The influence of city governance processes on the image management of a large-scale development

The Zuidas

Figure 1: The Zuidas Amsterdam (www.Zuidas.nl, 01/01/2012)

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Preface

Having always lived in a city, first Lisbon and now Amsterdam, I have always felt that decisions taken at higher governmental levels (national to municipal), about a city’s future have in the long run a deep impact on its inhabitants and their quality of life. And as such, the interest in Urban Area development begun, as it is “part of a broad range of activities involving government intervention at various levels, from local (municipal), regional or provincial to national or even international level, and in interaction with the activities of private organizations such as property developers” (Wigmans et al., 2011, p. 9).

Knowing that cities are dynamic organisms deeply connected to its social, economical and political context, led to the desire to participate actively in the process of understanding what makes the city what it is, and actually what does it want to be in the future. Put like this, can make it look quite simple, but there are a multitude of factors that limit or broaden the development of a city and its success and failures.

Having knowledge limitations about the subject and wanting to be a part of the future debate on strategic decision making and planning for a city’s development, the curiosity about the influence that city governance has on the city’s future was instantaneous. As such, the topic of this research surfaces, as ‘The influence of city governance processes, in the image management of large scale developments’. As for the “laboratory” where this research was conducted, the Zuidas was the immediate choice as it is considered a “pearl” project for the city of Amsterdam, highly linked to its city’s marketing strategy, although it is perceived as so close to the city centre of Amsterdam and yet so far from what characterizes this city.

I would like to extend my gratitude to my mentors, dr. ir. Gerard Wigmans and dr. ir. Dion Kooijman, for their guidance.

Marta Bastos, 19/05/2012

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Abstract

The milieu in which European cities operate has changed considerably in recent years. Globalization, the process of European integration and the evolution into a knowledge-intensive society, are only three of the trends that promote a new set of attributes, to delineate the urban system of Europe. As a consequence, the main challenges European cities encounter nowadays are, the hasten pace of change in a global economic, political and technological environment and the increasing number of competitors. To ensure development and growth, cities are faced with the demand to become more competitive, and some try to be, by offering even more inducements to capital (through tax abatements, property and transport facilities) or changes to the city’s image through handling of its physical features and/or its soft infrastructure (as cultural and leisure amenities). Intrinsically, city marketing strategies together with the concepts and methods of place marketing have been a response to the new ‘terms’ that economic, political and social changes impose on the operational environment of cities. These concepts and methods are employed in order to reinforce and manage perceptions of the cities, held by fitting target audiences.

Based on this insight, this report presents the research of the graduation thesis titled ‘The influence of city governance processes on the image management of a large scale development. The Zuidas’.

The objectives of the research are to understand, which decision making processes of this network of actors (concerning the image management of a large scale development), influence the implementation of marketing strategies that lead to successful place marketing for the project. Also it intends to unveil, how adaptive these strategies are and which ingredients make if flexible and effective to react to contextual changes.

The research uses input from fields of study of governance and place marketing. The outcome of the research provides a relationship scheme between the programme, actors, context and strategy making of the Zuidas, in a chronologic setting. This scheme then allows the researcher to give recommendations on how to successfully manage the decision-making processes and manage the image of a large-scale development like the Zuidas.

Key words: City Governance, Governance processes, City marketing, Place marketing and Image management.
I Research Design

1. Research Introduction

1.1 Scientific relevance and originality

The ambition of improving Amsterdam’s position in city rankings, is a clear example of a common view which looks at city marketing as an answer to increasing international and interurban competition (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2007, p. 18). The image of Amsterdam was since the sixties based on two major themes, the first is dominated by the urban design of the wealthy ‘golden age’ trading city, with the urban tourist image of “Vermeer townscapes”, the second is the international status of ‘swinging youth centre based on sexual liberation and narcotic leniency’ (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2007, p. 17). Perception plays a big part in positioning a city regionally, nationally and even internationally, and at this point in time, personal insecurity and lack of public order, became firmly established in the international as well as in national minds. There were a number of attempts to change this, as the promotion of brand carriers like, ‘Amsterdam Has It’ in 1983, ‘Small City, Big Business and Cool City’. However, the need for long term continuity and consistency demanded a more thorough approach.

Place marketing is not only about designing logos or devising slogans (as they can be extremely fragile), but should also be about a clear division of responsibilities and obligations between the municipality, support organizations involved and private parties. Intensive cooperation between them should have as a consequence, a stronger city’s identity and image (Gehrels et al., 2003, p. 2). As a response to a more thorough approach, in September 2004 a new branding campaign named I Amsterdam was launched, in order to provide an ‘umbrella’ for Amsterdam’s key values and benefits. Herein, city branding is an approach that centres on the conceptualization of the city as a brand; and a brand should be a multidimensional construction, consisting of functional, emotional, relational and strategic elements that collectively generate a unique set of associations in the public mind (as a brand is not only the message but also the context in which it is received (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2007, p. 17)). As an example, when considering developments created in the post IT revolution, some, try to recreate examples like Silicon Valley, based on the perception that by simply calling it “something valley”, there will be return on the investment and as such the development could be considered a “success”. Parties involved in decision-making processes of this sort, are soon to be faced with the fact that a city is not a product and that a development is not only a name or a slogan.

Based on the line of thought mentioned above, the empirical object chosen for this research is the Zuidas, as it is the most preeminent large scale development in the Netherlands. It is heavily connected to the city’s marketing, in the attempt to take full advantage of the strong effect that it has on the city’s image. Good place marketing is the result of effective strategy planning and decision-making processes, done through clear communication strategies and well-delineated policy frameworks at the City Governance level. As pointed out by Patsy Healey in her book ‘Urban complexity and Spatial strategies’(2007), “The metropolitan area is filled with public and private actors at manifold levels of special scale and they are active in all sectors of urban policy. In this multi-dimensional game many different coalitions and many conflicts may occur... The main challenge for metropolitan governance is to find ways of organizing the connectivity between the different spheres of action (Salet et al. 2003, p. 389).”

Taking the sentence “connectivity between the different spheres of action” (Salet et al. 2003, p. 389), the scientific relevance of this research comes to light, as it leans over, the context changes and the episodes of the network of actors (as in decision making processes) that led to new marketing strategies. As the ‘recent’ large scale development that it is, there is the assumption that there were changes made in marketing strategies from the initial development, until the economical crisis hit in 2008, and after it. These changes in context influenced the success and failure levels of this large-scale development. Learning how decision making processes and marketing strategies change (or not) during certain periods of time, will expose how flexible (or not) the strategy making ‘behaviour’ of a large scale development must be, in order to be considered successful through different contexts variables.
The scientific relevance of the results will, on one hand, be a contribution to the debate, on how marketing strategies and decision-making processes in large scale developments can react to different economic, political, cultural and social environments. And on the other hand, enhance the body of knowledge by creating recommendations and guidelines that can help practitioners operate in the decision and strategy making processes, in other large scale development initiatives, and as such make use of the knowledge acquired. To conclude, this research also aims to improve the knowledge of which city governance processes influence the city marketing initiatives, what are their origins and ambitions and how they relate to this large scale development. The research thesis also adds an exploration in the realms of city governance and city marketing, which in its turn will increase the understanding of how a city builds up its ambitions and (possibly) implements them in determined political, economic, social and cultural settings.

1.2 Social relevance

Most large scale developments; follow the traditional ("cloned") capitalist approach of a city business district, with mono-functional offices and some amenities to serve them, this does not happen with the Zuidas. The Zuidas has three ‘trump cards’ such as, excellent accessibility, a rich setting and diversity. It is in this diversity that lie some characteristic areas of this development, as a science and education area, an urban milieu, a greenery, a residential district and a cultural area (Amsterdam et al., 2009a, p. 11).

The Zuidas presents itself in its Zuidas Vision document (2009), as a new economic competitive location for Amsterdam, an infrastructure project, and an intensively urbanized mixed area. In the last lies the societal relevance of this study as this research aims on one hand, to expose how through different periods of time the marketing strategies of large-scale developments respond to change having its context, target groups (actors) and programme as units of analysis. On the other how these changes are (or not) in accordance with the ambitions of the city for this development in the different established milestones for this research (beginning of the development, 2008, present and future). Another important goal this research wants to achieve is to discover how socially inclusive are the governance discourses and how governance processes adapted these discourses through the different economic, political and social changes. Herein, this master thesis expects to contribute to the discussion of how large scale developments situated on the fringes of a city centre, can be successfully absorbed by the city and its residents while standing the test of time.

1.3 Originality value

The originality of this research lies on the link between governance and image management. This research illustrates how different governance discourses influence the images presented in its marketing practices. And as such links the fields of governance, place marketing and image management. The Zuidas images in the beginning of the development were highly focused on architectural iconic buildings, but today having gone through changes in context, how these images (of an already physical space) can adapt is of extreme interest for this research. ‘How are the marketing strategies for the Zuidas influenced by the governance processes and context changes?’ is one of the questions this research answers.
1.4 Target group & outcome

The target groups of this research are:

- Governmental bodies, who wish to learn more about a city’s marketing mechanisms and want to evaluate their effectiveness in order to understand, how large-scale developments can be assessed (or not) when considering place marketing and image management and hence if this can be an added value (or not) for a city.

- Academics in the field of urban area development (mainly urban governance and place marketing), seeking empirical analysis, which can improve the implementation ability of marketing strategies in large-scale developments. And for academics looking for a body of knowledge on city governance and city marketing.

- Consultants and managers, who are required to give guidance, weight perspectives and moderate decision-making processes in urban area developments.

The final outcome of this research provides a relationship scheme between the context, actors, programme, and marketing strategies of the Zuidas, in a chronologic setting. It also presents an analysis of the critical success factors of this development. The scheme and analysis allow the researcher to give recommendations on the management of governance processes and place marketing practices.
1.5 Readers guide

This report has been divided in four chapters:

Chapter one consists of the research design. In this chapter the reader is introduced to sub sections that cover (1) the research introduction, (2) problem analysis and (3) the research methodology. The first elaborates on the scientific, social relevance and originality value of this research mentioning who are its target groups and which are its outcomes. The second gives a brief introduction to the city of Amsterdam and to the empirical object of this research, the Zuidas, followed by the problem statement and research questions. The third consists of, the case study method, selection and design, followed by a descriptive explanation of the research instruments used. The research design and research model are also present in this sub-section of the chapter.

Chapter two is titled 'Theoretical input' and it introduces the fields of study for this research, such as, city governance, city marketing combined with place marketing, strategies and success.

Chapter three entails the ‘Field work’, where the embedded units of analysis: context, dominant actors, programme and marketing strategies are analysed. An analysis of the critical success factors of the decision and strategy making processes of this large-scale development is also covered in this chapter.

Chapter four presents the final conclusions (answer to the research question) and recommendations.

Figure 3: Reader’s guide
2. Problem analysis

The theory of the network society with its space of flows and space of places is included in today’s reality more and more. Cities need to compete or collaborate with other cities belonging to this network of flows, at the same time that they only become attractive to live in if certain characteristics belong to their space of places. Cities are becoming facilitators, “In the urge to position itself, the facilitating city takes on different images at the same time- city of services, city of knowledge, city of the world, telecom city, city of culture and city of events-each requiring its own type of public investment” (Wigmans, 2008, p. 11).

2.1 The city of Amsterdam

Amsterdam belongs to the Randstad region, the economic core in the west of the Netherlands. It is the capital city of the Netherlands and the largest and internationally most renowned of Dutch cities. It is a centre of finance, commerce, industry and tourism (graced with one of Europe’s most comprehensive city hearts in the 17th century). Concerning city governance, Amsterdam is in a special position, namely because of the welfare state, spatial planning, consensus-oriented decision making and the three-tier system of government (Majoor, 2008, p. 69). The welfare state has been gradually built since the Second World War. Strategic planning has a long story in Amsterdam that is still celebrated today (fig. 4). To illustrate, since the Amsterdam Extension Plan in 1935, all local structure plans were based on the philosophy to accommodate the centripetal forces in the central city (Salet and Majoor, 2005, p. 126-137), contrasting with the principle that now the city is presented with, a collection of different locales and development nodes, connected by axis of development (as the Zuidas). Consensus-oriented politics are another pillar of Dutch society, and are well illustrated in the ‘polder model’ which is based upon the belief that, a good decision is a decision supported by all (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 32). The three-tier system of Government in the Netherlands, namely national state, province and local authorities, reflects a complicated system of inter-governmental relationships. Two important aspect of the Dutch three-tier system are co-governance and consensus (Majoor, 2008, p. 70).

Figure 4: Amsterdam’s spatial planning time-line with Zuidas development time-line (Amsterdam et al., 2009b, p. 16-17)
Table 1 introduces the dimensions of path development of the Amsterdam metropolitan area (Musterd and Murie, 2010, p. 61), as a prelude to better understand the ‘dimensions’ stated in its brand development of 2004 (fig.6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
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</table>
| Economy     | • Colonial trade (seventeenth to mid-twentieth century’s)  
              • Economic innovations: stock market, multinational company, money exchange (early seventeenth century)  
              • Long tradition as centre of culture and finance  
              • Well connected globally, especially by air |
| Events, decisions | • War with/liberation from the Spanish empire (sixteenth/seventeenth century)  
                         • Extension Schiphol airport 1967  
                         • Changes to urban renewal strategy 1970s |
| Built environment | • Canals (sixteen century)  
                           • ‘City as a monument’ instead of monumental buildings  
                           • Gentrification Jordaan (1970’s/1980’s) and nineteen century areas (1990s)  
                           • Re-development old harbour (1980s-present)  
                           • New functions for warehouses, manufacturing and energy complexes (1980’s to present)  
                           • New functions for warehouses, manufacturing and energy complexes (1980s-present) |
| Institutions | • Trading and entrepreneurial spirit (since founding Amsterdam)  
                        • Reputation of tolerance since the late nineteenth century  
                        • Bourgeois’ elite more influential than monarchy (Dutch republic and after)  
                        • Colonial trading companies: East Indies Company, West Indies Company (seventeenth/eighteenth century)  
                        • National strategic planning policies: new towns (1960’s-1980’s), VINEX (1990s)  
                        • Regional governance problematic until recently  
                        • Influence of the Schiphol growth coalition (since 1980s) |
| Socio-demography | • History as immigrant city (since late sixteenth century)  
                             • Recent migration waves: former colonies, Mediterranean, refugees  
                             • Suburbanization 1960s-1980s, parallel growth of suburbs cities since late 1980s  
                             • Growing socio-economic differentiation within city of Amsterdam  
                             • Declining socio-economic differentiation between core city and region city |
In this, in which cities are becoming more similar to each other, a city’s image determines the attitude of companies, inhabitants, visitors and residents towards it. Attracting and keeping the intended target groups leads to a greater economic and cultural activity (GemeenteAmsterdam, 2004, p. 23). Amsterdam is commonly known for being a city of canals, but also a city where sex and drug tourism is preeminent. Having a multitude of other dimensions (table 1) Amsterdam was looking to retouch and improve its international and national image. As such, Amsterdam launched in 2004 a new city branding philosophy, where the city brand should not be distinguished from policies, meaning, the integration of city marketing into normal policy and vice versa, allowing for a more effective city marketing to happen. This was an important milestone for the city of Amsterdam, where the city together with marketing organizations and organizations with marketing goals, companies and cultural and knowledge institutions agreed on creating an organizational structure, and combine marketing efforts, focusing on a new approach of promoting the City of Amsterdam (Gehrels et al., 2003, p. 2-4). This represents a significant advantage when marketing the city as there is a wide consensus for the strategy and the organization (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2007, p. 21).

