

# The new neighbors

Urban revitalization in the Rosmolenwijk



P5 Report

Bart Sikkens  
4903315



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**Keywords:** urban revitalization, social mixing, gentrification, housing market, the Netherlands

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STUDENT | Bart Sikkens  
STUDENT NUMBER | 4903315

STUDIO | Planning Complex Cities  
FIRST MENTOR | Arie Romein  
SECOND MENTOR | Els Bet



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Now it is finally time to put the little activist in me to work in the real world of urban planning.



## Abstract

This thesis report, the new neighbors: urban revitalization in the Rosmolenwijk, presents the socio-spatial effects that urban revitalization plans combined with the housing crisis (and other trends and policies) have on working-class neighborhoods. The working-class neighborhoods are built-up with mostly social housing to provide home for the workers of the industries in the industrial revolution. However, with the industries disappearing, the neighborhoods are left with low quality housing and homogeneous population with low-income levels. Currently, these working-class neighborhoods are often considered as fragile and low-quality neighborhoods with a various of problems by the municipalities. To tackle these problems, municipalities came up with revitalization projects that meanly consists of methods like state-led gentrification and social mixing to boost the socio-economic status of the neighborhoods. On paper, these plans sound promising. Although, these plans are conducting friction between the new and native inhabitants. Firstly, the displacement of native inhabitants, who often have a strong connection to the community is high. This displacement is strengthened by some urban policies on housing associations that put pressure on making the housing more sustainable, leaving no other choice than selling blocks to the private sector or rebuilding blocks for the highest rental prices to be able to finance such investments. Secondly, the mix of new and native inhabitants rises the socio-spatial fragmentation between the new and native inhabitants as they are not mixing groups but create hotspots with the wealthier groups. And thirdly, the lifestyles are so different that the target groups do not seem to connect with each other. They have their own perception of theirs and what is not, the new inhabitants seem to like the community idea but hardly participate in it themselves, and the environmental connection to the neighborhoods of the new inhabitants is different than from the new inhabitants as well. The thesis plan points out some centers that have the potential to increase the social cohesion between the target groups based on the usage of the neighborhood. Furthermore, these locations will be transformed in a way that embraces the positive goals of the revitalization plans, while decreasing the socio-spatial friction that has is conducted with the current revitalization plans of working-class neighborhoods. Combined with this transformation comes the new condition in policies and legislation that are necessary to fulfill the aim of this thesis.



## Overview

This P5 report addresses the socio-spatial friction in the neighborhoods of Zaanstad due to the gentrification and urban renewal. This friction takes place in the semi-public spaces between the native in new inhabitants of Zaanstad and is presented in the introduction chapter.

The purpose of the introduction chapter is to introduce the phenomenon that takes place in Zaanstad from the large scale to the neighborhoods scale. The introduction chapter will contain the authors motivation, context, and is concluded with a problem field.

The theoretical underpinning chapter elaborates on the research that has been done within the mentioned problem field. This theoretical underpinning includes gentrification, state-led gentrification, and urban renewal and revitalization.

The methodology chapter introduces the methodological framework that presents the guideline of the thesis plan. Connected to this is the conceptual framework that concludes the phenomenon of the current processes and trends. Based on this framework, the problem statement, research aim, and research questions are formulated to counteract the phenomenon. The rest of the chapter presents the methods that will be used in the thesis plan, the intended outcomes, and the timeline.

Furthermore, the research part with research on the underlying process and trends that are the cause and reasoning behind the problem statement. Based on the gathered information, a position paper is used to review the contemporary model of gentrification. Also, the effects of these processes are discussed from the perspective of the case study area, the Rosmolenwijk in Zaanstad.

Related to the outcomes of the research, a vision and strategy are presented the counteract the socio-spatial friction. This vision and strategy are assessed on different locations in the Rosmolenwijk in the next chapters.

In addition, two areas are renewed to fulfill the aim of this thesis. Connected to this is the supporting conditions chapter that presents the necessary foundation for such urban renewal, in terms of policy and legislation.

In the conclusion, the outcomes are discussed in relation to the main research question of the thesis. Furthermore, the societal relevance, advantages and limitations of the methodology, the generalizability of the thesis outcomes, and ethical dilemmas and problems will be discussed in the reflection chapter.

Lastly, the appendix has a glossary explaining the terms and names that are used within this report.

# Table of Contents

RESEARCH DEFINITION	DESIGN
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>7 Vision &amp; Strategy</b>
1.1   Roadmap	7.1   Vision
1.2   Motivation	7.2   Focus areas
1.3   Context	7.3   Conclusion
1.4   Rosmolenwijk	
1.5   Problem field	
1.6   Conclusion	
<b>2 Theoretical Underpinning</b>	<b>8 Schools &amp; Industries</b>
2.1   Gentrification	8.1   Exploration
2.2   State-led gentrification	8.2   Guidelines
2.3   Urban renewal & Revitalization	8.3   New design
2.4   Conclusion	8.4   Conclusion
<b>3 Methodology</b>	<b>9 Dekamarkt &amp; de Struijck</b>
3.1   Methodological framework	9.1   Exploration
3.2   Conceptual framework	9.2   Current plans
3.3   Problem statement	9.3   Guidelines
3.4   Knowledge gap	9.4   New design
3.5   Research aim	9.5   Conclusion
3.6   Research question	
3.7   Methods	
3.8   Intended outcomes	
3.9   Timeline	
3.10   Conclusion	
	<b>10 Supporting Conditions</b>
	10.1   New conditions
	10.2   Conclusion
	<b>CONCLUSION</b>
	<b>11 Research Conclusion</b>
	11.1   Main conclusion
	<b>12 Reflection</b>
	12.1   Academic reflection
	<b>13 References</b>
	13.1   References
	<b>14 Appendix</b>
	14.1   Glossary
<b>4 Dutch Policy &amp; Legislation</b>	
4.1   Housing crisis	
4.2   Housing associations	
4.3   Socio-spatial effects	
4.4   Conclusion	
<b>5 Position Paper</b>	
5.1   Unnatural Gentrification?	
<b>6 The Rosmolenwijk</b>	
6.1   History	
6.2   Urban renewal	
6.3   Use of space	
6.4   Conclusion	



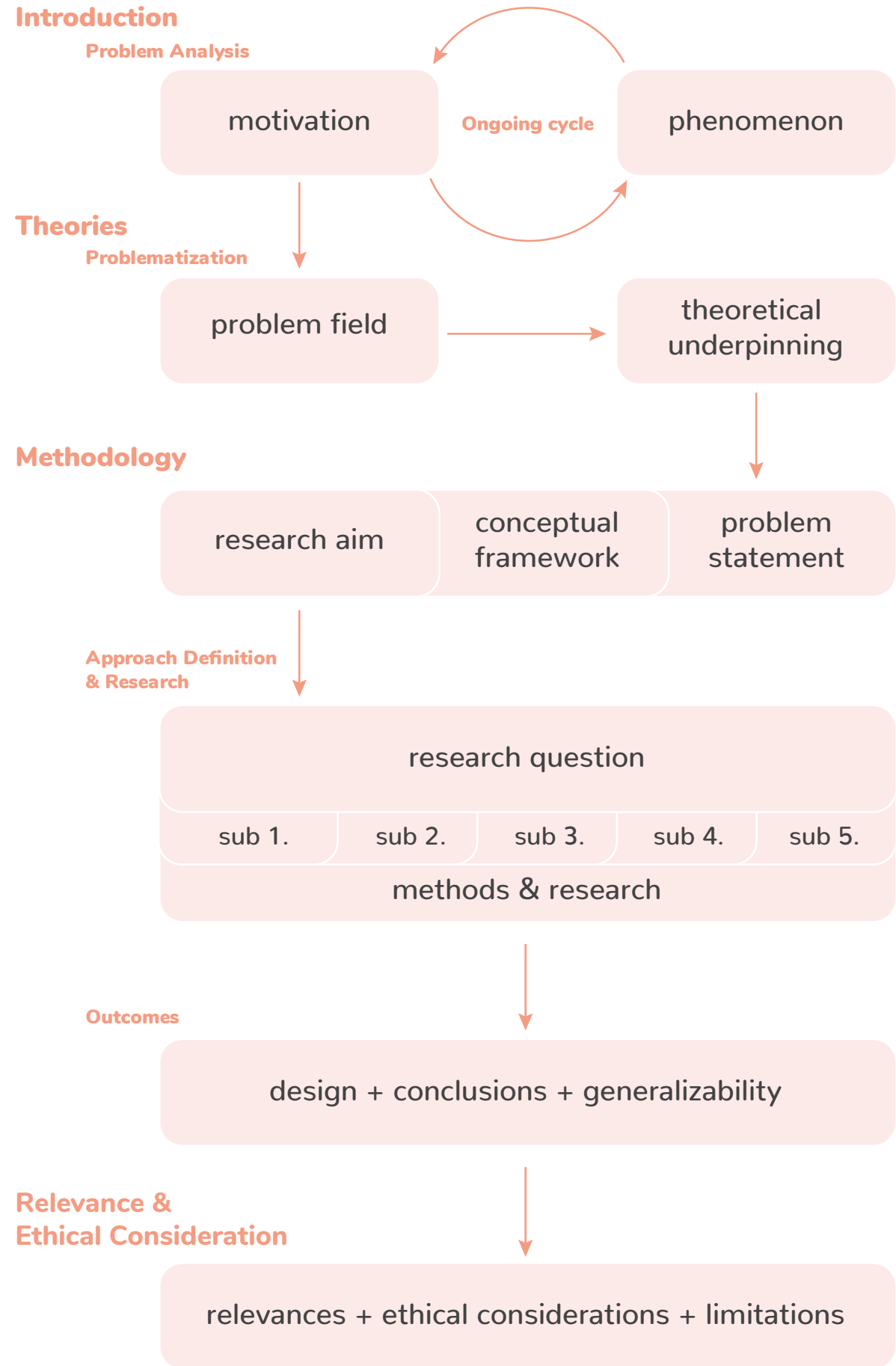
RESEARCH DEFINITION

1 INTRODUCTION

“GOED WONEN”

Fig. 1.1: Heijermansstraat, name of previous housing association on facade (Goed Wonen)  
By author





# 1.1 | Roadmap

The roadmap shown in Fig. 1.2 presents the order of this report. The first part of the report contains three chapters to introduce the phenomenon and the goal of the thesis. Starting with the introduction, followed by the theoretical underpinning, and concluding with the methodology chapter.

The second part contains the research chapters of the thesis, whereas the cause and reasoning of the problem is presented as well as the effects of the problem on the Rosmolenwijk. Connected to this is the position paper that has been written for the Theories of Urbanism course of the master track Urbanism which critically reviews the current form of gentrification related to the problem statement of the thesis.

The third part contains the vision and design application on the Rosmolenwijk that implies interventions to counteract the problem statement of the thesis. Also, necessary conditions for the new design situations will be discussed.

Lastly, the conclusion of the thesis is presented in relation to the main research question. Also, the generalizability of the thesis outcomes has been mentioned. Furthermore, the societal relevance, advantages and limitations of the methodology, and ethical dilemmas and problems are discussed in the reflection chapter.

Fig. 1.2: Roadmap for P5 report  
By author



## 1.2 | Motivation

Currently, there are several challenges for the existing urban tissue of Zaanstad due to the need for densification given the urban and regional expansions. Amsterdam is in a big housing shortage, resulting on extra pressures to its inhabitants to find housing in surrounding cities, such as Zaanstad, part of MRA (Amsterdam metropolitan area). Native inhabitants of the older neighborhoods see their neighbors leave (due to urban renewal) and new inhabitants are coming to the neighborhood with different income levels, backgrounds, and spatial needs. This, combined with the municipality goals to improve the city (gentrification), leads to socio-spatial friction in the semipublic spaces of neighborhoods.

As an inhabitant of Zaanstad for 24 years, I have seen multiple urban changes happening around me. Big changes such as the city center that has been drastically renewed in the last few years to attract more people to Zaanstad and bring back the cultural connection (Fig. 1.3 and Fig. 1.4). Also, big housing projects along the railway that functions as the public transport backbone between North Holland and Amsterdam, and further. But also, small scale urban renewal that provides neighborhoods with new inhabitants and better-quality housing. Only years later, further in my studies of urbanism, I realized the socio-spatial consequences that come along with these changes, such as rising housing prices, the displacement of native inhabitants for new inhabitants due to gentrification, investment in public services and economic growth, and many more.

For me, the phenomenon of the displacement of native inhabitants for new inhabitants in Zaanstad seems interesting to assess. The city is located nearby Amsterdam and therefore seems interesting for inhabitants that want to live in Amsterdam but cannot find suitable housing in the city itself. Another interesting aspect is the history of Zaanstad. Besides the fact that the Zaan region (Zaanstreek) is the oldest industrial landscape in Europe and famous for its many windmills, the municipality of Zaanstad was created in 1974 by merging small municipalities together (Bleeker, 2015). Where other cities have a strong urban center and peri-urban areas surround it, Zaanstad is a big cluster of peri-urban neighborhoods with small clusters of shops every now and then. Especially the working-class neighborhoods consist of native inhabitants with a strong community, which is in high contrast with the gentrification and urban renewal events of the last decades. Something that has stayed with me from my surroundings is the call for more housing for different generations of the native inhabitants. Native inhabitants are reacting in webinars and Facebook post of the municipality with terms like “where do my kids live” and “we need cheaper housing”.

However, as a native inhabitant of Zaanstad, I would like to see this phenomenon from multiple perspectives as well, such as the new inhabitants, the municipality and housing associations. Change does not have to be bad, but I would like to see more consideration and care in the urban renewal plans to enhance the socio-spatial cohesion between the new and native inhabitants.



Fig. 1.3: Part of the old city center of Zaanstad: the McDonald's with the bus line that is leading towards the train station  
Source: Gemeentearchief Zaanstad, 1990



Fig. 1.4: Renewed city center of Zaanstad  
Photo: Mollink Soeters PPHP, 2015



## 1.3 | Context

### 1.3.1 Housing shortage

The Netherlands, currently, knows a great housing shortage. According to the annual study, conducted by Capital Value in cooperation with ABF Research, the shortage is calculated at 300,000 homes at the start 2021. “Based on two different scenarios, the number of the housing shortage is expected to rise by 341,000 to 414,000 between 2020-2025” (Capital Value, 2021). The estimated shortage is presented in Fig. 1.5. More concrete, the shortage is the number of households that out of necessity do not have their own home, meaning that these households are forced to live with other households. This includes people over 25 who still share a house with roommates or live with their parents, and people who live anti-squat, for example in office buildings, are also included.

The result of this shortage is that owner-occupied homes became unaffordable for residents due to the rising housing prices and the waiting list for rental housing became longer than ever (NOS, 2021d).

On the timeline, there are two mayor events that caused a stop in the construction of new housing that have affected the housing supply in the last

### Ontwikkeling woningtekort

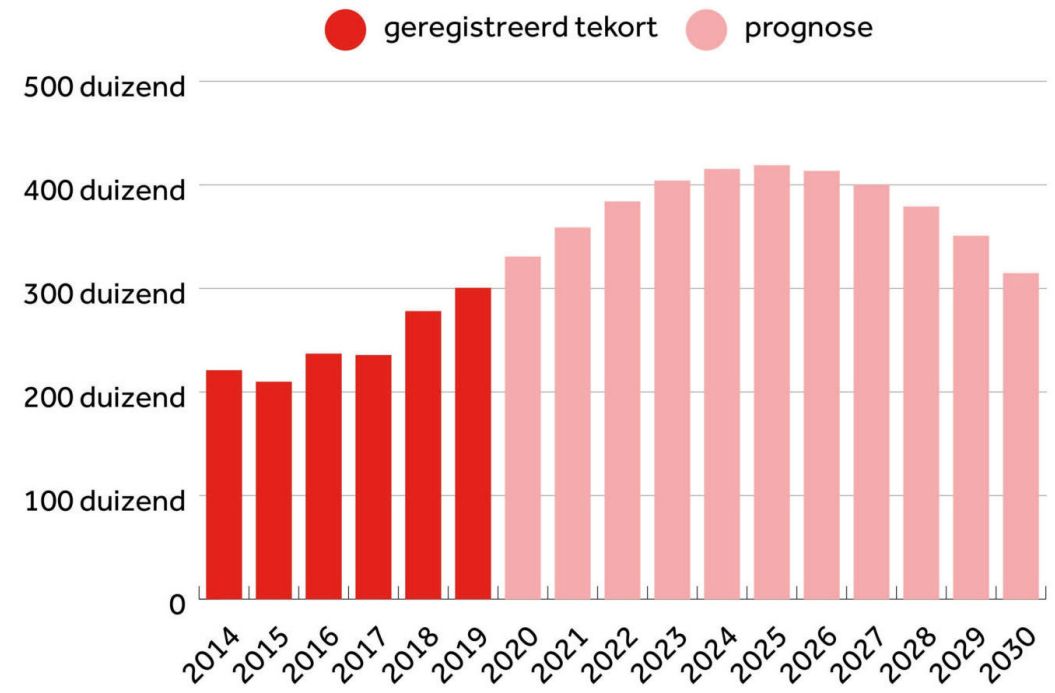


Fig. 1.5: Prediction housing shortage (red: registered shortage, pink: estimated shortage)  
By NOS and ABF, 2021

### Gereedgekomen nieuwbouwwoningen

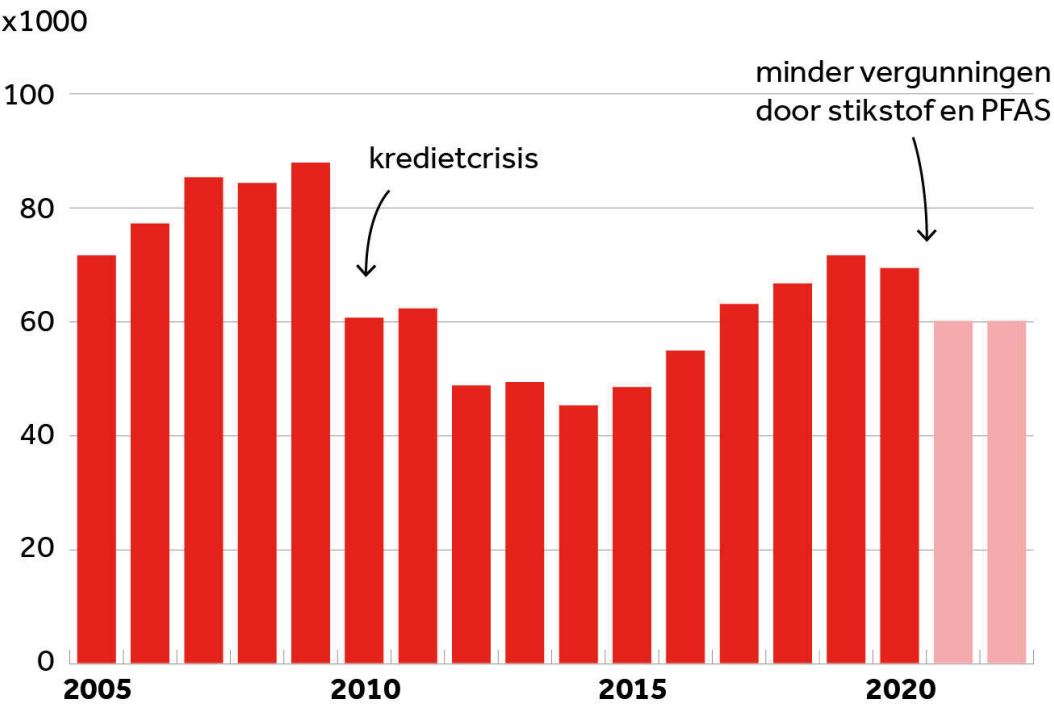


Fig. 1.6: Completed new-build homes, Global Financial Crisis 2010, fewer permits 2020  
By NOS, CBS and ABF, 2021

decade. The first one is because of the Global Financial Crisis in 2010 and the second one is because of the nitrogen and PFAS problem. These events are presented in Fig. 1.6 and show the amount of completed new-built homes.

The reaction of the national government (and some organizations) on this shortage is written down in the Nationale woonagenda 2018-2021. Besides the before mentioned housing shortage, the national government mentions the annual demolition of 12 to 13 thousand homes. Those numbers combined mean the task to construct 75.000 homes in average each year (Ollongren, 2018). With this document they point out that just building homes is not enough. Both the new construction and the existing housing stock must meet the demand of households looking for a home, now and in the future (Ollongren, 2018, p. 1). The answer to this task must be determined at regional and local level, as well as what else needs to be done in addition to the construction of houses, such as more traffic flow, sufficient connection to transport and attention to issues related to shrinkage.

The NOS asked different (interest) organizations and experts on their vision for a suitable solution for this housing shortage and the national plans. One option was mentioned by Woonbond, a union that represents the interests of tenants. They proposed to remove the property tax for landlords which is responsible for the decrease in the construction of new social housing. The Woonbond also proposed to reintroduce a Ministry of Housing that directs production numbers. With this Ministry of Housing, they want to guide the construction of new rental and owner-occupied homes to focus more on affordable housing (NOS, 2021d).

Another organization, Vereniging Eigen Huis (the advocate of people who want to buy or already own a house), mentioned the time span between the planning of new housing and the completion of the construction. They want



that the permits must be issued smoother, objection procedures shorter and construction processes faster (NOS, 2021d). Also, real estate association NVM proposes that municipalities need to be quicker with selecting areas for new development. Therefore, the scope of the municipalities needs to shift more towards city expansion projects instead of inner-city densification (NOS, 2021d). There are, of course, more actors and stakeholders involved in this process. A selection of those actors and stakeholders will therefore be interviewed, analyzed, or studied in a later stadium of the thesis (for more information, see the "Research question" on page 50, the "Sub questions" on page 50, and the "Methods" on page 54).

Coming back to solving the shortage, 34 organizations (see Fig. 1.7) worked together on a national plan and published the "Actieagenda wonen" (Action agenda Housing) in February 2021.

Their plan can be sorted out in four main goals:

1. Build one million new homes.
2. Keep housing affordable for tenants and buyers.
3. Improving districts and neighborhoods and keeping them vital and livable.
4. Make all home s more sustainable faster.

They want to accomplish these goals with the support of the next government. Therefore, they want the government to have a more active role in the housing market with a Minister of Housing that must direct the housing program. They also propose more financial support and the improvement of the conditions for their investments. Lastly, they propose fewer rules and more space to work well together in practice (Aeden, 2021). The goals they want to accomplish are for past, current, and future plans, and will help to solve the housing shortage with a bigger focus on affordable housing. However, the aim from the national government is clear but passes on the task to solve this.



Fig. 1.7: The 34 organizations that worked together on the "Actieagenda Wonen"  
By Aedes, 2021

## 1.3.2 Climate crisis

Year after year, heat records are broken. The fight against climate change is underway, but still falls short. With the current international climate plans, we are not going to stay within 1.5°C. Such a temperature rise has disastrous consequences for people and nature (WWF, 2022). Climate change is not new, the world only keeps on discovering more on the cause and reasoning behind it while the urgency keeps growing. And currently it is becoming clearer that we need to change how we life, what we eat, where are resources come from, and (to stay connected to the urban living environ-ment) the way our cities look like.

The Climate Agreement is part of Dutch climate policy. It is an agreement between many or-ganizations and companies in the Netherlands to combat greenhouse gas emissions. This limits global warming. The most important goal of the Climate Agreement is to reduce CO2 emissions by 49% in 2030 compared to 1990. By 2050, greenhouse gas emissions must be reduced by 95%. This is neces-sary to ensure that global warming does not exceed 1.5°C, which has been the main goal of the cli-mate agreement (Rijksoverheid, 2022b). In the Climate Agreement, governments, the business community, and civil society organizations have jointly made agreements about the measures they will take over the next 10 years. Each sector sets its own goals and takes its own measures to jointly reduce CO2 emissions. The sectors are energy; industry; mobility; built environment; agriculture and land use (Rijksoverheid, 2022b). These sectors are for great influence in the current policies and legis-lations.

For the built environment, this means that by 2050, 7 million homes and one million other buildings must be free of natural gas. That means insulating and using sustainable heat and electrici-ty. As a first step, the first 1.5 million existing homes must be made more sustainable by 2030.

Making buildings more sustainable is happening district by district, at an ever-increasing pace. In 2021, the municipalities will know which district is next and when. Residents are involved in the plans for their neighborhood. The intention is that the costs for sustainability can be paid with the proceeds of a lower energy bill (Rijksoverheid, 2022a). However, in practice these projects experience some friction as the expenses are often too high for the inhabitants or the costs are too high all together for housing associations. Therefore, blocks will be renewed at all, but the management of that is hard as people are still living there and need to be displaced.

### 1.3.3 Amsterdam Metropolitan Area

The problem of the housing shortage translates differently in specific areas and, therefore, will be handled differently. The chapter on housing shortage revealed that there are different levels of how the housing plans are constructed, and the great amount of time that is needed between the planning process and the completion of these housing. As mentioned in the motivation, the scope of this thesis topic will be on neighborhoods of Zaanstad. Besides the national plans and the plans of the municipality, the plans for Zaanstad are also influenced by the MRA (Amsterdam metropolitan area). The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is a partnership of the provinces of North Holland and Flevoland, 32 municipalities and the Amsterdam Transport Region (See Fig. 1.8 for an overview map of the MRA). The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is one of the top five economically strong regions in Europe and has drawn up an agenda for the future at the beginning of 2016. Their priority is to boost the economy, improve accessibility and build housing. The latter more urgent due to the popularity of the metropolitan region among home seekers (Metropoolregio Amsterdam, 2021). In this economical layer, globalization goals are influencing regional policies and legislations, to keep growing economically and functions as a strong region in the world economics. With this, the area becomes an interesting place to invest and live in.

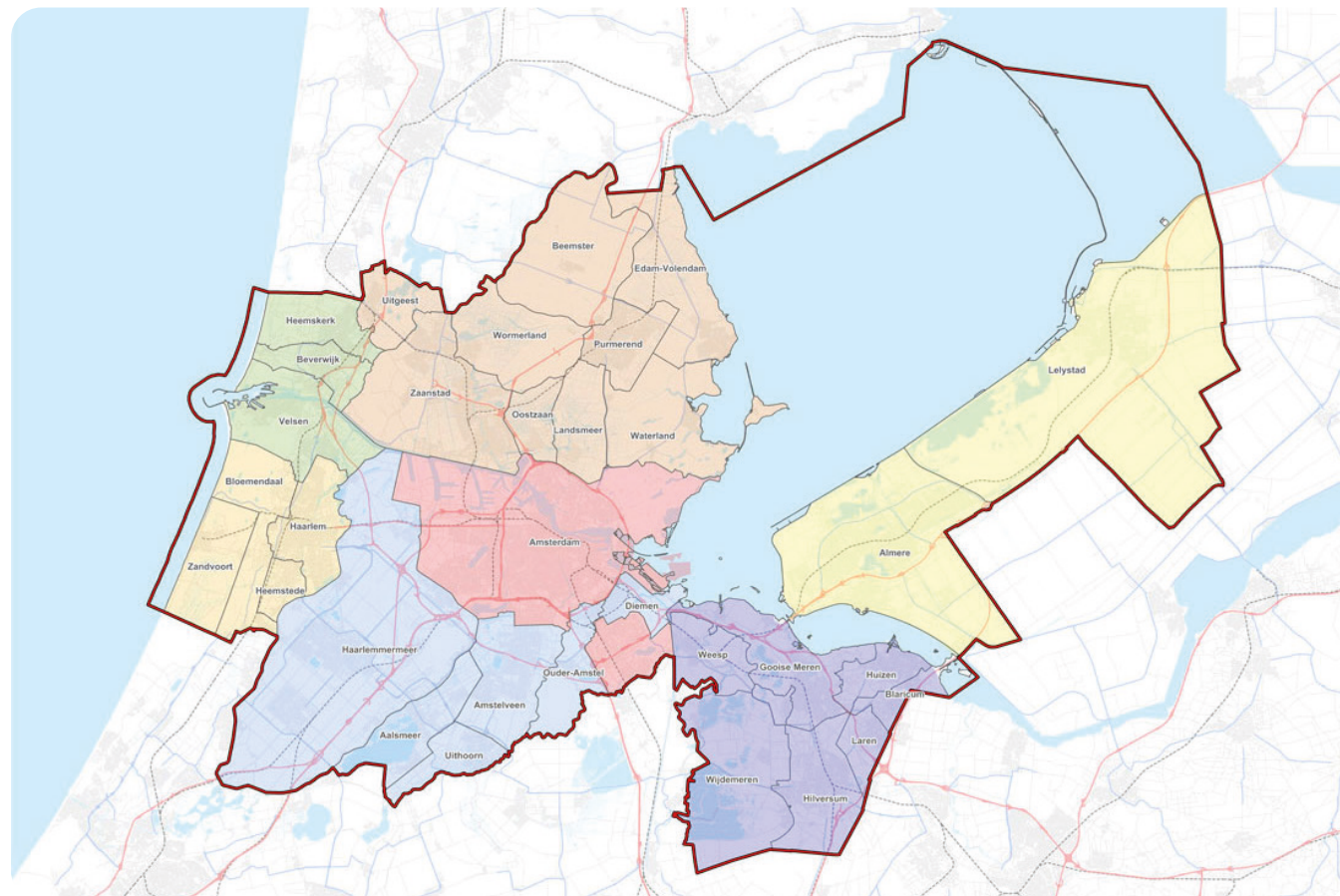


Fig. 1.8: Map of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area  
By Metropoolregio Amsterdam, 2021

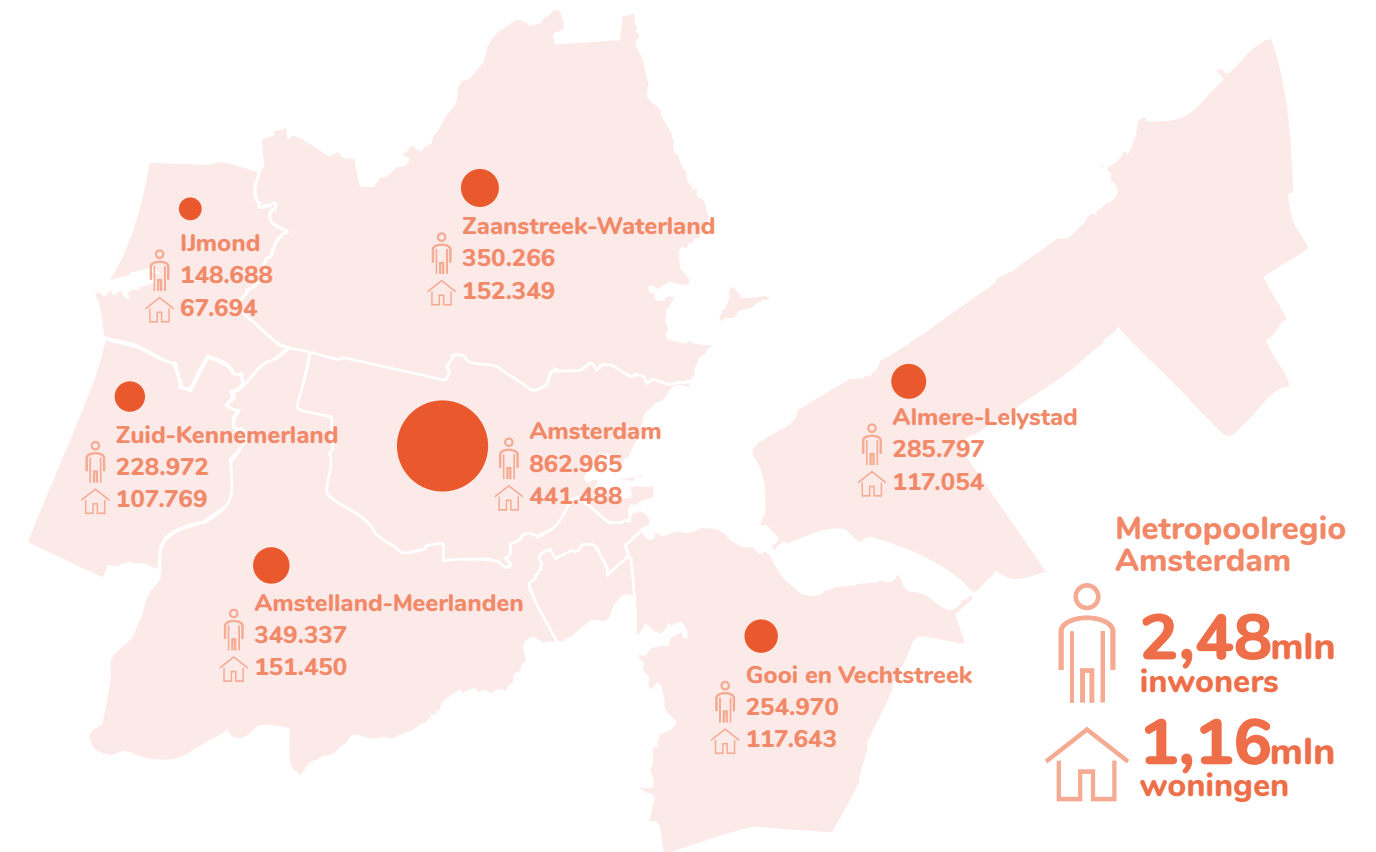


Fig. 1.9: Map of population numbers of the MRA  
Illustration by author, source: Metropoolregio Amsterdam, 2020

Coming back to the MRA itself, within the collaboration between the municipalities, a plan has been made for the division of the new housing along with guidelines for the development of economical, spatial, and mobility themes. The region has made an agreement with the national government to build an average of 15.000 homes per year, by 2025 (Metropoolregio Amsterdam, 2020). The region also forecasts that the housing requirement will grow by at least 250,000 homes by 2040. Due to the scarce of land to build on, this task will mostly be answered within the built context. In Fig. 1.9 is visible that Amsterdam is the biggest, most central, municipality within the region. The city of Amsterdam has been growing fast within the last decades and has even made it on the list of 'global cities'. The other municipalities of the MRA are taking advantage of Amsterdam as well. Their inhabitants have a great potential of finding work in this economically active city, while the municipalities are creating more spatial neighborhoods for those inhabitants. Also, the salary the inhabitants make in Amsterdam, will be spent on the public goods of the neighborhoods.



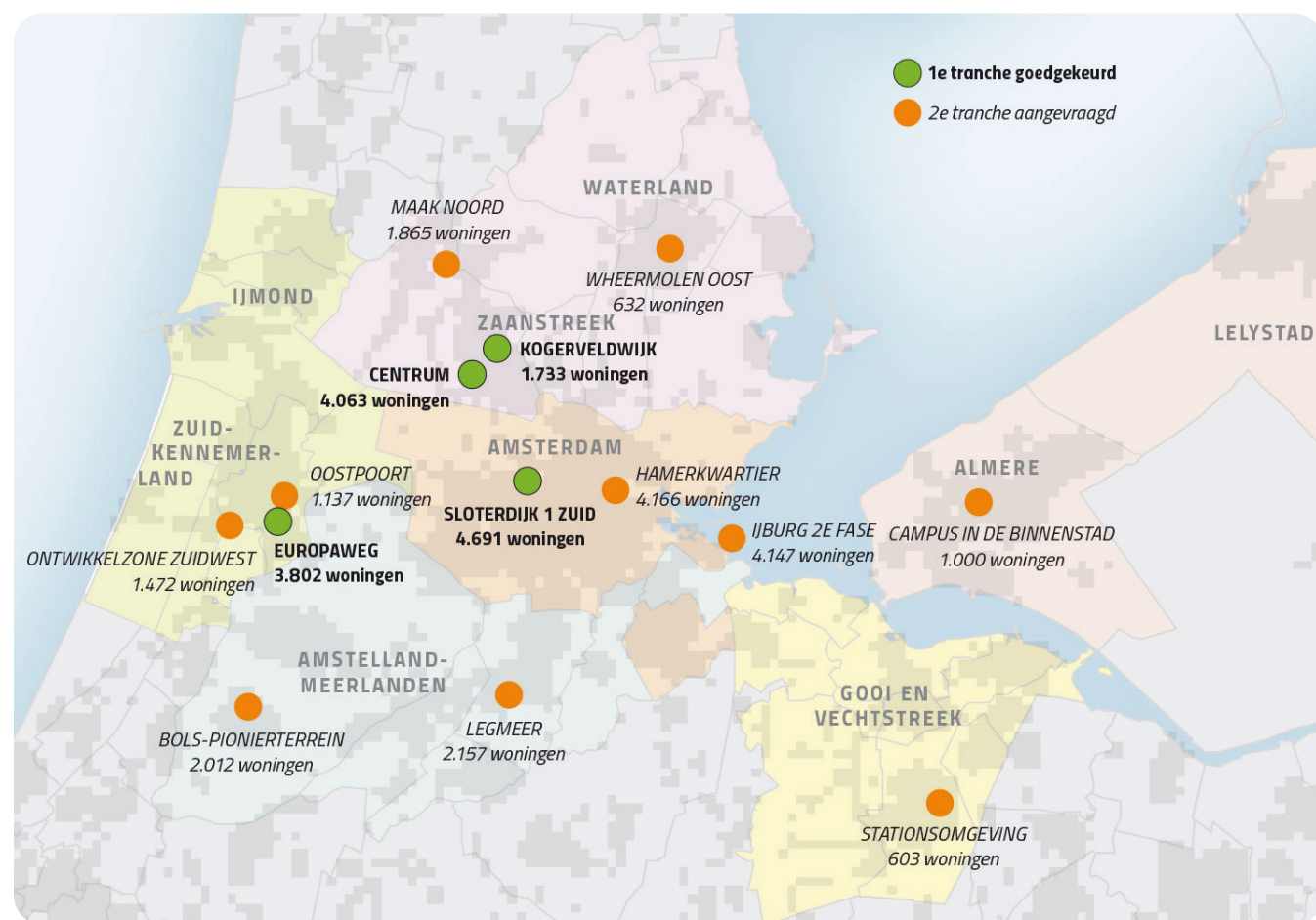


Fig. 1.10: Applications submitted by MRA municipalities for a contribution from the first and second tranche of the Residential Building Impulse  
By NUL20, 2020

However, the housing shortage is pressuring the market and therefore people who want to live in Amsterdam, or even its own inhabitants, need to find housing in the surrounding area of Amsterdam, which is mostly the other municipalities of the MRA. The current plans and applications for new plans are presented in Fig. 1.10. These plans increasing pressure on cities like Zaanstad, as the plans also need to take the inhabitants into account who prefer to live in Amsterdam but cannot find a suitable house. Therefore, the inhabitants of Zaanstad are mixed with different target groups in existing communities. Most of these new inhabitants work in the city of Amsterdam or its surroundings which is creating pressure on the mobility network as well. Also, the new target groups have a different demand of public goods, therefore creating a shift in the supply of stores. This process can be described as gentrification. Fig. 1.11 and Fig. 1.12 show data on the socio-economic differences between the different sub-regions. It is clear that the inhabitants from Amsterdam are younger in average and have in general a higher income. The next part will elaborate more on the of gentrification with these target groups.

