Regarding the Woonstad program manager:

"they found out that in these upstairs apartments (bovenwoningen) elderly people lived that could hardly walk stairs anymore. The goal of Woonstad became the relocation of these people to the new Laankwartier development and the apartments developed are deliberately levelled down (afgetopt) to keep them available for the target group".

From of their market oriented perspective and business results it was interesting to realize these housing for elderly. For their real estate portfolio they could add in this sense social rented housing which possessed elevators and where specific designed for elderly which was quite unique in the existing housing stock of Katendrecht.

Regarding the location the interest of Woonstad in the Laankwartier development was based upon the connection to their existing property as the next statement from the program manager points out:

"add citation"... "The Location of Parkkwartier was detached physically and in that sense less attractive".

Though Woonstad could not create the public space since they were only developers of the urban blocks and the municipality was responsible for the public space they made a deal on the quality of the public space. In that sense they hoped that the quality standard which is called 'Katendrechtse stijl +' could make a proper connection between the new development en the existing property on the other side of the street.

#### **Interest local inhabitants**

The local inhabitants of Katendrecht are partly represented by the foundation for inhabitants of Katendrecht (Katendrechtse bewonersorganisatie, KBO). The foundation has formulated its goals as the improvement of the living and quality of life for the inhabitants of Katendrecht. Within the annual report (2007: 2) the foundation states the following aspects to

Private interest Parkkwartier	Private goal	
High quality public amenities and public space	attraction of frontiers (pioneers)	
Price/quality relation on specific location	Housing quality that attracts frontiers	
Control over the design	success in the sale and development of the plan according to own knowledge and insight	
Equal quality phase 1,2,3	no outside difference in appearance	

Fig. 5.2.7: Interest and goal private actor Parkkwartier development

#### 'Deliplein regeneration' (high risk profile)

i.

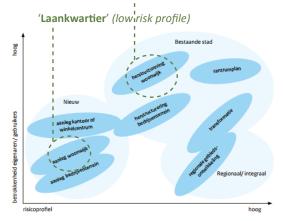


fig. 5.2.8 risk profile Deliplein regeneration and Laankwartier development

meet its objective:

- a. align with and support of all relevant institutions and bodies;
- support and where necessary regulate external activities;
- c. contribute to project development, guidance and implementation;
- d. informing residents about all relevant matters;
- e. promoting optimum say by residents;
- f. support and guide resident initiatives;
- assistance to residents, including
   through the district service centre;
- take care of the signal and / or ombudsman function towards government;

if necessary represent the inhabitants.

The foundation provided the sub-municipality with a qualified advice regarding the land use plan 'Katendrecht-Zuid' (KBO, 2007).

Regarding the general development plans of Katendrecht and especially the development in the so called 'Hanno' strip the KBO foundation had the viewpoint that the arrival of new target groups different from the existing ones would help retrieve budget for interventions in existing Katendrecht. In that sense their interest can be entitled as that they want to retrieve the needed interventions and for that they know that new target groups need to be added to retrieve the investment for these interventions.

#### Parkkwartier

Since 2005 the free plots where issued by the municipality for people who wanted to develop their own house. These persons got a so called lot passport (kavel paspoort) containing the restrictions and condition of their own development and stating the future development of an apartment complex around their site (fig. 5.2.16). Since the plans for these apartments were never sold and the private developer Bemog retrenched from the assignment new

Private interest Laankwartier	Private goal
Street served buildings	conserve middle income in city
Diversification	Housing quality that attracts frontiers
fast development phase II	continuity in companies overall develop- ment rate
compensation unprofitable interventions	housing career step / operating income (bedrijfsresultaat)
relocation of elderly people from the Deliplein intervention	serve their social goal as semi-public institution / upgrade their real-estate portfolio
Public space quality	A qualified connection between existing and new development

Fig. 5.2.9: Interest and goal private actor Laankwartier development

plans where made this time containing street served houses (grondgebonden woningen) with a garden. The free plot developers had already built their house with in mind that they would never have a garden and reversed their internal organisation e.g. living room on the top floor in order to have a great view and a sleeping room downstairs. By the arrival of the new plans they were able to have a garden and would get a total other surrounding they had counted upon and were stated by the municipality who granted them with the lot passport. The objections for the Parkkwartier development came from this corner, which were also new inhabitants of Katendrecht, to fight for their new houses which would be out of context with the realisation of the new plans.

#### Laankwartier

The spatial composition of the building blocks designed by Claus and Kaan Architects contained three identical sized urban blocks (fig 5.2.17). Because of this composition the street 'Timorstraat' was blocked in its view towards the waterfront of the Maashaven. Local inhabitants where not amused seeing their view disappearing by the coming new development. The KBO foundation objected for the preservation of this sightline as a living environment quality of the 'old' part (KBO, 2007). As the program manager of Woonstad states:

"Regarding practical issues the KBO was able to give advice on an informal base upon floor plans, accessibility, cyclists' facilities and social security of the Laankwartier development from Woonstad".

#### Interest other stakeholders

At the moment Bemog developers retrenched from their Parkkwartier development plans the situation at Katendrecht was socio-demographic and physical at a low point as the interview with both the program manager of Woonstad and the senior project developer from Proper Stok indicates:

"We saw that there was a lot to win because Katendrecht suffered under a negative image".

Proper Stok initiated to be involved in the development and saw together with Woonstad opportunities that they could realise a turning point in the downward focussed spiral.

"Woonstad was allready vested on the peninsula and I think Woonstad saw this as a opportunity. All steps we made we discussed from the first stone to sale (...) what was more important is the advertisement campaing created together with the Municipality and Woonstad to put Katendrecht on the map".

At that time when catalogue values (WOZ) where low (fig 5.2.17), crime activities high (fig 5.2.18) and interest of buying clients low there were no other parties interested in developing under the same conditions as were available on

Shared values Parkkwartier	Shared goal	
School	amenities / quality	
Turning the downwards spiral in negative	Katendrecht as a successful neighbour-	
neighbourhood effects (crime, physical decay,	hood	
amenities running down).		

Fig. 5.2.10: Interest: shared values Parkkwartier development

Katendrecht.

"In our plans there were no other parties involved except thos stakeholders that were necessary to start such a development. But no other parties that were risk bearing that was only Proper Stok".

#### **Shared values**

#### Parkkwartier

For the Parkkwartier development the municipality had the objective to realise the school in combination with a gym and preferably a community school (brede school) which should also include a day-care, sport facilities and a kindergarten. Proper Stok saw the school as a change and mentions that this is the difference with a single oriented commercial developer which only thinks in profit:

"We have developed the school, dwellings and a chinese church for own account and risk. We did not see such a school as a threat but as a opportunity and that is maybe also the difference between us and a tough commercial developer".

#### Laankwartier

The filed campaign 'Kun jij de Kaap aan' (can you handle the Kaap) was initiated when three parties came together and realized that they had the same goals. As Katendrecht suffered under problems with crime, decay and other problems entitled to neighbourhoods of empowerment the Municipality, Proper Stok and Woonstad realised that they needed each other to make the interventions successful. Their shared value conducted an improvement in the image of Katendrecht. The foundation for the interest of inhabitants of Katendrecht (KBO) shared in the common value that it was urgent to intervene and inhabitants supported the main line of reasoning as well as they suffered under the current situation of Katendrecht.

"The inhabitants from Katendrecht have suffured for many years. Most of the rioters appeared not to be a inhabitant of Katendrecht. They only came to riot. Offcourse are people against new developments from their own nature and want to stop it. But if you have a good story and realise what you have promised that people already see quite fast the good intentions and give you support".

#### validity

#### **Katendrecht-Zuid**

The municipality aimed at a division in social rent (bereikbare huur) vs. market (middle and high end) of 30 vs. 70 per cent. This deviation has been investigated in relation to the 'Woonstad' policy upon need from out of Katendrecht or district Feijenoord, the consequences for a housing career in relation to existing Katendrecht and the question on which urban need should be anticipated (DS+V, 1999).

#### Parkkwartier

Proper Stok has a societal approach towards the development because in their vision you can't work within inner-city development without collaboration among parties since you can't buy a whole neighbourhood:

"For the development of the school they negotiated with JOS (School board), sports and recreation department, sub-municipality Feijenoord and a private company. Within one year they finished the contract phase and hit the first foundation pillar (heipaal), another one and a half year later Proper Stok finished the school"

During the design process the foundation for the interest of the local inhabitants KBO gave an informal advice to the sub-municipality concerning the architectural design of the Chinese church in phase III of the development

#### (KBO, 2007).

Proper Stok deliberated in conversations with the municipalities about what they were about to do and about the layout of the public space.

"They heavily deliberated about the composition, the trees in the between-streets which are car free and the solutions for parking. Proper-Stok figured out these solutions and deliberated them with the municipality".

#### Laankwartier

With the urban design, based upon the urban planning constraints given by the municipality in the land allocation act (grondakte), the KBO found the interest of the local inhabitants underrepresented.