The main coordinator of the marketing effort of Amsterdam, is then an established Public- Private Partnership called Amsterdam Partners that works in close proximity with the municipality. Specific tasks of the Amsterdam’s partners are from branding, positioning and merchandising, assisting, supporting and advising on marketing festivals and events, encouraging the existence of a supportive business climate; relations with national and international media; creating a new approach to hospitality; research and monitoring (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2006, p. 6) and for securing and managing funds from the private parties. Some projects are undertaken by the Municipality, other projects by the private sector and some are common, but responsibility for all projects and the wider strategy lies with Amsterdam Partners (fig. 5).

Figure 5: The organization of the Amsterdam’s partners (http://www.iamsterdam.com/, 10/06/2012)
City Marketing

For the city of Amsterdam, city marketing is an instrument to elaborate on, and develop a city’s image and identity. It goes hand in hand with the municipality’s socio-cultural, economic and physical spatial policy; as activities within the scope of city marketing for Amsterdam, should be aligned with the Municipality’s strategies. Amsterdam identifies city marketing, as contemplating four types of activities. First, the development of a strong attractive position and image for the city. Second, to provide efficient and easy to reach supply of the city’s products and services, as appropriate infrastructure, new activities and events, amongst other things. Third, to promote through efficient communication systems, what the city is and what it has to offer, by emphasizing the individual advantages of the city, while offering incentives to current and potential intended target audiences. Fourth, to include the inhabitants of the city in the development of the city’s image, as they are part of the city’s identity, by introducing a sense of ‘civic pride’ (GemeenteAmsterdam, 2004).

To typify Amsterdam’s profile, a spread of sixteen dimensions was considered, to adequately represent versatility as the main strength of the city. This discourse should be dealt with caution, as it can easily be the target of criticism as “all” cities are versatile, and by no means the chosen dimensions are uniquely representative of the city of Amsterdam. Nevertheless, these dimensions are presented with the intrinsic view on the city’s intended development processes, shown through the shape on a spider’s web (fig. 6), where the current position and future target position of each dimension is illustrated.

Figure 6: Proposal to build the brand/basis for city marketing policy (Gehrels et al., 2003, Appendix F)
Based on the presentation of the spider’s-web and aware of the criticism on its multitude of dimensions, the city decided to prioritize dimensions, showing a top-down mentality even though this downsizing is justified by a research on the residents. These priority dimensions are: Cultural city, Canal city, City of meetings, City of knowledge, Business city and Residential city. Furthermore, the city of Amsterdam chose to distinguish itself through three core values, namely creativity, innovation and spirit of commerce, which should be the backbone values of the city’s brand (Table 2).

Table 2: Key values and priority dimensions (GemeenteAmsterdam, 2004, p. 17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key values</th>
<th>Creativity</th>
<th>Excellence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creativity</td>
<td>Excellence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Innovation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spirit of commerce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Cultural city</th>
<th>Business city</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canal city (old and new)</td>
<td>Knowledge city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meeting place</td>
<td>Residential city</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Strategic thinking including strategic analysis is necessary to better understand the city’s position in relation to the priority dimensions that need strengthen. A SWOT analysis of the dimensions present in the empirical object (The Zuidas) is introduced bellow (table 3, 4 and 5). An important factor to keep in mind is that in these SWOT’s consensus about the opportunities, strengths and weaknesses is not self-evident as the actors involved in the decision-making processes and marketing strategies that lead to the brand development are a network organization.

Table 3: Residential city SWOT analysis (GemeenteAmsterdam, 2004, Appendix G)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential city</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strengths</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compact, everything in the area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture of homes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space is not scarce</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Business city SWOT analysis (GemeenteAmsterdam, 2004, Appendix G)
### Business City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Weaknesses</th>
<th>Opportunities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Proximity of airport and seaport combined with appealing city</td>
<td>- Bureaucracy, too many desks</td>
<td>- Southern Axis, South-East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Plenty of business accommodation</td>
<td>- Inaccessible</td>
<td>- Urban living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Low business set-up costs compared to Paris, London, Frankfurt</td>
<td>- Legislation and regulations obstruct</td>
<td>- Combination society, knowledge, culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- High level of work force</td>
<td>- Room for investment</td>
<td>- Business climate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Good mix of hard establishment</td>
<td>- Small scale character</td>
<td>- Prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Factors (price/quality ratio) and soft factors (dynamic, competences)</td>
<td>- No sector brands</td>
<td>- Creative industrie (IT, marketing) in the North of Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Quality of the work force under pressure</td>
<td>- Creative city</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### City of Knowledge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Weaknesses</th>
<th>Opportunities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Two universities</td>
<td>- Not highly profiled</td>
<td>- Special because of combination of science, culture and society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- AMC/VU Hospitals</td>
<td>- No achievement/individual leadership</td>
<td>- Internationalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Students</td>
<td>- No campus</td>
<td>- Specialist trades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Colleges of higher education</td>
<td>- Decline in quality</td>
<td>- Knowledge infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Science park</td>
<td></td>
<td>- IT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Education (numerous fields, international, specialties)</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Life sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Amsterdam’s creativity</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Sustainable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Just three dimensions (table 3, 4 and 5) were taken into consideration in this research (out of the sixteen presented by the city of Amsterdam), as they are the ones that better can illustrate the threats and opportunities for the Zuidas, but these SWOT analysis were conducted in 2004, and since then there has been no recent update on the ambitions for the Amsterdam’s city marketing. As such, there is no recent (public) evaluation on the strengths weaknesses and opportunities for the city. Factors as the strength of having a Public-private partnership on the Zuidas, amongst others, were withdrawn from the city’s analysis, as they are out-dated.
Target groups

The target groups for city marketing are very general, and even though they have a main centre of gravity, even it can be quite ambiguous. Nevertheless, at first, three primary target groups were identified by the city of Amsterdam, which can be summarized as companies, visitors and inhabitants. The first lays its focus on business decision makers, especially on international enterprises operating on the ‘creative’ and ‘knowledge’ sector, with head offices in Amsterdam. The second stresses on the ‘active city dwellers’, that are residents attracted by the facilities and atmosphere of the so called ‘big-city Amsterdam’, they are represented mainly by empty nesters, homosexual couples, two income couples, young professionals and students. The third are international visitors and congress participants (GemeenteAmsterdam, 2004, p. 21-22). This selection is not far from criticism, as Amsterdam is not considered a “big city” by international standards, and also because while focusing on the ‘knowledge’ and ‘creative’ worker, the definition of whom they are and which locations they prefer is vague.

Later, with an attempt to be all inclusive the city came up with seven target groups (fig. 7) namely, the business decision makers; the logistics service providers (who are introduced by others and handle storage and transport of goods within Europe); the creative sector, (represented by existing mid-size and small enterprises usually led by Dutch entrepreneurs); the knowledge workers; the active city dwellers; the international visitors and the current inhabitants of Amsterdam and surroundings as ambassadors of the city (GemeenteAmsterdam, 2004, p. 22). There is also a confusion in the effort to be all inclusive as a city is not in the position to exclude any groups, for reasons of social justice, political balance or future security and sustainability (Kavaratzi and Ashworth, 2006, p. 6). There is though a satisfying agreement that the first aimed results of Amsterdam’s marketing efforts, are to make its residents believe in the core values of the city and be proud of it.

Figure 7: Seven target groups around one centre of gravity (GemeenteAmsterdam, 2004, p. 22)

Amsterdam The Zuidas

![Diagram of target groups]

The city of Amsterdam provides then a framework, which serves as the base of analysis of the empirical object of this research. At the same time that Amsterdam gives impulses to its city marketing, first, by linking project to city marketing objectives; second, by starting new marketing projects and include those which already exist in an integral approach and third, by linking festivals and events to city marketing objectives; it also indicates its intended target audiences. As such, having the first bullet point and target groups for the city in mind, knowing that there is the intended plan to apply some of the dimensions established in the city’s marking plan in large scale developments, the Zuidas starts representing a sort of laboratory where some of the city’s marketing strategies can be applied (fig.8).
2.2 The Zuidas

The urban configuration of Amsterdam is being redesigned at a metropolitan level of scale, and the Zuidas is an important participant in the experimental trajectory of creating new structures and systems of urbanization (as linking the regional economy with international networks). The position of the Zuidas in a local, regional, national and international level is quite important, as it is recognized as one of the possible new focal points of Amsterdam (Gehrels et al., 2003, p. 23). A large-scale development like this, could then be an incubator for the dimensions Business city, Knowledge city and Residential city (table 3, 4, 5) of Amsterdam to prosper and excel. As such, being the Zuidas a project of unprecedented standards (scale and complexity) it is the proper “universe”, the desired empirical object to study and analyse.

Relating to scale and complexity, the Zuidas covers an area of approximately 270 hectares, divided by the A10 peripheral highway and rail and metro lines. By 2040, it is intended to have over 200,000 daily users, including 25,000 permanent residents, 80,000 employees and 30,000 students (www.zuidas.nl, 14/04/2012). Since 1998, approximately 500,000 m² has been realized, 200,000 m² is currently in production and 400,000 m² under preparation being the average annual production is 45,000 m² (well above the prognosis of 30,000 m²). This large-scale development of up to 4.2-billion m² (gross) floorspace is possible, of which 38% offices, 29% residential units and 33% services and amenities (www.zuidas.nl, 14/04/2012).

Milestones
Milestones are important moments in time, reference points that presuppose an achievement or a breakthrough. Concerning the Zuidas, there were several milestones that made it what it is today. The Zuidas was one of the “peripheral centres” on the urban circular in the Amsterdam city plan of 1981. Nevertheless, even in that position, the area did not belong to the prospering urban development sites of 1980s and it most surely did not go beyond being peripheral. Its strategic location between the airport and the city had not been yet acknowledged as a potential development area. Some scattered, isolated specializations were established there, such as the campus of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, the Free University Hospital, the Court of Justice, the World Trade Centre and more to the east, the RAI congress and exhibition centre (Majoor, 2008, p. 74). Through the entire 1980s and 1990s, official planning documents were underlining the hierarchy of the core city, but the 1990s brought a change in the embedded planning concepts of urban containment and territorial cities. Today, two decades later, the planning department of the city of Amsterdam (DRO) is focusing on the internationalization of this southern flank, represented by “the expansion of Schiphol Airport, the development of Zuidas and the intensification of the residential and business areas in Amsterdam-South-East and Station-Zuid, at the heart of Zuidas” (DRO, 2011, p. 19). The main driver of this development has become the infrastructure connection between Amsterdam and the other municipalities of the Randstad, together with the connection with Schiphol it will connect this large scale development with the country, with Europe and the world (DRO, 2011, p. 19).

### 2.3 Conclusion

A development of this scale fits within the policies, with which cities are operating nowadays. Cities are contributing to a shift in spatial policy, from the classical territorial settlement and proportional distribution of public investment to the strategic concentration of resources in locations and sectors in “international “platforms. This reinforces the process of making a city competitive. Nevertheless, this concentration of resources can be questioned as many megaprojects of this sort are experiencing cost overruns and requesting extra investments from public money (imposing heavy strains on public funds), at the same time that they do not deliver the revenue projections presented in the beginning of the development’s strategic plan. The city of Amsterdam had recent failures of large prestige projects, as with the North/South line, the subway currently under construction, the HSL and the Betuweroute. This ends up compromising the participation of the city of Amsterdam as a risk taker and puts the position of Amsterdam as an international financial centre under pressure, as the cost overruns consequently compromise the further development of the Zuidas, economically, socially and spatially.

However, in 2012 the Zuidas is still an important asset for Amsterdam’s competitiveness, but its impact is now limited in itself as the balancing of the economic, social and environmental objectives of the area are quite difficult to access. A development like the Zuidas is of an immense complexity, which also tends to rise in the current economic times and as many stakeholders are involved, parties need to cooperate, form synergies in order to create added value of the investment. However, this does not mean that the whole benefits from certain decision-making processes, as there can be always a positive profit and loss account.
**Problem statement**

It seems that today regions and countries want their cities to have a place in the podium of “the competitive and innovative”. Most of the participants of that race think that through city governance and as a consequence through place marketing, that can be achieved. But we live in a complex and extremely dynamic world and there are bottom-up and top-down approaches that make a certain city the place to be. Some work, and some don’t. The strategies and decision-making processes used to enhance cities importance are not always clear and seem more and more market driven.

A development like the Zuidas, unique and in the vanguard of the Dutch context, having the city of Amsterdam as one of its main stakeholders, is expected to embody some of the marketing principles created for the whole of the city of Amsterdam. But the story of each project has its own trajectory, related to the interaction of stakeholders in political, social and economic arenas, where environmental forces can be changing from time to time. These forces shape opportunities, create dynamics and demand flexibility. Therefore (as a result of the research findings), there must be on one hand, the necessary decision making processes to influence in the right direction and not hamper the success factors of this development, and on the other hand, strategies that create the possibility for this development to adapt and react to different environmental contexts.
2.4 Research questions and objectives

Main research question

1. How are the marketing strategies for the Zuidas influenced by the governance processes and context changes?

Sub-research questions

2. How are marketing strategies implemented and validated (in the large-scale development Zuidas), throughout different periods in time?

3. How can the same decision and strategy making processes of the Zuidas, be adapted to brand other large-scale developments?

Theoretical propositions

1. Throughout its most important and decisive milestones, the Zuidas has adapted its marketing strategies in order to respond to changes in context.

2. Accelerations in the pace of the process do not depend, or at least not merely depend, upon a plan, deadlines and milestones, but in the threats and opportunities that emerge during the process. Instead of just implementing a plan, the city of Amsterdam (represented by the project office Zuidas) was aware of the threats and opportunities and had competency to be adaptive: to grasp an opportunity and avoid the threats.

3. The proposition lies in the change of the actors and programme during time, with the incorporation of emergent strategies and change the governance discourse, to answer to contextual changes and hence to manage the image of this development in different ways through time to be able to achieve success.

The objectives

The objectives of this research are in alignment with the research questions, as they were structural on their elaboration. They are:

1. To understand how city governance processes influence the image management of large-scale developments.

2. To understand how the project office Zuidas and the Planning department of the city of Amsterdam (DRO) can influence the successful implementation of its marketing principles in a large-scale development like the Zuidas and how that translates into the marketing of the development itself.

3. To discover the marketing strategy of the Zuidas and its flexibility, how it adapted through time, in order to create the image of the Zuidas today, and develop a basis for the image it wants to have in the future.
3. Research methodology

While planning the process of this thesis the researcher had to elaborate a theoretical framework, construct research questions, select the case study, plan the operationalization of the fieldwork, and also organize the storage, the management and processing of data. All this factors are covered by what is called research methodology.