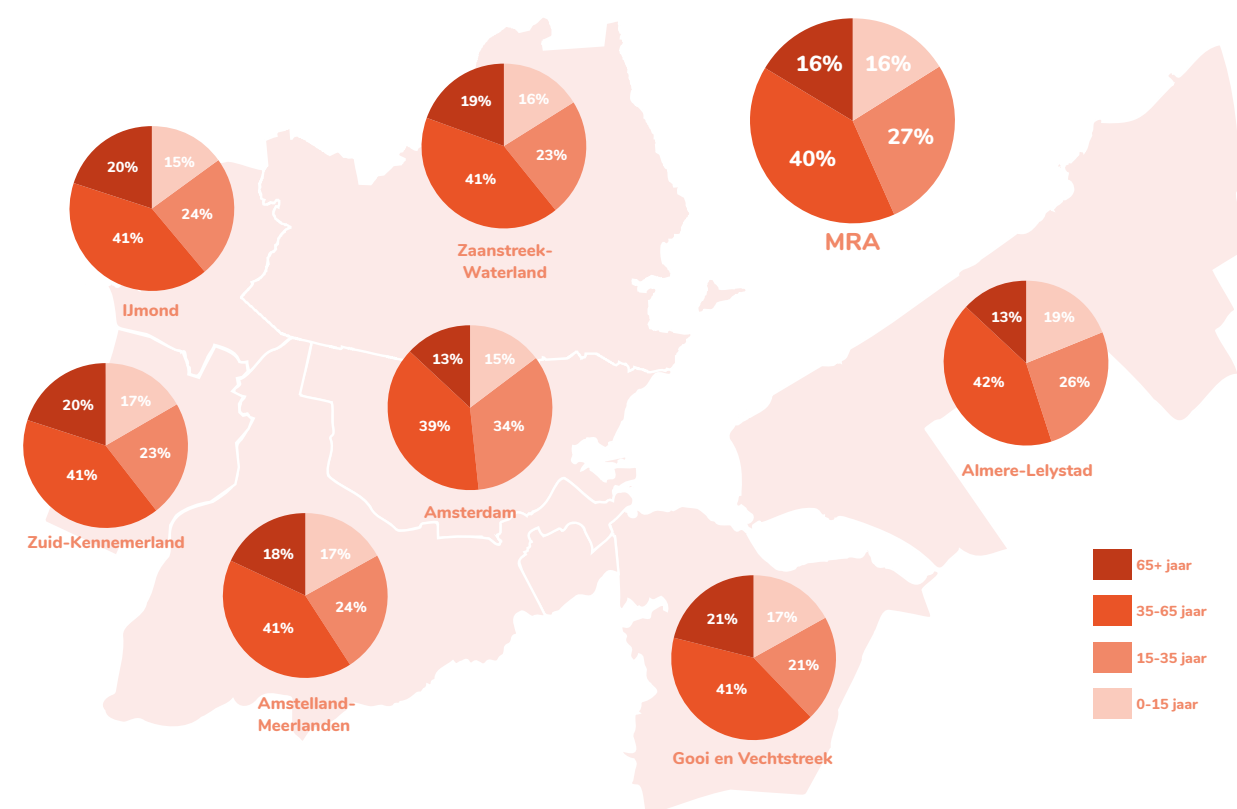
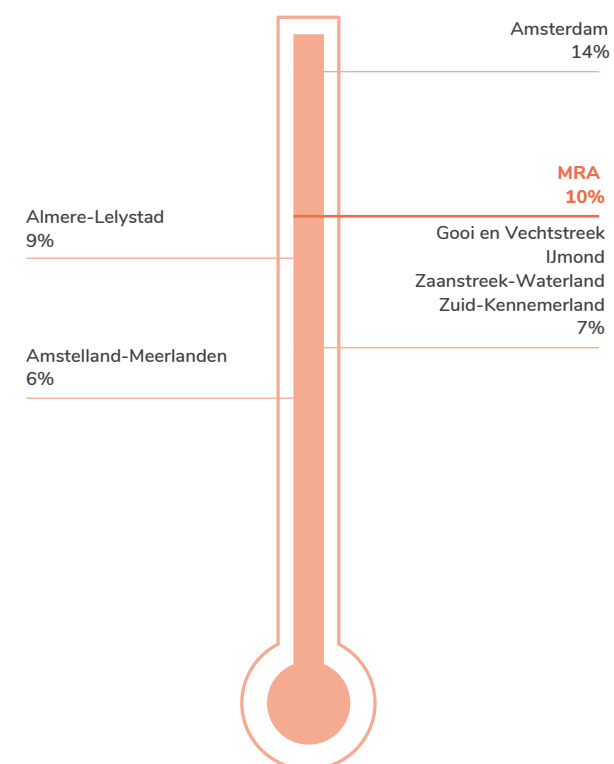


Fig. 1.11: Age structure per (sub) region  
Illustration by author, source: CBS, MRA Agenda 2020-2040, 2020

### % Households to low income threshold (2018)



### % Unemployment (2018)

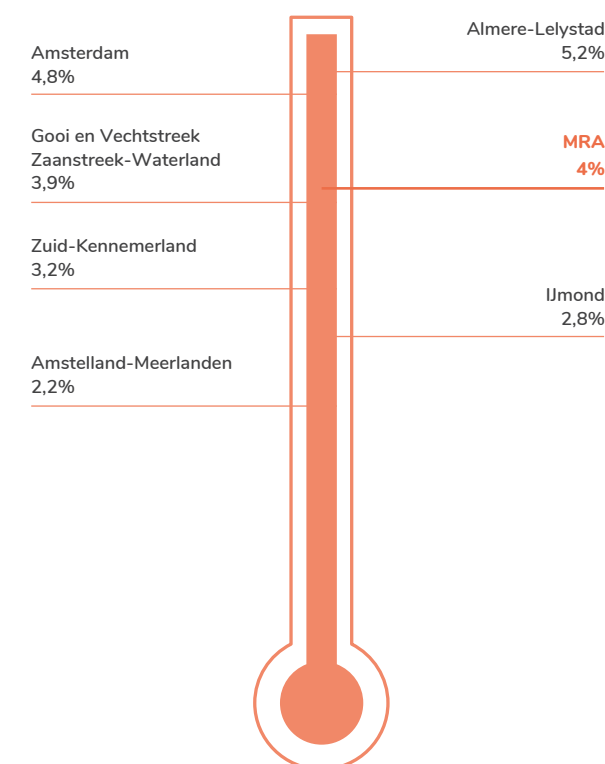


Fig. 1.12: Employment per (sub) region  
Illustration by author, source: CBS, MRA Agenda 2020-2040, 2020



### 1.3.4 Gentrification in Zaanstad

Gentrification is a process of upgrading a neighborhood or city district in the social, cultural and economic field, attracting wealthy new residents and users. This process was first mentioned by Ruth Glass in 1964. She was doing research on the relationship between housing and class friction in the English cities and noted a pattern: the return of the middle class to the cities and the refurbishing of stately Victorian houses was accompanied by a shift from rent to sale and the displacement of the working class, for whom the housing became unaffordable (Glass, 1964).

Later, this process was recognized in more Western European cities. In the context of the MRA, the Jordaan is one of the most famous ones. Old characteristic houses were being bought by the municipality and housing associations in the 1980s and put in the rental market. Both parties invested in this neighborhood and built some social housing as well. In the 1990s, the housing market began to rise for the inner-city of Amsterdam as well as the Jordaan. Project developers, contractors and investors bought the housing which was now an attractive place for many highly educated people in their thirties and forties (yuppies). However, this groups were displacing the original inhabitants of the Jordaan.

This kind of displacement by other target groups is also happening now within neighborhoods of Zaanstad, such as the Rosmolenwijk (Fig. 1.13 and Fig. 1.14). This is mostly happening due to the pressure on the housing market, especially from Amsterdam. However, the gentrification of the Rosmolenwijk is not the classic or 'natural' kind of gentrification as described by Ruth Glass. Nevertheless, the transformation of the neighborhood has a number of basic patterns of gentrification, as the intention is to partly replace the existing population with a different target group: owner-occupiers instead of social tenants (Reijnders & Bosch, 2012). Reinders and Bosch also mention that gentrification is not only a physical and social process. In the Rosmolenwijk it can be seen how the process of urban renewal also affects less tangible "matter", such as the identity of the neighborhood, the relationships between groups of residents and feelings of bonding and familiarity (2012).

This relationship between the different target groups is on pressure as housing associations start selling parts of their older properties. The sold housing is most of the times in bad shape, therefore, the plot becomes interesting for investors to start building new owner-occupied housing blocks in an existing neighborhood with a strong community. This strong community is a rather appealing characteristic of a neighborhood for groups who cannot find a home in Amsterdam (Reijnders & Bosch, 2012). However, there is a difference in how both target groups want to live within their neighborhood. The older inhabitants are strongly connected to each other, know a lot about each other, and have been living in that neighborhood for a long time. This way of living is in contrast with the new, and most of the times, temporary target groups. They want a neighborhood with character and want to have the feeling of community around them. However, they often do not participate in those communities and are more focused on the private aspect of their house. Therefore, Reinders and Bosch state that there is a socio-economic gap between the old and new inhabitants (2012).

Besides the socio-economic gap is also a socio-spatial gap between the old and new inhabitants. Reinders and Bosch analyzed the social relationships between different target groups in four neighborhoods in Zaanstad. They also discovered that differences in income could lead to friction as some people were spending more money and maintenance than other in their front garden. Which was leading to at one side jealousy, and on the other

side disappointment and incomprehension in the carelessness of some inhabitants. This is applicable for both private and semi-public spaces. Whereas the different target groups feel a different form of attachment to their surrounding such as soccer fields or flowerbeds.

The socio-spatial distance between the target groups is being increased by the pressure on the housing market. As native inhabitants need to make room for new target groups, the native inhabitants feel left out in the recent housing plans. The new housing is not for them, and the next generation will have trouble finding a place nearby as well due to this shortage.



Fig. 1.13: Old and new housing within the Rosmolenwijk  
By Google Maps, 2021



Fig. 1.14: Old and new housing on the Kopermolenstraat  
By author



## 1.4 | Rosmolenwijk

The Rosmolenwijk in Zaanstad (Fig. 1.15) is a textbook example of the discussed phenomenon and one of the case study neighborhoods of the research by Reinders and Bosch (2012). Therefore, this neighborhood will be the main case of this thesis plan. The pictures of these and the next pages are taken with the first site visit of the neighborhood and present a first glimpse of the socio-spatial context.

Fig. 1.16 presents the spatial boundary between the old neighborhood and the urban renewal of the former industrial site. The urban renewal is spatially disconnected due to the small waterfront and 'industrial' bridge connections to enter the area. Fig. 1.17 shows an example of the pricing of a buyers-oriented house in one of the renewed building blocks along the Rosmolenstraat, which supports the change of classes between the old and new housing within the neighborhood.



Fig. 1.15: Map of the most central neighborhoods in Zaanstad, the Rosmolenwijk is located in the middle of the image along the Zaan  
By author



Fig. 1.16: The Oostzijde, one of the mayor roads of the neighborhood, spatial barrier between old and new  
By author

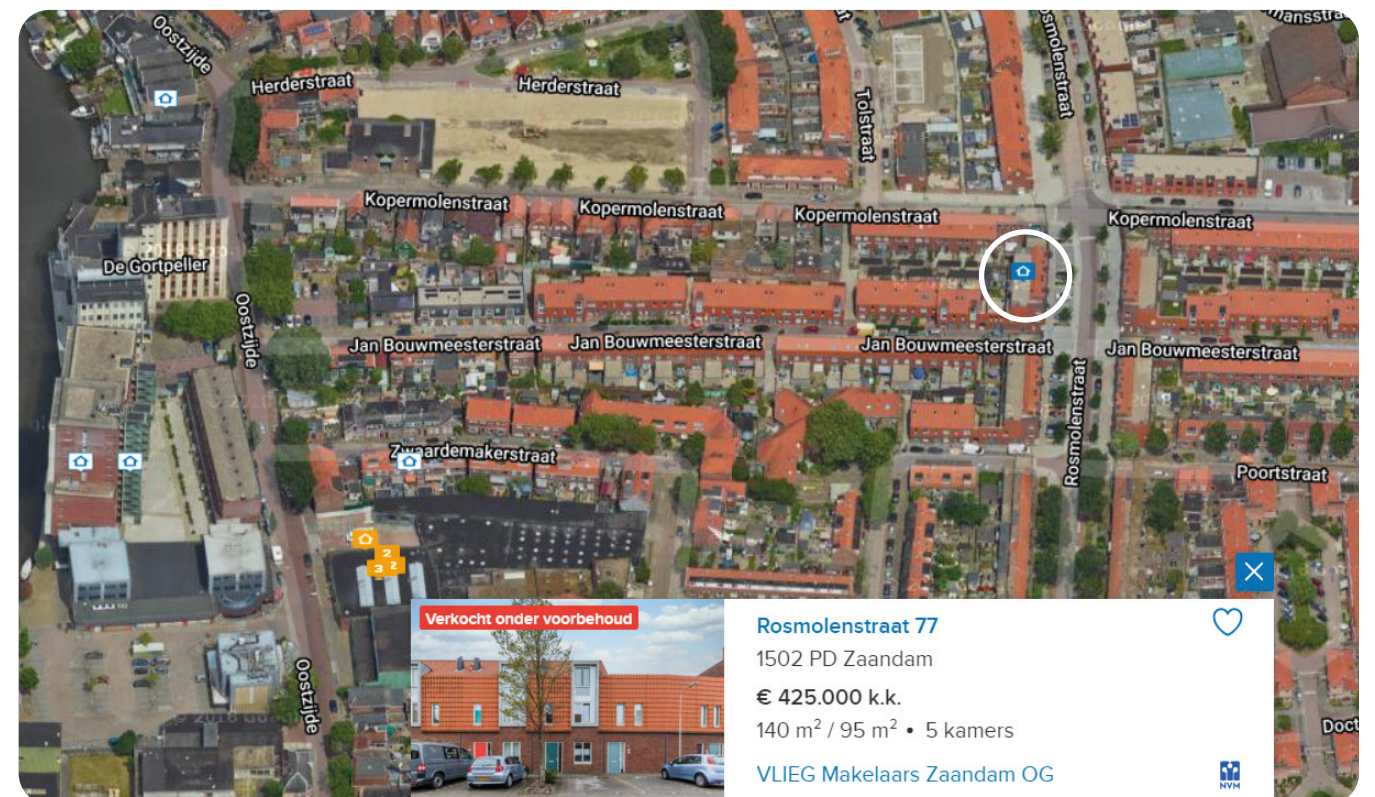


Fig. 1.17: Screenshot of buyers oriented housing in the renewed part of the Rosmolenstraat (18-05-2021)  
Source funda.nl



The Rosmolenstraat is one of the most central streets within the neighborhood. Fig. 1.18 presents the look of most of the older housing in this street. Noticeable for this street is the amount of blinded windows (closed curtains and window film) which is a sign for preferred privacy for many urbanists. However, there is something contradictory within this situation. These inhabitants have put a bench in front of the house, suggesting the a less privatized way of living in comparison with a lounge set in the garden. Also, taking a closer look reveals a drawer placed on the bench with a note on it: to take with you and / or to exchange for free (Fig. 1.19), which is giving a mixed signal while looking at the house.

Fig. 1.20 and Fig. 1.21 shows the contrast between the old and new blocks in the Rosmolenstraat. Whereas the older blocks are built with less quality and smaller households, the new blocks are of a way better quality with much more living space (see also Fig. 1.17). The difference between social classes in this one particular street is already quite high and representative for more streets in this neighborhood.



Fig. 1.18: Older housing with closed windows, but a bench in front of the house, Rosmolenstraat  
By author



Fig. 1.20: Older apartments on the Rosmolenstraat  
By author



Fig. 1.19: Zoom-in of the drawer placed on the bench (translation: to take with you and / or to exchange for free)  
By author



Fig. 1.21: Renewed part of the Rosmolenstraat  
By author



## 1.5 | Problem field

### 1.5.1 Housing shortage

The housing shortage is one of the main factors for the pressure on the housing market. According to the annual study, conducted by Capital Value in cooperation with ABF Research, the shortage is calculated at 300.000 homes at the start 2021 (2021). “Based on two different scenarios, the number of the housing shortage is expected to rise by 341,000 to 414,000 between 2020-2025” (Capital Value, 2021). This housing shortage creates an unhealthy competition in the housing market that makes many of the homes inaccessible to lower classes. Also, this competition is a stimulus for investors and developers to buy up houses and sell or rent them for profit, which is intended for a higher class than the current inhabitants.

### 1.5.2 Gentrification

Gentrification is a process has been mentioned as one of the biggest forces in shaping contemporary cities (Douchet, 2014). The term gentrification was mentioned first by Ruth Glass (1964) to describe the upgrading of old working-class neighborhoods in the inner-city of London. These changes include a process of social, cultural, and economic upgrading of a neighborhood or district and is achieved by the attraction of wealthy new residents and users. However, the downside of this change is the replacement of lower-class inhabitants (Glass, 1964; Smith, Gentrification and uneven development, 1982; Van Weesep, 1994). Also, due to the new inhabitants, the public goods and services will shift towards the demands of the wealthier middle-class inhabitants, making the public goods and services less financial accessible for the lower-class inhabitants (Smith, 1982).

### 1.5.3 State-led gentrification

Since the introduction of gentrification by Ruth Glass (1964), the process has evolved through different wide-scale political and economic contexts. This evolution can be divided into three waves based on their political and economic context and more particular, the increasing role of the government in this process (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). In the first wave, the national and local governments were actively trying to find a way to counteract the private-market economic decline of these neighborhoods (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). This kind of sporadic and widespread reinvestment was mostly funded by the public sector (Hamnett,

1973; Williams, 1976; Smith, 1979). Later, more connected with the third wave gentrification, the role of the government in the process has changed. The third wave is a purer expression of the processes and economic conditions that make reinvestment in dis-invested inner-urban areas so attractive for developers and investors (Smith & DeFilippis, 1999). Meanwhile, the local governments use this trend to counteract the problematic and lower-income neighborhoods with new planning strategies. Therefore, the local governments are forcing gentrification as a tool to revitalize specific neighborhoods (Aalbers, 2011), while the positive and negative effects of these changes are rather class specific (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009).

### 1.5.4 Urban renewal

Urban renewal, or urban redevelopment, can go together with state-led gentrification in the Dutch context. Whereas gentrification is the process of economic, demographic, and socio-cultural restructuring in society (Rose, 1984; Smith, 1987; Warde, 1991), urban renewal is a rather big and radical transformation of a piece of urban tissue. The urban renewal can take different forms such as the redevelopment of a few housing blocks to intensify or enhance the quality of the housing, but also the transformation of monofunctional areas such as industrial sites into residential areas. With this transformation comes the often-hard barrier between old and new urban textures with the often a difference of classes as well (due to the state-led gentrification goals). In some cases, this transformation increases the polarization between the classes due to the spatial fragmentation (Reijnders & Bosch, 2012).

### 1.5.5 Deindustrialization

With the deindustrialization trend, the industry moves out of the cities towards the edges. Also, the industries are shrinking due to the technical innovations making manufacturing less labor intensive and more compact (Rowthorn & Ramaswamy, 1997). Older manufacturing sites within the urban tissue will potentially transformed into new residential areas. Some of these areas are rather strong connected with working-class neighborhoods at the fringe of these industrial sites as these neighborhoods have been built mostly for the employees of the factories. However, some urban policies are focusing on upgrading those neighborhoods (Smith, 1996). Therefore, the former industrial sites are being made for higher classes than the working-class neighborhoods, creating both a socio-economic and a spatial barrier between new and old.



### 1.5.6 Housing associations

The Netherlands is famous for its relatively big share of social housing. Part of this social housing is in bad shape due to their age, maintenance, or cheap building methods and the Dutch urban policies demand a certain quality of which the social housing need to fulfill. Therefore, there is a big task for the housing associations to fix these housing. However, there is a max of money that the housing association may ask for their housing to protect the users, which is making it extremely hard to invest in the social housing and still make profit in the end. With the current housing shortage and rising housing market prices, it is often more interesting to sell some property plots for money that can be reinvested in new complexes instead of repairing the existing social housing. As a result, current inhabitants of the social housing may be displaced to other neighborhoods as the new to be built housing is for other classes than the previous inhabitants (Smith, 1996).

### 1.5.7 Social mixing

Social mixing is often part of urban policies on the physical renewal of post-war neighborhoods in the Netherlands (Aalbers, 2011). Planners and politicians argue “that a policy that promotes ‘social mixing’ could strengthen the social tissue of a disadvantaged neighborhood [sic], thus saving its inhabitants from living in an environment that allegedly inhibits social and economic integration” (Uitermark, 2003). However, in practice, the different social groups appear to seek little contact with each other and are less willing to help their neighbors than expected (Aalbers, 2011). Therefore, in some cases it is unclear if the post-war neighborhoods experience profit from social mixing.

## 1.6 | Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has introduced the phenomenon of gentrification and urban renewal in one of the neighborhoods of Zaanstad. Also, with this phenomenon, the context has been mentioned such as the great housing shortage, metropolitan context of the MRA, connection to the housing associations, and the socio-spatial friction has been introduced. The problem field has summarized the connected problematization themes that are interwoven within the phenomenon, and form a basis for the next chapter, the theoretical underpinning.



## 2 THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING



Fig. 2.1: 'Bridge' entree to the Zaanoevers (urban renewal location) from the Oostzijde  
By author



# 2.1 | Gentrification

## 2.1.1 Ruth Glass

Ruth Glass was an urban planner, sociologist, and founder of UCL’s Centre for Urban Studies. With this wide background, she did research on metropolitan housing (especially in London). Her work became famous as she published one of her most influential books ‘London: Aspects of Change’ in 1964. She coined the term ‘gentrification’ to describe the movement and outcomes of demographic shifts within urban environments (Glass, 1964). More concrete, gentrification is a process of upgrading a neighborhood or district in the social, cultural, and economic fields, attracting wealthy new inhabitants and the accompanying displacement of the lower classes from the district. The upgrading is accompanied by the rise of real estate prices and rents. She discovered this phenomenon as she recognized a pattern between housing and class struggle in the English cities; the return of the middle class to the cities and the refurbishment of stately Victorian homes was accompanied by a shift from rent to purchase and the displacement of the working class, for whom housing became unaffordable (Glass, 1964). This phenomenon was happening in many other cities around the world, especially western Europe and some big city in America. Therefore, many other authors have been researching at gentrification in their own context after 1964 and contributed to it throughout the years.

## 2.1.2 Waves in gentrification

Ever since Glass (1964) introduced the process of gentrification, many urbanists and urban geographers started researching and debating on this process. The term gentrification has been evolved throughout the years and reformed by the context of the authors. The changes in gentrification are related to larger economic and political structuring. Connected to this aspect is the increasing role of the state in the gentrification process (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Hackworth and Smith (2001) conceptualized these changes of gentrification throughout the years (See Fig. 2.2). These changes can be divided into three waves that are representative for the trends overall the world, although the exact year of each event might differ per specific location.

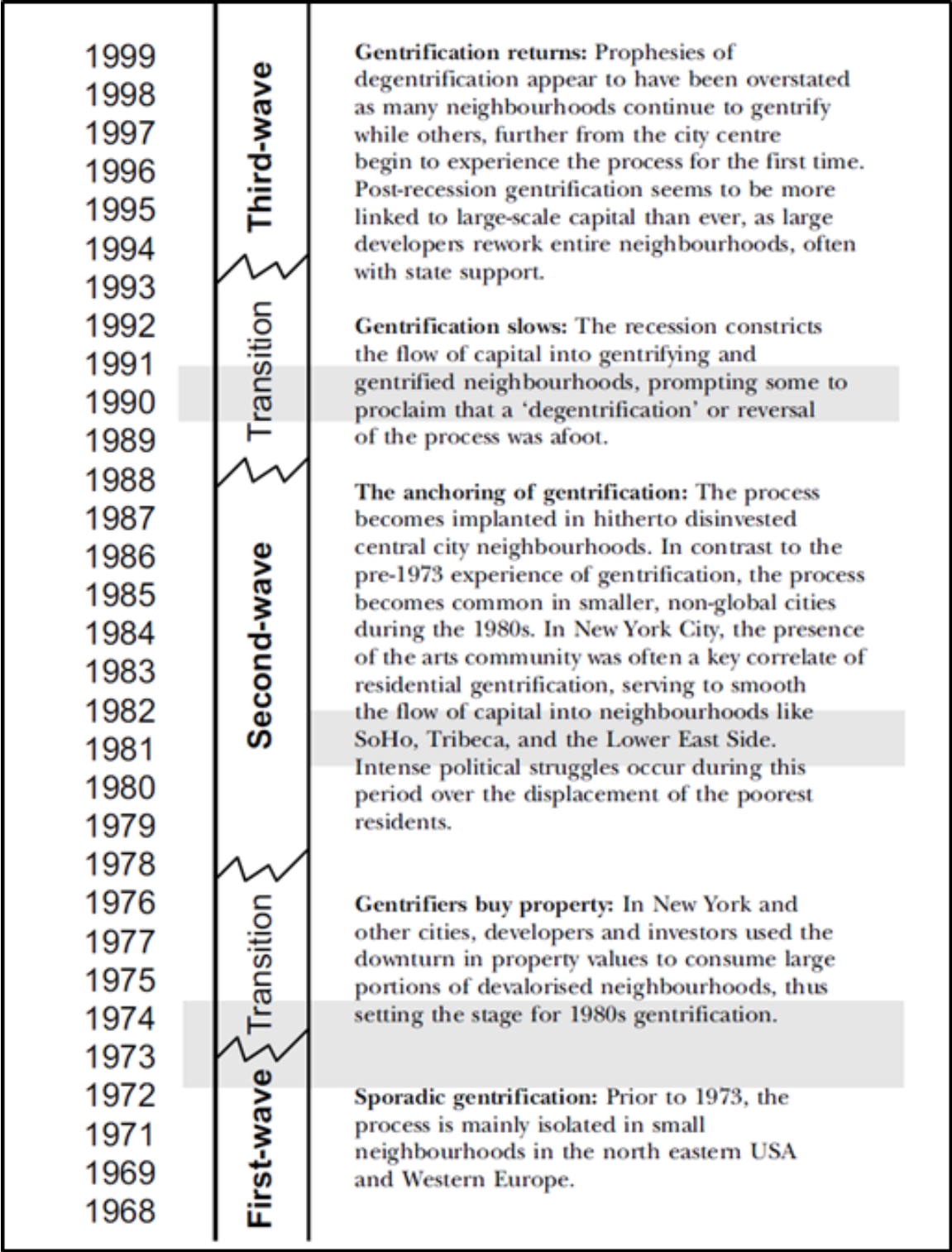


Fig. 2.2: Schematic history of gentrification  
By Hackworth & Smith, 2001



### First wave

The first wave, the most sporadic and widespread form of gentrification, is the most connected to the description of Glass (1964). The economic recession was a result of disinvestment of the inner-city housing and its public spaces within cities in Australia, north eastern cities of USA, and cities in Western Europe (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Later, these cities became target for new reinvestment, often combined with gentrification. This kind of sporadic and widespread reinvestment was mostly funded by the public sector (Hamnett, 1973; Williams, 1976; Smith, 1979), as both the national and local governments were actively trying to find a way to counteract the private-market economic decline of these neighborhoods (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). As Glass stated before (1964), the profit due to this process was rather class specific. In contrast, these changes were often worsening the conditions for the working class (Smith, 1996). In this wave, the state was involved in a way that was focused on repairing and declining the recession in general (this will change within the next waves).

After 1973, the recession influenced many productive sectors with trends such as: the increasing global competition due to the growing industrial powers of Germany and Japan; competition from the cheap labor of industrializing countries; and crisis in the financial sector (Harvey, 1989). This economic recession encouraged the shift from capital from unproductive to productive sectors. This event led to reinvestment in central city office, retail and residential activities, and recreation (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Harvey, 1985). Meanwhile, some investors in big cities saw the opportunity to consume large portions of housing in these affected neighborhoods.

### Second wave

The second wave began in the late 1970s when the depressed housing market started to revive. With this event, more cities around the world started to experience gentrification as cities started to invest in both new (expansion) neighborhoods, and the older neighborhoods with strategies to attract this form of investment (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). The role of the government has shifted towards the investment in the private market rather than directly orchestrating gentrification (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). The second wave was lasting almost to the end of the 1980s and was characterized by the integration of gentrification into a broader range of cultural and economic processes at both the national and global scales (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Generally, the gentrification was increasing the economic and cultural quality of a neighborhood, which was celebrated by some residents (Caufield, 1994). However, apart from the already mentioned class specific effects of the first wave, gentrification was more challenged than ever by homelessness, eviction, and the increasing vulnerability of poor residents. Which was also happening in the Dutch context in places like the Bijlmer (Amsterdam). In the US, activists used the apparatus of local government to fight gentrification, but their resistance struggled to counteract the overwhelming advance of the process in these neighborhoods by the decade's end (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). In the Dutch context, the state is more actively counteracting these problems rather than stopping the gentrification process (Aalbers, 2011), which is typical for the next wave.

Around 1988, the gentrification process slowed down due to the recession constricting the flow of capital into gentrifying and gentrified neighborhoods. Some authors argue to witness 'degeneration' in this transition period (Bagli, 1991). Reasoning for this could have been to the aging of the Baby Boom generation, and the relative reduction of the inner-city housing supply (Bourne, 1993).

### Third wave

Half a decade later, the third wave of gentrification has started. This wave is the purest expression (of the three) of the processes and economic conditions that make reinvestment in dis-invested inner-urban areas so attractive for developers and investors (Smith & DeFilippis, 1999). "Overall, economic forces driving gentrification seem to have eclipsed cultural factors as the scale of investment is greater and the level of corporate, as opposed to smaller-scale capital, has grown" (Hackworth & Smith, 2001, p. 5). With these economic forces, the locations for gentrification shifted towards the more remote (outside of the city core) neighborhoods as well.

## 2.2 | State-led gentrification

The third wave gentrification suggests a rather guided form of gentrification, where the government together with local actors attempt to stimulate the positive effects that come with gentrification. They have an aim for specific locations, "areas with high rates of unemployment, nuisance and social problems are selected for extensive urban renewal programs which aim to reduce social housing and expand the stock of private rental and owner-occupied housing" (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009, p. 62). This way of guided gentrification is also called state-led gentrification. The National Government and local authorities are investing large amounts of money in the restructuring of the housing stock in deprived post-war neighborhoods (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). In general, research mentions that the presence of a larger middle class can uplift the social and financial support for key facilities, improve the status of a neighborhood, and this can also be beneficial for the lower-class inhabitants of the neighborhood (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009).



## 2.3 | Urban renewal & Revitalization

Urban renewal and revitalization programs are aiming for the upgrading of (often) multi-problematic neighborhoods such as a high number of unemployment, crime, and nuisance. The Dutch policies connected to these programs are using social mixing to upgrade those neighborhoods.

### 2.3.1 Social mixing

Strongly connected to the state-led gentrification is the social mixing strategy in the Dutch context. The Netherlands is famous for their planning strategies, for both the urban expansion plans of after the second world war neighborhoods (and before), and more recently, the urban renewal (Wagenaar, 2016). The target locations of the urban renewal strategies are often in relation with neighborhoods of the lower classes. The dominance in these strategies is therefore: “a serious upgrading of the housing stock in deprived areas to increase the share of the middleclass” (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009, p. 61). The process of placing new (higher) classes into deprived or lower-class neighborhoods is mentioned as the social mixing strategy. With social mixing, local actors together with the Dutch government “attempt to improve not only the neighborhood but also the poor residents living in it, by providing them with more wealthy neighbors who can lend them a hand and show them a way out of deprivation” (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009, p. 61). Van der Graaf and Veldboer (2009) mention that living too close to people with the same kind of lack of opportunities is believed to reduce chances for upward mobility. However, many authors in and outside the Netherlands argue that this strategy of social mixing is doing more harm than good for poor residents (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). Research by Blokland (2001) identified that higher income groups do not develop more civil action in neighborhoods than lower income residents.

Various authors mention that the middle-class residents living in deprived areas are hardly willing to contact poorer groups in their neighborhood. They demonstrated that in newly mixed neighborhoods social contacts between different status groups were limited (Duyvendak, Kleinhans, & Veldboer, 2000; Beckhoven & Kempen, 2002). Research has shown that forcing the different groups to have a shared ‘meeting’ space (the possibility of contact) was rarely leading to ‘mating’ (engaging into meaningful contact) (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). Instead of interacting with each other, the different target groups mainly lived apart from each other and searched mostly contact with people who are more like themselves (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). The research of Van Bergeijk a.o. (2008) confirms that of all the target groups living in the renewed neighborhoods, the middle class has the least contacts.

## 2.4 | Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter elaborates on the theories that are related to the thesis topic, most of which are introduced with the problem field of the introduction chapter. The theoretical underpinning provides the base information that is necessary to start the research of this thesis plan. The discussed phenomenon and theories of the introduction and theoretical underpinning are the foundation for the next chapter, the methodology, which explains the thesis plan of the author.



### 3 METHODOLOGY



Fig. 3.1: View at the Verkade factory across the Zaan  
By author



# 3.1 | Methodological framework

Fig. 3.2 describes the path that is used for the thesis topic formulation. The chart is moving from the problematization based on the phenomenon, through the problem analysis and approach definition, towards the expected outcomes and evaluation. Furthermore, the chart can be seen as the backbone of this chapter and the order of how the thesis plan is formed.

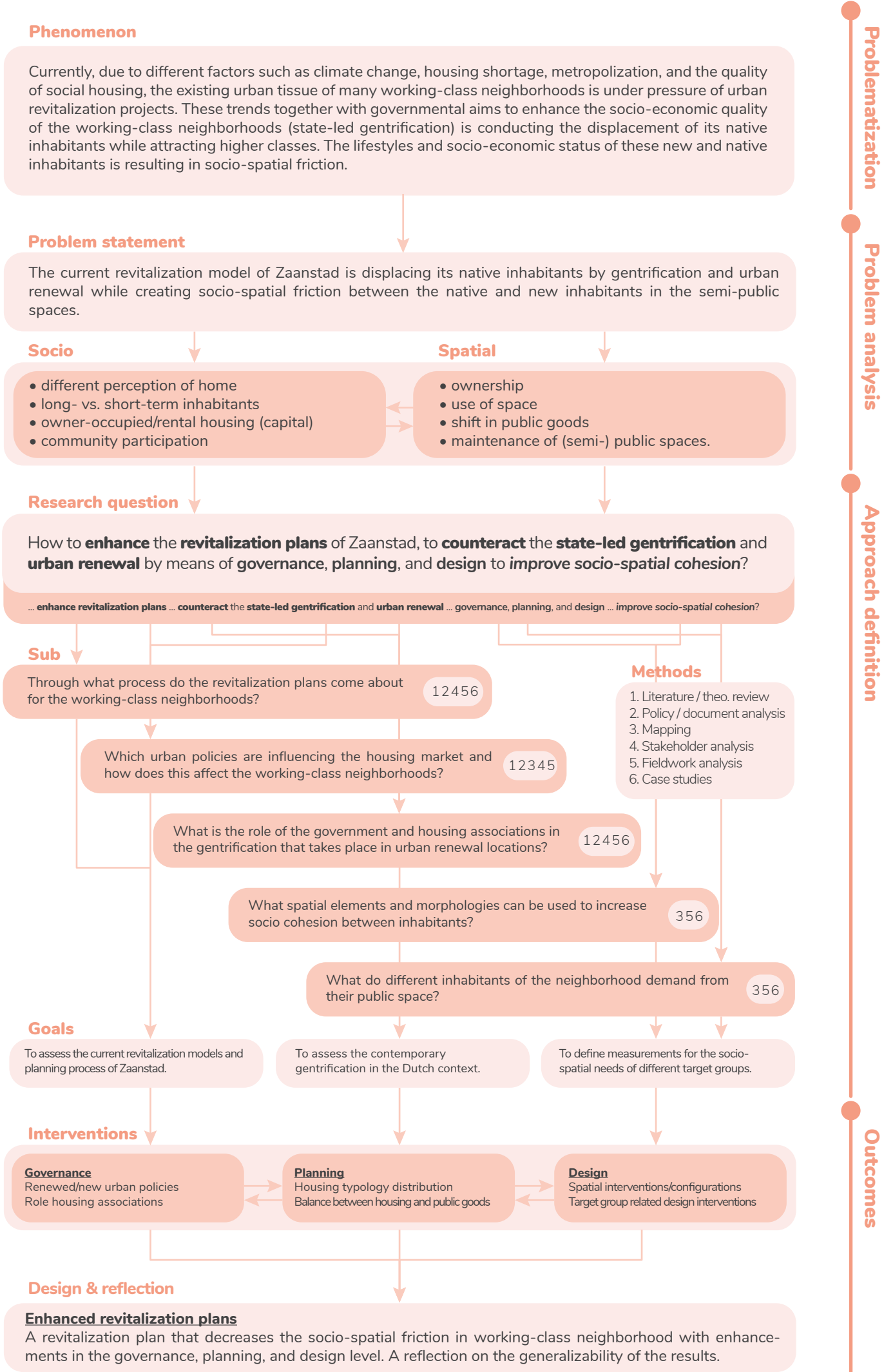


Fig. 3.2: Methodological framework  
By author



### 3.2 | Conceptual framework

The different topics of the introduction and theories chapter come together during the planning process, which at this point is rather top-down. This process is conceptualized in Fig. 3.3 and is describing two process lines. The first one from the macro scale (MRA and bigger) to the micro scale (neighborhood). The second one is currently rather left out, considering the existing socio-spatial structure of a neighborhood. Both are connected to the urban renewal that takes place in existing neighborhood structures in Zaanstad.



