

Living next to a flagship development

Research on creating mutual, local benefits between the residential neighbourhood
Van der Pekbuurt and the contemporary flagship area Overhoeks Amsterdam,
in socioeconomic and spatial terms

Master thesis

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COLOPHON

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Master thesis
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June 2012

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Cover: author, 2011

Preface

This thesis is part of the MSc Urbanism of the Faculty of Architecture at Delft University of Technology. This project is developed in the graduation lab Complex Cities. The thesis is the final product of the graduation and forms the step towards obtaining the Master of Science title, in the field of urban planning and design.

When I had to think of a graduation project I faced two major decisions to be taken: a topic and a location. I could choose anything I liked, anything, as long as it fit in the field of urbanism. A feeling of serious panic followed the next days. Which topic do I want to devote my life to the coming year? Which location is so incredibly fascinating that I want to know all about it without getting bored in a couple of months?

To choose a topic, I thought back on books that I read and loved. I was fascinated by the ideas of Manuel Castells and Saskia Sassen that focused on the globalisation this world deals with. The impacts of globalisation on everyday life are tremendous, it would be fantastic if I could learn more on that. But another part of me was pulled towards the problems of deprived neighbourhoods. That is where an urban planner could make life improving changes. And does not everyone would like to make this world a better place?

Choosing a location had no limitations. It could be any continent, any country, any city... I have always been interested in large cities, but that does not really narrow down the possible options. Maybe Shanghai? Or New York? Or Tokyo? After taking a quick look at my bank account I decided to stay in Europe. It would be nice to be able to visit my project location and still have money to eat and pay rent.

The solution to making the decisions was simple: do not make decisions. I take the challenge to think of a topic that combines the effects of globalisation with problem areas and research this in several European cities. The first subject I could imagine myself living, eating and breathing for the coming year, focused on the intersection between centralities and their adjacent neighbourhoods. After some research I found that many centralities were located next to deprived areas. Perfect! Minor detail: what is a centrality actually? Several weeks of literature study on all possible definitions of centrality, and all possible centralities in European cities forced me to face the fear of narrowing down my research. I chose a location in Amsterdam North: one problem area, one centrality. Or what is this Overhoeks thing in Amsterdam North actually? A gentrification conference that I attended coincidentally gave me the answer: it is a flagship development!

It was only after the first presentation that the research could really begin. Before I started the graduation, I had no idea it would be so difficult and time-consuming to narrow down the topic and location and to give form to the research process. Once this is set, the research part can finally start. This research and design project has been the best and most interesting project of my studies, and I would love to do research in the future. I discovered my likes and dislikes: research is fun, literature study and writing is great, but urban design is where my heart lies.

I had a fantastic graduation year, and I learned a lot on the way. Though studying has been great, I would be happy to be among the living again, and start planning and designing my next step in life.

I would like to thank my mentors Roberto Rocco and Reinout Kleinhans for their input and support during my graduation project. It was a pleasant collaboration, and I was happy to receive input and comments when needed. My mentors inspired me to constantly take my project one step further, up to the result that I present here.

Robin Boelsums
27 June 2012

Abstract

Project framework

The rationale behind this graduation project is the development of flagship projects. Flagship developments can be defined as “significant, high-profile and prestigious land and property developments which play an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration” (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.245). De-industrialisation in industrialised cities of developed countries has led to declining public revenues, poor city images and high unemployment. From the 1980s onwards, flagship projects were developed as an answer to de-industrialisation under the influence of neoliberalism. (Doucet 2009, p.101-103; Grodach, 2010, p.353; Loftman & Nevin, 1995, p.299-305)

Flagship developments focus on revitalising the city image, creating jobs and attracting tourists and private investors. The projects generally focus on outsiders, but not on the local community living adjacent to the development, whose lives are affected most by the developments. It has been argued that many projects also cause negative effects, especially on the adjoining neighbourhoods. The most important disadvantage that it brings is spatial fragmentation between the area itself and its surroundings. (Loftman & Nevin, 1995, p.303)

However, the flagship areas could also offer many beneficial opportunities for the local community, such as providing possibilities for a housing career, facilities or recreational functions. The task is to find how these benefits can be taken into account in the planning process and design of the flagship area, in order to make these opportunities possible for the local community to exploit. This should be done by not only providing suitable benefits but also by taking away negative effects that prevent the residents from using these opportunities.

The key location that the project focuses on is the flagship development Overhoeks in Amsterdam, that is being built from 2004 up and until 2017, and its adjacent residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt. The disparity between Overhoeks and the Van der Pekbuurt is significant. The contemporary flagship development with its international architecture, and high quality large apartment buildings appears very different from the prewar garden village Van der Pekbuurt, consisting of traditional Dutch housing. Overhoeks is planned to be a very affluent, mixed use area, aimed at higher incomes, that provides many amenities, expensive apartments and office buildings. Van der Pekbuurt, just adjacent to this area, is a residential neighbourhood, inhabited by low income households where 95% of the area is social housing. The two neighbourhoods are very disparate and spatially and socioeconomically disconnected.

The aim for the graduation project is to achieve mutual, local benefits for the communities of both the residential neighbourhood Van der Pek-buurt and the adjacent flagship Overhoeks, in spatial and socioeconomic terms. The main research question leading to the achievement of this goal is: *how can the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt benefit from the adjacent contemporary flagship development Overhoeks and vice versa, in socioeconomic and spatial terms?* The following methods were used to answer this question: literature study, maps, interviews and research by design. The deliverables are a strategic plan and an urban design for Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks, Amsterdam.

Research

A literature study shows the aims of flagship developers, and the effects of the developments on different scale levels. Private flagship developers generally aim for benefits on a large scale: creating wealth for the city or region, attracting tourism, revitalising the city's image and attracting investors. None of their aims focus on benefits on a local scale, moreover critics describe many negative effects of flagship areas on their surroundings, such as spatial fragmentation and less public resources for the surroundings as the focus is on the new development.

However, many opportunities that flagship development can bring were found when analysing the areas, taking inter-

views with stakeholders and studying literature. These opportunities can flourish by the altering the planning process in the development of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt and by a proposal for an urban design, focused on the brown fields of Overhoeks and parts of Van der Pekbuurt.

The strategic plan was written to alter the planning process for the key actors at Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt: private developers ING RE, Ymere, Vesteda; Noordwaarts (part of the municipality of Amsterdam); Shell and EYE, the owner of the prestigious film museum at Overhoeks. The strategic plan emphasises that not only the local community can benefit more from the flagship development, also the developers can gain more benefits when local needs are taken into account. For example: focusing on local needs creates more public approval and enthusiasm, is good for the image of the companies and can eventually lead to an economic more feasible project. The plan consists of four recommendations:

1. *Reposition aims.* Flagship developers should adjust their goals to be more inclusive, in order to make benefits possible for the local community. The aims should be reformulated in cooperation, written down in a publicly available document and the goals should be monitored throughout the planning and development process.
2. *Inform local community.* The goal of informing the local community of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks is to create acceptance and enthusiasm amongst them.
3. *Local community participation.* The local communities of the two areas should be involved by means of a workshop programme and a questionnaire. The residents will feel taken seriously and trust the municipal expenses for the development better.
4. *Integration plans.* The integration of the plans of Overhoeks with the surrounding areas should increase the connections and therewith make it easier for residents to employ the beneficial possibilities of the flagship area.

The urban design focuses on implementing the socioeconomic and spatial requirements that lie at the base of providing beneficial possibilities for the local communities of the two neighbourhoods. The design contains parts of both neighbourhoods, which aim to enable mutual, local benefits. The benefits that are implemented in the design are: create social returns, create the possibility for a housing career, provide amenities and facilities for everyone, focus outward on an inclusive audience, provide transport possibilities and create coherence between the neighbourhoods.

The most important outcome of this research project, is the notion that flagship developments currently are not beneficial for the adjacent local community, but the developments offer many opportunities on how this could be reversed. However, this requires a different line of thought of stakeholders, and the planning process needs to be adjusted to make local benefits possible. Stakeholders can benefit from inclusive aims and local community participation, as well as the communities of the flagship area and surroundings. The final step to enable mutual, local benefits, is to adjust the spatial and socioeconomic outlook of the intervention area in Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt to aim for an inclusive audience and connect the two neighbourhoods.



Fig. 1 Urban design Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt (author, 2012)

Reading guide

The thesis consists of two parts: a project framework and a research part. The project framework describes the incentives for this graduation topic, introducing the theory and problem field. It continues with the outlines for the research part of this project, describing the research questions, aims, methodology and final products.

The research part answers the posed sub research questions, one in every chapter. It closes with a conclusion that reflects on the project and answers the main research question.

In the back of this booklet, one can find a glossary that defines the most important terms used in the text. Beside that, a map of the key location for this project can be found, with the most relevant names of streets and public places.

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Project framework

Fig. 2 Traditional houses in Van der Pekbuurt (author, 2011)

In this part the framework for the entire project is set; from problem field and research to a strategic plan and urban design. After introducing the project, the second chapter describes the problem field in which the project takes place. This deals with negative externalities that local communities can have from adjacent flagship development, and opportunities that are possible in the future.

The third chapter outlines the aims and deliverables for this project. Chapter 4 provides a brief overview of the main research question and the research questions leading to answering the main question.

In the fifth chapter one can read the methodology that lies at the base of the project. It relates the research questions to the aims and methods. In the chapter following, the phasing of the project is presented.

Since this is an academic assessment, the scientific relevance is of importance, as well as the societal relevance. These together with the ethical dimension are pointed out in chapter 6.

Chapter 7 describes the chosen location on different scale levels and shows a general analysis of it, regarding public transport, routing, programme, phasing, governmental visions, et cetera.

1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the frameworks within the graduation project takes place. The section starts by giving the general objectives of a graduation at TU Delft, providing the organisational framework. Second, the chosen topic for the graduation project will be described, setting the theoretical framework. The two frameworks are necessary to understand the inducement for choosing the particular intervention area. Finally, the intervention area will be described briefly on the base of the graduation objectives and positioned within the theoretical outlines.

1.1 Graduation project

This graduation project takes place within the department of Urbanism at the faculty of Architecture, at Delft University of Technology. The scope of the chosen graduation studio Complex Cities is for spatial planners and designers to translate disparate interests into spatial organisation that is beneficial for society (TU Delft, n.d.). This relates seamlessly to the topic that will be described next.

The graduation project focuses on research, a strategic plan and an urban design, in which the connection between the research project and the two deliverables is evident.

1.2 Flagship development

Flagship development can be defined as “significant, high-profile and prestigious land and property development which plays an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration” (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.245). Flagship developments are places where global and local influences intertwine. The global aspect of these projects deals with a focus on tourists, foreign and domestic investment, global companies; and on image building for (inter)national relations. The local aspect of flagship developments focuses, on the other hand, on users and residents of the area -whose lives are affected the most by the new developments- and the spaces that are located in a specific urban fabric. (Doucet, 2009, p.103)

Flagship developments are usually located near the city centre, geared to outsiders like possible residents, investors or tourists. The area contains a mixed programme; usually housing, offices and facilities, often combined with one or more tourist attractors, such as a museum or a theatre. Besides an area with mixed functions, also buildings have the possibility to function as a flagship development. This flagship project is usually a great attractor for tourists and focuses on attracting investments and users on a regional or global scale. An example is the Guggenheim in Bilbao, Spain.



Fig. 4 Guggenheim museum, Bilbao (Holt, 2005)

Other well-known examples of flagship areas are London’s Canary Wharf and Rotterdam’s Kop van Zuid. These



Fig. 3 Kop van Zuid, Rotterdam (Wikipedia, 2010)

developments, although different in outlook and programme, have common characteristics. They function as catalysts for urban development strategies. The flagship projects are visible signs of renewal, with one or more landmarks often designed by 'starchitects' aimed to attract visitors and the attention of the media. Flagship areas are most often in enormous contrast with adjoining areas. Because flagship areas were built on former industrial areas, the adjacent neighbourhoods were typically built for the working class that used to work at the industrial area. Small houses, of which much is social housing, are a characteristic of these neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods are typically inhabited by low-income households, and can be socially problematic or deprived areas. Because many inhabitants used to work at the industrial companies, located at the former industrial area that is now regenerated, the unemployment-rates of such neighbourhoods are typically high (Bianchini et al., 1992). This is for instance the case in neighbourhoods adjoining Canary Wharf, the Kop van Zuid or Overhoeks in Amsterdam (Smith, 2002; Doucet, 2009).

1.3 Choice of location

For the graduation project, the task is to intervene on a location that knows the issues just described. This intervention should seek to balance the gains of flagship projects, while avoiding the most obvious disadvantages they bring.

For the possibility of visiting the area of choice, a city in the Netherlands was my preference. The choice is also justified in terms of the variety of approaches and interventions to be found in Dutch cities. The case will work as illustration of general processes taking place in the Netherlands. Two Dutch cities deal with large de-industrialising harbour areas: Rotterdam and Amsterdam. In Rotterdam, the Kop van Zuid is a flagship development that has been built in the last decade, and is therefore less interesting to intervene in regarding this subject.

The city of my choice for study and intervention is Amsterdam, where currently a flagship project is being carried out. This flagship development is called Overhoeks, and is located adjacent to the 'attention area' and residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt. Attention



Fig. 5 Artist impression of the 'high-rise strip' in Overhoeks (Van der Giessen 2005 in: Gemeente Amsterdam 2006, p.30)

area is the Dutch term for an area that receives extra municipal attention, based on criteria such as the percentage of social housing, unemployed looking for work and crime rates.

The project Overhoeks started in 2006 and would initially take until 2017, according to the plans set up by the municipality of Amsterdam, ING Real Estate and other stakeholders. However, currently many of the planned developments have been postponed for an undefined amount of time. Several buildings have been constructed in the past years and are in use. The development of the flagship project is paused at this moment, which gives room for improvement. The research for this project can lead to recommendations in the planning process and urban design on how to implement the next phases in order to achieve mutual, local benefits between the areas Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt.

The friction between the prestigious affluent contempo-

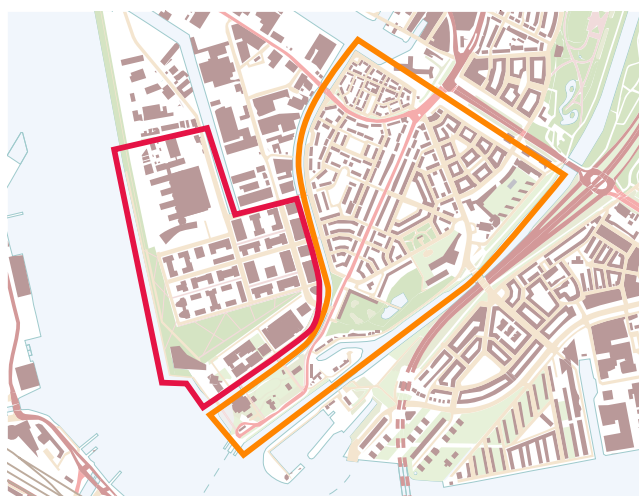


Fig. 6 Overhoeks (red) and Van der Pekbuurt, Amsterdam (author, 2011)

rary flagship development and the traditional residential working class neighbourhood is remarkable. The flagship Overhoeks can have very negative effects on the local community of Van der Pekbuurt, as the research shows. This is for instance because Overhoeks can generate fragmentation between the neighbourhoods in the form of discontinuing urban typologies, disconnected system of urban public places, absence of services and facilities that can be used by the local inhabitants and other issues. But the flagship also provides many opportunities for the local community, which -if designed and planned properly- can be well exploited by the residents of Van der Pekbuurt.

The aim for this graduation project is to create mutual, local benefits between Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks in socioeconomic and spatial terms. At the end of the project I will know which specific benefits are applicable to the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks, and which of these can be intervened in. I will seek an answer on how to best implement local benefits in the planning process. And last but not least, I will try to translate the possible spatial and socioeconomic benefits into an urban design for parts of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt.

This research contributes to the current debate by putting forward a research method to investigate local needs and the way to implement these in the planning process and urban design. It can be seen as an example which can be converted to other locations in order to influence the effects that flagship developments have on their adjoining neighbourhoods. Doing so, global and local needs can be balanced and the flagship development will be suitable for an inclusive audience, in which everyone can find beneficial opportunities.

2. Problem field

This chapter provides an introduction to the theory of flagship development and its effects on a local and global scale. Few examples of flagship development will be mentioned, leading to the introduction of the key case of this project. The problems that are present in the key project Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt, will be described, along with the importance of taking local benefits into account. The chapter closes by explaining the future challenge that we see for this case.

2.1 Global flagships, local effects

The emergence of flagship development was a result of a combination of factors. De-industrialisation in developed economies in Western Europe and North America provided the direct incentives for flagship development. Neoliberal policies applied to city administration formed the breeding ground in which flagship development could prosper. Globalisation induced a changed spatial demand that could be answered by the redevelopment of the former industrial areas into flagship areas. These three factors are essential for flagship development and will be described in this section.

De-industrialisation

When a strong de-industrialisation process took place in European cities in the 1980s, it resulted in many social and spatial changes. Structural unemployment followed (Kesteloot, 2006, p.129). Many harbour areas were gradually abandoned when the industrial businesses moved out. The most industrialised cities suffered from the results of de-industrialisation: low public revenues, high unemployment and a poor city image. There were several kinds of answers to these problems, but one of the main tools readily available to public administrators everywhere were flagship developments, aimed to raise public revenues, create employment and develop a positive city image. This type of development demanded a big shift in public expenditure.

Neoliberalism

Neoliberal planning policies provided the political and economic milieu in which flagship development was

prone to prosper.

As a result of increasing globalisation of economies, in the 1980s neoliberalism became a prevalent form of organisation of the economy in developed countries. This system focuses among other things on a market-driven economy, privatisation of the public sector (services and companies) and economic deregulation by reducing the role of law and state. (Jessop, 2002).

The deregulation of finance concurrently expands the range and availability of private capital. In combination with de-industrialisation, governmental retrenchment and the deconcentration of revenue rising forced cities to compete for resources in the private capital market. The result is that profit driven financial institutions have often replaced public regulatory agencies as overseers of urban development. They wield enormous managerial power over cities through their strong influence on capital movements. Flagship development is financed and steered by private capital. Striving for the highest possible revenues, private institutions developed islands of wealth in the city, regardless of the urban fabric it was located in. (Hackworth, 2007, p.77-78). Countries like the Netherlands have resisted this trend by establishing strong regulatory bodies that oversee the provision of services by private enterprises. However, strong influence of the private enterprises remains.

Globalisation

As a result of globalisation and overseas competition, many local companies disappeared while global companies in the tertiary sector established worldwide and started to play important roles in national and regional economies. The spatial demands of global companies require a changed spatial configuration and urban structure. These demands include among others the presence of clients, office space and office suitability, accessibility and image building (Rocco, 2007).

Flagship developments answer to this demand, by means of a concentration of offices, combined with residential areas, large prestigious office buildings designed by 'starchitects' and strong place marketing.

Flagship development as a result

The first flagships, emerging in the 1980s and 1990s, were

implemented on vacant land. This land became unused because de-industrialisation made the industries decline -for many actions became mechanised thus less ground was required- or move out of the city, either to less expensive locations or to other countries and continents altogether, because of cheap labour and other structural advantages. The first flagship developments arose in the cities that suffered the strongest from de-industrialisation and associated problems, in the UK, Spain and France.

In the Netherlands, global competition and the development of flagship projects have had a great impact in the urban landscape of Dutch cities, with dramatic shifts in the ambitions of local public administrations. This work highlights the fact that, although Dutch flagship projects have a high urban quality and generally contribute positively to cities as a whole, they are nevertheless often isolated from their immediate surroundings and users. There is spatial fragmentation that translates in globally oriented flagship projects physically and functionally separated from existing local communities.

This kind of prestigious flagship developments has many proponents and many opponents. Despite the economic advantages the projects can bring to the city, negative impacts should not be underestimated. Flagship projects often are isolated instead of fully integrated with their surroundings and the wider city, they worsen social and spatial segregation. Despite the many critiques on the developments that exist, flagships are still being built in many large cities of developed countries nowadays. Urbanists have the task to rethink the spatial and socio-economic relation between flagship projects and their adjacent neighbourhoods.

2.2 A brief overview of flagships

The first flagships

The cities where the first flagship projects emerged, were the cities where the industry had taken a major part in, and that therefore suffered the most from de-industrialisation. These cities dealt with high unemployment, poor image and declining public revenues, e.g. Baltimore, Newcastle and Bilbao. (Doucet, 2009, p.102)

Prestigious flagship projects tend to be confined to areas with the highest development potential, such as the city centres, locations with significant heritage value or



Fig. 7 Guggenheim, Bilbao (Illumind, 2010)

waterfronts. (Bianchini et al., 1992; Loftman and Nevin, 1995). "It was a response to both the cataclysmic shifts in cities brought about because of de-industrialisation and as an example of neoliberal strategies being developed and implemented at this time." (Doucet, 2009, p.101) Flagship projects aimed at creating more wealth for the city under neoliberal ideas.

Proponents of flagship developments argue that the projects were a necessary answer to the declining industries. The developers aimed at diversifying the city's economic base and encouraging private investment (Bianchini et al., 1992; Healey et al., 1992; Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.304). Declining city economies led to a 'flight' of the affluent households, because there were not enough possibilities to move into owner-occupied, high quality housing and high unemployment existed. The quality of inner city areas declined and middle class households often took refuge in suburban-like developments, often outside of the borders of the main municipality, which meant that these households not only took their purchasing power with them, they also took their taxes with them and put many central municipalities in difficult fiscal position.

Therefore, many flagship projects aimed at attracting affluent households back to the city by building according to their housing needs. The projects facilitate the physical restructuring of certain areas to meet with the changing demands of the production and consumption services. (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.304)

Another need for regeneration was the worsening image of the city, another effect of declining industries. The prestigious projects aimed at revitalising an attractive city image (Doucet, 2009; Smyth, 1994) by extensive use of architecture and events. Flagship buildings became icons for the cities where they were built, such as the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao or the Erasmus Bridge in Rotterdam.

Besides economic reasons, we can find political incentives for the emergence of flagship projects. Deregulation and privatisation of urban policy making was an important phenomenon, which empowered the shift to a post-Keynesian mode of urban intervention (Gaffkin and Warf 1993 in: Rodriguez et al., 2001, p.168). This mode emphasises the dynamic nature of an economy which uses money and which is subject to financial uncertainty. (Pearce, 1989)

After the first flagships arose in declining cities, many other cities copied this kind of development. The prestigious projects seemed to be successful in numerous cities. The places seemed economic attractive and the planned physical transformation took place. (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.302). However the benefits concerned mainly the global scale, and not the local scale.

Contemporary flagships

Flagship projects are still being built nowadays. The developments have changed slightly, but many important effects and critiques remain the same. Thanks to negative critiques, the attitude of municipalities towards flagship projects has changed. For example in the UK, in 1998 the social exclusion unit reported that there has been too much emphasis on physical renewal, instead of better opportunities for people. Helping people out of poverty has become a goal of contemporary urban regeneration, e.g. in the UK, the Netherlands and Spain. (Doucet, 2009, p.102)

Another change is the use of local community input and participation, that exists in a few contemporary projects. This is a major shift from the former property-led development, and meets partially with critiques, that can be read in the following section.

However, it is not true that the ideas of the 1980s and 1990 have disappeared entirely. Several authors have argued that the neoliberal winner-take-all approach has continued. There are many examples of flagships in

Europe that are nowadays still being built along the lines of traditional flagships. Much regeneration is still predicated on iconic, consumption-led projects that are aimed to attract a higher-income or visitor audience. (Doucet, 2009, p.103)

Despite the fact that some developments now also aim to answer to local needs, few flagship projects seem to succeed in reaching these aims. Moreover, most of the other global oriented goals remain present. Critiques remain similar.

Examples of flagship projects

Flagship developments are generally located near the city centre, geared to an outside audience of possible residents, investors or tourists. The areas often contain mixed functions; such as housing, offices and facilities. Well-known examples of flagship projects are London's Canary Wharf, Dublin's Docklands and Rotterdam's Kop van Zuid. Many of the projects also contain a cultural landmark such as a museum, cultural centre or exhibition hall. Examples of these are the Guggenheim in Bilbao and the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television in Bradford, UK. These developments function as catalysts for further development nearby. The flagship projects are visible signs of renewal, with a landmark designed by 'starchitects' to attract visitors.

The flagship areas are most often in enormous contrast with adjoining areas, which is one of the critiques. The adjoining areas used to be located next to an industrial area; typically they were built for the working class. Small houses, of which much is social housing, are a characteristic of these neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods are inhabited by low-income households, and can be problem or attention areas. Because many inhabitants used to work at the industrial companies, the unemployment-rates of such neighbourhoods are typically high. This is for instance the case in neighbourhoods adjoining Canary Wharf, the Kop van Zuid or Overhoeks in Amsterdam.

The flagship projects on the contrary, are very affluent and show clear signs of international allure. Major spatial differences emphasise the gap between the groups living at and using both areas.

2.3 Negative effects

Critique on flagship development lies mainly in the

disbalance between global and local effects. This critique has been conducted by researchers and practitioners alike.

On a global scale, flagship development creates many benefits. For example, it attracts tourists, jobs and investments; revitalises an attractive image for the city and creates more wealth for the city. These effects focus explicitly on outsiders or on the city as a whole. (Doucet 2009, p.101-103; Grodach, p.353; Loftman & Nevin, p.299-305) On a local scale however, flagship areas create mainly disadvantages. One of the most important disadvantages caused by flagships, is fragmentation within cities (Doucet, 2009, p.105; Loftman & Nevin, 1995, p.305; Wilkinson, 1992, p.206). By fragmentation we mean the spatial and socioeconomic disconnection. The local community can suffer negative impacts from the development, when fragmentation decreases their opportunities for using public spaces, facilities and other functions located in the flagship area.

Critiques focus on early flagship developments but also on contemporary flagship developments. The incentives to develop such prestigious projects, remain present, flagship projects are still being developed. Western European planning authorities continue to utilise neoliberal planning strategies, and de-industrialisation still takes place, inducing flagship development. Globalisation is a currently ongoing process as well.

The following text will describe how the local disadvantages that flagship development can have, are induced by the previously mentioned three inducements for flagship projects.

De-industrialisation

Since the 1980s, de-industrialisation has led to vacant land and the urge for profits, improving the city's image, attracting high-income households and creating employment. Flagship development was and still is one of the answers to change this negative spiral. Despite the fact that this approach leads to positive impacts for the city as a whole to overcome the disadvantages of de-industrialisation, it also brings negative corollaries, specifically for the local communities of adjacent neighbourhoods. Improving the city's image is done by creating a prestigious area that shows clear signs of renewal. Developers aim for an affluent appearance, that distinguishes itself clearly from its less affluent surroundings. This coincides with



Fig. 8 Dwellings for the working class at Van der Pekbuurt (Gemeentelijke Dienst Volkshuisvesting, 1953 in: Beeldenbank)

negative effects for the surrounding inhabitants: spatial and socioeconomic fragmentation and disconnection. These phenomena, as side effects of de-industrialisation, prevent the local community from benefitting from opportunities located in the adjacent flagship development.

Neoliberalism

One of the characteristics of neoliberal planning lies in the decentralisation of power and decision making. This means that the municipalities have more influence on urban developments, whereas before this was more influenced and financed by the national government. Public subsidies have been reduced and public services have been privatised. (Hackworth, 2007, p.16). The values of a municipality have changed, focusing on economic growth and revitalisation, induced by a higher need for profits. Local governments therefore have become more prone to accept profit-motivated proposals for redevelopments, posed by private developers. (Capel-Tatjer, 2001, p.179)

Neoliberal policies have instigated the influence of external institutions that have no formal governing role in any municipality (Hackworth, 2007, p.16). These private institutions highly affect the decisions of ostensibly independent local governments. Neoliberal planning strategies seem to be regulated by local capital (Hackworth, 2007, p.15).

Real estate has become the way to improve the fortunes of local economies. The neoliberalist city is one of commercial mega-projects. In cities of the capitalist world real estate investment has become the primary vehicle for economic development. A mutual dependency exists between the state and the real estate capital. (Hackworth, 2007, p.77-78)

Thus, both the municipal and private developers have an urge for profits -that in the case of the public sector has never been stronger- and therefore collaborate or support each other in developing prestigious affluent areas that attract investors and spur economic growth, as their main goals. Short-run financial returns are generally high in large urban projects, such as flagship development. Neoliberal strategies aim for short-run financial returns. The process is urged by speed of the process and of gaining returns. This leads to the developers only considering the area as such, and not as embedded in their surroundings: thus the negative, local effects of flagship developments are instigated. Uneven distribution of wealth, and poor possibilities to aim for local needs in the planning process, are a result of neoliberal planning.

Globalisation

The changing spatial demand in the globalisation process plays a role in flagship development. The demand of large, global companies to show a positive image by the use of a building and a place to identify themselves with, is answered in flagship developments. The prestigious architecture of large office buildings in such developments, has an international allure that appeals to this type of companies. Global offices value the place marketing of their location very high.

This has as a result that flagship areas might appear alien and unwelcoming to the local community of adjacent neighbourhoods. These residential neighbourhoods are typically very traditional and built several decades ago, when the industry was flourishing. The immense exterior differences between the two adjacent areas, causes fragmentation in outlook, and in urban form.

There are many opportunities that flagship development could generate for the local community. However, until now, balancing global and local needs has often failed. (Majoor, 2012, p.144). The reason that lies behind this, will be researched.

2.4 Problem statement

The problem is two-fold. On the one hand, the threat of the flagship development Overhoeks having negative effects on the neighbouring Van der Pekbuurt is a problem. On the other hand, the apparent disbalance of Overhoeks' answer to global and local needs is a problem. The flagship area seems to focus on outsiders, whereas it could answer to local needs as well. In this project I will aim for local, mutual benefits for the local communities of both Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt.