The design presented three urban blocks from the same size which in that sense blocked a view point from out of the existing housing at the point of the Timorstraat. In negotiation with dNU (Woonstad former knows as de Nieuwe Unie), DS+V the urban planning department of the municipality and the architect a for all parties acceptable compromise has been reached in which the sightline is kept and the amount of dwelling stayed the same by building an extra tower on phase III of the Laankwartier development (KBO, 2007). Woonstad regards that end solution as logical though they recognise that is was difficult for inhabitants to change something which was so logical.

"...thus as you see how difficult that is for inhabitants to change something which is logical in the end".

In the design phase of the project Woonstad had on informal basis consultations with the KBO to discuss floor plans, accessibility, cyclists' facilities and social security. Though they don't have a formal say upon the issues Woonstad regards the KBO as an important party with good ideas that needs to be taken serious.

"... we have always had the attitude from Woonstad that we, also with owner occupier plans passed by the KBO, not that they had a formal say but we regard them as important, we want to take the foundation and the inhabitants serious and they sometimes have very good ideas".

Another point of interest entitled by Woonstad was the ability for inhabitants of the existing housing stock to make a housing career in the new development.

"In this respect you specifically did not chose for a housing carreer for existing inhabitants? Well this was the initial idea, only this worked out limited, it worked but those cases can be counted upon one hand".

The results are a handful cases in which this worked out. In that sense if we look only to the Laankwartier development we could state that the program realised was market fit. It was analysed in the current housing market on the maximum possibilities and the program was made market fit (van Steen, 2012).

Though we have to be modest by taking only the scope of the Laankwartier development in this case because Woonstad used the development to compensate its investments elsewhere in the neighbourhood where it had loses. In that sense the validity of the process and development on its own can be regarded as low but in relation to a bigger scope and interest in the neighbourhood as high validity on development. Since it was difficult for the KBO to get its interests represented in the design the process validity can be regarded as low.

Local inhabitants interest Park- and Laank-	Local inhabitants goal	
wartier		
Signthline 'Timorstraat'	Keep their living quality	
Plan damage lot pasport	Esthetical quality	
Social quality, practical issues	an inhabitants fit plan	

Fig. 5.2.11: Interest and goal local inhabitants Park- and Laankwartier development

#### 4.3.3 Power of actors and stakeholders

#### Parkkwartier

#### Institutional power Parkkwartier

The Parkkwartier development did not have an owner other than the municipality since they bought the location from the relocating transhipment company 'Hanno'. As mentioned in the theoretical framework this can point to a municipality that takes the initiative in order to combine the power of planning authority with the powers of ownership. However there were no other interested parties at the time Proper Stok appeared on the scene. In the same line stipulation to the development are not found in the ground act (grondakte):

"There was nothing, no master plan, no urban plan, we created stipulations during the process".

It also appears that there were no strict obligations to when the development should be finished:

"The municipality did not use its legal power to steer us in any kind of direction"

According to these statements we can state that the public sector did not use its institutional power to steer upon the development.

#### **Financial power Parkkwartier**

According to the interview with the senior project developer it appears that there was no use of financial power of the public sector:

"Their were no parties that were risk bearing, that was only Proper Stok".

#### Powerplay stakeholders Parkkwartier

In case of the Parkkwartier development Proper Stok did not had any possession in the area and only had the availability of financial resources and can so be entitled as utilitarian power. The municipality who had the possession over the lots in this sense had material resources and can therefore also be entitled as utilitarian power. The foundation that represents the interest of the current inhabitants of Katendrecht (KBO) can be classified for its symbolic resources since it symbolically represents the improvement of the living and quality of life for the inhabitants of Katendrecht. If we would try to position Woonstad in one of these groups it should be based upon their procession in the area though this has nothing to do with the new development and therefore Woonstad cannot be entitled as a holder of power. For the definition of Stakeholder Woonstad is entitled to its value in the area which could be affected trough the new development in either a positive or negative way so in this sense they are opposed to the risk of the organisations activities and therefore entitled as voluntary stakeholders and according to literature have a legitimate claim.

#### Laankwartier

#### Institutional power Laankwartier

The program for the Laankwartier development was based upon Pact op Zuid<sup>1</sup> act. This act constituted a shift in the production from apartments to ground served housing (grond gebonden woning). Together with 'de grote woontest' (the big housing test) in which the result was that there was need for ground served houses instead of apartments that were planned everywhere and especially in South of Rotterdam where most neighbourhoods of empowerment are to be found. This change of thought resulted in a programmatic change since the target group that occupies the ground served house, mostly middle income, demands amenities and high quality public space.

"On 'South' where everywhere

apartments were planned. When 'Pact on South' causes a turn to create more ground served housing and because the big housing test (Grote Woonstest) pointed out that people were looking for single family houses".

The urban preconditions (steden-bouwkundige randvoorwaarden) laid down in the ground act (grondakte) consisted the goals of the municipality and therefore the municipality used its legal force to influence the program in the first instance.

#### **Financial power Laankwartier**

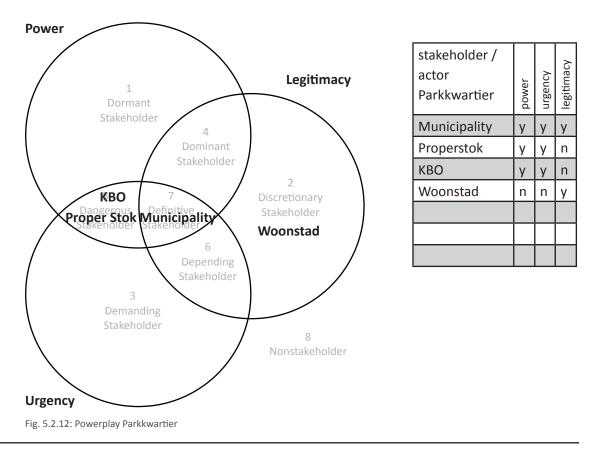
Investment for the realisation of the Laankwartier development needed to come from a market oriented party, in this case the semi-public housing association Woonstad. Whether Woonstad had the power or not they used the development to compensate on unprofitable interventions elsewhere in the neighbourhood as the interview with the program manager of Woonstad points out:

"... this has everything to do with compensation. If you intervene in existing housing stock you need to earn the investments back".

They made a deal upon the 20 social housing units which they could add to their portfolio after realisation of the Laankwartier development.

It may be the case that Woonstad used their financial power and the position of the Laankwartier at that time, which were no other parties interested in developing the location to create the deal on the 20 social houses that were part of the development:

"...From our real estate portfolio point of view it is interesting to have some new built social housing. So this was actually the deal we



Power of actors

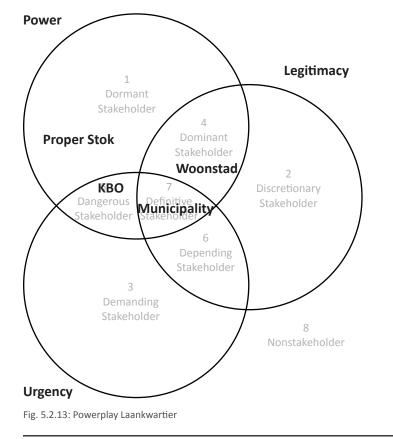
1.The 'Pact op Zuid' is a pact between housing associations, the municipality of Rotterdam and sub-municipalities in South Rotterdam. It consists of an investment program up till 2015 focusing on social, economic and physical quality improvement of South Rotterdam. (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2012).

made which was specificaly for elderly people and there were not much houses with an elevator in Katendrecht".

#### Powerplay stakeholders Laankwartier

If we would try to entitle the power configuration among actors and stakeholders we can define Woonstad as a holder of utilitarian power because it had the financial resources for the development. The municipality had material resources, the lots which they would allocate, and can be entitle also therefore as holder of utilitarian power. Looking at possible stakeholders Woonstad appears to be one since the decision made by the organising composition of actors could affect their property in the surrounding area. In the same way Proper Stok at that time bought the development rights from the municipality and can therefore also be seen as a stakeholder that could be affected. They are entitled to symbolic resources e.g. the development could affect their interest in the area. For the inhabitants foundation KBO counts the same situation as in the Parkkwartier development that they are entitled to a symbolic claim since they represent the interest of the local inhabitants.

The legitimacy definitions states that it is a desirable social good that it is something larger and more shared than a mere self-perception, and that it may be defined and negotiated differently at various levels of social organization (Mitchell, Angle, and Wood, 1997). This means that both Proper Stok and the foundation KBO representing the interest of the inhabitants do not have a legitimate claim because they serve their own interest and not those of others. Woonstad is entitled to legitimacy as it tries to create a housing career possible in other interventions by making profit on the Laankwartier intervention. In this way they want



stakeholder / actor Laankwartier	power	urgency	legitimacy
Municipality	у	у	у
Woonstad	у	n	у
КВО	у	у	n
Proper Stok	у	n	n

to upgrade the neighbourhood and serve both interest of the KBO current inhabitants and the municipality for upgrading the neighbourhood. The municipality is also entitled to legitimacy since it wants to serve social amenities, which is their task, but with that stimulate private investment and a better living quality in the neighbourhood.