City governance and city marketing incorporates a vast multitude of phenomena, and because of the amplitude of the subjects, it is necessary to elaborate on methods, strategies and techniques to clarify and develop this theoretical-empirical research. An empirical research is based on a description, explanation and prediction of reality, having as a task to “see if certain, previously determined, hypothesis are correct” (Jong and Voordt, 2002, p. 138). The theoretical framework will help to set the boundaries of research on the empirical object. The research will not be fragmented but pragmatically divided into theoretical framework and empirical research. They are both combined in an interactive way. Where the initial theoretical approach starts, a confrontation with the empirical object will be done. Also, when analysing the empirical research results another confrontation and analysis between the two will be made. This process can be found several times during the research development as illustrated bellow (fig 13).

Figure 13: Cyclic working

Based on Van der Voordt’s lectures (2011), the foundation of the research framework is presented below:

1. Drivers, meaning the reasons to conduct this research and its social and scientific relevance.
   - Expectations
   - Goals and objectives attained
   - Unexpected effects
   - Understanding the decision making process
   - Decision making breaking points
   - Input guidelines for improvement
   - Policy recommendation
   - Period of time explored. Four distinct periods of time were chosen for their relevance as milestones in this large scale development such as, the beginning of the development in the 1990’s, 2008 with its economic crisis, the present and the future (as in speculation).
   - Changes over time
2. Problem analysis, with the elaboration propositions, which try to describe and explain the observation or phenomenon, which can be tested.

3. Problem statement, where the goals of the research, the research question and the target group it concerns are mentioned. Here the main concepts are introduced and the interest of the researcher on the topic is exposed (see section 2.4)

4. Research Design mentioning the methods, strategies and techniques of the research.

5. Data collection.

6. Data analysis.

7. Reflections, conclusions and recommendations.


3.1 Case-study method

According to Robert Yin (2003, p. 13), “A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context (especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident)”. Meaning that a research strategy encompasses the logic of design, data collection and addresses specific ways of analysing data. A case-study method is suitable for researchers who have to deal with some of the following conditions: (a) little control over research’s events, (b) when focus is on contemporary phenomena with a real life context, (c) when there is a variety of evidence to process (documents and interviews), and (d) depending on the type of research questions (Yin, 2003, p. 5). Table 6 illustrates the different strategies to obtain research information, albeit all strategies can be used for explanatory, exploratory and descriptive research designs (Yin, 2003, p. 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRATEGY</th>
<th>FORM OF RESEARCH QUESTION</th>
<th>REQUIRES CONTROL OF BEHAVIORAL EVENTS?</th>
<th>FOCUSES ON CONTEMPORARY EVENTS?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experiment</td>
<td>How, why?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>Who, what, where?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How many?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How much?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival Analysis</td>
<td>Who, what, where?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How many?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How much?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>How, why?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Study</td>
<td>How, why?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Relevant situations for different research questions (Yin, 2003, p. 5)

The main research question of the research proposal (How are the marketing strategies for the Zuidas influenced by the governance processes and context changes?) is a ‘how’ type of question that is associated to explanatory researches which use case studies, as the appropriate research strategy (Yin, 2003, p. 5-7). This question concentrates on the Zuidas, a Dutch contemporary large-scale development, and focuses on particular milestones set on a defined time-line. As a consequence, the researcher will analyse its real-life context through a set of technical characteristics, including data collection and data analysis strategies. The researcher intends to give an answer about which decision making processes of this network of actors (concerning the image management of a large scale development),
influence the implementation marketing strategies that lead to successful place marketing for the project. Also it intends to unveil, how adaptive these strategies are and which ingredients make if flexible to go through changes in context.

Even though, the biggest prejudices about the case-study methods lies in the lack of rigor and in its little basis for scientific generalization, strengths can also be found. These are the capacity to take rich and holistic qualities of real life circumstances and the flexibility in design and procedure, which allow adjustments in process (Groat & Wang, Chapter 12, p. 360). Having mentioned this, a case-study method is considered the best suitable method to link the collection of data with the research questions.

### 3.2 Case study selection

For the selection of a case study for this research, four issues were considered and decided upon. Based on Van der Voortd lectures (2011), they are purpose, number of cases, criteria for case selection and selection of variables to be measured. The purpose of the research proposal is to unveil the influence of city governance on the implementation of marketing strategies on large-scale developments, and to understand which are the strategies used and the success factors considered for image management of this same development through time. As such the type of structure that will be used for this case study will be linear-analytic, as it combines an explanatory, descriptive and exploratory character by structuring itself in the following order: problem statement, literature review, methods, results, reflection & discussion (Groat & Wang Chapter 12, p. 349).

To grasp more in depth, the phenomenon of governance and marketing, the focus of this research lies on a single case study. The choice of the case study took longer than expected due to the fact that most of the available literature was in Dutch. But even though certain difficulties were encountered, the desire was always to work on a case study in Amsterdam and particularly the Zuidas because this is a hot topic concerning urban area development in the local, regional and national Dutch context. Other considerations were taken when choosing this case study, as for example, proximity factors. Accessibility to the development and proximity to the professionals that worked and work in this case study, were taken into consideration. As such this case study was chosen mainly through the excellent fit with the research goals as well as pragmatic considerations.

This case study was elected due to the fact that it is in the vanguard of Dutch developments. Due to its scale and scope, this contemporary large-scale development has a preeminent position in the city of Amsterdam and as such it has influencing power on the perception of where the city stands, regionally, nationally and internationally. In order to determine what factors should be taken into account when searching for the appropriate decision and strategy making processes in order to achieve success, the variables chosen are based on the success and failure levels of Fred Hobma (Wigmans et al., 2011, p. 219-235).
3.3 Case study design

As it was mentioned before the researcher chose a single case study, assured by the rationales of Robert Yin (fig. 14) (Yin, 2003, p. 40-42). The rationales are (1) “When it represents the ‘critical’ case in testing a well formulated theory. (2) When the case represents an extreme case or a unique case, (3) conversely, a third rationale for a single case is the representative or typical. The case study may represent a typical project among many different projects. (4) A fourth rationale for a single case study is the revelatory case. This situation exists when an investigator has an opportunity to observe and analyse a phenomenon previously inaccessible to scientific investigation. (5) The longitudinal case: studying the same single case at two or more different points in time” (Yin, 2003, p. 40-42). The Zuidas lies in the second rationale and as there are multiple units of analysis, it will not only be a single case study, as it would be embedded (fig. 15).

![Figure 14: Basic types of designs for case studies (Yin, 2003, p. 40)](image)

According to Robert Yin (Yin, 2003, p. 21), there are five components of research designs: as in (1) the study’s questions, (2) its propositions, if any, (3) its units of analysis, (4) the logic linking of the data to the propositions and (5) the criteria for interpreting the findings. Based on these components, the design of the case study ‘The Zuidas’ is introduced bellow.

A study’s questions

Main research question:

1. How are marketing strategies for the Zuidas influenced by the governance processes and context changes?

Sub-research questions:

2. How are marketing strategies implemented and validated (in the large-scale development Zuidas), throughout different periods in time?
3. How can the same decision and strategy making processes of the Zuidas, be adapted to brand other large-scale developments?
**Its propositions**

The propositions of this case study are based on which and how physical features, stories of actors, and context changed over time. It is taken into consideration that there were changes made in marketing strategies from the initial development until the economical crisis hit in 2008 as well as after.

1. Throughout its most important and decisive milestones, the Zuidas has adapted its marketing strategies in order to respond to changes in context.

2. Accelerations in the pace of the process do not depend, or at least not merely depend, upon a plan, deadlines and milestones, but in the threats and opportunities that emerge during the process. Instead of just implementing a plan, the city of Amsterdam (represented by the project office Zuidas) was aware of the threats and opportunities and had competency to be adaptive: to grasp an opportunity and avoid the threats.

3. The proposition lies in the change of the actors and programme during time, with the incorporation of emergent strategies and change the governance discourse, to answer to contextual changes and hence to manage the image of this development in different ways through time to be able to achieve success.

**Its unit(s) of analysis**

a) Context
   • Economical climate
   • Political climate
   • Cultural background
   • Demographics
   • Changes in legislation and regulations

b) Actors
   • The stories

c) Programme
   • Offices
   • Dwellings
   • Public amenities

d) Marketing strategies
   • Image change
   • Leadership
   • Trust

These four points will be researched taking into consideration four periods in time: Starting with the beginning of this development, the crisis of 2008, the present and the future (as in the project scope).

1. The data linking to the propositions will be done via the logic of pattern matching, whereby findings from the Zuidas case study will be related to theoretical propositions.

2. The criteria for interpreting the findings will be dealt with the reasoning that the analysis of different patterns should be sufficient similarities or contrasts in the finding.
3.3 Research instruments

Evidence for case studies can come from six sources: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation and physical artefacts (Yin, 2003, P. 86). But only three seemed relevant for the elaboration of this case study, being, documentation, arrival records and interviews. Its strengths and weaknesses are presented in the table below (table 7).

Table 7: Strengths and weaknesses of the sources of evidence (Yin, 2003, p. 86)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of evidence</th>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Weaknesses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Documentation      | - Stable-can be reviewed repeatedly  
|                    | - Unobstructed-not created as a result of the case study  
|                    | - Exact- contains exact names, references and details of an even  
|                    | - Broad coverage-long span of time, many events, and many settings  | - Retrievability -can be low  
|                    | - Biased selectivity, if collection is incomplete  
|                    | - Reporting bias- reflects (unknown) bias of author  
|                    | - Access-may be deliberately blocked  |
| Archival records   | - Same as the above  
|                    | - Precise and quantitative  | - Accessibility die to privacy reason  
|                    | - Language problem  |
| Interviews         | - Reality-covers events in real time  
|                    | - Contextual- covers context of event  | - Time consuming  
|                    | - Selectivity-unless broad coverage  |

To begin with, documenting information is extremely relevant in this case study. This is playing an essential role in the data collection for this case study, the variety of documents to analyse are:

- Written reports on events (Vision document of 2004 and 2009)
- Administrative documents- as documents elaborated by the city of Amsterdam and the Zuidas coalition (in English)
- Scientific articles
- Articles in the media
- Publications

The main documents to be analysed in the empirical research will be the Vision document of 2004 (Amsterdam and Zuidas, 2004) and the Vision document of 2007 which was ratified on the 9th of September 2009 (Amsterdam et al., 2009b). During the fieldwork, more precisely during the interviews, the reference from the respondents to other documents was taken into consideration and explored accordingly.

The archival records to be used are:

- Maps and charts with programme and layout
- List of names, as actors involved in the governance processes and other relevant items
- Survey data, as data relating target groups; who are they and how many.
- Organizational records, such as diagrams from which it can be determined which were the changes in the organization over a certain period of time.
Interviews

Interviews are of great importance as the researcher is not fluent in the Dutch language. In case the documentary evidence is contradictory rather than corroboratory, the interviews will help in inquiring further into the topic.

There are two operative levels in making the intended interviews, the first is to follow an organized line of inquiry, reflected by the interview scheduled and second to ask questions in an unbiased manner as “friendly” and “nonthreatening” to also serve the need of the line of inquiry (Yin, 2003, p. 88-89). Albeit, a consistent line of inquiry will be pursued, the stream of questions will be fluid, as well-informed respondents can provide important insights into a situation at the same time that they can identify other sources of evidence. Still, other sources of evidence were used to corroborate the information provided in the interviews, as a caution to avoid interpersonal influence.

The questions proposed for the interviews are in alignment with the units of analysis introduced in the case-study method and can be found, together with other relevant information in the interview schedule in the appendix 2.

The empirical object of this research is as mentioned before a large-scale development in Amsterdam, the Zuidas. A large-scale development like this one, involves public and private actions that develop both in space and time, and whose main objectives are to develop (almost from scratch) a once considered peripheral area into a new development. The word “large-scale” in itself already includes the notion of an ample assortment of realities. In the Zuidas this term is represented by a “large-scale “ ambition divulged by its representatives (as the Project Office Zuidas), which is namely the ambition of becoming the future main service and urban centre of Amsterdam and of the Netherlands. It is also “large-scale” due to its physical size, scale of programme and the resources committed through its life span.

This large-scale development was chosen as a single case study because it is an integral project that combines different urban functions and that incorporates and develops around several dimensions of urban planning. At the same time the Zuidas tries to give shape to the city of Amsterdam. It is also, according to Majoor, searching for the proper governance processes to steer complexity, finance and create urban quality in a new era of large-scale urban interventions (Majoor, 2005).

As Bruijn stated, “I feel the Zuidas has hardly begun”1 albeit it has had several “stones and stories” in its development path, which enabled change and are worth researching.

In this section the treating of the information is organized by the following categories (within the defined timeline):

- Context
- Actors
- Programme
- Marketing strategies

The choice of interviewees is varied, as they were chosen according to the scope and scale of their intervention and participation in the Zuidas. The variety of intervenients, their field of expertise and relationship with this project enabled this to be a sound and scientific research (table 8). Although the interviews were of extreme importance as a source of evidence, they did not however strictly follow the interview guide. When a key respondent preferred to introduce their point of view, tell their stories, introduce their role and competence area in the history of the Zuidas, individual consideration was used, as to how introduce the research questions in the dialogue. A recorder was used during the interviews to store the information, when possible and allowed, which was in all 14 interviews. The interview guide was, when requested, sent to the respondent in advance as pre-information of the main objective of the interview. Three respondents requested to see the transcripts of the interview before as a condition to quote them in this report.

---

1 Personal interview with Pi de Bruijn on 07/03/2012. Bruijn is a Partner at Architecten Cie and was appointed by the City of Amsterdam as masterplanner for project Zuidas from 1998 to 2007.
### Table 8: Interview respondents and respondent affiliations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESEARCH METHOD</th>
<th>INSTITUTIONS/ COMPANIES</th>
<th>DATE (dd/mm/yy)</th>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Affiliation of Respondent (at the time of the interview)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACADEMIC</td>
<td></td>
<td>08/03/2012</td>
<td>Stan Majoor</td>
<td>Assistant professor at UVA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13/03/2012</td>
<td>Merijn Oudenapsen</td>
<td>PHD at Tilburg University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>06/03/2012</td>
<td>Jan Lambooy</td>
<td>Retired Professor from UVA/Universiteit Utrecht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROJECT OFFICE</td>
<td></td>
<td>16/02/2012</td>
<td>Robert Dijckmeester</td>
<td>Commercial Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZUIDAS</td>
<td></td>
<td>13/02/2012</td>
<td>Frederijk Haentjens</td>
<td>Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26/01/2012</td>
<td>Martin Overmulder</td>
<td>Project Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTC</td>
<td></td>
<td>21/03/2012</td>
<td>Christiaan Huijg</td>
<td>Managing Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABN Amro</td>
<td></td>
<td>23/03/2012</td>
<td>Douglas Grobbe</td>
<td>Managing Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecten Cie</td>
<td></td>
<td>07/03/2012</td>
<td>Pi de Bruijn</td>
<td>Architect &amp; Supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td></td>
<td>29/02/2012</td>
<td>Ruud Bergh</td>
<td>Managing Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TU DELFT</td>
<td></td>
<td>28/03/2012</td>
<td>D.j.van den Berg</td>
<td>President of the executive board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZUIDAS AMSTERDAM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRO</td>
<td></td>
<td>20/02/2012</td>
<td>Pieter Klomp</td>
<td>Urban Designer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>05/04/2012</td>
<td>Hans van der Made</td>
<td>Senior Urban Designer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VU</td>
<td></td>
<td>05/03/2012</td>
<td>Hans de Sonnaville</td>
<td>Academic director of ABC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As mentioned above, the units of analysis of this research can be divided in four: context, actors, programme, marketing strategies (fig 16).