Fig. 3.3: Conceptual framework  
By author

### 3.3 | Problem statement

The current urban policies and strategies aim to revitalize lower-class neighborhoods, while the wishes and demands of native inhabitants are left out within this process. Some inhabitants are displaced as older social housing is being bought up by developers to built owner-occupied housing for higher classes, as the goals for making the older social housing sustainable is not feasible in contrast to the maximum amount of rent housing associations are allowed to ask from their tenants. Planning strategies aim to mix the lower-class residents with other (higher) classes to revitalize neighborhoods. However, this hard and enforced way of social mixing is leading to socio-spatial friction between the new and native inhabitants, including topics like; ownership and privatization, perception of home, the use of (semi-) public space, and shift in public goods. See Fig. 3.4 for a conceptualization of the problem statement.

### 3.4 | Knowledge gap

This thesis aims to contribute to the social cohesion between the new and native inhabitants that are living closely to each other in the same neighborhood due to the socio-spatial changes that are caused by state-led gentrification and urban renewal strategies. Therefore, this research aims to identify the relation between the governmental policies, and the social-spatial friction caused by planning and design of neighborhoods and formulate measurements and interventions to counteract the socio-spatial friction.

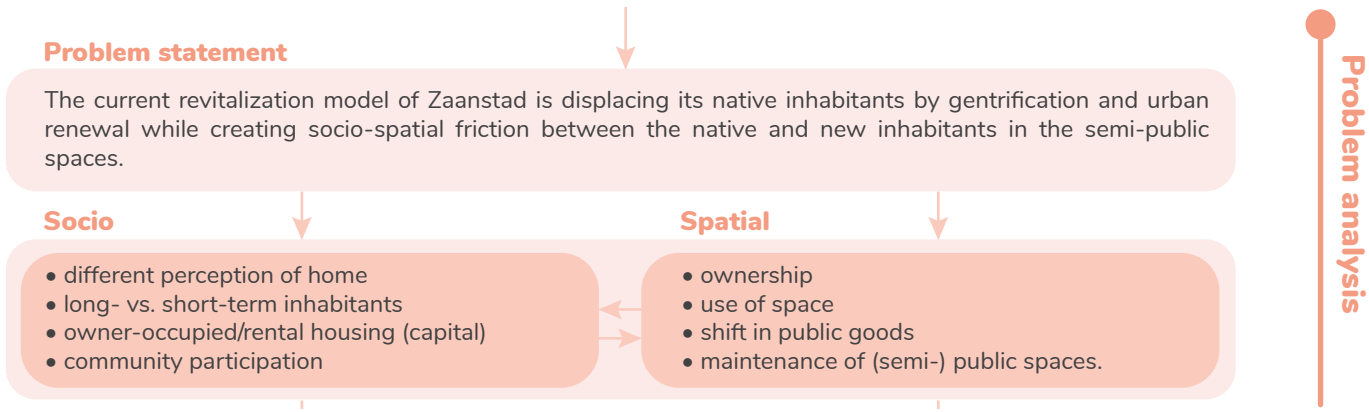


Fig. 3.4: Problematization and problem analysis  
By author



### 3.5 | Research aim

The aim of this research is to increase to social-spatial cohesion between the new and native inhabitants of neighborhoods in Zaanstad that are changing due to state-led gentrification and urban renewal. To achieve this aim, the processes of these strategies and motives of the different involved actors need to be considered (connected to the process flow as described in the conceptual framework, Fig. 3.5). This research assesses this process as well and formulates some advice on how to improve the social cohesion between the native and new inhabitants while preserving the social, cultural, and economical benefits that comes with this process. This advice will contain measurements on governance, planning, and design (for more details on these outcomes see “Intended outcomes” on page 59).



Fig. 3.5: Conceptual framework  
By author

As mentioned before, the process line of the existing structure is currently at some levels left out in the renewal plans (Fig. 3.5). The researched aim based model in Fig. 3.6 presents a revamped model of the planning process the aligns with the existing socio-spatial structure of a neighborhood. The preferred model is currently an abstract indication of what the process should look like. The actual process is of course more complex, less straight forward, and differs for each project and area at least a little.



Fig. 3.6: Research aim based on conceptual framework  
By author



3.6 | Research question

In Fig. 3.7 on the right visualizes the step from the problem statement with the socio-spatial friction towards the research questions. The main research question that will be used to work towards the research aim is:

**MAIN:** How to enhance the revitalization plans of Zaanstad, to counteract the state-led gentrification and urban renewal by means of governance, planning, and design to improve socio-spatial cohesion?

3.6.1 Sub questions

The following sub questions will be used to answer the main research question. They identify different aspects of the thesis topic such as the current revitalization models of Zaanstad, the gentrification and urban renewal by means of governance, and the socio-spatial aspects of the phenomenon. The figure on the right shows the interrelation between the main research question and the sub questions. The sub questions are:

- SRQ 1:** Through what process do the revitalization plans come about for the working-class neighborhoods?
- SRQ 2:** Which urban policies are influencing the housing market and how does this affect the working-class neighborhoods?
- SRQ 3:** What is the role of the government and housing associations in the gentrification that takes place in urban renewal locations?
- SRQ 4:** What spatial elements and morphologies can be used to increase socio cohesion between inhabitants?
- SRQ 5:** What do different inhabitants of the neighborhood demand from their public space?

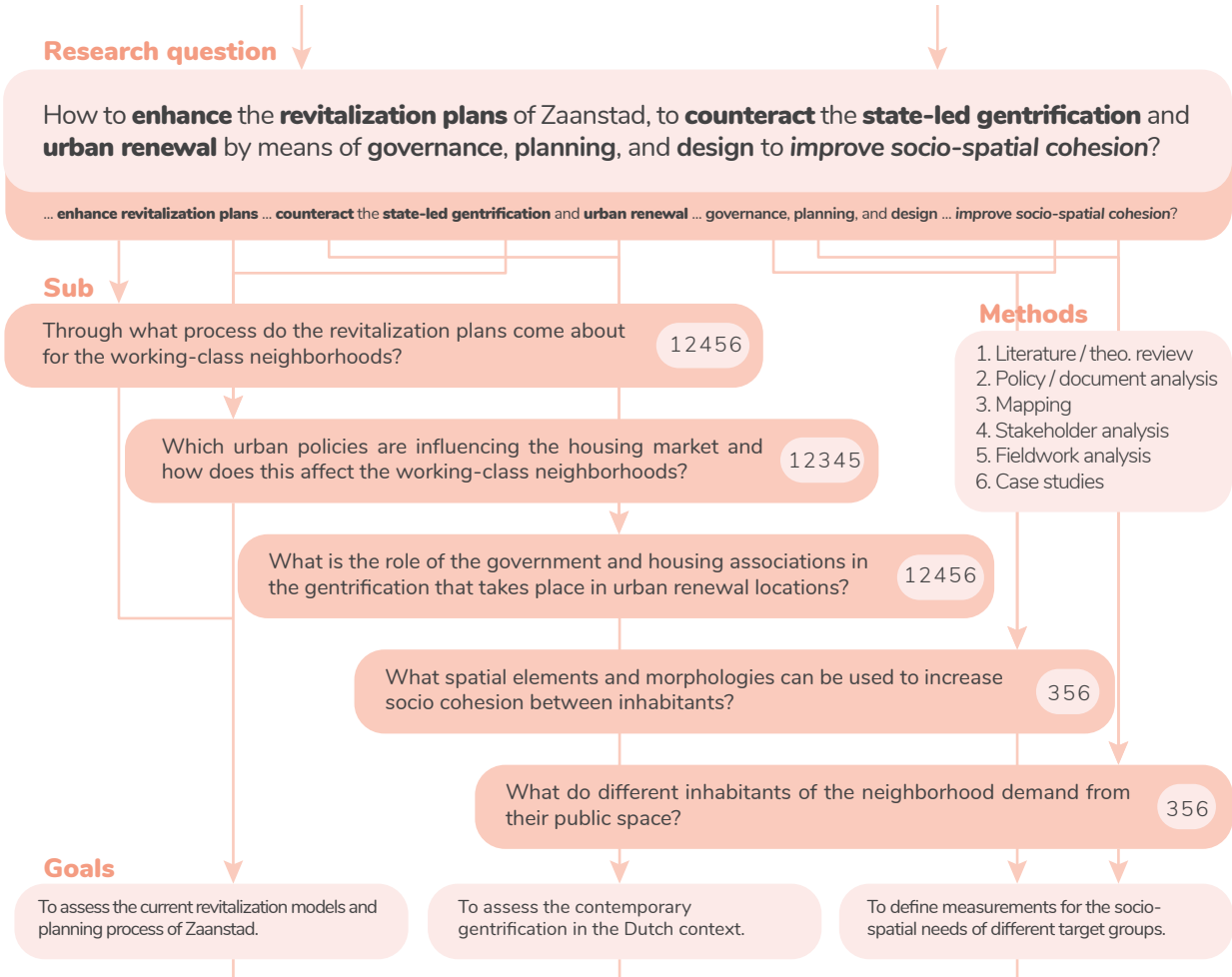


Fig. 3.7: Approach definition of methodological framework  
By author



## The contemporary gentrification

The position paper of the Theories of Urbanism course (AR3U023) forms the base layer to answer the following sub question: 'What is the role of the government and housing associations in the gentrification that takes place in urban renewal locations?' (see Fig. 3.8). The paper also takes the Dutch policies and legislations into account connected to the 'Which urban policies are influencing the housing market and how does this affect the working-class neighborhoods?' research question. The goal of the position paper is to evaluate the contemporary model of gentrification and assess the balance between the upgrading the neighborhoods socially, culturally, and economically should weight up to the well-being of the native inhabitants. Therefore, the theoretical underpinning and the interrelation between contemporary gentrification, Dutch governance and planning perspective, and the socio-spatial effects of this contemporary gentrification in neighborhoods is discussed. The whole paper is presented in chapter 5 Position Paper on page 84.

## UNNATURAL GENTRIFICATION?

### A review of contemporary gentrification by the Dutch municipality

Gentrification used to be a natural process where neighborhoods or even parts of cities would be upgraded socially, culturally, and economically. The process was relying on the attraction of new inhabitants with more capital than its native inhabitants. The attraction of the more wealthy target groups is in the meanwhile displacing native inhabitants, mostly from the working class. More recently, the gentrification process has shifted from a natural process towards an unnatural process that is stimulated by the national government and the urban policies. In the Dutch context, social rented housing is being sold by housing associations as the costs to make the older housing sustainable (demanded by the national government) is higher than the profit from a maximum in rent they can ask from their tenants, partly because of the high landlord levy. These housing plots are mostly sold to developers who aim to sell the new to be built housing to higher classes than the displaced inhabitants. This process is being supported by urban policies that are similar to those of the social mixing, which is a more direct way of unnatural gentrification. Both the direct as indirect processes have a similar effect as the livability of the neighborhood increases but the social cohesion decreases.

**Keywords:** Gentrification, urban policy, government, social mixing, housing associations

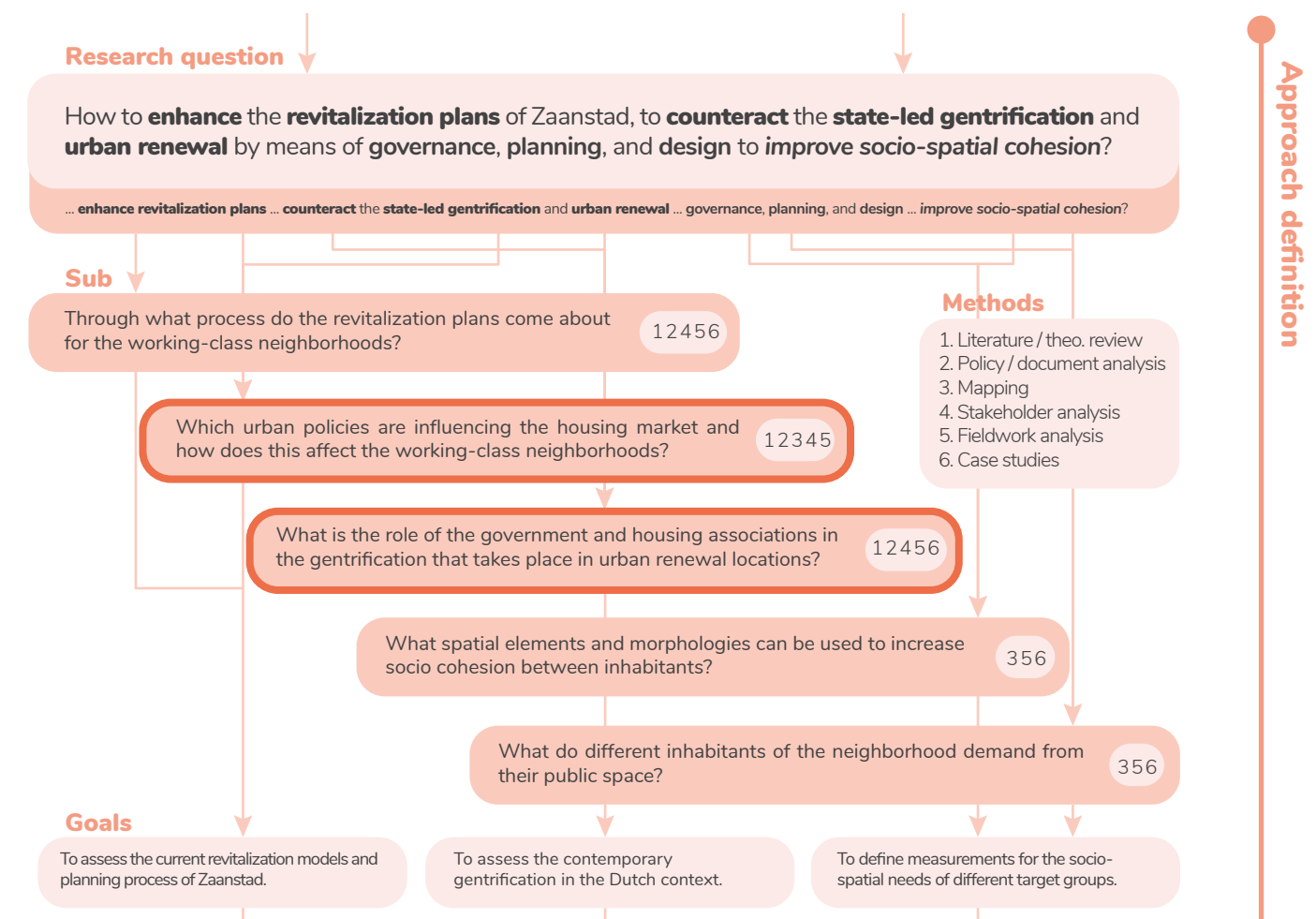


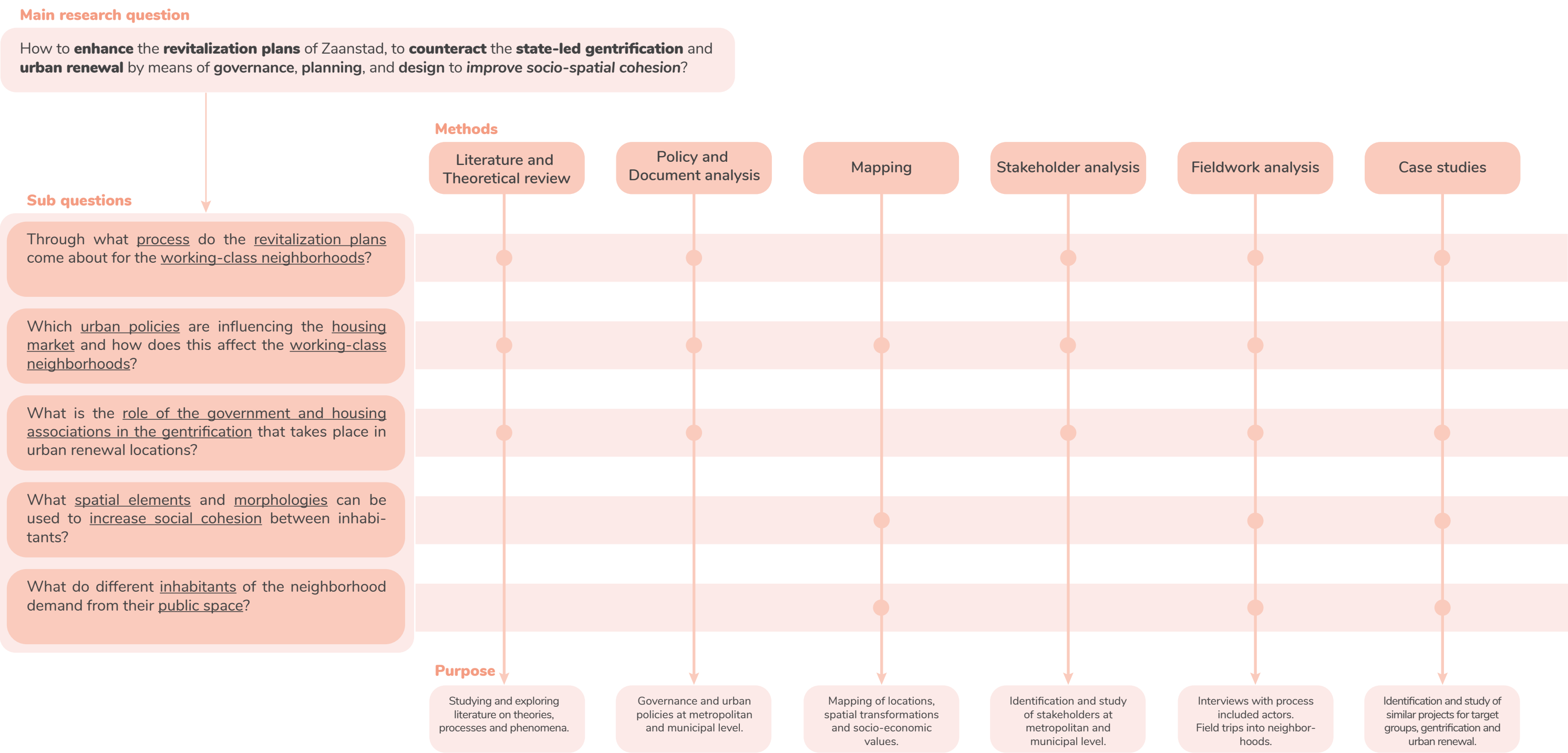
Fig. 3.8: Approach definition of methodological framework (role of position paper highlighted)  
By author



3.7 | Methods

Fig. 3.9: Methods diagram per sub question  
By author

This research uses a combination of different research methods. The methods are presented in Fig. 3.9 per sub question and elaborates on the purpose of each of the chosen methods for this thesis. The methods themselves are discussed more precisely from page 56 till page 58.





### 3.7.1 Literature and theoretical review

SRQ: 1, 2, 3.

The objective connected to this method is to identify, analyze, and assess operative theories and literature to inform the analysis of the problem and the design approach. This method can be used for a base in the theoretical underpinning as well as to further investigate necessary themes that will pass by during the research period. In the application of this method various sources will be considered, such as articles (of professional journals), books, reports, and papers.

### 3.7.2 Policy and document analysis

SRQ: 1, 2, 3.

The objective connected to this method is to identify, analyze, and assess urban policies and other governmental instruments regarding the planning process and design process. The aim is to identify the governmental instruments and reasoning that have facilitated urban development from the macro scale to the micro scale in its current form (see Fig. 3.3 on page 46 for the mentioned scales within the conceptual framework). In addition, this method helps to identify the reasoning of the government for certain socio-spatial measurements as well as the effect of these measurements within the urban environment. In the application of this method national urban policies and strategies, local government policies, and review papers on urban policies will be considered.

### 3.7.3 Mapping

SRQ: 2, 4, 5.

The objective connected to this method is to identify and map the conditions of the problems, potentials, and conflicts. The data can be related to geographic maps, sketches, and other visuals that display locations, public spaces, and socio-spatial observations. The data is obtained through official sources of geo-information, reports, and empirical analysis during fieldtrips. This method can be used at different moments throughout the research. For example, to identify socio-spatial context (early stage), visualize socio-economic values (early stage), visualize findings of fieldtrips (various times throughout the research), and to translate spatial measurements in the design process (later stage).

### 3.7.4 Stakeholder analysis

SRQ: 1, 2, 3.

The objective connected to this method is to recognize the main actors that are included in the planning process and actors that are involved in the socio-spatial changes in the neighborhoods. These actors are understood as institutions, companies, and public agents that operate at different levels within the governance structure. Also, the housing associations connected to the specific neighborhoods are relevant for the stakeholder analysis due to the ownership of the share of social housing in the neighborhoods, and therefore the power to change social structures with the changes in ownership. With this method, it is intended to expose the main relationships, inter dependencies and influences determined by these actors to identify limitations and potentials in the governance and planning perspective. To do this type of analysis, a combination will be made between literature review and semi-structured interviews (of the fieldwork analysis) with representative persons of an organization or the government.

### 3.7.5 Fieldwork analysis

SRQ: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

The objective of this method is to identify both visual and non-visual information of the socio-spatial themes of the neighborhoods. Therefore, this analysis can be divided into two sub-methods that is either responsible for the visual or non-visual information.

- Semi-structured interviews: different actors of the municipality, housings associations, and other institutions can be interviewed to identify their experience and observations within the process.
- Site visits: to critically identify the use of spaces within the neighborhoods. This can be achieved by taking pictures, making sketches of the environment, and map spatial configurations.



### Interviews

The purpose of the interview is to combine the reviewed literature and policy documents with the actual case study area of this research, the Rosmolenwijk. Therefore, the interviews that are held are semi-structured. The interviewees will remain anonymous and no actual quotes are put into the research as the purpose is to add an contextual layer next to the other research methods. The interviewees are selected with care to come as closely as possible to an useful input with an eye on the limited time that is available to this project.

The selected interviewees are described in the following categories.

- **Municipality** (Zaanstad):
  - District manager: colleague with a function that connects the inhabitants of the Rosmolenwijk to the municipality.
  - Urbanist: colleague with a function that relates to spatial renewal and cooperation between municipality and the housing associations.
- **Housing association** (Parteon):
  - Social management: colleague with a function that relates to the livability and well-being of the inhabitants of the social housing in a neighborhood
  - Real estate director: colleague with a function that relates the physical quality of social housing and sustainability tasks.
- **Inhabitants**:
  - Working-class neighborhood: inhabitant for 25 years, volunteer in community center.
  - Zaanoevers: inhabitant for 15 years, volunteer in community center.
- **Development steering committee**:
  - Chairman of the committee: grew up in the Rosmolenwijk, owner of the sports hall the Struijck.

### 3.7.6 Case studies

SRQ: 1, 3, 4, 5.

The objective of this method is to learn and adapt from the experience in similar scenarios on different locations/neighborhoods. This method is more design related than the other methods and will be applied to revise the socio-spatial structures within the neighborhoods, based good and bad examples of the case studies. Also, the needs and demands of different social groups can be identified with case studies and can form the bases for interventions on governance, planning and design levels.

## 3.8 | Intended outcomes

The outcome of this thesis will be a research overview that will describe the kinds of friction and the reasoning why that phenomenon takes place together with measurements to decrease the friction. Those measurements are split out in three layers: governance, planning and spatial. These measurements will advise on policies and strategies on how to handle socio-spatial changes in the existing urban texture of Zaanstad towards a better socio-spatial cohesion between the new and native inhabitants (see Fig. 3.10). Therefore, these measurements will be tested and evaluated on different locations in the Rosmolenwijk in Zaanstad, which is a great example of a working-class neighborhood that has been (and currently still is) affected by the described phenomenon.

The measurements are based on outcomes of the different sub research questions and will provide an answer to specific neighborhoods in Zaanstad. However, it is conceivable to define measurements that can be both place specific and abstract enough to advice actors and stakeholders connected to this issue in the Dutch context, such as: municipalities of the MRA, housing associations, and investors.

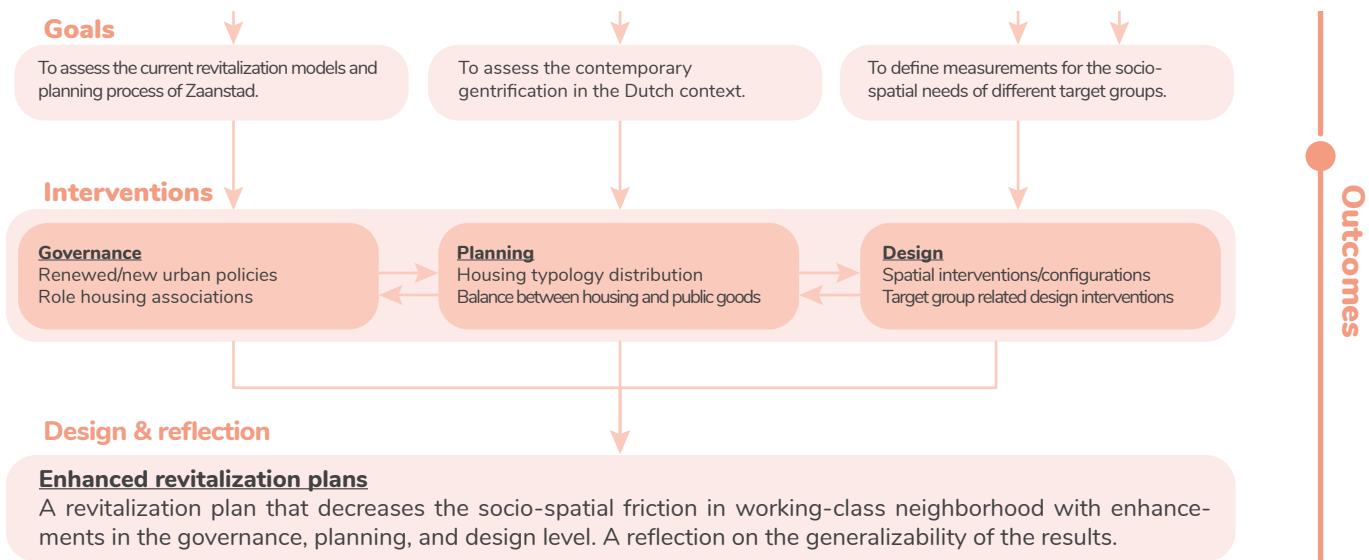


Fig. 3.10: Outcomes of methodological framework  
By author



The absolute goal of this thesis is to improve the socio-spatial cohesion between the new and native inhabitants in working-class neighborhoods, such as the Rosmolenwijk. Therefore, interventions are needed at the roots (governance level) and at the branches (planning and design level). Meaning that the project consists of two parts (see Fig. 3.11):

1. The process part: focusing on the policy making and different roles of included actors (such as the government, housing associations, developers, etc.) to counteract state-led gentrification and urban renewal that is connected to the socio-spatial friction. The process part is involved in sub question 1, 2, and 3.
2. The spatial part: focusing on the planning and design challenges that occur within neighborhoods (such as: strategic plans, morphologies; housing typologies; balances between public spaces, public goods, and housing; distribution of public spaces, street designs, public spaces, etc.) that are resulting from the policies and strategic plans to revitalize lower-class neighborhoods. The spatial part contributes to the search in a way to plan and design working-class neighborhoods in such a way to enhance to socio-spatial cohesion between new and native inhabitants. The spatial part is involved in sub question 2, 4, and 5.

### 3.8.1 Governance

The governance level can include topics like urban policies on changing existing urban textures in the neighborhood scale, role of the housing associations, and balance between gentrification and well-being of native inhabitants. But also current opinion in the local and national politics.

### 3.8.2 Planning

The planning level can include topics like housing typology distribution, balance between social housing, rental housing, owner-occupied housing, and support on public goods and shops. Also, the topic ownership is important for this thesis as these plan rely on the spatial change in existing urban tissue.

### 3.8.3 Design

The design level can include topics like spatial configurations in the (semi-) public spaces, street designs, and mass studies of new housing blocks.



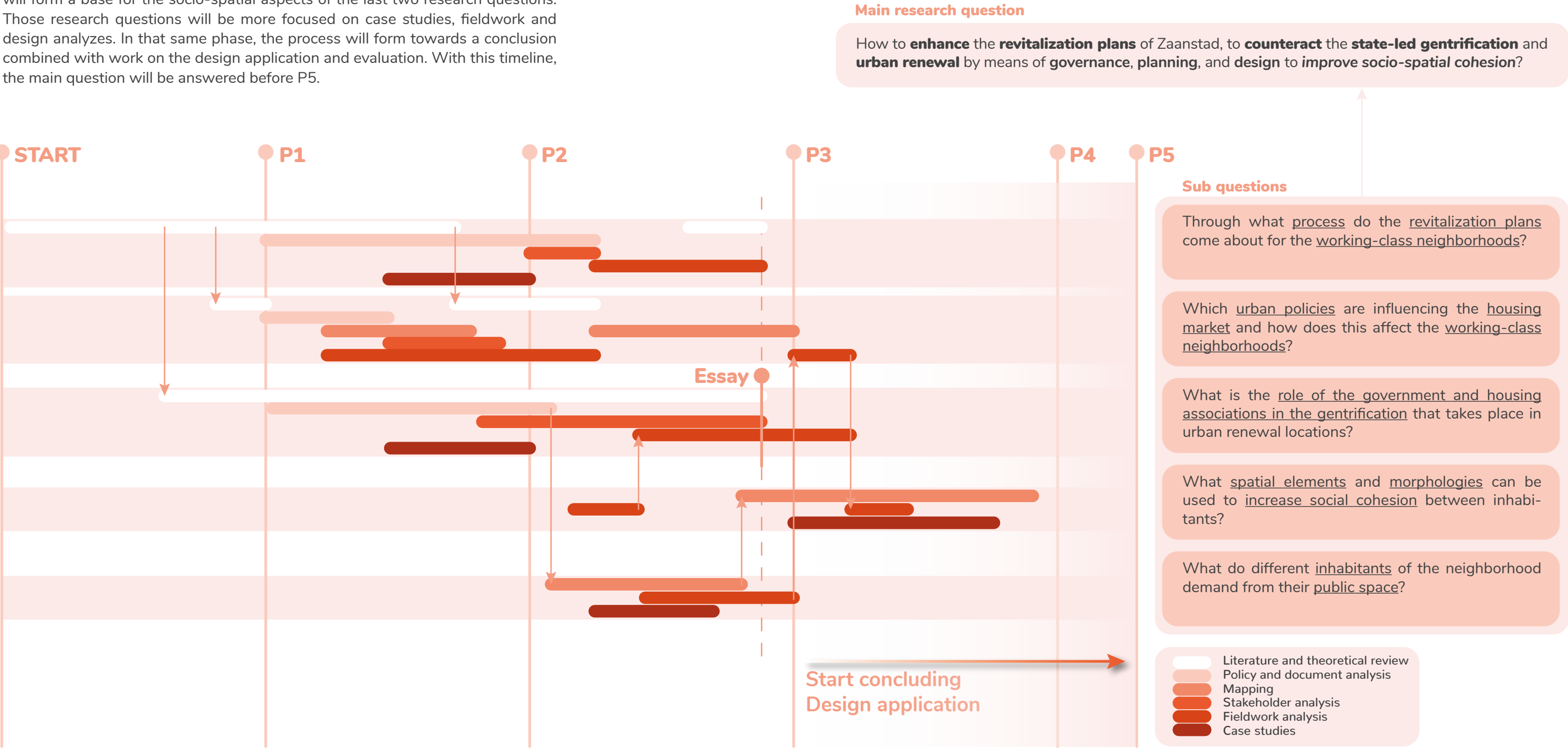
Fig. 3.11: Relation between the process part and spatial part  
By author



# 3.9 | Timeline

Fig. 3.12: Expected timeline for thesis  
By author

This figure presents the expected timeline of the thesis process. The first half till P2 will be mostly focused on reading and examining literature, theories and stakeholder analysis. After P1 there will be more time connected to fieldwork and interviews with important actors such as the municipality and housing associations. Therefore, the first three research questions will be answered mostly before P3 and will form a base for the socio-spatial aspects of the last two research questions. Those research questions will be more focused on case studies, fieldwork and design analyzes. In that same phase, the process will form towards a conclusion combined with work on the design application and evaluation. With this timeline, the main question will be answered before P5.





## 3.10 | Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter presented the thesis plan of the author, with the methodological framework as a guideline through this chapter. The research question: 'How to enhance the revitalization plans of Zaanstad, to counteract the state-led gentrification and urban renewal by means of governance, planning, and design to improve socio-spatial cohesion?' is the main research questions that already presents the aim of this thesis. The thesis plan is focused on increasing the socio-spatial cohesion between the native and new inhabitants that are affected by the changes of urban renewal and gentrification. The author acknowledges that these changes are often necessary for the overall improvement of the socio-economic status of neighborhoods, but states that the process can be improved in different levels (governance, planning, and design) to achieve the same socio-economic goals with an enhanced socio-spatial cohesion.



RESEARCH

## 4 DUTCH POLICY & LEGISLATION



Fig. 4.1: Alley between the Belgischestraat and Kramersstraat of urban renewal blocks  
By author



## 4.1 | Housing crisis

In this chapter the cause and effect of the current processes in the housing market, urban policies, and housing association are analyzed. The processes are put in relation to the working-class neighborhoods with a main focus on the case study area: the Rosmolenwijk in Zaanstad. This chapter presents the undeniable relation between the housing market and governance, and the socio-spatial effects in lower-class neighborhoods. The analysis of the current process is made with literature reviews, policy and document analysis, case studies, stakeholder analysis, and fieldwork research (interviews).

### 4.1.1 Trends

As mentioned before in the introduction, the Netherlands knows a great housing shortage. According to the study conducted by Capital Value in cooperation with ABF Research, the shortage is calculated at 300.000 homes at the start 2021. “Based on two different scenarios, the number of the housing shortage is expected to rise by 341.000 to 414.000 between 2020-2025” (Capital Value, 2021). This shortage is partly caused by two mayor events that caused a temporary stop in the construction of new housing: the Global Financial Crisis and the nitrogen and PFAS problem. This recession started in late 2008 when the Global Financial Crisis hit the Dutch housing market. Till that point the average amount of newly constructed homes was about 79.000 a year, which was a reasonable level. But that number declined till around 50.000 homes from 2008 on. Another trend was the rise of new households due to immigration, increasing the housing shortage by 3.2% in 2018 (Boelhouwer, 2020). This shortage means that the availability of suitable housing remains limited since the last decade. The effect is that sellers can ask more for their house as choices are limited. More buyers for one house often end in a competition for the highest bid, creating an unfair advantage for people that have bought an home before.

Another trend is the metropolization where cities aim to work together to tackle bigger social, economic, and cultural problems as one and grow as an economic strong region. Zaanstad is therefore part of the MRA (Amsterdam Metropolitan Area) which is currently a popular area to work and live in, such as the Randstad as well (a metropolitan area in the west of the Netherlands) (De Jong & Vermeulen, 2016). The result the attracting of more wealthy groups towards the metropolitan area. As Amsterdam has limited grow space, the newcomers spread their housing search towards the secondary cities such as Zaanstad. This relates back to the already mentioned competition on the housing market that thrives the competition.

Based on interviews

Both the interviewed **inhabitants** mentioned the arrival of new inhabitants from the outside of Zaanstad. However, they did not know whether they came originally from Amsterdam or elsewhere. The **social manager of the housing association** mentioned that pressure on the housing market was increasing the influx from Amsterdam, which in some cases led to sublet while the real renters were staying still somewhere in Amsterdam at friends or family. The **district manager of the municipality** explained that the Rosmolenwijk is popular for newcomers because of the location (close to the highway, train station, Amsterdam, etc.), but could not directly conclude that the demographic trend of newcomers is because of the current pressure of the housing market. Moreover, the charm of the working-class district (volkswijk) was mentioned as an attractor for newcomers by the interviewee. Although, they liked the charm of such neighborhood, few of the newcomers participated in the lively community. This is something that both the **inhabitants of the newer and older part** agreed on.

### Urban policies

However, the shortage is not the core problem of the housing crisis. The current housing market conditions are driving inequalities in the Netherlands, consisting of social inequalities, segregation, and affordability problems (Boelhouwer, 2020). The conditions are shaped by the controlling urban policies that has been made through the last decades. Urban policies can include legislations on different scale levels (from national scale to even the neighborhood scale) and determine who is able to live where. The most critical policies for the current state of the housing market are discussed here.