When reading literature on flagship developments, one immediately gets the impression that flagship areas cause many disadvantages: especially for the local community living in adjacent neighbourhoods. Therefore, it is possible to state that these are serious threats in the key location in Amsterdam. Negative effects of Overhoeks threatening the Van der Pekbuurt are for example:

- fragmentation between the two neighbourhoods: this can prevent the local community from employing beneficial possibilities
- no resources for attention areas: municipality spends more money on flagship development in stead of on the areas that need improvement the most
- residents distrust municipal spending: when money is spent unbalanced, people living in poor neighbourhoods can start to distrust the municipality

This problem is especially relevant and important in the Van der Pekbuurt, for three reasons:

- A disconnection between Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt
- Van der Pekbuurt is susceptible for negative effects
- The opportunities for the local community are not being exploited

Disconnection Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt

For a long time the relation between the flagship area Overhoeks and the neighbouring Van der Pekbuurt was clear. Overhoeks (then called the Shell terrain) and the areas along the riverbanks were industrial areas, containing mainly shipbuilding industries. Housing for the employees was provided in Amsterdam North, planned according to the garden city principles. Van der Pekbuurt was designed for the working class. Houses are small -built in the 1920s for the blue collar employees. Small areas were even specifically designed for certain employees, such as captains and civil servants (Stuart, 2012).The relation

used to be unmistakable, the people who used to work in Overhoeks, used to live in Van der Pekbuurt. However, when in the 1970s and 1980s the industry step by step disappeared, this close relation ended. (BVR, 2003). At this moment, and for the coming decades, the relation between the two areas is ambiguous. There is therefore an opportunity to try and foment a sustainable relationship between the two areas.

Overhoeks does not 'fit' the Van der Pekbuurt anymore. The areas are disconnected in spatial and socioeconomic terms and have almost no relation with each other. Overhoeks focuses on tourists, investors and high income households. It does not focus on the adjacent neighbourhood and its residents. Moreover, it creates negative effects for the local community whereas it could provide many opportunities for the residents - if designed and

planned appropriately.

Van der Pekbuurt is susceptible for negative effects

In Amsterdam North four of twenty neighbourhoods are named 'attention areas' by national governance. Of these, one is Van der Pekbuurt. In the figure can be seen how much attention the 48 neighbourhoods of Amsterdam North get from the municipality. The two red areas plus Van der Pekbuurt and Banne Buiksloot (both orange) are the ones that get a specific programme, based on the 'attention area' label.

The living situation in Amsterdam North in general is the lowest of Amsterdam's districts (figure next page). An attention area like Van der Pekbuurt therefore is especially susceptible for negative influences. Disconnection or negative externalities of nearby development, can have sizable negative effects on the yet less endowed



Fig. 9 Overhoeks former industrial area (Dienst Publieke Werken, 1967 in: Beeldenbank)

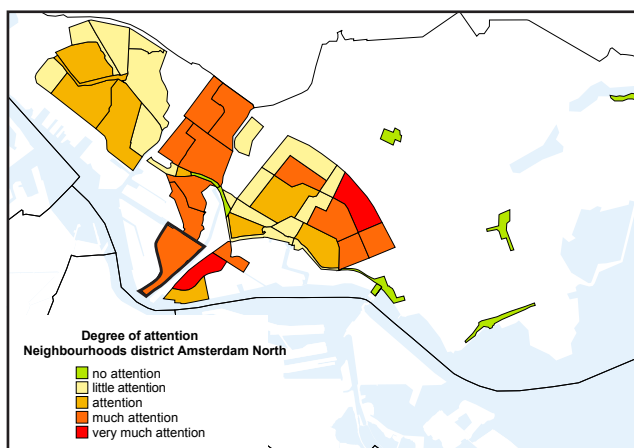


Fig. 10 Degree of attention in Amsterdam North, Van der Pekbuurt marked (DO&S 2007, edited by author, 2011)



Fig. 11 Impression of Overhoeks (Van der Giessen 2005 in: Gemeente Amsterdam 2006, p.30)

neighbourhood. This makes that we should take the threats of Overhoeks development very seriously.

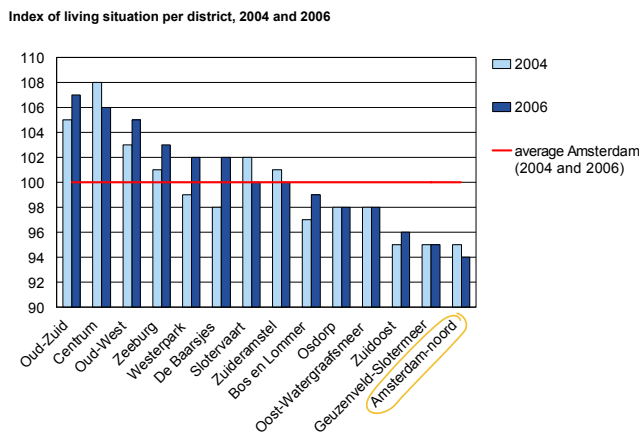


Fig. 12 Living situation per district (Staat van Amsterdam, 2007 in: DO&S 2007, translated by author, 2011)

Opportunities for local community not exploited

The construction of a flagship developments brings many opportunities. The flagship of Overhoeks can e.g. bring amenities, housing and jobs to local residents of the Van der Pekbuurt. It can stimulate regeneration in the neighbourhood.

But the question is: how can these benefits be ensured for the local community? How can the Overhoeks area be designed in such a way that the Van der Pek residents actually benefit from it? That is the challenge for this project.

If barriers exist between the two neighbourhoods, this means that the local community cannot easily make use of the possibilities that are present in the other neighbourhood. When providing opportunities for the local community, this has to be well designed in order to let them actually use these. Exploring the requirements that can ensure the residents to enjoy the benefits, is extremely relevant in a case like this.

2.5 Importance of local, mutual benefits

On a global or regional scale, many people benefit from the flagship developments, directly -e.g. by having a job- or indirectly -e.g. by benefitting from wealth in general. The disbalance between local and global effects of flag-

ship is one we should be aware of.

When developing a flagship area, answering to local needs is not only of importance for the local community, but also for flagship developers and other stakeholders themselves. The importance of balancing global and local has several reasons, among which are the following:

- “The balancing of different needs will better help to safeguard public approval and, consequently, enthusiasm for these projects.” (Majoor 2011, p.144). This helps the project developers during the planning process.
- Taking local needs into account fits in a democratic society. Projects that solely focus on global needs are often planned top-down and lack democratic accountability. (Majoor 2011, p.144). This is a political aspect that makes flagship projects easier to be justified.
- Balancing global and local needs can add to spatial quality. Projects that focus on global needs solely, create affluent elite places that might be alien and unwelcoming for others. These places can work well for the elite users, but they can be exclusive, elitist and disruptive in the urban fabric. If the projects focus more on the local community, living in adjacent areas, this can improve the quality of public spaces. Mutual benefits not only creates better places for the local community, but also for the new residents that live in the flagship area. (Majoor, 2011)
- The flagship area can be more successful when mutual benefits are taken into account. Not all flagship projects are successful, some fail, especially the ones that suffer from a financial crisis. Focussing on the local needs creates more support for new facilities and amenities, and boosts the confidence for investors. Especially in times of a financial crisis, this can be an important aspect.

Failed mutual benefits in planning of flagships

Literature mentions many possible benefits that the local communities adjacent to flagship development could exploit. And, as mentioned previously, (municipal) flagship developers increasingly do aim to answer to local needs. However, it has been observed that this has not been very successful, neither programmatically nor democratically. (Majoor 2011, p.144).

The reason for this can be found in the complexity in cooperation that exists in the development of large urban projects. It happens that one of the involved actors aims for answering to local needs. However, unilateral action cannot solve issues as comprehensive as balancing local

and global needs. (Majoor, 2011, p.144)

Another reason is that neoliberal strategies aim for optimising economic returns in a short period of time. The speed of the process and urge for economic advantages does not contribute to reaching aims focussed on local benefits. The desire and need to attract private capital overrules the ambition to negotiate hard for local needs. (Majoor, 2011, p.154).

Benefits for stakeholders

Aiming for mutual, local benefits between two neighbourhoods, is not only beneficial for the inhabitants but also for the stakeholders in the areas. A few examples: Focusing on local benefits fits in 'Corporate Social Responsibility'. CSR is becoming more and more important nowadays; it is positive for the image of the companies, and helps getting public approval for this approach because it fits in the values of a democratic society. Also, implementing mutual, local benefits can help to gain public approval and enthusiasm, also among the local communities affected by the development.

The most important advantage for stakeholders is that this approach improves the viability of the development of Overhoeks. The previously mentioned aspects contribute to the viability of the project. More on this topic can be read in the Strategic Plan on page 69.

2.6 Future challenge

In literature, several opportunities that flagships can bring are mentioned. For example, flagships can provide facilities, amenities and public places, accessible for everyone. It can provide transport possibilities and the possibility to make a housing career in the neighbourhood. (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.303; Doucet et al., 2010, p.126). This means the local community can benefit from the contemporary developments. However, these beneficial possibilities remain theoretical and have hardly been developed in practice.

Now it is the task to research which benefits are possible to intervene in, and how this approach can lead to a planning process and urban design that successfully integrate local benefits for the communities of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks.

3. Aim & deliverables

3.1 Project aim

The intersection of flagship development and its adjacent residential neighbourhood is the topic of interest. In literature there is little discussion that flagships focus too much on outsiders, such as visitors, investors and companies, and too little on areas close to the development: the local community of the adjacent residential neighbourhood (Bianchini et al., 1992; Healey et al., 1992; Loftman and Nevin, 1995; Doucet, 2009). Therefore the project aim is: *the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt benefits from the adjacent contemporary flagship development Overhoeks and vice versa, in spatial and socio-economic terms*. This could for instance focus on facilities, public spaces or the opportunity for the local community to make a housing career in the district. The research focuses on determining which benefits would be possible for the local communities in the selected neighbourhoods. Besides that, the disadvantages that the local communities suffer from, will be researched. How to create the benefits and how to diminish the disadvantages, will be carried out in two deliverables, as listed below.

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Aim | The Van der Pekbuurt benefits from the adjacent flagship development Overhoeks Amsterdam and vice versa, in socio-economic and spatial terms. |
| Strategic plan | Recommendations planning process; for the developers of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt |
| Urban design | Urban design for Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks to enable local, mutual benefits |

3.2 Deliverables

Strategic plan

The strategic plan lists several recommendations to improve the planning process for the developers of and other actors involved in Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt, in order to enable mutual, local benefits for the local communities of the two neighbourhoods. The recommendations regard the process in the case of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt and the collaboration between the developers.

Urban design

An urban design for Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks aims to enable local, mutual benefits. From the literature study, several goals are framed to provide the overall goal for benefits. The specificities of the area are studied to shape these goals into an urban design. The urban design will be made for the following area.



Fig. 13 The strategic plan and urban design focus on the selected area (author, 2012)

The intervention area contains a part of Overhoeks and a part of Van der Pekbuurt. The reason for choosing this area is as follows.

The Overhoeks area is being developed at this moment. The process started in 2006, and the part of Overhoeks that is not selected, will be finished and in use in 2012. After 2012, the following process is not determined yet, the construction has been postponed for an undefined period of time. Therefore I seize the opportunity to propose improvements for the area.

The development of Overhoeks puts Amsterdam North on the map, and triggers development in adjacent areas. Two of the areas that will be redeveloped in the coming years are the Tolhuistuin and Van der Pekplein, a small square that currently is hardly being used. These make part of the selected area of Van der Pekbuurt.



Fig. 15 Van der Pekplein (author, 2012)

The intervention area contains the places that are planned to be developed in the near future. I take the opportunity to form plans for this area.

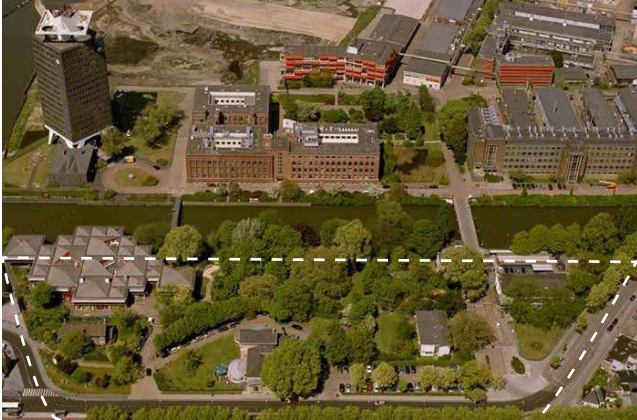


Fig. 14 The Tolhuistuin selected (Ondergrond, 2007)

4. Research questions

The main research question is:

How can the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt benefit from the adjacent contemporary flagship development Overhoeks and vice versa, in socioeconomic and spatial terms?

Several research questions function as small steps to come to the answer of the main question.

First, research is needed to know what kind of benefits one can expect to intervene in, in general:

RQ 1: What are the possible benefits and disadvantages a residential neighbourhood can derive from its adjacent flagship development, in west European cities?

The list of benefits are projected on the key case in Amsterdam, and adjusted according to the specific needs of

residents and to specific possibilities and constraints of the area:

RQ 2: Which mutual, local benefits and disadvantages are applicable to the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks in Amsterdam?

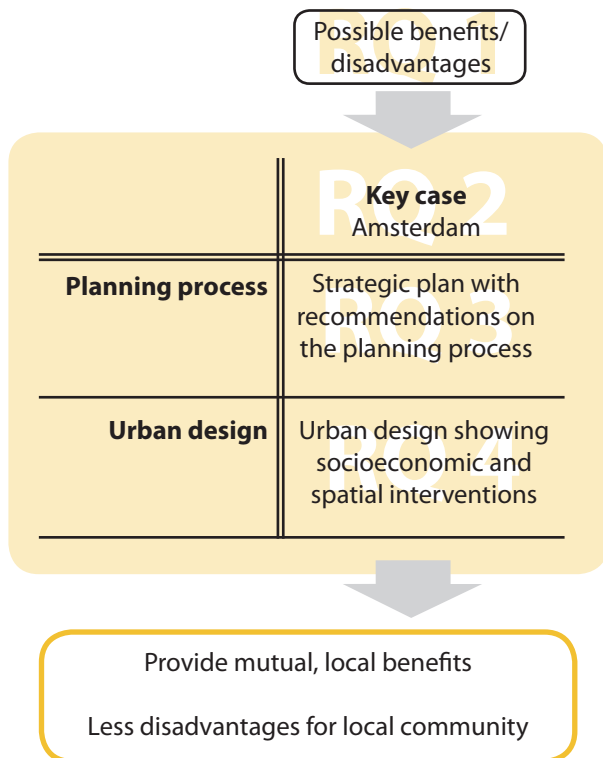
Next, the requirements for reaching these benefits are researched. This leads to a strategic plan:

RQ 3: Which recommendations can help the planning process to successfully plan and design mutual, local benefits for Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt?

After this, research is done on the specific requirements that needed to be designed in order to make the benefits possible. This is shown in an urban design for the intervention area:

RQ 4: What socioeconomic and spatial requirements are needed to ensure beneficial possibilities in the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?

Different methods are used to answer the questions, and the answers are formulated in forms of different deliverables. How all the questions are answered precisely, is explained in the next chapter 'Methodology'.



5. Methodology

The methodology for the entire project can be described in two parts: phasing and methods.

First the phasing will be described, this is the general framework that was used as a guideline through the process. Second, the different methods will be described, that were used to find answers to the research questions.

5.1 Phasing

Several urban topics formed the rationale behind determining the scope for the graduation project. The subjects from this rationale formed the framework in which the project is based. Within this framework, several problems

took place, that could show the relevance of dealing with these issues.

On the base of the problems, an aim was described, that encounters the problems. Four research questions lead to one main research question. The answer to this question explains how the aim can be reached.

Two of the research questions lead to the two deliverables that this project closes with. The deliverables contain the concrete answers to the questions raised and can be used as an example of dealing with the described problems on other locations.

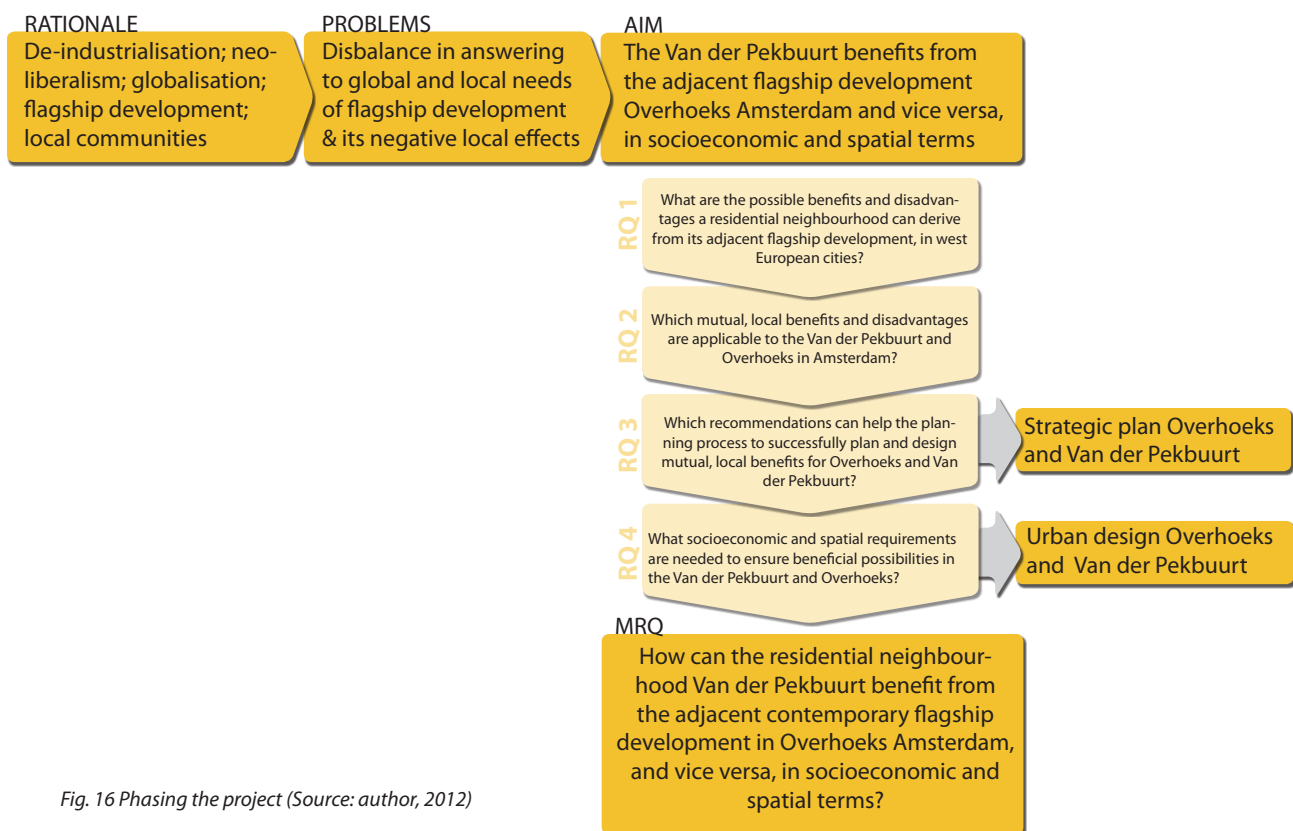
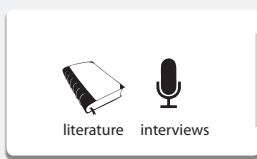


Fig. 16 Phasing the project (Source: author, 2012)

RQ 1: What are the possible benefits and disadvantages a residential neighbourhood can derive from its adjacent flagship development, in west European cities?

methods



outcome

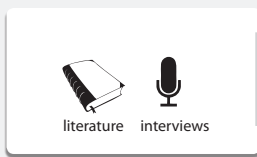


deliverables

- List of benefits and disadvantages
- Selection of benefits to intervene in

RQ 2: Which mutual, local benefits and disadvantages are applicable to the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks in Amsterdam?

methods



outcome

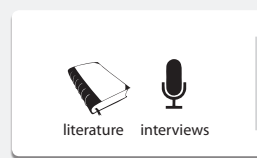


deliverables

- List of benefits and disadvantages applicable to key case
- Detailed explanation per point

RQ 3: Which recommendations can help the planning process to successfully plan and design mutual, local benefits for Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt?

methods



outcome



deliverable

- Strategic plan for Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt

RQ 4: What socioeconomic and spatial requirements are needed to ensure beneficial possibilities in the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?

methods



outcome



deliverable

- Urban design for Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks

5.2 Methods per research question

Per research question I explain how I used each of the methods and what deliverables have been created to show the outcome.

RQ 1: What are the possible benefits and disadvantages a residential neighbourhood can derive from its adjacent flagship development, in west European cities?



A literature study was used to derive a list of beneficial possibilities. This list was analysed to select the benefits that are possible to intervene in. Some benefits, such as being proud of the city, are not possible to change by an urban planner or designer.



Open interviews were used as input for all of the research questions. With the help of qualitative interviews with experts on the topic, beneficial possibilities were added to the list.

Experts on flagship development:

- Joep Boute - expert on Kop van Zuid Rotterdam - communication at dS+V (3 Feb 2012)
- Dr. Brian Doucet - expert on flagship development - lecturer urban geography at University of Utrecht (16 Dec 2011)

Deliverables:

- General list of benefits and disadvantages that local community can derive from flagship development
- Selection of benefits that are possible to intervene in

RQ 2: Which mutual, local benefits and disadvantages are applicable to the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks in Amsterdam?



Literature provided a list of possible benefits and disadvantages that the local community in general can expect from adjacent flagship development.



The list of (dis)advantages, derived from RQ 1, was projected on the neighbourhoods Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks. Interviews added answers to the question which of these list are applicable to this case, and which of these are most important. The people that

were interviewed are:

Actors at Overhoeks:

- André de Reus - real estate developer at Ymere Ontwikkeling (30 Jan 2012)
- Gerard Schuurman - project developer at Vesteda project development (30 Jan 2012)
- Pascal van der Velde - project developer at Noordwaarts (31 Jan 2012)
- Ton Schaap - urban designer at DRO Amsterdam (24 Feb 2012)
- Jo Peters - project developer at Shell (1 Mar 2012)
- Rozemarie Smilde - communication advisor at Ymere (27 April 2012)
- Anita Boelsums - communication advisor at Shell (1 May 2012)

Experts on Van der Pekbuurt:

- Marijke de Vries - real estate developer at Ymere Ontwikkeling (30 Jan 2012)
- Bart Stuart - chairman tenants association Van der Pekbuurt (28 Feb 2012)
- Marloes Vermijs - chairman tenants association Gelria Overhoeks (28 Feb 2012)

Deliverables:

- List of benefits and disadvantages that the local community from Van der Pekbuurt can derive from the development at Overhoeks, and vice versa
- Detailed explanation on the applicability of the list of benefits and disadvantages

RQ 3: Which recommendations can help the planning process to successfully plan and design mutual, local benefits for Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt?



In literature recommendations for planners and developers of flagship projects that can lead to benefits for the local community were found.

From this literature study, conclusions were derived that have been formulated in recommendations for future flagship development.



Interviews with experts on the Van der Pekbuurt - such as the association of tenants - have given input on the needs of the local residents. I asked the key actors what the residents expect from the new developments.

Deliverables:

- Strategic plan for Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt, containing recommendations on the planning process

RQ 4: What socioeconomic and spatial requirements are needed to ensure beneficial possibilities in the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?



Literature has given spatial and socioeconomic requirements to ensure possibilities. These are mainly written in text, so it was my task to translate this into images and maps.



Interviews added to this information, and have given more detailed information on the specific needs for the local communities of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks.



Analysing maps of the key case has shown the possibilities and constraints of the intervention area. It has told me what to focus on and what to take into consideration to change. The following analytical maps have been made: functions, facilities, urban places, public transport, barriers, routes, public and private spaces. These could help me understand what is missing in the neighbourhood, and what the potentials and constraints of the area are. Maps have also given input on the relation between existing functions, facilities, transport possibilities and other programme.



At TU Delft the phrase 'research by design' is often used. Teachers try to stimulate students to use this technique as a tool to improve the urban design. A clear definition of 'research by design' is not given, but this description shows what it can be:

"If design wishes to develop a coherent response to the demands of design research it must therefore find a way of analysing the fitness of its practices to its problems and audience needs. This should come from a criterion-based analysis of research per se, plus any discipline-specific needs of design." (Rocco, Biggs & Büchler 2009, p.375) This means that when an urban design is made, the designer should analyse it and based on this, refine the design. Assuming it is a cumulative process, the designer needs to ask questions in order to get answers. The analysis was done based on criterion and questions, and was repeated several times. I started with making a

design, analysed it, used the analysis as input to improve the design, and repeated this.

Research by design was the most important method to use here. The design for the key case was tested and analysed in order to improve it.

Deliverables:

- Urban design with implementation of benefits and diminution of disadvantages for local community of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks

6. Relevance of the project

6.1 Societal relevance

The world is globalising; cities have global relations, and these are being strengthened more and more. Global connections are often in conflict with the needs and wishes of the local community.

Flagship projects, which are still being built presently, often emphasise the gap that exists between global and local relations. This project focuses on the adjacent living local communities that are affected the most by the development. The societal relevance is shown by the fact that there is still no solution to the intertwining global, regional and local relations in flagship projects. Flagship development is not something new, yet the exact influences of the developments on the local community are under researched.

The outcomes of this graduation research can add to the knowledge that flagship developers have on balancing global and local effects. The strategic plan puts forward several solutions on how to deal with this topic in urban planning. An example of integrating local needs in a spatial design will be shown. Both deliverables are possible to be used by the key actors that are involved in the development of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt.

6.2 Scientific relevance

The key issue of this project deals with the relation between flagship projects and their direct environment. An abundance of literature describes the friction between local and global effects of urban development. The relation between large prestigious projects and the adjacent community has been discussed widely. There is consensus that the effects of flagship developments should be balanced for the global and local scale. However, literature lacks to explain how this balance can be achieved. Research on how to balance global and local goals in the development of large urban projects, misses.

The research for the graduation project contributes to the debate on answering to local needs in the development of a flagship project. The outcomes of the research can be used as a key case to set an example for future research. Not only the list of benefits and disadvantages

caused by flagship development, but also the research methodology can be used for further research.

Beside that, this thesis shows the socioeconomic and spatial requirements for designing and planning benefits for the local community. Currently, little research has been expressed on this topic, therefore the outcomes of this project add to the body of knowledge.

6.3 Ethical dimension

Urban designers and planners need to deal with ethical issues in their daily work field. The ethical attitude that a professional takes influences the decision making process.

The chosen graduation project is one with a strong idealistic character. It aims to divide beneficial possibilities among a large group of residents and users. When designing for the area in Amsterdam North, my personal ethical attitude will influence the project. Few examples will be given on the ethical decisions that I made throughout the graduation project.

The flagship development Overhoeks has been planned as an area that focuses on the global and regional needs. The office of Shell, and the film museum are examples of these as they attract large groups of visitors from farther away: from the region, other parts of the Netherlands and even from abroad. The apartment buildings in the area focus on attracting high-income households and are planned to contain 80 percent of dwellings in a high market price. There is one group of people, that is affected the most by the new developments: the local community of Van der Pekbuurt. The approach of the developers is ambivalent: being affected by the developments the most, the local community benefits the least of the developments. In my opinion this is unethical conduct. I strongly believe that it aligns with the values of a democratic society to provide beneficial possibilities for the residents of Van der Pekbuurt as well. I do not aim to focus solely on that group; the (future) local community has the same rights to enjoy the possibilities that Overhoeks offers. The decisions are made on an

ethical base, influenced by the values of the society we live in: the benefits that Overhoeks offers should be balanced for the regional/global and the local scale. In that way the local communities that are affected the most by the developments, will also be able to benefit from the developments.

Another ethical conduct that lies at the base of aiming for local benefits, is a financial issue. The municipality of Amsterdam funds large parts of the flagship development. As opposed to the private developers, the municipality does not aim to have large financial revenues. I believe that the municipality should make an ethical decision to balance the benefits that Overhoeks provides. All residents of Amsterdam have the same right to employ the possibilities that the area provides.

7. Context

The location of choice consists of two adjoining neighbourhoods in the district 'Amsterdam North': the flagship area Overhoeks and the residential area Van der Pekbuurt.

In this chapter, the location will be described on several scale levels: from the European region to the neighbourhood scale. After this, an elaborated analysis on the neighbourhoods follows.

7.1 Europe

Amsterdam is located in the central West part of the Netherlands, and takes part in the so-called 'blue banana', a European region that takes from Northern Italy via the Ruhr area to London.

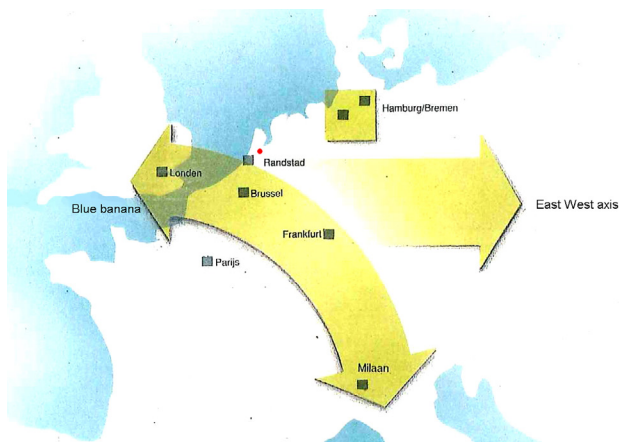


Fig. 17 Amsterdam in Europe (Streekplan Groningen, 1994)

Amsterdam is the largest city and the capital of the Netherlands and has a population of almost 800,000 within its city limits. The agglomeration has 1,1 million inhabitants and the metropolitan area 2,3 million. The latter includes surrounding cities such as Haarlem, het Gooi and Zaanstad.

The presence of the airport Schiphol is of high importance for the city, and for the country. Schiphol is one of the reasons that the Netherlands has good possibilities for international relations. Also the presence of a port in Amsterdam and especially in Rotterdam are still important for trading functions for the country.