Besides analysing the 4 embedded units of analysis, this research wants to take a step forward by studying the critical success factors of this development as their analysis deepens and launches the research into the future realm for this large-scale development by facilitating the reproduction of decision and strategy making processes to other large scale developments.

Other research methods were used apart from the interviews. The information gathered is a result of the deployment of the research instruments-interviews, document analysis and data collection. The visions 2004 and 2009 of the Zuidas were analysed. They express the plans and ambitions of the Project office Zuidas together with the Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordering of the Gemeente Amsterdam, being that in the 2009’s vision ARUP joins in its elaboration. To add to the body of knowledge other documents were analysed, mainly the ones addressed during the interviews (these can be found in the reference list).
3.4 Research design

In this section, the combination of the empirical research with the theoretical framework is presented in the format of an illustration of how the research for the master thesis developed (fig. 17). The planning, which this research followed, can be found in the appendix 2.

Figure 17: Research design
3.5 Research process

This research model is divided into six phases organized in chronological order below, being (1) definition of research topic, (2) theoretical framework, (3) empirical research, (4) analysis and discussion, (5) reflection, conclusion and recommendations and finally (6) adjustments. The planning scheme that corroborates this research model (fig. 18) can be found in appendix 2.

Figure 18: Research process model

- **Start: Definition of Research Topic**
  - Find Research Topic: Relation of City Marketing with City Governance
  - Explore on research topic - Reflection
  - Formulate main and sub research questions
  - Formulate Hypothesis

  Literature review / Exploratory Interviews

- **Theoretical Framework**
  - City Governance (processes)
  - City Marketing

  Research instruments: Literature study / Exploratory Interviews

- **Empirical Research**
  - CYCLIC WORKING, Test empirical data against theoretical framework
  - The Zuidas’ units of analyses:
    - Context
    - Actors
    - Programme
    - Marketing strategy

  Research instruments: Interviews, document analysis, and archival records

- **Analysis/Discussion**
  - Analysis and discussion on theoretical and empirical outcome
  - CYCLIC WORKING, Test empirical data against theoretical framework

  Research instruments: Interviews, document analysis, and archival records

- **Reflection, Conclusion & Recommendations**
  - Answer research questions using the theoretical and empirical input
  - Elaborate on conclusion and recommendations
  - Relational scheme
  - Reflect on prepositions

  Research instruments: document analysis

- **Adjustments**
II Theoretical input

4. Fields of study

When isolating the supporting theory found in the research design, and dissecting it to gather more detail, a more elaborated theoretical framework emerges (fig 19).

Figure 19: Theoretical framework

4.1 City governance

Governance can be seen as a framework for steering networks, as it is the capacity to bring together and bind actors with divergent perspectives (Healey, 2007, p. 17-19). It requires clear discourses, as a clear communication strategy (which goes beyond a policy making) and it demands for “collective” action, promoted as for public purposes, that go beyond the purposes of individual agents (Healey, 2007, p. 17). Although the focus of this theoretical introduction on governance lays on its processes (fig. 20), this is only one of the seven governance capacities and one of three levels of governance performance that Healey (2007, p. 21) introduces to explain the dimensions of governance (table 9).

Figure 20: Governance capacities (Healey, 2007, p. 15)
**Table 9: Three levels of governance performance (Healey, 2007, p. 21)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Dimension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specific Episodes</td>
<td>• Actors-roles, strategies, interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Arenas-Institutional sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance Processes</td>
<td>• Networks and coalitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Discourses-language, metaphor, derived from frames of reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance Cultures</td>
<td>• Range of accepted modes of governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Range of embedded cultural values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Formal and informal processes of critique through which governing processes are rendered legitimate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Network and coalitions**

Governance activity is apprehended by analysts of public policy, as determined by and performed through a set of complex interactions, linking the domains of the state, the economy and civil society in varied ways. These networks and communities bind together in different combinations. For instance, as experts in particular fields, lobby groups, amongst others. This indicates that policy is made (also) in the progress of knowledge and frames of understanding that develop within policy communities. These policies discourses in turn help construct the characteristics of certain policy interventions and guide the evolving practices through which governance operates. These influences exerted by a certain network do not flow in a simple, linear way (Healey, 2007, p. 17). New policy discourses that surface in one policy community may be hindered by practices being shaped by developments in another (Healey, 2007, p. 17). As such it is important to know the levels of connectivity between these networks of actors. Nevertheless, it is important to add, that large-scale developments are often criticized for their closed networks of decision-making, in which these projects are mostly decided upon and executed.

The metropolitan realm is abundant on public and private actors, at various levels of spatial scale and they are active in several sectors of urban policy. In this multi-dimensional arena, varied conflicting coalitions may co-exist. The main challenge for the metropolitan governance is to find ways of organizing the connectivity between the different spheres of action (Healey 2007, p.13)

Any urban area may have all kinds of governance relations (Healey 2007, p.16):

- Some are linked to formal, hierarchically organized government organizations that supply a particular focus for an “urban level”
- Others organized through coalitions of interest around particular issues or areas
- Coalitions and partnerships that compete for power and influence with a formal municipal level of government
Structure of networks

It is important to go more in-depth to what is a network, what is its structure and how its decision making processes work, in order to be able to understand and analyse better the complexity of a real life case, as when undergoing the empirical research in the Zuidas.

“A network can be defined as (1) a number of actors with (2) different goals and interests and (3) different resources (4) who depend on each other for the realization of their goals” (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 1). A network has a group of three characteristics, that according to Bruijn and ten Heuvelhof (2008, p. 22) can distinguish them from other models of organization (as the hierarchy) and together define its structure; they are (1) variety, (2) closedness and (3) mutual dependencies (when the actors that form a network are dependent on each other) Although consensus about the obstacles and opportunities of these structural characteristics is not self-evident in a network organization, the table bellow (table 10) summarizes the basic principles behind it.

Table 10: Obstacles and opportunities in the structural characteristics of a network (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 22)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Obstacles</th>
<th>Opportunities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Each party in a network is sensitive to a different type of intervention | • Limited research intervention  
• Possibilities for tailor-made approach limited  
• Reinterpreting the intervention, causing it to get bogged down (different actors may arrive at different interpretations of the same intervention) | • Higher chance of success with some of the parties  
• Possibilities for divide and rule (the greater the variety in a network the less self-evident is cooperation between the parties of a network)  
• Innovation  
• Reinterpretations: constructive ambiguity |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Closedness</th>
<th>Obstacles</th>
<th>Opportunities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actors in a network are not by definition sensitive to external interventions</td>
<td>• Intervention fails due to the closedness and might become a ritual</td>
<td>• Support gained from closed party means that the strength of this party can be utilized</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interdependence</th>
<th>Obstacles</th>
<th>Opportunities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Organizations in a network are dependent on each other | • Leads to hit-and-run and hence to chaos  
• Network as a whole becomes opaque  
• Leads to sluggishness  
• Leads to poor decision making | • Incentive for moderate behaviour  
• Raising complexity means more possibility for exchange  
• Substantive enrichment |
Interdependences

By acknowledging the complexity of the Zuidas Company, (which is in the full sense of the word, a network), it was necessary to explore the concept of interdependences further in order to be able to understand better how organizations in a network are dependent on each other.

As a consequence, the following section is introduced:

1. According to Bruijn and Heuvelhof (2008, p. 11) interdependences can be single-value or multi-value:
   1) Actors have a single-value dependence on each other if the dependence can be expressed in one value.
   2) In networks, the dependencies tend to be multi-value ones. Actors are dependent on each other for information.

2. Interdependences can also be Bilateral or multi-lateral. The first happens when two actors are interdependent, and the second becomes more multifaceted, as large numbers of actors are interdependent.

3. Synchronous/Asynchronous
   1) Actors know that they are all dependent of each other at the same time.
   2) In more complex situations the actors need each other at different times, which may be far removed from each other.

4. Sequential or Simultaneous
   1) Act A is only possible if act B has performed and act earlier
   2) An act A depends on B, who should act at the same time.

5. Static or Dynamic
   Meaning that the more dynamic interdependencies there are, the less transparent a network is.

Decision making in networks

Understanding decision-making processes in a network is fundamental. They are usually without a clear sequence of activities, giving it an irregular, flexible and unpredictable character. There is generally no isolated starting and endpoint because it takes place on several arenas, where actors join and withdraw the rounds behaving strategically (they search for a way to maximize their own interests, instead of aiming at an organized progress of the decision-making process). In a networks ‘decision making process, the content of the problem shifts through time as it is mostly regarded as unstructured (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 23).

As a network is dynamic, its consistency may hamper decision-making, and as such put it under strain. Decision making is also under threat as (1) today’s opportunity may be yesterday’s tomorrow; (2) through the process, major issues degenerate into details; (3) the events take their own course and (4) compelling good and strategic master plans are hardly of any help (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 30-31). But decision making processes also lead to enrichment, as for example when parties manage to create added value, due to their cooperation with each other in the form of synergies. Albeit a synergy does not necessarily mean that a win-win situation has been created.
The main characteristic of decision-making is capriciousness. This capriciousness can be substantive, when the content of the problem or the solutions are constantly shifting; or it can be process based, when the decision-making has no clear start and end point and takes place in rounds, that happen after each other in an irregular order (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 31).

Table 11: Process based decision making in a network (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 75)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process based decision making</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• After the decision there is a next round, so new opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Specifying the decision makes this vulnerable, generates incentives for resistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Project managerial techniques are dysfunctional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Changes of pace are needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Process-based actions, Project based communications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Open decision making (when particular options are kept open, leaving every party with future opportunities) has a positive connotation in a network as it also is a motivation for cooperative behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Implementation requires strategic choices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Evaluation is constant process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Power, Trust & Leadership**

Power and governance capacity are not only located in the formally elected positions of governance ministers, but can be found dispersed through other spheres. Power is on one hand a generative force, expressed in the energy to act, to do things, to mobilize, to imagine and to invent. And on the other hand an imminent force of social relations, as it can be found in the exercise of authority, in attempts to dominate, manipulate, persuade and/ or seduce actors to a determined position or attitude towards a determined actions (Healey, 2007, p. 24).

According to Hans de Bruijn and Ernst ten Heuvelhof actions (2008, p. 37-38) there 3 types of power positions:

- Production power- an actor can make a positive contribution towards the realization of something
- Blocking power- an actor can only halt something
- A diffuse power position-it is unclear to an initiator what the power position of the other actor is, that is unclear whether an actor will want to use his resources and relations

In networks, relations between actors can be strained by the power position of actors; as such it is extremely important to understand that relations are fundamental to strengthen the actor’s strategic positioning in a network. When mentioning power, restraint and self-discipline are necessary. That means that the more power an actor has the more moderation he should practice when using it. “The most powerful actor in a network has a system of responsibility, responsibility which goes beyond the individual actor and concerns the whole system of cooperating actors” (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008).
The relations that an actor maintains can be characterized in two ways (although an actor can have redundant relations, which happen when the four types of relations are maintained) (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p.43):

- Functional and extra functional relations
- Strong and weak relations

These relations are often imbedded with strategic behaviour. Even though this behaviour has an effective functioning in the network it can damage the trust towards the actor that practices strategic behaviour. This leads then to the reliability paradox (fig. 21), which is formulated by Bruijn and Heuvelhof (2008, p. 91) as follows:

- For actors to function effectively in network, they will have to use the strategies, as in decision making, in their interaction with others
- If they use these strategies without any reverse, other actors may lose trust in them. Unreserved use of these strategies may harm their reliability
- If trust in, and the reliability of an actor has been harmed, his interaction with others will be hampered severely

**Figure 21: Reliability paradox (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 92)**

In recent years the leadership structure has been shifting away from a hierarchical, essential vertically organized to one of interdependences. When culturally and structurally a more horizontal and even-handed organization is created, it then takes the on the character of a network, with “many relatively autonomous units that may have different interests but are interdependent” (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 3). Leadership in networks is a possible agent of the network’s effectiveness, and especially in uncertain times, it can be critical for place development. Hobma² introduces “policy entrepreneur” as a possible leader, “he is a person that by virtue of his authority, persistence and tenacity can bring together policy stream” (Hobma, 2011, p. 231). According to Bruijn and Heuvelhof (2008, p.3) a network requires the interdependencies to be dexterous and capable to accommodate change. By having strong leaders with a top-down behaviour may deprive organizations of their proficiency and adaptiveness. It is the interdependency of networks that portrays almost all modern organizations (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p.3).

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² Fred Hobma is an Associate professor of Planning Law at TU Delft
Discourses

"Discourse refers to the policy language and metaphors mobilized in focusing, justifying and legitimating a policy programme or project." (Healey, 2007, p. 22).

According to Hajer (Madanipour et al., 2001, p. 193-194) there are three, primarily discursive, distinct orientations in the Dutch debate for strategic planning: welfare planning, economic entrepreneurialism and cultural planning (fig. 22).

1. The ‘Compact, urban and green’ discourse, stands for the dominant orientation in Dutch strategic planning (the ‘Welfare planning’). In this discourse there is an effort to unite a positive, broadly social-democratic agenda for planning, in which social ambitions, such as integration and the creation of employment, are focus points in the plan for sustainable development. The prime unit of this discourse is the city, where most of the policy objectives have to be realized (Madanipour et al., 2001, p. 193-194).

2. Economic Entrepreneurialism has since 1980s become preeminent. In this discourse, the role of strategic planning is more inclusive and it is by nature more market oriented and individualist in orientation. It defends that strategic planning should be pro-active and should expedite marketing initiative by contributing to the growth of the economic infrastructure. As a consequence the rethinking of the key expertise to strategic planning is introduced into the discourse, albeit sharing with the discourse of welfare planning it trusts on trend extrapolations to determine future needs.

3. A second discourse challenging the perspective on welfare planning is that of cultural planning. This discourse is not as strong as the economic entrepreneurial one. It advocates that planning should be around the creation of a country as a region of variety, justifying it by the growth in society’s diversity and by the fact that this society can be seen as organized around various places, stressing the necessary analysis on the quality of the same.

In principle this division in three discourses, helps to distinct more or less coherent orientation in the debate. This can be done through the varying policy targets (PT), the planning concepts (PC) that actors adhere to and the key technologies (KT) that are identified to make planning work (Madanipour et al., 2001, p. 193).

Figure 22: The Dutch discursive space (Madanipour et al., 2001, p. 193)
Figure 23, tries to illustrate how each of the three perspectives comes with its own institutional preference. (Madanipour et al., 2001, p. 194).

**Figure 23: Institutional preferences (Madanipour et al., 2001, p. 194)**

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**Practices**

Practices “are effects, meanings and values embodied in what those involved in governing actively actually do” (Healey 2007, p.22). Discourses may or may not, be in alignment to what happens in practice, this may be a consequence of a deliberate attempt to manipulate how governance activity is seen and may also be because, change in discourses happens at a different speed and direction than change in practices (Healey 2007, p.22).