Urgency is entitled when a stakeholder has (1) time sensitivity - the degree to which managerial delay in attending to the claim or relationship is unacceptable to the stakeholder, and (2) criticality – the importance of the claim or the relationship to the stakeholder (Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997) this means that urgency is defined as the degree to which stakeholder claims call for immediate attention. In case of the Laankwartier development the municipality has urgency in the development of their lots since they cause interest levies on their account. Another aspect might be the negative spiral of this neighbourhood of empowerment in which the municipality needs to keep its inhabitants satisfied in the end they have a vote. Woonstad has not direct time sensitivity but a side note can be given on the development in phase II which they put urgently on the company balance at the end of 2007 since other projects were delayed due to change in their business model (more ground served housing). KBO has urgency in the form that their living environment is endangered by crime, decay and other deprived neighbourhood aspects. Proper stok cannot be entitled as a holder of urgency since delay in the Laankwartier would not harm them and the time the development takes does not call for immediate action from Proper Stok.

#### 4.3.4 Instruments and tools

With the used instruments the public sector can steer the distributional effects (interest) that it wants to achieve. In order to do so the public body can use measures that stimulates, steer and forbid. For that the public sector has available a set of instruments containing legal, physical, financial and communicative instruments. In this section we try to name the instruments used within the two study cases. The main objective is to find out if the public body has control over the proposed development. By comparing the results in this section with the interest of the different parties we can see whether that is the case or not. The power-play and composition of actors' might be found to have a relation with this phenomenon within chapter 5.3 this is analysed. In this paragraph first the legal instruments are described followed by the physical, financial and the communicative instruments.

#### Legal instruments

#### Land use plan

#### Katendrecht zuid

The Park-, and Laankwartier development are part of the 'Katendrecht Zuid' land use plan. The regeneration of Katendrecht South has started in 1997 (DS+V, 2009) with the 'exploration note Katendrecht'. Within this note different programmatic en spatial possibilities are explored on the development in the strip 'Hannostrook' that comes available when the industrial transhipment company 'Hanno' leaves. In September 1998 a note on principles 'Katendrecht Maashaven Noordzijde' was determined by the administrative body (DS+V, 2009). Within this note the motive and goal, boundary of the planning area, global program and constraints from out of the land allocation were substituted. The first translation to a new land use plan was established shortly after in

1999 (DS+V, 2009). The predesigned land use plan 'Katendrecht Zuid' came in procedure and the definitive design in 2000. The procedure was never finished and because of other future development opinions a new procedure was started.

Within the later established land use plan 'Katendrecht Zuid' that was procedural finished the following use and building regulations (gebruiks en bouwvoorschriften) are stated:

#### Parkkwartier

- transitional element from public to private are possible; along the park there is a possibility for a front garden and along the harbour earlier stairs and curbs.
- cross streets are car free and are provided with a much as possible dwellings;
- stimulation working in combination with living
  - establishment of educational purposes is stimulated within al building blocks in Katendrecht South. The preference lies upon the location on the western side. A multifaceted gym in combination with a primary school could help strengthen the public character of this subarea. Within this zone there is more space for societal amenities so is the plan assumes the establishment of a Chinese church.
  - The maximum building height is limited to 15 meters and 5 stories in the middle part and the extensions allow a building height of 20 meter and 6 stories. Because of the size of the harbour and the desired urban look the focus lies upon 4 stories and higher along the 'Maashaven' harbour side.

#### Laankwartier

- Office at home dwellings are allowed;
- Not house fixed office space allowed in the plinth;
- As much as possible dwellings are situated along the small side streets;
- Middle part of the Laankwartier
   development has a maximum of 15m
   and 5 stories in height;
- The ends have a maximum of 20m in building height;
- At the so called 'Polszijde' there is a possibility to develop a pitch accent with a maximum of 35m.

In combination with the act on land allocation (grondakte) which is the contract piece when the development rights are sold to developers the municipality can keep control of the development. These instruments only provide certainty for the development about to come.

#### Esthetical memorandum (welstandsnota)

The municipality has used an aesthetical memorandum (Welstandsnota) to perform control on aesthetical issues of the Parkkwartier and Laankwartier development. On March 2006 the design of both cases was tested against the backdrop of the aesthetical memorandum.

#### Parkkwartier

For the development of 32 dwellings in phase 1 of the Parkkwartier development the designer gives the following motivation to the aesthetics board: 'The appearance refers to 19th century Rotterdam buildings with white listings and window frames. At the quay side the bigger units are composed of housing blocks while on the park side the individual dwelling is readable. On both corners of the build composition on the quay side the school and church are incorporated. At the inner court an attempt is made to realize a durable friendly and green quality by the use of a 1.80 meter high hedges and storages with roof tiles'.

The commission has appreciation for the set up and elaboration of the design. There is little discussion about the limited amount of openings in the façade of the church and school on the quay side, so cold blind facades. There are also question marks rising about the variation in bricks as the design by it self's already has a lot of variation. These remarks are not such that a positive advice cannot be granted (CW&M, 2006).

#### Laankwartier

In case of the Laankwartier development the Architect explains: 'within the composition of the urban blocks is sought for unity and strength that is a relation to the former harbour buildings located at the plan site. This starting point is translated to the different sides of the composition with buildings along the lanes with different heights and along the quay height accents on the corners and a lower middle part. Within the design of the lanes there is been sought to rhythm from associated blocks from slightly different heights and along the quay is chosen for more contrast in substantial height differences between a limited number of units. The unity of the total is been found with reference to the North side of the 'Noordereiland' in the use of related expressive window frames and gutters from light coloured concrete. The individuality of the houses within the big size of the total block arises by dormer windows (dakkapel) in the same concrete that are set trough the gutter per building. At the corner of the total block this individuality per house disappears by making place for more collective dominance of the urban block'.

The reaction of the commission who tests the design against the backdrop of the esthetical memorandum listens as follows; "although

the commission finds the elaboration of the theme individuality and collectively particular convincing is she amassed about the scale of the building on the quay side. In accordance to the criteria from out the esthetical memorandum (welstandsparagraaf) there especially here a big scale expected that connects to the scale in the harbour. At the lanes side on the other hand a more modest smaller scale and character is expected with slight height differences. The three story buildings along the guay are seen as to minimal. It is precisely the firm accents on the corner that express this smaller scale even more. De optional realisable dormer windows won't contribute to the desired scale in the convincing of designer as also the commission. These dormer windows are after all positioned backwards subordinate to the mass of the total urban block. The commission emphasis the negative judgement is not only based upon the formal judgement criteria form the esthetical memorandum. It is also about the expected, fitted scale along the open harbour basin and certainly also about the unity of the buildings in the Parkkwartier development on the other side of the Havenkwartier development' (CW&M, 2006).

#### Other used legal instruments

#### Parkkwartier

For the realisation of the Parkkwartier development that was performed by Proper Stok the municipality was able to steer upon the phasing for development with the land act (grondakte) which is a legal instrument coming along with the land allocation (gronduitgifte). Though Proper Stok had the freedom to perform its own phasing which was set on 1 year between the phases:.

"The first phase of the developent was such a succes, we first though to keep a phasing of a year, that we after the first phase was sold in six weeks brought the second phase on the market with a emergency brochure".

When properties were sold out rapidly they brought the properties for the second phase six weeks later on the market.

Pioneers who bought a house in the first phase of the Parkkwartier development were able to buy the property against a low price-high quality relation. This was possible because Proper Stok and the municipality together invented the progressive land price policy. With this legal instrument the private developer was able to buy the lots for a below market value from the municipality in the first phase. A market levelled value for the second phase and an above market level price in the third phase. This progressive system was used to stimulate sale in the first phase:

"for the land allocation that we bought form the municipality we created a progressive land price policy. The municipality gives discount on the land prices in the first phase, the second phase is market conform and the third phase is above the market".

Proper Stok was now able to lower the price for sale in combination with no profit for themselves to offer a sharp quality vs. price relation. In this way purchasers of houses in the first phase saw their profit the last year, when the area became a success, growing from a catalogue value of 200.000 euros up till 320.000 euros.

"So the progresive ground price policy together with a below avarage yield requirement has caused that buyers from the first phase greatly benifited".

#### **Physical instruments**

Physical instruments that were used to stimulate the development of Katendrecht and especially

the Parkkwartier development is the so called Kaappark (fig. 5.3.10). This recreational park with several functions had to attract investment and potential new inhabitants to the area. The strategy in both developments of Park- and Laankwartier was intensive pre-investments in amenities and high-quality public space. This strategy was used to attract the target group, frontiers, where Proper Stok was aiming to:

"Our viewpoint was that people from the creative class attach great importance to the quality of the public space. We discussed with the municipality that we would develop the schol together, we do that one first, and the municipality already furnish the public space. In this way if potential buyers would arrive they could allready see a school, a nice public space and think that they would see themselfs living overthere".