### The Code of Conduct for Mortgage Loans (GHF)

This policy was introduced 2011, right in the peak of the credit crisis and the housing market crisis in the Netherlands. The policy prevents the consumer from taking a mortgage that is too high by protecting the consumer from over-loans and incorrect information. Before this policy, the mortgage was being set by the expectation that the housing prices keep rising throughout the years. During the crisis it became clear that the housing prices can decline as well, making the future for the consumer unstable and financial risky (Nederlandse vereniging van Banken, 2020).

Besides the GHF, the national government also put standards for financing frameworks. Meaning that all mortgage banks must work with the same housing quotas. This is the maximum percentage of income that can be used for housing costs. The housing quotas are advised to the national government by Nibud, which is the National Institute of Fiscal Information (Nederlandse vereniging van Banken, 2020).



Although the principles of this policy are reasonable, there is a downside. This policy is decreasing the accessibility of homeownership for those whose income is too high for social housing, but too low for a property in the private rental sector (Boelhouwer, 2017). “In addition, the methodology of the code of conduct was insufficiently accurate as to the actual disposable income of households, resulting in situations in which a household was not eligible for a mortgage loan with housing” (Boelhouwer, 2017). Instead, by this policy, their income was considered to be reasonable to find housing in the private rented sector. The result of this new legislation was that many households have put pressure on the private rental market, while missing the change to buy an affordable home (Boelhouwer, 2020). The change on the market is visualized in Fig. 4.2. The pressure on the private rental market was therefore reasoning to make the prices higher and create investment market for ‘huisjesmelkers’ (investors who buy housing and rent it out for an unreasonably high price). Apart from the high prices one has to pay for private rental housing, the amount of middle-income single-family housing is declining as well.

## 4.1.2 Working-class neighborhoods

The working-class neighborhoods consist of a large share of social housing with a poor quality-housing. As the manufacturing industries were rising, social housing projects started to pop-up everywhere around this growing economy. However, the industry sector has been declining in the last decades and the remaining industries often moves out of the cities to the fringe, moving away from all the social housing. Currently, lower income groups are living within this kind of housing. Therefore, the task of nowadays is to tackle the socio-economic and cultural challenges that come along with these groups

### Social mixing and urban revitalization

Social housing has been put in a negative sentence since the last decades as it is no longer the housing for the working-class, but instead the housing of lower income groups. These groups are more often related to topics like poverty, unemployment, criminality, and refugees. Therefore, clusters of these groups can determine the image of a neighborhood or even larger parts of a city (such as the Bijlmer in Amsterdam) (Aalbers, 2011). City planners and housing associations aim to tackle these problems or prevent them if the problems still remain limited. A method that is often used in these scenarios is social mixing. A deeper understanding of this method is described on 2.3.1 Social mixing on page 40.

For Zaanstad, with neighborhoods like the Rosmolenwijk, this method seems useful as well. Zaanstad described such revitalization project with their vision for living in Zaans Mozaïek: een vitale stad in een metropoolregio (gemeente Zaanstad, 2008). In Fig. 4.3 it relates back how important the housing associations are by solving the issues in ‘fragile neighborhoods’ such as the Rosmolenwijk. Solving the issues is partly done by simply decreasing the intensity of those problem groups, the nuisance should be diminished.

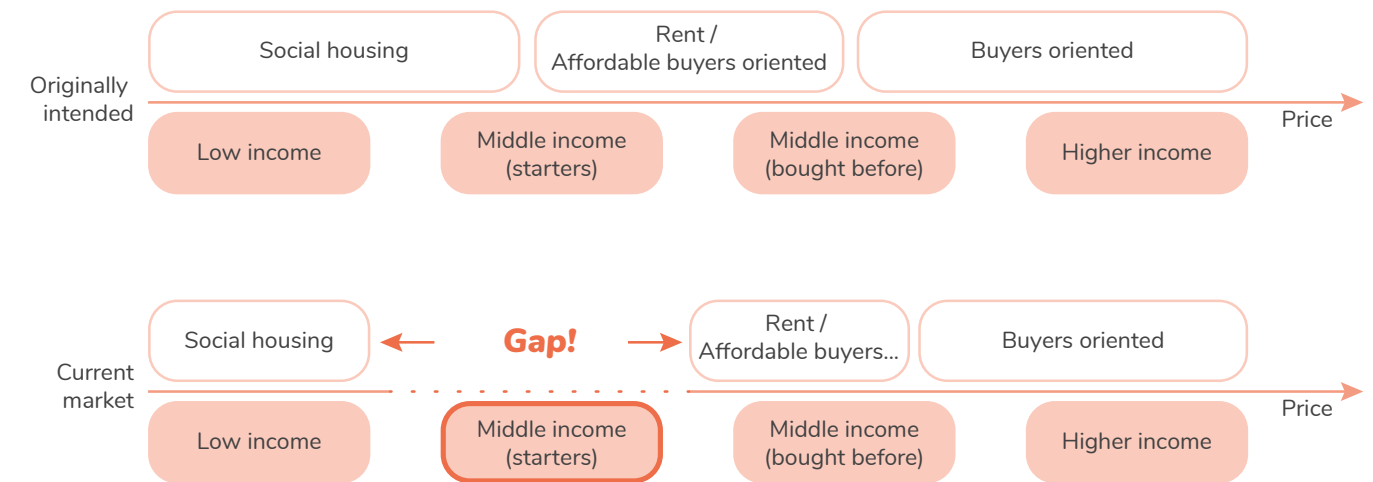


Fig. 4.2: Visualization of changes in current housing market for starters  
By author

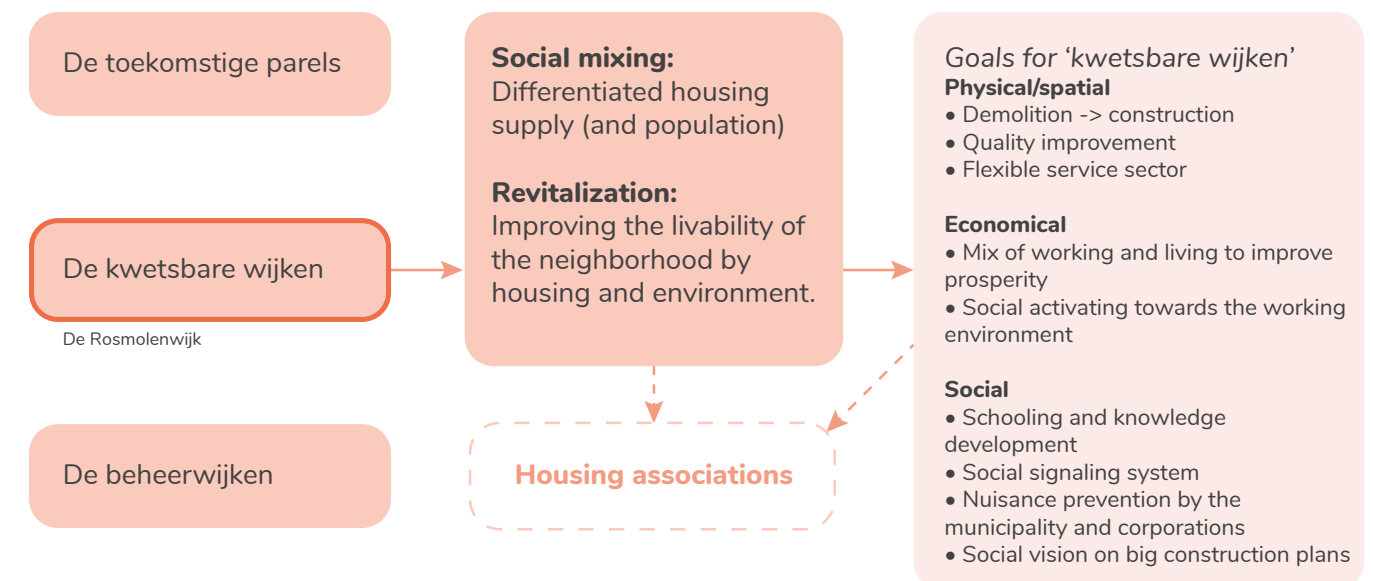


Fig. 4.3: Vision on the revitalization of ‘fragile’ neighborhoods  
By author



A first step would be to sell some of the social housing properties to higher income groups. In case of the Rosmolenwijk it remains a bit unclear how much of the social housing properties is actually sold over the years. Although in Fig. 4.4 it is clear that there are some streets with housing blocks that are built as one, have a mixed ownership. Assumingly, these are sold after the restructuring. A lot of the social housing that has been built in working-class neighborhoods is on wooden foundation piles. Meaning that with the wet ground of especially the west of the Netherlands, these piles decay over time due to the constant change of wet and dry conditions. Often, these blocks will be demolished and rebuilt in a more sustainable way (more on that in 4.2.1 on page 76). However, as the social housing works with a point system that determines the amount of rent housing associations may ask for the property, the rent becomes higher than the previous property. This is one of the reasons why current inhabitants are displaced.

Other reasons why people of the older social housing are leaving and not coming back is the time that a certain development takes. Some people were removed from their old housing and stayed for over a few years before the re-development was finished. Reasoning for the delayed projects were most of the time due to externalities such as the nitrogen crisis, financial crisis, and architectural reconsiderations. The **chairman of the development steering committee** mentioned for example that the reconstruction of the remaining part of the Rosmolenstraat (Fig. 4.6, Fig. 4.7, and Fig. 4.8 on page 74), one of the main streets in the neighborhood, is put on hold as the architectural and monumental value of the facades is characteristic for the neighborhood and perhaps should remain. Therefore, new research has been started by the housing association to determine what the best solution is in this case for the redevelopment. Due to such delays, some inhabitants were wondering if they would have the same neighbors as before or thought their 'temporary' housing was fine as well and preferred staying than having to move over to new housing for a second time in the last years. The **social manager of the housing association** mentioned that in practice only a third of the displaced inhabitants were coming back to the rebuilt housing because of these reasons.



Fig. 4.4: Ownership, zoom-in on street with sold social housing that has probably sold to the private sector  
By author, based on the Kadastrale Kaart





Fig. 4.5: Belgischestraat during the flood in 1916 (left), and during the urban renewal with preserved housing (right) in 2019  
Photo: Archive Zaanstad, <https://archief.zaanstad.nl/nieuws/nieuwsberichten/253-prijswinnaar-zaanse-uitmarkt-2019>



Fig. 4.6: Recently demolished part of the Rosmolenstraat  
Photo: mapio.net



Fig. 4.7: New part of the Rosmolenstraat  
Photo: by author



Fig. 4.8: To be preserved facades of the Rosmolenstraat  
Photo: by author

Based on interviews

## 4.2 | Housing associations

Due to the large number of the social housing in working-class neighborhoods, the housing associations are one of the biggest stakeholders in these environments. They started as an organ of the government to answer the great housing crisis after the second world war. However, their position has changed multiple times in the last decades whereas the housing market became more privatized, and the housing associations became an independent organization on the market. Due to the instability of their position in the market in the last years and the high investment demands in the current situation of the existing properties, the task of the housing associations is enormous. Besides the investment demands, the urge to focus back on the livability in the neighborhoods is rising.

The **inhabitant of the older part** was mentioning the resistance to some of the urban renewal. For example, the people of the Belgischestraat (to the east of the Rosmolenstraat) gave a lot of resistance as they liked their street as it was with their neighbors, housing, and affordable rent (Fig. 4.5). That part is one of the few parts in the neighborhood that actually is preserved with the renewal. Both the **inhabitants** and **chairman of the development steering committee** mentioned some friction that came for other inhabitants with the urban renewal. They mentioned that the housing association was willing to work along with the best intentions with their tenants. They tried to replace the tenants somewhere close to their old home and place them back as soon as possible, when one cycle was finished, a new part of urban renewal started (like a train-model where one follows each other). Only the practice had some flaws and was not as fast and fluent as proposed. The **chairman of the development steering committee** mentioned that some people were replaced while their home remained for a few years due to the delay. Both the **inhabitants** also mentioned that these temporary empty homes were sometimes filled with refugees, which together with the gaps in the urban tissue due to demolition was triggering safety concerns. **One of the inhabitants** mentioned that a certain empty space in the neighborhood was mentioned as ‘het gapende gebit’ (gaping teeth) due to its bad reputation and unsafety.



## 4.2.1 The challenges

### Livability

At the beginning of the 1990s, the housing associations had a strong position as they owned 44% of the total housing stock in the Netherlands. They originally became this strong since the national government influenced and stirred the housing associations (Boelhouwer, 2007). Later than other West European countries, the Dutch housing market started to shift towards privatization around the 1990s. “Towards the end of the 1990s, national Government stated that new housing production should concentrate on the market sector. As a result, the associations have built very little social rented housing during the past 5 years” (Boelhouwer, 2007, p. 384). Meanwhile, the gap for needed social housing was increasing. The result was that the lower-middle income needed to shift towards the private sector as well, as lower income groups are prioritized for social housing. Therefore, the lowest and more problematic groups were clustered in these neighborhoods with social housing (Aalbers, 2011; Boelhouwer, 2007).

The **social manager of the housing association** explained that the housing association is experiencing some change in the origin of their tenants in Zaanstad. There is a bigger (forced) influx of tenants from Amsterdam, because of the housing crisis. This is sometimes resulting in underuse of the housing as some stay still in Amsterdam during the week, or even illegal subletting of the housing. That interviewee also mentioned their concerns about the AVG in terms of liability as they are not allowed to be informed about any problem information about a new tenant. People that are related to the top-600 indication (a list of 600 people who have committed a relatively large number of high-impact offenses in recent years) for example can apply for a living and can be placed anywhere if that person does not elaborate on their past. Whereas the housing associations aim to spread those people to decrease new problems in a neighborhood and want to provide a good living environment for those people, prevention of these problems is hard with the current legislations on privacy protection.

Based on interviews

Changes in the Dutch policies and legislation due to new advice from the European Commission in 2005 increased this change even further. The former Minister Dekker made her vision for the future of the housing associations clear: “the associations have been given two concrete tasks: the primary allocation of regulated rented housing to targeted income groups and investment in housebuilding and restructuring” (Boelhouwer, 2007, p. 386). With this, the idea was that the housing associations should rather focus on the physical housing itself than the livability of a neighborhood and its surroundings. Together with this came a maximum limit on the total amount of capital that associations can invest in their subsidiaries (Boelhouwer, 2007). Later on, the renewed Woningwet in

2015 made this statement even more clear. The **social manager of the housing association** made clear that they needed to close their neighborhood offices and saw the livability in neighborhoods decline. To conclude, the housing associations are separated from the state but in a certain way still controlled by it.

The challenge that rose within the last few years is the need for more influence on livability due to the negativity that currently comes along with the problems connected to social housing. Moreover, that challenge is currently rather complicated to tackle. Both the local housing association as the municipality need to work closely together. The role of the housing association is to indicate the problems such as nuisance (mold, vermin, stench, noise), overdue payments (financial problems), and health concerns (social isolation). However, besides acting on the problems of the physical livability of a house, the housing association is not allowed to help in any way with other problems due to the AVG legislation (Algemene verordening gegevensbescherming). With this privacy protection legislation, the only thing a housing association can do is try to convince a tenant to find the help they need and where they can find it. Often these tenants have to rely on the support of the municipality. They have social district teams in the neighborhoods that function as the organ between the inhabitants and the role that municipalities can play in the help for these individuals. They can organize help at home, financial help, and are allowed to monitor these inhabitants for a while, although the social district team is still depending on the will of the residents whether they want help or not.

### Need for investment

The other major challenge is the demand for making the social housing more sustainable. In general, the climate agreement sets the goal that every European country must be climate neutral by 2050. This is an enormous challenge for the housing associations with a great share of after second world war housing. This means that a lot of housings needs to have a higher insulation value (such as double-glass and high Rd-value insulating material) and new technical installations (such as solar panels, solar water heater, electric cooking, and convectors). The **real estate director of the housing association** explained that the municipality of Zaanstad even aims to be carbon neutral by 2040, therefore, putting even more pressure on Parteon. However, Zaanstad and Parteon are working closely with each other on the sustainability goals and whenever necessary make new agreements together. With the current housing market and urban policies it is rather difficult to finance such projects. The relationship between those demands and policies is presented in Fig. 4.9 on page 79.



Both the interviewees of the **housing association** mentioned that Parteon owns around 16.000 properties in Zaanstad, which presents the size of the sustainability goals. The **real estate director of the housing association** mentions that the current planning is sufficient enough to reach the goals of Zaanstad to be carbon neutral in 2040 with their properties. For the coming six to seven years, they aim to solve 2.000 homes with foundation issues (decay of wooden piles). Those homes will mostly be demolished and rebuilt to sustainable housing. Moreover, they aim to enhance the insulation values of the facades (no installation changes) of around 500-600 homes per year. Firstly, the lower energy labels E/F/G till 2024 and the labels C and D later on. For single-family homes with labels higher than C they aim to enhance the installations with solar panels, solar water heater, electric cooking, and convectors of ca. 250 homes a year. Whenever the **real estate director of the housing association** was asked if the goals were reasonable, it became clear that they are currently on the right path to achieve those goals. Although, the amount of subsidies and financial space for new investment is becoming tighter due to Dutch policies and legislations.

Those sustainability projects have influence on the tenants as well. Parteon makes a difference between the size of a project related to the effect on the tenants. For example, the insulation projects will have little change for the tenants. Often, the housing associations try to do such projects with the whole block or complex to decrease costs of such projects. Therefore, the tenants need to agree on the changes. With the insulation projects, the rent will often remain the same (as it is connected to the point system). The tenants still have to agree on the changes of their housing, but often accept as they will benefit as well due to the decrease in heat costs. Seventy percent of the block or complex needs to accept will the project start. If there are not enough tenants that except, conversations will be started with the tenants and/or residents' committee, which most of the times and in a kind of agreement (perhaps with compromises).

The second example are the projects where there is a certain form of urgency, such as the decay of the wooden construction piles or the end of life of installations. These projects are more radical. Often it translates in the increase of rent due to the higher quality of the house, meaning more points in the point system. The most radical form here is the demolition and reconstruction of a property. The tenants need to leave their home for a while and after the reconstruction are able to come back. However, as discussed earlier on page 72, only a third of the tenants are coming back. Partly due to the time of the whole process and having to move twice in a while. But the rent will also be recalculated with the point system and as the new housing is rather sustainable and of a high quality, the maximum amount of rent (for social housing) will be demanded. The tenants that got displaced have urgency to apply first on the new housing. What is left will be put on the list for everybody (that is registered) to apply for in the social housing market. In some cases it might happen that there is nobody at the end of the road who will or can apply for reconstructed housing. In case this happens, a housing association can put it in the privatized market. Which can be another explanation for the mix in ownership as shown in Fig. 4.4 on page 73.

Based on interviews

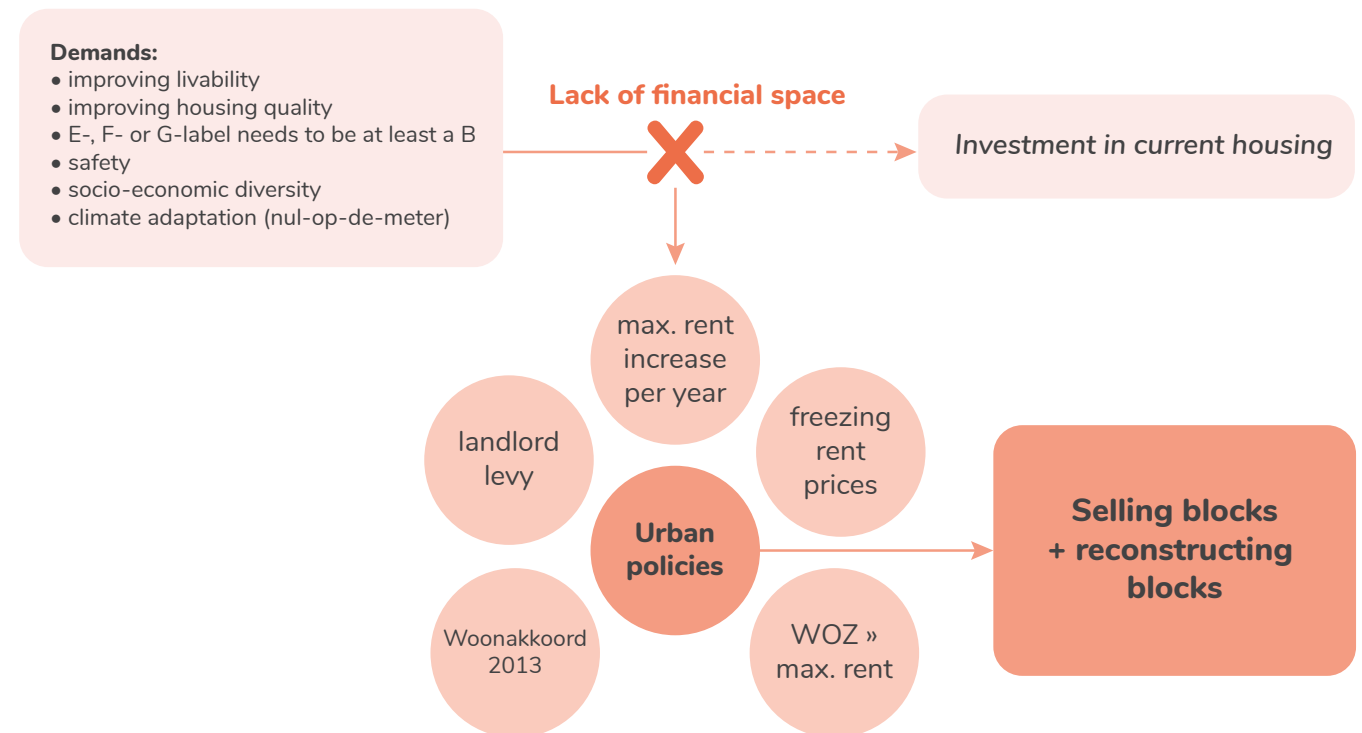


Fig. 4.9: Representation scheme of the influence of urban policies in the investment space of housing associations  
By author

## 4.2.2 Policies and political sounds

Topics like the housing shortage and housing gap for first time home buyers are also living in the politics, both national and local. One problem is the sublet of housing. Therefore, bigger cities such as Amsterdam start with a registration obligation for holiday rentals, making it harder to rent out apartments that were meant for a living environment instead of an apartment for partying tourists (NOS, 2021a). A second problem is the buying cheap and medium-priced homes and renting them out by investors. In 2020, one third of all homes sold in the four major cities were owned by investors. First-time buyers in the housing market are taking increasingly greater risks in order to be able to buy a house. The amendment is intended to give people who are looking for a home for sale more opportunities (NOS, 2021b). The current plan is that investors are no longer allowed to buy and rent out houses with a WOZ value of less than 512,000 euros. Also, the municipality of Zaanstad (and other municipalities) are going to fight against housing fraud. In 2018, Zaanstad started to work with housing permit requirement for some neighborhoods. The owner of the home is in violation if its residents do not have a housing permit. Both the resident and homeowner will receive a fine. Therefore, the municipality wants to ensure that homes end up where they are desperately needed (gemeente Zaanstad, 2021).

A step further is the way Zaanstad aims to keep the housing of Zaanstad for the inhabitants of Zaanstad. The municipalities surrounding Amsterdam, such as Zaanstad, see their housing being bought up by people from Amsterdam due to the high prices and shortage. Zaanstad is now helping its own starters and low-middle incomes. With two measures. Firstly, by laying down the construction



of social housing (at least 30% of the new housing) in zoning plans. And moreover, by introducing a new owner-occupied construction, the BKZ starter home, for its own residents. It concerns owner-occupied homes of 200,000, 220,000 and 250,000 euros with a minimum living space of 50, 60 or 70 m<sup>2</sup> respectively. The land does not have to be bought as it is issued on a long lease. For 'the bricks', only 65 percent needs to be financed. The remaining share remains in the possession of BKZ (NUL20, 2022).

Lastly, the landlord levy is up for discussion again. The landlord levy was introduced as a crisis measure during the economic crisis in 2013. The housing associations made a lot of profit at the time and therefore it was seen as a good way to generate more government revenue. Since 2013, the levy has brought in more than 12 billion euros for the state. The corporations can get a part back if they invest in sustainability and new construction. But corporations see that as an obstacle to the necessary investments. The national state starts the discussion again if the landlord levy is reasonable and if it is blocking the needed development to solve the housing shortage (NOS, 2021c). From 2022 on, the tax that housing associations must pay will be reduced by a total of around 800 million euros to around 1 billion euros in 2022. As a result, housing associations will have more money left over to build homes. It has already been decided in the new coalition agreement that the landlord levy will disappear completely in 2023 (NOS, 2022).

## 4.3 | Socio-spatial effects

The Dutch policies on social mixing are based on three motives: neighborhood improvement (by upgrading the housing stock and facilities in the neighborhood), social equality (improving the wellbeing of disadvantaged groups in the neighborhood), and social efficiency (reducing social costs for society, such as deviant behavior, crime, and nuisance (Ouwehand & van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007; Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). It is believed that these motives cannot be achieved as people with the same lack of opportunities are living too close to each other as it will reduce chances for upward mobility (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). Hence, these neighborhoods will be restructured, and native inhabitants will be displaced to achieve the social mixing goals.

Besides the negative effects of displacing people, the increase of the share of the middle class is seen as bad news for the social bonds of people in a lower-class neighborhood. Diversifying the socio-economic classes in a neighborhood can lower the trust in already diverse areas with disadvantaged native born and ethnic groups (Lancee & Dronkers, 2008). The lowering of trust can apply with other socio-spatial changes as well. Such as the loss of specific public goods and facilities (Reijnders & Bosch, 2012). Within the neighborhoods, the public goods and facilities are often connected to the specific target groups of that neighborhood, such as cafes and local supermarkets. Whenever new, more wealthy groups come to a neighborhood, the supplies will change or even the whole shop or facility will be replaced due to different asks and demands



Fig. 4.10: Building years, boundary along the Oostzijde, left mostly new and right the older housing  
By author, based on 3D BAG



of the new groups. Therefore, native inhabitants might feel that the changes of the urban renewal are not for them, but exclusive for the newly attracted classes (Reijnders & Bosch, 2012). Lastly, the changes in public spaces due to the urban renewal might cause a loss of connection with the environment of some native inhabitants. Whereas some parts of the old urban fabric might feel like a part of a living environment of a person, a renewed urban fabric can feel more privatized after the urban renewal, making it less accessible for other inhabitants. Sometimes this is caused by the spatial fragmentation between old and new, but also the clustering of a new target group might increase the feeling of 'what is mine and what is theirs' (Reijnders & Bosch, 2012). This spatial fragmentation applies for the Rosmolenwijk as well, with the 'cut' along the Oostzijde (see Fig. 4.10 on page 81).

However, the displacement of native inhabitants and other negative effects from gentrification are rather mild in the Dutch context. One of the reasons for the relative mildness of the negative effects is that the displaced inhabitants of the lower and middle class by law often have the 'right' to return to the renewed area after the urban renewal program has finished (Slob, Bolt, & Van Kempen, 2008). Also, interviewed inhabitants from some urban renewal locations mention to be happy that something is going to happen to the neighborhood, especially if there is a combination of several problems in that neighborhood (Aalbers, 2011; Slob, Bolt, & Van Kempen, 2008; Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). More generally, "a larger middle-class presence can improve the status of the neighborhood, uplifting the social and financial support for key facilities, and this can also be beneficial for deprived groups of residents" (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009, p. 66).

## 4.4 | Conclusion

In conclusion, there is a great housing shortage that will not be solved in the next coming years. But more importantly, the housing prices keep rising due to some urban policies. The Code of Conduct for Mortgage Loans in general is to protect homeowners for taking a loan that is too high. However, this policy is also creating a gap for first time buyers. They often earn too much for social housing but too less for a reasonable loan due to this policy. With the current housing shortage, it is hard for first time buyers to find an appropriate home and they often end up in private sector rent with a rent that is unreasonably high. Furthermore, other policies connected to social mixing and urban revitalization are shaping a big task for the working-class neighborhoods. Although, the municipalities are well involved with these policies and goals, the biggest task in working-class neighborhoods belongs to the housing associations. Combined with other demands from the national government to make housing more sustainable and the end of life of many wooden pile foundations in the west of the Netherlands, there is less financial space left within the renewal projects. The new housing is often from the highest social housing segments or is even sold to the private sector to finance the projects. With this, friction of the native inhabitants is rising as they see block after block being renewed with a new socio-economic segment of inhabitants, whereas for them it is rather impossible to come back in the new blocks.



## 5 POSITION PAPER



Fig. 5.1: Cargo bike in the Hoverniersstraat  
By author



## 5.1 | Unnatural Gentrification?

A review of contemporary gentrification by the Dutch government

AR3U023 Theories of Urbanism  
Master Urbanism, Technical University Delft

Bart Sikkens  
4903315  
b.sikkens@student.tudelft.nl  
12 January 2022

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### Abstract

Gentrification used to be a natural process where neighborhoods or even parts of cities would be upgraded socially, culturally, and economically. The process was relying on the attraction of new inhabitants with more capital than its native inhabitants. The attraction of the more wealthy target groups is in the meanwhile displacing native inhabitants, mostly from the working class. More recently, the gentrification process has shifted from a natural process towards an unnatural process that is stimulated by the national government and the urban policies. In the Dutch context, social rented housing is being sold by housing associations as the costs to make the older housing sustainable (demanded by the national government) is higher than the profit from a maximum in rent they can ask from their tenants, partly because of the high landlord levy. These housing plots are mostly sold to developers who aim to sell the new to be built housing to higher classes than the displaced inhabitants. This process is being supported by urban policies that are similar to those of the social mixing, which is a more direct way of unnatural gentrification. Both the direct as indirect processes have a similar effect as the livability of the neighborhood increases but the social cohesion decreases.

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**Keywords:** Gentrification, urban policy, government, social mixing, housing associations

### Introduction

Gentrification is not a new phenomenon. This process is mentioned as one of the biggest forces in shaping contemporary cities (Douchet, 2014). The sociologist Ruth Glass (1964) pointed out this phenomenon first to describe the upgrading of old working-class neighborhoods in the inner-city of London. These changes include a process of social, cultural, and economic upgrading of a neighborhood or district and is achieved by the attraction of wealthy new residents and users. However, the downside of this process is the displacement of the lower classes as the upgrade is accompanied by an increase in real estate prices and rents, excluding some classes out of the neighborhood (Davidson & Lees, 2005; Douchet, 2014; Glass, 1964). The process as Glass described in 1964 can be seen as a rather 'natural' process whereas the city itself is attracting more people, but not providing the right (or too less) housing in the core. Therefore, surrounding areas will become important areas for these home seekers as proximity to the core is quite important for the working environment and public goods. The housing of these working-class neighborhoods can be of poor quality due to their age and building technics. This means that nowadays there is a big task for (mostly) the housing associations to enhance the quality of their housing. The task is rather big due to the sustainability demands as well, resulting in a dilemma for the housing associations to finance such investment. In some cases the housing associations are forced to sell some of their properties to start the investment. Meaning a new form of gentrification where the lower class needs to make room for higher classes.

Moreover, the contemporary process of gentrification is shifting from a 'natural' process towards an 'unnatural' process in the Dutch context. 'Unnatural' in the sense that the contemporary gentrification is being stimulated by urban policies, municipality plans, and the housing associations, especially in areas where the housing shortage is the highest, such as the Amsterdam Metropolitan area (MRA) or the Randstad. In this sense, the contemporary gentrification has become a tool for municipalities for upgrading neighborhoods while choosing to keep displacing the native inhabitants. Which seems closely related to the social mixing strategy that has been used in the Netherlands.

This essay will review the changes in gentrification from a natural to an unnatural form of the contemporary gentrification in the Netherlands, with an emphasis on Dutch working-class neighborhoods. This will be accomplished by a literature research on case studies done by different authors on social mixing and gentrification, and other literature related to Dutch urban policies and housing associations. The body of the essay will include the shift from natural gentrification to unnatural gentrification, the role of urban policies, the role of the municipality, and the role of the housing associations in this contemporary process and contrast the advantages and disadvantages of the process within the neighborhood.



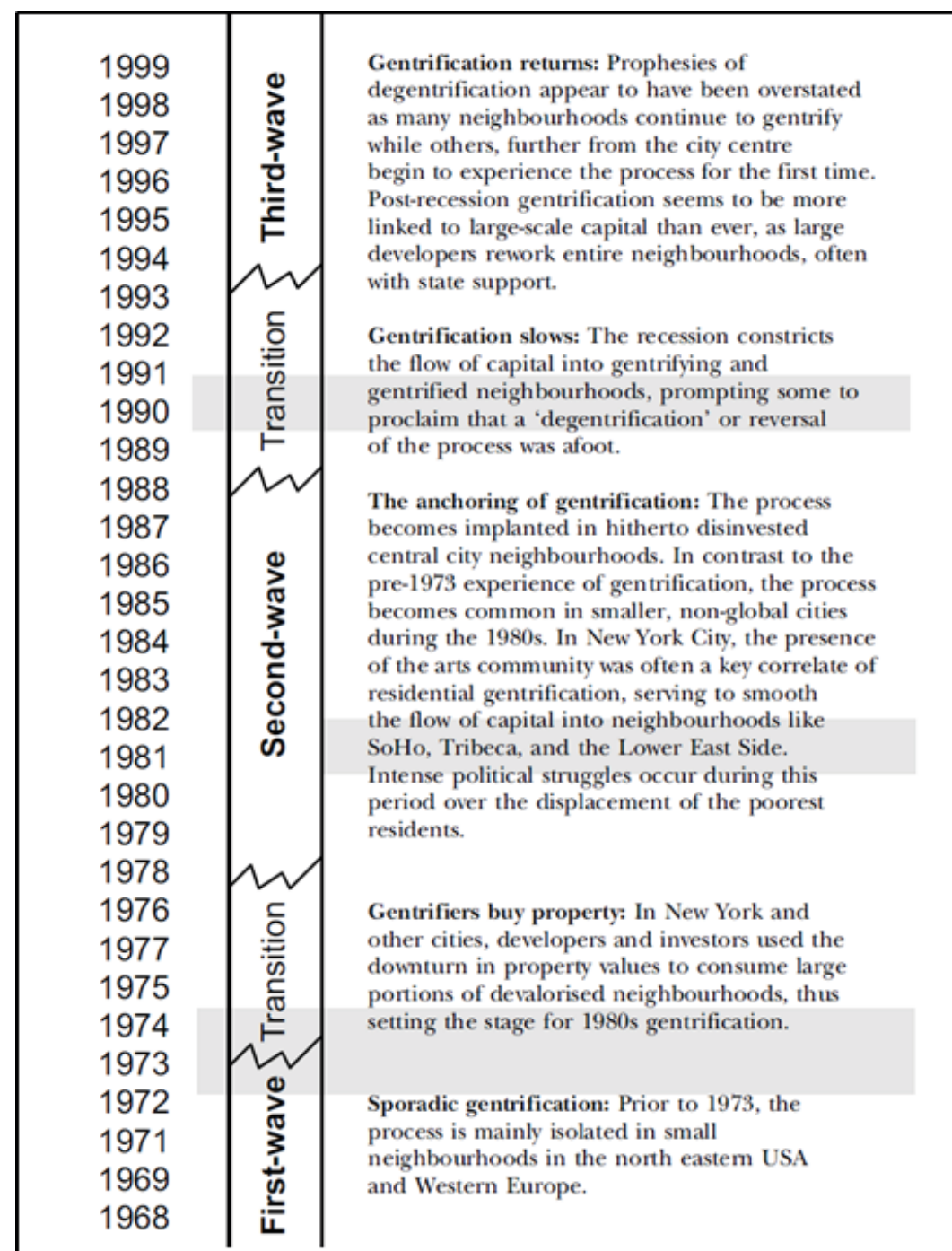


Fig. 5.2: Schematic history of gentrification  
By Hackworth & Smith, 2001

## The contemporary gentrification

Ever since Glass (1964) introduced the process of gentrification, many urbanists and urban geographers started researching and debating on this process. The term gentrification has been evolved throughout the years and reformed by the context of the authors. For this essay, read the term gentrification as the way Smith has described: “the process by which working class residential neighborhoods are rehabilitated by middle class homebuyers, landlords, and professional developers” (1982, p. 139). The changes in gentrification are related to larger economic and political structuring. Connected to this aspect is the increasing role of the state in the gentrification process (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). This alinea discusses the changing form of gentrification from the introduction by Glass (1964) on till the contemporary model to reveal the role of the Dutch national government and urban policies within this process.

The changes of gentrification can be conceptualized within three waves according to Hackworth and Smith (2001). This conceptualization of the history is represented in Fig. 5.2. In this essay, the waves will be used to explain the shift from a natural process towards an unnatural process. The conceptualization of the waves is heavily based on the experience of gentrification in New York City, but is wider applicable due to the use of studies from other cities to assemble the figure. However, the time periods of the phasing may vary due to the broader scale economic and political events of a specific place (Hackworth & Smith, 2001).

The first wave reacts mainly to the economic recession of the global economy prior to late 1973. Hackworth and Smith describe the first wave gentrification as “sporadic if widespread” (2001, p. 466), hence I suggest that this process is rather ‘natural’. This recession was resulting in the disinvestment of the inner-city housing and its public spaces within cities in Australia, north-eastern cities of USA, and cities in Western Europe. These cities became a target for reinvestment, often in relation with gentrification. This kind of sporadic and widespread reinvestment was mostly funded by the public sector (Hamnett, 1973; Williams, 1976; Smith, 1979), as both the national and local governments were actively trying to find a way to counteract the private-market economic decline of these neighborhoods (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). However, the results of the inner-city investment were highly class specific and often worsening the conditions for the working class (Smith, 1996).