In the past decades, the Netherlands has witnessed the rising of new forms of collaboration, as partnerships, working groups, etc. These new collaborative initiatives embody a rich empirical base in which the innovation of processes and interaction of these with the context can be accessed. The appeal of this new forms of collaborative process is epitomized by a more inclusive, better coordinated, knowledgeable potential that can lead to re-shaped policy discourses, new policy-making and following implementation (Healey, 2006, p. 330) and in its own right, can change the practice and effects of governance action.

One example of this collaborative initiatives is the public-private partnership (PPP) which is defined as a “cooperation between public and private actors with a durable character in which actors develop mutual products and/or services and in which risk, costs, and benefits are shared” (Klijn and Teisman, 2002, p. 2). The PPP has in its core the concept of mutual added value, in which the advantages of the synergy will outweigh the costs of the collaboration.

Hodge and Greve (Hodge and Greve, 2009, p. 33) expose five different families of such partnerships:

1. Institutional co-operation for joint production and risk sharing.
2. Long-term infrastructure contracts (LTICs).
4. Civil society and community development.
5. Urban renewal and downtown economic development.
The intended Partnership for the empirical object of this research, the Zuidas development, belonged to the first, category as it was supposed to be an Institutional co-operation for joint production and risk sharing meant to encourage innovation. This PPP was intended to validate the importance of involving all the stakeholders (public and private) in shaping the developments future. Here public and private actors would establish an enduring relationship in developing the dock model project. Private parties were asked to cooperate and share responsibilities and risks, in a dual project, being it an infrastructure project, together with a real estate development on top of it. Cooperation was developed and nurtured between public and private parties for 4 to 5 years, resulting in a negative outcome, the PPP was not agreed upon (Chapter III).
4.2 City Marketing-Place Marketing

Within the field of city governance city marketing is especially interested in a cities’ potential, meaning the services and attractions that make a city appealing for potential users. Although, a marketing approach to a place’s development is a response from places that are involved in global and local processes that need or want to compete effectively with others, this approach needs to be adapted to the context and practices of cities because the marketing of a place is a constant and persistent activity that must accommodate change, as for example, a change in economic conditions and new opportunities (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 345). If this approach is put to practice and responsibly applied, policy makers can bring a strong and influential dimension to a place’s development and to its governance. Cities feel the need to develop marketing policies in order to remain competitive, acknowledging that city marketing is not restricted to one group of users, but to a range of potential audiences with diverse needs and interests (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 345). City marketing can be considered a place management philosophy that supports a city development strategy.

“City marketing enables a new level of quality within the local development policy in terms of comprehensiveness, creativity and flexibility. New resources in form of ideas, capital, and local knowledge are mobilized for local policy. In this way city marketing enables a strategic approach to public planning in collaboration with the private sector” (Rainisto, 2003/4, p. 61).

Kotler in ‘Marketing Places’ (1993, p. 79) wrote that places must begin to do what firms have been doing for years, namely strategic marketing planning, and formed a model for place marketing, called ‘Levels of Place Marketing’ (fig. 24)

Figure 24: Levels of place marketing (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 19)
**Trends**

In this section the trends introduced have Braun’s ‘City Marketing. Towards an integrated approach’ (2008) doctoral thesis as a reference. Preparing the future involves anticipating the main trends and developments likely to affect places (fig. 25). The increased relevance of city marketing has a lot to do with the changes happening to the urban environment since the beginning of the last century. Cities have integrated more and more into global networks. As described by Castells and others, one can understand globalization as the emerging set of networks of money, production, jobs, infrastructure, etc. connecting cities on a global level. A couple of factors have changed in this process. In combination with the high tech telecommunication infrastructure and the Internet, a general increase in speed of communication has taken place. Information is hardly bound to locality anymore and all information is available anywhere simultaneously.

The world has become increasingly open and connected not only in terms of business but also geo-politically. With the fall of the ‘iron curtain’ the former distinction between east and west became obsolete. Markets increased globally as well did means of production. This leads to an additional pressure on production prices on a global level, contributing to the competition between cities on a global level. The unification of Europe and with this for instance the ‘Schengen treaty’, have contributed to an increasingly connected inter-European exchange not only of goods, but also of skilled workers. The process of opening up of formerly ‘closed’ regimes has taken place in countries such as China. This move for instance made a significant impact on the production of goods on a world scale and the competition among cities in particular.

Better transport connections have made impact on city planning and the attractiveness of cities and city networks. The new and fast infrastructural networks diminish traveling time and allowed for an increased activity radius, professionally as well as privately. Not in the last place has the increase of low cost airlines been supportive for Leisure City tourism.

It is said that terrorism would become a negative influence for cities, starting with 9/11 in New York. Even though this did have an effect on the reputation of cities little is known of this events having a substantial negative effect on cities.

*Figure 25: Fundamental development and trends (Braun, 2008, p. 16)*
**The added value of city marketing**

Seeing this set of factors that make cities increasingly global and competitive, the question remains what city marketing does in order to make the city more liveable and for whom. In the first place, we can say (as mentioned before) that city marketing does not focus on one, but on a diversity of user groups. These user groups certainly have different needs and values. As opposed to a centralized planning apparatus, in Braun’s point of view (Braun, 2008, p. 45-47) city marketing approaches the user as a customer. According to Braun this marketing philosophy is the basis for an approach tailored to the needs of individual user groups. Cities can simply develop better, boost businesses, attract more inhabitants or utilize the historical heritage for tourism once the specific customer needs are known. In that case customer needs and the cities assets can come together. Bringing this together thoroughly, gives the city a competitive advantage against cities that make bad use of their assets or try to promote them without a coherent place marketing strategy.

**Strategic market planning**

The knowledge that the future if never certain is the starting point of Strategic market planning. Strategic market planning has as a challenge to elaborate and deliver a functional system, which can absorb shock and accommodate rapidly new threats and opportunities. The party responsible for the strategic planning process of a place, is to develop, plan and consequent actions that embody the place’s objective and assets to context changes (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 80).

“Through strategic planning process, a place decides which industries, services and markets, should be encouraged, which should be maintained, and which should be deemphasized or even abandoned” (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 80).

According to Kotler (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 80) Strategic planning can be carried out in various ways:

- A single government department can conduct strategic planning functions
- Several government agencies collaborate and form a joint strategic plan
- Public-private partnerships can create committees to carry out the planning task
- Private organizations

Independently of the organizational structure chosen, the strategic market planning process moves through five stages (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 81)

1. Place audit
2. Vision and goals
3. Strategy formulation
4. Action plan
5. Implementation and control

**Image marketing**

A place’s current image and assets do influence the effectiveness and cost of an image strategy. According to Kotler’s ‘Marketing Places’ (1993, p. 35-36), a place can embody one of six positions:

1. Positive image. The image of this place is expressed and represented positively to others. This place does not have the necessity to change its image, but can still aim at amplifying extending it to a greater audience.
2. Weak image. Some places are not known and are lacking public awareness.
3. Negative image. Many places find themselves held to an image negative (as crime and poverty stricken areas) and as such might have the desire to curb their image distribution, or find a “pearl” that can help transform the old image with a new one.
4. Mixed image. The majority of the places have a mix between positive and negative elements, which usually results in places emphasizing the positive and avoiding the negative.

5. Contradictory image. This image position is present when people hold opposite opinions about some features of the place. Although image reversal is hard to achieve, the strategy here would be to emphasize the positive, so people would stop considering the opposite.

6. Overly attractive image. Some places are too attractive and might be hindered if they promote themselves further.

For an image to be effective it should follow the following criteria (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 149-150):

1. It must be valid. If a place promotes an image too far from reality, the chance of success is minimal
2. It must be believable. Even in the proposed image is valid; it may not be readily believable.
3. It must be simple. If a place disseminates too much images of itself, it leads to confusion
4. It must have appeal. The image must suggest why people would want to inhabit this development
5. It must be distinctive. The image works best when it is different from other common themes.

Slogans like ‘I Amsterdam’ appear disseminated everywhere and are useful in causing enthusiasm, generating momentum and new ideas. Catchy phrases as Minnesota “ Land of 10,000 lakes” can be used as tools to capture attention, but alone both don’t ensure good image marketing. A place’s image must be valid, believable, and simple, have appeal and be distinctive but also it needs to be communicated in an appropriate manner. Images are not easily changed and also are not easy to create. To ensure a place’s prosperity, image is not enough, as an image; to be successful it needs a backbone to strengthen its own arguments. The place needs special and spatial elements to attract its current and intended users (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 36-37), and create interest in potential target markets. Also image and attraction attributes do not make the image marketing efficient and successful on its own terms, a place has to work and as such its infrastructure becomes fundamental (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 39).

To be able to communicate image there are several tools, (some of which were already mentioned above), they are the following (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 151-154):

1. Slogans embody an overall vision of the place, providing a platform to amplify the place’s image.
2. Themes. Independently of the attractiveness of the message they must be backed by real performance.
3. Image positioning. Relating to the way a place positions itself in a macro (metropolitan, European or Word), meso (as in the place and surrounding connections) or micro scale (street level).
4. Visual symbols. Place marketing recognizably has been using this tool (iconic architecture is often used).
5. Events and deeds. These subtly have impact on an audience over time.

The success of place marketing practices explained in the literature still seem to be still quite general and hence the need to introduce Mintzberg definitions of strategy and Hobma’s (2011) levels of success and failure, in order to have a better understanding of which additional important factors influence the success and failure of place development and marketing practices. Findings acquired from these two sources, will also belong to the study’s framework.

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4.3 Strategies and success

While building up the theoretical body for the case study design knowledge about strategy and success are necessary and as such are introduced in this research design chapter.

**Strategy**

“Strategic thinking involves a way of thought, in which events, episodes and possibilities are continuously interpreted in terms of their significance for an enterprise as it evolves over time in a specific and dynamic context” (Healey, 2007, p. 30).

Mintzberg (1992) provides five definitions of strategy. Strategy can be a plan, a ploy, a pattern, a position and a perspective. Strategy deals with the unpredictable and with the unknowable, so to be effective, a strategy needs to contain three essential elements: (1) the most important goals to achieve, (2) the most critical policies guiding or limiting action (3) the fundamental programmes or actions sequences that are needed to achieve the define goals (Mintzberg, 2003, p. 10).

Figure 26: Deliberate and emergent strategies (Mintzberg, 2003, p. 5), (Healey, 2007, p. 184)

The umbrella organization of the Zuidas (Project office Zuidas together with the Amsterdam’s planning department, DRO) determined goals, sets of actions, to follow and boundaries to the scope of action of this stakeholder’s network. To be able to identify if intended strategies were or still are effective, and as such well connected with pre-established success factors, this research follows a time-line where adaptations of marketing strategies, (such as incoming emergent strategies) can be identified. This study will identify how flexible the marketing strategies are when confronted with change (as in 2008 with the economical crisis), and help determine the ingredients that keep the image management of a large-scale development successful. Furthermore, when mentioning strategy in this research, the language used is Mintzberg’s. As such, base on an adaptation from Mintzberg and Waters (Mintzberg, 2003, p. 6), the table bellow introduces eight types of strategies, from rather deliberate to mostly emergent (table 12).
Table 12: Various kinds of strategies (Mintzberg, 2003, p. 6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planned Strategies</th>
<th>Deliberate</th>
<th>A central leadership articulates and formulates specific intentions, which are backed up by formal controls to ensure their surprise-free implementation.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurial strategy</td>
<td>Deliberate but can emerge</td>
<td>Adaptable to new opportunities as intentions exist as the personal, unarticulated vision of a single leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideological strategy</td>
<td>Deliberate</td>
<td>Intentions exist as the combined vision of each and every members of the organization controlled through tough shared norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbrella strategies</td>
<td>Deliberately emergent</td>
<td>A leadership is in partial control of organization actions and defines strategic targets or boundaries within others must act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process strategy</td>
<td>Deliberately emergent</td>
<td>Others have the actual content of the strategy with the leadership assumes control of the process aspect of the strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disconnected strategy</td>
<td>Relatively emergent</td>
<td>Members or subunits loosely united to the rest of the organization, produce patterns in the streams of their own actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensus strategy</td>
<td>Emergent</td>
<td>Through mutual adjustment various members converge on patterns that affect the organization in the non existence of central or common intentions;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imposed strategy</td>
<td>Emergent and deliberate</td>
<td>The external environment dictates patterns in action.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Mintzberg and Waters (1985, p. 258) to accomplish a realized strategy exactly as intended, at least three conditions would have to be satisfied:

1. The organization intentions must have existed and be precise, communicated at a concrete level of detail, so there are no doubts about the intentions.
2. There must be no doubts whether or not the intentions were organizational, they must be known and common to all the parties involved.
3. The collective intentions must be realized as intended, which means that no external factors could interfere with them.

It is quite unlikely to find a perfectly deliberate strategy as context variables such as, economic climate, political climate, cultural background and changes in legislation and regulations cannot be under the full control of the organization (Wigmans et al., 2011, p. 224-226). To form a perfectly emergent strategy “there must be order-consistency in action over time, in the absence of intention about it” (Mintzberg and Waters, 1985, p. 258-259). It is difficult for an emergent strategy not to have an intention of its own behind, which indicates that it would be rare to have a purely emergent strategy.

One of the focuses of this research is the process of developing and realizing marketing strategies. Marketing strategies is that unrelenting pattern of resource allocation that pertains to an intended target audience and in this regard, it is defined as having two necessary components: a definition of the target ‘market’ and a statement of the ‘value proposition’.
Success & Failure

Relating to the effectiveness of the strategies introduced in the previous sub-chapter, the terms success and failure emerge. As success is a moving target, measuring the success and failures of a strategy, a project or a process, is not an easy task as success can be quite ambiguous and depends from which point of view the analysis is being made. There are not perfect recipes to achieve success, as success factors are probabilistic in their essence, rather than deterministic (Hobma, 2011, p. 223).

To begin with, one must define for whom we are measuring success. According to Hobma (2011, p. 222) “The fact that different players can have different objectives, the difference between official and implicit objectives and the possibility that the goalposts may shift over time - mean that achieving goals is not a “one size fits all” criterion for success”.

There are many actors involved in a large-scale development, and each can use different criteria to judge success or failure. One actor can use a financial criterion (as revenues on the investment) while another might use a cultural criterion or even the criteria of change, in which a change to an undesirable characteristic of the development would be the basis to consider the project a success. As a result, if a process or product is successful depends on the criteria used. Although this research analysis focuses on a project, as in the large-scale development Zuidas, its emphasis when considering success and failure lies on its process during well defined periods in time. This timeline becomes an essential attribute to measure success as it (success) depends on the moment in which the measurement is made. Another important aspect to define is the importance of goals, which can be explicit or implicit, official and unofficial, on an individual or organizational level (Hobma, 2011, p. 221). Again whose goals the research lies on is important in order to measure success. Based on the fact that the documents analysed are elaborated by the city, as in Project office Zuidas, and the DRO (Amsterdam’s planning department) the analysis will be elaborated based on the city’s goals.