#### **Financial instruments**

#### Parkkwartier

Some form of financial stimulation is to be found in the Parkkwartier development. This contains the so called 'progressive land price policy' that is discussed earlier in this section. Frontiers were able to retrieve a financial benefit for issuing a house and bearing risk in future WOZ value (Catalogue value house prices) development.



fig. 5.2.14: Kaappark Katendrecht

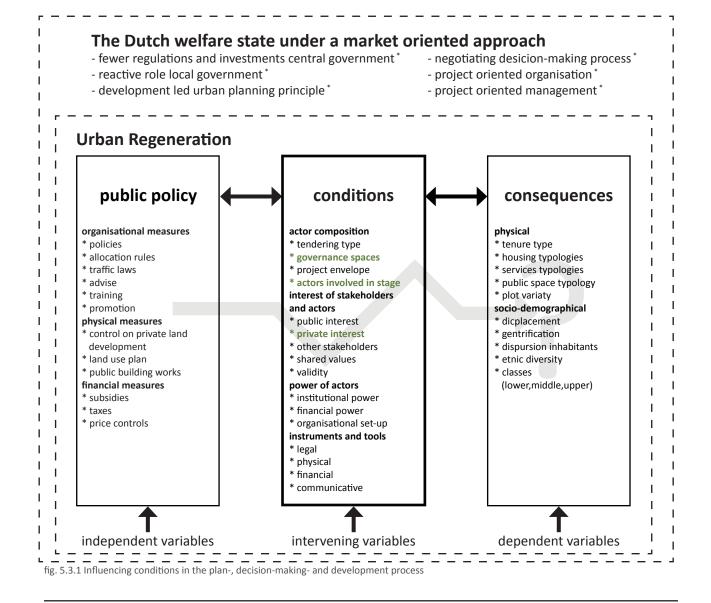
#### **Communicative instruments**

#### Laankwartier

Within the Laankwartier development the municipality offered financial funding to hire professional consultants that were able to help advocate the interest of the KBO. This instrument is exceptional but regarding to the municipal program manager necessary to reach agreement upon different aspects around the development.

Municipal interest Parkkwartier	Municipal goal	Instrument
Dwellings above 300.000	diversification	land allocation act (grondakte)
100% middle and high end mar- ket dwellings		
Municipal interest Laankwartier	Municipal goal	
10% social rent		land allocation act (grondakte)
Private interest Parkkwartier	Private market goal	
High quality public amenities and public space	attraction of frontiers (pioneers)	consultation municipality
Price/quality relation on specific location	Housing qulaity that attracts frontiers	progressive ground price policy / no profit 1 <sup>st</sup> phase of development
Control over the design	success in the sale and development of the plan according to own knowledge and insight	probably risk agreement with the municipality
Equal quality phase 1,2 and 3	no outside difference in appearance	progressive ground price policy
Private interest Laankwartier		
Street served buildings	conserve middle income in city	
Diversification	housing quality that attracts frontiers	typological diversity
fast development phase II	continuity in companies overall development rate	
Compensation unprofitable interentions	housing career step / operating income bedri- jfsresultaat)	
Relocation of elderly people from the Deliplein intervention	serve their social goal as semi-public institu- tion / upgrade their real-estate portfolio	
Public space quality	a qualified connection between existing and new development	
Local inhabitants interest Park- and Laankwartier	Local inabitants goal	
Sightline 'Timorstraat' (Laank- wartier)	Keep their living quality	objection procedure
Plan damage lot pasport (Park- kwartier)	Esthetical quality	plan damage (planschade) informal negotiation
Social quality, practical issues (Laankwartier)	an inhabitants fit plan	informal discussion

fig. 5.2.15: Overview interests, goals and instruments different actors/stakeholders Park and Laankwartier development



# 5.3

What physical and socio-demographic implications result from differences in the conditions that influence the plan-, decision-making- and development process in the study cases?

In this chapter we analyse the observations made regarding the case study in the previous chapter. The main goal of is to formulate an answer to the research question; 'What physical and socio-demographic implications result from differences in the conditions that influence the plan-, decision-making- and development process in the study cases; a more and a less market oriented approach? First the different conditions are elaborated one by one and the last section elaborates on possible relations among them.

#### 5.3.1 Condition composition of actors

#### **Tendering type**

Both cases used a tendering type in which early participation of the market oriented parties took place. This gave them the position to be actively involved in the projects direction of development. We have seen that in de case of the Parkkwartier development the private actor Proper Stok was the directing client of the design made by the architectural firm Geurst & Schulze. Proper Stok was able to direct upon decisions before legal procedures for permitting or prohibiting were stated in legal documents such as the land use plan.

#### **Governance space**

The used governance space (closed) in combination with the tendering type where Woonstad was early involved made is possibly easier for them to realise their interest. Interesting point in the distribution of benefits is the design adaption in the layout of the plan. The foundation that represents the interest of local inhabitants (KBO) managed to retrieve an adoption in the initial plans. Although this was not implemented until the semi-public actor Woonstad saw her interest represented in an adaption by the municipality in the building envelope the weaker stakeholders got served by not handing in quality of their living environment.

#### **Project envelope**

The initial project envelopes seem to have little attraction to market oriented parties since there was little interest other than Proper Stok and the already in the neighbourhood vested housing association Woonstad. Though those project envelopes contained enough commercial attraction to Woonstad since it used the development to compensate loses on other more risky and less profitable interventions in the existing building stock of Katendrecht. Whether or not other parties would have been attracted with another project envelope remains conjecture. It may have influenced the intervention power (financial) Woonstad had in other interventions in existing Katendrecht, however we have not researched this aspect.

Proper Stock got an initial project envelope in which they were able to steer towards their interests. The only restriction was the development of a school. This had particular influence on stakeholders of the existing free

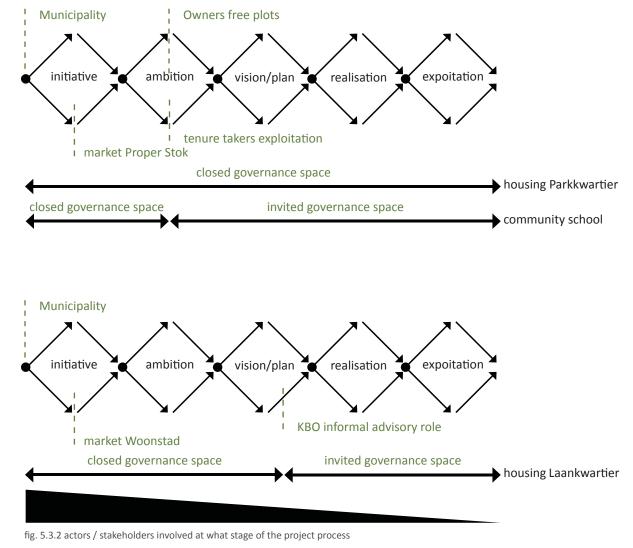
plot houses, they were informal entitled to plan damage. If a project envelope would have been set-up by the public sector the starting point was probably the existing housing around the project envelope. Proper Stok, the private actor, has as starting point the market and develops according to market demand. We can conclude that attention need to be given to the existing surrounding of stakeholders when it comes to project envelopes which are merely free to develop by private actors.

#### Actors involved at what stage

This item is closely linked to governance space but is useful to identify as an individual

consideration.

In both developments some sort of invited governancespace is entitled e.g. the development of the community school and the advisory role for KBO in the housing development of Laankwartier. If we relate those data to the total process of a project (fig. 5.3.2) we can see that in case of the Parkkwartier development more influence could be exposed by stakeholders to the organisation of actor in order influence the actual outcomes of the project. In case of the Laankwartier development the stakeholder KBO was at a later stage in the total project process involved and could less influence the actual outcomes.



### 5.3.2 Condition interest of stakeholders and actors

We can observe in the interest that the private party want to use its market knowledge and insight. Compared with the arguments for a market oriented approach, circumscribed in the theoretical framework, we can state that this aspect is an advantage. The research points out that the composition of the plan changed according to the private developer interest and that this turned out to be a successful strategy. However a remark that should be made is that the control possibilities of the public sector, once provided a rather free or unconditional licence for development, are absent.

## 5.3.3 Condition power of stakeholders and actors

In case of the Laankwartier development Proper Stok is positioned as a dormant stakeholder and

	Local inhabitants interest Park- and Laankwartier	Local inhabitants goal
Ī	Signthline 'Timorstraat'	Keep their living quality
	Plan damage lot pasport	Esthetical quality
	Social quality, practical issues	an inhabitants fit plan

Private interest Laankwartier	Private goal
Street served buildings	conserve middle income in city
Diversification	Housing quality that attracts frontiers
fast development phase II	continuity in companies overall devel-
	opment rate
compensation unprofitable interventions	housing career step / operating income
	(bedriifsresultaat)



fig. 5.3.4 Municipal concession based on interest market and civil sector

Thesis Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

does not have a legitimate claim or urgency so the expectation is that they won't use their power can be found true in the different plan-, decision-making-, and development process. The KBO is positioned as a dangerous stakeholder in who according to literature (Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997) need attention of the organising parties because they can harm the product. KBO used that power to adept the initial design by an objection based on the symbolic claim; the preservation of view for the living environment of current inhabitants in the 'Timorstraat' street. (fig. 5.3.2).

The strong position of Woonstad in the Laankwartier development might explain their negotiation position. Though in both cases the municipality is entitled as the definitive stakeholder it seems that the other actors having two factors of power are able to negotiate on the project.

In the parkkwartier development it might be the case that Proper Stok can steer the development upon its will in the plan-, decision-making-, and development process since it is entitled as dangerous stakeholder. The KBO also has this position (fig. 5.3.4).