The transition towards the second wave was dominated by global economic recession. This was originally triggered by the international oil embargo, also depressed the national housing markets, and made the effects on gentrification more ambiguous (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). More generally, this economic recession also encouraged the shift from capital from unproductive to productive sectors. This event was creating a foundation for reinvestment in central city office, retail and residential activities, and recreation (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Harvey, 1985). Meanwhile, some investors in big cities saw the opportunity to consume large portions of housing in these affected neighborhoods.

The second wave began in the late 1970s when the depressed housing market started to revive. Even more cities started to experience gentrification as cities started to invest in both new (expansion) neighborhoods, and the older neighborhoods with strategies to attract this form of investment (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). “Most local state efforts, however, focused on prodding the private market rather than directly orchestrating gentrification” (Hackworth & Smith, 2001, p. 3). The second wave was



characterized by the integration of gentrification into a broader range of cultural and economic processes at both the national and global scales (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Generally, the gentrification was increasing the economic and cultural quality of a neighborhood, which was celebrated by some residents (Caufield, 1994). However, apart from the already mentioned class-specific effects of the first wave, gentrification was more challenged than ever by homelessness, eviction, and the increasing vulnerability of poor residents. This also happened in the Dutch context in places like the Bijlmer (Amsterdam). Aalbers referred to those who are struggling to make ends meet as the excluded, the ‘undesirables’ (2011). A great share of these ‘undesirables’ are ethnic minorities. However, most of the middle- and lower-class inhabitants belong to these ethnic minorities as well. In the Dutch context, the state is more actively counteracting these problems rather than stopping the gentrification process (Aalbers, 2011), which is typical for the next wave.

Around 1988, the next transition started and the gentrification process slowed down due to the recession constricting the flow of capital into gentrifying and gentrified neighborhoods. Some authors argue to witness ‘degeneration’ in this transition period (Bagli, 1991). Reasoning for this could have been to the ageing of the Baby Boom generation, and the relative reduction of the inner-city housing supply (Bourne, 1993).

After half a decade, the third wave of gentrification has started. This wave is a purer expression of the processes and economic conditions that make reinvestment in disinvested inner-urban areas so attractive for developers and investors (Smith & DeFilippis, 1999). “Overall, economic forces driving gentrification seem to have eclipsed cultural factors as the scale of investment is greater and the level of corporate, as opposed to smaller-scale capital, has grown” (Hackworth & Smith, 2001, p. 5). They also mentioned four distinctions with the previous waves. First, these economic forces lead to the spread of gentrification towards the more remote (outside of the city core) neighborhoods as well. Second, the role of large developers in conducting gentrification began to rise. Third, the resistance to gentrification has declined, as the working class is continually displaced from the inner-city. Also, housing associations try to handle the replacement with more care such as giving urgency for the application of a new home for those that are going to be displaced. Lastly, the state (and municipalities) are now the main conductors of this process (Hackworth & Smith, 2001).

More specific, this means that the contemporary form of gentrification is a state-led kind of gentrification. I state that this form of gentrification is rather unnatural as it is based on actively replacing people to increase the economy and neighborhood status. However, some of the municipality goals of this process are helpful to create a better living environment for the inhabitants of the working-class neighborhood. The remainder of this essay focuses on the more specific context of the Dutch working-class neighborhoods in relation to the urban policies.

## Urban policies and government

Nowadays, gentrification is now embedded in urbanization processes that bring together policies, culture, society, and ideology (Shin & López-Morales, 2018). As mentioned before, this process is mostly conducted by the government and urban policies in the third wave of gentrification. Here, the reasoning for mentioning this wave

as unnatural will be discussed by addressing different approaches of state-led gentrification by urban policies.

There is a distinction between a direct and an indirect approach for state-led gentrification. With some policies, the gentrification goals are rather explicit although they will be named differently, such as ‘social mixing’. The term gentrification has been holding a negative tension during the last years as it focuses mostly on classes. Social mixing is a method that diversifies the levels of income, tenure, and social class in a given neighborhood. In first place, the intensions of this process are good as they aim to make the neighborhood more vital and socio-economic stable. However, the next paragraph describes that this process comes with some consequences.

Also, with other policies, the government is conducting gentrification in a more indirect way. An example that is happening more often in the last decade is the sale of social rented housing plots to investors. Due to the climate crisis, housing shortage, and the poor state of the working-class neighborhood social rented housing, there is a big task on the shoulders of housing associations. However, some of the urban policies that are applicable for the housing associations make it hard to make those large investments in the social rented housing. More on this later in this essay.

## Social mixing

The urban planning strategies of the Netherlands go way more back than just the last few years. “After World War II, the Dutch national government took the lead in designing and implementing interventionist public policies, which resulted in the development of a strong, nationally coordinated welfare state” (Aalbers, 2011, p. 1699). At that time, there needed to be constructed a lot of new housing. Housing associations started to rise as part of the governmental strategy to facilitate the built of new housing cheap and quick. New neighborhoods rose from the ground up and were great places to live in.

However, decades later, that table began to turn as those cheaply built neighborhoods started to decay, both on socio-economic level as the physical status of those housing blocks. Social rented housing became the type of housing for the minorities in the Netherlands, meaning that the socio-economic status of the neighborhood started to decline as well (Aalbers, 2011). Many municipalities have their own way to categorize the state of their neighborhoods. It often comes around three categories such as good, potentially good, and fragile. Many working-class neighborhoods are categorized as fragile due to their low socio-economic status. Therefore, the task for the municipalities is to increase the socio-economic status of those neighborhoods (Uitermark, 2003; Uitermark, Duyvendak, & Kleinhans, 2007).

To tackle this large and complex task, social mixing seemed to be the solution for the municipalities and was introduced as part of bigger policies such as the stedelijke vernieuwing (urban revitalization) (Aalbers, The revanchist renewal of yesterday’s city of tomorrow, 2011). Later on the existing social renewal policy was replaced by the Grotestedenbeleid (Big Cities Policy, BCP) combined with some other social policies. However, this has not yet taken place as the different policies continue to operate independently (Aalbers & Van Beekhoven, 2010; Aalbers, 2011). The idea of social mixing is led by decreasing the problem group in the first place by separating them from one another. Secondly, other and the more wealthy target groups needed to be lured towards those neighborhoods to increase the socio-economic support base. This means



that there is more room for investment in a neighborhood as people are able and willing to spend more money. And lastly, the combination of the new and old target groups is there to stimulate the less wealthy groups. The idea was that they are introduced to influences from more wealthy groups which conducts a trend that stimulates those less wealthy groups to become more economically stable. However, in most cases this was not happening (Uitermark, 2003; Uitermark, Duyvendak, & Kleinhans, 2007; Aalbers, 2011).

On the contrary, examples like the Bijlmer in Amsterdam and Hoogvliet in Rotterdam presented that “interaction between low-income and higher-income households, and between renters and homeowners, in restructured neighborhoods are often superficial at best and hostile at worst” (Uitermark, Duyvendak, & Kleinhans, 2007, p. 125). Although the neighborhood resistance against this active kind of gentrification declined due to the need for social order and neighborhood investment, these goals often conflicts with the interests of residents (Uitermark, Duyvendak, & Kleinhans, 2007). “In the case of Hoogvliet, working-class residents as well as more-affluent residents favoured housing policies that dispersed groups, associated with social disorder” (Uitermark, Duyvendak, & Kleinhans, 2007, p. 138). The conflict that has been conducted by this form of gentrification is the lack of social cohesion between the low-income and higher-income households, and between renters and homeowners. One can argue that the goals of these policies are more economically focused and less socially oriented as they reduce social cohesion and force residents to relocate, while the actors only invest in profitable projects (Douchet, 2014; Uitermark, Duyvendak, & Kleinhans, 2007).

## Housing associations

Coming back on the role of the housing associations in the working-class neighborhoods. As mentioned before there is a big task for the housing associations on increasing the quality of their housing stock as most of the ‘after World War II’ housing is currently in a poor condition. However, current urban policies are conducting a certain form of indirect state-led gentrification during this investment period.

The housing associations are an important actor when it comes to state-led gentrification. A great share of the working-class neighborhoods consists of social rented housing that has been owned by the housing associations. Also, the target groups that live in this housing segment is related to the problems that need to be addressed by the urban policies (Aalbers, 2011; Boelhouwer, 2007). Originally, the Dutch social housing has its roots in the long period during which housing was influenced by the national government. That changed around 1990 with the privatization of the housing associations as the national government wanted to make cutbacks and building homes had to be left more to the private sector. Nowadays, the national government is trying to stir the direction of the housing associations again as “the image of the sector is decidedly poor. Much of the publicity is negative in tone (high salaries, arrogance, low housing production)” (Boelhouwer, 2007, p. 384).

Urban policies such as the landlord levy, freezing of the rent prices, and a max rent increase per year is putting guidelines for the way housing associations can operate. Also, the national government has put out demands for making the housing more sustainable towards 2040 due to the climate crisis (Boelhouwer, 2020). Therefore, the amount of

investment that is needed is high. “Most associations feel stirred by the State-dictated policy framework and the legislation and regulations. They find themselves trapped in a bureaucratic web and would like more room for enterprise” (Boelhouwer, 2007, p. 385). For example, the landlord levy is annually collecting 1.7 billion euros from the housing associations (NOS, 2021). This is value money that is necessary for the redevelopment of the poor quality social housing.

This financial conflict is where the indirect state-led gentrification can be introduced. As a result of the high (re-)investment demands and financial limitations, the housing associations will sell plots and blocks to developers to facilitate other investment. Although some of the determination which blocks will be sold and which not is often in consultation with the municipalities, the result is a rather radical way of introducing more higher-income levels into the neighborhoods. As the developers obviously want to make profit out of these sales, the target groups are of higher income-levels and often buyers-oriented, which is in contrast with the existing working-class neighborhoods. This whole process is being strengthened by current trends such as the housing shortage, which makes the investment in the housing market even more interesting (Boelhouwer, 2020).

One can argue that this indirect kind of unnatural gentrification has similar goals as social mixing. Again, problem groups need to be decreased by separating them from one another. Secondly, more wealthy target groups will be introduced to increase the socio-economic support base. And lastly, there is an aim for that lower-income groups are introduced to influences from more wealthy groups which conducts a trend that stimulates those less wealthy groups to become more economically stable. The result is therefore not different from social mixing as the livability is increasing while on the other hand the social cohesion is decreasing. It is still unclear if the focus of these processes is to enhance the socio-economic status of the lower-class inhabitants, or enhancing the economic perspective of the neighborhood. To answer that question, further research is necessary.

## Conclusion

To conclude, the process that causes gentrification has changed multiple times since it was first mentioned by Glass in 1964. In the last decades, the process has shifted from a natural process to an unnatural process that has been conducted by the national government in case of the Dutch context. Especially working-class neighborhoods are affected by this unnatural process, as they have a great share of social rented housing, which makes the housing associations an important actor in this process as well. The unnatural form of the contemporary gentrification can be both a direct process, such as urban policies on social mixing, as well as an indirect process that can be caused by the way the national government tries to control the housing associations after the privatization of the associations. However, as both processes aim to enhance the neighborhood livability by increasing the socio-economic status of a neighborhood, they have the same negative side-effect that causes a decrease in social cohesion. Therefore, it is unclear where the focus lies in these processes, helping the lower-class inhabitants in the neighborhood to grow socio-economically, or enhance the neighborhood status economically for profit.



## 6 THE ROSMOLENWIJK



Fig. 6.1 Eendrachtstraat  
By author



## 6.1 | History

This chapter will shed light on the history of origin of the Rosmolenwijk and how it has grown to the neighborhood it is nowadays. As mentioned before, the Rosmolenwijk is a textbook example of a working-class neighborhood. The neighborhood first began to grow at the beginning of last century because of the housing shortage, the Woningwet 1901, and industrialization. The main river of Zaandam, the Zaan, was the main conductor of this development. As industries started to take over the powerful makers-industry of the windmill, which Zaandam is famous for, the shores of the Zaan were transforming into an industrial stronghold. The Zaanstreek (area including Zaanstad, Oostzaan, Wormerland and Markenbinnen) is even mentioned to be the oldest industrial landscape in Europe (Oneindig Noord-Holland, 2015). In 1960, about 24,000 people worked in the Zaan industrial companies. That came down to 56 percent of total employment in Zaanstad. In 1994 that was 13,000 people, 25% of the jobs in Zaanstad. The shrinking industrial employment was offset by robust growth in the service sector, which provided 30,000 jobs in 1994, about 60% of Zaandam employment (Alten, Alten, Helsloot, & Kardinaal, 2010).

For the Rosmolenwijk, the industries were responsible for the rise of the first housing. To the east of the Zaan, the industries rose prominently between the water and the ditch (the Oostzijde). On the east-side of the Oostzijde, the working-class neighborhood started to grow (see Fig. 6.2 and Fig. 6.3). The part around the existing housing consists mostly of social housing as new housing associations shot out of the ground like mushrooms. Due to the housing shortage at that time and the rising demand for housing nearby the industries, the neighborhood became part of the Leonard A.'s visionary expansion plan. The expansion plan was also demanded by the Woningwet as that policy described that cities with more than 10.000 inhabitants were obliged to draw up a plan for urban expansion (Zaanstad, 2019). In 1919, the neighborhood was still in the early stages of its creation when a new urban plan was drawn up, with imaginative fan shapes with many parks, squares, and public greenery, but the bold design was not executed (as it was rather expensive). In the eventual allotment of the expansion plan, two courtyard-shaped neighborhoods and squares were created as a compromise at the end of the neighborhood. ZVH, Patrimonium, Leo XIII, and Goed Wonen (some of the previous housing associations) eventually all built their own neighborhood, including facilities (Zaanstad, 2019).

At the end of the last century, the industries started to disappear more often due to the deindustrialization and part of the employment shifted towards the service sector. The neighborhood, who had originally a strong work and living relationship, started to lose its industrial stronghold. However, a great share of the working-class inhabitants remained as the connection between the inhabitants was strong.



Fig. 6.2: Archive map of the Rosmolenwijk, 1909  
Source: Gemeentearchief Zaanstad



Fig. 6.3: Aviodrome Luchtfotografie of the Rosmolenwijk, 1930  
Source: Gemeentearchief Zaanstad



## 6.2 | Urban renewal

### 6.2.1 Zaanoevers

The previous chapter described the differentiation between the left and right of the Oostzijde. Whereas the bigger industrial blocks were positioned between the Zaan and the Oostzijde, the smaller grid with the housing rose on the right of the Oostzijde. Due to the deindustrialization, the industrial part of the Rosmolenwijk shifted from a monofunctional work environment towards a living environment as well. This development started around 25 years ago and is described as the Zaanoevers (shores of the Zaan). The photos of Fig. 6.4 and Fig. 6.5 are taken from about the same point of view and show the development of the southern part of the Zaanoevers, with ten years apart between the two photos.

However, as many developments in the urban environment, it did not go as originally planned. The community in the Rosmolenwijk was very attached to each other and the neighborhood as well. Therefore, with the coming development in the neighborhood, a stirring committee was founded by inhabitants and some other stakeholders to bring out advises to the municipality about their vision on the development.

The **urbanist of the municipality** mentioned the importance and concerns of the homogeneous character of the Rosmolenwijk, the spaces are functional, you don't just go and sit somewhere on the street on your own, but you go from A to B. This makes people more isolated, which is a pity for social control and cohesion in the neighborhood. The **chairman of the steering development committee** mentioned that this thought was shared by the committee. Therefore, the steering committee aimed for a better social mix in the neighborhood as well. The **district manager of the municipality** explained that the older part of the Rosmolenwijk mostly consists of family homes, with a great share of one parent families. The **urbanist of the municipality** explained therefore the choice for apartments for the Zaanoevers. Older people from the family homes that want to stay in the neighborhood can therefore move on to an elderly proof home with an elevator, making room for new inhabitants in the neighborhood as well.

Based on interviews



Fig. 6.4: Former industries along the Zaan, 1993  
Source: Gemeentearchief Zaanstad



Fig. 6.5: Apartment blocks of the Zaanoevers, 2003  
Source: Gemeentearchief Zaanstad





Fig. 6.6: Difference between western (right) side and eastern (left) side of the Oostzijde  
By author



Fig. 6.7: Entrance to semi-underground parking and 'public' space of the apartment blocks.  
By author

Sofar, the interests of **both the inhabitants** and the interviewees of the **municipality** seems pleased with these plans. However, the interpretation of the plans is where the friction started to grow. The first kind of friction was spatially. Research by Reijnders and Bosch presented that the development of the Zaanoevers increased the spatial fragmentation between the western and eastern side of the Oostzijde (2012). An example of this fragmentation is visible in Fig. 6.6. The interviewees of the research by Reijnders and Bosch mentioned that the Zaanoevers area was a place where they (the inhabitants of the older part) felt not welcome. The older housing was for them, and the new housing was for someone else. The way that the entrance of the parking garage and block entrance is situated is else not very welcoming for 'outsiders' either. The photo of Fig. 6.7 presents such entrance. Besides the different building typology, the new apartment blocks are literally cut of the older housing. The interviewees of the research by Reijnders and Bosch also mentioned that the inhabitants lost the connection with the Zaan, as they felt that the constructed jetty was for the apartment blocks as well.

The second kind of friction was more demographic. The apartments were rather expensive. Meaning that only the wealthiest of the older inhabitants of the original part of the Rosmolenwijk could move to the (senior proof) apartments. Whereas the original plan was to make apartments for the inhabitants of the Rosmolenwijk that want to move out of the family homes, the actual apartments were not available for them.

Based on interviews

The **chairman of the steering development committee** mentioned that the implementation of the plans was a compromise of different components. It was for example necessary to build more expensive apartments to create an economic basis to facilitate new services that the whole neighborhood can make use of. Also, the **urbanist of the municipality** mentioned the need for socio-economic balance in the neighborhood to facilitate social control and neighborhood cohesion. The **chairman of the steering development committee** also explained that in their advice reports to the municipality were more focused on smaller apartment blocks as well. Something that had a scale that connects more directly to the existing neighborhood. The **inhabitant of the apartment block** mentioned explicitly that she was not 'living with her back to the neighborhood,' as that has been mentioned about the inhabitants of the apartment blocks. **Both the inhabitants** mention the lack of interest that most inhabitants of the apartment blocks have in the neighborhood. The **chairman of the steering development committee**, **both the inhabitants**, and the **district manager of the municipality** mentioned that it was hard to connect the new and old people. Whereas the inhabitants of the older part appreciate the events by organized by its volunteers such as the neighborhood party, is it harder to organize such events as there are less participants and volunteers.



The third kind of friction comes from the housing typology that has been chosen for the apartment blocks. As mentioned before, the apartments are mostly not available for the inhabitants due to their price. But these expensive buyers-oriented apartments are also not mixed that well with other typologies. Therefore, the goal of social mixing is missing at all with the implementation of the plans. The higher classes that normally were used to provide socio-economic growth for the whole neighborhood is now isolated from the lower classes of the older part of the neighborhood. This way of isolating is connected to a lack of interest that the inhabitants of the apartment blocks have in their environment. Which is in contrast with the inhabitants of the older part keep their street clean and mention even the small square meter of greenery they planted themselves around the trees between the parking spots (see Fig. 6.8 and Fig. 6.9).



Fig. 6.8: Square meter with tree between parking spots, inhabitants planted and maintain their own plants.  
By author



Fig. 6.9: Flowerbed in public space with own plants of inhabitants. Sign mentions to keep the space dog poop free  
By author

## 6.2.2 Working-class neighborhood

Most of the social housing of the working-class neighborhood consists of cheap quality housing from after the second world war or even before as seen in “History” on page 96. At the beginning of this century, it was clear that the task for working-class neighborhoods is high due to socio-economic difficulties and the demand to make housing more sustainable, as described in “The challenges” on page 76. Therefore, Parteon took over the greatest share of properties in the Rosmolenwijk to formulate revitalization plans without the difficulties of having too many actors and stakeholders in the plan making. However, there was some resistance in the neighborhood with the revitalization plans. The housing was now affordable, the inhabitants had a great bond with their neighbors and environment, and the inhabitants were afraid the neighborhood would lose its characteristics as the city center of Zaandam is radically changing towards a kind of neo-Zaanse stijl which some Zaankanters (people from Zaandam) mention as a fake version of the Zaanse huisjes (older wood housing with recognizable green and blue colors). The worry of the inhabitants seems reasonable as street after street will be demolished and built-up again from scratch. Fig. 6.11 on page 104 shows the drastic changes in the urban texture and Fig. 6.10 gives an impression of what some of the new streets look like.



Fig. 6.10: Re-built housing of the Belgischestraat  
By author



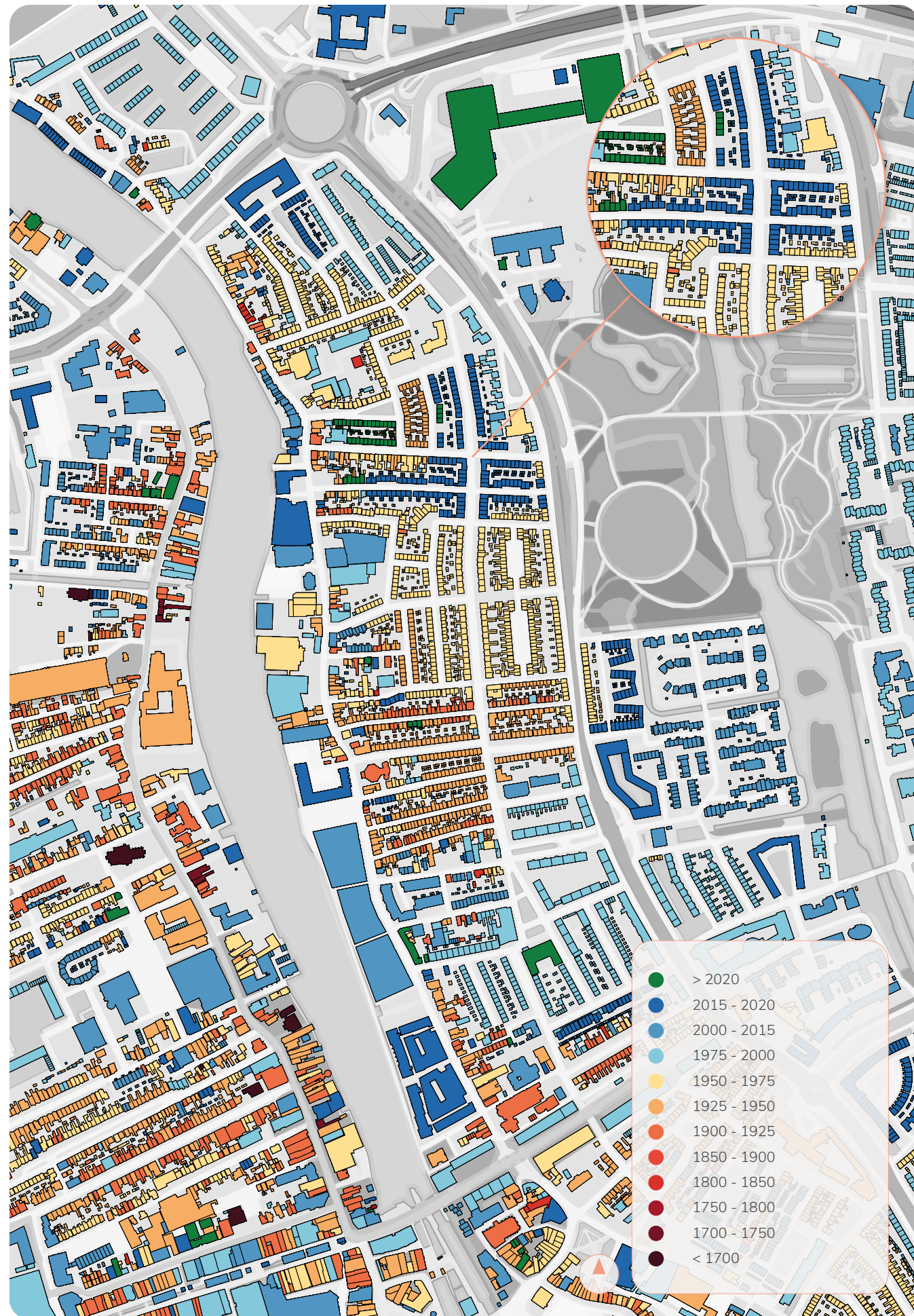


Fig. 6.11: Building years, clear re-built structures in the existing urban environment  
By author, based on 3D BAG

Based on interviews

Both the **inhabitants** expressed their worries about some of the urban renewal that took place in the Rosmolenwijk. They mentioned the Kopermolenstraat which was one of the first streets to be renewed. However, as the blocks were already demolished, the project was put on hold due to financial concerns. With the safety issues that came with the empty plots, Parteon finally continued the project as the **chairman of the development steering committee** mentioned. The compromise was that the housing was cheaper built than originally planned, leaving the inhabitants with blocks they do not aesthetically appreciate (see Fig. 6.12). Luckily, they were more pleased with the results with other, more recent, projects (see the street of Fig. 6.10 on page 103). Other discussion points in the interviews were the services and public spaces of the neighborhood. Both the **inhabitants** mentioned the importance of the Dekamarkt (supermarket) in the Rosmolenwijk. However, this store is outdated with some empty buildings around that area. Also, they mentioned the smaller local shops that were disappearing within the neighborhood along with the notion that it had probably nothing to do with the new inhabitants, but rather the durability of such small stores in the current economy. Moreover, the **chairman of the development steering committee** mentioned the lack of a general development vision for the whole neighborhood. Both the interviewees from the **municipality** confirmed this as well. The **urbanist of the municipality** explained that this is caused due to the limited financial room the municipality has for projects, meaning that the municipality must make choices in their finances and time. Currently, the focus is more on areas with a higher priority for densification and urban transformations ('MAAK-gebieden'). However, the **urbanist of the municipality** mentioned that for the Rosmolenwijk the urban revitalization projects are still handled with care and they work in collaboration with Parteon on this to make sure to get most out of these projects. Both the **interviewees of the housing association** confirmed the collaboration on these plans as well.



Fig. 6.12: Re-built blocks in the Kopermolenstraat, compromise on the aesthetics  
By author



Fig. 6.14 presents the areas around the Rosmolenwijk that do have visions. As stated before, the Rosmolenwijk is not included in such vision. Although the Zaanoevers (again, cut on the Oostzijde) is included in the 'MAAK.gebied centrum'. Therefore, it can be concluded that the area along the Zaan is, again, a different space and separated from the working-class neighborhood. When this statement came up in the interview with **the urbanist of the municipality**, it was mentioned that indeed this was a different area, although the counter-question was mentioned by the interviewee if this was a problem or not.

The answer, in general, is of course no. A different typology or identity in a neighborhood can improve the living quality due to the livelihood that can be brought by the different inhabitants and urban environments. However, when this difference is generating friction between the old en new inhabitants, the answer shift towards a maybe or even a yes. At least, there is room for improvement the increase the social cohesion between one another.

The friction mentioned before is mostly from the perspective of the working-class neighborhood inhabitants. However, there is also friction from the Zaanoevers inhabitants towards the working-class neighborhood. An example of this was mentioned by the **district manager of the municipality**. The inhabitants of the Zaanoevers have a different lifestyle, in contrast to the working-class neighborhood, they live more privatized. The way the apartments are constructed is encouraging this privatization as well with its underground parking and semi-public spaces between the apartment blocks (as seen on Fig. 6.6 and Fig. 6.7 on page 100). With this privatization comes the aspect of appropriation of space. On warmer days in the summer, the inhabitants of the working-class neighborhood are seeking out cooling and shelter from the sun. The Zaan and the walkway are therefore suitable places (Fig. 6.13). However, the inhabitants of the apartments along the Zaan experienced noise nuisance due to the reverberation of voices along the block. Those who live in the apartments demanded many times to make the walkway privatized as they mention it as space that belongs to the apartment blocks. Although, the **district manager of the municipality** mentioned that technically it is not allowed to swim in the Zaan, they do not want to privatize the walkway as it is a public space. Community police officers are therefore used to end legitimate nuisance in the late hours, but other than that, nothing happens.



Fig. 6.13: Walkway along the Zaan  
By author

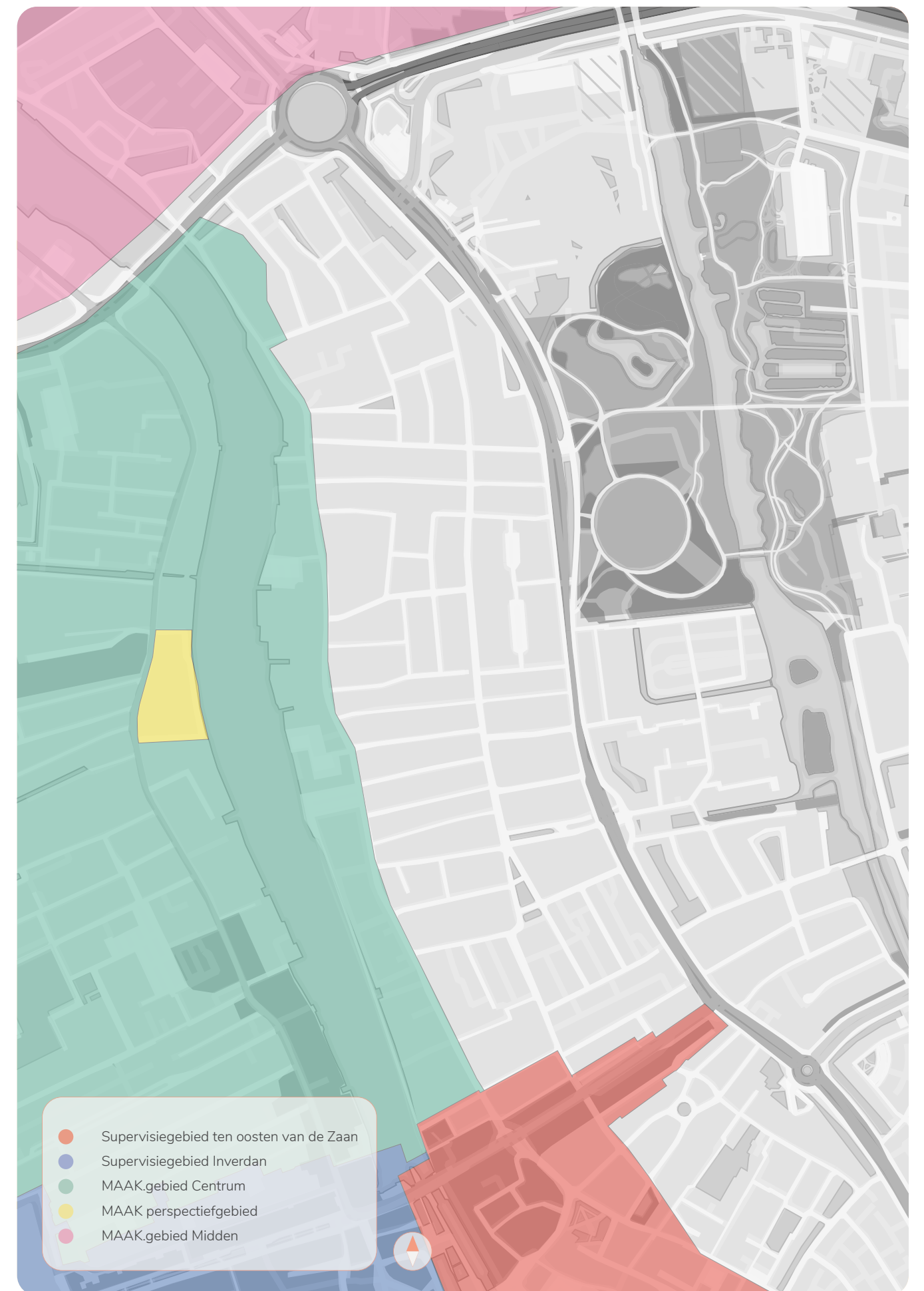


Fig. 6.14: MAAK.gebieden (bigger projects in Zaanstad) with a general area vision for the coming years, Rosmolenwijk excluded  
By author, based on 3D BAG and geo.zaanstad.nl



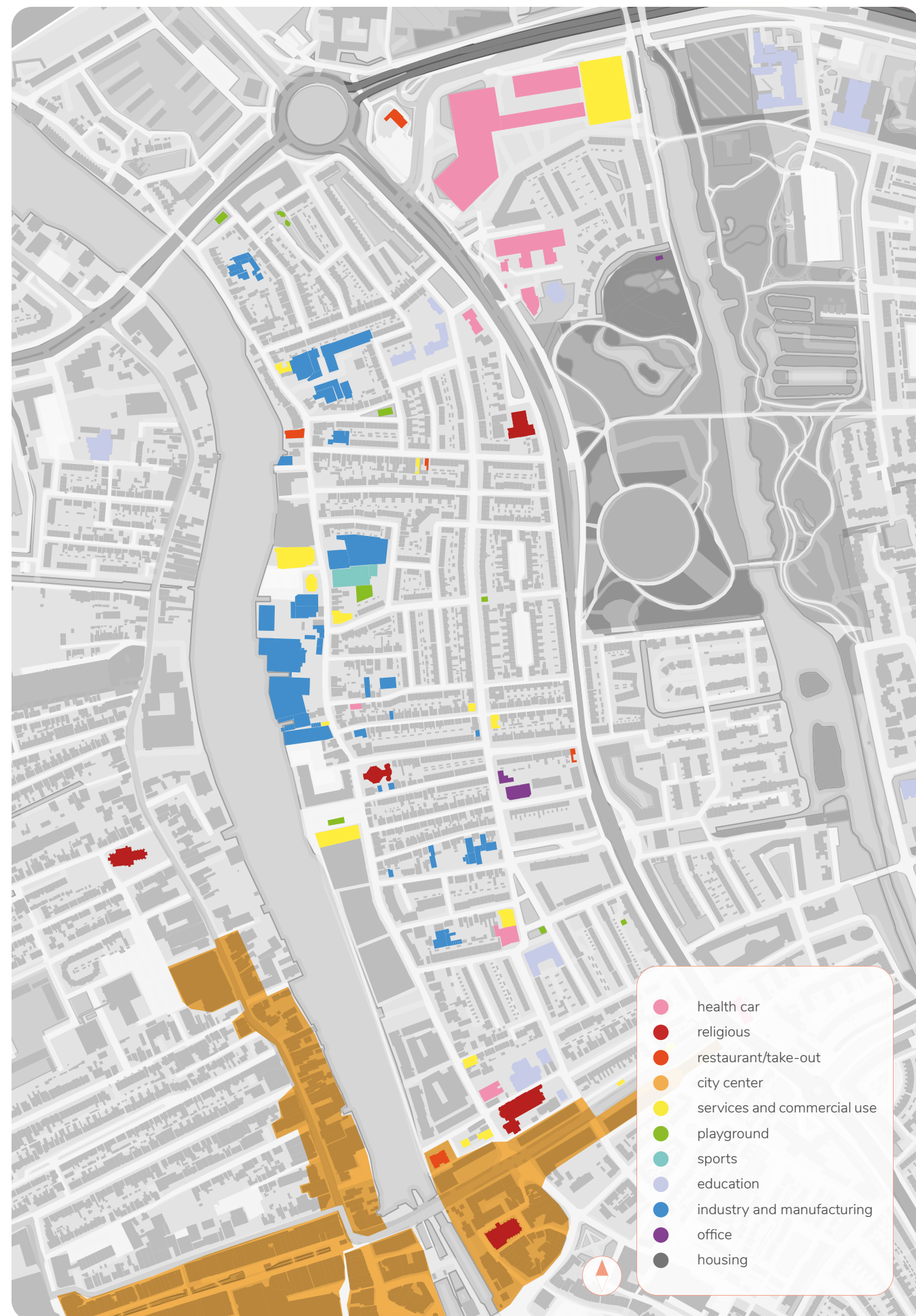


Fig. 6.15: Building functions in the Rosmolenwijk  
By author, based on 3D BAG and geo.zaanstad.nl

## 6.3 | Use of space

The base of how a neighborhood is used is determined by both its internal and external characteristics. The sketch of Fig. 6.16 presents the position of the neighborhoods in a bigger scale. The Rosmolenwijk has a strong position between the city center (with a train station) and ‘t Veldpark’. Also, the Rosmolenwijk is easily connected with the highway and other main roads in Zaanstad, making it an excellent location for commuting. The location, combined with the working-class neighborhood characteristics of the Rosmolenwijk makes the neighborhood an interesting living environment for current and future inhabitants (gemeente Zaanstad, 2021). The research of the municipality of Zaanstad mentioned that the most stated reasons to live in the Rosmolenwijk is ‘pleasant, quiet neighborhood with varied small-scale buildings’ and ‘location in relation to the center and many amenities, close to the highway’ (gemeente Zaanstad, 2021, p. 4). This was mentioned by **both the inhabitants** as well. They also mentioned that the Rosmolenwijk had some variety of services and goods and the proximity to the city center was complementary to this (see Fig. 6.17 for the map with building functions).