There are no single implicit or explicit factors that determine success, as there are no single criteria that can make sure that the processes of an urban area development are successful. Choices need to be made by the researcher before judgments can be made. This research, having one of its focuses on place marketing, tries to simplify the assessment criteria. The general success models of place marketing tend to comprise, criteria, goals and outcomes, perspectives, amongst other variables. Being then necessary to limit to a certain bandwidth the research framework is on success factors rather than on success criteria. It is relevant for this research to study the critical success factors as they translate into images and as Braun states (2008, p. 45) “the city image as a driver behind the attention for city marketing ... the perception of cities, and the mental image held of them have become important for economic success and failure.” According to Hobma (2011, p. 223) there are three levels to achieve success or failure (fig. 27), being, context variables, the necessary conditions and the critical success and failure factors. This research follows these principles.

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1. Concerning the context variables, these help to determine the success or failure of a large-scale development although they can not be influenced by (individual) actors (Hobma, 2011, p. 224). These context variables will be explored having as a guideline the milestones of this large-scale development. These variables include:

- **Economic climate.** The economy in general and real estate in particular suffer from market fluctuations, and although it is not possible for a single party to influence the outcome of, for example, an economic downturn, it is possible to limit its consequences. Meaning, that the vision should be fixed, but the way the vision is implemented should be flexible\(^5\) (Hobma, 2011, p. 224). The Visions analysed in this research are in the Vision document of 2004 and 2007/09 that the Project office Zuidas elaborated together with the planning department of the city of Amsterdam (DRO), and on the last one also with ARUP. Visions are intended to create cohesion and union between the different parties involved in this large scale development, more specifically a vision in place marketing illustrates the mission and this is the basic task domain of a place, defining an exhaustive ground for the place existence (Rainisto, 2003/4, p. 70).

- **Political climate.** Parties involved cannot influence this climate (Hobma, 2011, p. 225). Notwithstanding, the Project Office Zuidas and the DRO belong to the city of Amsterdam, and can be considered as representatives of the city’s ambitions. Furthermore a project like the Zuidas comprehends the three tiers of Dutch planning; the national level (national government), the regional level (provinces) and the local level (the municipality).

- **Cultural background.** Parties responsible for planning, although unable to influence this type of climate, should take into account the prevailing cultural preferences (Hobma, 2011, p. 225). One type of cultural preference in this context is the tendency of certain users to favour living in a

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\(^5\) As it is stated by the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment (VROM)
particular type of residential area, as the city centre of Amsterdam. Another example of cultural areas is about the allocation of offices in the Zuidas resulting in the loss of interest for other areas.

- Change in legislation and regulations. These changes normally take effect in a few years and may include new regulations that can have serious effects on the existing and future design of an urban area development (Hobma, 2011, p. 226).

- Demographics. Demographics do not change quickly over time, and most surely can’t be influenced by individual players. This means that most probably there won’t be any demographic changes in the prediction. But still, demographic can influence existing urban developments when referring to (for example) the aging of the population (Hobma, 2011, p. 226).

In order to connect the context variables with the research analysis, four embedded units of analysis were used, being guidelines for the collection of information through the interviews and document analysis; these are:

- Context
- Programme
- Actors
- Market strategies

2. The necessary conditions or Veto criteria is a success level that can be influenced by players, although these factors are necessary they don’t ensure by themselves success (Hobma, 2011, p. 226). For the creation of an analysis framework of this research, a few necessary conditions to achieve success were listed, this is by no means exhaustive but they help to grasp the complexity of reality:

- Project scope. Position in international, national and regional level. The wider the geographical area from which end-users of the development are drawn, the more likely the project is to perform well (Hobma, 2011, p. 227).
- Economic feasibility. The point here is if the project meets a target demand and if there is demand or if it tries to create demand by means of marketing (market led or market orientated project).
- Unambiguous marketing, meaning an unambiguous responsibility and a clear position for marketing in relation to other policies, at the same time that it contributes to the embeddedness of city marketing in urban governance (Braun, 2008, p. 202).

3. Critical Success factors

Critical success factors have extreme influence on the success or failure of the project in question, but are relatively difficult for the actors to influence. In Hobma’s (2011, p. 229-234) approach success factors are mentioned under the urban area development’s scope, as such, still having it as a guideline, there is an adaptation in order to be able to argue how the critical success factors chosen reflect in the place-marketing practices and if these are successful or unsuccessful. For clarity, the difference between success factors and criteria is that the first, try to explain “why” place marketing principles are successful or unsuccessful while the second represents goals to measure the degree of success in place marketing practices. A success factor represents the aptitude and proficiency of a location to take the respective factor into consideration (Rainisto, 2003/4, p. 72).
For this research study, taking the theoretical input of Hobma\(^6\) as a guideline, the critical success factors were chosen and listed, with the fix presuppose that the presence of this success factors (being a high value of the variable in question) promotes success and the absence of the same factor (or a low value of the corresponding variable) will endorse failure. This meaning that there is a range within which the value tends on one extreme to associate with success on the other associate to failure (Hobma, 2011, p. 222-223). Furthermore, the critical success factors are the following:

- Trust. It can be established at personal level and as a long-term professional commitment. Urban area development presupposes some degree of partnership between the public and private parties involved, and being the Zuidas such a politicized development with so many players, the analysis of this factor will focus on the latest (long-term professional commitment). Hobma (2011, p. 231) stresses that trust should not be overestimated, it needs time to build up and consistency to be maintained, it cannot just be assumed without question.

- Leadership. Leadership can be considered the most critical challenge in place development and place marketing as marketing leadership means the holistic capability of the place management to conduct the complex process, form the right strategies and obtain the organizing power (Rainisto, 2003/4, p. 84-87). Leadership can be individualized, being the leader one person, or it can be collective, being represented by for example an institutional party. When talking about an individualized leadership Hobma introduces John Kingdom’s term ‘policy entrepreneur’, “he is a person that by virtue of his authority, persistence and tenacity can bring together policy stream, the political stream and the problem stream” (Hobma, 2011, p. 231).

- Image change. The image of a place is a result of complex long-term activities. After diagnosing the existing image of this large scale development it is possible to support, modify or change the place’s image, image change is as such, a critical success factor in the transformation of a site (Hobma, 2011, p. 232).

| Table 13: Levels of success and failure (Hobma, 2011, p. 219-234) |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Context Variables | Necessary Conditions | Critical Success and Failure Factors |
| • Economic climate | • Project scope | • Trust |
| • Political climate | • Economic feasibility | • Leadership |
| • Cultural background | • Unambiguous marketing | • Image change |
| • Demographics | | |
| • Changes in legislation and regulations | | |

The empirical study will analyse the importance of the critical success factors in the process of the Zuidas project through well defined periods in time, and make a correlation which the marketing and image management of this project. Each success factor will be evaluated as to relevance according to 4 dimensions, these comprise:

- Organizing capacity
- Presence of substance
- Strategic utilization
- Follow up

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6 Fred Hobma is an Associate professor of Planning Law at TU Delft
These dimensions will be attributed values in the range high-low, the high representing a substantial accommodation capacity of the dimension and the low the opposite (fig. 28).

Figure 28: Critical Success factors analysis framework (Hobma, 2011, p. 219-235) (Rainisto, 2003/4, p. 228-230)

The presence of these factors, which incorporate the dimensions of assessment, is necessary when practicing place marketing. In fact, all the success factors introduced in this framework are linked and interact with each other assisting the process of successful place marketing practices. Organizing capacity can be an impediment or a support to the projects development and more specifically to its place marketing. There must exist sufficient organizing capacity, on one hand for the management of the strategic part of the process, and on the other for such matters as the implementation of the programme. Organizing capacity comprises the aptitude of the management and the efficiency of the resources of the development, suggesting that also political unity is a necessary organizing capacity, as in the steering of public and private partnerships. When referring to this partnerships the term governance is sometimes used instead of organizing capacity (Rainisto, 2003/4, p. 79).

Presence of substance is also connected to the organizing capacity and it represents the mixture of circumstances applying within the parties involved at a particular time (“state of affairs”). Unresolved problems concerning the state of affairs, can, without appropriate reaction, provoke and aggravate undesirable difficulties in the place marketing process. In order to value it, the focus lies on if measures to respond were or not taken into consideration, and if measures were or not put in practice. This could be done through strategic utilization of the primary issues. With strategic thinking the operative actions that bring success can be accommodated and not left to chance. Although demanding, strategic thinking fuels the good implementation of the operative levels and as such are essential to achieve success in the implementation of place marketing (Rainisto, 2003/4, p. 79). Follow up is also added to the dimensions of assessment as without it place marketing can not be executed properly (Rainisto, 2003/4, p. 79). In this research this will be evaluated in the sense of accommodation to change. Again, it is important to emphasize that the presence of the success factors in the urban area development process does not guarantee success, although it increases the probability of it being successful (Hobma, 2011, p. 223).
As far as the relevance of this study is concerned, following 'The influence of city governance in the image management of large scale development', this analysis will permit to illustrate and shed light on the relation between both dimensions. As the previous knowledge demonstrates, Hobma’s three levels to achieve success or failure are interconnected (Hobma, 2011, p. 223) and have influence on the successful or unsuccessful place marketing of the development and moreover of the image of the Zuidas, as represented below (fig. 29).

Figure 29: Influence of success and failure levels on image
III Field work

5. Case study, Observation & Analysis

The empirical object of this research is as mentioned before a large-scale development in Amsterdam, the Zuidas. A large-scale development like this one, involves public and private actions that develop both in space and time, and whose main objectives are to develop a once considered peripheral area into a new development. The word “large-scale” in itself already includes the notion of an ample assortment of realities. In the Zuidas this term is represented by a “large-scale “ ambition divulged by its representatives (as the project office Zuidas), namely the ambition of becoming the future main service and urban centre of Amsterdam and of the Netherlands. It is also “large-scale” due to its physical size, scale of programme and the resources committed through its life span.

This large-scale development was chosen as a single case study because it is an integral project that combines, incorporates and develops different urban functions around several dimensions of urban planning. At the same time the Zuidas tries to give shape to the city of Amsterdam, it is also, according to Majoor, searching for the proper governance processes to steer complexity, finance and create urban quality in a new era of large-scale urban interventions (Majoor 2005). Bruijn ⁷ has stated, “I feel the Zuidas has hardly begun” albeit it has had several ‘stones and stories’ in its development path, which enabled change and are worth researching.

In this section the treating of the information is organized by the following categories:

1. Units of analysis of empirical object
   - Context
   - Actors
   - Programme
   - Marketing strategies

2. Focus point:
   - Critical Success Factors

An analysis of the critical success factors is added in this chapter in order to complement and interconnect the four units of analysis. This section (5.5) introduces an analysis that deepens and launches the research into the future realm for this large-scale development while it answers to the research question: How can the same decision and strategy making processes of the Zuidas, be adapted to brand other large-scale developments?

The empirical chapter of this research is filled with new voices, interactions made possible via the conduction of interviews. There were many companies, institutions and individuals contacted. The respondents are represented by a universe of 14 interviewees that gave voice to the findings of the research. The interviewees come from different public or private, companies, institutions and also from different fields of expertise.

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⁷ Personal interview with Pi de Bruijn on 07/03/2012. Bruijn is a Partner at Architecten Cie and was appointed by the City of Amsterdam as masterplanner for project Zuidas from 1998 to 2007.
5.1. Context

Milestones

Milestones are important moments in time, reference points that presuppose an achievement or a breakthrough.

Klomp has stated, “Amsterdam has a tradition that we plan everything, we can do that because we own 80% of the ground, so it is own by the city and we land lease that. So there’s only 20% private property in that sense. That means that we have control in whatever happens, the tradition is that the city plans what happens, and then we and developers who might find it interesting to develop, then they have the right to it and according to our guidelines they can build, we have lots of things that we want in there, it should be in the contract and then they do it.”8 For that reason there was a plan born in the 80’s, the IJ Oevers, which was meant to revive the waterfront of the city, close to central station. This development was in the beginning not only planned for housing, the main programme it embraces today. It was then a large scale mixed use development in development, intended to attract multinational corporations who might want to allocate themselves in Amsterdam.

When ABN Amro (the major multinational Amsterdam based bank) expressed its desire to move its head office functions from their current location (in the Bijlmer) in the 90’s, the City Council proposed the IJ Oevers. ABN Amro however had a different location in mind, the Amsterdam/Schiphol Avenue that was very accessible and easy to develop in comparison to the area on the southern banks of the IJ River.9 As Klomp10 states “ABN Amro, said we want to move, we don’t fit in the old fabric anymore. We said it was fine we have a place for you at the waterfront, and they said no no! It is too far from Schiphol, too far from everything it is difficult by car... they said, we want here, pointed at what was the area Zuidas, that had no name at that point”.

The World Trade Centre was already in the South, representing a location for international and pilot firms and at the same time making a recognisance of the European market. It was developed from 1980 till 1985 and Huijg11 emphasizes, “location is the main reason why the World Trade Centre is developed on this location and not somewhere else in Amsterdam”. As Lambooy12 mentions, “The WTC on the South. That was the first start of the south axis, because then it was proven that it was attractive for many investors and people from the international communication networks to be located there”. Other institutions were already present in the area, these represented a starting point for a new concentration of high-end offices in the legal, financial and business services. Namely, the RAI conference and convention centre, the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, the Insurance stock exchange and the Court of Justice. These presented the base and intellectual infrastructure for the development of a cluster of economic activities, especially in the financial and legal sectors in the area (Majoors, 2005, p. 74).

Furthermore, in reaction to this decision by the ABN Amro, the City Council, understanding that it couldn’t hold back the development of this project, decided to produce a development strategy for this area, which was facilitated by the fact that land-ownership was nearly completely public and the existing users were predominately sport clubs that could be relatively easily relocated. Most interview respondents find this as being the first milestone of the development of the Zuidas.

Brujin13 refers to the Amsterdam’s planning department in 1998 as having, “a vague knowledge and vague intension of developing the area into a internationally integrated area development. That was already seen as an opportunity

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8 Personal interview with Pieter Klomp on 20/02/2012. Klomp is an Urban Designer at the Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening of Amsterdam (Planning Department of Amsterdam) and was a Project Leader for the Zuidas project between 2007/ 2012 (5 years).
9 Personal interview with Jan Lambooy on 06/03/2012. Lambooy is a retired Professor of Regional Economics and Economic Geography at the universities: VU University of Amsterdam and Utrecht.
10 Personal interview with Pieter Klomp on 20/02/2012. Klomp is an Urban Designer at the Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening of Amsterdam (Planning Department of Amsterdam) and was a Project Leader for the Zuidas project between 2007/ 2012 (5 years).
11 Personal interview with Christiaan Huijg on 21/03/2012. Huijg is the managing director of the WTC (World trade Centre).
12 Personal interview with Jan Lambooy on 06/03/2012. Lambooy is a retired Professor of Regional Economics and Economic Geography at the universities: VU University of Amsterdam and Utrecht.
13 Personal interview with Pi de Brujin on 07/03/2012. Brujin is a Partner at Architecten Cie and was appointed by the City of Amsterdam as masterplanner for project Zuidas from 1998 to 2007.
that’s why I was appointed to give shape and form on the urban potential. The important thing was the perception of... there is a promising place in the city area that might be developed comprehensively to something that was unheard of before”. Another milestone is then created; in 1998 the first Masterplan Zuidas was approved. It revealed the ambition for the Zuidas as an international competitive office location. As Dijckmeester\textsuperscript{14} states “ we started in 1998 with this idea of being the place for international headquarters and international oriented business in Holland and for this purpose the urban design, we developed for those clients....”. Still according to Dijckmeester, this masterplan was just an area and an idea. It had the constant of flexibility in its content as it expressed in its motivation that it would take a long time, that things would change. In this stage the dock was not yet in the master plan, it was sort of a dream. Dijckmeester\textsuperscript{15} points out, “There was never a plan... we didn’t want a plan, we wanted to have a strategy”.