In this case there was no clear separation of the public function in establishing the land use plan. Proper Stok was able to set the conditions which were taken into legal procedure to establish the land use plan. In this case different aspects appoint to the general need of realizing quick outcomes.

Within the Laankwartier development it seems that the municipality is the only definitive stakeholder. The result of this part of the research is interpreted in that sense that this would indicate that the municipality has

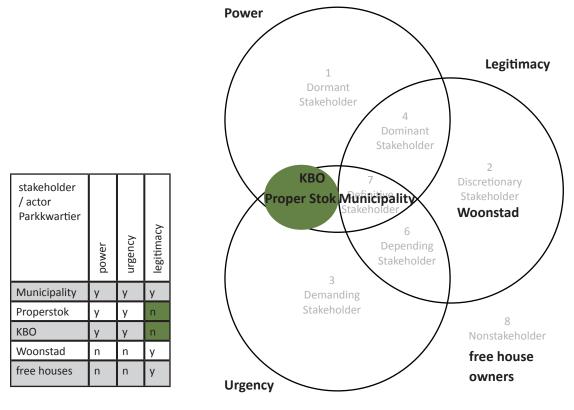


fig. 5.3.4 KBO and Proper Stok as dangerous stakeholders

most power to impose its will in the plan-, decision making-, and development process. The Parkkwartier development shows a similar image where one dominant stakeholders appears, the Municipality. In this case it might be that Proper Stok has power to steer upon its will in the plan-, decision making-, and development process since it is a dangerous stakeholder in the organisation.

In case of the Laankwartier development Proper Stok is positioned as a dormant stakeholder and does not have a legitimate claim or urgency so the expectation is that they won't use their power.

The KBO is positioned as dangerous stakeholder in which according to literature (Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997) needs attention of the organising parties because they can harm the product. Woonstad positioned as dominant stakeholder is according to literature in the position where dominant stakeholder move into the 'definitive' category. That means that if they would add urgency to their status, what for example happened in phase II of the Laankwartier development to serve their company result, have the same power configuration as the municipality. That would indicate that power in this case would not be the area in which the municipality (public sector) is able to control the development (fig. 5.3.5). A side note maybe the privatisation in that sense since market oriented parties are forced to keep their business running by making profit. This implies that they have more often an urgent claim on the development for company results. Reverse an on-going shrinkage of government budget could imply that they won't be able to have ground processions anymore. This would imply that the municipality moves from a dominant to a depending stakeholder since they lost their claim on material (ground) possession and won't

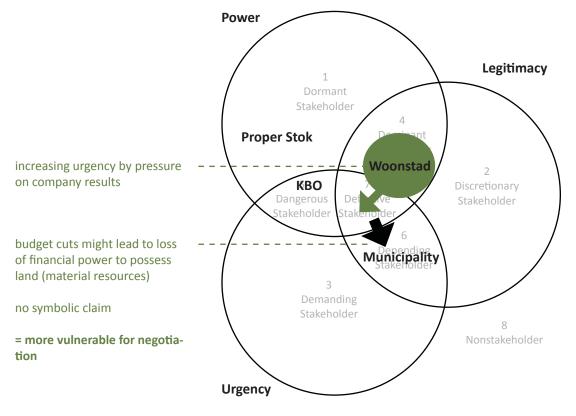


fig. 5.3.5 The housing association Woonstad as definitive stakeholder

have financial resources either. A symbolic claim which would be the last option would be hard since they don't have possession other than amenities which might not be affected by new development. A weaker public sector (financial, possession) would be harmful four controlling social goals in the face of power. Especially in vulnerable areas such as neighbourhoods of empowerment this could mean market oriented parties taking the lead with development that they prefer and suits the market.

If Woonstad is forced by legal instrument to upgrade their property in for example Deliplein. It might be in that sense that they could put a claim on their unprofitable expenses that they would have to make in those interventions. By negotiations about new development with the municipality Woonstad was able to use the Laankwartier development to compensate on the unprofitable projects elsewhere in the neighbourhood. They even were able to make the deal to keep 20 houses for their own portfolio.

#### 5.3.4 Condition instruments and tools

Based upon the findings in the previous chapter we determine here how the public sector could or tried to steer upon their interests.

#### Institutional instruments

#### Parkkwartier

The municipality had in their program of requirements established a goal of reaching 10 per cent of houses constructed by individual house builders (zelfrealisatie) in the Parkkwartier development (DS+V, 1999). To reach this goal the municipality used their ground positions and with that the right to change the type of land use, which a public body can only perform. The legal instrument used was the land allocation act (gronduitfite) and they used

their powers as a planning authority to steer upon the development by giving restrictions to the development, in this case the so called lot passport (kavelpaspoort) on which the issue of the building permit was tested upon, aside of the land use plan (bestemmingsplan), which are both legal instruments.

#### 5.3.5 Relations among the conditions

#### Interest in relation to instruments

The municipality has the final instrumental power by the land use plan and the land allocation act. Though if there is no interest for development the municipality will not retrieve any levies on the land allocation to developers. So in this sense the municipality is dependent on developers who want to buy the development rights from the municipality. The developers here have the opportunity to influence the program before it goes into legal procedure.

In this chapter we have highlighted the empirical lessons and consequences of two Dutch cases. We've indicated the conditions that influence the physical and socio-demographic implications. The plan-, decision-making- and development process are exposed and related to the implications.

119

Thesis Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

# Chapter

## Conclusions

## and recommendations

# 6.1	Conclusions
# 6.2	Recommendations for further research
# 6.3	Reflection

#### Introduction

The concluding chapter of the thesis conducts the discussion of the assertions established based on the findings in the empirical assessment chapter. The limitations of the research and used methods are circumscribed and recommendations for further research are made.



Thesis Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

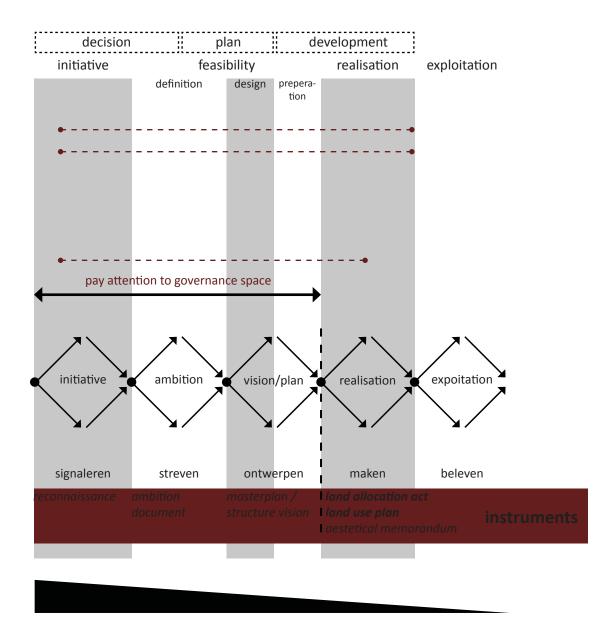


fig. 6.1.1 actors/stakeholders involved at different project process stages in relation to instruments and tenderingtype

### Conclusions

6.1

The problem posed in this research was the big change the national government have made for doing urban regeneration under an increasing market oriented environment that led to changes in the composition of actors involved in projects. A different mix of parties will influence the outcomes and may lead to other consequences in physical and socio-demographic implications in vulnerable areas such as neighbourhoods of empowerment (krachtwijken).

The main objective of this research was to gain a better understanding of the physical and sociodemographic implications that appear in a more market oriented approach to urban regeneration in neighbourhoods of empowerment. The research has put forward the different conditions such as actor composition, interest, power and instruments which can be influential to the physical and socio-demographic composition. It has described how these conditions might function and who is able to use or influence them. Also the research has investigated the conditions in two cases in which became clear that the public sector has enough legal instruments to steer upon or influence the different outcomes although they might become vulnerable for negotiation in the near future. Especially when social interest from market oriented parties are lacking. The results of the research are point by point elaborated in the next sections:

#### 6.1.1 Conclusions

## Project envelope versus a market oriented approach

The research points out that attention needs to be paid to the existing surrounding of stakeholders when it comes to project envelopes which are merely free to develop by private actors. The project envelopes seem to be more a lead motive in a market oriented approach then a static entity. In the case of the Parkkwartier development we saw this aspect represented in the informal invited governance space. Here stakeholders of the existing free plot house developments were able to state which compensation they demanded to compensate on the plan damage. The public sector appeared to have minimal power over the offered project envelopes as they in both project cases have been adopted by the market party. The public sector does not seem to have any legal instruments that are able to steer upon interest of the surrounding stakeholders (inhabitants) for which the public sector (municipality) is responsible.

## Successful development market oriented parties, controlling instruments and invited governance spaces

In the research we observed that skills and interest of the market oriented party can lead to successful developments though needs to be steered upon to represent other (weaker) stakeholders' interest. In the Laankwartier development semi-public actor Woonstad and

stakeholder KBO were able to influence the physical outcomes. The project envelope was adapted to serve the interest of Woonstad and the plan layout was adapted to serve the interest of the KBO foundation. Conditions that are related to this aspect were the power different parties possessed. It appears to be important which governance space (composition of actors) is used at what time of the project process. The KBO was trough the used governance space and the power-play able to impose its interest into the decision making process. The municipality in these aspects has less controlling or steering instruments once performed a rather free or unconditional licence for development. In both project cases the negotiation process took place in advance of legal procedures were the public sector has lacking instruments to steer upon the development. To compensate the loss of control in such cases attention should be given to the so called invited governance space and the moment in when stakeholders are involved to the project process (fig. 6.1.1). This can help overcome not well fitted physical and socio-demographic developments.