The research also mentioned some absence of favored characteristics in the neighborhood. For example, greenery in the neighborhood itself. Both the interviewees of the research by the municipality as the interviewed **inhabitants** (for this research) appreciate the proximity to the park but mention the lack of greenery on street level. This is due to the parking problems and the rather small

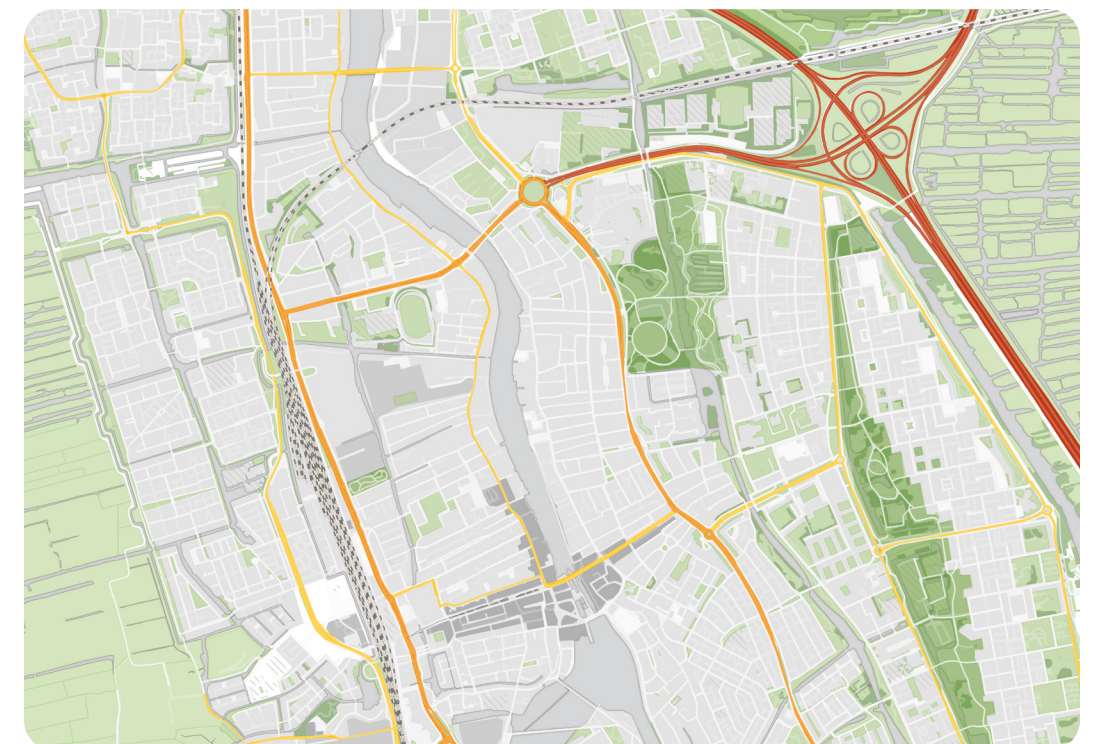


Fig. 6.16: Sketch of main network around the Rosmolenwijk  
By author



0 m  
75  
375  
750



Fig. 6.17: Estimated routes with the usage of space through the Rosmolenwijk  
By author, based on 3D BAG and geo.zaanstad.nl

streets. The **urbanist of the municipality** mentioned that the proximity to the Zaan is causing the street level to drop. When the streets are renewed, the root system of the trees are often damaged. Therefore, most of the trees need to be replanted and need decades to fully grow and provide shadow. Also, the research by the municipality pointed out the lack in diversity in shops, and the low quality of the few public spaces there are right now. With this, the interviewees by the municipality mentioned the poor maintenance of the streets, dirt around the waste containers, the poor condition of many homes, noise pollution, the changing composition of the population, dog poo on the street, and drugs and crime in some parts of the neighborhood and in the park (gemeente Zaanstad, 2021, p. 8). This is different for the housing at the Zaanoevers, although they do realize that it is primarily a luxury enclave in the neighborhood and contact with the neighborhood is limited.

The research by the municipality also asked the interviewees the point out some locations and functions they find important in the area. This information, combined with both the interviewed inhabitants (of this project), two scenarios are put down on the map that presents an estimation of how the neighborhood is used (see Fig. 6.17). The red route describes an estimated usage of a family with kids on the Kopermolenstraat, and the green route describes an estimated usage of a older (senior) household. This study expresses the importance of streets like the Oostzijde en the Rosmolenstraat as backbones to move through the neighborhood. Also, locations such as the Dekamarkt, Roggeplein, and the square with schools are areas that are, or can be, of great importance to conduct social cohesion between the inhabitants. The studies of Fig. 6.18 on page 112 highlights this importance even more.





Fig. 6.18: Heatmaps of usage throughout the day  
By author, based on Srava, and stories of interviewees

09.00

In the morning, the main infrastructure network lights up. People start commuting from their home to their work, parents bring their children to the public school (also outside the neighborhood), and some inhabitants might go to the supermarket (in or just outside the neighborhood). Also, some of the industrial functions start to light up, as some people might go to work from the neighborhood or abroad.

Less likely to light up at this time is the park, it is mostly used to go through while going to the destination. However, some might use it to walk the dog or go for a run.

Also noticeable is city center in contrast to the train station and other infrastructure. As there is some activity as the stores need to be supplied or some stores open rather early, it is not that busy. The streets behind the shopping street are also more suitable to go to the train station as well.

14.00

In the afternoon, the educational functions are still visible, although it is less busy than the mornings without the commuting. The main infrastructure is still rather active although less crowded as well. At this time, the use of the infrastructure switch from commuting to a more recreational use. With this it can be implied that people use it more often to go to stores and supermarkets. Also, restaurants that serve food will light up. Only, those functions are rather scarce in the neighborhood. There is one that was mentioned by the **inhabitants** nearby the bridge in the south of the Zaanoevers called 'de Fabriek'. Therefore, the public functions in the neighborhood and city center start to light up better. It is important to note that the infrastructure that is used in the neighborhood does not really change although the kind of users does change.

Also, the park starts to have more recreational users besides the people that go through the park.

20.00

In the evenings, the recreational areas start to light up, such as the sporting fields at the top of the map, the sports hall (the Struijck), and the park. Also, the restaurants that serve dinner will take over most of the activity that shops had during the afternoon. Meaning for the city center that the activity shifts towards the 'Dam'.

Furthermore, in the warmer evenings, the walkway along the Zaan will conduct some activity as well. The same can be mentioned for the playgrounds (of schools), where some children will be playing as well.

Other functions connected to the industries will (mostly) go black, as activity for those industries are during the day to reduce noise.

Noticeable are areas with different functions combined, they stay active throughout the hours but with different accents. The Roggeplein has a school and some shops that conduct multiple activities. The same for the supermarket across the sports hall. Also, the two schools and daycare to the north conduct multiple activities with the industries next to it.







DESIGN

## 7 VISION & STRATEGY



Fig. 7.1: Rosmolenstraat  
By author





Fig. 7.2: Vision map  
By author

## 7.1 | Vision

The research chapters presented that the revitalization plans have good aims, but the outcome are creating socio-spatial friction and therefore missing the goals of revitalizing the whole neighborhood. In this vision, the current structures and characteristics of the neighborhood are more embraced to start making the revitalization plans. In Fig. 7.2 the main axes (Rosmolenstraat, Oostzijde, and Kopermolenstraat) are used as backbone of the plans. They are connecting centers in the neighborhood that are (or in the future are) attracting forms of usage throughout the day by many target groups. Therefore, those areas are the focus areas to aim for better social cohesion between the new and native inhabitants. This vision contains starting point in three categories on the: centers, society, and luring development.

### 7.1.1 Centers

The centers are key in connecting the new with native inhabitants. The centers form the base (semi-) public places where one meets the other. Therefore, it is important that new and native inhabitants have interest in using those areas to realize that they live in the same neighborhood, use the same functions and services, and actually are not that different from each other. In this vision, it is therefore important to mix the existing characteristics that the native inhabitants value so much, with the functions and services some higher income groups might appreciate as well. The combination of these factors functions as a place maker, something that is recognizable for both the new and native inhabitants. The design of the centers defines how this is filled in.

### 7.1.2 The society

The society part of the vision focuses on the housing typologies that are connected with the revitalization projects. To enhance the results of social mixing, the target groups will be mixed within a smaller area (instead of cluster, I advise a mix within one cluster). Also, the gaps between the new and native inhabitants need to be smaller to enhance the shift of socio-economic classes. One can imagine that the living environment of a starter's apartment, social housing, and middle-income housing is more similar than those of family housing that would sell for over € 500.000, -. Therefore, the mix of social groups will be less isolated. Also, with the ongoing urban renewal of existing social housing blocks, it is recommended to create the new revitalization plans with social housing that will welcome those who are replaced within those renewal plans. They are key to connect the new inhabitants with the existing community of the working-class neighborhood, that of course needs to be preserved.





Fig. 7.3: Focus areas for the design task  
By author

### 7.1.3 Luring development

The previous chapter mentioned the importance of ownership in these revitalizations plans as many of the plots in the neighborhoods are owned by either housing associations or private owners. With the interviews it became clear that a municipality has low control of the plots that are owned by the private sector. However, this increases the importance of making the plans as interesting as possible for the private owners to chip in. Therefore, plans that overstep ownership boundaries should be made as well to fulfill the goals of the revitalization plans. Of course, plans that are designed with ownership boundaries can fulfill the goals of the revitalization plans as well. Only, the combination of multiple areas and the advantage of its surrounding will enhance the outcomes of the plans and decrease the possible fragmentation and socio-spatial friction between the new and native inhabitants.

## 7.2 | Focus areas

The areas are chosen based on the usage within the neighborhood. These three areas have the most potential to enhance the social cohesion between the inhabitants as they attract different types of usage throughout the day (see Fig. 7.3). The next pages will zoom-in on each of the mentioned locations.



## 7.2.1 Schools & Industries

The most northern area has a link to the past. Besides the cluster of the industrial environment (Fig. 7.5) in the middle of the block, this area has one of the oldest remaining cloche farms of Zaanstad, which is currently used as a living environment (see Fig. 7.4). Also, this is an area with two primary school buildings and a school care. However, both the schools as the social housing surrounding it are in need of some urban renewal (Fig. 7.6). The same applies for the industrial functions in the neighborhood which is currently underused or even empty. The design task therefore needs to define new housing for both new and native inhabitants while preserving the older characteristics of the working-class neighborhood.



Fig. 7.5: Industrial environment in the middle of the working-class neighborhood  
By author



Fig. 7.4: Old 'stolp' farm, now used as housing  
By author



Fig. 7.6: School care block next to the two primary school buildings  
By author



## 7.2.2 Dekamarkt & de Struijck

The Dekamarkt is the key area for groceries in the neighborhoods, for both the inhabitants of the Zaanoevers as the working-class neighborhood. However, the current environment is nothing more or less a supermarket with a parking (Fig. 7.7). Although the public space is connected to the Zaan, the use (besides the artwork with benches) is rather weak. Also, the connected blocks to the supermarket are empty office spaces. Even if the office spaces were in use, the usage would be limited to working hours. Perhaps here lays the potential for intensification.

On the other side of the Oostzijde is the sports hall de Struijck located. However, the facade on the street remains relatively anonymous as the entrance is positioned at the other side of the block (this had to do with urban policies at the time when the sports hall was constructed)(Fig. 7.8). However, the sport hall is able to facilitate other usage throughout the day, alongside the supermarket. However, the entrance therefore needs to shift towards the main axis to centralize the usage of both environments. Also, the just demolished industries at the northern side of the sports hall provides potentials for the aimed social mix of the vision (Fig. 7.9).



Fig. 7.8: Back of the sports hall, along the Oostzijde  
By author



Fig. 7.7: Renewed part of the Rosmolenstraat  
By author



Fig. 7.9: Just demolished industries between housing and the sports hall  
By author



### 7.2.3 Roggeplein

The Roggeplein is a central point along the Rosmolenstraat and contains of small shops owned by the inhabitants of the Rosmolenwijk, together with some functions of the social district team. Also, there is a primary school connected to the square which provides a playful environment for the children of the neighborhood after school time as well (Fig. 7.10). Therefore, this square functions quite well in terms of bringing new and native inhabitants together.

Although, there are some design values that will help to make the square even more child and visitor friendly, most of those criteria are being rolled out right now as this document is being formulated (Fig. 7.11). The new design shifts from being infrastructure dominated to public space dominated (Fig. 7.12). The roads through the area are cut till only the necessities for a good neighborhood connection and the greenery is put central within this design as the current inhabitants were missing in their neighborhood.

Therefore, the design part will focus on the first two locations and not the Roggeplein, to explore the areas with the biggest potentials to increase the socio-spatial cohesion.



Fig. 7.11: Roggeplein under redevelopment, stores on the left, new square to be on the right  
By author



Fig. 7.10: Just renewed primary school at the Roggeplein  
By author



Fig. 7.12: Plan for the renewed Roggeplein  
Source gemeente Zaanstad



# 7.3 | Conclusion

To conclude, the three main locations are selected to enhance the social cohesion between new and native inhabitants. The challenge here is to stimulate the owners of the plots in the selected locations to start a certain development. The task in the next chapters with the design application of the locations is therefore a combination of defining an attractive design that is interesting for both new and native inhabitants, but also for the owners to choose the proposed plan instead of a standard plan where the profit is central. This conclusion relies back to the conceptual framework with the enhanced framework of the author (Fig. 7.13 and Fig. 7.14).

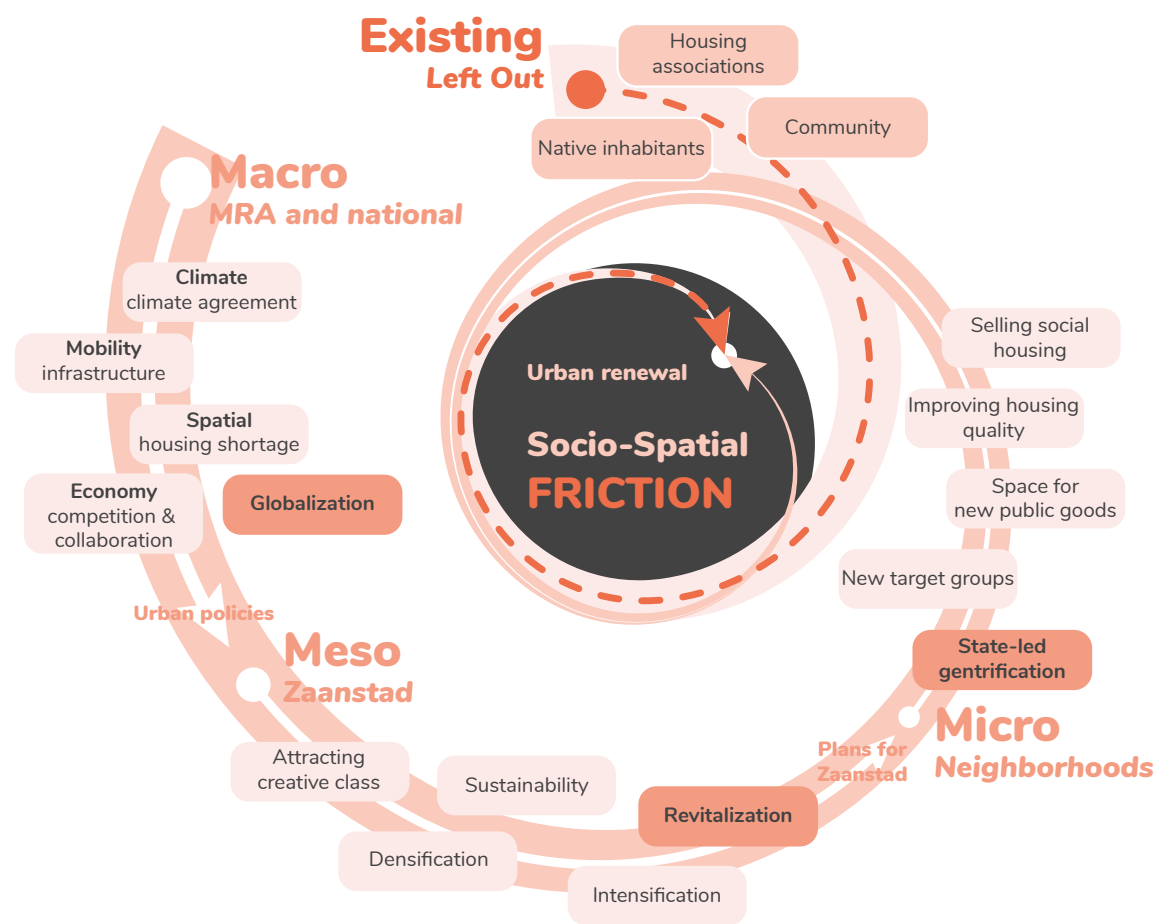


Fig. 7.13: Conceptual framework  
By author



Fig. 7.14: Enhanced framework based on research aim  
By author



## 8 SCHOOLS & INDUSTRIES



Fig. 8.1: Primary schools In 't Veld  
By author



# 8.1 | Exploration

The first location is positioned at the top of the neighborhood and consists of housing surrounding a cluster of industries and a primary school with school care. The ladder pattern of the infrastructure (Oostzijde and Rosmolenstraat as the core with the side streets as stairs) is stopped in this area. For the Oostzijde, this means the scaling down of traffic flows further to the north, and for the Rosmolenstraat end in a node with two primary schools and a school care to the west (Fig. 8.2). Therefore, this area has the potential to be of great importance for the neighborhood as it is on the fringe of the main infrastructure network. Also, the schools are a great attractor for the inhabitants and function as a landmark in the network.

Currently, the area is underused. Firstly, the school care is spatially separated from the two primary school buildings with a separate playground as well. This area is only in use at specific and limited times during the weekdays, while with other schools this is often integrated in the primary school itself. Besides that, the playgrounds of the schools are private and closed with a gate after school hours. However, as the location is such a familiar place for the inhabitants, it has the potential for a wider use throughout the day.

Secondly, on the west of this area, there is a cluster of industries in the middle of a large block of housing. The backs of the housing are facing the industries while the entrance of the area is positioned at the Oostzijde (and a small gate nearby the schools as can be seen in Fig. 8.7 on page 136). The industries itself, Timp & Simons Hospitality Electronics, has taken most of its activity to a different location in the south of Zaanstad. Currently, most of the activity is from the small car mechanic that is from the block in the south of the industries. The owner puts away some of the owned cars on the underused terrain of the industries.

And thirdly, in-between the schools and the industries are two blocks of social housing. This housing is in a poor condition (quality and rotten foundation) and has been mentioned to be renewed within the next few years. The combination of low quality, good location, and mono functionality provides the right conditions for urban renewal that can also enhance the socio-spatial cohesion between the new and native inhabitants in the neighborhood.

However, to create an environment that fulfills such goal, different actors and stakeholders need to work together. Fig. 8.3 presents the ownership boundaries and therefore the difficulty to have urban renewal that invests in the public space as well, in terms of a public space that is for both new and native inhabitants. One can imagine that each owner has their own needs and demands whenever they want to start a renewal project. In general, financial profit plays big part in these decisions. Therefore, the goals of the design chapter are to present a design that oversteps these ownership boundaries to enhance the financial profit for the owners, while also achieving the goals of this thesis and therefore the goals of the revitalization plans of the municipality.



Fig. 8.2: Satellite view of location  
Source Google Earth, September 2020

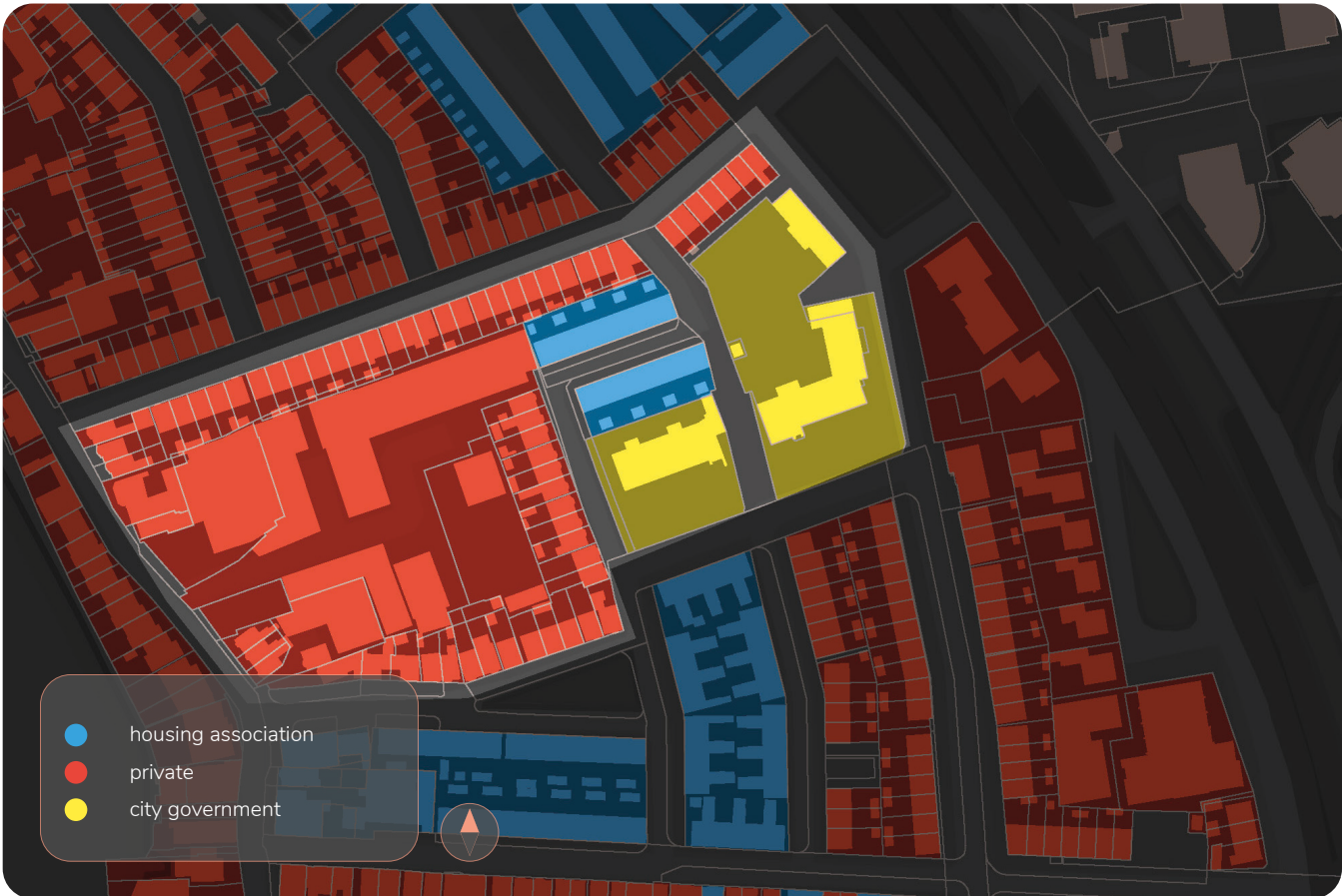


Fig. 8.3: Ownership of plots  
By author, based on 3D BAG and geo.zaanstad.nl



The function map of Fig. 8.6 suggests the multifunctionality of the location. Different activities appear as there are some industries, a bike shop, car mechanic, primary schools, school care, and a general practice. In practice, this is not the case. The bike shop has already left for a new location in the neighborhood (which is more central), the industries has found a different location within a more industrial environment in the south of Zaanstad (deindustrialization), and the schools and school care are only active throughout the weekdays and working hours.

Besides, the clustering of these functions without connecting living environments directly to it (the housing is mostly positioned with the backs to these areas), provide a low environmental quality to the neighborhood. This can be seen in Fig. 8.5 where there is no housing facing this building. Due to the limited use, it is unclear if it is still in use. Fig. 8.4 presents the entrance to the industries, but currently, the activity is limited, most of the terrain is cut off with gates and the location has no visitor function for customers, and the underused location is mostly used as a car parking for the car mechanic next doors. However, this area has a great potential to be renewed in an environment for the inhabitants of the neighborhood. The old farmhouse, which is one of the oldest remaining farmhouses in Zaanstad, in the middle of the area is even a hidden gem that could be presented more. Only the roof of the farmhouse is presented in Fig. 8.4.



Fig. 8.5: School annex, after-school care  
By author



Fig. 8.4: Industries of Timp & Simons Hospitality Electronics, terrain underused currently, the car mechanic uses it for storage  
By author

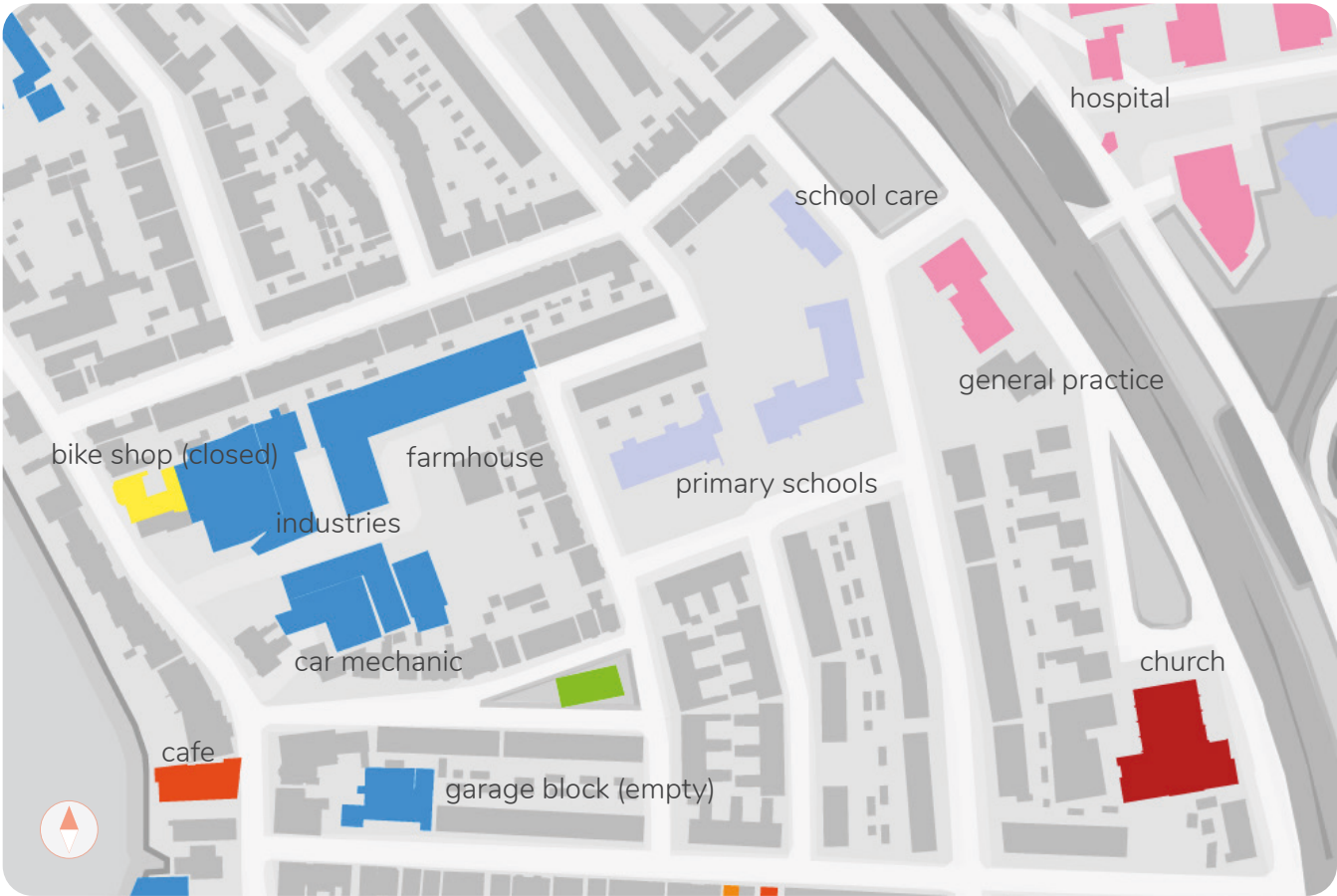


Fig. 8.6: Functions in the area  
By author, based on 3D BAG and geo.zaanstad.nl



# 8.2 | Guidelines

To stir the new development in the right direction for both new and native inhabitants, but also for the owners of the plots, some guidelines are conducted. The spatial guidelines of Fig. 8.9 are built up from the perspective of preserving key elements in the current situation. In this case, these are the two primary school buildings and the old farmhouse. These key elements need to be put central in the new design as landmarks connect the new and native inhabitants to their direct urban environment. Therefore, the importance of sight lines rises. The old farmhouse will be visible from the Oostzijde to invite both new and native inhabitants towards the new internal public space. Therefore, a counter element will be introduced to invite inhabitants from the other side as well, which will be visible from the locations of the current gate of the industries in Fig. 8.7. The in-between public space will conduct the social cohesion between new and native inhabitants.

Furthermore, the current pedestrian corridor needs to be remained between the two schools (Fig. 8.8). However, the importance needs to be improved due to its function and surrounding environment to enhance the socio-spatial cohesion. Therefore, it can be more than the 'hop-off' area for students.



Fig. 8.7: View from the school towards the gate at the corner of the industries  
By author



Fig. 8.8: Sight line between the two schools  
By author

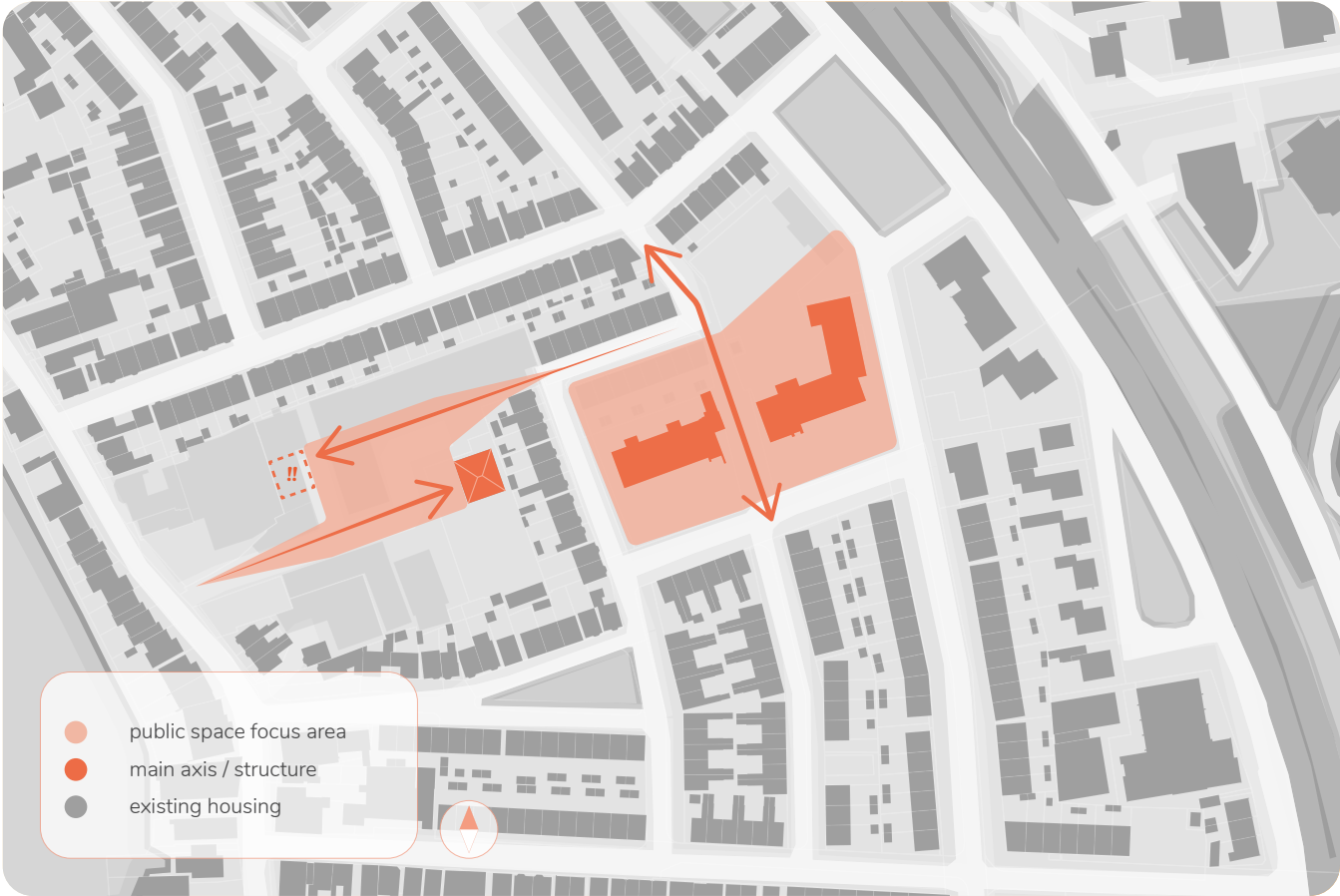


Fig. 8.9: Spatial guidelines  
By author



Moreover, the research chapter revealed the importance of the neighborhood characteristics. Therefore, the image of the Oostzijde needs to be embraced with the new building facades (Fig. 8.10). The repetition, parcellation, and individualism of the facades are key for this part of the Oostzijde, and therefore provide some guidelines as presented in Fig. 8.12. Again, the visibility of the old farmhouse is of great importance for the connection with the historical context. The entrance of the new public space will facilitate the sight line towards this monument (Fig. 8.11).

Also, the existing building blocks will be put back-to-back with the new blocks, to enhance the connection of the housing towards the existing and new public spaces. Therefore, the southern block of the soon to be renewed social housing will be placed elsewhere. The land can be traded with part of the current underused school care with the municipality. The new blocks need to be put in such parcellation where the sight lines of the guidelines in Fig. 8.9 on page 137 will be respected.



Fig. 8.10: Housing along the main road, the Oostzijde  
By author



Fig. 8.11: Old farmhouse in between the industries, Zoomed-in photo from the Oostzijde  
By author



Fig. 8.12: Guidelines for facades  
By author



# 8.3 | New design

Fig. 8.13 and Fig. 8.15 presents the 3D impression and the overview of the new design. The public spaces, and the connection of the surrounding housing to this space is central in this design. The housing typologies are defined with care for an improved way for social mixing, as seen in Fig. 8.14. Therefore, it remains important that the different owners work together on this new design, in terms of increasing profit as exceeding the ownership boundaries as well as the right social mix to make the environment attractive for new and native inhabitants. The new mix aims for a mix on the smaller scale. While connecting these different lifestyles to each other (with a smaller gap than the very wealthy with the less wealthy) to the central public space, they achieve the perception of living and sharing the same environment. Therefore, they receive similar feelings for spatial attachment and care about their shared surroundings. Although, the inhabitants explained the importance of having enough parking spaces, these spaces come second within this design and will be positioned further from the center of the public spaces (along the streets or clustered at the backs of the blocks or sides of some housing block. While this means some inhabitants have to walk a little further to their car, it also means that this more possibilities for social contact in the public spaces.