And such the real development came with the two banks the ABN Amro (fig. 30) (in 2000 ABM Amro’s head office was completed) and ING (fig. 31) (having its headquarter iconic building ready in 2001). This decisive location choice triggered others to come, which made these two banks the main attractors. And as such, that was start of the Zuidas, as then it was proven that it was attractive for many investors and people from the international communication networks to be located there \textsuperscript{16}.

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\textsuperscript{14} Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.

\textsuperscript{15} Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.

\textsuperscript{16} Personal interview with Jan Lambooy on 06/03/2012. Lambooy is a retired Professor of Regional Economics and Economic Geography at the universities: VU University of Amsterdam and Utrecht.

\textsuperscript{17} Personal interview with Pi de Bruijn on 07/03/2012. Bruijn is a Partner at Architecten Cie and was appointed by the City of Amsterdam as masterplanner for project Zuidas from 1998 to 2007.
Furthermore, in January 2004 the City Council (College B&W) and the Cabinet appointed LC Brinkman as project director (www.regionalesamenwerking.amsterdam.nl, 13/06/2012). He was appointed to put together a financially viable Business Case for the business enterprise. His task was to develop a strategy to ensure the successful implementation of the Zuidas including the setting up of a new company (www.habiforum.nl, 14/04/2012). The Minister of Finance at the time, Minister Zalm, had a very keen interest in how to finance the public works; infrastructure works through private money, because he thought there was always a business case for public investment facilitated with private money. According to van den Berg\(^\text{18}\), “That is what they tried out in this particular project meaning that he had the idea of setting up a company in which the government would invest, in which private investors would invest, in which the municipality would invest and that company would develop Zuidas, both the infrastructural works as well as the all the real estate that would be placed on top of the infrastructure works and that would then become a profitable business in the sense that you could manage the whole urban development, that would take place there”.

Also in 2004 a plan comes out (fig. 32) which proposes the creation of an area with an urban essence, by building high density, mix use, and having already a real focus on the development of the dock. This masterplan illustrated the city’s planning strategy through a demanding and rather introspective nodal development, which is essentially enclosed within the city’s pre-existing administrative boundaries and adjacent to the historic urban fabric. For the city government an important slogan for the project was created through the intensive land use, which was a policy goal that helped creating enthusiasm and political support for it\(^\text{19}\).

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\(^{18}\) Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.

\(^{19}\) Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.

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Figure 32: The Masterplan Zuidas, approved in 2004 (Majoor 2008, p. 99)
In January 2005 an agreement was reached over the Business Case and a new project director Jan Doets (former CEO of ING real estate) was appointed to supervise the design of the Dock Model together with an estimate of the costs and the selection of the market parties (www.habiforum.nl, 14/04/2012).

Another milestone of this project (mainly for the interviewed parties of the planning department of the city of Amsterdam (DRO) and project office Zuidas eyes) is Maller being built (fig. 34). It launched the urban development into another dimension, south of the A10, which according to Klomp\(^{20}\) was a milestones as, “for the 1st time, there was the idea, that there was another side that could be interesting”, the south side of the motorway (A10).

\(^{20}\) Personal interview with Pieter Klomp on 20/02/2012. Klomp is an Urban Designer at the Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening of Amsterdam (Planning Department of Amsterdam) and was a Project Leader for the Zuidas project between 2007/2012 (5 years).
Mahler becomes then another icon of the Zuidas, (considering that architectonically the ING building by Meyer and Van Schooten Architects was the first). And Dijckmeester\textsuperscript{21} points out that, “Maller is the masterplan in concrete, in density and in mixing ...the scale model is in fact that idea of Maller ten times, and you have Zuidas” (fig. 35).

Figure 35: Physical model of the Zuidas large scale development taken during ‘Making Zuidas: students rethinking the Zuidas’ (http://www.bk.tudelft.nl/ 29/04/2012)

Not considered as a milestone, but important to mention as it tarnished the image of the development, is the real estate fraud that took place in the Zuidas. According to De Sonnaville\textsuperscript{22}, in “2005/6 there were the first signs of the problems with financing big buildings. Scandals about money and payments under the table. So, the first signs came, that this is not an automatically healthy surrounding”. Three large companies were involved being them Philips, Fortis and Rabobank. And this fraud involves individuals, (ex) employees, directors and deputy directors of these companies. These individuals appear in a number of large real estate transactions. An example is the purchase of the office tower Symphony by Philips.

In 2008 the financial crisis hits the Netherlands and in 2009 it was sure that the Public-private partnership would not follow through. Parties did not come to an agreement. According to De Sonnaville this happened, on one hand, because of the financial crisis and on the other hand and speaking broadly, because there was no willingness to collaborate, no trust between the parties.

\textsuperscript{21} Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam. Dijckmeester is mentioning the scale model of the complete development present in the lobby of the project office Zuidas.

\textsuperscript{22} Personal interview with Hans de Sonnaville on 05/03/2012. De Sonnaville is the current academic director of ABC (Amsterdam Bright City).
In 2009, there was another milestone for this development, which is a fresh leadership. This is a milestone in a micro perspective as it focuses on people that work in the project. Jan Stoumenbeek was from 2003 to 2009 the director of the municipal department for the Zuidas. He was in a way very successful in making sure that this project carried on in the way they foresaw, and it was a period when the project in its own terms was very successful. Considering the time line, a new director was then appointment when this sort of intended development path was put under question. There was a lot of criticism that the project was too much focused on itself, as such one of the tasks of the new director, was to get support and recognition for this project. As a probable response to this, the Amsterdam Municipal Executive appointed Mr. K.W. de Boer Director of the Zuidas Development Bureau with effect from 14 September 2009 (www.Zuidas.nl, 14/04/2012). Majoor states that this “fresh leadership comes to cope with the situation where there was no automatic demand for offices or expensive apartments, where they really had to rethink their strategy and also where they had to rethink their discussions with the national government”.

Also in 2009, the chairman of the Executive Board of TU Delft, Dirk Jan van den Berg, is made the new representative on behalf of the government, for the prestigious Amsterdam project, the Zuidas. At the request of the Cabinet he was responsible for elaborating on viable variants for this billion-euro project. This must be done in cooperation with the municipality of Amsterdam, Rijkswaterstaat, ProRail and the government architect. (Reuters, http://www.parool.nl/, 14/04/2012). Van den Berg states, “my first assignment basically was to bring the different parties involved together on a round table and make sure that they would talk to each other in order to overcome difficulties that were there from earlier experiences so to speak. So for me it was specifically very important to make sure that the whole process was set up in such a way that people will believe again in the project and will work together and would come up with new ideas”. Basically the problem had been that this was a sort of orphanage type of project. No one felt true ownership of it. This processes elaborated by Van den Berg were called debundling, decomposing and dephasing which meant taking the whole project apart simply to create manageable pieces of the project that could be brought back into discussion. Van den Berg adds that “Because this whole project had a history of grand vision in terms of how it should be managed, in terms of how it should be financed and in terms of how should be realized from an architectural technological point of view and that needed to be demolished because it was simply too big so no one could handle it. It was unclear how risk responsibilities would develop in this holistic type of approach”.

Furthermore, they looked at the different infrastructures that needed to be realized, road infrastructure train infrastructure, and metro urban transport infrastructure, which represented the debundling. Following, there was the decomposing, where they separated infrastructural works from real estate development works and the building of the station as different items. Dephasing comes last, and had as the main idea to formulate the project in such a way that you could create switch moments which Van den Berg defines as follows: “as moments in time where you could make another decision pending on the circumstances you find yourself in economic development for example. And that created a sort of sense of manageability of the whole project”. In January 2010, a goal moment was achieved. The stakeholders, the ministers in this particular case gave their okay for the viability of this project.

Another important milestone happened early this year. On the 9th of February of 2012, there was an improvement in the planning for the infrastructure project, which is meant to improve the accessibility of the Amsterdam Zuidas and the northern Randstad, in road and public transport. “The Dutch National government, City of Amsterdam, the Stadsregio Amsterdam and the Province of Noord-Holland have reached an agreement on the ZuidasDok project. The widening and tunneling under of the A10 motorway and the expansion and modernization of the country’s fastest

23 Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.

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25 Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.

26 Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.

27 Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.
growing rail station in terms of passenger numbers will give a substantial boost to the accessibility and quality of life in this key economic region of the Randstad. This investment will enable Amsterdam’s Zuidas to develop further over the coming decades into a new and varied city centre, with a mix of (international) company headquarters, shops and new housing” (http://www.zuidas.nl/, 14/04/2012). Relating to this agreement Majoor28 points out that “in the old days the national government didn’t’ think that this piece of road and rail infrastructure was too important (...) now they reframe this as part of the corridor Schiphol-Amsterdam-Almere which is sort of the economic backbone for the north wing of the Randstaad, and well, the current government is much more focused on solving the infrastructure problems, and traffic jams, so they put a lot of money in this”. Now it is not only the city or the Zuidas that badly wants the expansion of the infrastructure corridor, result of the growing demand in infrastructure in the Randstad. Because the Zuidas is in the middle of this corridor it is now realizing its long time ambition, which is the tunneling of the motorway (A10) and having the state financing a big part of it. What didn’t work in the previous decade where there was an overflow of budget and a high demand on the service sector happens now29.

According to the city’s ambitions, it’s very important that the highway will be underground, as noise and air nuisance will be diminished allowing the development of housing. The city had the intention for the entire infrastructure to be underground but now there is a decision for only the highway 30. For some more conservative proponents of the Zuidas as a business district, the dock is not seen as necessary. As sight location is a privilege (which involves higher rents). With the tunnelling of the A10 this iconic buildings won’t be visible to the increasing flow of people crossing the site, and as such the companies are not making use of the qualities of a “sight location”. Below a 3d visualization of the Zuidas, illustrates the ambitions of this infrastructural project (fig. 36).

Figure 36: Expansion of the A10 motorway (http://www.zuidasdok.nl/, 14/04/2012)

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28 Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
29 Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
30 Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.
The table introduced bellow (table 14) summarizes the milestones of this project gathered in the literature and field research.

Table 14: Milestones (Majoor, 2008, p.96) (Salet and Majoor, 2005, p. 41)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Milestone</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>First studies on the Zuidas from the Amsterdam Planning Department “…under de condition that the development of the southern shores on the IJ is not negatively influenced’(Salet and Majoor, 2005, p. 41).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1994 | Zuidas mentioned in Amsterdam government programme of new centre-left government  
“The entire area between Schiphol and Airport in the South-west and the highway to Utrecht in the south-east was emerging from an economic perspective as the most vibrant and dynamic area of the region, featuring a variety of major competing office developments” (Majoor, 2008, p. 74). |
| 1995 | In 1995 the Zuidas coalition was formed to unite the most important public and private actors in the area. The local government set up a small project office as a liaison between the different city departments on the one hand and private actors on the other. |
| 1997 | Official involvement of the national government. The Zuidas is designated as one of the New Key projects for developments around future High Speed Train stations. |
| 1998 | The first Masterplan Zuidas was approved in 1998. It revealed the ambition for the Zuidas as an international competitive office location. |
| 1999 | Zuidas urban design vision presented (concept): start of series of public consultations. |
| 2000 | IN 2000 ABN/AMRO, ING bank and Dutch Rail Real Estate propose the guaranteed purchase of parcels on top of the Dock model to the city government. |
| 2001 | Zuidas vision presented: clear choice for Zuidas as new urban centre with mixed land use. |
| 2001 | Intentional agreement city government-national government to start Environmental Impact Procedure for infrastructure expansion. |
| 2003 | Intentional agreement to set up joint development corporation for the Zuidas between city government and national government. |
| 2004 | Declaration of intent between the Municipality of Amsterdam and the national government to realize the Dock model. Process is started to set up a joint public-public-private Zuidas development corporation by an independent negotiator: Elco Brinkman. |
| 2005 | Mahler being built was the cornerstone that placed the Zuidas in the map as a competitive large-scale development. |
| 2006 | Preliminary agreement between national government and local government is reached on participation in a public-public-private development corporation |
| 2008 | Auction to select the private participants in the Zuidas company. |
Crisis 2008

To analyse the impact the financial crisis had on this development’s dynamics, the researcher chose three classifications, for a large-scale development like the Zuidas to be empowered locally, regionally, nationally and even internationally, they are:

1. Good infrastructure developments
2. Economic/technological development related to human capital
3. Development of land and the maintenance and improvement of the milieu quality

1. Infrastructure developments

The concentration of financial and legal headquarters in the Zuidas has been transforming it into the epicentre of Dutch national economy. As the most advanced international centre of commercial and legal services in the Netherlands, this large-scale development at the southern ring road of Amsterdam is highly connected with international networks. This is facilitated by its proximity to Schiphol and the Station Zuid, both providing high-end international connections. Schiphol airport has an integrated view on regional development, maintaining a “brotherly” relationship with the Zuidas. As Dijckmeester\(^3\) states, “without Schiphol there is no Zuidas”. Concerning the banks, (the first to allocate in the Zuidas) they now focus mainly lies on hot spot of development.

In 2008 the financial crisis arrives in the Netherlands and the awareness that there’s never a 30 year economic boom hit the (once spoiled) Zuidas\(^2\). The PPP did not go further which created together with this crisis, a delay in Amsterdam’s plans for a multi-billion euro extension of the Zuidas business park, (Elco Brinkman, chairman of the project group at the time, told local tv station AT5). Even in the state of the still current financial crisis, this delay had a breakthrough in its infrastructure matters, as in 2012 public investment will be made in the dock, although, as Lambooy\(^3\) points out, “economic governance is very weak actually in the Netherlands, infrastructure is not really used as a mean to develop the economy”.

\(^{31}\) Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam. Dijckmeester comments relate to the relationship between Zuidas and Schiphol, not as competitors but as partners.

\(^{32}\) Personal interview with Stan Majooy on 08/03/2012. Majooy is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies. Majooy is commenting on how the crisis affected the Zuidas large-scale development.

\(^{33}\) Personal interview with Jan Lambooy on 06/03/2012. Lambooy is a retired Professor of Regional Economics and Economic Geography at the universities: VU University of Amsterdam and Utrecht.
2. Economic/technological development related to human capital

There is no denying of the existence of the economic crisis and there’s a learning process attached to it. The crisis did not stop the development, because it is still seen as the best location in the Netherlands but its trace of growth is slowing. To add to this insight, Grobbe states, “everything slowed down, everything slowed down to a very slow pace, before it was very hectic”. There is now a need to reorient the position of the Netherlands and Amsterdam in the international networks as it did and will change, and for this Schiphol becomes a really important ally, more important than thought in the beginning.