#### Professional representation interest weaker and less professional stakeholders

Within the case study project Parkkwartier we have observed that current inhabitants were able to make a claim on the changed plans from the private developer. However this was based upon a legitimate claim (the lot passport) which often is not in possession of surrounding inhabitants in case of new developments. Within the Laankwartier we have observed that the institution that represents the interest of the current inhabitants was able to change the plan layout. Regarding power it looks like the assignment for current inhabitants is a professional formulation of their interest in order to be successful in the plan and especially the decision-making process.

## The housing associations as definitive stakeholder and vulnerability of the public sector in the negotiation process

We have seen the distribution of consequences in the Laankwartier project ending up at the municipality. They had to hand in interest on behalf of the power-play. Both Woonstad and KBO saw their interest represented in the final project. We have indicated that this might be an example of a housing association that is moving to a definitive stakeholder and a public actor that becomes more vulnerable for negotiation.

Since the municipality appears to become more vulnerable for negotiation upon project outcomes the used tendering type and contract agreement, public-public, public-private, private-private, gain of importance to pay attention too. For especially the early stages of the project process with interventions executed in vulnerable areas such as neighbourhoods of empowerment it is important to represent interest of vested stakeholders, weak and strong ones.

A market oriented approach in urban regeneration might result in housing associations that need more profit to protect their company's existence. This would imply that they are no longer acting without urgency for development and become a definitive actor in the power play. The public sector which has a demand for investments of the market sector and cuts in expenditures might lose its financial power to possess land. In this situation they lose power (material resource). In combination with the regarded so powerful land use plan instrument, where no development would harm the public sector, the public sector might become more vulnerable for negotiation in a market oriented decision environment.

If the public sector is more vulnerable for negotiation then it becomes important to know

what interests the market oriented parties. The socio-demographic implication of the Laankwartier development became 20 senior apartments for an upgrade in the real estate portfolio of the actor Woonstad. The result might be different if the initial social interest of this strong actor is different.

## Separation public instruments from market oriented influences

The classic public functions appeared not to be properly separated; the private parties were able to steer upon the land use plan. This aspect doesn't have to be worse case, such as mentioned in literature, as long as interests of other stakeholders are represented in another way. In this particular case the closed governance spaces does not help to represent these interests of local inhabitants well. It might be the case that the plan- and decision-making process was focussed upon a need for fast results as was mentioned by the interviews of the program manager of Woonstad and the senior project developer of Proper Stok.

## The main research questions put forward in this thesis

How are the roles and approaches to urban regeneration changing in a market oriented environment?

In the research we have observed that regeneration in the past was less market fit and that current interventions need investment from the private market. We also observed inplications in public policy for conducting urban planning which led to a more entrepreneurial approach.

How is the plan-, decision-making- and development process organised and are the conditions different for semi-public and private parties that lead to other outcomes? We can state that certain conditions (governance space, interest and public instruments) are importance when it comes influencing the outcomes. This research has presented a detailed view of the plan-, decision-making- and development process of two cases. Differences in outcomes are not directly apointable with an cause. It remains rather difficult to answer the second part of the question even ather conducting this research.

What physical and socio-demographic implications result from differences in the conditions that influence the plan-, decision-making- and development process in the study cases?

The governance space seem to be of importance when in comes to a market oriented approach. It can replace formwer public instruments that were used to control the development. In both cases we have observed implications that are physical or socio-demographical. We've observed that the muncipality had to adapt its project envelope in order to meet with the interest of the KBO and the semi-public actor Woonstad.

#### value of the research outcomes

The research does not only cope with the physical part (urbanism) but also conducts a research on social demographic effects. It conducts an analysis of the plan- and decision-making process and the physical and socio-demographic environment. In such it is a research that has investigated where many authors write about in parts i.e. social or physical objectives, process or outcome as a total image. The research shows that many authors have different views about the possible implications of a market oriented approach in vulnerable areas. The results of the research are therefore valuable for authors whom try to make statements regarding the implications that appear when urban regeneration interventions take place under a more market oriented approach. They can be used for a better understanding of

the implications in relation to project specific processes.

## 6.1.2 A reflection to the used theories and theoretical arguments

We can confirm the concerns among different authors about stronger stakeholders imposing their will in the decision-making process. A conclusion connected to this phenomenon might be that it is important that the interests of local inhabitants are represented as a collective in order to make their stake operational in the decision-making process (design phase).

Different authors also wrote about the difficult relation between the professional stakeholders and the civic stakeholders who often have far less experience with these kinds of development processes. The findings in the Laankwartier development point to such a statement where professional consultants were hired to help represent the interest of the local inhabitants (KBO) in the process. This might explain their successful claim on the sightline 'Timorstraat' which adopted the design layout of the Laankwartier development.

## 6.1.3 generalisability of the research outcomes

If planning in the face of power was week in Katendrecht it might be that these results can appear in other vulnerable neighbourhoods of empowerment as well. The spatial planning is not regarded as weak or even low, the public sector appeared to have a dominant position in the development in both project cases. However there is vulnerability to detect in which the public sector should pay attention to. That is in this case but certainly also valid for other cases in the future. Especially in the case that housing associations become financially vulnerable and need more profit in order to protect their existence.

# 6.2

## Recommendations for further research

Conducting this research delivered lots of sub subjects as participation theories and main research topics as Gentrification or displacement that have passed the desk. In that order the following can be mentioned regarding recommendations for further research.

This research has thrown up many questions in need of further investigation:

How to create profit in urban regeneration projects whilst maintaining social values? How to represent interest of weaker stakeholders in difficult multi actor environments? Which future role has the housing association in relation to the representation of social goals?

The findings represented in this research provide the following insights for future research:

- the traditional approach to plan and decision making of the public sector seem to need change in order to represent weaker stakeholder interest in the intervention.
- the invited governance space can have a meaningful value to represent those interest of weaker stakeholders but is subject to the time it is used in the project process.

In this research we've investigated the market oriented aspect in two project cases from which they were set in the same legal condition and a maximum in variety on the composition of actors. It would be interesting to compare experiences of other legal conditions that are more fixed in for example existing neighbourhoods. An urban regeneration project which conducts a transformation assignment for example.

In order to establish valuable knowledge about physical and socio-economic implications of a market oriented approach a considerable amount of or research is needed on a multitude of cases.

Reflection

# 6.3

#### 5.3.1 Introductions

The aim of the reflection is to look back and see if the approach worked properly to answer the research questions stated in this research. Therefore we first give a brief introduction to the subject and field of study.

The reduction of government budgets means in urban regeneration a more prominent role for market oriented parties. The ways in which costs and benefits are distributed are different and this has possible different spatial outcomes as a consequence than in a public sector led urban regeneration project. It might be the case that the latter is more appointed to the current inhabitants (as in 'building for the neighbourhood') and that market led urban renewal in an earlier stage can lead to 'gentrification' and associated 'displacement' of original inhabitants. The objective therefore of this research is to retrieve a better understanding of the spatial and social implications that appear in a more market oriented approach to urban regeneration.

## 5.3.2 The relationship between research and design

Within this conducted research we have obtained theoretical knowledge about the plan-, decision making-, and development process that takes place around urban development projects. In this research we have chosen for an in-depth case study which represents the design part in that sense those actual designs are tested upon the knowledge retrieved from theory. Concepts like the composition of actor composition, validity, power, interest and instruments influence the way the design, in this case the real design, looks like. We have used the theoretical knowledge to formulate evaluation themes for the case study projects. By performing the actual in-depth case study backwards knowledge is also retrieved that could confirm what we have learned in theory or reject those observations. I think the choice for an in-depth case study in this part strengthens the relation between theory and assessment of a design. In this sense we are able to produce actual knowledge. Though we have to be modest about the results so far since we were not able to formulate them firmly yet.

## 5.3.3 The relationship between the theme of the studio and the subject of this research

The graduation studio Complex Cities focuses upon globalisation processes in which the student should retrieve a clear understanding of strategic planning processes under contemporary productive, political and technological conditions. In this research this aspect can be found in the entrepreneurial approach towards the development of housing in the Netherlands. An increasing amount of competitiveness based interventions on the lager scales such as inter-city, regional of even national makes the situation on non-profitable interventions harder.

Different authors contest this development with the main argument that they foresee market oriented decisions regarding urban development interventions in vulnerable areas. In that sense the location of this project lies within a complex entity where market oriented parties intervene in neighbourhoods of empowerment at strategic locations in the city fabric. The research questions focus upon an in-depth understanding of the plan-, decision making-, and development process. The research tries to analyse the processes in a conceptual manner as such if this entrepreneurial competitive approach is a threat or potential for achieving social goals in a welfare state with Anglo Saxon influences in the urban regime.