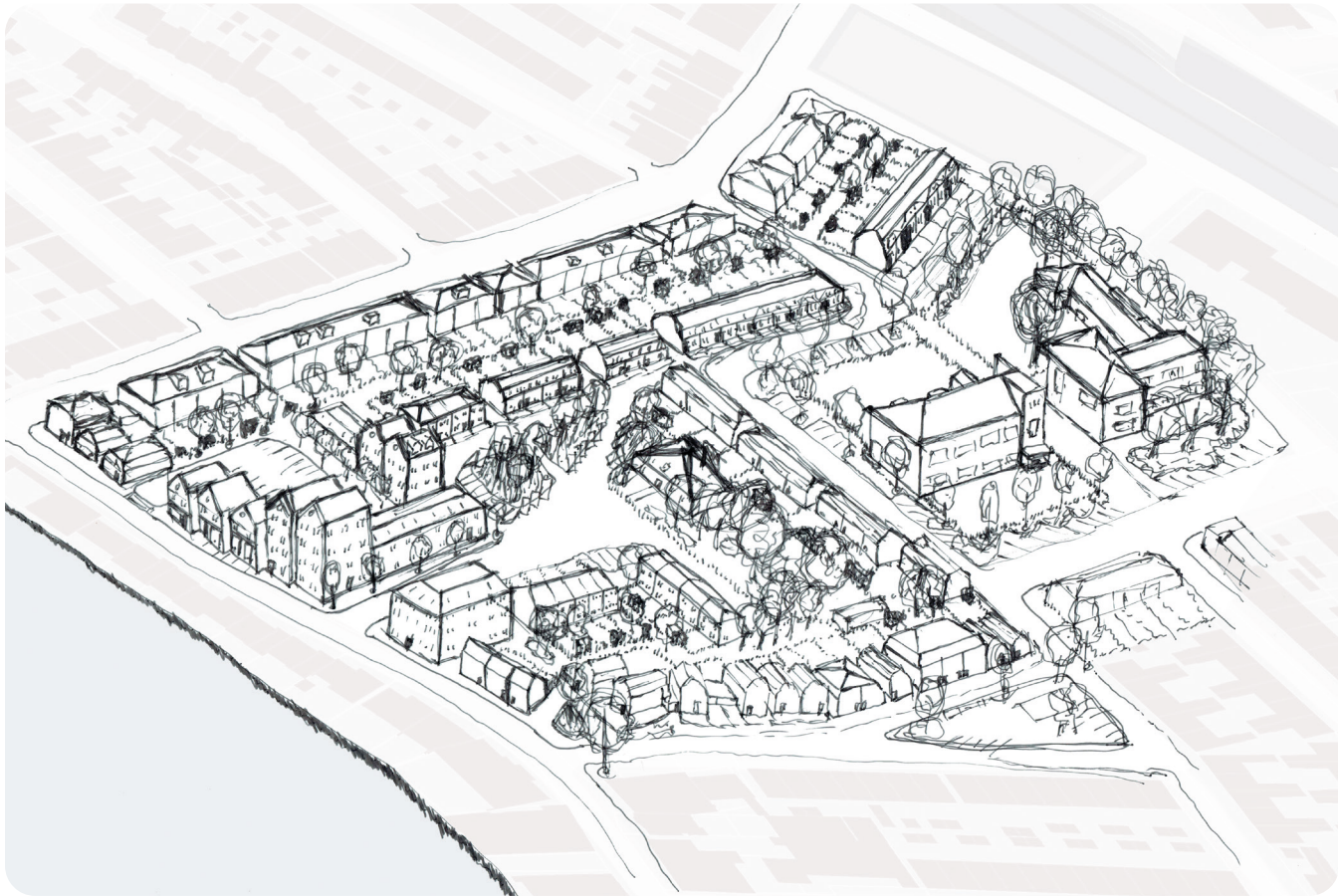


Fig. 8.13: 3D impression of the new design  
By author

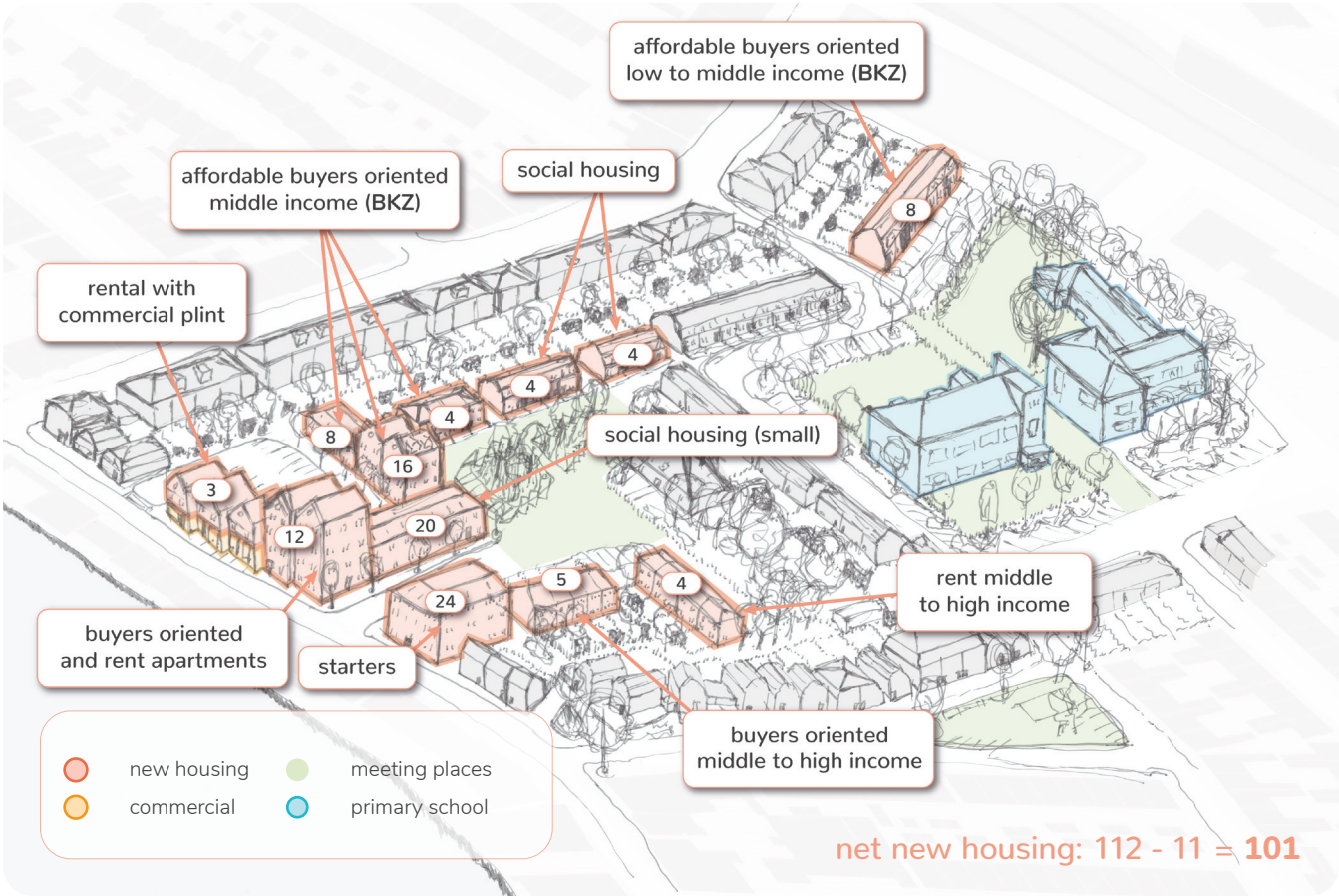


Fig. 8.14: Housing typologies with new social mix  
By author

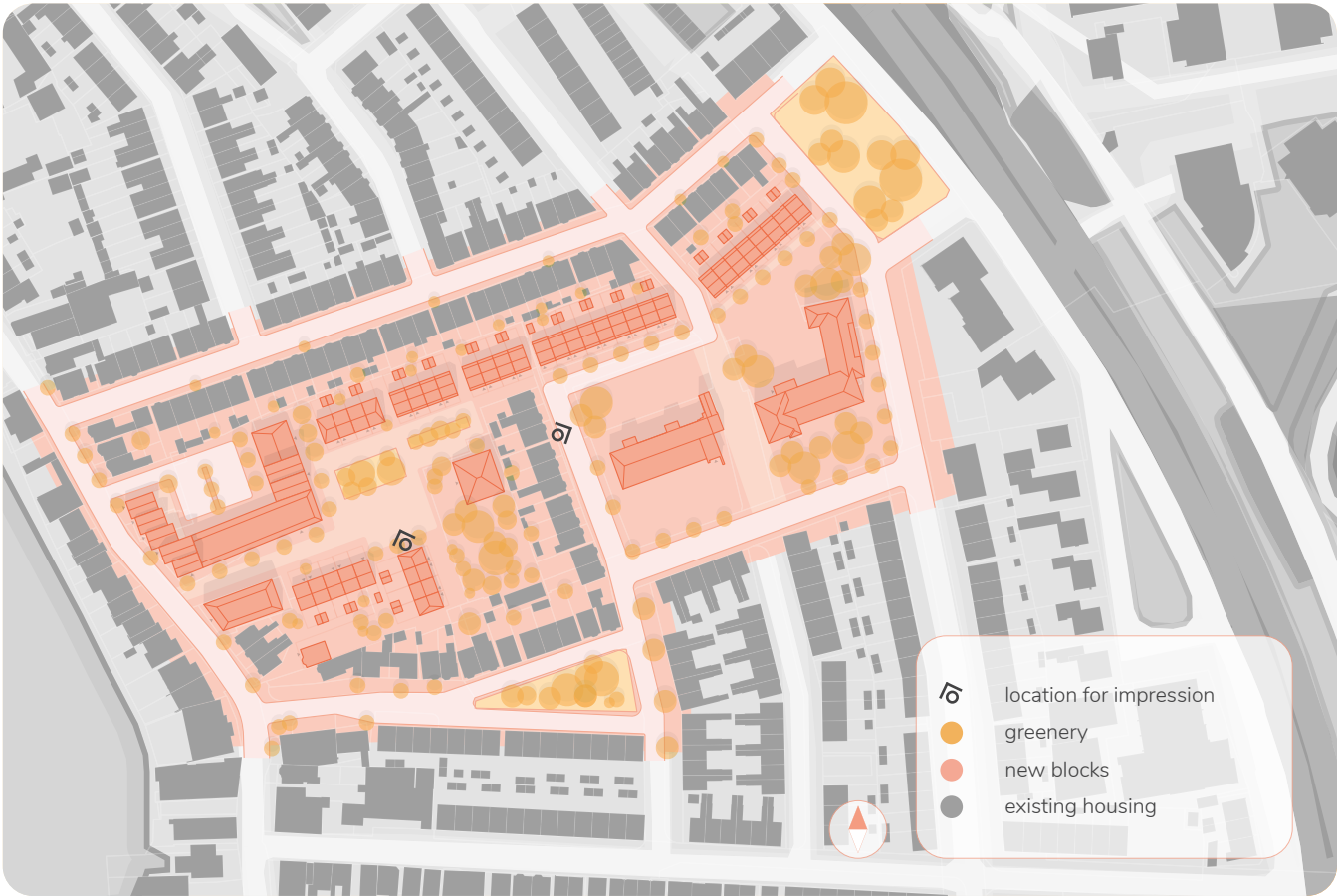


Fig. 8.15: Overview of the new design  
By author



Fig. 8.16 gives an impression of what the public space could look like. Some of the housing is based on the housing of the Oostzijde such as Fig. 8.10 on page 138 and Fig. 8.17. As mentioned before, the housing on the Kokerstraat is going to be renewed and with this new design, the recognizable elements will return in the new design. The public space went from the private industrial site (Fig. 8.18) towards a space connects the new and native inhabitants together. The area is mostly pedestrian oriented as the road is not continues for motorized traffic from the Oostzijde to the Kokerstraat, making this area great for children to play on the street or facilitate neighborhood activities.

The design also consist of more greenery as that has been missed by both new and native inhabitants. These plots of greenery match well with the character of the old farmhouse and are inspired by the public gardens of the neighborhood (mentioned in Fig. 8.19). The existing public gardens are also designed to park around it, whereas in this design it is preferred to keep to public gardens free of parking to enhance the public space quality. However, with current pressure on parking in the neighborhood, it is possible to temporary create parking spots around some parts of the public gardens (not all sides) until new spots are created nearby.



Fig. 8.16: Impression of new public space, old farmhouse on the right, new various housing with accent on the left and greenery  
By author



Fig. 8.17: Housing on the Kokerstraat between the school and industries, used as an aesthetic reference for new housing  
By author



Fig. 8.18: View from the other side (relative to the impression) of the current situation  
By author



The second impression (Fig. 8.19) represents the new public space on the north side of the school. One of the blocks of the social housing is being demolished for this design, which was planned for urban renewal due to the bad quality. This block finds a new spot further to the back in the image. Therefore, the existing blocks are now facing the public space (left block of the Kokerstraat Fig. 8.17 on page 143). The street profile is now wider and more pleasant in front of the housing. Also, the public square has social control from the housing facing the square. The space on the north side is not a back of the school anymore, but a new front as the social housing block is no longer cutting off this facade (Fig. 8.21).

Secondly, with the social housing block moved to a new location (in the extension of the Kokerstraat), the axis between the two schools becomes stronger (Fig. 8.20). With now, all the housing is facing the schools, enhancing the safety of the neighborhood as the social control is growing. This is important as this part of the neighborhood is used by young children. They are familiar with the area of the schools and often want to plant after school hours. The new square on the north makes it therefore possible to use the area more actively throughout the day.

Lastly, the design introduces more greenery into the neighborhood, as demanded in "Fig. 6.19: Representation of the importance in and around the Rosmolenwijk on page 114. This new greenery is not sacrificing more parking spaces as these are still positioned at one side of the street with the same number of spots.



Fig. 8.19: Impression of new public space, in place of soon to be demolished social housing  
By author



Fig. 8.20: Soon to be demolished social housing blocking the axis between the schools  
By author



Fig. 8.21: Backs of the social housing are defining the appearance of the north side of the school, about the same spot as the impression  
By author



As mentioned before, to fulfill the goals of this design, the owners need to cooperate with each other and the municipality. This means that owners need to look creative at their own plot and that of their neighbors to facilitate urban renewal that still conducts profit with the demands of the municipality connected to social mixing and revitalization plans. For this location, the ownership boundaries are drawn on top of the design in Fig. 8.22. Here it is visible that some new blocks are spread out over multiple plots. Without exceeding these boundaries, the possibilities are sometimes rather limited. To facilitate the planning of this urban renewal, the municipality can take on the role to lure the owners towards such kind of investment. This means that they should stir how the costs and profits will be managed as this is no longer 100% connected to ownership. The design proved the importance of a high-quality public space. Therefore, one can imagine that the municipality can buy the public space for the owners or make clear arrangement on the implementation of the space or the maintenance.

More specifically for this area is the land exchange between the municipality and the housing association in the area of the primary schools. With this exchange, the housing blocks face the playgrounds and public squares connected to the schools, therefore enhancing the living environment. Meanwhile, the housing association can invest their renewal of the Kokerstraat in a new location that next to the kokerstraat, and at the same time as the construction of the other social housing in this area. Therefore, only profit will come with this exchange of mainly the same square meters.

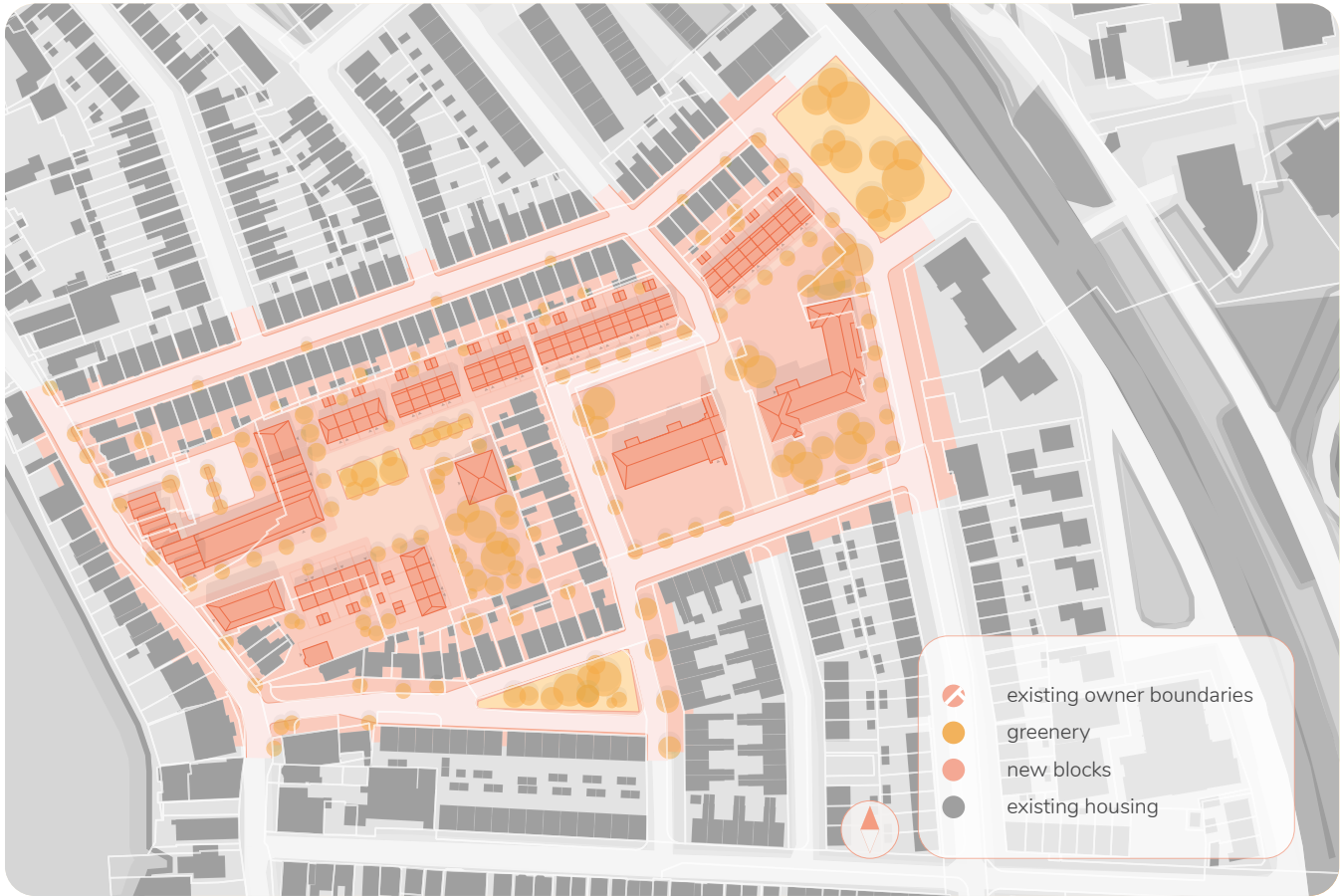


Fig. 8.22: Overview of the new design with plot boundaries of current owners  
By author

## 8.4 | Conclusion

The design presented the potentials for urban renewal that exceeds the ownership boundaries. With a design like this, owners no longer have to focus on creating all the demands on their own plot (housing, parking, infrastructure, etc.) but can cooperate to make one great plan that facilitates all needs and demands on a bigger location. They can share costs and profit to come around in these plans.

Also, the municipality can now stir more on the development to achieve the goals of their revitalization plans as these plans consists of a larger area and more housing, making the impact bigger. One can imagine that social mixing is also more acceptable in such a large project for owners and investors instead of a project with just one housing block. Especially if the value rises through the investment in a public space that increases the socio-spatial cohesion between new and native inhabitants and therefore increases the livability of a great share of the neighborhood.



# 9 DEKAMARKT & DE STRUIJCK



Fig. 9.1. Art with benches along the Zaan, at the parking of the Dekamarkt  
By author



# 9.1 | Exploration

The second location is central in the neighborhood and directly connected to the Zaan. It consists of a supermarket and a closed flower shop with empty offices on top and a big parking lot. On the east side of the Oostzijde is the sports hall and some industries which is recently demolished. Around these functions is the housing positioned and some industries of Danisco Zaandam B.V. that is still in use. An overview of this area is presented in the satellite view of Fig. 9.2.

The area consists of mainly private owners, which makes it hard for the municipality to stir new development (Fig. 9.3). However, the area is in high demand for some development as the quality of the public spaces is low.

Firstly, the area of the supermarket is not very inviting to stay, although it is one of the few areas where there is a connection with the Zaan. It is located between a big anonymous apartment block on the north, at the back of the supermarket, and a big industrial cluster to the south. Also, to the right of this area is no connection to housing as this is where the old industries and the back of the sports hall is located. As the owner of the supermarket with offices is the owner of this whole plot, it is up to him/her to facility urban renewal. Here also lies the importance the municipality to lure such development and increase the spatial quality.

Secondly, the cluster of the sports hall and industries is cutting the human scale out of the fine-grained living environment of the working-class neighborhood. The industries are recently demolished and will be developed for new housing. More on those plans in “Current plans” on page 154. However, with the entrance on the back of the sports hall, the facade on the main infrastructure, the Oostzijde, remains closed and uninviting.

And lastly, the blocks along the Oostzijde, to the south of the supermarket remain all empty. It is unclear if the different blocks are all from the same owner or different owners due to their different house numbers, but all these empty blocks together with the uninviting character of the area demand some urban renewal.



Fig. 9.2: Satellite view of location  
Source Google Earth, September 2020



Fig. 9.3: Ownership of plots  
By author, based on 3D BAG and geo.zaanstad.nl



Moreover, the area has a lot of potentials to increase the living environment and play part to increase the socio-spatial between the new and native inhabitants. The different functions in Fig. 9.6 presents the importance of the area due to its different functions. When the importance of the functions is increased and better connected to each other, it is more likely that the quality of the public space can increase as well.

One thing would therefore be to flip the entrance of the sports hall (Fig. 9.5) to the Oostzijde en present some activity that the recognizable blocks hold. The owner of the sports hall explained that they have no regular income, and such investment is not feasible for them. Unless there is a way to increase budget to make such project more realistic.

Secondly, the area with the supermarket is heavily underused as seen in Fig. 9.4. There is no activity at the waterfront of the Zaan besides parking and some benches, most of the blocks are empty and left to decay while the supermarket is the only function left in use. The supermarket should function as an attractor throughout the day and facilitate the meeting and use by both new and native inhabitants. The empty blocks show therefore to potential for renewal as well.



Fig. 9.5: Oostzijde, view towards the sports hall  
By author



Fig. 9.4: Oostzijde, view towards the supermarket  
By author



Fig. 9.6: Functions in the area  
By author, based on 3D BAG and geo.zaanstad.nl



## 9.2 | Current plans

The images of Fig. 9.8 and Fig. 9.9 present the current plans for the renewal that takes place for the old industries next the sports hall. Although, the plans are a great step forward and a huge improvement of the current area, there are some flaws to be mentioned in relation to the aim of this thesis.

First of all, the social mix. The prices of Fig. 9.7 reveal the kind of social mix that is envisioned with this project. Although there is a certain variety between more affordable and expensive housing, there is still a gap for starters and new social housing. The more north and west one goes in the neighborhood, the more privatized the area becomes. Therefore, in terms of a good social mix, it would have been nice to see those groups as well. Especially considering the direct housing around this block, which is all middle-income family housing as well.

And secondly, the design is very privatized in terms of orientation and public spaces. The main space is just a big parking lot, there is a small patch with a bit of greenery with a small semi-public space as it is enclosed between the housing, and all the backyards are facing this public space which makes it less inviting for the neighborhoods to see this environment as a meeting spot. Only the housing in the new street next to the sports hall has car free space which can be used as a public space. However, these few houses are facing a blind wall while the parcellations makes the street narrower, defining it more as a go through space than public space.

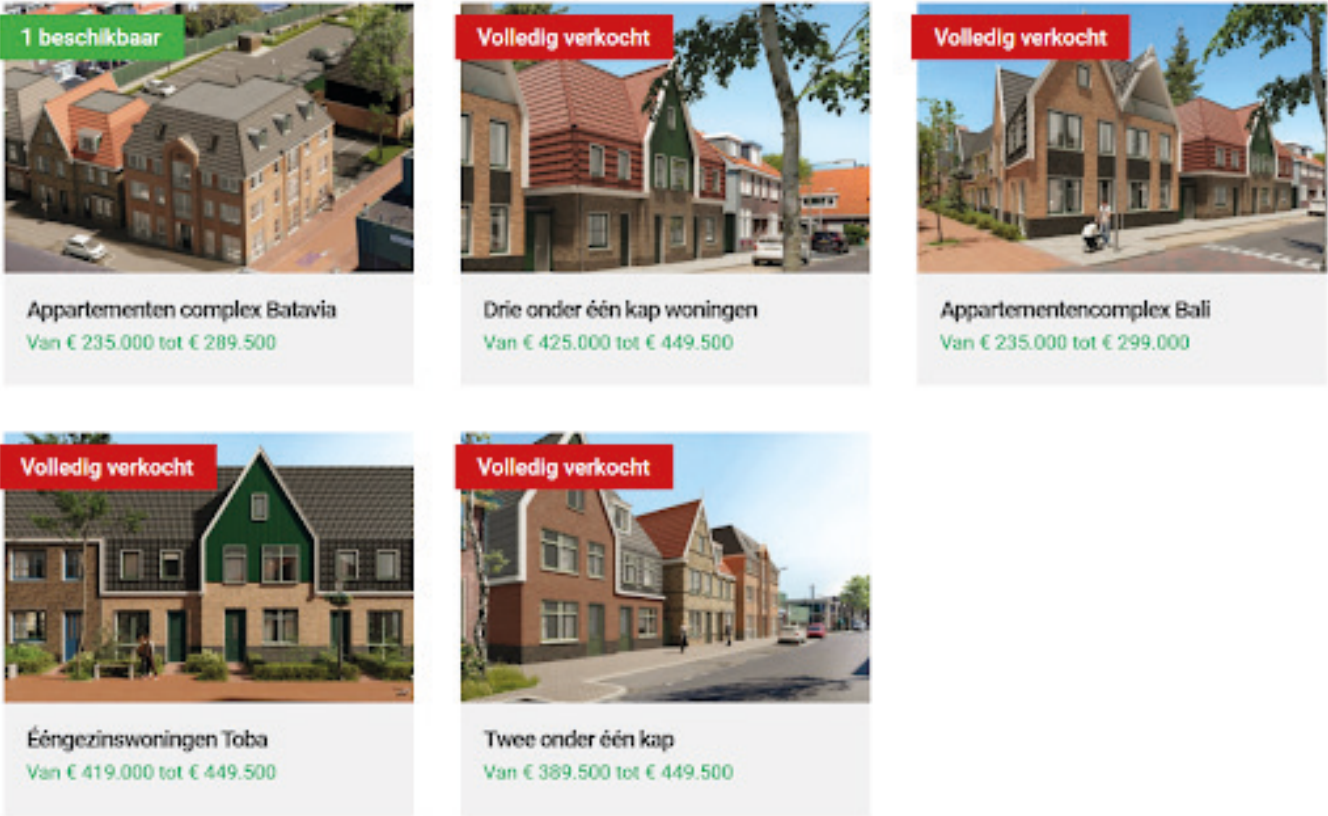


Fig. 9.7: Prices for current plans for the replacement of the industries, called De Betawi  
Source: Thijssen Makelaardij



Fig. 9.8: Current plans for the replacement of the industries, called De Betawi  
Source: Thijssen Makelaardij



Fig. 9.9: Public space of current plans for the replacement of the industries, called De Betawi  
Source: Thijssen Makelaardij



# 9.3 | Guidelines

To stir new development in the right direction, again, guidelines are defined. These guidelines are based on the attraction to the square with the supermarket and the Zaan. Also, the blocks will be built as a whole with again the back-to-back principle of the previous chapter. Therefore, the human scale will be reintroduced.

Fig. 9.12 presents the main axis that are put through this area. Aligned with these axes are the lines of the edges of the blocks. The new street will come next to the sports hall where the industries are recently demolished, as seen in Fig. 9.11. The axes come together in the square where the parking lot and the supermarket are currently. The new entrance of the sports hall will also face towards this square, with a new cafeteria along the Oostzijde. This square next to the Zaan will be the new key location of this area (Fig. 9.10). Therefore, the area needs to bring more activity throughout the day. Think about other shops and functions and new housing. The entrance of the square will be aligned with the new road next to the sports hall, therefore attracting and revealing part of the new program and enhance the connection to the Zaan.



Fig. 9.10: Parking lot for supermarket and view across the Zaan  
By author



Fig. 9.11: Recently demolished old industries next to the sports hall  
By author



Fig. 9.12: Spatial guidelines  
By author



9.4 | New design

Based on the guidelines, a new design has been created. An overview of this plan is presented in Fig. 9.13 and Fig. 9.15. First of all, the supermarket will move to the south of the area, starting on the plots of the empty buildings. As housing will be placed on top of this new blocks, it becomes interesting for the owner to facilitate such development. Connected to this is the new block with commercial plinth on the place where the supermarket was. This block is less deep than the old supermarket and is therefore aligned with the new street next to the sports hall. With the new housing on top of that block as well, the visual image from the Oostzijde has a coherent character. Secondly, the old canteen and part of the parking lot at the back of the block will make room for new housing. As this land is owned by the sports hall, this will increase the budget for the new canteen at the Oostzijde and part of the new street. Therefore, the recognizable sports hall is now actively present in the urban environment. Also, this shift will shape new room for parking spaces next directly to the blind wall of the sports hall. Combined with the parking lot of the supermarket and parking in the new street, the parking in the middle of the current plans is not needed anymore. Therefore, the housing can move back towards the existing housing and create a new, more public space in front of the housing, which is more friendly and inviting towards new and native inhabitants. All the new housing will have different typologies that mix well with the surroundings as presented in Fig. 9.14.

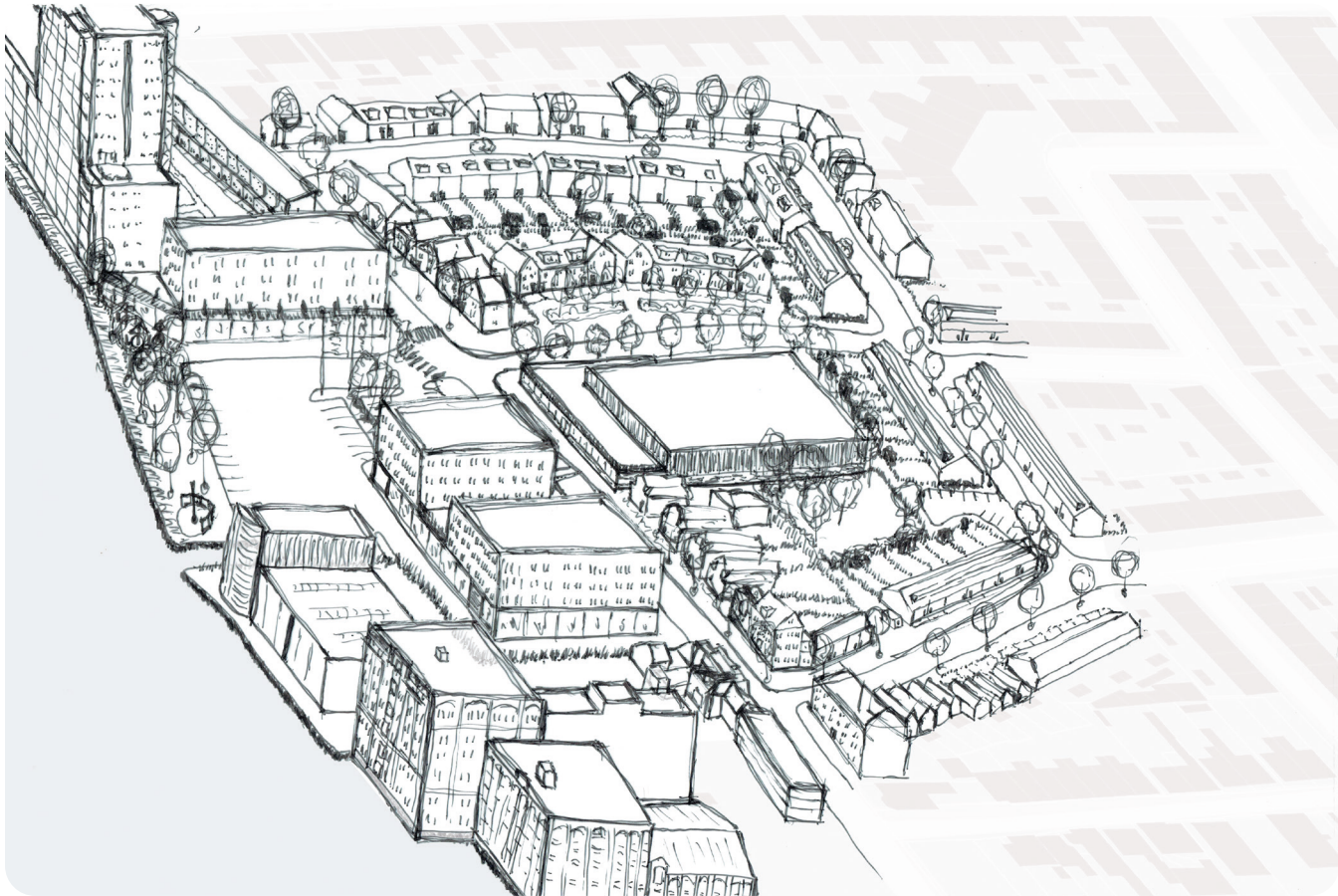


Fig. 9.13: 3D impression of the new design  
By author

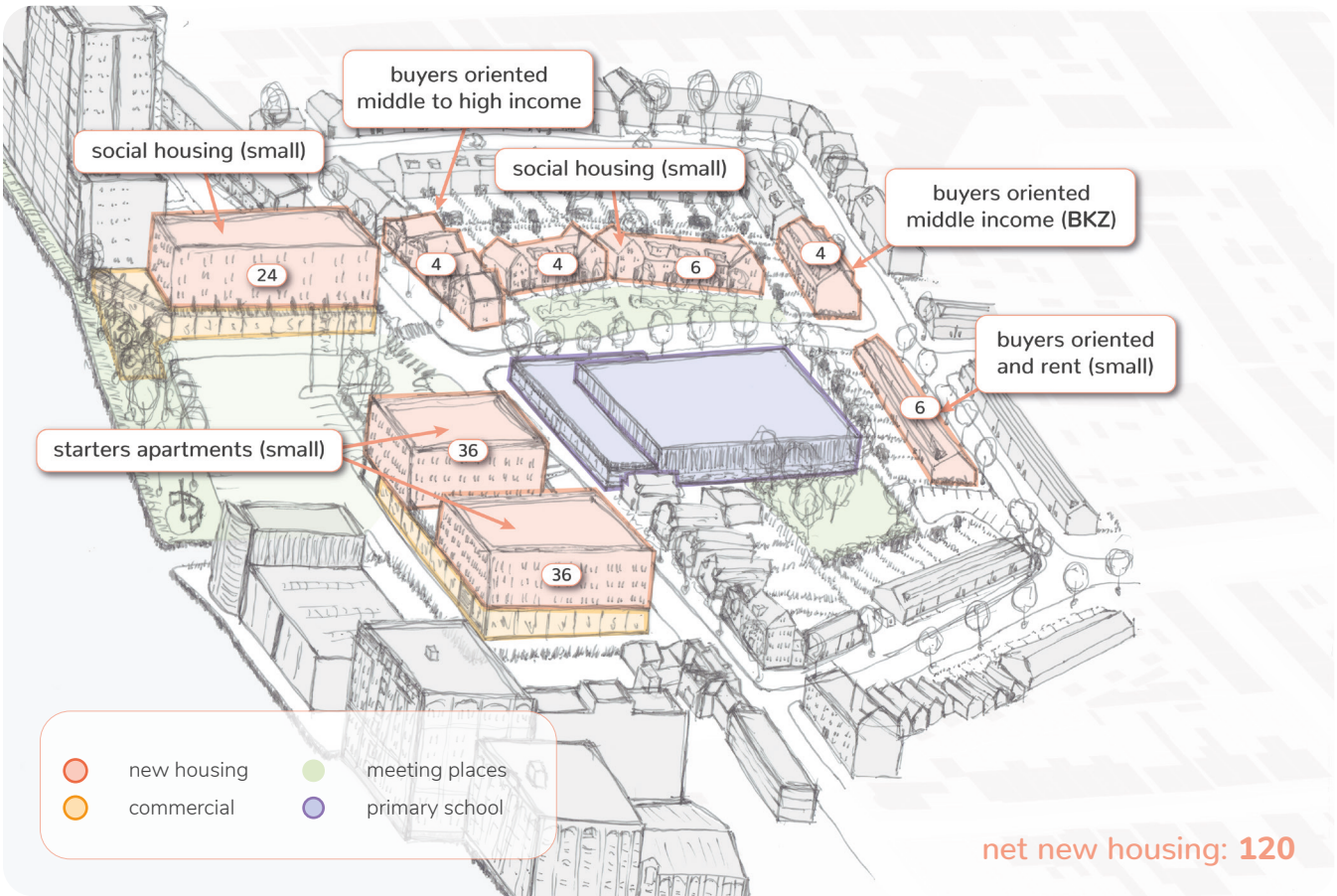


Fig. 9.14: Housing typologies with new social mix  
By author

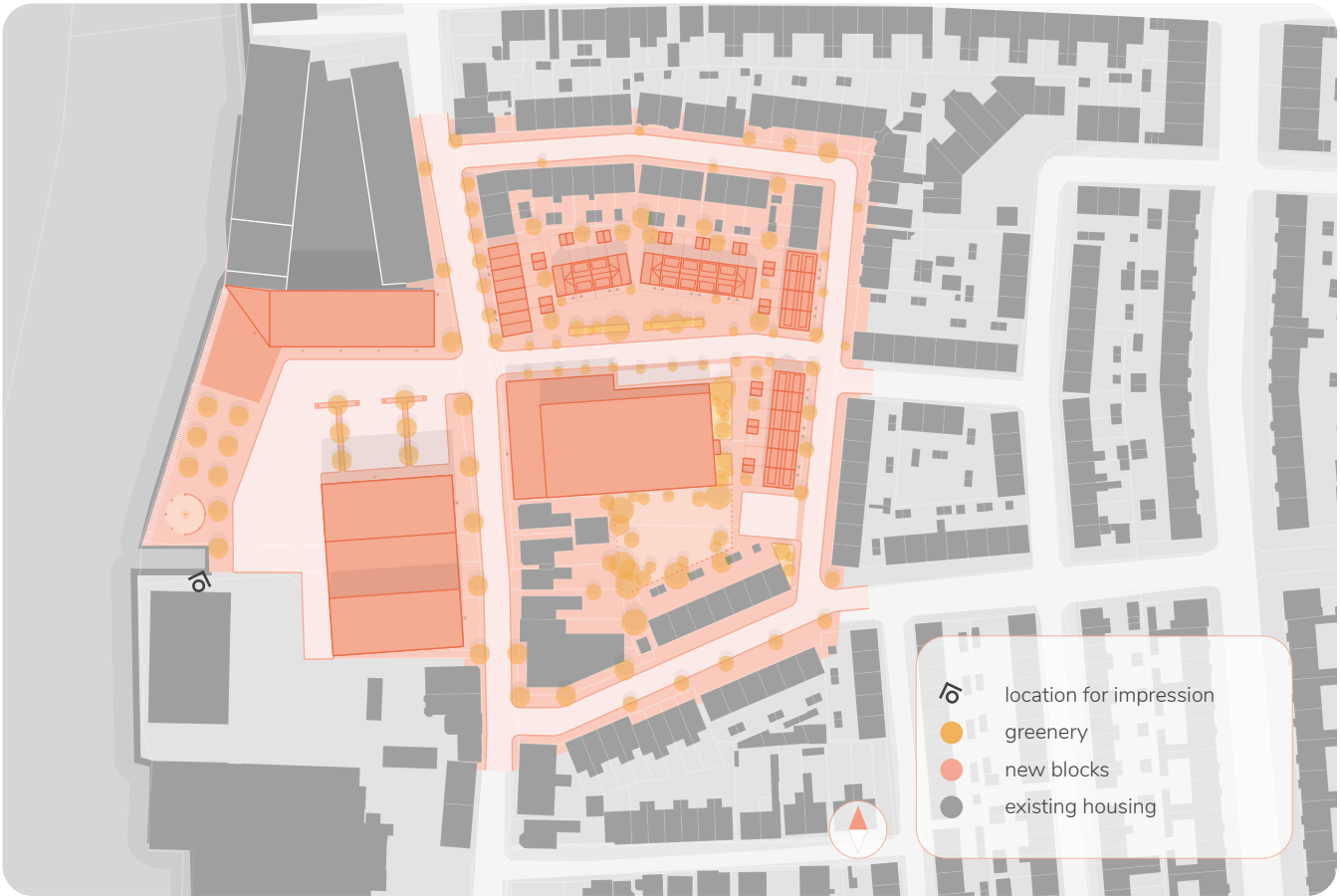


Fig. 9.15: Overview of the new design  
By author



Fig. 9.16 is an impression of the new square. The impression has been made from about the same spot as Fig. 9.18 and still elaborates on the existing art piece with benches as shown in Fig. 9.17. The area has more shops which will attract more people towards this square. Also, there is a second terrace introduced in the neighborhood as this has been mentioned by many inhabitants as mentioned in “Fig. 6.19: Representation of the importance in and around the Rosmolenwijk on page 114. This terrace is put along the walkway along the Zaan and can be seen directly from the Oostzijde. This walkway can in the future perhaps be connected with the existing walkway that is more to the south of the neighborhood whenever the Zaanoevers is developing even further.