7.2 The Netherlands

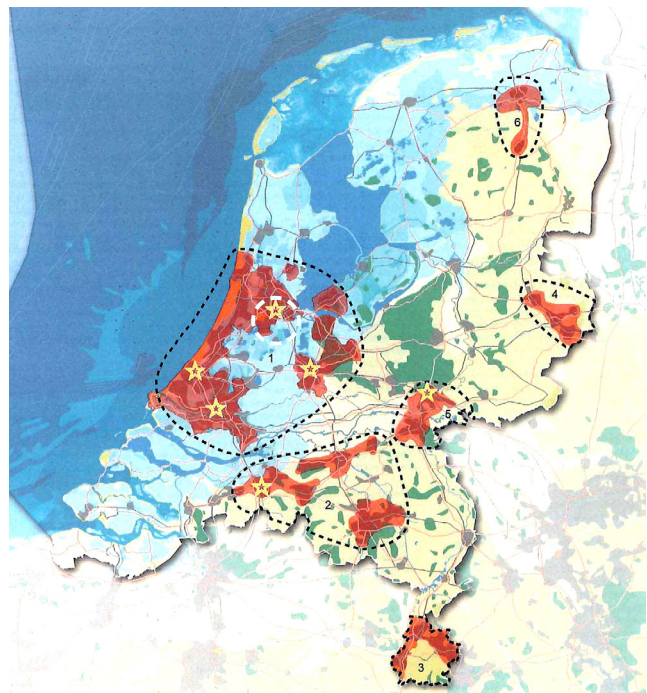


Fig. 18 Urban agglomerations in the Netherlands, Amsterdam selected in white (Nota Ruimte, 2004)

Amsterdam takes part in the largest urban agglomeration of the Netherlands: the Randstad. The Randstad consists of the four largest Dutch cities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht.



Fig. 19 'Spatial perspective' of the Randstad (Randstad 2040 Startnotitie, p.48)

7.3 Amsterdam region



Fig. 20 Amsterdam 1815 (author, 2011)

Amsterdam is located at the estuary of the river Amstel and IJ. In the beginning of the 19th century, Amsterdam was surrounded by many lakes and rivers, much more than presently. The water of the lake southwest of the city, now consists of a polder where Schiphol is located. In the East of Amsterdam in the 1950s a new province arose on a polder landscape. In the end of the 19th century the train between Haarlem and Amsterdam was constructed, these cities were the

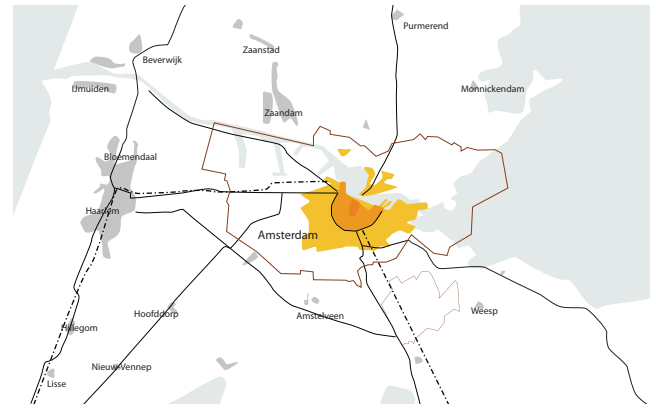


Fig. 21 Amsterdam 1945 (source: author, 2011)

first ones to have a train track in the Netherlands. Only after several decades the current city centre of Amsterdam was connected to the train network. In the 20th century there were even plans for locating the central station at the southeast of the canal zone. This shows that the central train station of Amsterdam -located at the river IJ- did not used to be a central place in the city. Currently the river becomes a central point of Amsterdam whereas for centuries it was only the border of the city..

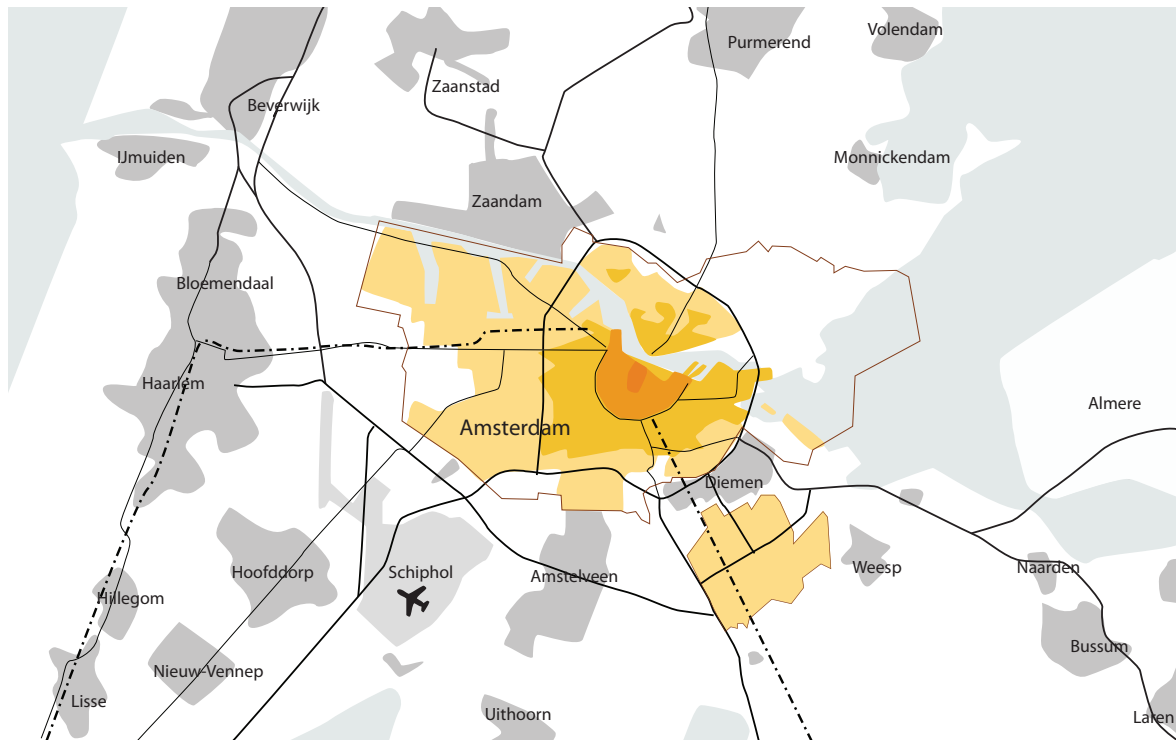


Fig. 22 Amsterdam 2011 (source: author, 2011)

7.4 City

The first settlements of Amsterdam established in the 13th century. It was a trade settlement, that could develop strongly thanks to its practical position between waters. The old city centre goes back to 1450 and still has the same structure nowadays.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the municipality of Amsterdam realised it should plan the expansion of the city, in response to overcrowding. Plans were made for expansions in the West and South. The latter plan was designed by Berlage and approved in 1917.

Amsterdam North -the part across the river IJ- was developed early in the 20th century. In 1926 the jump

across the river IJ was made, in which Van der Pekbuurt took part. A high need for dwellings for the working class existed in that time. These were built rapidly in the 1920s, many in the northern district. Amsterdam North was experimenting with garden city principles. This is still visible in the area, where most of these dwellings are still intact. In 1935 the general expansion plan of Amsterdam was made, a rapid growth of the city followed. (Jolles et al., 2003)

Amsterdam used to be an industrial city. Since the 1980s industrial businesses are declining or moving out of the city. These were located at the waterfronts of the IJ, among which the area of Overhoeks. When the industrial areas diminished and moved towards the west, this

provided the legal possibility to build dwellings close to these areas (BVR, 2003). This was the starting point for Overhoeks to possible to be redeveloped.

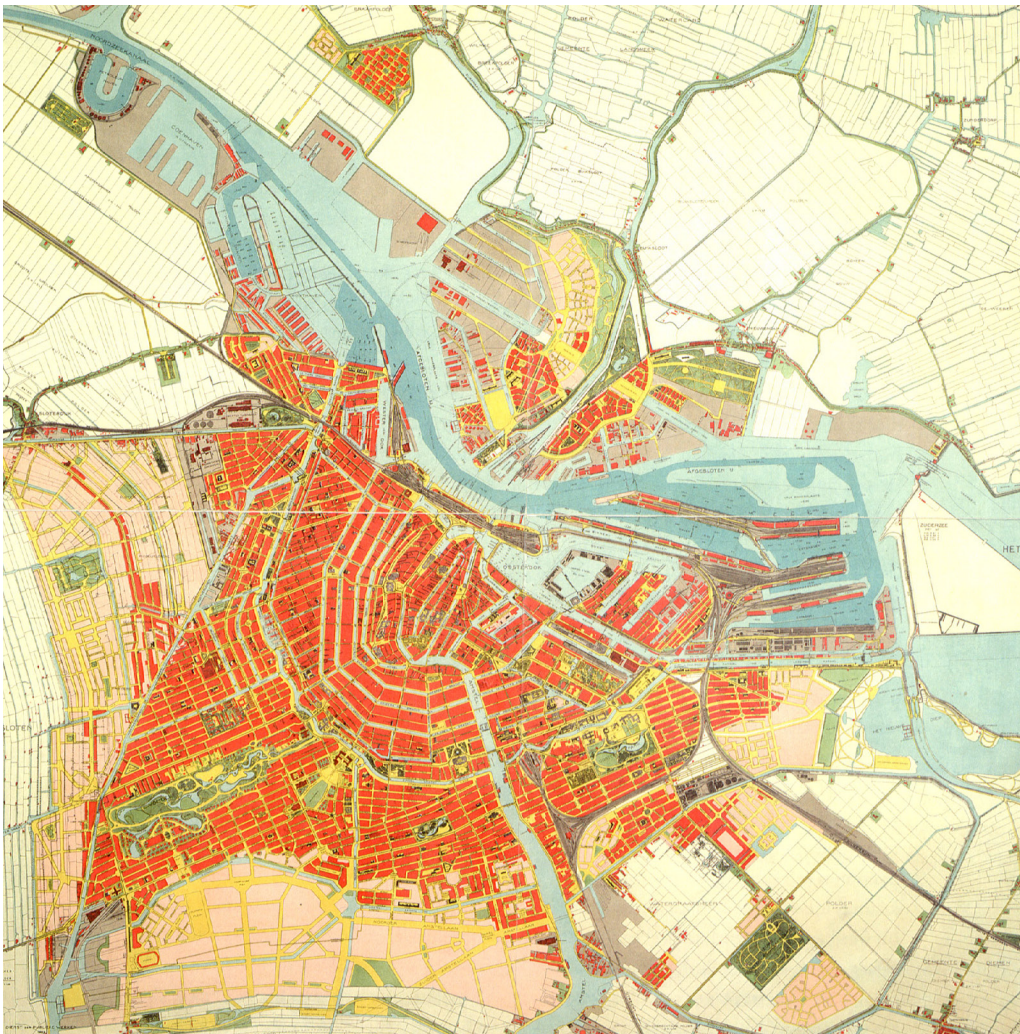


Fig. 23 City plan of Amsterdam 1928 (Source: Jolles et al 2003)

7.5 Neighbourhood

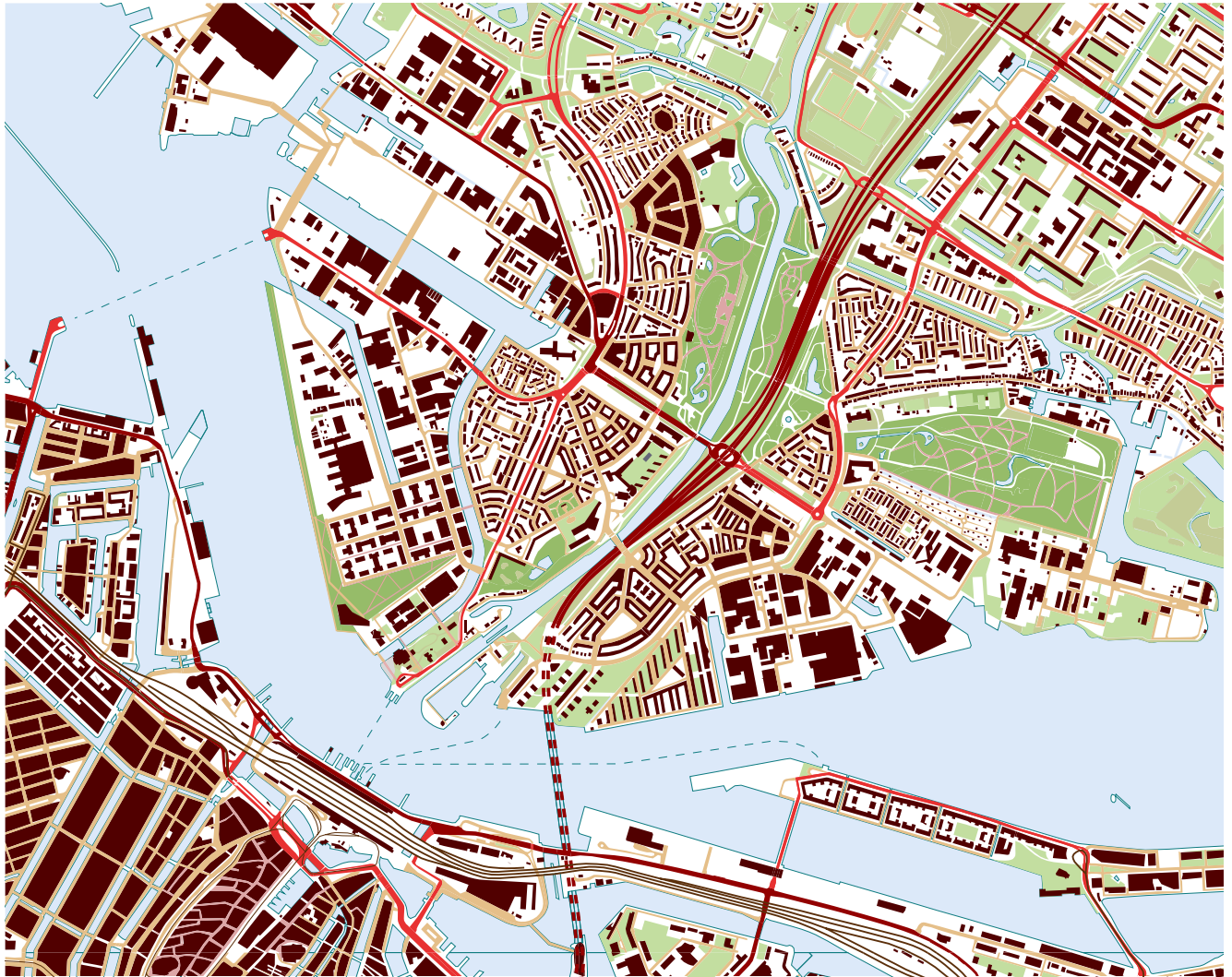


Fig. 25 Key location (author, 2011)

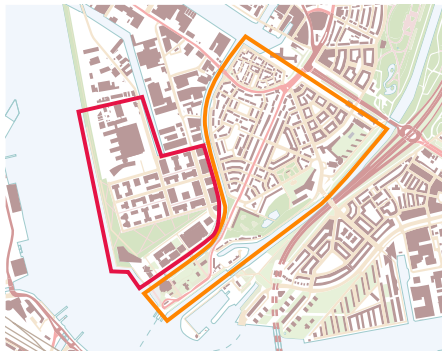


Fig. 24 Borders Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt (author, 2011)

The two neighbourhoods Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt can be seen in the figure. Next, a detailed description of the area follows. After that, an analysis on different topics will be shown: public transport, car routes, programme, building heights, phasing, public/private spaces, public spaces, land owners and governmental visions on the area.

The neighbourhoods that this project focuses on are both located in the district Amsterdam North. The neighbourhoods are the prewar residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt, and the contemporary flagship neighbourhood Overhoeks. The latter is being built at this moment, but parts of it are already finished and in use.

History

In the 19th century, part of the river IJ was drained to become the polder on which the Van der Pekbuurt is built on.



Fig. 26 Map of Amsterdam North 1866 (Amsterdam Noord, 2008)

The neighbourhood was built in 1926 as one of the first areas that was based on the garden city principles. Along the IJ was the harbour area of Amsterdam, that contains many industrial areas. The Van der Pekbuurt was built to provide houses for the working class, the people working in the adjacent industrial areas. (Amsterdam Noord, 2008)

One of the companies located at the waterfront in Overhoeks is Shell. In the beginning of this century the company moved from several large, low buildings into one building that contains all offices and laboratories. This was possible for many laboratory functions were mechanised, and did not require as much space as before. As a result of the relocation, a large piece of land became vacant. Shell sold this piece to the municipality to become Overhoeks, but stays involved in the development of this area. (Noordwaarts, 2010)

In the pictures the change from an industrial area towards a mix of offices and dwellings can be seen.



Fig. 27 Picture of Amsterdam North 1980 (Amsterdam Noord, 2008)



Fig. 28 Maquette of Amsterdam North 2017 (Amsterdam Noord, 2008)

Van der Pekbuurt

The borders of the Van der Pekbuurt can be seen in the following map in orange.

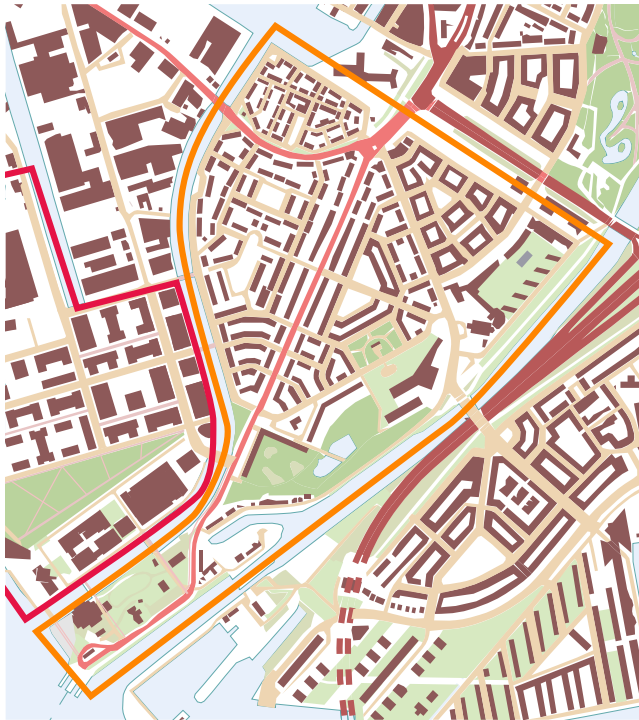


Fig. 30 Van der Pekbuurt (author, 2011)

A typical street can be seen on the picture below. Though renovated, the original, Dutch architecture from the 1920s can be recognised.



Fig. 29 Typical street of the Van der Pekbuurt (author, 2011)

The people living in the Van der Pekbuurt have an average household income that is below average. Almost half of the inhabitants has a foreign background, which is average compared to the city Amsterdam. There is a relatively high percentage of Moroccans and Turks living in the area. (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011)

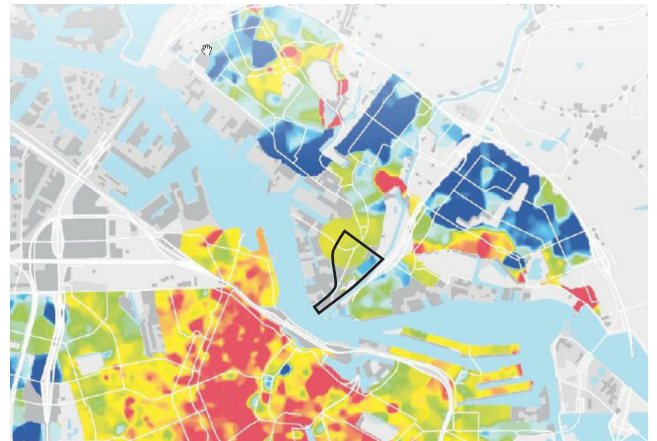


Fig. 32 Housing prices, Van der Pekbuurt selected (DRO, 2011)

The housing prices in the neighbourhood are much lower than in the city centre, nevertheless not the lowest of Amsterdam.



Fig. 31 Park in the Van der Pekbuurt (author, 2011)

Different types of public space can be found in the area, but not all are maintained properly.

Overhoeks

At the beginning of this century, the company of Shell decided to relocate. The company was scattered around the Overhoeks area in many buildings and it was desired to move into one building that could contain all offices and laboratories (picture no.1). Moreover, the company needed less space for many activities were mechanised. (Peters, 2012)

The land that became vacant was sold to the private developer ING Real Estate, in the form of a ground lease from the municipality of Amsterdam. Since 2011 Ymere is taking over the role of ING RE. A cooperation between Ymere, Shell, the municipality, housing corporation Vesteda and the owner of the film museum EYE, develop the area into a high quality living and working environment with many amenities.

The development of Overhoeks started in 2004, and was originally planned to be finished in 2017. However, the construction of the development will stop for an unde-



Fig. 33 Masterplan Overhoeks, the numbers indicate the locations of the impressions (author, 2011)



Fig. 34 No. 1: the new Shell office and laboratory (Shell, 2006)



Fig. 36 No. 2: the apartments of Overhoeks that have been built (Noordwaarts, 2010)

finished amount of time, after finishing the construction of the first phases.

The parts of Overhoeks that have been constructed, consist of the building of Shell, the film museum and nine apartment buildings. The construction of the high-rise Strip and the remaining 20 apartment buildings has been postponed for at least several years.

Overhoeks becomes a mixed area, with thirty percent



Fig. 35 No. 3: Picture of the film museum (author, 2011)

working and seventy percent living. Twenty percent of the dwellings will be rented in the social sector, eighty percent will be rent and sold in the market sector. These will be 50-200m2. (Atelier Shell, Geurst & Schulze Architekten, 2004, p.2). The apartments focus on a target



Fig. 37 No. 4: Impression of the 'high-rise strip' (Shell, 2006)

group of 1-2 person senior households with a high income (Schuurman, 2012). For the design of the buildings, ING RE asked to design these with a metropolitan international allure (Schaap, 2012) by international architects, such as the English Tony Fretton and the Portuguese Álvaro Siza.

The film museum 'EYE' is located directly at the waterfront (picture no. 3). The film museum was previously located at the Vondelpark in Amsterdam, and attracted around 150,000 visitors per year. The organisation of

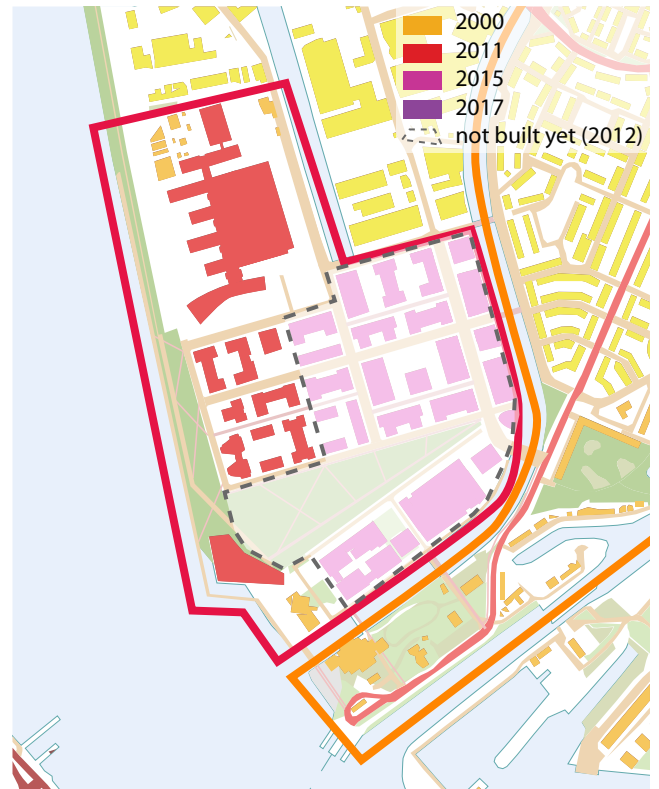


Fig. 38 Phasing of the project (author, 2011)

EYE aims to attract around 250,000 visitors on the new location (Filmtotaal, 2006). The museum was designed by Delugan Meissl Associated Architects from Vienna, and opened its doors in April 2012. It consists of exhibitions



Fig. 39 Artist impression of the 'high-rise strip' with the film museum (Van der Giessen 2005 in: Gemeente Amsterdam 2006, p.30)

of the history of film and four cinemas. Besides that, there is room for meetings and offices, a shop, a café-restaurant and a terrace at the water. (EYE, 2011)



Fig. 40 Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt in 2008 (author, 2012)



Fig. 41 Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt in 2012 (author, 2012)

7.6 Phasing of buildings



Fig. 42 History and phasing of the project (author, 2011)



Fig. 43 Apartment buildings Overhoeks (author, 2011)



Fig. 44 Van der Pekbuurt behind construction fences (author, 2011)

The first parts of Overhoeks have been built, but several parts still need to be constructed. Phase 3 -apartment blocks- and phase 4 -high-rise Strip- are postponed for an unknown period of time.

The photographs shows the contradiction existing between the two areas. The contemporary architecture of Overhoeks opposed to the traditional architecture of the 1920s in the prewar neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt.

7.7 Public transport

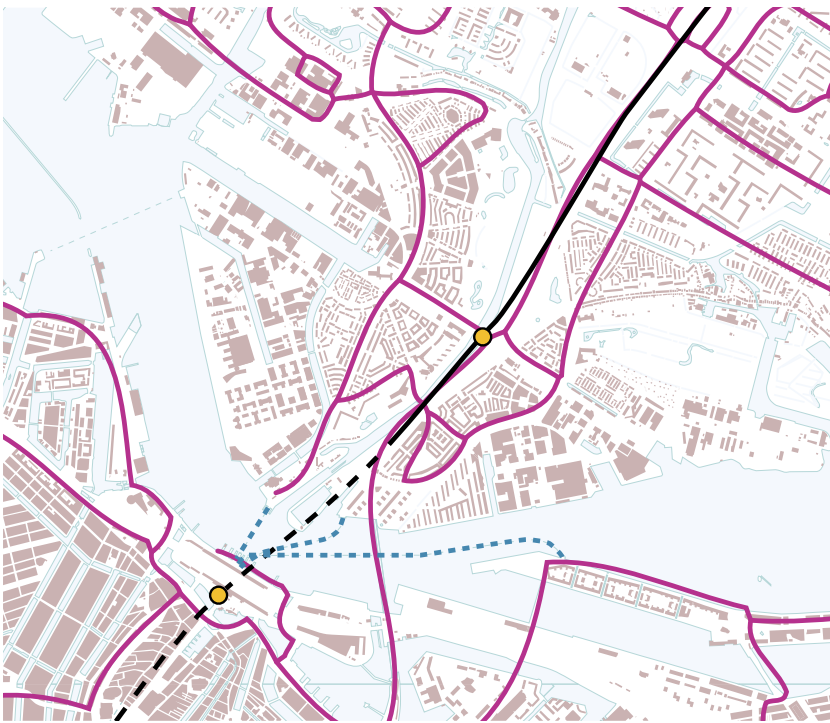


Fig. 45 Public transport

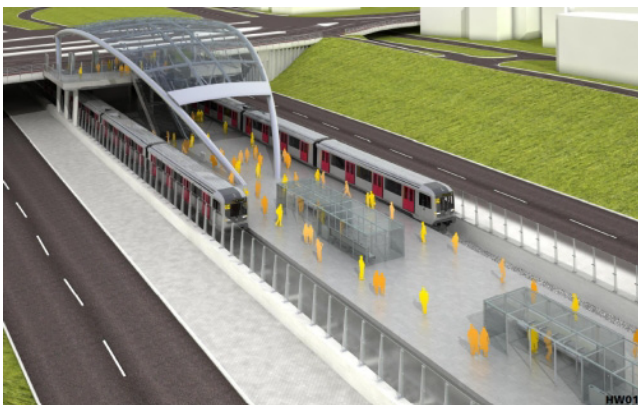


Fig. 46 Render metro station Van der Pekbuurt (Dienst Noord-Zuidlijn, 2008)

In the figure can be seen that the public transport covers most parts of the Van der Pekbuurt, and consists of bus lines and a newly planned metro that runs from the North to the South of Amsterdam.

The contemporary development of Overhoeks has not been connected to the public transport system yet.

To go from the inner city of Amsterdam to the northern

- bus
- metro (finished 2017)
- metro stop



Fig. 47 Route metro North-South line, finished 2017 (Vrijdenker, 2009)

part, one can drive by car through the IJ tunnel. When coming by foot or bicycle, people are ought to take a ferry to cross the river IJ. Most of the ferries depart at central station and one of them stops at the southern tip of Van der Pekbuurt. The ferry is highly attended and departs every couple of minutes, every day during 24 hours.

The public transport stops at Van der Pekbuurt can be considered as a link between the two areas. The ferry stop and the future metro station serve inhabitants of both Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt.

7.8 Car routes

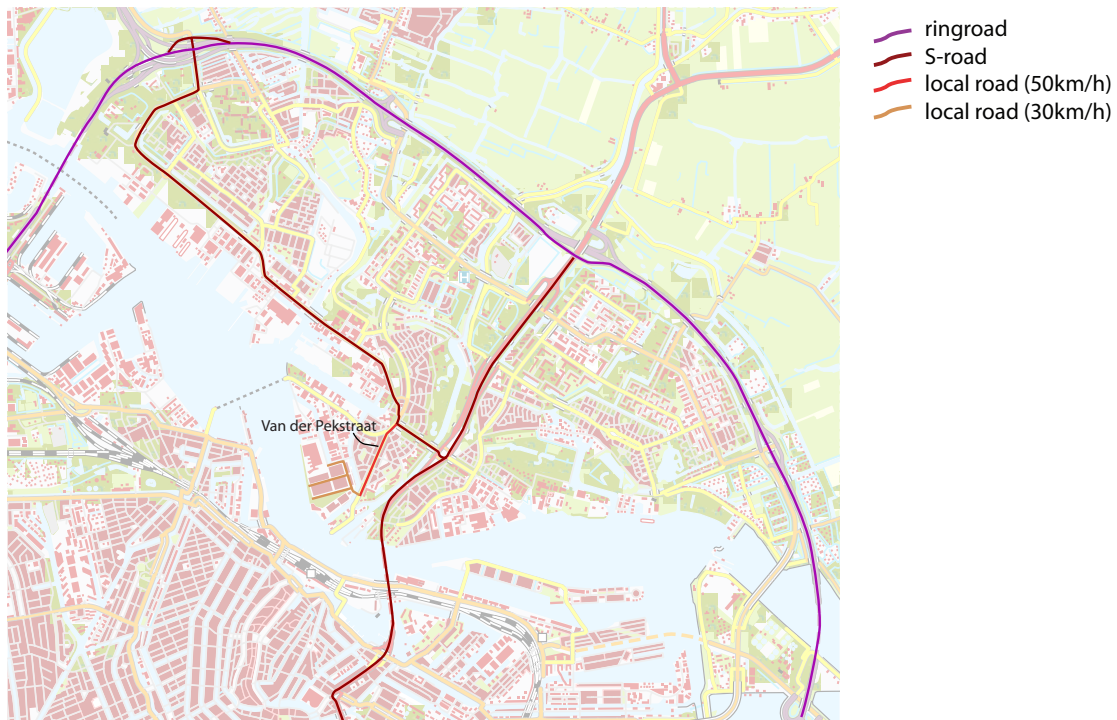


Fig. 48 Car routes towards the ring road of Amsterdam (author, 2011)

It is easy to reach both neighbourhoods by car, when coming from the ring road around Amsterdam. To reach Overhoeks one needs to go through the adjacent neighbourhood. This will make the traffic amount to go up at the Van der Pekstraat.