In general most students produce a strategic spatial plan or design interventions which are also one of the goals of the studio. Though this research is different on that aspect and does not have such end results. In this sense this research could be entitled more to the theoretical focus of the studio in which processes are analysed and understood. Since the subject of research follows one of the main research subjects of the studio and especially the chair of Spatial Planning it fits well in their portfolio. Instead of producing a strategic spatial plan it analyses two development processes in retro perspective. This was for this research the best option since a strategic plan would not have made sense in the first part and would not fit in the objective of the research in the second part.

## 5.3.4 The relationship between the methodological line of approach of the studio and the method of this research

The studio offers methodological lessons to all urbanism graduates. The studio has the belief that a methodological and structured approach will help to place these practical studies more on a comparable scale with other studies as sociology or geographical studies. In this sense a more integrative approach in research and reflection of the practise is represented in the academic work the studio produces. In this thesis an attempt is made to work according to a systematic analysis of the case studies. Though well-known research techniques as interviews and an in-depth case study are used and choices made are validated there should and could be benefited more from this approach in this case. For example in this research the time constrains have limited us to realise the content while the set-up of the methodological framework can offer us the red line through the research. The time between P4 and P5 could be used for this item since a design or model will not be produced.

#### 5.3.5 A note on the process

If we look back to the procedural steps offered by the department of urbanism we can entitle slight difficulties regarding the content of those steps. The procedure is to follow if fixed time path in which five moments of assessment are scheduled. In this particular case this line is not kept. Both, not in time and not in content. It may be the case that a failure in sticking to the specific content at those moments caused the time delay of ten extra weeks. Though the system had a wide focus on exploring the first half year of the project, which we did and which we didn't finish at the time of P2. In that sense the studio's specific emphasis on a consistent methodological approach by the obligated delivery of a thesis plan which is taken serious should have kept us from exploring. It might be my own responsibility that I have chosen for an subject which was not my expertise in the beginning though I'm very happy that I was able to do it and that we didn't stick actually to the contents of the assessment moments. This have broad me lots of new knowledge in which I belief a master thesis should bring and less practical

experience in that sense that a spatial strategy is not part of this research. I have the personal conviction that the master thesis is about learning and that work experience will help you to train your skills.

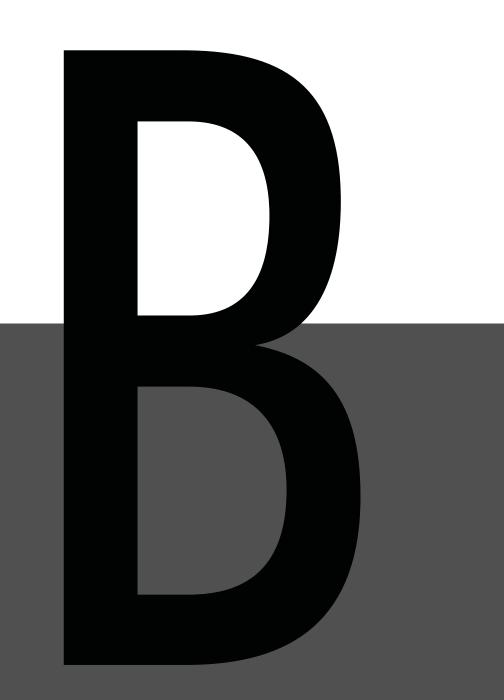
## 5.3.6 The relationship between the project and the wider social context

#### Societal relevance

Deprivation in as it appears in the Netherlands does by no means correspond to what we observe as deprived areas in the developing countries. Although issues related to deprivation appear not so extreme they are certainly there. Increasing differences among income, spatial development, race, religion and employment deteriorate certain areas from others. An increasing emphasis on public and civil sector influence in urban development makes it relevant to integrate social justice in the understanding of place quality. The numbers corresponding to deprivation in the Netherlands seem to be minimal with 40 problem neighbourhoods in the country. But if we look for example in Rotterdam, a former and current industrial city, there are 7 problem neighbourhoods to be found in the city which contains one third of the total city population. The effort put in initiatives to include socio-spatial justice will in many cases change a shift in thinking in acting even in the most stable governance regimes (Healey, 1997).

#### Ethical relevance

The ethical dimension for urban planners lies in their capability and responsibility of planning for the user, the inhabitants, the traveller or the labourer Priemus and Hall (2004: 348) describe it in this way: 'Spatial planning is not a hobby of a limited number of professionals. It has to be a service, promoting citizen participation and realizing consumer sovereignty. For urban planners this means: generating alternative plans, and mobilizing long-term stakeholders to express their preferences and to make choices.' Everywhere around we can find a certain approach to governance space. Healey (2003: 116) describes it in a revealing way: 'The task of the planning enterprise it to critically interrogate the governance practices that currently exist and to help governance communities concerned with place qualities to develop different approaches where these seen to be failing. This involves attention to both discourses and practices; to what already exists, what is emerging and what might possibly emerge in a specific context'. For the urban planner this means a critical position in relation to used concepts which supposed to enclose all interests and end up with spatial justice for all its users (Healey, 2003; Rendon, 2011). It means as trained analyst of policies and distribution of impact an inclusionary view to ensure socio-spatial justice (Healey, 2003). In that sense this research is linked to the real outside world it investigates if the governance space in which an entrepreneurial set of actors has appeared still is able to steer upon social goals as non-profitable stakes.



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## Glossary



Thesis Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

### Glossary

#### definitions Actor

Someone that performs an action in order to influence the process. This person, organisation or institution, the actor, can be active in the public, private and civic sector.

#### **Distributional effect**

The public sector affects the outside environment by the measures taken. It affects the decision and therefore the actions taken by private persons and organisations (Needham, 1988). Desired effect of the public sector have therefore to be translated in the private decision by which they are to be brought, the proposed effects need to be distributed (Needham, 1988).

#### **Governance space**

The governance space, the organisational structure in which the decisions are about to be made influences the composition of actors as well, it determines whether external stakeholders can influence the decision making processes and the way in which decisions are made (Dekker and Kempen, 2009).

#### Instrument

After the establishment of policies it needs to be executed. In order to do so laws, implementing acts, subsidies, levies and plans are used (Ekkers, 2002). In general we can call these instruments. We can circumscribe an instrument as that what the public sector, the government, has available to steer upon processes in the society in order to achieve a particular goal or distributional effect (Ekkers, 2002; Needham, 1988). Needham (1988: 89) defines an instrument as "the power which is available to a public body by which it can legally take actions which affect the outside world: instruments are the general legal means by which a public body takes particular measures".

#### Market oriented development

Marketing oriented businesses define their activities as service activities carried out towards the satisfaction of their customers. In other words they define their operation as a service business with customer service being the most important activity. They are driven by customer needs which are identified in their objectives. Development that is market oriented in that sense will be adapted to what the market needs.

#### Neighbourhood of empowerment (Krachtwijk)

A deprived neighbourhood that is entitled to regeneration. The Netherlands has approximate 100 neighbourhoods of empowerment with problems around living, employment, education, raising,

Thesis Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

integration and safety. In 40 neighbourhoods the problems are accumulating in that sense that they retrieved extra attention since 2007 from the national government (Rijksoverheid, 2012).

#### **Planning agency**

'The term 'planning agency' is used to refer to a body of the public administration which has the statutory task and responsibility of preparing and executing land use policy for its area, and which has been given statutory powers to do that' (Needham, 2007: 122).

#### Power

"the relation among actors where one actor, A, can get another actor, B, to do something that B would not have done otherwise (Weber, 1947; Pfeffer, 1981 in Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997). Salancik & Pfeffer 1974: 3 in Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997 describe that "it is the ability of those who possess power to bring about the outcomes they desire".

#### **Private sector**

The part of the economy that is not state controlled, and is run by individuals and companies for profit.

#### **Project envelope**

The organisational unit in which the project or development right is offered. The project envelope can contain one planning unit dividing the development area in profitable projects and the lossmaking ones.

#### **Public sector**

The part of national economy providing basic goods or services that are either not, or cannot be, provided by the private sector. The public sector is concerned with providing government services.