Furthermore, as the square is central in the neighborhood, it can provide space for new activities such as a small fair, neighborhood market, or other activities provided by the community center.



Fig. 9.16: Impression of new public square with the supermarket, shops, terrace along the Zaan, and new housing  
By author



Fig. 9.17: View across the Zaan from the parking lot, with art and benches  
By author



Fig. 9.18: View across the parking lot towards the supermarket and empty offices  
By author



The possibilities rise when owners contribute together on the urban renewal. To fulfill the goals of this design, the owners need to corporate with each other and the municipality. This means that owners need to look creative at their own plot and that of their neighbors to facilitate urban renewal that still conducts profit with the demands of the municipality connected to social mixing and revitalization plans. For this location, the ownership boundaries are drawn on top of the design in Fig. 9.19.

Firstly, to enhance possibilities, the owner of the supermarket can invest in the plots to the south of his plot. Together with these plots, the owners can build two blocks with housing that increases his profit, instead of one new block or two smaller blocks. Also, the new space provides room to invest in an attractive public space.

And secondly, the owners of the old industries and sports hall should work together in their locations. While only a small plot of land will be exchanged with approximately the same size, the owner of the industries can build an extra block of housing, and the owner of the sports hall has the financial possibilities for the new entrance and canteen (as the land for the new block should be worth more than the unbuildable part along the sports hall).

Therefore, again, the municipality can play a role to facilitate such corporation and in the meanwhile stir the development in terms of the revitalizations plans to increase the socio-spatial cohesion between new and native inhabitants.

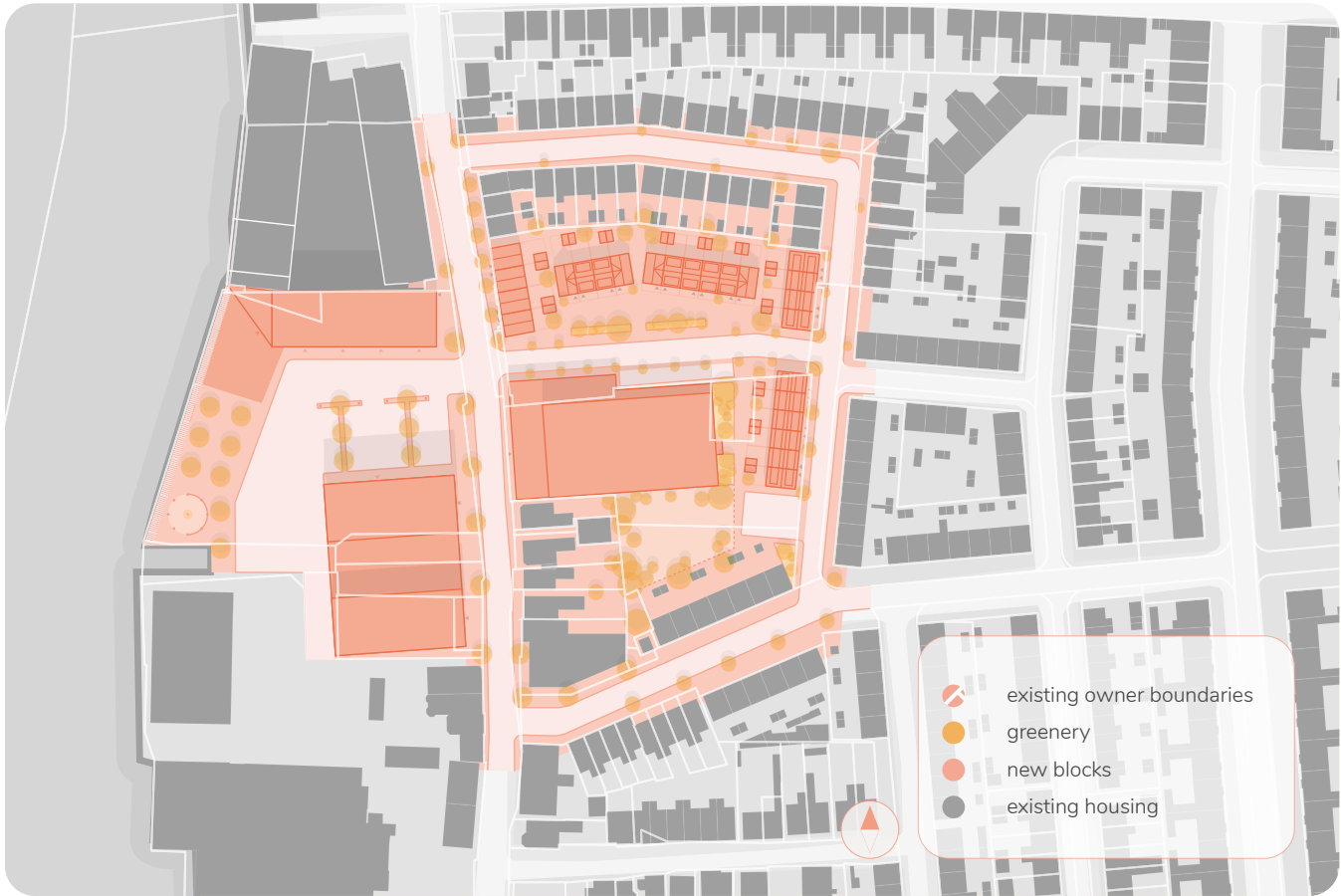


Fig. 9.19: Overview of the new design with plot boundaries of current owners  
By author

## 9.5 | Conclusion

The design presented the potentials for urban renewal that exceeds the ownership boundaries. With a design like this, owners no longer have to focus on creating all the demands on their own plot (housing, parking, infrastructure, etc.) but can corporate to make one great plan that facilitates all needs and demands on a bigger location. They can share costs and profit to come around in these plans.

Also, the municipality can now stir more on the development to achieve the goals of their revitalization plans as these plans consists of a larger area and more housing, making the impact bigger. One can imagine that social mixing is also more acceptable in such a large project for owners and investors instead of a project with just one housing block. Especially if the value rises through the investment in a public space that increases the socio-spatial cohesion between new and native inhabitants and therefore increases the livability of a great share of the neighborhood. The next chapter provides the needed conditions to support the proposed development.



# 10 SUPPORTING CONDITIONS



Fig. 10.1: Hidden car garage at the Oostzijde  
By author



## 10.1 | New conditions

The previous chapters presented the importance of urban renewal while taking the existing factors more into account to conduct socio-spatial cohesion between the new and native inhabitants. This chapter elaborates on the necessary conditions to facilitate such urban renewal and fulfill the aim of this thesis. Fig. 10.2 shows the current flow from process to the spatial aspect. With the research of this thesis and the aim within the design chapters, new input flows rise from the spatial design and planning perspective towards the governance perspective.

Therefore, the aim based on the conceptual framework is used to counteract the current flows and refer to which stakeholder is responsible for which measurement. The framework starts with the new conditions for the smaller scale which are closely related to the findings in the design chapters. Furthermore, the conditions on the higher scales are presented with the underlying influences of this new process towards urban renewal with socio-spatial cohesion (see Fig. 10.3).

This chapter only suggests critical areas in the current process towards urban renewal with revitalization projects that need to be enhanced to fulfill the goal of the project. To describe concrete solutions based on these new conditions requires further research with multiple disciplines, which is not feasible to combine within the timespan of the thesis plan.

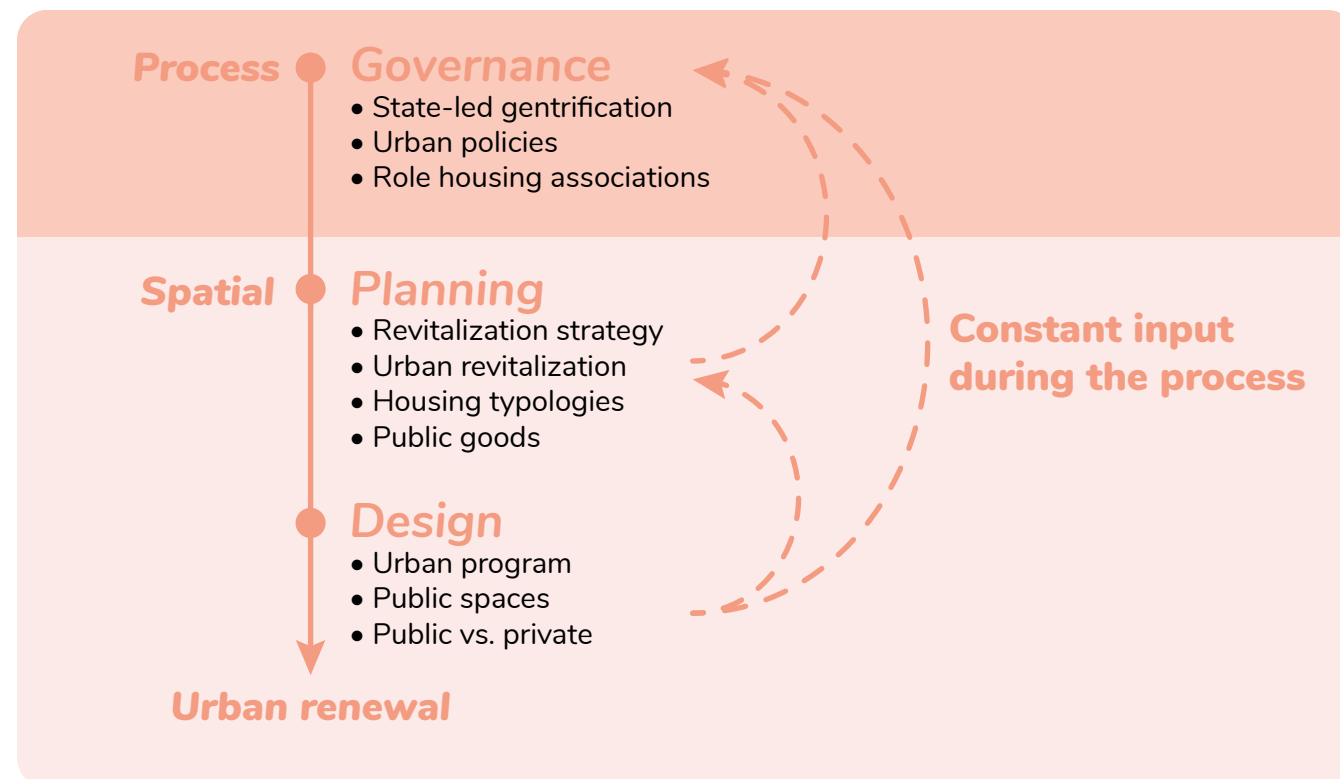


Fig. 10.2: Relation between the process part and spatial part, new input for supporting conditions for urban renewal  
By author

### 10.1.1 Micro

#### Cross-border urban renewal

Most of the urban renewal in the design chapters were cross-border interventions. The combination of different pieces of land exceeds the potential for revitalization plans in comparison to single plot interventions. Single plot interventions have high limitations such as parking policies, accessibility of the plot, not being allowed to build at the edge of the plots, and low number of new housing (harder to enforce different target groups). Moreover, the investors always keep an eye out for achieving the highest profit possible with such intervention.

Therefore, when potential urban renewal projects seem to rise while the municipality aims for revitalization goals in such area, the municipality should lure those owners together and aim for an overall project. The quality of the urban renewal can therefore change as new configurations on the combined land is possible. A great public space for all with a well-placed parking spaces and high accessibility can be the selling point for such urban renewal and more housing might be possible as land-borders are no longer an issue.

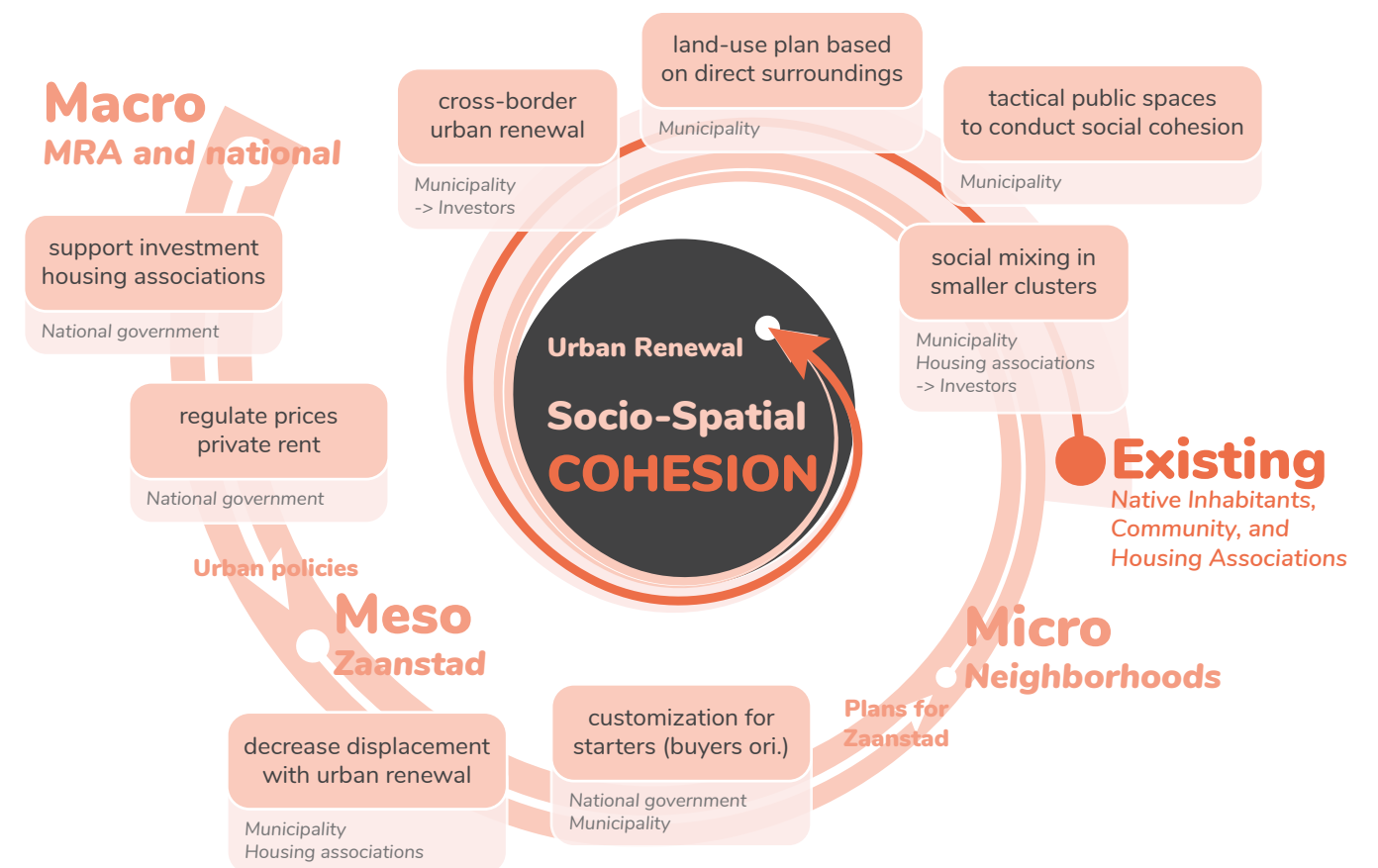


Fig. 10.3: Framework with research aim, supported by necessary conditions for urban renewal with socio-spatial cohesion  
By author



### Land-use plan based on direct surroundings

Revitalization plans remain often a bit vague. Their aim is to revitalize the existing neighborhood, meaning that investment and the arrival of wealthier groups will rise the socio-economic status. Although, the investment in only some particular spots (the Zaanoevers in case of the Rosmolenwijk) and the displacement of some less wealthy groups does rise the general numbers on the socio-economic status, it only creates fragments with socio-spatial and economic differences.

The aim of the revitalization plans should depend more on the direct surroundings of the projects rather than the general numbers on the whole neighborhood. Therefore, the municipality should have a clear aim for new projects in the whole neighborhood (a vision that includes some goals like the revitalization plans), and the results should be based rather on the particular surroundings instead of the neighborhood overview. Therefore, both new and native target groups need to be considered and both groups can profit from those changes.

### Tactical public spaces to conduct social cohesion

Public spaces are of significant importance in the urban texture. This is the area where different lifestyles meet each other, a sense of safety and control is conducted, and inhabitants realize they share the same urban environment together. However, with the single plot interventions, new inhabitants are coming to an area, but public spaces remain scarce due to the limitations and profits factors within these relatively small projects. Therefore, these projects function as islands into the existing urban texture which can lead to socio-spatial friction between the new and native inhabitants.

Therefore, the municipality should guide the development with enough public spaces on tactical points in the urban texture that will bring the different groups together. The lack of shared public spaces increases the fragmentation between new and old even further, and therefore not fulfilling the intentional goals of the revitalization plans. Understandingly, the question rises of who is going to pay for that public space and who is responsible for the maintenance? Hopefully the cross-border planning can be a solution for these questions as more profit is possible and the importance of such public space becomes clearer. However, when plans fail because of these questions, the municipality should be financially included as well.

### Social mixing in smaller clusters

This condition is well connected with the conditions above. When the mixing happens on the neighborhood scale, such as the Zaanoevers, the different worlds of the groups barely meet with each other. Which is even increasing the chance for socio-spatial friction. To fulfill the potentialities of social mixing, the mixing should happen in smaller clusters and with less radical differences between new and native. Again, for this mix the direct surroundings are of significant importance. Therefore, the municipality and housing associations should keep working together on these demographic changes in the existing urban texture.

## 10.1.2 Meso

### Customization for starters (buyers oriented)

On a higher scale, the situation for starters needs to be enhanced. Starters are still economically growing and socially more tolerant for meeting new groups as their lifestyle will still develop during the coming years. However, the research chapter described that there is a big gap for starters to find a house. Cities should provide a way to attract starters in their city and make the purchase of their first house or apartment possible again. Initiatives like BKZ (Betaalbare Koopwoningen Zaanstad) can provide an outcome for this. Only, the municipalities have limited financial capabilities to expand on a larger scale. Therefore, the national government should interfere in this process by either supporting these initiatives or customizing the Code of Conduct for Mortgage Loans for starters in a way to support starters on the housing market.

### Decrease displacement with urban renewal

Although both the municipality and mostly the housing associations try to displace less people with urban renewal, this is still largely happening. The research chapter revealed that only a third was able to come back after urban renewal. Housing associations are demolishing the cheap and low-quality housing for new and sustainable ones. Only, this means that the rent will be recalculated, and with the sustainability demands and high costs of the renewal, this rent is often maxed out. With the current method of urban renewal, the amount of social housing stays the same, only the prices keep rising. To embrace the existing community in the working-class neighborhoods, cheaper social housing needs to be built as well. The municipality should work together on a way to keep those important inhabitants for the neighborhood community. Perhaps in a way where there is a compensation for the native inhabitants. Or the municipality and housing associations should in the meanwhile find space nearby to construct new and cheaper housing. Also, the financial support for housing associations can help to choose cheaper housing with the renewal plans. With the current process, it is understandable that the new housing of renewal plans should also bring the most profit to finance the investments.



### 10.1.3 Macro

#### Regulate prices of private rent

On the highest scale, some things might need to change as well. Although the housing crisis is not an easy fix or even solvable in the next few years, there are some changes possible that might lower the unreasonably high prices in the private rent sector. Currently, some houses are being bought up by real estate buyers to buy-to-let, especially in popular cities. They profit a lot as there are almost no regulation for this. Meaning that people who cannot get a loan for mortgage or have trouble finding the right place with the tight housing market are often left with rental in the private sector. They ask high rental prices for these houses as the options are limited and without the necessary legislations those prices keep rising.

With some new legislations and policies by the national government, the private sector should be regulated. A beginning for regulating the private rental sector is to introduce a point system, such as used for the social housing. This system can assess the value of a house or apartment and therefore determine price per square meter. Also, the municipalities can work with zones in their cities that increases value by the location of the house. This comes alongside the current policy changes that municipalities of big cities will soon be able to designate neighborhoods where investors are no longer allowed to buy cheap and medium-priced homes and then rent them out. Besides the regulations on the prices of private sector rent, it becomes less interesting for real estate buyers to buy-to-let. Therefore, there should be more housing available for the buyers-oriented market as well.

#### Support investment of housing associations

The last necessary new condition is the financial support of housing associations. This does not mean that the national government or municipalities should provide the housing associations with money, they are in general self-sufficient enough within the last decades. However, the landlord levy is demanding too much of their financial situation which interferes with the plans and goals of the housing associations, which are mostly demanded by the national government and municipalities as well. Therefore, the landlord levy should be either put in a deposit for sustainability projects, decreased to a reasonable amount, or even canceled. The reason this levy has been constructed seems outdated with the current needs and demands that has been put on the plate of the housing associations. With a reasonable amount of support and investment the housing association can work again with the municipality on the livability in the neighborhood again.

## 10.2 | Conclusion

To conclude, to fulfill the goals of the design chapter, some changes are necessary in the current conditions to create a foundation for revitalization plans in the future. Therefore, different stakeholders are considered important for these changes such as the national government, municipality, housing associations, and investors (mostly depending on the other stakeholders). These new conditions will provide a start on the regulation of the housing market, provide a perspective for the starters and the to-be-displaced native inhabitants, and considers urban renewal that embraces the profit of the owners, revitalization goals of the municipality, and provide a pleasant living environment for both the new and native inhabitants.



CONCLUSION

# 11 RESEARCH CONCLUSION



Fig. 11.1: Walkway along the Zaan, at the back of the Zaanoevers  
By author



## 11.1 | Main conclusion

With the previous research and design chapters, the main question of this thesis can be answered: 'how to enhance the revitalization plans of Zaanstad, to counteract the state-led gentrification and urban renewal by means of governance, planning, and design to improve socio-spatial cohesion?'.

The research presented that the socio-spatial effects of urban revitalization plans combined with the housing crisis (and other trends and policies) have on working-class neighborhoods is conducting friction between new and native inhabitants. Firstly, the displacement of native inhabitants, who often have a strong connection to the community is high. This displacement is strengthened by some urban policies on housing associations that put pressure on making the housing more sustainable, leaving no other choice than selling blocks to the private sector or rebuilding blocks for the highest rental prices to be able to finance such investments. Secondly, the mix of new and native inhabitants rises the socio-spatial fragmentation between the new and native inhabitants as they are not mixing groups but create hotspots with the wealthier groups. And thirdly, the lifestyles are so different that the target groups do not seem to connect with each other. They have their own perception of theirs and what is not, the new inhabitants seem to like the community idea but hardly participate in it themselves, and the environmental connection to the neighborhoods of the new inhabitants is different than from the new inhabitants as well (as shown in the conceptual framework, see Fig. 11.2).

To enhance the revitalization plans, a better social mix is necessary that fits both the needs and demands of the native inhabitants as the new inhabitants. Besides that, the plans need to be interesting enough to lure the owners of those locations towards such development (see the enhanced framework of Fig. 11.3).

For the mix it means that the different groups should be less fragmented. There should be new space for at least a part of the displaced inhabitants for the social housing that want to stay in the neighborhood. Furthermore, the pressure on the housing market is shaping a disadvantaged perspective for first time home buyers. This group is interesting as they are still exploring their perception of home which mixes well into the community. They still have to grow economically and perhaps look for a family house in the future, which the working-class consists of in great amounts. Housing for first time home buyers can be accomplished as well with the BKZ housing method (social buyers-oriented housing). The latter part of the mix can include higher-income levels but should be matched well with the surrounding housing to decrease chances of segregation.

The other aspect is the spatial design. Whereas the public space is least important for developers (as it only costs money), it can be of an immense value for the neighborhood and social cohesion between the different inhabitants. The realization of the use of the same spaces defines a connection with the surrounding living environment, and therefore between one another. Furthermore, opportunities lay sometimes in a difficult corner due to the way plots are distributed in the past. However, the designs of the Rosmolenvijk present that a collaborative development can really enhance the quality of the plans to enhance the revitalization plans for both the native and new inhabitants.

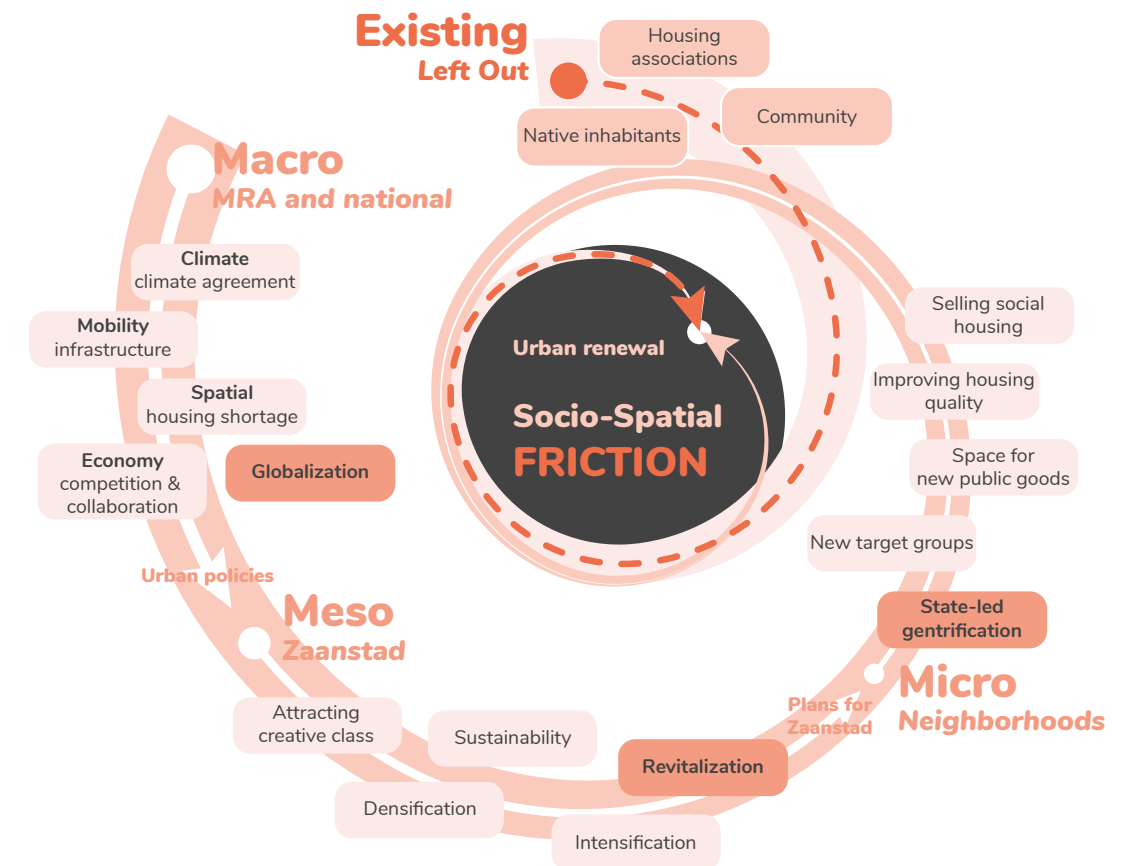


Fig. 11.2: Conceptual framework  
By author



Fig. 11.3: Enhanced framework based on research aim with new conditions  
By author



# 12 REFLECTION



Fig. 12.1: View across the Zaan  
By author



## 12.1 | Academic reflection

### 12.1.1 Societal relevance

Everybody wants a living environment that suits their own perception of livability. However, the current housing market is making it hard to find this kind of livability. The housing shortage is increasing and the financial capabilities within the housing market is segregating the chances on the market for different target groups even further. For the working-class neighborhoods, this mostly means the decreased chance for first-time home buyers to apply for a house.

Dutch governments are reacting on these problems in the housing market with multifunctional projects in existing neighborhoods. These so-called revitalization projects aim to solve the crisis on the housing market while also upgrading the socio-economic status of the neighborhoods. This explicitly means the mix of new inhabitants with native inhabitants and therefore the introduction of new lifestyles (often different from the native inhabitants) in the neighborhood. With this introduction comes friction between the new and native inhabitants in the (semi-) public spaces where those lifestyles intersect.

The societal relevance of this project is to provide a living environment between native- and new inhabitants that will decrease socio-spatial friction between the new and native inhabitants. With the current plans, there is friction with the appropriation of public space, attachment to the neighborhood and its community, and the displacement of native inhabitants. Therefore, the thesis will help to understand the societal changes that take place due to the current revitalization goals so to improve social cohesion between native and new inhabitants. This means that, in the end, the project will not only focus on the public space design within the neighborhood, but also the underlying process such as the policies in the housing market and the housing associations. Therefore, the project aims to solve the current socio-spatial problems and present process related suggestions to decrease the socio-spatial friction in the first place.

### 12.1.2 Advantages and limitations of the methodology

The crisis on the housing market, and the pros and cons on state-led gentrification (part of the revitalization plans) are well described by several authors, especially for the western Europe context. Therefore, the core problems have been studied before which makes literature research a reliable source of the base of this project. The author can study multiple perspectives from various authors and define a balanced view for the case study area. However, the author aims to clarify the

connection between those different topics which has not been discussed well in the literature. To support the defined connection, several interviews will be held with actors and stakeholders that participate in these topics. A limitation here is that the interviewed actors and stakeholders are representatives of their company/ position and might not answer impartially. Another limitation thereby is that it a small selection for interviewees has been made, as a broader search for input does not fit the size of the project. This means that the answers are not particularly representative for the whole area or research field. Another limitation is the small number of interviews with the involved new and native inhabitants. Therefore, the described friction in the thesis is a combination of literature research, the input of the two interviewed inhabitants, and the signals that came from the interviews with other actors and stakeholders. This means that a broader interview with multiple inhabitants in further research can be advised to make the friction more explicit. To make this project shed light on every aspect that is connected to the phenomenon and interview every actor and stakeholder involved, more time and people should work on the project to propose a result that can be viewed from all the necessarily angles. However, this is not the case for this project and one can argue some aspects need more research to make a more validated conclusion.

### 12.1.3 Data collection and problem compensation

Various methods were used for data collection during this project, with their own advantages and limitations. While there is a wide availability of papers on the main phenomena, the combination between the phenomena seems rather new which is making the validation of the presented connection rather hard. Interviews are held which aim to validate some of the described interrelations stated by the author. However, due to the limited amount of time, it was not possible to interview all relevant actors and stakeholders. Also, as mentioned before, this project lacks information from the new and native inhabitants of the case study area. The information of the case study area that has been used instead is from 2012 and might be outdated. Also, literature research has been done similar friction in other Dutch case study areas. While this will help to generalize the results of the project, it does not necessarily mean that it is fully applicable on the case study area.

### 12.1.4 Generalizability of the end results

The literature research on the socio-spatial friction between new and native inhabitants, combined with the national governance on revitalization plans of working-class neighborhoods, make the results rather generalizable for other neighborhoods in the Netherlands. Revitalization plans often are very well connected with social mixing and state-led gentrification of neighborhoods with a lower socio-economic status which is leading to a certain degree of socio-spatial friction between new and native inhabitants. Those plans are, in the time of



writing this project, often connected to the housing crisis as well as the changes in the urban structure. Currently, these plans are encouraging higher socio-economic classes to come to these areas which is stimulating the socio-economic segregation even further. In short, the phenomenon that has been mentioned in the case study area is well presentable for multiple existing neighborhoods with a lower socioeconomic status. However, this does not mean every neighborhood should be handled the same way. The end results of the project will be divided in location specific interventions.

More directly focused on the governance/process part of the project, the end results are generalizable for multiple areas in the Netherlands as well. A lot of similar neighborhoods are affected in the same way by the crisis on the housing market and the way that revitalization projects are changing the socio-spatial characteristics of a neighborhood. The end results (advise/proposed interventions) on these policies and the way governments are influencing the lower socio-economic neighborhoods is therefore a rather generalized view on the process.

### 12.1.5 Ethical dilemmas and problems

One ethical dilemma that was coming along multiple times, is from whose perspective is this project built-up. While working on most of the literature review, the perspective was mostly from the native inhabitant (for example the state-led gentrification which is interfering with their lifestyles). However, in this project the author also states that with the current crisis on the housing market that the new inhabitants often do not have a lot of option, but still deserve a place that serves their perception of livability in any case. Also, one of the findings was that the current policies are putting a lot of pressure on the housing associations which seems not fair, not to the native inhabitants of those social housing but also to the financial situation of the company as well as they have no room to earn more money but are obligated to invest more and more into sustainability. Meanwhile, the reasoning for this behavior of the higher power (government and politics) have their own considerations to do this to aim for certain goals which everybody in the end should provide from, which is the goal of this project as well.

### 12.1.6 Role as urbanist

The role of an urbanist in this project is related to the socio-spatial consequences of the revitalization plans, combined with the related externalities such as the housing crisis and urban policies. Although normally a team of experts in these topics is mandatory to narrow down solutions to these problems, the urbanist can point out certain inter-relations between cause-effect of the revitalization plans and present their vision to decrease certain problems. In this project, this is done by a vision and some location-based design scenarios that can decrease the socio-spatial friction and enhance social cohesion between inhabitants.



## 13 REFERENCES



Fig. 13.1: Drawer with books placed on the bench (translation: to take with you and / or to exchange for free)  
By author



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## 14 APPENDIX



Fig. 14.1: Flowerbed in public space with own plants of inhabitants, at the Taanmanstraat  
By author



## 14.1 | Glossary

### ABF Research

ABF Research is a private research company that works on subjects with which we are at the heart of society, such as housing, healthcare, demography, space and the economy.

### BKZ (Betaalbare Koopwoningen Zaanstad)

The BKZ financing model enables starters or people with a (for the time being) smaller budget to buy a home. This initiative gives a large and attractive target group the opportunity to settle in Zaanstad.

### CBS (Het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek)

As the statistical agency in the Netherlands, Statistics Netherlands provides reliable statistical information and data with insight into social issues.

### The Code of Conduct for Mortgage Loans (GHF)

The “Gedragscode Hypothecaire Financieringen” (GHF).

### Densification

Densification is a term used by planners, designers, developers, and theorists to describe the increasing density of people living in urban areas.

### Deindustrialization

Process where the reduction of industrial activity or capacity in a region or economy takes place.

### Gentrification

Gentrification is a process of upgrading a neighborhood or city district in the social, cultural, and economic field, attracting wealthy new residents and users.

### Global city

A global city is a city which is a primary node in the global economic network.

### Global Financial Crisis

The Global Financial Crisis or banking crisis refers to the crisis on the financial markets that started in the summer of 2007, peaked in the autumn of 2008 and only ended in the course of 2011. Several banks have been nationalized, gone bankrupt or taken over while house prices have stagnated.

### Housing association

A non-profit organization that rents houses and flats to people on low incomes or with particular needs.

### Housing shortage

The shortage is the amount of households that out of necessity do not have their own home, meaning that these households are forced to live with other households.

### Huisjesmelkers

Investors who buy housing and rent it out for an unreasonable high price.

### MAAK.gebied

Areas in Zaanstad with a strong vision for urban renewal, economic growth, intensification, and densification

### MRA (Amsterdam metropolitan area)

The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is a partnership of the provinces of North Holland and Flevoland, 32 municipalities and the Amsterdam Transport Region.

### Nibud

National Institute of Fiscal Information.

### Randstad

A metropolitan area where different agglomerations with their own central cities have grown or are growing together in the west of the Netherlands

### Rosmolenwijk

The Rosmolenwijk, also called the Rosmolenbuurt, is a working-class neighborhood in Zaanstad. The neighborhood was built at the beginning of the last century, as one of the first major urban expansions in the east of Zaandam.

### Social mixing

Urban policies (mostly in the Dutch context) that aims to mix higher classes with lower classes to improve not only the neighborhood but also the poor residents living in it, by providing them with more wealthy neighbors who can lend them a hand and show them a way out of deprivation (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009).

### State-led gentrification

A form of gentrification where the government together with local actors attempt to stimulate the positive effects that come with gentrification.

### Urban renewal

Refers to a set of spatial plans and activities to upgrade neighborhoods and suburbs that are in state of distress or decay.

### Urban revitalization

Refers to a set of initiatives aimed at reorganizing an existing city structure, particularly in neighborhoods in decline due to economic or social reasons.

### Vereniging Eigen Huis

The advocate of people who want to buy or already own a house.

### Woningwet

The law containing the provisions relating to public housing. It obliges the municipalities to lay down regulations that must be observed when building, renovating, changing or expanding homes and when taking up or providing living space.

### Working-class neighborhood

A working-class neighborhood is a neighborhood where mostly working-class families settled. Working-class neighborhoods were sometimes built especially for this target group by municipalities, construction companies, speculators or non-profit housing associations.

### Zaankanter

An inhabitant of the Zaanstreek.

### Zaanoevers

Development area from industrial functions to a living environment between the Zaan and the Oostzijde. (Shores of the Zaan).

### Zaanstad

A municipality in the Dutch province of North Holland. The municipality is the largest in the Zaan region. The municipality was created in 1974 by merging the municipalities of Assendelft, Krommenie, Wormerveer, Westzaan, Zaandijk, Koog aan de Zaan and Zaandam.

### Zaanstreek

The Zaanstreek is a region in the Netherlands and one of the oldest industrial areas in Europe. Including Zaanstad, Oostzaan, Wormerland and Markenbinnen (municipality of Alkmaar).