The S-roads -city roads- of Amsterdam are very convenient to go fast from A to B. The S-road in Amsterdam North lies under ground level, which has the effect that the sound nuisance is very limited.



Fig. 49 Picture of S-roads (author, 2011)

7.9 Programme

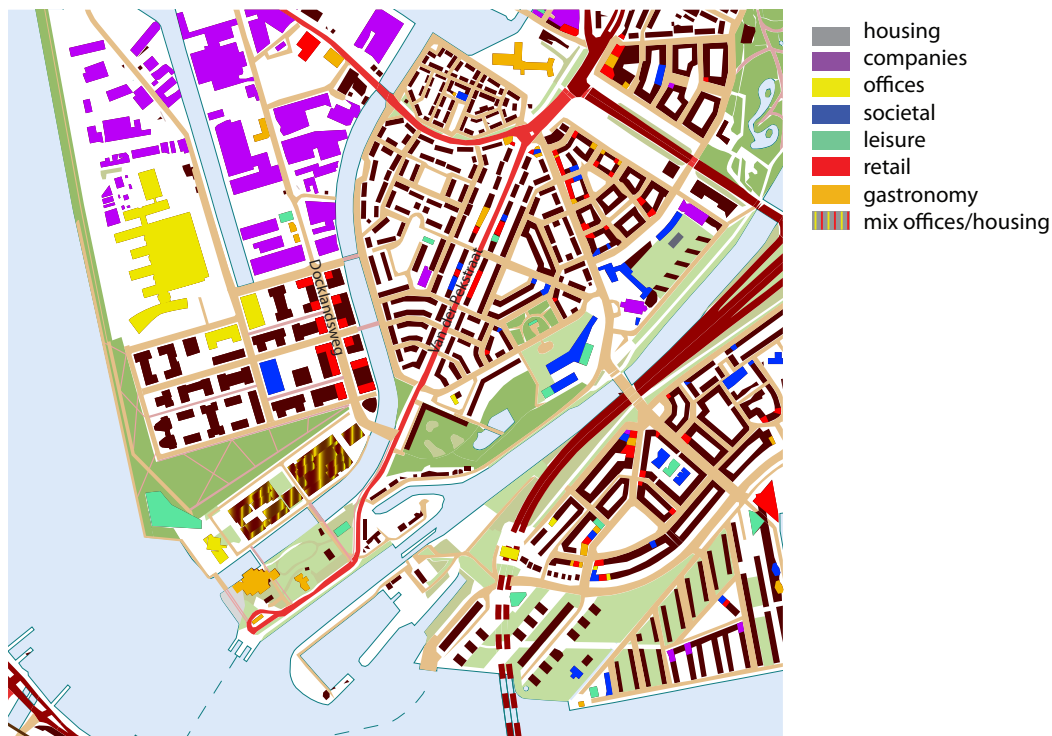


Fig. 50 Functions and facilities (author, 2011)



Fig. 51 Van der Pekstraat with several small shops (author, 2011)

The map shows the current and planned programme in Van der Pekbuurt, Overhoeks and their surroundings. The area north of Overhoeks consists mainly of industry. This continues further north, along the river banks. The office of Shell is at the transition between the industrial and the residential area. The southern part of Overhoeks, the future high-rise Strip, will contain a mixture of housing and offices. Another important amenity, is the film museum EYE. This museum could have a strong impact on the future developments at Overhoeks, as it generates flows of tourism. Pedestrian flows will take place from the museum towards the city centre of Amsterdam, and can induce greater support for the use of (future) amenities and public places in Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt.

At Van der Pekbuurt we can see that shops public functions are spread around in the neighbourhood, with a higher concentration at Van der Pekstraat and in the northeastern part. Van der Pekstraat accommodates several small shops, owned by residents of the neighbourhood. Other functions present in the neighbourhood are a high school, a library and a hotel.

7.10 Building heights



Fig. 52 Building heights



Fig. 53 Impression from Mosplein towards the 'high-rise strip' of Overhoeks (DRO, 2008)

Overhoeks is unmistakably different from the surroundings, we can see this for example in the height of the buildings. Van der Pekbuurt contains almost exclusively two-storey row housing, as opposed to the buildings of Overhoeks which generally contain eight or nine storeys. The high-rise Strip and the Overhoeks tower, form exceptions and go up to 30 storeys high.

The render on the left shows the future view from Mosplein (at the northern part of Van der Pekbuurt) towards Overhoeks. Only the Strip with high-rise -that has not been built yet- is visible from parts of Amsterdam's city centre and North. The Strip was planned for 2017, but it is currently unclear whether and when this will be constructed. (De Reus, 2012; Van der Velde, 2012)

7.11 Public and private



Fig. 54 Private spaces



Fig. 55 "Private property" in between the building blocks of Overhoeks (author, 2011)



Fig. 56 No access behind the fences (author, 2011)

Here can be seen that in Van der Pekbuurt several public places are present, as opposed to Overhoeks. In Overhoeks only the main streets are accessible for the public. In the future, the park will perform a public function as well.

The tip of Van der Pekbuurt at the IJ river is remarkably private. This is the Tolhuistuin which will be redeveloped in the coming years. Until 2004 it functioned as the canteen for the employees of Shell.

7.12 Public spaces

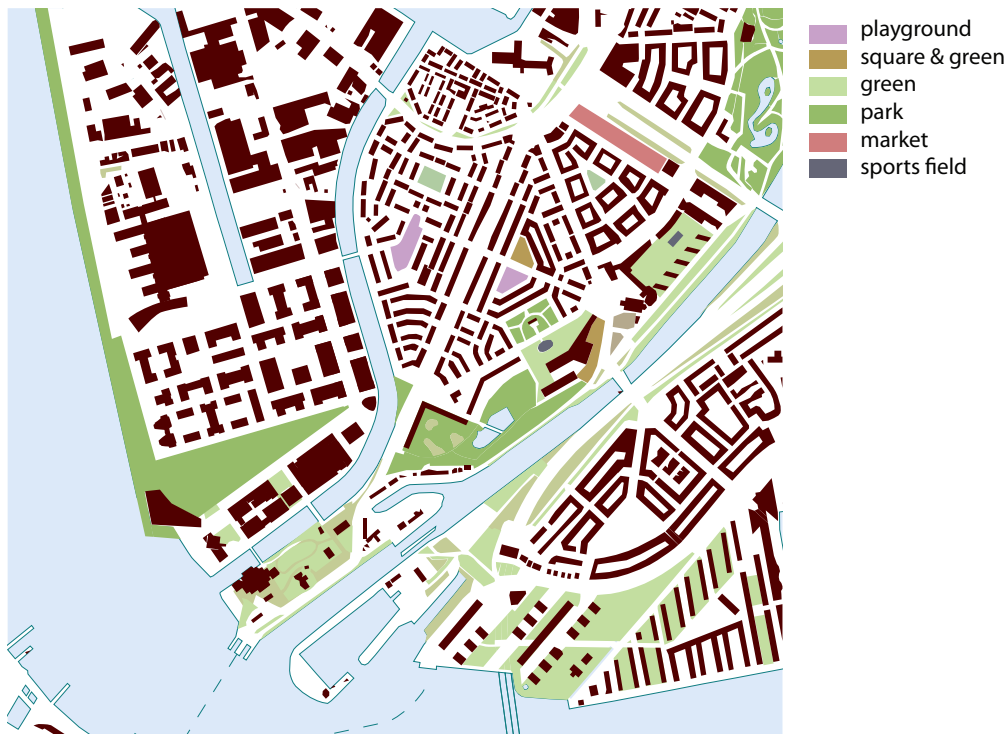


Fig. 57 Public spaces



Fig. 58 Green in Van der Pekbuurt (author, 2011)

The Van der Pekbuurt consists of a concatenation of public places, all serving a different purpose. The public spaces have different functions which makes the area lively. The spaces can be used by different people on different times of the day.

It gives the residents the choice to go to a place with an atmosphere and facilities that they enjoy, nearby their homes.

7.13 Land owners



Fig. 59 Land owners



Fig. 60 New Technology Centre of Shell (author, 2011)

Overhoeks was previously owned by Shell entirely, but the bigger part was sold to ING RE in 2004 in the form of a ground lease from the municipality of Amsterdam. From 2011 onwards Ymere buys takes over the lease ground from ING RE in phases.

The Van der Pekbuurt contains 90 per cent of social housing, which is owned by Ymere. The remaining 10 percent consists of market rental homes, owned by different housing associations.

7.14 Governmental visions

Randstad 2040

The state policy document 'Randstad 2040' focuses on four main aspects.

- 1 Living in a 'climate-proof' and green blue delta
- 2 Create quality by stimulating interaction between green, blue and red
- 3 Make stronger, what is internationally strong
- 4 Powerful, sustainable cities and regional accessibility (Rijksoverheid, 2010)

As we can see, the third and fourth statement focus on the regional and international scale. This forms part of the problem statement, as could be read earlier.

Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040

The municipality of Amsterdam has formulated a vision ("structuurvisie") on the development of the riverbanks of the IJ.

The first sentence of this document is 'For Amsterdam it is of vital importance that it keeps its prominent position in the world economy'. This shows the global focus of the vision for Amsterdam. As it continues, it also states that the regional and local economy should be strengthened. The central ambition is: Amsterdam develops itself as a key city of an international competitive, sustainable, European metropolis. (DRO, 2011, p.8-9)

The municipality has the ambition to build 70,000 dwellings net until 2040. The Van der Pekstraat is mentioned specifically as one of the streets where the ground floors will contain mixed use. (DRO 2011, p.9-10)

The document shows two scenarios for the development of the waterfront of the IJ. In both scenarios (figure on the right) the current industrial areas will be transformed into a working-living environment. As we can see the de-industrialisation-process continues.



Fig. 61 Two scenarios for the development of the harbour area of Amsterdam (Kaart: DRO, Johan Karst in: Amsterdam structuurvisie 2040, p.14)

- working
- working-living
- living-working
- add quality
- underground connection
- planned lines high quality public transport

“Noord aan het IJ. Masterplan Noordelijke IJ-oever”

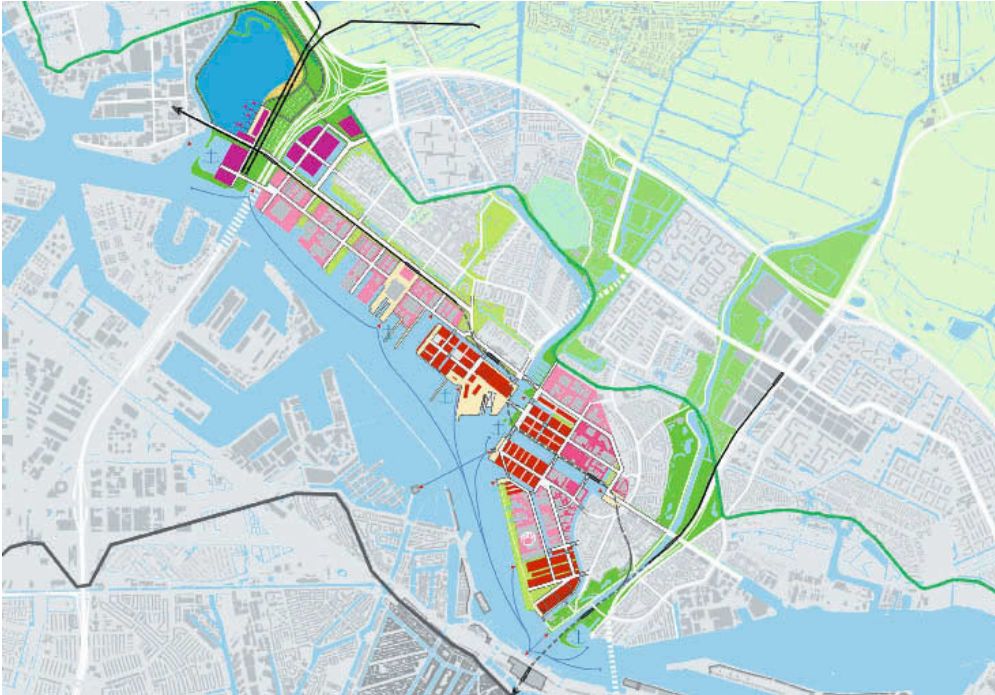


Fig. 62 Masterplan Northern riverbanks of the IJ (BVR 2003, p.28)

This document contains a development strategy for the Northern IJ banks. The document puts forward a framework for the area that describes the main structure (figure).

At the banks of the IJ that are identified for this plan, in the year 2003 only 8000 people worked and 100 people live there. The masterplan has the vision to provide 25,000 jobs and 9000 dwellings in the area around 2030. The area will be a place that contains working, living and facilities and should function as a transition zone between Amsterdam North and the rest of Amsterdam. The two main roads -Cornelis Douwesweg and Klaprozenweg- will remain intact. The barrier that the roads may form, is planned to be diminished by designing several places to cross the roads.

Research

Fig. 63 Overhoeks waterfront (author, 2011)

This section shows the results of the research. Every chapter answers one of the research questions. The research started by studying the possible effects that flagship development can have on its adjacent neighbourhoods, with the use of literature and interviews with experts on the topic. (RQ 1) *What are the possible benefits and disadvantages a residential neighbourhood can derive from its adjacent flagship development, in west European cities?* The result is a list of possible, local benefits and disadvantages caused by flagship development.

The next chapter projects this list on the key case in Amsterdam and describes the applicability of every one of the mentioned local effects. (RQ 2) *Which mutual, local benefits and disadvantages are applicable to the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks in Amsterdam?* The result is a detailed description of benefits and disadvantages applicable to Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks.

Chapter 10 uses the results of interviews, literature, and the elaboration of the previous questions to answer the following question: (RQ 3) *Which recommendations can help the planning process to successfully plan and design*

mutual, local benefits for Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt? The result is a strategic plan for the stakeholders at Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt, containing recommendations to alter the planning process in the key case in order to create a planning process framework that enables mutual, local benefits for both neighbourhoods.

The following chapter elaborates on the socioeconomic and spatial benefits and disadvantages that Van der Pekbuurt could derive from Overhoeks. (RQ 4) *Which socioeconomic and spatial requirements are needed to ensure beneficial possibilities in the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?* The result is an urban design for parts of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt

Chapter 12 provides the most important conclusions that can be drawn from the research by answering the main research question. *How can the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt benefit from the adjacent contemporary flagship development in Overhoeks Amsterdam, and vice versa, in socioeconomic and spatial terms?* It also mentions a short reflection on and implications of this project, and recommendations for future research.

8. Research Question 1

What are the possible benefits and disadvantages a residential neighbourhood can derive from its adjacent flagship development, in west European cities?

To answer this question, I will make use of literature and interviews with experts on flagship projects, as could be read in the chapter Methodology. These will help to compose a general list of possible benefits for the local community that lives adjacent to a flagship development, in west European cities. This list also contains the disadvantages that possibly prevent the local community to make use of the beneficial possibilities. The future challenge is to provide the benefits for the residents, and to diminish the disadvantages that prevent them from exploiting the benefits.

First, the aims of flagship developers will be mentioned. It is crucial to know whether developers aim for local benefits, and if so: which of the developers aim for this. Second, the positive and negative effects of flagship development, as seen by critics, will be discussed. Third, from this information I derive a list of benefits and disadvantages that flagship development can provide. Finally, from this list I select the points that affect the local community, and that can be intervened in by urban planning and design, for the task of this graduation project is to suggest tangible interventions.

The research focuses on mutual benefits: benefits for both the residents of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks. The challenge that lies here, is to find the benefits for the neighbourhoods by intervening only in the areas that are planned to be developed. Financial means are already allocated for this development, and the planning process has started. This project seizes the array of opportunities that are veiled in these developments.

8.1 Aims of flagship developers

Developers formulate aims when planning the flagship projects. The most important aims were previously mentioned (in the introduction and problem field description). The flagship developments should:

- attract tourists, jobs and investments
- revitalise an attractive image for the city
- create more wealth for the city
- encourage private investment

It is important to notice that none of these aims are focused on residents living in adjacent areas. They focus respectively on the global and regional scale, on the city as a whole, or on the flagship area itself. More aims will be discussed in that order, plus aims that focus on adjacent areas and the local community.

Aims of private developers

Most aims that private flagship developers put forward focus on the large scale. They want the prestigious projects to put cities on the map (Rodriguez et al., 2001, p.167), so the cities become more attractive for different target groups and investments. The project should attract regional and (inter)national visitors. Also should it attract



Fig. 64 Local Christmas market at global flagship La Défense, Paris (author, 2011)

people with high incomes to buy or rent a residence in the area (Doucet, 2009).

Moreover, an economic aim of the project deals with the inter-city competition that became important from the start of neoliberal activities. It should make possible that the city defends its position in the global economic hierarchy (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.304). This approach considers the city as a whole; this is typical for the aims. In this sense, other aims are present. One of these is to boost municipal revenues (Grodach, 2010, p.353), although this is widely discussed and definitely not always the case. In fact, sometimes the project costs more for the municipality than it yields.

Furthermore, the projects should change local perceptions (Smyth, 1994). During the de-industrialisation, many waterfronts became vacant, causing bad perceptions for residents of the city, but also for (possible) tourists and investment.

Other aims are explicitly focused on the flagship area itself. One of the most important goals here, is place-marketing (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.248; Doucet, 2009, p.104; Grodach, 2010, p.353; Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.303). Place-marketing then contributes to other goals of higher scale levels, such as the attraction of tourists and investment. Attracting private sector finance is an important aim for developers as well (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.248; Healey et al., 1992, p.218; Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.299), because the development in most cases needs private financing since the costs for such a large urban project are very high.

Nonetheless, some aims of the private flagship developers do focus on adjacent neighbourhoods. An important one is for the flagship development to catalyse regeneration in adjacent neighbourhoods (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.249; Grodach, 2010, p.353; Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.299). Also, the project should promote growth (Smyth, 1994). This often leads to gentrification of areas located nearby. Gentrification in some cases is mentioned explicitly as a goal of developers, like at the Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam, the Netherlands.

Regeneration is a tenuous notion that can have many different effects on neighbourhoods, positive but also negative when for instance talking about gentrification. Gentrification is a widely discussed subject, that will not be discussed in detail here. One of the critiques on gentrification can be mentioned, in the sense of residential

benefits. This is the fact that residents of adjacent neighbourhoods will not be able to benefit from the flagship if they are displaced from the area. This happens often when gentrification takes place, then it means that the effects of the development are still focused on outsiders: residents from elsewhere that move into the adjacent areas once the flagship has been built.

Municipal aims

Many flagship developments are led by a collaboration of municipal and private developers. Some municipalities seem to add local quality and benefits to the list of aims (Manchester Council in: Doucet, 2009, p.104). Municipalities also try to help people out of poverty with the flagship projects, but exactly how they try to reach this goal remains unclear (Doucet, 2009, p.104). Nevertheless, governments in e.g. the UK, the Netherlands and Spain are shifting their attention towards helping deprived communities with the new developments (Doucet, 2009, p.104).

However, as mentioned in chapter 2, even the municipalities that do aim for the flagship development to provide local benefits seem not to succeed in reaching this aim. Under neoliberal planning strategies, as are generally applied in developed countries, the local influence of the national government has decreased (Jessop, 2002). Local authorities have more power than before, and are therefore often highly involved in flagship development. Public private partnerships consist of cooperations between the local government and private enterprises. The amount of power that every involved party has, differs. Public governments can be highly influenced by the private companies, as these are profit driven and have strong influence on capital movement. The public governments do not receive enough financial support from their national governments to gain enough revenues. Therefore they are dependent on private enterprises that know how to gain profits in a short amount of time. (Temelová, 2007)

On the other hand, municipalities do have powerful instruments that constrain private influences. These instruments are planning documents such as land use plans and urban city visions. Despite the flexibility that might exist in these instruments, the plans are binding and hard to negotiate by private developers.

8.2 Effects of flagship development

In this section the effects that flagship developments can have on a global, regional and local scale are pointed out. These are the result of a literature study, and follow a SWOT-type of method. These effects are the ones that developers do not specifically aim for, but that are being noted by critics. First effects that plead for the development of flagships are discussed, second effects against it. Next, several phenomena that threaten successful flagship development are discussed, and the opportunities that lie in future flagship development are mentioned.

Positive effects of flagship development

Several arguments plead for the building of flagship projects. Social, economic and spatial arguments will be mentioned in that order.

A social effect that flagships have, is the boost of civic pride among city residents (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.303). The flagship is a prestigious project, showing clearly the renewal that takes place, so people living in and around the developments will feel proud of the newly built area. This argument is supported by research that measured resident perceptions of the Kop van Zuid, a flagship in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. The results show that residents from the entire city feel more or less proud of the developments. It does not matter if residents live in a deprived area or in an affluent area. Residents living closer to the Kop van Zuid do experience a bit more positive effects than people living farther away, but this is not a significant difference. (Doucet et al., 2010)

An economic, positive effect caused by flagships is the boost of business confidence. By building visible symbols of renewal, businesses feel more confident to invest in the area or in adjoining areas. It has been stated that “the potentially beneficial impacts of flagships on local economies should not be underestimated” (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.251). A rise of development activity in adjoining areas can be seen, for example in the UK where Bradford’s National Museum of Photography, Film and Television functioned as a flagship that was crucial for the tourist industry in the city of Bradford. The flagship project was responsible for increasing the annual number of tourists from virtually none in 1980 to around six million in 1988. Flagships can catalyse tourism and convention industries, which can have positive spin-off effects on local consum-

er service industries, both in and close to the renewed area. (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.251)

Another economic effect proponents of flagship developments see, is the raising of property values (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.303). However the question remains for whom this is a positive effect. Many neighbourhoods adjoining flagships were built decades ago for the working class that lived next to industrial businesses. This means that the dwellings are relatively small, and mainly for low rent-prices. Only house and land owners can actually benefit from rising property values.

Proponents state that the benefits of the flagships are for all residents, although this is not widely accepted in literature. Proponents claim that all residents benefit from the creation of wealth and jobs and the use of new public spaces and facilities. The flagship provides many jobs in the service sector, but also supporting jobs for which a lower education is needed. The latter can be filled by the often low educated people in adjoining neighbourhoods, they say.

Also, as a spatial argument, proponents state that new urban spaces and facilities will be designed, which all residents would be able to benefit from. However, fragmentation (which will be discussed in the next section) and strong barriers around the flagship area, make it hard to believe that all residents can use spaces of the new-built area easily. The facilities of the new development often aim at an affluent audience, so the costs to make use of them are too high for the lower income groups that live nearby.

Negative effects of flagship development

The most important negative critiques can be divided into economic and spatial effects. The latter has strong influences on social behaviour which will be discussed here.

Starting with the economic effects, several disadvantages can be mentioned. First of all, flagship projects have a high financial risk (Loftman and Nevin, 1995; Temelová, 2007, p.97). The construction needs investments of several project developers, and often also of municipalities. The economic returns take a long time, and are not always as high as predicted (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.253; Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.308). This is ingrained with other economic disadvantages. The investments are concentrated on a few places only, which has the effect that

benefits are unevenly distributed (Parkinson & Evans in: Bianchini et al., 1992, p.252). It has been argued that the people benefiting from the flagships are mainly tourists and middle or high class residents. Low-income residents living close by the newly developed area benefit the least, while their lives are influenced the most by the new developments.

Since the projects are often supported by municipal funding, this keeps resources from going to deprived neighbourhoods and other much-needed improvements of public services (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.306). This can also lead to people believing that the expenses of government are unevenly distributed. Residents will start to distrust the municipality's expenses (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.306).

Proponents say that flagships create benefits for all residents, like wealth and jobs. Critics argue that these benefits cannot be enjoyed by all residents for different reasons. The creation of wealth focuses on the city as a whole, and not on the local community, they argue. Studies have shown that there is often a mismatch between job offers and education of residents. E.g. in Canary Wharf, London, only 1800 of the 47,000 jobs go to local residents, and over 70% of these jobs are low-skill, part-time and low-paid (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.306-307).

Regarding the spatial effects, one of the most important disadvantages caused by flagships is fragmentation within cities. Many flagship areas function as an island inside the city. (Doucet, 2009, p.105; Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.305; Wilkinson, 1992, p.206). They are often separated from the rest of the city, not only caused by barriers like infrastructure or water, but also caused by the immense spatial and perceptual differences that exist between flagship projects and their adjacent areas. Several authors emphasise the effects of fragmentation in the city. Fragmentation threatens daily social practices and leads to a lack of social cohesion. Having poor social cohesion in a neighbourhood increases crime and blocks residents from opportunities and resources. (Bowers and Hirschfield, 1997) Moreover, Andersen (2002) argues that segregation, exclusion of places and social and spatial inequality are causes of deprivation in neighbourhoods. The inequalities that exist between flagship area and residential neighbourhood can be enormous. (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.252)

The effect of fragmentation in cities caused by flag-

ships development is of high importance, and can have extensive negative consequences for residents. This can for example be seen in Glasgow, where the establishment of prestigious projects has been accompanied by growing deprivation in other parts of the city. Also, high unemployment rates still remained present after the new developments. (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.307)

Individual planning contributes to fragmentation, and can often be seen in flagship projects. The planning of the flagship is often poorly integrated with planning the entire city, causing fragments in the city that have poor relations with each other. (Eisinger, 2000, p.333; Temelová, 2007, p.97)

Urban places that are created in the flagship area, are not easy to be enjoyed by all residents. Spatial fragmentation between neighbourhoods prevents this. Moreover, the newly built flagships are not similar to their surroundings, and people that live nearby have no relation with the area. This makes it hard for them to appreciate new affluent urban places. Imitation effects contribute to this, because the characteristics of the city are not visible in the contemporary projects. (Bianchini et al., 1992)

Imitation effects have been briefly discussed, and can be used as an argument against the development of flagships. Imitation results in "the proliferation of standardised models of flagships which do not take the characteristics of the locality where they are built into adequate consideration" (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.307). This has the effect that flagships can seem alien and unwelcoming to local residents.

Threats for successful flagship development

The following three phenomena threaten the success of flagship projects. These notions are the ones that developers do not have in control, but can be taken into account when planning and developing such large projects.

First of all, flagship projects are susceptible of the instability and unpredictability of the national market and economy. This is an often mentioned critique on property-led regeneration in general. (Doucet, 2009, p.106) Besides market forces in general, more importantly, economic recessions play a crucial role in the success of flagship projects. When an economic recession takes place, this can lead to the curtailment, delay or failure of the entire project. It can lead to stagnation of the construction of the site. If the site is completely built, it can easily

prevent the buildings to be occupied, and thus causes the project to fail.

A third threat that can be mentioned is the oversupply of prestigious projects. The relation between supply of flagship projects and the demand is tenuous. This can lead to an oversupply of the prestigious developments, built in optimistic times (Loftman & Nevin, 1995, p.307). This is fed by the imitation effects.

Opportunities for successful flagship development

Many spatial and socioeconomic opportunities lie in future flagship development. Flagship areas aim at a very high standard of living, and therefore try to accommodate the needs of residents living in these areas. Many facilities, amenities and transport possibilities are generally present at such developments. (Doucet et al., 2010). These provide the opportunity for adjacent residents to make use of these. Nevertheless, these opportunities can only be exploited when taking the wishes and needs of the adjacent population into account. People with a low

income are for instance generally not capable of buying expensive luxuries. Also the spatial configuration plays a role here, as spatial disconnection might work against the ease with which one can exploit the facilities etc.

Another effect that the local communities can benefit from, is the possibility to make a housing career from their residence towards a dwelling in the flagship area. (Wille, 2010). Prices of the contemporary development therefore need to be adapted to the prices of adjacent housing.

8.3 Listing the effects

This part will give an answer to the research question: *What are the possible benefits and disadvantages a residential neighbourhood can derive from its adjacent flagship development, in west European cities?*

This question is answered by the use of a literature study.

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>Aims of private flagship developers</p> | <p>References</p> |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Create more wealth for the city 2 Changing local perceptions 3 Put cities on the map 4 Catalyse regeneration 5 Promoting "organic" growth 6 Place-marketing 7 Attract private sector finance 8 Inter-city competition 9 Attract high income residents 10 Local economic development 11 Attract visitors 12 Defend position in global hierarchy 13 Boost municipal revenues 14 Revitalising an attractive image for the city | <p>Doucet, 2009, p.101 Smyth, 1994 in: Doucet et al., 2010, p.362 Rodriguez et al., 2001, p.167 Bianchini et al., 1992, p.247; Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.299; Grodach, 2010, p.353 Smyth, 1994 in: Doucet et al., 2010, p.362 Bianchini et al., 1992, p.246; Loftman, Nevin, 1995, p.303; Doucet, 2009, p.162; Grodach, 2010, p.353 Bianchini et al., 1992, p.247; Tavsanoglu and Healey, 1992; Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.299 Doucet, 2009, p.103 Doucet, 2009, p.102 Loftman and Nevin 1995, p.299 Grodach, 2010, p.353 Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.304 Grodach, 2010, p.353 Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.304</p> |
| <p>Additional aims of municipal flagship developers</p> | <p>Manchester Council in Doucet, 2009 in: Doucet, 2009, p.103 Doucet, 2009 Doucet, 2009; Majoor, 2011 Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.304</p> |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15 Local quality and benefit 16 Helping people out of poverty 17 Attention towards deprived communities 18 Resident participation in planning flagship projects | |

○ = benefit for local community
○ = disadvantage for local community

Fig. 65 Aims of public and private flagship developers (author, 2012; sources in scheme)

In the previous text, the most important aims of flagship developers were mentioned. These, and more, are listed on the previous page.

When looking at the aims of developers it is striking that only the municipal aims focus on creating beneficial possibilities for local residents. According to the literature study, none of the private developers aim for local

benefits.