#### Stakeholder

"Those who have a claim, ownership, rights, or interests in a organisation and its activities. They bear some form of risk as a result of having invested some form of capital, human or financial, something of value in a organisation or are placed at risk as a result of a firm's activities" (Clarkson, 1995: 6 in Mitchel, Angle and Wood, 1997)

#### Tendering (aanbestedingsvorm)

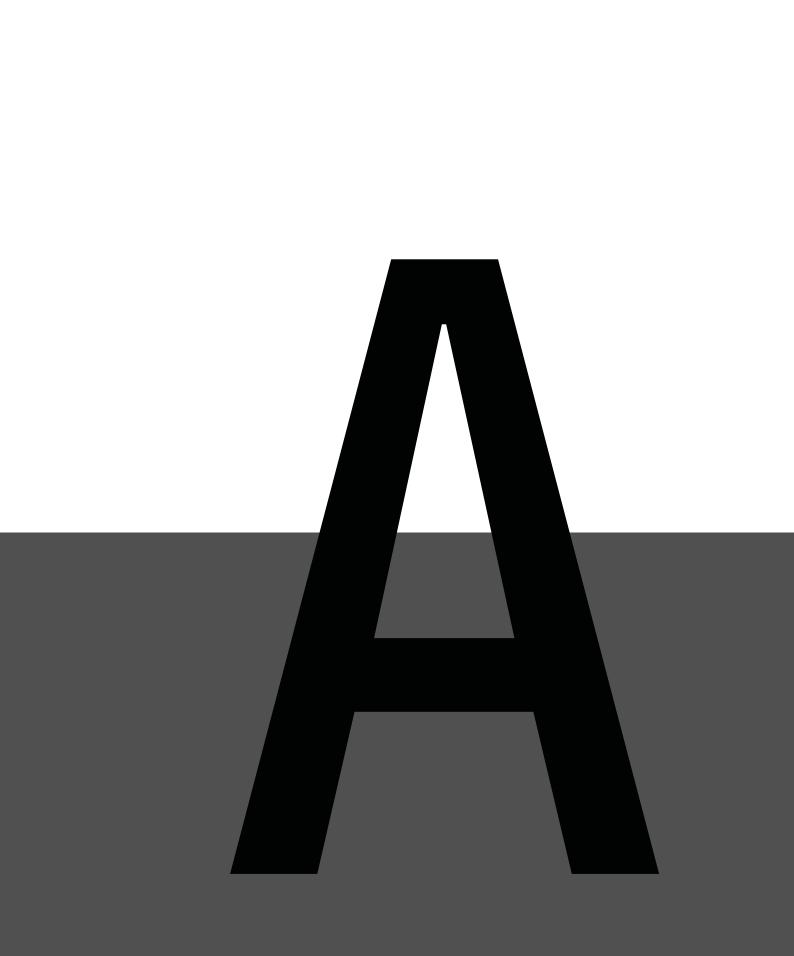
The contract method used for development.

#### definitions Urban regeneration

"a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change" (Roberts, 2007: 17 in Stouten, 2010: 13).

#### **Urban renewal**

An intervention to increase the lifespan of the building and neighbourhood and their adaptability and flexibility. It is aimed at improving social sustainability, development in the neighbourhood economy and the economic value of dwellings (Stouten, 2010).



# Appendices

Annex 1 Annex 2 List of tables and figures List of interviews



Thesis Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

# List of tables and figures

figures	cover	Vreewijk 'prachtwijk'. Aerocamera available on: http://www.het-portaal.net/vreewijk
	[1]	Introduction and problem field
	[1]	Introduction and problem field
	1.1.1	Value & power shift in context of Dutch urban development. Heurkens, 2012
	1.2.1	The potential problem of an influencing private market in spatial urban regeneration interventions.
		author, 2012
	1.4.1	Structure of the thesis in conceptual diagram. author, 2012
	[2]	Theoretical framework
	2.1.1	Development tendering type Amsterdam. Nul20.nl
	2.1.2	Market conform sized dwellings: Housing associations. Nul20.nl
	2.1.3	Risk profile urban area development. 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling', 2011
	2.1.4	The potential concequences of a market oriented strategy. author, 2012
	2.2.1	The potential conditions that influence the plan-, decision making-, and development process.
		author, 2012
	2.2.2	Conceptualisation of an actor. <i>author, 2012</i>
	2.2.3 2.2.4	Actors as persons, organisations or institutions. author, 2012
	2.2.4	The composition of actors. author, 2012 Tendering type versus process involvement. 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling', 2011
	2.2.5	Project process stages. 'Ruimtexmilieu', 2012
	2.2.0	Project phoses vs project influence. 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling, 2011 / Ruimtexmilieu.nl
	2.2.7	Project envelope. author, 2012
	2.2.10	Risk profile urban area development. 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling', 2011
	2.2.10	Risk profile urban area development. 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling', 2011
	2.2.12	Terminology 'power'. author, 2012
	2.2.13	Terminology 'stake'. author, 2012
	2.2.14	Terminology 'ligitimacy'. author, 2012
	2.2.15	Terminology 'urgency'. author, 2012
	2.2.16	Qualitative classes of stakeholders. Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997
	2.2.17	Stakeholders typology. Mitchell, Angle and Wood, 1997
	2.2.18	Sub-typolgoy of the conditions actor composition, interest of stakeholders and actors, power of

actors and instruments and tools. author, 2012

#### [3] Research problem theory

- 3.1.1 Changing public policy in a market oriented environment. *author*, 2012
- 3.1.2 Tenure structure across countries in Europe. Andrews, D.A. Sanchez and A. Johansson, 2011
- 3.1.3a Decayed teeth: before intervention. rotterdam.nl/spoorsingel\_4
- 3.1.3b **Decayed teeth: after intervention.** *rotterdam.nl/spoorsingel\_4*
- 3.1.4 Sub-typology public policy. *author*, 2012

#### [4] Analytical framework

- 4.1.1 Research variables conceptual framework. *author, 2012*
- 4.1.2 **Conceptual framework 1**<sup>st</sup> research question. *author, 2012*
- 4.1.3 Conceptual framework 2<sup>nd</sup> research question. *author, 2012*
- 4.1.4 Conceptual framework 3<sup>rd</sup> research question. *author, 2012*
- 4.2.1 Data triangulation. Stake, 1995

#### [5] Empirical assessment

5.1.1 Table 40 Neighbourhood of empowerment (Krachtwijken). rtl nieuws, 2007

available on www.rtl.nl/rtlnieuws/2007/03\_maart/22/binnenland/0322\_1445\_de\_40\_wijken\_van\_vo gelaar.xml

- 5.1.2 Table Projects Katendrecht and project selection criteria. author, 2012
- 5.1.3 The legal context Katendrecht. *author*, 2012
- 5.1.4 Katendrecht with Park- and Laankwartier development. Bouwwereld, 2012
- 5.1.5 Table Neighbourhood in numbers. Gemeentelijke Basis administratie (GBA) bewerking door het COS, 2011
- 5.2.1 **Tendering type versus process involvement case Parkkwartier and Laankwartier.** *based on 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling', 2011*
- 5.2.2 **Project process stages.** based on 'Reiswijzer gebiedsontwikkeling', 2011
- 5.2.3 Parkkwartier: actors involved at what project process stage. *author, 2012*
- 5.2.4 Laankwartier: actors involved at what project process stage. *author, 2012*
- 5.2.5 Interest and goal public sector Parkkwartier development. *author*, 2012
- 5.2.6 Interest and goal public sector Laankwartier development. *author, 2012*

figures

5.2.7 Interest and goal private sector Parkkwartier development. *author*, 2012

- 5.2.8 risk profile Deliplein regeneration and Laankwartier development. *author*, 2012
- 5.2.9 Interest and goal private sector Laankwartier development. *author, 2012*
- 5.2.10 Shared values Parkkwartier development. *author*, 2012
- 5.2.11 Interest local inhabitants Parkkwartier and Laankwartier development. *author, 2012*
- 5.2.12 **Powerplay Parkkwartier.** *author, 2012*
- 5.2.13 **Powerplay Laankwartier.** *author, 2012*
- 5.2.14 Kaappark Katendrecht. proper-stok.nl
- 5.2.15 **Overview interests, goals and instruments different actors/stakeholders Park and Laankwartier development.** *author, 2012*
- 5.3.1 Influencing conditions in the plan-, decision-making- and development process. *author*, 2012
- 5.3.2 actors / stakeholders involved at what stage of the project process. *author*, 2012
- 5.3.3 Municipal concession based on interest market and civil sector. *author, 2012*
- 5.3.4 KBO and Proper Stok as dangerous stakeholders. *author, 2012*
- 5.3.5 **The housing association Woonstad as definitive stakeholder.** *author, 2012*

#### [6] Conclusions and recommendations

6.1.1 Actors/stakeholders involved at different project process stages in relation to instruments and tenderingtype. *author*, 2012

## List of interviewed persons

interviewsBlok A.C.P. (MRE), Jan Cees. project manager Gemeente Rotterdam, October 1st, 2012 RotterdamBergenhenegouwen, Robert van. program manager Gemeente Rotterdam, October 1st, 2012 LeidenCooiman, Christiaan. senior project developer Proper Stok, July 13th, 2012 RotterdamSteen, Barbara van. program manager Woonstad, September 24th, 2012 Rotterdam

Thesis Report: Urban Regeneration in a Market Oriented Decision Environment

The Dutch government aims since 1990s at a more market oriented approach in urban planning with different implications in terms of who benefits and loses from interventions in vulnerable places such as neighbourhoods of empowerment. This policy shift and way of thinking about urban planning implicated big changes in the policies which affected all organisational levels. The changes led to other composition of actors on the local municipal scale whith more market oriented parties involved in urban regeneration. These changes are to be found controversial by many professionals in academic and the practising world. A different mix of parties will influence the outcomes and may lead to other consequences in physical and sociodemographic implications in vulnerable areas such as neighbourhoods of empowerment (krachtwijken). The objectives therefore in this research is to gain a better understanding of the physical and socio-demographic

implications that appear in a more market oriented approach to urban regeneration in neighbourhoods of empowerment.

The results of the research are valuable for authors whom try to make statements regarding the implications that appear when urban regeneration interventions take place under a more market oriented approach. They can be used for a better understanding of the implications in relation to project specific processes.