Critics have written on the effects that they believe flagship developments generate. Different effects of the projects plead for or against the developments. Also, several threats can be mentioned that threaten successful development. These are listed below.

| Strengths | |
|--|--|
| ① Boost civic pride | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.303 |
| 2 Boost business confidence | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.303 |
| 3 Raising property values | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.303 |
| ④ Raising development activity in adjoining areas | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.303 |
| ⑤ Arrest the spiral of decline in urban areas | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.303 |
| ⑥ Benefits for all residents: wealth, jobs, places | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.304 |
| Weaknesses | |
| ⑦ Social polarisation | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.300; Doucet, 2009, p.104 |
| ⑧ Fragmentation of cities | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.305; Doucet, 2009, p.105 |
| ⑨ Individual planning, not integrated | Wilkinson in: Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.306 |
| 10 Concentrate investment on few places only | Doucet, 2009, p.102 |
| 11 High financial risk | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.307 |
| ⑫ No public resources for deprived neighbourhoods | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.307 |
| 13 Benefits are unevenly distributed | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.309; Temelová, 2007, p.95 |
| ⑭ Residents distrust expenses of government | Eisinger, 2000, p.323 |
| 15 Low economic returns | Temelová, 2007, p.95; Eisinger, 2000, p.331 |
| ⑮ Alien, unwelcoming appearance of flagship area | Doucet, 2009, p.102 |
| ⑯ Jobs go to commuters, farther away from source | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.310 |
| ⑰ Mismatch of jobs and skills | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.310 |
| ⑱ Little benefit for poor | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.312 |
| ⑳ Mark social and economic divisions within cities | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.312 |
| Threats | |
| 21 Instability of market: no reliable regeneration | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.306 |
| ⑳ Delay, curtailment, failure of projects | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.306 |
| 23 Oversupply of prestigious projects | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.307 |
| Opportunities | |
| ⑳ Generate socially just outcomes | Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.312 |
| ㉑ Create more inclusive spaces | Doucet, 2009, p.106 |
| ㉒ Rethink goals of key actors | Doucet, 2009, p.106; Majoor, 2011 |
| ㉓ Provide possibilities for housing career for residents | Wille, 2010 |
| ㉔ Recreational amenities, transport, facilities, economic opportunities, housing | Doucet et al., 2010 |

- ① = benefit for local community
- ② = disadvantage for local community

Fig. 66 Effects of flagship development (author, 2012; sources in scheme)

8.4 Conclusion

Now it is possible to see that four of the six positive critiques show a benefit for the local community. But also several effects are a disadvantage for the community and prevent them from exploiting the benefits optimally.

Besides strengths and weaknesses, the threats and opportunities are listed. The threats show effects that influence the flagship and its surroundings negatively, without it being possible for the developers or actors to change these. The opportunities show positive effects that flagship development *could* bring, but which has not been seen in practice yet.

It can be seen that the list of opportunities mentions only benefits for residents living next to the development. This shows that critics do have attention for the local community, and can even mention several beneficial possibilities. This is a very positive phenomenon, but it should be taken into account by practitioners in order to actually create possibilities.

To sum up, a list can be made that shows the benefits that were highlighted in the previously. From this list, the ones that can be intervened in can be selected: these are shown here on the right.

Benefits for local community

- 1 Attention towards deprived communities
- 2 Resident participation in planning flagship projects
- 3 Raising development activity in adjoining areas
- 4 Create more inclusive spaces
- 5 Rethink goals of key actors
- 6 Provide possibilities for housing career
- 7 Recreational amenities
- 8 Possibilities for transport
- 9 Facilities
- 10 Economic opportunities
- 11 Housing
- 12 Urban places

Fig. 67 Possible benefits for local community, provided by adjacent flagship development (author, 2012; sources in previous schemes)

Disadvantages for local community

- 1 Social polarisation
- 2 Fragmentation within cities
- 3 Individual planning, not integrated
- 4 No public resources for deprived neighbourhoods
- 5 Residents distrust expenses of government
- 6 Delay, curtailment, failure of projects
- 7 Alien, unwelcoming appearance of flagship area

Fig. 68 Possible disadvantages for local community, caused by adjacent flagship development (author, 2012; sources in previous schemes)

9. Research Question 2

Which mutual, local benefits and disadvantages are applicable to the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks in Amsterdam?

As could be read in the methodology scheme, this question is answered with spatial analysis through maps, relevant literature and focused interviews.

- Literature has provided the theoretical framework where possible benefits and disadvantages are described, as shown in the previous section.
- Maps have provided information on the facilities, functions, public spaces and public transport that are present and planned in the areas, as well as the spatial distribution of social groups.
- Interviews help to explain the needs of the local community of the Van der Pekbuurt, the perception of the inhabitants on the new developments, the degree of involvement of the community in the planning process, and might indicate directions as to which facilities and services are lacking in the area.

In the previous chapter the lists with possible benefits and disadvantages have been put forward. These benefits and disadvantages will now be projected on the key case. Which of these effects are and can be present in Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt? First, we have a look at the benefits listed in the scheme on the previous page and discuss them in more detail one by one. Second, the possible disadvantages caused by flagship development indicated in the scheme is discussed.

9.1 Benefits

'Attention towards deprived communities'

In the Netherlands usually much attention is paid for so-called 'problem areas' or 'attention areas'. The municipality of Amsterdam has selected 25 neighbourhoods that receive extra attention, on the base of thirteen indicators, such as the objective safety and the percentage of unemployed looking for work. The other indicators can be found in the scheme.

One of the 25 selected neighbourhoods is the Van der Pekbuurt. Being an attention area means that the municipi-

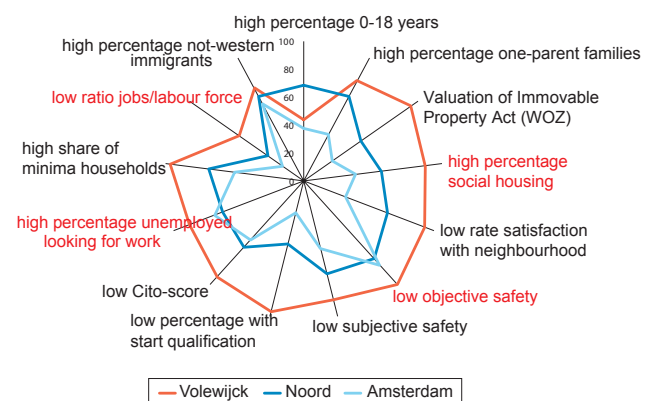


Fig. 69 Indicators for labelling neighbourhoods 'attention area' (DO&S 2007, edited by author, 2011)

pality allocates funds to the neighbourhood. What this means economically, can be read at the disadvantage 'no public resources for deprived neighbourhoods'.

'Resident participation in planning flagship projects'

It is important to make a distinction between informing residents, and active participation of residents in the elaboration of flagship projects or any large spatial intervention that affects them.

During the development process of Overhoeks, residents of the Van der Pekbuurt have been *informed* by several actors. In 2002 the first plans were communicated to the Van der Pekbuurt community. Many residents seemed very positive towards the contemporary developments (Peters 2012; Schaap 2012). However, when speaking to the chairpersons of the tenants association Van der Pek and Gelria (the social housing apartment block in Overhoeks) in 2012, they explained that many residents of the Van der Pekbuurt are currently rather suspicious towards the new developments, mainly because of a lack of information on what is planned for the future in Overhoeks. Currently, a lack of information services to the local communities exists.

The local community of Van der Pekbuurt has not been asked for *participation* during the process of developing Overhoeks so far. The community therefore does not feel like they are taken seriously. Moreover, another factor playing a big role here, is that the private developer

Ymere is not only involved in developing Overhoeks. Ymere at the same time is the owner of the social housing in Van der Pekbuurt and plans to restructure the Van der Pekbuurt, in order to attract higher income households. As a result of the planned restructuring many residents will have to leave their house the coming ten to twenty years, and the atmosphere in the neighbourhood therefore is less pleasant in general. The priority for residents is trying to stay in the neighbourhood, rather than get involved in Overhoeks. What use is that if they have to leave their dwellings in several years?

Ymere might spoil its position in the Overhoeks process, by the plans that they have for Van der Pekbuurt. The residents of Van der Pekbuurt and the rest of Amsterdam North have been *informed* to a certain extent, but did not *participate* in the project. The residents were never asked for their needs and wishes, that could be realised through a coordinated development between van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks. (Stuart, 2012)

'Raising development activity in adjoining areas'

The raising of development activity in adjoining areas can be a benefit for the present local community. Development activity means restructuring or altering the makeup or pattern of a place.

However, in the case of Amsterdam, Ymere plans to restructure the neighbourhood strongly. This means that



Fig. 71 Ymere renovation plan (source: Ymere, adjusted by author, 2012)

all 4500 residents that live in the social housing blocks (90% of the entire neighbourhood) will be forced to leave their home in the coming years. At least 50 per cent of these people will be replaced by new wealthier residents attracted by new housing developments and cannot return to their homes. Some of the other residents do have a right to return to their homes; however the rent will be higher than previously.

There are two reasons behind the regeneration of the Van der Pekbuurt. The first reason is because the dwellings have technical problems, such as mold. The other reason is that the neighbourhood suffers from social problems such as crime and low education. (De Reus 2012; De Vries 2012). The reason to aim for higher income households than the current households is because of the fact that Ymere expects the area to become more attractive over the years, partly thanks to the developments in Overhoeks that puts Amsterdam North on the map.

The development activity has raised due to the development of Overhoeks, but in this case not in benefit for the local community.

'More inclusive spaces'

According to literature, the urban spaces in the flagship development should aim for an inclusive audience, which means that everyone can enjoy these places. The community of Overhoeks can of course use the spaces offered by the new adjacent developments, but the Van der Pekbuurt community should have the opportunity to access the spaces easily which is not the case. As we can see in the current constructed parts, and in the design, most of the spaces in Overhoeks are not inclusive. The



Fig. 70 Private property, only accessible for residents of the adjoining building blocks (author, 2011)

area is focused inwards, and can have an unwelcoming appearance for outsiders.

The only place, except the streets, that is accessible for people not living in Overhoeks, is the Schegpark. The park aims at attracting an inclusive audience, and is designed and planned for 2017.

This topic is an important one to take into account when redesigning the area of Overhoeks.



Fig. 72 Public and private areas (author, 2011)

‘Rethink goals of key actors’

The interviews have given information on the goals that the flagship developers put forward. De Reus (2012), developer of Overhoeks at Ymere, listed the three most important goals of Overhoeks:

- 1 Give Amsterdam North an area of high quality
- 2 Put Amsterdam North ‘on the map’
- 3 Function as a catalyst for further development in Amsterdam North (De Reus, 2012)

Here we can see that the private developer does focus on local benefits. However, the goals of flagship developers have changed over time, according to Van der Velde (2012), public developer at Noordwaarts. The current goals of the developers do not focus on the Van der Pekbuurt at all, and the effects are visible.

“Overhoeks was built as an island in Amsterdam, it has no connection with its surroundings.”

- De Reus, 2012, project developer at Ymere

“The Van der Pekbuurt does not benefit from Overhoeks,

it has nothing to do with it.”

- Schuurman, 2012, project developer at Vesteda

“Amsterdam North is like a patchwork, and Overhoeks is a new, very expensive patch”

- Schaap, 2012, urban designer Overhoeks

We can conclude that the *current* goals of the developers of Overhoeks need to be repositioned in order to make mutual, local benefits possible. Next chapter’s ‘Strategic Plan’ provides more information on how this can be achieved.

The reason that the developers’ goals shifted, can be found in the urge for profit (Schuurman, 2012). The apartments constructed at Overhoeks, did not sell as easily as the developers had expected. Therefore they felt the necessity to shift their focus to gaining revenues, instead of providing societal relevant benefits. Moreover, even if one of the key actors still aims to provide local benefits, this can hardly be successful for unilateral action in a complex cooperation does not have the power to do so (Majoer, 2011). The municipality of Amsterdam does have the political instruments -such as the land use plan- to limit the power of private investors, but within these frameworks the municipality and Noordwaarts have been highly influenced by other factors. The private developer -as part of a national bank- ING RE has been very influential during the process, presumably for its power to move economic capital. The municipality of Amsterdam is in need of fast revenues, so it might be susceptible for and even subject to the power of private investors. The municipality of Amsterdam is most expected to aim for Overhoeks to provide balanced benefits, but the latter information shows that the existing power relations between the private and public stakeholders work at the expense of local benefits.

‘Possibilities for housing career’

The rents of the Van der Pekbuurt are on average €350,- per month (De Vries, 2012). The rents of Overhoeks start at around €1100,- (Vesteda, 2012). Therefore at this moment there is no possibility for a housing career for residents from the Van der Pekbuurt. Twenty per cent of the housing stock in Overhoeks is planned to be social housing. From the currently constructed buildings, twenty percent is social housing of which the prices are around €600,- monthly rent, plus around €100,- for service costs. The tenants can request for subsidy if they cannot afford

it. This means it is possible to receive around €250,- per month (Belastingdienst, 2012) which make the monthly rents €450,- and thus possible for a small step in their housing career.



Fig. 73 Current prices of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt

The possibility to make a career from social housing to a somewhat more expensive market sector apartment is not possible unfortunately. Creating this possibility is therefore an action that can be applied in an urban design for the key case.

This will ensure that residents from Van der Pekbuurt that want to make a housing career, are able to find a dwelling near by the current dwelling. Social connections remain intact; this is positive for the social cohesion in the areas.

'Recreational amenities'

Stuart and Vermijs (2012) -chairpersons of the tenants associations- told me that residents of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt miss e.g. a biological supermarket and



Fig. 76 Terrace of film museum

an extra supermarket, additional to the one at Mosveld. The residents of Overhoeks miss a postbox. (Stuart, 2012; Vermijs, 2012).

The amenities that are planned for Overhoeks, will be positioned in the high-rise Strip. These amenities will add to the existing ones in Van der Pekbuurt, so that there is few competition between the neighbourhoods.

The recreational amenities that the local communities need, have not been researched in depth, but it is important to frame the possibilities for the future.

The one amenity at Overhoeks that has the most impact on its surrounding areas, is the film museum 'EYE'. EYE attracts many people, possibly 250,000 visitors per year

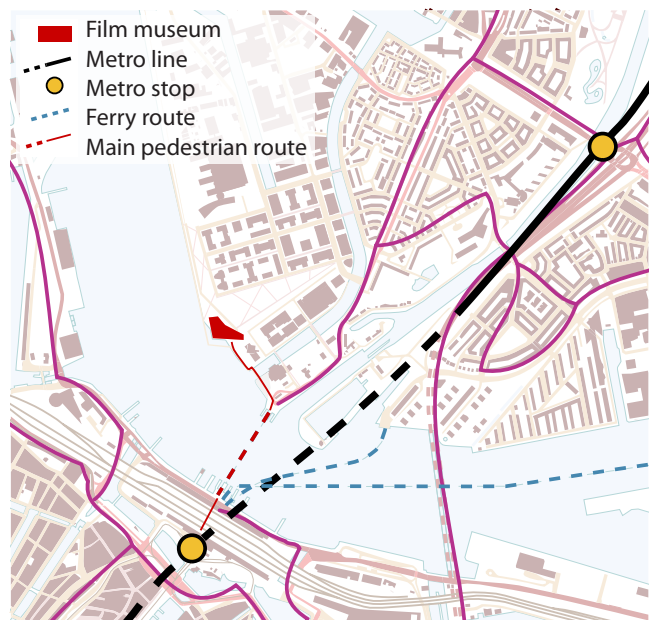


Fig. 74 Routing tourist visitors for film museum

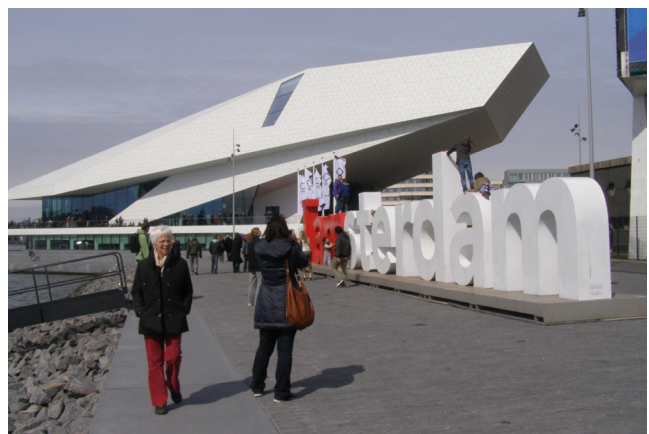


Fig. 75 Film museum and 'I Amsterdam' marketing sign

(EYE, 2012). This means it has a sizeable impact on the surrounding areas. The film museum mainly attracts tourists that visit the city centre of Amsterdam. This means that large pedestrian flows will take place from the city centre, towards Amsterdam North. The pedestrian visitors will make use of the ferry from the central station to Buiksloterweg.

Besides being an (inter)national attractor, EYE also aims to attract the residents of Amsterdam North. For two weekends in April 2012, just after the museum opened its doors, the inhabitants could visit the museum for free and get four free tickets for the cinema. This initiative was financially supported by the municipality of Amsterdam North. (EYE, 2012)

‘Possibilities for transport’

The North-South metro line provides many opportunities for the residents of both areas. It is planned to be finished in 2017 and could be a very positive development. It attracts people from Overhoeks to walk through the Van der Pekbuurt in order to reach the metro station that is closest.

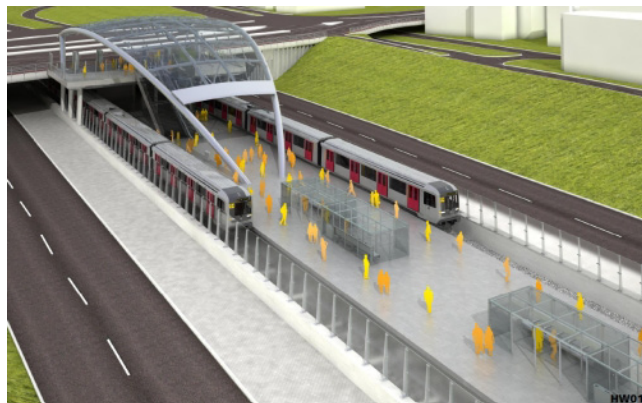


Fig. 77 Station planned at Van der Pekbuurt

This beneficial possibility is one that will not receive much attention in this project, because an important solution -the new metro line- is already planned and being constructed.

‘Facilities’

The plans for Van der Pekbuurt were to develop a small commercial centre at the northern tip of the area: Mosveld. This was planned to be finished but got delayed. It is unclear whether the developments will resume. At this moment the developments of Overhoeks are

paused. There are no facilities present or planned for the coming couple of years. Most residents of Overhoeks now go to the other side of the IJ: to the city centre. Van der Pekbuurt offers to few facilities for the daily shopping. Also residents of Van der Pekbuurt are not entirely satisfied with the facilities and therefore go for shopping to the city centre. Many facilities have disappeared over the last years. Van der Pekstraat used to provide many possibilities, but not anymore.

Residents miss for example a drugstore (Stuart, 2012; Vermijs, 2012).

‘Economic opportunities’

The residents of the Van der Pekbuurt in general are low educated and have a low income. The unemployment of the neighbourhood is somewhat higher than the rest of Amsterdam. (Municipality of Amsterdam 2011). This means it is a good opportunity to explore the possibilities for providing economic opportunities (i.e. jobs) for the local community. This was one of the focal points of the ‘Wijkaanpak’ in the framework of improving the attention areas, in 2010 (more on this in the next section).

Now, in 2012, we can continue improving the economic opportunities for the local residents. We can take Kop van Zuid as an example. With the ‘social return programme’ that was implemented in the nineties, jobs were provided for the local community of the problem areas. Schools and institutions were obliged to hire concierges and security staff that consist of parents of the children that went to the institution or school. This worked quite well, but was set aside when the schools and institutes became privatised. (Boute, 2012)

This approach could be the inspiration for a job programme in Amsterdam.

9.2 Disadvantages

‘No public resources for deprived neighbourhoods’

Van der Pekbuurt is one of the forty national ‘attention areas’ of the Netherlands. These areas used to receive extra money from the national government. However, since 2010 this has changed because the governing political party VVD decided not to provide more resources for these areas on a national level of governance. On a national level, the only help they provide is sending more police to the areas, but other extra expenses are for the municipality. (VVD, 2010)

In 2010 the plan for the attention area (Wijkaanpak) Van der Pekbuurt focused on safety, neighbourhood economy, education and social cohesion. In that year several programmes were organised by the municipality to improve the neighbourhood on these four points. (Amsterdam North, 2010, p.6)

The neighbourhood has improved in that year, but resources are still needed to keep improving the state of the Van der Pekbuurt.

When a municipality decides to build a prestigious project that is very expensive, this can mean that other areas receive less municipal resources. What we can say about Amsterdam, is that due to the current financial crisis, they can only develop projects that are profitable. It is difficult to make investments in the Van der Pekbuurt profitable, so we can assume that the action to provide more public resources for deprived, or attention neighbourhoods, can be of importance on the key location. This shows once more the importance of local community being able to exploit benefits from Overhoeks. Investments go to Overhoeks, and not to Van der Pekbuurt, so then we need to make certain that these investments create benefits for residents of both areas!

'Residents distrust expenses of government'

When an affluent area like Overhoeks is built adjacent to a non-affluent area like the Van der Pekbuurt, it is plausible that friction emerges between the residents and the users of the affluent area. The government investing a high amount of money in Overhoeks makes that the local community of the Van der Pekbuurt can start to distrust the expenses of the government. An interview with the chairman of the tenants association of the Van der Pekbuurt shows that residents have different opinions. The most heard opinion is a suspicious attitude towards the new flagship project. Residents feel underprivileged and distrust the stakeholders of both areas. In this case, the actor that is distrusted most is Ymere, for their restructuring plans in Van der Pekbuurt. The residents make the connection between the affluent Overhoeks and the restructuring process. They expect that many YUPs will come to their neighbourhood, and they have to move out themselves for prices will rise. (Stuart, 2012)

It is important to take this disadvantage away. Not only because of the distrust itself is a negative effect, also because the relation between distrust and feeling suspi-

cious towards Overhoeks, makes it less likely for residents to appreciate and actually use the possible benefits that are or will be located in Overhoeks area.

'Delay, curtailment, failure of projects'

The financial crisis in the Netherlands plays a big role in the delay and possible curtailment of the flagship area Overhoeks. Seven apartment buildings have been built, or are almost finished; eight blocks are delayed. The remaining ten apartment blocks are delayed for an undefined amount of time and are likely to be built with modifications. The development of the high rise strip is stopped for the moment and it is unclear whether and when this will be built and whether it will be modified or built in the way it was planned. (De Reus, 2012; Schaap, 2012; Van der Velde, 2012)

It is not only the financial crisis that has led to the delay and curtailment of Overhoeks. As can be seen in the coming chapters, I believe that many more issues led to the delay. Decisions that could be different, and that could help the feasibility of the development when decided otherwise.

To say that Overhoeks has failed, is not a right conclusion, but it has definitely worked out very differently than planned. The developers expected the dwellings to get sold very easily but this was not the case, several market sector dwellings are still vacant at this moment, and others that were meant to be sold are now for rent. This means that when intervening in the area, the economic viability of the project plays a significant role. It must be taken into serious consideration how this project can be finished with limited resources and with the urge for profits. This will be shown in the coming chapters.

'Individual planning, not integrated'

Overhoeks has been designed as an island, it has no relation with its surroundings (De Reus, 2012; Schuurman, 2012). Some of the stakeholders are aware of the developments in the rest of Amsterdam North, but the steering actor and initiator ING Real Estate, did not take mutual, local benefits into account, and let Overhoeks be designed as an island, with no relation to other plans. The only way to make mutual benefits possible, is to link the plans of adjacent areas together. The areas need to be connected in order to provide the possible benefits and to take away the disadvantages. The most important disadvantage that the local community of Van der



Fig. 79 Water between Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt (author, 2012)

Pekbuurt suffers from its fragmentation. This can only be diminished by connecting the urban plans.

‘Fragmentation in cities’

The reason for fragmentation in cities, caused by flagship development, is that many flagship areas are designed and planned as an island in the city. As explained previously, this is also the case in the planning of Overhoeks. Moreover, many buildings in the flagship developments are designed by international architects, that do not take the specificities of the environment into account. Flagship developments are being copied all over the world.

(Bianchini et al., 1992, p.254). Therefore the developments have a similar outlook, and they are detached from their surroundings. We can see this happening in Overhoeks as well, where most architects assigned to designing a building are international.

The disconnection between the two neighbourhoods needs to be taken away in order to let the local community be able to benefit from possibilities. An example: a local café is built in Overhoeks. However, the residents of Van der Pekbuurt need to cross the water to get there. There are not many bridges so despite the fact that the café is just across the water, it takes a long way to get there. This has a clear influence on the level of employing the benefits.

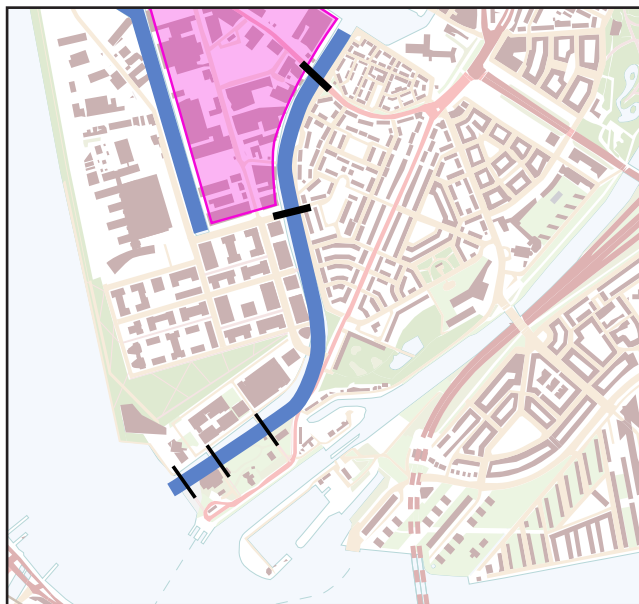


Fig. 78 Barriers and links between Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt (author, 2012)

‘Social polarisation’

Social polarisation can be emphasised by the physical difference between two areas. In this case, Overhoeks is a very affluent area and appears international and prestigious. The Van der Pekbuurt is less affluent and appears traditional and unfortunate. The local community of Overhoeks generally has a high income, opposed to the low income households at Van der Pekbuurt.

The threat is that the social cohesion depletes as a result of the development of Overhoeks. This often has negative consequences for safety and crime in the neighbourhood (Andersen, 2002, p.156). Van der Pekbuurt, being an

- industry
- water
- pedestrian relation Overhoeks-Van der Pekbuurt
- car traffic relation Overhoeks-Van der Pekbuurt

attention area, is very susceptible for negative effects like these.

'Alien, unwelcoming appearance of flagship area'

The Overhoeks area is physically and socially very different from its adjacent neighbourhoods. It appears not Dutch, but very international, has big apartment buildings of seven storeys, international architecture, closed court yards. The Van der Pekbuurt is very different. It has traditional architecture, family housing of two or three storeys, bricks, open public spaces. Also socially the areas are very different, regarding e.g. income, and household type.

This creates an imbalance between the two areas. It is possible that the local community of the Van der Pekbuurt feels unwelcome in Overhoeks because the area appears very different from what they are used to. The closed courtyards can give an unwelcoming feeling.

The threat for alien, unwelcoming appearance of Overhoeks should be taken away in order to attract the local community of Van der Pekbuurt. If the residents of Van der Pekbuurt do not feel welcome in and attracted to the contemporary development, they are much less likely to use the beneficial possibilities that Overhoeks can offer.

9.3 Conclusion

The area of Overhoeks is being built at this moment, so we cannot draw final conclusions on the effects that it has on the adjacent neighbourhood. Every effect that flagship development can have on its adjacent neighbourhood seems to be possible in the case of Overhoeks. The positive and negative effects are all possible in the form of opportunities and threats.

We can say something about the probability of the effects to happen, and the importance to deal with these effects. This has been discussed in the previous sections. Concluding we can make a list of the possible benefits and disadvantages that will receive the most attention in this project.

The most important mutual, local benefits for Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt are:

- Resident participation in planning flagship projects
- More inclusive spaces
- Rethink goals of key actors
- Possibilities for housing career

- Facilities
- Economic opportunities

The most important disadvantages that prevent the local community of Van der Pekbuurt from exploiting the beneficial possibilities are:

- Residents distrust expenses of government
- Delay, curtailment, failure of projects
- Individual planning, not integrated
- Fragmentation in cities
- Alien, unwelcoming appearance of flagship area

Subdivided into recommendations for the planning process, and requirements for the urban design, we can rearrange the list. The strategic plan therefore focuses on:

- Set up resident participation in planning flagship projects
- Key actors should reposition their goals
- The distrust of residents of the governmental expenses should be diminished
- The delay of Overhoeks should not influence the feasibility of the development
- The plans of Overhoeks by different parties should be integrated

The urban design focuses on:

- Create more inclusive spaces
- Create possibilities for housing career
- Facilities and amenities should be provided in Overhoeks
- Provide economic opportunities
- Diminish the fragmentation between Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt as much as possible
- Create a welcoming appearance in Overhoeks

10. Research Question 3

Which recommendations can help the planning process to successfully plan and design mutual, local benefits for Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt?

The previous research provides input for developing recommendations on the planning process and on urban design. The recommendations on the planning process aim at creating a framework which contains the requirements that make an urban design possible, that successfully creates mutual, local benefits for the local communities of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt, Amsterdam. On the base of this input, I have developed four recommendations that answer to creating the mutual, local benefits and removing or diminishing the possible disadvantages that prevent the local communities to employ the beneficial possibilities.

For the recommendations in the planning process as well as for the urban design, I focus on interventions in an area that consists of parts of Overhoeks and parts of Van der Pekbuurt. The selected area contains the part of Overhoeks that has not been constructed yet, and that has been stopped for an undefined amount of time. The selected area also contains parts of Van der Pekbuurt that will be redeveloped in the coming years. This is the Tolhuistuin and the Van der Pekplein, which will be described in more detail in the next chapter. The area of the Tolhuistuin contains the former canteen of the Shell office, and has been used as an activity centre since 2012. A cooperation with Paradiso will aim to have pop concerts in the place.

The reason for this focus is that the selected part of Overhoeks is already planned to be redeveloped in the coming years. The key actors have the financial possibilities to change the area. Taking this as a given fact, I explore the possibilities of developing this area in a way that it generates benefits not only for its own residents, but also for the local community of Van der Pekbuurt. The part of Van der Pekbuurt that I selected is also planned to be redeveloped; the development of Overhoeks has triggered this redevelopment partially.

Certainly it is possible to focus more on the Van der Pekbuurt. After all, redeveloping this area can create

benefits for its inhabitants easily. However, this is not the task in this project. The task I put for myself is to research how the area of Overhoeks and the parts just adjacent to it (of which we can assume that Overhoeks triggered the development), can be developed in a way that it is beneficial on a local scale for its own community and the community of the adjacent Van der Pekbuurt.

In the first section I will show the relation between the four strategic planning recommendations and the benefits and disadvantages that the research put forward. The next section is the strategic plan, which explains the four goals in detail. The strategic plan can be seen as a separate document, which can be read without knowledge on the preceding research.



Fig. 80 The strategic plan focuses on the selected areas (author, 2012)

10.1 Stakeholders

The main stakeholders that are involved in the planning and development of Overhoeks and the selected part of Van der Pekbuurt, will be described in more detail.

Municipal board Amsterdam North

This public authority is part of the municipality of Amsterdam, and focuses on one of its districts called Amsterdam North. The municipal board of this district supervises and approves development plans in Amsterdam North according to municipal documents such as the land-use plan ('bestemmingsplan'), masterplan IJ riverbanks and vision on Amsterdam. The vision of the board is to connect Amsterdam North via the riverbanks to the river IJ. The district suffers from declining industries at the waterfront, therefore it is important to redevelop these areas and bring new possibilities for working and living. Overhoeks should be developed to be a place for residents of the city of Amsterdam and of Amsterdam North by strengthening the relation with Van der Pekbuurt. (BVR and DRO, 2003, p.7, 77)

ING Real Estate

This private developer and a branch of one of the largest banks of the Netherlands used to be the most influential key actor in the development of the area of Overhoeks. Shell sold the ground to the municipality of Amsterdam, which is leased by ING RE. This means that ING RE can develop the ground, with few governmental constraints. In 2012 ING RE withdraws gradually from the entire project, and its former influential role is filled by Ymere. ING as a bank and its branch ING RE suffered severely from the financial crisis that started in 2008. As per 2010, the Real Estate departments of ING were wounded down or divested. (ING, 2012). This explains why ING RE has withdrawn from the Overhoeks project development.

Ymere

Ymere is a housing association, with a growing branch in real estate development. This branch functions as a private developer and gradually takes over the role of ING RE in 2012 and herewith becomes the most influential actor in the development of the Overhoeks area. At the same time, the company of Ymere -as housing association- is highly involved in the Van der Pekbuurt, as it owns all social housing of the area, which is 95% of the neighbourhood's total housing stock.

Shell

Shell is the former owner of the Overhoeks area, and sold the largest piece of land in 2005. Shell still owns the part of the ground on which it developed its new office building in 2008, the New Technology Centre. The company is still involved in the development of Overhoeks, mainly regarding the decontamination of the polluted soil.

EYE

EYE is the institution that is located in the film museum. It arranges the exhibitions in the museum. ING RE is the owner of the museum building. EYE plays a small role in the cooperation that develops the area of Overhoeks.

Projectbureau Noordwaarts

This project bureau is the name of a cooperation between the municipal board of Amsterdam North and the central city. On behalf of the municipality of Amsterdam, this governmental bureau is responsible for the development and implementation of the plans in Amsterdam North along the river IJ. It focuses on the planning process, quality assurance, financial flows and the realisation of infrastructure, public space and public facilities (e.g. schools and medical institutions). The development of real estate and commercial property is not in the hands of Noordwaarts. Projectbureau Noordwaarts collaborates with the other key actors in the integral development of Overhoeks.

Vesteda

The company of Vesteda acts as a housing cooperation, property manager and private real estate developer. One of its branches, called Vesteda Project Development b.v. is a developer at Overhoeks. Until now, it has developed one building and is selling and letting many of the currently built apartments. It has few influence in the development of Overhoeks or the apartment buildings in general, for this is led by ING RE and Ymere. For the future, Vesteda aims to withdraw from the expensive dwelling sector and focus on family housing and the middle price sector. The reason for this is the low selling possibilities of the recently built, expensive apartments; several apartments have not been sold yet, or were modified to be rental apartments.

Branding group

An international branding group was hired by ING RE to provide the branding of Overhoeks. ING RE gave the instruction to aim for an international, cosmopolitan appearance. The branding group designed a corporate identity for the area. (Schaap, 2012)

Atelier Shell & Geurst en Schulze architecten

Atelier Shell and Geurst en Schulze architecten are the urban designers that collaboratively designed the urban plan for Overhoeks. The urban plan was highly influenced by ING RE. ING RE e.g. determined that the area should have a very high density, consist of separate apartment buildings, and should have an international, prestigious appearance. (Schaap, 2012)

Architects

Several national and international architects elaborated the apartment buildings that were designed in the urban plan for Overhoeks.

Tolhuistuin developers

The developers of Tolhuistuin plans to redevelop the Tolhuistuin from 2013-2016, in collaboration with Paradiso, a large, successful pop podium in Amsterdam. The development is supervised by Projectbureau Noordwaarts.

10.2 From research to strategic plan

The following scheme shows all benefits and disadvantages that Overhoeks could carry out. As explained in the previous chapter, some effects are more applicable and relevant for the neighbourhoods than others. The effects with the numbers 2, 4, 6, 7 and 8 are considered to have the most impact on the areas, so these will be focused on.

The next paragraphs shows how the four recommendations include the aims that are listed in the scheme. This is the crucial step to understand the relation between the research and the strategic plan.

Goal 1: Reposition aims (answers to effects no. 1, 4, 7)

In the answer of the first research question can be read that none of the aims that private flagship developers put forward are focused on benefits for the adjacent local community. As Doucet (2009) mentions, for mutual benefits it is crucial that flagship developers reposition

*Benefits and disadvantages for local community that can be intervened in by the **planning process***

Benefits should be created

- 1 Attention towards deprived communities
- 2 Resident participation in planning flagship projects
- 3 Raising development activity in adjoining areas
- 4 Rethink goals of key actors

Disadvantages should be diminished/removed

- 5 No public resources for deprived neighbourhoods
- 6 Residents distrust expenses of government
- 7 Delay, curtailment, failure of projects
- 8 Individual planning, not integrated: fragmented

Fig. 81 Local benefits and disadvantages in the planning process

their aims to be more inclusive (effect no. 4). It means that developers will focus more attention to the adjacent neighbourhoods (effect no. 1). This can also contribute to the success of flagship development, as the facilities and amenities can be used by a broader public and thus be more successful (no. 7).

Goal 2: Inform local community (no. 1, 6)

When interviewing several actors involved in the flagship process of the key case, I could conclude that the local community of Van der Pekbuurt feels like they are not taken seriously by the developers (1). This is one of the disadvantages the local residents experience, and this might lead to distrust municipal expenses and other negative perceptions (6). Whether these perceptions are based on facts or on personal opinions, it is a perceived disadvantage for the local community so it should be diminished or removed.

Goal 3: Local community participation (no. 2, 6, 7)

The participation of the local community (2) in the new developments can be of importance not only for decisions in the urban design (e.g. the choice for amenities, facilities, urban places), but also in order to make the community feel involved and feel less suspicious about the flagship area (6). When the local community has a say in the building of facilities and amenities, this can have a positive effect on the success of these, because more people will make use of these functions (7).

Goal 4: Integrate plans (no. 3, 8)

The integration of urban plans of the flagship area and adjoining neighbourhoods is crucial to ensure beneficial possibilities (8). It also means that the development activity of the adjacent neighbourhood can be raised and of course adapted according to the flagship plans (3).

Strategic plan

Overhoeks & Van der Pekbuurt

Introduction

Mission

The mission for this strategic plan is to *create mutual, local benefits between the flagship development Overhoeks and its adjacent residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt.*

The direct aim of this strategic plan is to *create a planning process framework that enables mutual, local benefits between the flagship development Overhoeks and its adjacent residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt.* It is a shift from flagship development that focuses only on global needs, towards balancing global and local needs. Not only the local community and the future inhabitants can benefit from the results of this plan, also the developers of the areas themselves can benefit from the application of this plan in the process.

For whom is this plan

This strategic plan was written for the flagship develop-

ers, both public and private, that are involved in the planning process of Overhoeks. Amongst them are: Ymere, Shell, Noordwaarts, Vesteda, EYE, developers of Tolhuistuin.

When to use this plan

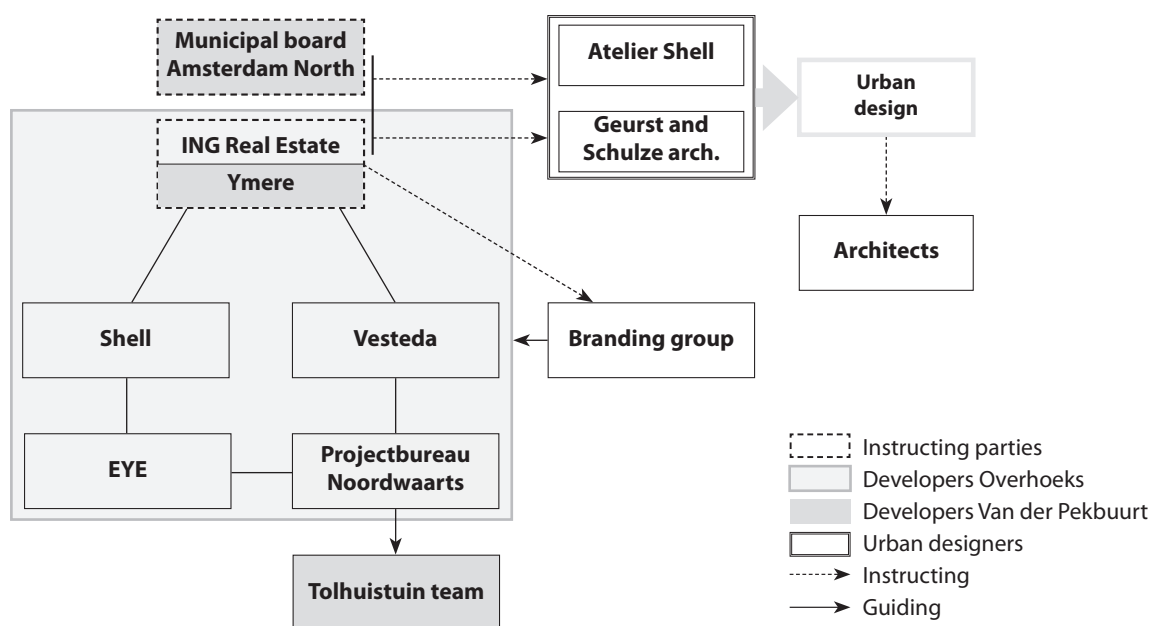
This plan was developed up until April 2012. The recommendations elaborate on the situation as it was at the start of 2012. The recommendations could be implemented at that moment.

How to use this plan

In the first section the benefits for the stakeholders are pointed out.

This plan consists of four goals for the planning process in the flagship development Overhoeks: reposition aims, inform local community, local community participation and integration of plans.

In the next section these recommendations will be explained elaborately, explaining the goals, the current



situation and the tactical approach to implement the recommendations. The approach describes the strategy and tactics used to reach the goal. The step from tactics to operational has not been made in this plan, for it is the task to steer the development only. The operational steps need to be implemented by the actors.

For which area is this plan

The strategic plan focuses on parts of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt. In Overhoeks this is the area that has not been developed yet; at this moment it is brown field, almost completely decontaminated. Two parts of Van der Pekbuurt are part of this plan: the Tolhuistuin and the Van der Pekplein. Currently plans are being made to redevelop these two parts, this provides a good opportunity to include these in the redevelopment of the last parts of Overhoeks.

This plan aims to create benefits for the local communities of the entire area of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks.



Fig. 82 The strategic plan focuses on the selected areas (author, 2012)

Benefits for stakeholders

The reasons that flagship developers and other involved actors should create mutual, local benefits in Overhoeks for the local communities are:

- Focusing on local benefits fits with the idea of *Corporate Social Responsibility*
- Adding mutual, local benefits can help gaining *public approval and enthusiasm for the flagship developments themselves*
- Creating benefits for everyone fits in a *democratic society*
- The outcomes may add to *spatial quality of cities, increasing quality of life*
- Aiming for an inclusive audience helps to gain a *greater support for facilities* in Overhoeks area
- *Enthusiasm of local community* can help the development of Overhoeks
- The development of Overhoeks becomes *attractive for much broader audience*

The most important advantage for the developers of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt is that:

- Mutual, local benefits improve the *viability* of the development Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt

Many of the previously mentioned aspects contribute to the latter.

The eight points will be explained in more detail: what these mean and how these can be beneficial for stakeholders.

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

In the Netherlands Corporate Social Responsibility is called *Maatschappelijk Verantwoord Ondernemen*. Businesses that apply CSR, work with responsibility towards society.

The company takes the responsibility for the effects of its activities on people and the environment. This can be done through corporate decisions concerning the company's management of assets (location of jobs, for instance, but also the quality of buildings and spaces provided to public use), the quality control of its products, the ethical dealings with the public sector and finally through beneficent activities. The awareness of a balance between people, planet and prosperity is a guiding tool for the decisions companies make: for now and for the future. This means that future generations are frequently considered as stakeholders in several projects. (MVO Nederland, 2012)

Why would flagship developers apply CSR?

- Companies that use CSR can more easily adapt to a changing economic environment because several of the measures contained in CSR are beneficial for a sustainable business environment and corporate image, among other factors.
- CSR can effectively reduce costs. For instance by decreasing the amount of waste, lower energy costs, less health-related absenteeism and a more efficient management.
- CSR helps a company to be an attractive employer and CSR might increase the labour productivity and employees' satisfaction. Employees believe it is important to be proud of the company they work for.
- There is an increasing demand for CSR-companies, especially by governmental organisations that cooperate with other companies. Regulatory bodies in the public sector may demand that companies providing services for the government or local communities have effective CSR policies in place before approving contracts.
- CSR is good for the reputation of companies. (MVO Nederland, 2012)

For whom is CSR?

In the Netherlands, CSR becomes more and more important in the 21st century. It is a trend that can be seen at many companies nowadays. (MVO Nederland, 2012)

Several of the flagship developers at Overhoeks work according to the principles of CSR. This means that they are aware of the advantages that CSR brings the company. However, this perception does not seem to be extended to the real estate management and new developments that involve the development of large areas in existing cities. Many managers interviewed were simply not very aware of the importance of combining the benefits to global stakeholders to the need of local communities. In fact, the prevalent mentality seems to be quite 'compartmentalized': developers are not aware of benefits large urban projects can bring to local communities living adjacent to them.

By implementing mutual, local benefits in the planning process, the stakeholders show their awareness of the effects on society. Doing this, they receive the benefits that CSR brings.

Public approval and enthusiasm

The balancing of different needs will help to safeguard public approval and enthusiasm for the project of Over-

hoeks. The development of Overhoeks can be justified in societal terms, if mutual, local benefits will be realised. This can gain public approval and enthusiasm. Public approval is essential for the development; public enthusiasm can help to attain approval. This is not to be mixed up with marketing strategies, which may highlight positive corporate or business strategies related to product marketing or empty image building, although marketing strategies might be necessary to inform communities about corporate actions.

Democratic society

Taking local needs into account fits in the values of a democratic society. Since a lot of money spent on Overhoeks comes from tax-payer's money (in the form of investment in infrastructure and urban regeneration strategies sponsored by local governments), it is appropriate to have an inclusive design, aiming at creating benefits not only on the global and regional scale, but also on the local scale (Carmona et al., 2003, p.217). This means effectively connecting these projects (spatially and functionally) to the needs and aspirations of local communities as well. In general, we can claim that projects that solely focus on global needs are planned top-down and lack democratic accountability.

By implementing mutual, local benefits the development becomes socially justifiable. This relates to the previous paragraph: stressing the democratic aspect of the development can gain public approval.

Spatial quality

Balancing global and local needs can add to urban spatial quality. Projects that focus on global needs solely, might lead to affluent elite places that may have an alien and unwelcoming atmosphere to others. These places can work well for the global users that live in Overhoeks, but they can be exclusive, elitist and disruptive in the urban fabric. If the project focuses more on the local community living in the Van der Pekbuurt, this can improve the quality of public spaces and facilities and their relations with the existing city. Mutual benefits do not only create better places for the adjacent local community, but also for the new and future residents that live in the flagship area Overhoeks. (Majoer, 2011, p.145)

This adds to the viability of the project and accounts for the needs of future generations.

Greater support for facilities

Implementing mutual, local benefits means that the local community of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks can easily access the facilities and amenities in the new development. The facilities aim for a broader audience, and therefore have a greater support of people. Thus the new facilities can be much more successful and economically viable. Moreover, private investors will be more likely to invest in a place where the chance for financial success is high.

Enthusiasm of local community

Enthusiasm of the local community of Van der Pekbuurt can help the development of Overhoeks significantly. By including the residents in the new development, they will be more enthusiastic and are more likely to approve the restructuring of Overhoeks area. This helps to speed up the decision making process.

When getting more involved in the process, the residents see that developers have positive intentions towards them by knowing that the developers aim for local benefits, in the planning process and in the elaboration of the urban design. Moreover, the residents learn that they can influence the process and the developers will take them seriously: this stimulates participation and a sense of belonging to the community. This has far reaching implications for society as it provides symbolic reassurance that gives residents the feeling of trust towards the key actors.

Attractive for broader audience

If the actors of Overhoeks include the benefits for a broad audience, the place can become attractive for more people than is now the case. The current focus is on the cosmopolitan high income households. Broadening this focus, attracts more people which can generate more opportunities for business in retail, entertainment and housing. These people can make use of the facilities and amenities but are also potential future residents and investors. It is a positive development for the feasibility of the project.

Increase viability of Overhoeks

Project viability assesses whether the demand can meet at the desired rate of profit. For a development to be viable, the expected revenues must be higher than the costs of the development. (Carmona et al., 2003, p.217). As seen in literature, many flagships fail, or are delayed

or curtailed. The flagship area Overhoeks can be more viable when mutual, local benefits are taken into account. Especially in a period of financial crisis like now, the development suffers from external influences that developers cannot influence.

Focusing on the local needs creates more support for new facilities and amenities, and attract more investors as it boosts the confidence for investors. Moreover, this approach can add to higher returns on investments (e.g. good rental returns) (Carmona et al., 2003, p.236). This can be reached by implementing local benefits such as providing possibilities for the residents of Van der Pekbuurt. Meeting with their local demands gives the opportunity to prevent vacancy in the area of Overhoeks, which is currently the case.

Strategic framework

Mission

Create mutual, local benefits between the flagship development Overhoeks and its adjacent residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt, Amsterdam

| Goal 1 | Goal 2 | Goal 3 | Goal 4 |
|--|--|---|---|
| Reposition aims | Inform local community | Local community participation | Integration plans |
| Sub goals | | | |
| <i>Put mutual, local benefits on the agenda</i> | <i>Create enthusiasm amongst local communities</i> | <i>Frame the preferences and needs of local residents</i> | <i>Make mutual, local benefits possible to employ</i> |
| <i>Create enthusiasm amongst local community</i> | <i>Increase viability of Overhoeks</i> | <i>Create enthusiasm amongst local communities</i> | <i>Decrease fragmentation and social polarisation</i> |
| <i>Gain public approval and enthusiasm</i> | | <i>Make Overhoeks attractive for broader audience</i> | <i>Make Overhoeks attractive for broader audience</i> |
| | | <i>Residents trust expenses of government</i> | <i>Increase viability of Overhoeks</i> |

Goal 1: Reposition aims

Sub goals

*Put mutual, local benefits on the agenda
Create enthusiasm amongst local community
Gain public approval and enthusiasm*

Effects

Beneficial effects for local community

- This approach puts mutual, local benefits on the agenda
- Local community trusts expenses of government
- It creates enthusiasm amongst local community

Beneficial effects for stakeholders at Overhoeks

- Aims fit in the values of a democratic society
- Employ Corporate Social Responsibility
- It gains public approval and enthusiasm

Flagship developers should reposition their aims to be more inclusive (Doucet 2009). Only then, mutual, local benefits are possible. This repositioning means that the flagship developers need to aim for mutual benefits between both Overhoeks and the Van der Pekbuurt, with an integrated development plan. Mutual benefits ensure that developments are more sustainable through time, as users and residents are bound to value the developments for a longer time. When local, mutual benefits are on the agenda of the flagship developers, this means that the next stages -e.g. the urban design- also will and need to aim for creating beneficial possibilities.

Aiming for mutual, local benefits means letting the residents of Van der Pekbuurt enjoy the possibilities that will be planned in Overhoeks. Facilities, amenities and public places can be more successful if they are developed aiming for an inclusive audience.

As we could see in the previous chapter, currently the aims of the developers of Overhoeks do not focus on the Van der Pekbuurt (De Reus, 2012; Van der Velde, 2012; Schuurman, 2012). However, at the start of the development, the developers *did* aim for local benefits. Why did this change and how can it be turned back?

Majoor (2011) did research on the Forum in Barcelona, a

flagship project where the developers explicitly aimed for balancing local and global needs. The rhetoric frames clearly stated goals that let the local community benefit from the project as well as providing benefits on a much larger, even global, scale. However, like the case in Amsterdam, the action frames did not align with the rhetoric frames. The actions were steered by urgency and speed, fostering an agenda that focused on the competitiveness with other cities, enhancing tourists and investments and developing a high-end service sector. (Majoor, 2011, p. 143)

What lessons can we draw from this example and how can this help aligning the rhetoric and action frames in the case of Overhoeks in Amsterdam?

Current state of affairs

The question why it is difficult to develop a project that answers to both global and local needs, is one that can be answered in several ways. A dominant line of thought is that creating local benefits does not follow neoliberal economic and spatial policies. The powerful forces behind the projects might initially claim differently, they rather optimise their returns than balance local and global needs. The programming of the project is market-oriented as municipalities are under pressure of highly mobile capital. The desire and need to attract private capital overrules the ambition to negotiate hard for local needs. (Majoor, 2011, p.144,154)

Translating this to the case of Amsterdam, it means that the municipality and the delegation from the municipality Noordwaarts are under pressure of the investors, like Shell and ING Real Estate. The latter has indeed had a significant influence in the development of Overhoeks, as stated by Noordwaarts and the urban designers at DRO (Van der Velde, 2012; Schaap, 2012). The mobility of the capital is shown by the fact that ING Real Estate is retreating completely from the project. This means even more expenses come for the account of the municipality of Amsterdam.

Another reason for the discrepancy between the rhetoric and action frames of flagship developers, lies in the complexity of the planning of the developments. Flag-

ship developments consist of a cooperation in which a multitude of players is involved. Comprehensive issues appear that need extensive thought. One of the reasons why an issue like creating local benefits does not work in reality, is because unilateral action is taken. This cannot solve most comprehensive issues, like balancing global and local needs. (Majoor, 2011, p.144). The actors need to cooperate in the most complex and decisive issues. In the case of Overhoeks, the cooperation consists of five key actors: Noordwaarts, the private developers Ymere and Vesteda, the film museum EYE and the former owner of the land Shell. At the beginning of the process, the private developer ING Real Estate had the position that Ymere currently has. ING RE was very dominant when positioning the aims for the development (Schaap, 2012). This one-sided approach does not guarantee positive outcomes for the local community. Moreover, currently the different stakeholders at Overhoeks all have their own objectives, which makes integral goals for the development impossible to pursue.

Concluding, what we see happening is that the rhetoric frames do not align with the action frames. In other words, what developers say they will do is not the same as what they actually do.

The rhetoric frames are not powerful enough to guarantee the same outcomes, and herewith align with the action frames. Without aligning action frames, these are great instruments to win allegiance of large groups of people but quite superficial in changing the situation on the ground (Schön and Rein, 1994, p.32 in: Majoor, 2011, p.144).

Tactical approach

Three things need to happen in order to control the goal for local needs: setting rhetoric and action frames, connect the frames to the public and monitor the rhetoric frames and action frames.

Setting rhetoric and action frames

The multitude of stakeholders of the development Overhoeks should agree on the reframing of the aims for the development. Local authorities, developers and residents must work on the formulation of goals together, to redirect resources and guide actions in the middle and long run. This prevents that unilateral action by one actor

is taken, which other players cannot identify with and which cannot solve integral, comprehensive issues (Majoor, 2011, p.144). Collaborative framing of the projects aims creates opportunities for co-operative action. Only co-operative action can contribute to a larger whole significantly. (Carmona et al., 2003, p.234)

The role of organising the process typically falls upon the local government, but it would be desirable that large developers would incorporate the aim for local benefits as part of their social profile (i.e. CSR). The public actor Noordwaarts needs to take initiative in reformulating the aims together with Ymere, Shell, Vesteda, EYE, local authorities and local residents. The private developer Ymere is especially important in this case, now that it fulfils the important role that ING RE used to play up until 2011. If, however, the goals will be adjusted during the process, this must be a decision made by all key actors.

Rhetoric frames that aim to answer to local needs, are a powerful instrument to retrieve enthusiasm for the project. However, if their actions do not align with what developers claim they will do, this is a deceptive tool. The plans that are carried out by the developers should align with the goals stated in the process.

The shared goals will be formulated in a document. This document should contain the rhetoric frames, connected to the action frames.

A normative approach should lead to setting explicit formulated targets to achieve, and which actions need to be taken to achieve these. The general goal is to balance answering to global/regional and local needs. The document sets specific targets and connects these with steps to reach these. The targets should focus on specified local benefits, such as providing facilities and amenities, creating inclusive urban places, and providing transport possibilities for residents of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt. For example, the target could be to provide the possibility for a housing career for households from Van der Pekbuurt to Overhoeks. The action frame quantifies how many dwellings should therefore be constructed in which price ranges.

Connect frames to public

The document containing the rhetoric and action frames, should be comprehensible for a broad audience. The document should be accessible for everyone, e.g. via the

web site of Noordwaarts and Overhoeks. This can create enthusiasm amongst the local community, as they see that the plans for Overhoeks aim to answer to their needs and wishes.

To promote local needs it is important to connect the action and rhetoric frames to social, civic and cultural organisations (Majoor, 2011, p.145). This means that for instance the organisation of the film museum EYE, should be familiar with the goals for the area. The document is a useful tool to communicate the goals. Also, the organisations of facilities and amenities that are interested to invest and locate themselves in the area of Overhoeks, must be acquainted with the frames. The document should be handed out in an early stage of their involvement.

Monitor rhetoric frames and action frames

As the goals now have been framed by all key actors, it is also their task to monitor the alignment between the rhetoric goals and the action plans.

Repositioning the aims is the starting point towards the creation of beneficial possibilities for the local communities. However, after reframing the aims for the development, during the process the action frames need to be monitored in order to maintain and guarantee continuity in the execution of the plans. Frequent meetings between actors at Noordwaarts, Shell, Ymere, Vesteda and EYE should put this monitoring on the agenda, to be in line with the rhetoric frames. At every meeting the actions taken and planned will be compared to the stated goals. As a broad audience is now acquainted with the actions and plans, the need to monitor the alignment between the rhetoric and action frames becomes a matter of course.

Goal 2: Inform local community

Sub goals

Create enthusiasm amongst local community
Increase viability of Overhoeks

Effects

Beneficial effects for local community

- Creates enthusiasm amongst local community
- Local community feels involved in the process
- Local community trusts expenses of government

Beneficial effects for stakeholders at Overhoeks

- Creates enthusiasm amongst local community
- Local community feels involved in the process
- It increases the viability of Overhoeks
- It creates public approval and enthusiasm
- Local community trusts expenses of government

In the process of developing a flagship area, the local community should best be informed in an early stage of the process. This means providing information to the residents, that they can receive passively.

The residents of Van der Pekbuurt - one way or another - found out that there are plans for redeveloping the area right next to where they are living. They became suspicious towards the new developments. This should be prevented, by informing the local community in an early stage of the process. In that way the residents feel more involved and taken seriously in the developments.

Current state of affairs

At the start of the construction of the Shell office -called the Shell Technology Centre Amsterdam (STCA)- an effort has been made to inform the local community of Van der Pekbuurt. During the construction and relocation of the STCA in 2005 up until 2009, the residents living just adjacent to Overhoeks experienced nuisance. These were about 80 households, living in the house boats of the canal, and the street along the canal. Shell informed them frequently about specific nuisance such as testing the fire alarms or noise caused by truck traffic. The information was given through letters in the mailboxes of



Fig. 83 Residents receiving information of Shell (author, 2012)

the residents.

For causing nuisance, Shell felt the urge to establish good contacts with them. The communication advisor of Shell organised two free barbecues in that period, where a presentation was given on the past and future development. Around 80 people attended, and contact between the adjacent local community and the people of Shell that were involved in the relocation developed to be warm and close. The residents felt welcome, and were enthusiastic about the developments. (Boelsums, 2012; Peters, 2012)

The second group that received information of Shell were all residents of Van der Pekbuurt and the new residents of Overhoeks that inhabited the two buildings that were constructed first. The information service was provided in 2008 and 2009 when the relocation of equipment, installations, furniture and employees took place. Information services focused on informing the inhabitants:

- In 2009 three newsletters were sent to inhabitants regarding information on decontamination at Overhoeks
- In a site office weekly consultation hours were held
- An information session on the decontamination at Overhoeks was organised
- Open day was organised at the STCA after completing

the relocation, in 2009 (Boelsums, 2012)

After 2009 Shell stopped the provision of information towards the adjacent neighbourhoods. Since then and up until now, this is the task of housing corporation Ymere.

The information service of Ymere consists of:

- Neighbourhood magazine Van der Pekbuurt, with editorial volunteers from Van der Pekbuurt; facilitated by Ymere and the municipality of Amsterdam North. The magazine started in 2010 and focuses on everything that concerns Van der Pekbuurt, but little information is given on Overhoeks. Residents of Van der Pekbuurt receive the magazine.
- A concierge at the social housing block Gelria in Overhoeks can answer questions of residents of that block. (Smilde, 2012)

It can be seen that none of the information provided by Ymere focuses on informing the residents of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks about the past and future developments of Overhoeks.

Tactical approach

Taking 2012 as a starting point to improve the information services towards the residents of Van der Pekbuurt, several things need to be done.

From 2012 onwards, the residents of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks need to be informed frequently on the developments of Overhoeks. This task lies with the communication advisor of Noordwaarts. This person works for the municipality of Amsterdam and can therefore provide unbiased information to the residents.

Monthly newsletter

A monthly newsletter gives the local communities information on the progress of Overhoeks, the current state of affairs, and on future plans. This letter should also inform people on how they can participate actively in the process (recommendation 3). The newsletter is a paper one, that will be delivered at the doors of the residents.

About two or three times per year an *information session* should be held, to give residents an update on the progress of Overhoeks, the current state of affairs, on future plans and on the participation possibilities. Moreover, this information session focuses on answering

question of the residents, and gives the opportunity to enthuse them. With the use of videos, pictures and other tools, the residents can begin to feel involved with the developments.

Tour at Overhoeks

A tour at Overhoeks should be organised to show what the neighbourhood has to offer and to point out where the new developments will be located. Attracting people to come to the neighbourhood helps them to get familiar with the place. This increases the chance that the local community will come here more often and make use of (future) facilities and amenities, which increases their economic viability.

The residents start to feel less suspicious about the expenses of the government, now that they are familiar with the area and with the future plans -that take their wishes into account. It can create a feeling of enthusiasm and pride to walk around Overhoeks with local residents. The tour guides can create personal contact with the inhabitants and can get a feeling of how they perceive the area.

Weekly consultation hour

At the pavilion of Overhoeks, a weekly consultation hour can give the residents the opportunity to ask questions about the developments at Overhoeks. Also, this is an opportunity to have an exhibition about the past and future developments. Besides, the outcomes of the participational workshops (as in goal 3) can be presented here.

Goal 3: Local community participation

Sub goals

Frame the preferences and needs of local residents

Create enthusiasm amongst local community

Make Overhoeks attractive for broader audience

Residents trust expenses of government

Effects

Beneficial effects for local community

- Spatial quality improves
- Adds to success of tourism industry at parts of Overhoeks and parts of Van der Pekbuurt
- Local community feels involved and taken seriously in the planning process
- Local community trusts expenses of government

Beneficial effects for stakeholders at Overhoeks

- Employ Corporate Social Responsibility
- Public approval and enthusiasm
- Approach fits in the values of a democratic society
- Spatial quality improves
- Support for facilities increases
- Viability of Overhoeks increases
- Increases success at tourism industry at parts of Overhoeks and parts of Van der Pekbuurt
- Residents trust expenses of government

It is important to distinguish *informing* the local community from local community *participation*. The latter means that residents actively take part in the developing process. It is not a one-way process like receiving information, but it is about the two-way process to amplify a dialogue between local communities and flagship developers.

As well as being passive recipients of the products of the development process, the local community of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt may as well actively affect the development process at Overhoeks and surroundings. Community participation may help overcoming the gaps between professional and layperson, powerful and powerless and designer and user.

Include in the planning process the needs and wishes of the people in the community whose lives and home environment are influenced by the new developments.

The local community knows best what they need and this should be taken into account when developing the plan. Developers can be critical towards the wishes, but in order to make mutual, local benefits successful it is important to consider the opinions and wishes of local residents seriously. Moreover, this approach shows the awareness of the social responsibility of the developers.

Note that also local community distrusting municipal spending is a disadvantage and should be taken away. With a negative atmosphere created by flagship developers, the local community will be less likely to appreciate the new plans, even if there are beneficial possibilities present.

Involving the local community in the planning process, can also have very positive outcomes for the tourism industry. As Haywood points out, healthy, thriving communities are the touchstone for a successful tourism industry (1988, p.105). Moreover, tourism creates employment opportunities, which many people can benefit from.

Current state of affairs

Currently and in the past, there has been no initiative by developers of Overhoeks for participation of residents. The only place where residents can show their ideas on Overhoeks, is via the web site of Play the City. This is a Dutch web site that focuses on several projects in the Netherlands. It gives everyone that is interested the opportunity to post their ideas on the web site. However, not many stakeholders of Overhoeks are familiar with this web site and it remains unclear what outcome and influence the web site has.

Tactical approach

Community participation is a process of involving all relevant parties in a way that the decision making is shared (Haywood, 1988, p.106). In this case, the local community participation should focus on the participation of residents from Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks, and future residents of Overhoeks.

The participation process can only take place if the parties that develop the areas agree on joining the participation process partially, and agree to listening to the outcomes of the process. It takes an effort of the parties involved, and of the residents involved, it is important that all actors realise this.

The parties that are involved are not only the developers of Overhoeks, but also the owner of the ground in the parts of Van der Pekbuurt that are selected. This means the key parties are: Ymere, ING RE, Noordwaarts, Municipality of Amsterdam, and Tolhuistuin. Tolhuistuin is the party that owns the land that is part of Van der Pekbuurt, as selected in the map above.

Two possibilities to participate should be offered to the local community of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks: a questionnaire and a workshop programme.

The questionnaire

The questionnaire should be held by Ymere, the corporation that owns all social housing that exists in Van der Pekbuurt. In 2005 Ymere held a questionnaire regarding their housing preferences. A new questionnaire for this is desirable to know the current housing preferences. (Smilde, 2012). Questions that focus on further living preferences can be easily added to the existing questionnaire. Residents of the market rental dwellings in Van der Pekbuurt and the residents of Overhoeks will only receive the questionnaire part on living preferences.

Aim

Closed questions will aim to obtain the socioeconomic and spatial wishes and needs of the residents. A target response should be set, to get a representative outcome. Until the response rate is achieved, Ymere should make an effort to reach this by e.g. sending reminders or raffle prizes for participants.

Before sending out the questionnaire, the developers should have framed clear targets and actions related to the results of the questionnaire.

Outcome

The results of the questionnaire should be available for public on the internet. Parts of the results can be mentioned during information sessions (as in goal 2).

The targets that the developers formulated, should stimulate the feeling of enthusiasm and involvement of

the local residents of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks. For example, one of the targets could be to answer to the local wish for preferred amenities. The action to answer to this wish, can be to state that at least one of the most desired amenities -according to the questionnaire- will be part of the urban design, provided that the questionnaire has a response rate of over 30%.

Facilitation

The questionnaire should be held in 2012, by distributing several printed copies to every household in Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks in order to give every single person the possibility to fill it in. The filled in copies can be delivered on a central location or sent to Ymere directly.

By receiving the questionnaire the residents can already get a feeling of involvement. They can be involved by just using a couple of minutes to fill in the questionnaire.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire raises closed questions to obtain the local needs and wishes, regarding e.g. amenities, facilities, urban places (such as playgrounds), public transport. It is important to know where the residents go to use these places; what places they miss or need and where they would like to find these if newly built. Also should questions be asked about the wish to make a housing career, and where they would see themselves move to; and jobs related to location.

The questionnaire should provide possibilities for the residents to add things that are not part of the formulated answers, and to add comments at the end.

Workshop programme

The residents of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt will receive an invitation by mail, and information will be available on the internet. The latter is especially important to reach future inhabitants of Overhoeks. Several people that have shown their involvement in the area in the past, will be invited personally. This regards for example the boards of the tenants associations of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks.

The area that will be discussed does not only consider the parts of Overhoeks that have not been constructed yet, but also parts of its surroundings. This is the area selected in the map (which all recommendations focus on), but it can be extended if the participators and involved parties

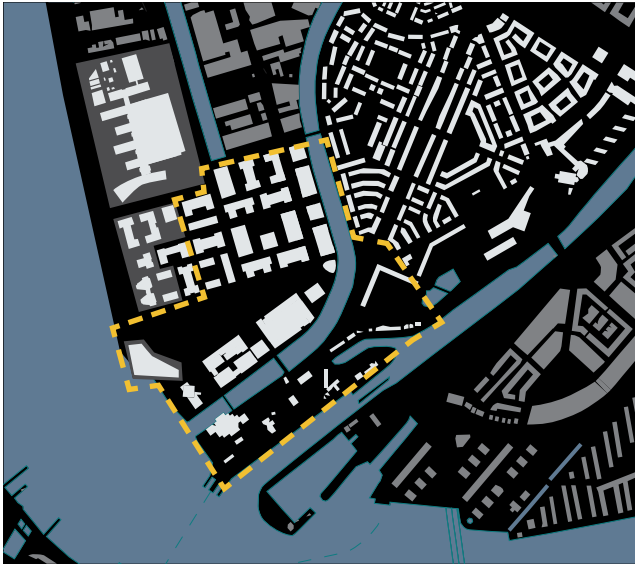


Fig. 84 Local community workshops should consider the selected area (author, 2012)

agree on this.

Aim

The aim for the workshop sessions is to frame the socio-economic needs and wishes of the local communities of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks. This regards the same topics as the questionnaire: amenities, facilities, urban places, public transport, jobs, housing careers et cetera.

Outcome

The outcome of the workshops provides information on what functions the residents need and wish, related to a possible location. The key actors have agreed on the aim for local benefits which means that the outcome is important to obtain this goal. The information on residents needs and wishes will function as a guideline to set up facilities and other functions in the selected area. Combined with the questionnaire, a representative response might give sufficient support to answer to the proposed needs and wishes.

It is essential to communicate to the participators of the sessions what will happen with the outcome of the workshops.

Facilitation

The key actors will facilitate the workshops, and will be invited to the opening of the first workshop and to the presentation of the outcomes in one of the information

sessions. The key actors will appoint an independent person to be mediator in the workshop sessions. This person should be an expert on participatory planning and have experience in organising such workshops.

Three workshops

The workshop programme goes as follows. On the first information session of 2012 (as seen in recommendation 2), the residents will receive information on the workshop programme. It is possible to subscribe for the workshop sessions here for free. This is also possible through the previously received invitation.

Three workshop sessions will be organised. It is important that the participating (future) residents feel taken seriously, so one of the developers of Noordwaarts should officially open the first workshop and explain why these workshops have been organised and what will happen with the outcomes.



Fig. 85 Information session at Van der Pekbuurt (author, 2012)

The first workshop starts with explaining the programme, setting the aims and answer questions of the residents. Next, a brainstorm session will be held to discuss the needs and wishes of the participators. This can be discussed with the help of a model of the Overhoeks area and surroundings. Having a physical model is very important because it makes it easy to know what people are talking about, some people might have trouble reading maps easily. In addition, a model can stimulate discussions. At the end of the workshop the findings will be written down in conclusion.

The second workshop consists of a tour through the area of concern. It is crucial to not only *talk* about the topics, but to go out and explore the neighbourhood actively.

This stimulates discussion and moreover the residents start to feel acquainted and trusted with the area that used to feel unwelcoming. It lowers the threshold to visit the area again and make use of (future) programme. This increases the viability of facilities and amenities for they have become attractive for a broader audience.

During the tour the conclusions of last times session will be reviewed, with regard to possible locations. The ideas can be drawn and written down on large sheets of paper.

The third workshop is the last one. The participants will come together again to discuss all findings and show the outcomes of the previous session on the physical model. The aims discussed in workshop 1, will be compared to the final findings, to form a coherent story that can close the workshop sessions. The residents will be asked to make a presentation that can be shown to the key actors of the selected area, if needed with help of the mediator.

The last action is to present the findings of the workshop sessions to the key actors in one of the information sessions as proposed in recommendation 2. In this session, the key actors will be asked to give a reaction and explain again what will happen with the outcomes. This will stimulate the participators to feel involved and taken seriously in the process. They can get enthusiastic about the area and the plans, and trust the expenses made to develop the area.

Goal 4: Integration plans

Sub goals

- Make mutual, local benefits possible to employ*
- Decrease fragmentation*
- Make Overhoeks attractive for broader audience*
- Increase viability of Overhoeks*

Effects

Benefits for local community

- Local benefits are possible to employ easily
- Spatial quality improves

Benefits for stakeholders at Overhoeks

- Spatial quality improves
- It increases support for facilities
- It makes Overhoeks attractive for broader audience
- It increases viability of Overhoeks

A flagship project that aims for mutual benefits can only be successful if the urban plans of adjacent areas have been integrated with each other.

This point seems like an obvious one, yet it has been seen that many flagship developers do not integrate their plans with these of adjoining areas. Needless to say, in the case of designing the flagship as an island, local benefits are hard to achieve. Only when the urban plans are integrated and adapted to each other, they can create benefits for both inhabitants and users.

This goal focuses on the integration of the development Overhoeks with its surroundings.

Current state of affairs

Overhoeks has been planned as an area that stands on its own, it functions as an island in the city. It does not seek for contact with any of its adjoining neighbourhoods. (De Reus, 2012; Van der Velde, 2012) The developers do not focus on the Van der Pekbuurt. In fact, currently the neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt does not benefit from the new developments at all. (Schuurman, 2012) When asking the developers of Overhoeks at Ymere and Vesteda about the vision on Amsterdam for 2040, they

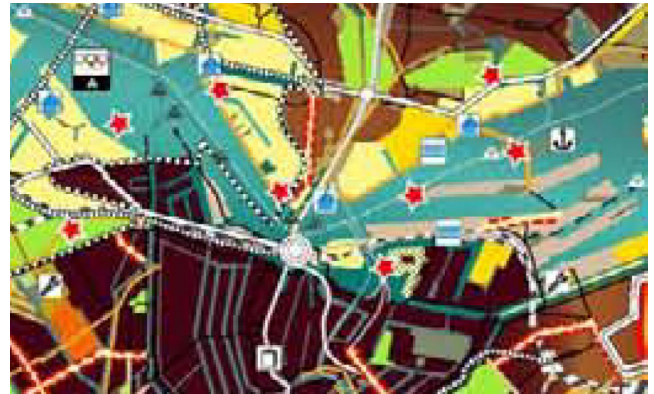


Fig. 86 Part of vision for Amsterdam 2040 (DRO, 2011, p.31)

admitted not to be familiar with it. Only at Noordwaarts the developer was able to explain that in the vision of Amsterdam the area of Overhoeks has been pointed out to be a particularisation, pointed out as a star. The star stands for a 'metropolitan place' and the yellow of Overhoeks means 'living and working'.

The masterplan for the river banks along the IJ, was written in 2003. It shows the relation between the areas along the river IJ. It also gives some information on the relation between the areas along the river, and the areas adjacent to these, that are located on the inland.

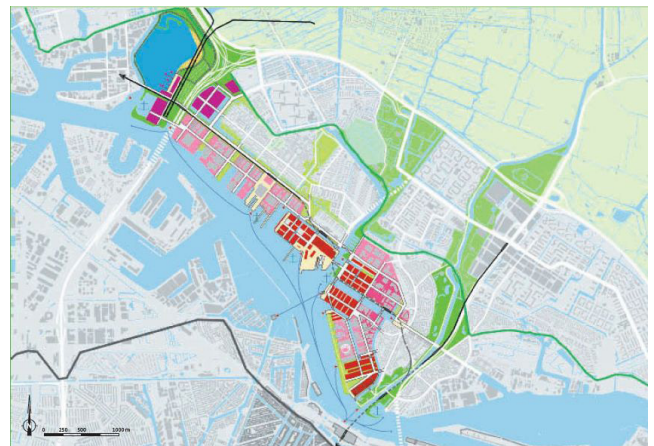


Fig. 87 Framework for Northwestern river banks (BVR and DRO, 2003, p.28)

Tactical approach

In order to create a mutual relationship between Overhoeks and its adjacent Van der Pekbuurt, it is crucial to integrate Overhoeks on the one hand with the existing urban fabric and programme and on the other hand with the future plans for the city.

Integration with existing urban fabric and programme

To aim for mutual, local benefits, the area of Overhoeks should be integrated in the existing urban fabric and programme. The relation between Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt is now high on the agenda of the developers, thus the socioeconomic and spatial relation receives attention. Both types of relation will be discussed.

Spatial relation

The spatial relation between Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt regards topics such as spatial composition, spatial network, sight lines, routing and physical connections. In this project, the spatial relation between Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt should aim to make mutual, local benefits possible to employ by the inhabitants.

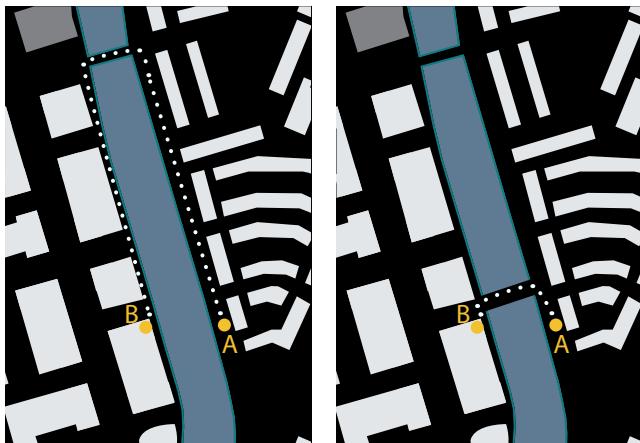


Fig. 88 Amenity easier to employ when spatial relation is made through a bridge (author, 2012)

Therefore it should diminish existing fragmentation, and create strong connections on all topics. An example: A new shop was located in Overhoeks (B in the figure). A person from Van der Pekbuurt (A) sees the shop at the other side of the water and wants to go there: employ the beneficial possibility to buy something in the new development. This person needs to walk almost 500 meters to this shop, regardless of the strong visual relation. If how-

ever, a physical connection had been constructed (the bridge), this person would only have to cross the water to seize the opportunity to buy something in Overhoeks. This increases the possibility and the ease with which one can employ beneficial possibilities. This example shows how a spatial relation is crucial for employing local benefits.

Socioeconomic relation

Another relation that is important to establish between the two neighbourhoods, is a socioeconomic relation. This regards topics such as, housing, facilities, amenities and public transport. The socioeconomic relation should aim for interventions that fit in a balanced network of programme. When the existing programme of the surroundings is known, one can add programme in the intervention area that complements it. By doing so, it is possible to predict the economic viability of the programme.

An example: if at Van der Pekplein several shops exist, a supermarket, a drugstore and a clothing store. If these shops are successful, it might be smart to locate new shops in Overhoeks, right adjacent to Van der Pekplein. In that way a socioeconomic relation is established between the two areas and the new shops can benefit from the success of the existing shops. One must of course consider what kind of shops are needed to complement the existing ones, and to keep the existing successful. These considerations add to answering to local needs respectively to ensure that residents do not suffer from the new development -by for example planning shops that compete with shops at Van der Pekbuurt.

Another example is the benefit to create possibilities for a housing career for inhabitants of Van der Pekbuurt who wish to move to Overhoeks. This is only possible to plan, if the economic characteristics of the existing housing stock is known.

Method

Urban designers of Overhoeks can have a big impact on creating spatial and socioeconomic relations between Overhoeks and adjoining areas. They are the ones that studied to design for such matters. It is the task of the developers to give them the power and freedom to do so.

The urban designers should be provided an overview of the existing programme in the surroundings of the intervention area. This information can be found in the geographic information system of Amsterdam. Using

the locations of facilities, amenities et cetera, accurate considerations can be made to determine the future programme. Input of the local needs according to the questionnaire and workshop programme can add to this information to make adequate decisions.

Integration with future plans for the city

When framing the goals for the area of Overhoeks, the integration with future plans for the city and region of Amsterdam and smaller parts of the city should be taken into account. The plans are binding, and Overhoeks should fit in the future plans.

The aim for integration with future plans is to establish strong spatial and socioeconomic relations that makes local benefits possible and easy to employ.

Method

The developers should be familiar with existing plans in which the area of Overhoeks takes part. The vision for Amsterdam 2040 and the plans for the riverbanks of the IJ create a set of conditions for Overhoeks. The originators among the developers should formulate these conditions in the assignment for the urban designers, so that they can take these into account. By exception, urban designers can deviate from the existing course, when a bottom-up approach requires a different course than planned top-down. These two planning instruments are static, and consider a long period of time.

Other planning instruments are much more subject to change, such as citizens' initiatives and permits to open e.g. a shop. The future plans should be taken into account in order to maintain a socioeconomic and spatial relation as described before. Changes in the surroundings can influence the desired connections. To keep informed on the latest plans, the initiators among the developers should maintain good contact with other parties, these are:

- Public authorities. The municipality of Amsterdam supervises land-use plans (bestemmingsplannen) and provides permits for future initiatives. The regional and national government, as well as organisation Randstad North wing, decide on future developments, mainly considering infrastructure and landscape.
- Companies. The association of undertakings of Amsterdam North, called VERBAN, can inform the initiators on the latest small developments considering business.
- Citizens. Citizens' initiatives might be small but can influence its surroundings substantial. Therefore it is

important to keep contact with the tenants association Van der Pek and ANGSAW, the residents organisation of Amsterdam North.

An example on the influence of future plans on the development of Overhoeks can be given. Until recently, Mosveld -in the North of Van der Pekbuurt- was planned to be developed as a commercial shopping centre. This has strong influences on the plans for commercial activities at Overhoeks. If the plans for Mosveld would continue, the shops at Overhoeks should consider these seriously in order to maintain socioeconomic relations. Now that the plans for Mosveld are suspended, this creates different opportunities for commercial activities at Overhoeks. This shows that it is important to be informed and stay informed on future plans.

11. Research Question 4

What socioeconomic and spatial requirements are needed to ensure beneficial possibilities in the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?

To make it possible for the local community of the Van der Pekbuurt to benefit from the possibilities the flagship area can bring, two things are essential to include in the design:

- 1 The beneficial possibilities should be provided
- 2 The negative effects of Overhoeks that prevent the local communities from employing the possible benefits, should be reduced.

The benefits and disadvantages for the local community that can be intervened in, were mentioned in the first and second research question. These are listed below.

*Benefits and disadvantages for local community that can be intervened in by **urban design***

Benefits should be created

- 1 More inclusive spaces
- 2 Provide possibilities for housing career
- 3 Amenities
- 4 Possibilities for transport
- 5 Recreational facilities
- 6 Housing
- 7 Urban places
- 8 Jobs

Disadvantages should be reduced

- 9 Fragmentation of cities
- 10 Social polarisation
- 11 No public resources for deprived neighbourhoods
- 12 Residents distrust expenses of government
- 13 Alien, unwelcoming appearance of flagship area
- 14 Delay, curtailment, failure of projects

Five goals were formulated to provide these benefits and to reduce the disadvantages that might prevent the local communities of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt to

exploit the benefits. The goals will be mentioned one by one, explaining how they relate to the scheme of benefits and disadvantages.

The next sections will describe the design briefly in general, and thereafter explain in detail how the five goals are implemented in the urban design.

Goal 1: Create social returns (answers to effects no. 8, 10)

One of the aims of flagship developers should be to create social returns. This means that the flagship area provides economic opportunities for the local community. Jobs will be created (8) and this helps to retain social networks, and reduces social polarisation (10).

Goal 2: Housing career possibilities (no. 2, 6, 10, 11, 13)

By giving the possibilities for a housing career (2, 6) in the local community's own (adjacent) neighbourhood, the social network can be maintained. It has been shown that people that live longer in one neighbourhood, feel responsible and attached to their environment (10) (Van Kempen, 2000).

Public resources aim on the possibilities for the local community (11). The residents that live in Van der Pekbuurt have more reasons to visit Overhoeks if their friends/ neighbours have moved there. Beside that, the area of Overhoeks appears less unwelcoming, for a part of the inhabitants of the area are not from a totally different background, but origin of the Van der Pekbuurt.

Goal 3: Amenities, facilities, transport possibilities (no. 3, 4, 5, 14)

The design and planning for amenities, facilities and transport possibilities (3, 4, 5) should focus on an inclusive audience. When doing so, the local communities of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks can benefit from this type of programme.

Facilities and amenities that focus on an inclusive, broader audience, can be more economically viable and thus help the success of the flagship project (14).

Goal 4: Inclusive, outward focus (no. 1, 7, 12, 13)

The urban fabric of the urban design should be inclusive (1, 7), to attract a broad audience on not only the global or regional scale, but also on the local scale. When doing so, the flagship area can be more welcoming (13) to the local community of Van der Pekbuurt.

This stimulates the local residents to visit the contemporary area and trust the municipal spending on the development (12).

Goal 5: Connect neighbourhoods (no. 9, 10)

Fragmentation between Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt prevents the local communities from employing the future benefits. Creating connections counteracts fragmentation (9). Beside that, the groups of people living in both areas can get more easily acquainted and thus social cohesion can be strengthened (10).

11.1 Urban design

On the following page, the floor plan and a section of the urban design can be seen.

General description

The floor plan is based on the floor plan designed by Palmbout previously, planned to be carried out and already partially constructed. In this plan a large park was present, a residential part and a part with more facilities. A residential area has been designed to connect with the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt. The park remains on the spot where it was designed by Palmbout before, but the shape is different in order to connect the urban fabric of both neighbourhoods better (figure).

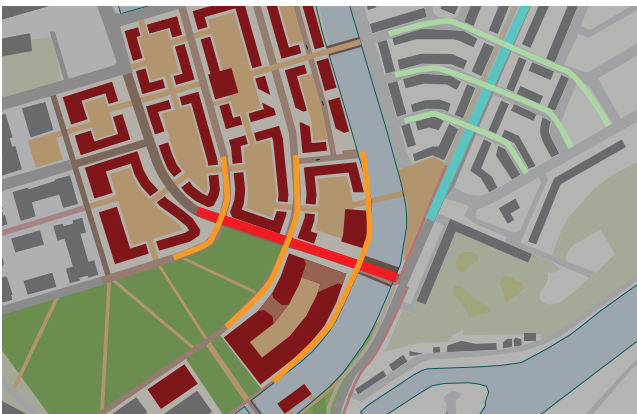


Fig. 89 Connecting urban fabrics

The facilities are located at both Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt, to create a central spot where both local communities are attracted to and come together.

Infrastructure

The urban design contains one main road, that connects directly to the Van der Pekstraat. The main road splits into several secondary roads that connect to the residential building blocks, and the facilities. The pattern that has been created by the main and secondary roads, imitates the pattern that exists in Van der Pekbuurt.

The bridge that connects the main road with the Van der Pekstraat, has been designed in detail by constructors, therefore this bridge remains on the designed location. Two bridges for slow traffic will be added to cross the canal between the two neighbourhoods.



Fig. 90 Conceptual drawing of urban design



Fig. 91 Urban design Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks



Fig. 92 Section AA'

Phasing

In the first phase, starting in 2012, the main road and bridge will be constructed to ensure a smooth traffic flow and good accessibility in the new-built area. The southern green area (i.e. the Tolhuistuin), that is currently private, will be opened to the public. This provides the possibility for users to walk through this park and use the two pedestrian bridges that are connected to it.



Fig. 93 Phasing of urban design

The Van der Pekplein will be reconstructed to accommodate small art exhibitions, posed by artists of the surrounding neighbourhoods. The supermarket across the water, will be constructed as soon as possible, to answer to the demand for this function. This place will attract people from Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks, and will become the first central spot where they can come together.

The old laboratory of Shell -located in the south of Overhoeks- will be renovated and inhabited. This will make the area more lively.

In the second phase, from 2015 onwards, the first residential building blocks will be constructed. These bring the both neighbourhoods closer together. The pavilions

on the canal will be build, this creates a stronger connection across the water.

The third phase is more flexible and will be implemented when there is enough support for. The residential building blocks and the park are most important to be constructed early. Thereafter, the facilities will be built and possibly several high-rise towers, depending on the economic viability.

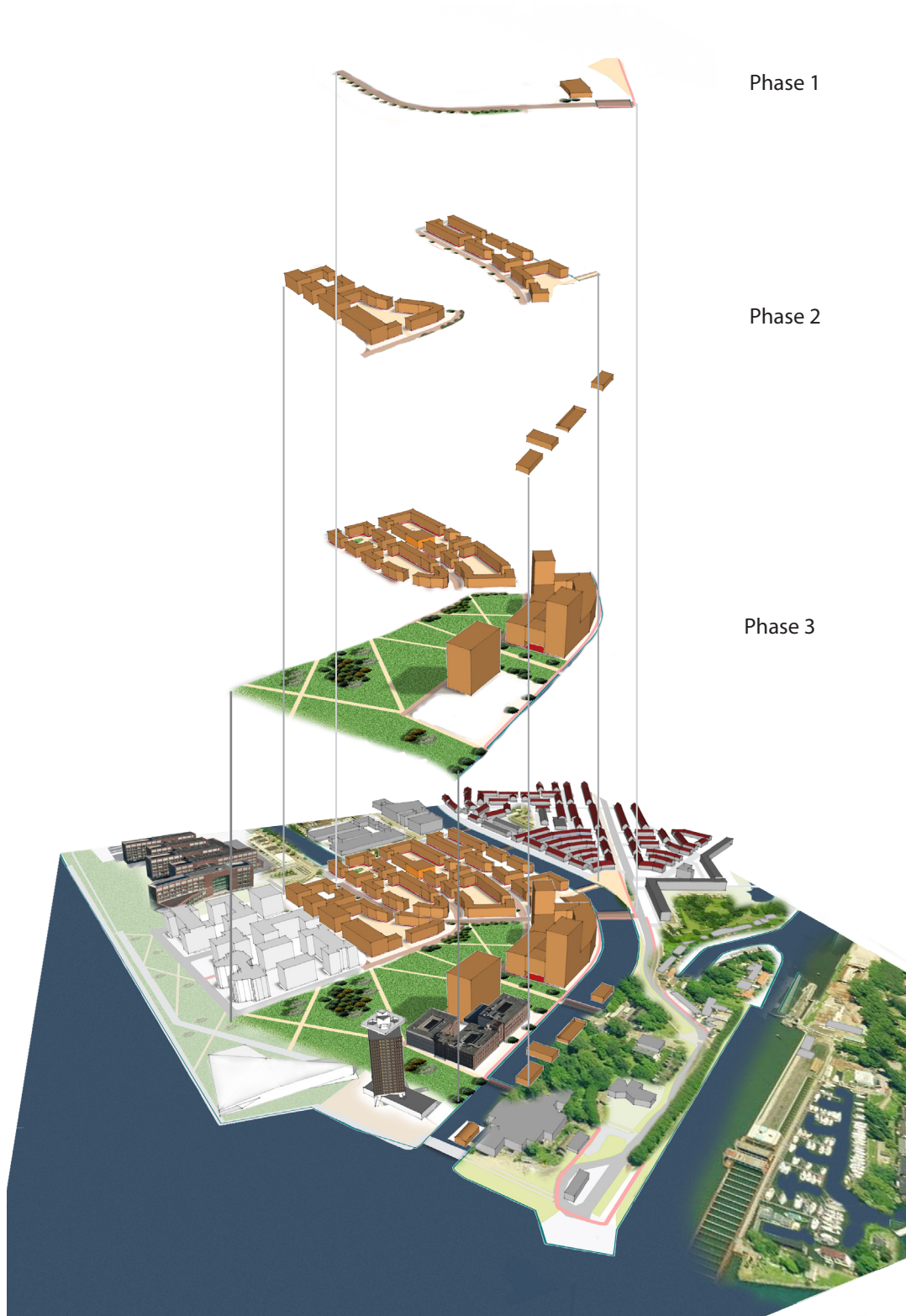


Fig. 94 Phasing of urban design

11.2 Local benefits

This section will explain the five goals that the urban design aims for in order to provide beneficial possibilities for the local community of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks and to reduce threats that prevent the residents to employ the possibilities.

Goal 1: Create social returns

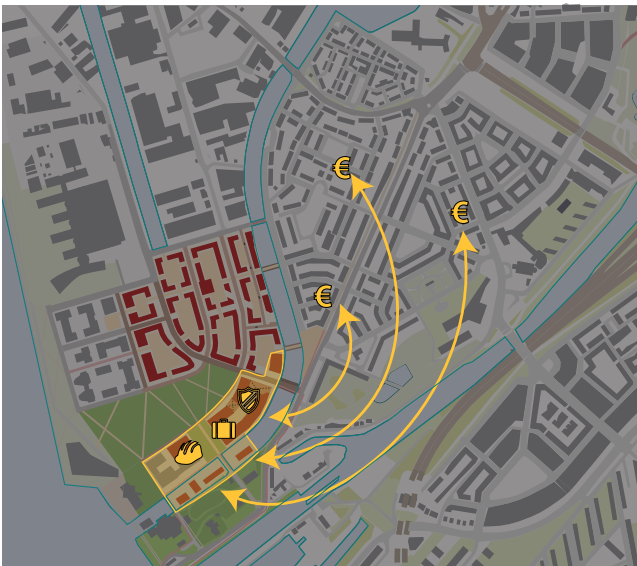


Fig. 95 Social return possibilities

The facilities of the new development will be staffed partially with residents from adjoining neighbourhoods. This considers low educated people that benefit much from having a job close by their homes as this reduces their transport costs and time.

Certain functions will be selected that are suitable to provide jobs for low educated residents. The jobs require no or a low education. For example a job as concierge at the apartment buildings or at office buildings.

Goal 2: Housing career possibilities



Fig. 96 Housing prices

For the residents of the Van der Pekbuurt the possibility should be offered to have a *housing career*. This means that the prices of dwelling in Overhoeks should partially overlap with the prices of the Van der Pekbuurt. People that earn more money over time, can then stay in Amsterdam North when buying or renting a dwelling that is slightly more expensive than their current one.

The prices in the new designed area in Overhoeks, are a little more expensive than the current housing prices of Van der Pekbuurt. The reason that lies behind this, is the fact that people can apply for subsidies for rental prices of over €350,-. The subsidies that they will receive -related to a maximum salary- will ensure the prices to be as high as the current prices in Van der Pekbuurt.

Housing career possibilities in one's own neighbourhood, gives the possibility for someone to maintain his social network. People that live longer in one neighbourhood, feel more responsible and attached to their environment than people that have lived in the neighbourhood for a shorter period. This has a positive effect on safety issues, nuisance and crime rates. (Van Kempen, 2000)

Goal 3: Amenities, facilities, transport possibilities



Fig. 97 Functions

The amenities and facilities that will be located in the new development, should aim for an inclusive audience. This means that these functions are attractive for residents of both Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt.

1 An elementary school will fulfil a central, local function in Overhoeks. There is a demand for a school when more families move into the area. The elementary school is accessible for children of all neighbourhoods.

2 A supermarket will be located at the border of Overhoeks with Van der Pekbuurt. This will attract residents from both areas. It is easily accessible for the local community of Overhoeks via one of the bridges that cross the canal.

3 On the canal between the two neighbourhoods, a series of floating pavilions can be located to bridge between the two areas. They are accessible from the south part of Van der Pekbuurt. One pavilions is currently present at the canal (in blue in the figure). This pavilion provides information for (future) residents in Overhoeks.

4 This building at the Tolhuistuin will be transformed into a small pop podium. The adjacent park at the side of Van der Pekbuurt can function to accommodate small outdoor concerts. An outdoor stage can be located on the water.

5 This building block will contain several facilities and amenities for the local communities of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks, but also aim on an audience from a regional scale. This is designed to be flexible. If it is economically viable and desired, it is possible to construct several high-rise towers here.

6 At this location the possibility is provided to build a high tower for mixed use. This is flexible and depends on the situation after the first two phases.

Goal 4: Inclusive, outward focus

Many prestigious projects focus inwards: this gives the area a totally different feeling than its surroundings (Majoor 2011, p.150-151). The previous design of Overhoeks has an inward focus, and does not connect to its surroundings. This needs to be changed in order to let the residents of Van der Pekbuurt be able to enjoy the beneficial possibilities easily.

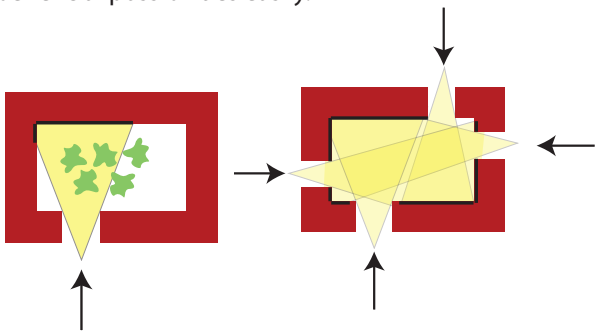


Fig. 99 Residential block sight lines concept

Residential blocks

The concept that lies behind the design of the residential blocks, is as follows. All blocks have several openings and an inner public place. This place is visible from outside of the blocks, when passing by. The way it is designed, creates the possibility to overview the space because the courtyard opens to both sides after the opening in the block. The sight line ends on a closed part of the building, therefore the place is perceived as being a recreational space. As there are many openings, and one can see several exits of the block when entering, people feel welcome.

All inner public places are connected with each other by pedestrian and cycling paths. A network of public places is thus created.

Sight lines

The two main attractors -an elementary school and a supermarket- will be constructed as early in the process as possible. Sight lines will guide people towards these (figure). The residents can see the attractors from many places, and therefore know the existence and feel invited to visit these places.

Profile canal

At the canal between Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt,



Fig. 98 Network of public places and sight lines to main attractors

an effort has been made to bring the neighbourhoods closer together. At the side of Overhoeks, the new apartment blocks will be placed close to the water (figure). This creates the perception that the neighbourhood at the opposite side of the water is close by.



Fig. 100 Section at canal between Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt

Goal 5: Connect neighbourhoods

Spatial fragmentation can keep the local community of Van der Pekbuurt from benefitting from the amenities and facilities that are located at Overhoeks. By creating coherence and connections between the neighbourhoods, the areas start to connect and people feel connected to both areas.



Fig. 101 Urban fabric

Urban fabric

The existing urban fabric of Van der Pekbuurt and the built part of Overhoeks, have been taken as a starting point to connect the two. The figure above shows the alignment of the buildings of the two neighbourhoods.

Bridging the canal

Four bridges are currently present to cross the canal from one neighbourhood to the other, one of which is accessible for cars. Three bridges will add to these, one of them is accessible for all traffic. The latter has already been designed in detail, so could be constructed on a short term.

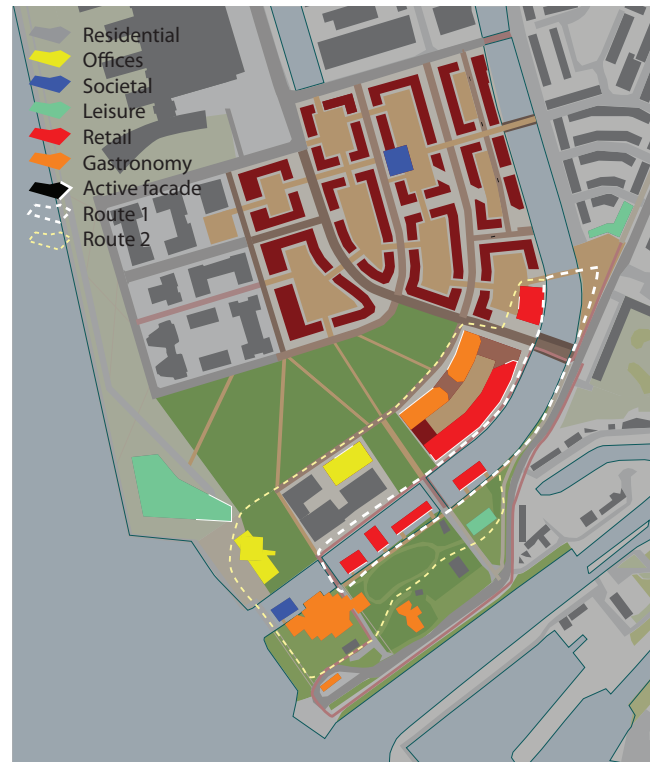


Fig. 102 Routing along facilities

Canal: from barrier to connection

At the southern part of the canal, almost reaching the river IJ, several pavilions will be located. The barrier that the canal used to be, now becomes the connection between the two areas.

Facility routing

The public programme in the new development, is clustered and can be reached by a short route, accessible for pedestrians and cyclists. This route runs along the water, and connects the two areas. A larger route can also be followed, this enters the areas.

Other connections

Other ways in which Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt will be connected is through: sight lines, building heights and architecture.

Sight lines ensure that the main attractors are visible and attractive -as can be seen in the figure of goal 4.

The building heights gradually go up from Van der Pekbuurt towards the constructed part of Overhoeks (figure) in order to strengthen the relation between the different parts.



Fig. 103 Building heights

The architecture of Overhoeks seems alien and unwelcoming. The new buildings that will be constructed, will link to the modern architecture of Overhoeks but at the same time link to the Dutch appearance of Van der Pekbuurt. A modern, Dutch image will be the result. A reference can be seen in the picture below.



Fig. 104 Reference modern, Dutch architecture (Schuttersveld, Delft) Geurst & Schulze architecten (author, 2012)



Fig. 105 Van der Pekplein

Van der Pekplein

The Van der Pekplein is located at the border of the two neighbourhoods and functions as a connector. It is designed to attract residents of different directions. The Van der Pekplein has an open appearance that is the step from Overhoeks to Van der Pekbuurt and vice versa.

The square facilitates the possibility for a changing art exhibition. The adjacent housing block currently contains an art atelier, a small children's art school and a bed and breakfast. This provides a basic vitality on the square, and moreover the artists could present their work on the Van der Pekplein.

12. Conclusions

This chapter briefly reviews the graduation research, outlining the main findings and conclusions. The results will be placed in the broader context, showing the possible implications of this research. Next, recommendations for future research will be given, based on problems and strengths of this research and design project.

12.1 Project framework

The project started with a two-fold problem statement, focused on a common problem happening in cities under globalisation and de-industrialisation, exemplified by the key location Overhoeks, in Amsterdam North. On the one hand, we wanted to investigate what were the issues concerning the integration of flagships with their adjacent local communities. We rapidly concluded that there were serious threats concerning a flagship development in Amsterdam North affecting its adjacent neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt negatively. On the other hand, there is an unbalanced focus of the flagship development on global needs, as opposed to a lack of focus on local needs, meaning that the local community cannot benefit from opportunities in the adjacent development. These problems are especially relevant considering the faith local authorities put in developments of this kind. Flagship developments seem to be the solution for many ailments of the globalised city. (Bianchini et al., 1992; Loftman and Nevin, 1995). However, this was clearly a very optimistic view, considering the fact that Overhoeks affects the lives of the local community of Van der Pekbuurt considerably and in a many negative ways.

At the development of Overhoeks the local communities of neighbouring areas had not been consulted about the development. They had been informed, but not consulted, and there was no participation of citizens in the development of the plans for the area. (De Reus, 2012; Van der Velde, 2012)

The aim of the project stated: *the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt benefits from the adjacent contemporary flagship development Overhoeks and vice versa, in spatial and socioeconomic terms*. The main research question concerned how this aim could be reached: *how*

can the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt benefit from the adjacent contemporary flagship development Overhoeks and vice versa, in socioeconomic and spatial terms?

The four sub research questions aimed to answer the main research question step by step. The first question searched in literature for all possible benefits and disadvantages that flagship development in general can provide for its adjacent neighbourhoods. The next step was to project these possible influences on the key case of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt, with the help of documents about the key case and interviews with key actors involved in the development of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt. The third question sought to find recommendations on the planning process for the key actors in both areas. The findings were formulated in a strategic plan. The last question aimed at developing the spatial characteristics to shape the requirements for a design of the two neighbourhoods to enable mutual, local benefits for their inhabitants.

The answer to the main research question can be found in the strategic plan and the design.

12.2 Research findings

RQ 1: What are the possible benefits and disadvantages a residential neighbourhood can derive from its adjacent flagship development, in west European cities?

Papers written by -amongst others- Loftman and Nevin (1995), Doucet (2009) and Bianchini et al. (1992) appeared to be extremely useful to formulate the basic understating of the issue. The result was a list of possible benefits and disadvantages that flagship projects could provide for local communities, as found in the literature study. This study has shown that flagship development can cause many disadvantages on a local scale, of which the most important are spatial fragmentation, social polarisation and an unwelcoming appearance. But also individual planning and less resources or attention to the areas adjacent to the contemporary developments, can have a negative impact caused by the development of

the flagship projects. (Doucet, 2009; Loftman and Nevin, 1995; Bianchini et al., 1992)

The most important spatial and socioeconomic benefits that flagship development can generate for its surroundings and inhabitants are providing facilities, amenities, inclusive urban spaces, public transport and the possibility for a housing career. Regarding the developers' planning strategy, benefits can be found in e.g. resident participation in planning the flagship development and rethinking the goals that key actors formulate, in order to be more inclusive and balance the global/regional and local needs and wishes. (Doucet et al., 2010)

The literature study showed that currently private developers rarely aim for local benefits, but concentrate instead on the needs of 'external' users (office users and higher income dwellers, generally connected to an idea of a globalised world). Only municipal aims showed awareness of the importance of local benefits mainly in the provision of facilities and public spaces. (Bianchini et al. 1992; Doucet, 2009; Loftman and Nevin, 1995; Majoor, 2011)

RQ 2: Which mutual, local benefits and disadvantages are applicable to the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks in Amsterdam?

To be able to give recommendations on the development of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt, it was necessary to research the possible local benefits and disadvantages in more depth. Interviews provided much information to understand the current process regarding the development of the project and the current state of both neighbourhoods. Key actors of the private and public developers explained the aims of the development at Overhoeks: in the past it did focus on local benefits but along the process, these aims were not applied any more. The municipality did not steer this in an inclusive direction either, on the contrary. In Amsterdam, the rule that developments need to have thirty per cent of social housing aims at diluting the gap between affluent and less affluent spaces. The development of Overhoeks however, was exempted from this rule, and is allowed to provide only twenty per cent of social housing.

The research on the two neighbourhoods showed the applicability of benefits and disadvantages mentioned in the first research question. All of these effects are more or less applicable to the key case. One of the most important opportunities is to provide the possibility for a housing career from social housing at Van der Pekbu-

urt towards rental housing from the market sector at Overhoeks. However, figures by private developers Ymere (2012) and Vesteda (2012), showed that the gap between rent prices in both areas is far too large to enable a housing career.

Other local opportunities are for the Overhoeks area to provide inclusive urban spaces, that now consists only of a very large park aimed at attracting tourists and inhabitants of Amsterdam. Several amenities are planned at Overhoeks, which aimed on the affluent, cosmopolitan inhabitants. In general, the opportunities to provide beneficial possibilities that answer to the local needs and wishes are present, but not being exploited by the key actors. Two important recommendations could help the local benefits being created and exploited by the local community of Van der Pekbuurt. First, benefits should be provided in the flagship area aimed at an inclusive audience; second, the disadvantages that prevent the surrounding inhabitants of Overhoeks from benefitting from the area, should be diminished.

Diminishing local disadvantages and enabling local benefits can be achieved by altering the planning process and the urban design, as was answered by the following two questions.

RQ 3: Which recommendations can help the planning process to successfully plan and design mutual, local benefits for Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt?

Several local effects caused by the flagship development Overhoeks, were selected to be influenced by altering the planning process in the development of both areas. A strategic plan was developed to formulate four goals and their methods to reduce the negative and enable the positive local effects, in favour of the local communities at Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt. The four goals are:

- The developers should reposition their aims to be more inclusive.
- The residents of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt should be informed about the contemporary developments.
- The residents of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt should be consulted to show their needs and wishes that could be integrated in the new developments.
- Urban plans for adjoining and overlapping areas should be integrated.

Each of these goals is rather evident, but by following certain steps the achievement of the goals can be

ensured with more certainty. As research showed, in some cases, the developers did aim for local benefits, but the actual effects of the flagship development failed to answer to this aim. (Majoer, 2011)

RQ 4: What socioeconomic and spatial requirements are needed to ensure beneficial possibilities in the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?

Besides influencing benefits and disadvantages by changes in the planning process, several effects can be influenced spatially and socioeconomically by urban design. Using analytical drawings and urban design principles, the -mainly vacant- intervention area could be redesigned to establish benefits for the local communities. The proposed interventions focused on the parts of Overhoeks that have not been constructed yet and on the parts of Van der Pekbuurt that are planned to be redeveloped in the coming years. Spatial and socioeconomic requirements that were found in the research were implemented in the key case. The five goals that the design proposal aims for are: social returns; housing career possibilities; amenities, facilities, transport possibilities; an inclusive, outward focus; connection between neighbourhoods. Each of these goals relates directly to create several opportunities or to diminish threats for the local community, these were mentioned previously in RQ 1 and RQ 2.

The urban design goals can function as an example on how to implement local benefits in a flagship development.

MRQ: How can the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt benefit from the adjacent contemporary flagship development Overhoeks and vice versa, in socioeconomic and spatial terms?

The four research questions lead up to answering the main research question. Starting off with a general analysis of the problem and a literature study, it was possible to outline the problems and opportunities in Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt, considering the local effects that these adjoining neighbourhoods have on each other. Overhoeks could affect Van der Pekbuurt negatively by creating spatial disconnectedness, and an unwelcoming appearance. Opportunities to bring to the local community are for example housing career possibilities, facilities and recreational functions.

Next, the problems and opportunities could be divided into the ones that can be intervened in by altering the

planning process, and the ones by an urban design. The most important changes that should be made in the planning process considers the key actors at both areas, such as Noordwaarts, Ymere and ING Real Estate. By taking local, mutual benefits into account not only the local communities of Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks can benefit -by means of public participation and a more integral focus on the surroundings of Overhoeks- but also the stakeholders themselves, because doing so can create a positive corporate image and create enthusiasm amongst local communities and public authorities. The proposed urban design focuses on creating a spatial and socioeconomic relation between the residential neighbourhood and the flagship development. It also brings opportunities to make a housing career, and to exploit amenities and public places.

12.3 Implications

Implications on Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt

The case of Overhoeks is one of many flagship developments coping with problems concerning local corollaries. Literature speaks about the severe impact that flagship development can have on its adjacent neighbourhoods. This research reconciles with existing theory by showing a case of the impact that a flagship development can have on its adjacent neighbourhood and inhabitants.

If Overhoeks would be built as planned, the surrounding inhabitants could suffer severely from its negative effects. Spatial fragmentation would prevent the residents of Van der Pekbuurt from making use of facilities, amenities, urban places and other beneficial opportunities. Moreover, the flagship development could easily worsen existing problems in Van der Pekbuurt. The disparity between the affluent area Overhoeks and the less affluent Van der Pekbuurt, could strongly emphasise the gap between wealthy and less wealthy. Social structures might exist only within the clear boundaries of the two separate neighbourhoods, amplifying social segregation. This research presents comprehensible recommendations for stakeholders on how to act in the future when taking the effects of Overhoeks on the local scale into account. By implementing the strategy posed in this thesis, the flagship development could not only be successful for local and global users, but also for the developers themselves.

The developers at Ymere, Vesteda and Noordwaarts have shown their interest in the implementation of local benefits at the area of Overhoeks. Their former goals aimed at benefits for Van der Pekbuurt show the developers' awareness of answering to local needs. The strategic plan and urban design are formulated in a way that it could hypothetically be implemented immediately, if developers would wish to focus more on the needs of the local community in Van der Pekbuurt.

The urban design as proposed to answer to research question 4, can best be used as inspiration or guideline for the urban designers and developers of Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt. The proposed design most probably does not meet all requirements that clients and supervisors demand, therefore it can best be used to inspire and show the opportunities of the area. The five goals that lie at the base of the design can be used to help implement more beneficial possibilities for the local communities.

The most crucial implication is the awareness this work could bring to developers and public authorities to promote more inclusive, democratic, urban development. In order to achieve sustainable, ethical and democratic results, public participation needs to be sought. Naturally, it is the public sector, as the promoter of collective effort to increase public goods, who would lead processes of consultation and participation, but enlightened investors and developers could do that as well. The role of housing corporations, key actors in Dutch developments, would need to be further explored.

Personally I will make an effort to involve the key actors in the results of my graduation research. All persons who I interviewed are invited for the graduation presentation. If the people who are involved in the development process of the two neighbourhoods show interest in the results of the research, I would suggest giving a presentation for the company adjusted to the topic of their desire. This project could strongly raise the awareness for the importance of balancing global and local needs in flagship developments. This could be done for two reasons.

First of all, research showed that developers and investors are unaware they could contribute for the well being of local communities when they promote large urban projects or flagship projects. They seem to be too focused on their own plans. The research and design project also

showed that it is possible to achieve local benefits with relatively little loss to investors and developers. On the contrary, their positions seem to be strengthened by the acknowledgment of the needs of the local communities. And it is very likely that their investment would be better off with a better synergy with local communities. Several of the key actors of Overhoeks that I interviewed, were not familiar with the term 'flagship development' or related literature. They expect Overhoeks to generate local benefits naturally. Nonetheless, after explaining the possible negative effects of flagship areas that literature puts forward, they were caught unaware. This distinctly demonstrates the developers' unawareness of the impact that flagship development can have. Key actors develop the projects regardless of the socioeconomic and spatial fragmentation it could bring, the widening of and emphasis on the gap between affluent and less affluent communities and space.

This is highly remarkable and confirms not only the relevance of this research, but also the fact that flagship developers do not make optimal use of existing knowledge on flagship development. Research showed that the likeliness of flagships creating positive local externalities increases dramatically if local communities would be more involved in the process.

The second reason this project could raise awareness for mutual, local benefits is that it shows the possible benefits that the stakeholders at Overhoeks could have when aiming for providing these local beneficial possibilities. Especially in times of financial adversity, it can be profitable to balance the global and local effects. As could be read in the strategic plan, this can help the economic viability of the development. It can also have positive effects on the reputations of the developers and the attractiveness of the area. Currently the plans for the development of Overhoeks have shown not to be feasible. By implementing the local benefits according to the strategic plan and design, the feasibility for the further development of Overhoeks could be raised.

Implications on future flagship development

The issues at Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt do not stand alone in the debate on the local effects of flagship development. In many other cases in Western Europe, it can be seen that flagship developers do not aim for local needs or do not succeed in implementing local needs. For instance at the Forum flagship project in Barcelona,

where the municipality explicitly aimed to balance local and global effects, the developers did not achieve to enable beneficial possibilities for the local communities living around the flagship development. (Majoor, 2011). Flagship developments are not abating. The developments have been built since the 1980s, and are still being built presently, such as in Overhoeks Amsterdam. The incentives to plan prestigious large urban projects are still present: de-industrialisation causing vacant land at ideal waterfront locations, neoliberal planning approaches stimulating private market-driven development and globalising companies and organisations using the location and appearance of their offices for marketing purposes. It is very probably that flagship development continues to be planned in the coming decades. Therefore knowledge on its influences on all scale levels are of high relevance.

The fact that planning authorities answer to the previously mentioned problems by developing flagship projects, can be a very positive thing, that indeed helps to overcome these difficulties. I certainly do not claim that flagship development should be prevented from being constructed. However, when planning a development as such, key actors should seriously consider the area's actual effects, instead of copying a flagship project as has been done all over the world for the last decades. (Bianchini et al., 1992)

This research could raise awareness of the impact that flagship projects can have on the residents living closest to the development. The lives of the local communities are influenced the most by the development, hence the importance of creating opportunities for their benefit. Developers of future flagship projects could use this research as an inspiration to implement local needs, for the strategic plan outlines the benefits for the developers when doing so. Every planning project is unique, so this project cannot explain how to implement local benefits on other locations exactly. But it can help to demonstrate why and how beneficial possibilities can be provided in future developments in Western Europe.

Flagship development was strongly induced by de-industrialisation. Whereas in the developed world the most important part of de-industrialisation is slowly abating, at other parts of the less developed world, de-industrialisation is yet to begin to have an impact. Former less developed countries now come into a time in which

de-industrialisation and globalisation could have a big impact in their planning strategies. For example, large cities in Asia and South-America are ones that became industrialised later than Western Europe and the United States. The de-industrialisation process will take place there later than it did in the developed countries, which means they could encounter the same problems as the developed countries did in the past decades. Globalisation plays an increasing role in these upcoming economies, which emphasises global competition.

The answer of former less developed but currently industrialised countries, towards the negative impact of de-industrialisation might be flagship development. The question is whether these countries will make the same mistakes that Western Europe and the US made. It is therefore essential to demonstrate not only the positive but also the negative effects that flagship projects can bring.

12.4 Further research

The findings of my research in general comply with the existing theories on the local impact of flagship development. One aspect that I found in the key case, is not debated in literature extensively. This is the fact that the flagship developers at Overhoeks at the start of the development did aim for local needs, but later on this focus diluted and changed, incited by the speed of the process and the need for direct revenues. The literature study mentioned the possibility that developers did not aim for local need, but the fact that some actors do aim for local benefits but fail to succeed is a topic much harder to find. I found an article by Majoor (2011) who writes about the discrepancy between the rhetorics and actions of key developers when focusing on local effects of large urban projects, such as flagship projects. For this theory, that is not widely debated, it is of importance that my research recognises and supports Majoors findings.

The research shows the importance of taking local needs into account when developing a flagship project. Without doing so, the situation at adjacent neighbourhoods -that is traditionally less fortunate- can easily be worsened. My research strengthens the notion that flagship developers should shift their attention to balance global and local needs. The academic world could take this as an incentive for further research.

The list of benefits and disadvantages that the literature study brought forward, is one that can be used in the future for further research. It can be used as a base to build new research upon.

Recommendations future research

This research project provides the possibility to be repeated on other cases that know similar problems and conditions. A flagship development that deals with balancing global and local needs, and is located adjacent to a residential area could be researched, regardless its location. The methodology put forward could be well used for future research: interviewing key actors at the case and experts on flagship development, using maps to analyse the area, and study literature on flagship development and its implications. Two recommendations could help the research. Try to interview people that have (had) the most influence in the process of the developments. For me as a student this was not always possible. Beside that, try to also interview people that have been involved in the past but are not anymore. In the beginning of the development process, many of the most important decisions are made; it is important to know the background to these decisions. In the case of Overhoeks, it has not been possible for me to speak someone from ING Real Estate, for the person who dealt with Overhoeks had been retired and receiving contact information was not possible.

To make the implementation of local benefits for developers possible and easy to execute, it is desirable to develop a strategic plan that has a focus on flagship projects in general. A comparative study could lead to general recommendations. Further research should focus on studying several cases and comparing the planning process and outcomes in order to derive general recommendations on balancing global and local needs. Having clear guidelines on how to improve the local benefits, could lead to more successful flagship developments in developed countries, that balance global and local needs.

The last important issue to research is the balancing of rhetoric and action frames. Literature by Majoor (2011) shows how this could be done in a project with such an array of involved actors, but this could be adjusted to flagship development specifically and transformed into action plans for public and private developers.

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Interviews

| Actor | Name | Function | Date | Location |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|--|------------|--------------|
| Overhoeks | BOELSUMS, A. | Communication advisor, Shell | 01-05-2012 | By telephone |
| | DE REUS, A. | Developer, Ymere | 30-01-2012 | Amsterdam |
| | PETERS, J. | Site manager STCA, Shell | 01-03-2012 | By telephone |
| | SCHAAP, T. | Urban designer, DRO Amsterdam | 09-03-2012 | Amsterdam |
| | SCHUURMAN, G. | Developer, Vesteda | 31-01-2012 | Amsterdam |
| | SMILDE, R. | Communications, Ymere | 02-05-2012 | By telephone |
| | VAN DER VELDE, P. | Developer, Noordwaarts | 31-01-2012 | Amsterdam |
| | VERMIJS, M. | Chairman residents' association Gelria, Overhoeks | 28-02-2012 | Amsterdam |
| Van der Pekbuurt | DE VRIES, M. | Developer, Ymere | 30-01-2012 | Amsterdam |
| | STUART, B. | Chairman tenants association Van der Pek | 28-02-2012 | Amsterdam |
| Experts on flagship development | BOUTE, J. | Communications, department of Town Planning and Urban Development (ds+v) Rotterdam | 03-02-2012 | Rotterdam |
| | DOUCET, B. | Lecturer in urban geography, University of Utrecht | 16-12-2012 | Utrecht |

Glossary

Amenity

a useful or pleasant facility or service (CED, 2011)

Community participation

a process of involving all relevant parties in a way that the decision making is shared (Haywood, 1988, p.106)

Disconnection

the state of lacking unity (Princeton University)

Facility

something created to serve a particular function (CED, 2011)

Flagship development

significant, high-profile and prestigious land and property development which plays an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.245)

Inclusive space

a space that focuses on an inclusive audience

Local community

a group of interacting people sharing an environment (Carmona et al., 2003)

Spatial fragmentation

spatial disconnectedness, a lack of geometrical coherence (Salingaros, 2005, p.87)

Strategic plan

a long-term plan of action, designed to achieve a vision

Tactics

the determination of choices on a middle long-term to achieve a vision

Urban design

the quality of the public realm -both physical and socio-cultural- and the making of places for people to enjoy and use (Carmona et al., 2003)

Map current situation





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