Another important party is ABN Amro, during the recent financial crisis, the major ABN/AMRO bank, which was before one of the main stakeholder of the dock model project, was sold to an international consortium (and later taken back by the Dutch state). According to most the Zuidas has been saved with the ABN Amro selling, because if the state would allow it to be bankrupt it would tarnish the image of the Zuidas for a long time. Lambooy states, “the Zuidas has been saved also by the ABN Amro selling, because if they would go broke, that would finish the Zuidas for a long time, I think.”

According to Van den Berg, “My statement would be that we are already 10 years behind schedule in terms of making sure you have your things on place in time. So the only risk we might run is that you are a little late in developing this particular area”. Van den Berg statement is quite optimistic in what relates to the development potential of this development, while many of the interviewees mention and recommend a slower pace of development for the Zuidas. Lambooy points out that “There will remain an opportunity to develop, but not outwards, but stable, there is a stable development, so the addition of new buildings has to occur at a much lower pace than before”. Furthermore, Dijskmeester states, “It is a different world, and where the money comes from to develop it is still uncertain”. As a result of the uncertainty of current times, and in a more local level, planners brought strategic plan (15 by 15 and the ZIPs) elaborated with the objective to integrate local spatial qualities embracing different kinds of economic, social and cultural activities.

Relating to the service sector, the crisis did not seem to have much influence on the Zuidas. According to Huijs, as in Amsterdam there is lot of vacancy at the moment, and companies don’t like to sit in a location where there is lot of vacancy, the Zuidas becomes more and more attractive. To support this statement the figure below (fig. 37) illustrates the vacancy rate in the Zuidas since the third quarter of 2008.

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34 Personal interview with Jan Lambooy on 06/03/2012. Lambooy is a retired Professor of Regional Economics and Economic Geography at the universities: VU University of Amsterdam and Utrecht.
35 Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.
36 Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.
37 Personal interview with Jan Lambooy on 06/03/2012. Lambooy is a retired Professor of Regional Economics and Economic Geography at the universities: VU University of Amsterdam and Utrecht. Lambooy commented on the current banking situation in the world and in the Netherlands. He also mentioned that as the banks were saved, the financial system is more or less sound, at least when compared to the current banking system situation of Southern European countries.
38 Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.
39 Personal interview with Jan Lambooy on 06/03/2012. Lambooy is a retired Professor of Regional Economics and Economic Geography at the universities: VU University of Amsterdam and Utrecht.
40 Personal interview with Robert Dijskmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijskmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.
41 Personal interview with Christiaan Huijs on 21/03/2012. Huijs is the managing director of the WTC (World trade Centre).
Office vacancy is a current national issue, as such it comes as a surprise that the vacancy levels in the Zuidas dropped after the financial crisis. This could be explained by the fact that certain areas in the Netherlands are shrinking. Amsterdam is an attractive location for many companies, and these desire to establish their headquarters in the city. The Zuidas is a nodal point of national and international networks, and with its good infrastructure connections and prestige connotations the site has competitive advantages over others. It seems that the weaker locations are more likely losing renters in favour of the top locations.

3. Development of land and the maintenance and improvement of the milieu quality

Relating to the environment and the maintenance of land, by giving it a new temporary use as a response to a lack of investment during these difficult economic times land owners are reconsidering their strategies for empty plots that are not required for buildings, as the creation of an urban farm on one of its empty plots (fig. 38). The farm has a strong community element and is transforming the perception of the future development among local people (ARUP, 2010, p. 4).

Conclusion

This chapter contributes to the understanding of the contextual dynamics of the Zuidas, which led to shifts and even changes in the development of this project. Planning is exposed to contextual changes; some circumstances are more demanding and dominant than others, as the financial crisis (2008) compared with the real estate fraud of (2005/2006). What this indicates is that the dynamics of planning are not linear, which enhance the importance of understanding the shifts and changes they provoke in the processes and strategies of this large-scale development. The context provides borders within which threats and opportunities establish new guidelines for strategic decision making towards the other units of analysis of this research: actors, programme and marketing strategies. By studying the context first the distinct variations in which governance networks operate emerge.
As introduced in section 4.3, Hobma (2011, p. 219-235) defines five context variables that influence success and failure: Economic climate, Political climate, Demographics, Cultural background and changes in legislation and regulation. Having this in the foreground, the findings of this study position the economic and cultural background of this project in a context of inter-metropolis competition (although this was more present from 1998 to 2008). Economic growth is a factor that has major influence on how organizations operate and make decisions, and as such, the economic boom of the 90’s created an enthusiasm, where the policy agenda was that Amsterdam had to compete with cities like London and Frankfurt in terms of business investment. Until 2008 (when external factors, as the Financial crisis and subsequent banking crisis happened) the city government had the idea that through this development it could create demand, meaning it was more market led than market oriented. This is backed up by some of the respondent’s comments that characterized the ambition of this development before the crisis as arrogant and spoiled.

The development of the Zuidas is immensely complex, as it proposes an infrastructural project, together with a real estate development. This complexity led (in 1995) to the search for new institutional arrangements, a new form of strategic and operational partnership, for public investment to be facilitated with private money. A public-private partnership was planned, as a large number of players (already established in the Zuidas) and considerable amounts of investment were needed in order to finance the ambitions of the city and share risks and responsibilities. The external factors mentioned above, were catalysts for the break of the PPP, and as a consequence this market driven discourse had to become more sober. While before (2008) the political climate encompassed a high degree of the public parties intervention in the market, represented by an economic entrepreneurialism governance discourse, with the change in economic context, the governance discourse started leading towards welfare planning, representing a shift from the privatization of the Zuidas, to the Zuidas being more connected to the city of Amsterdam. What striked as curious, while conducting these interviews, is that the Zuidas was portrait (by the project office Zuidas) as not having suffered with the financial crisis although at the same time it was said that there was no investment in real estate in the area. It’s interesting how the discourse changes, privatizing the area, and having big iconic office towers, is no longer the goal due to economic, political, cultural and social dynamics, as demand and how demand operates changed.

Hobma (2011, p. 219-235) mentions change in legislation and regulations, but this study adapted it and focuses more on policies. All through the lifetime of this development (which is represented in this chapter through milestones) changes in policy took place in order for this project to adapt to context changes. The first was when the Zuidas stopped becoming peripheral to be part of wider nation planning policy. In 1994 the city government made the decision to facilitate market interests and start developing the southern peripheral area where the Zuidas lays today. Today the market is different and with that, so is the participation of the private parties in developing the area. An example to this is, the new agreement reached early this year concerning the dock model. Only public parties such as, the Dutch national government, City of Amsterdam, the Stadsregio Amsterdam and the Province of Noord-Holland, reached an agreement to go ahead with the infrastructure project.

The Zuidas is an extremely long-term project, because in order to develop it to its intended full potential, it could take another 25 for it to be realized. But who can predict what will happen in 20 years in terms of economics. So although the current signs in the economy are not very positive when it comes to real estate markets, the Zuidas is still considered a very unique location that truly could be developed into a generally international competitive environment. The Zuidas should keep up in being and important point of attraction as the world is in a flux, and Amsterdam as a region still remains strong. As such, the Zuidas has still the potential to grow although very slowly, not in the rapid pace they foresaw before. Lamboooy states “We can not estimate what is really happening now, after 10 years we will see what was really the case, now we can only see that there is a financial crisis, the recurrence to London, the IT developments and what will happen locationally to those activities”.

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42 Personal interview with Merijn Oudenapsen on 13/03/2012. Oudenapsen is a PHD candidate at the Tilburg University
43 Personal interview with Jan Lamboooy on 06/03/2012. Lamboooy is a retired Professor of Regional Economics and Economic Geography at the universities: VU University of Amsterdam and Utrecht.
5.2 Actors

Important information as for Governance in the Netherlands and in Project Zuidas is that, Holland consists of three administrative tiers of planning; the national level (national government), the regional level (provinces) and the local level (municipalities), which are each responsible for different tasks related to spatial planning and conditions affecting urban development. “The Project Office Zuidas formulates and coordinates the implementation of the development strategy and monitors the quality of the development on behalf of the Municipal Executive of Amsterdam City Council (the Project Office’s commissioning authority)” (www.habiforum.nl, 14/04/2012).

Table 15: Development of the situational frame of the most important actor’s (Majoor, 2008, p. 106)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initial situational frame</th>
<th>Development (till 2007)</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private actors</td>
<td>A few pioneering investors are interested in exploiting the private investment opportunities in the Zuidas (First the WTC followed by ABN Amro and ING)</td>
<td>Ambition to realize an international competitive top location for offices, housing and facilities supported by more strong national players</td>
<td>Participant in promoting small initiatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality of Amsterdam</td>
<td>Facilitating market interest, building up concept of new urban area development (The Zuidas as the nodal point of the Netherlands with high voltage of market activity).</td>
<td>Strong focus on economic and urban aspects of the Zuidas. Dock model as the preferred option. Future participant in Zuidas company</td>
<td>Strong focus on connection Zuidas to the City of Amsterdam. Investment in the Dock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Transport</td>
<td>Interested in expanding the capacity of road and rail in the area on the existing dike, unrelated to urban development plans in the area</td>
<td>After the integration process the plans to expand the capacity of road and rail in the area in a dock is officially being supported</td>
<td>After the fall of the PPP, the dock model gain support again, an from public parties this year Investment in the Dock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Spatial Planning</td>
<td>Selection of Zuidas as potential HST station. Small subsidy available to realize additional urban qualities</td>
<td>Agrees to contribute more subsidies, supports the concept of a Zuidas company</td>
<td>No information available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other government agencies</td>
<td>Lack of Involvement</td>
<td>Emphasis on the importance of the Zuidas for the national economy growth</td>
<td>No information available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and civic groups</td>
<td>Lack of involvement</td>
<td>Rather undeveloped. Not much protest bit much interest either. Some small social and civic initiatives.</td>
<td>More involved with the development with the support of project Zuidas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Target groups**

**In the vision 2004**

1. Dwellings:
To welcome an interesting mixture of residents to the area by accommodation the possibility of having different life styles and different income groups is truly important. According to this Vision document (2004), elaborated by the Amsterdam City Council and the Project Zuidas, this location is perfect to develop homes in the upper end of the market as the climate of this development is that of and international business locations with high end amenities and good infrastructure connections. This development will focus on senior citizens, as the ones leaving in the South of Amsterdam and Buitenveldert. People who work in the Zuidas, as foreign executives will be catered for with luxury apartments fit with every convenience. Space is reserved also for middle and lower incomes. Middle income is understood here as double income couples who will want to live in spacious homes that can also be used as working environments. Another target groups are the self-employed artists and Designers. The 30% of obligatory Low-income housing will include student housing. Also included in the Zuidas will be starter homes and wheelchair accessible units. The variety of target groups introduced in this vision had as an objective to ensure a broad-based population (GemeenteAmsterdam and Zuidas, 2004).

2. Service sector:
Large international business service providers are the target group. Such as, headquarters of international companies, banks and law firms.

3. Public amenities
The target groups for public amenities are presented quite generally and with a high-end approach as they are serving the target groups introduced above, being that the programme for the basic facilities is established according to the residential development programme and the number of people expected to live in the Zuidas. In this Vision document there is a considerable importance given to amenities, as they are considered essential for the success of the Zuidas. The Vision of 2004 states that the commercial and urban amenities such as retail operations, hotels, leisure and culture is determined by two factors: the ambitions for the Zuidas and the actual realization of this ambitions depends on initiatives taken by investors. Moreover the Zuidas intents to attract facilities that can also serve the vicinities, as the district Zuider Amstel, in order to accomplish an interaction between its facilities, the ones needed and the ones already existing in the Zuidas (GemeenteAmsterdam and Zuidas, 2004).

**In vision 2007/2009**

1. Dwellings:
Broad diversity of people with varying lifestyles is again mentioned in this vision but the focus lies in students and seniors, which contradicts the concept of broad diversity. Discourse about self-employed artists and designers cease to exist.

2. Service sector & amenities:
Office usage will focus on high-end financial and legal services, and the knowledge-intensive sectors. The information on target group of amenities is quite similar than the one of Vision 2004.
1. Dwellings:
Through the result of the interviews a conclusion is taken that the target groups of 2007/2009 to today have not changed in essence. The project Zuidas still mentions generally as a target group, people with ambition (mainly referring to managers), which underlines the characteristics of a financially oriented office hub and a high-end environment. Branding the housing sector has become a priority, as the project office Zuidas is now busy with that. As pointed out by Overmulder44 “another thing we are struggling with at the moment is our branding material for living in the Zuidas”. As such, at the moment they45 promote housing for workers, empty nesters, again senior citizens, and students.

When asked about the target groups of the Zuidas Overmulder, points out “They are people starting in the market, maybe the yups, just out of school, maybe even students who have now just started, people with ambition who want to grow further, maybe somewhere in the near future they will be managers in one of this offices here... it is not really the place that we brand as a place where people with large families will live, because we have only very small public realm here”46. Grobbe 47 adds “I don’t think that people will work next to where they live, that is not the idea. I think young people will live downtown which I think is quite likely so. I think this is more for the social, some elderly people live downtown but they don’t want to climb stairs... So I think that is a market and then there were people not only from Amsterdam but also from cities around who think that this area will start developing itself in a very nice way, so all they want to be part of that”. Most importantly, what seems to be increasing in importance is the demand for student housing, as Grobbe48 and most of the respondents mention, “Student house I think will be big”.

2. Service sector & amenities:
Concerning offices, in the past the Zuidas could be considered a bit spoiled, as they did not have to do much for acquisition49. Today the financial district is a little bit wider, pension funds are included, insurance companies, and also the accountants and lawyers. But still the Zuidas is considered a financial district. According to Grobbe50, the Zuidas could be at the end of attracting more big financial institutions, law firm’s or accountancy firms. As such what the Zuidas is looking for now, is the next magnet which brings in other followers as ABN Amro brought in the past. As pointed out by Grobbe51, “So we are now looking for the next magnet so what should you put... because when ABN AMRO decided to have the office here other companies decided to do this as well. So we were like the magnet, which brought law firms here, accountancy firms etc. So we need another magnet, so a new company, which brings in other followers”.

The information on target group of amenities is quite similar than the one of Vision 2007/2009.

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44 Personal interview with Martin Overmulder on 26/01/2012. Overmulder is a Project Developer at Project Office Zuidas.
45 Referring to Project office Zuidas.
46 Personal interview with Martin Overmulder on 26/01/2012. Overmulder is a Project Developer at Project Office Zuidas.
47 Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.
48 Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.
49 Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.
50 Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.
51 Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.
To encompass the information, the table below (table 16) summarizes both the dwellings and the service sector (offices) target groups.

Table 16: Target groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dwellings</strong></td>
<td>-Senior citizens</td>
<td>-Broad diversity of people</td>
<td>-Target groups have not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Workers of the Zuidas</td>
<td>but focus lies on students and seniors</td>
<td>changed in essence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Foreign executives</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Empty nesters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Middle and lower income groups</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Senior citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Self employed artist and designers</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Student housing</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Not the place of families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Offices</strong></td>
<td>-Headquarters of international companies,</td>
<td>-High-end financial, legal</td>
<td>(Same as before although wider)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>banks and law firms</td>
<td>services, and the knowledge-intensive</td>
<td>-pension funds,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sectors.</td>
<td>-Insurance companies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Public Private Partnership**

In 2003, the intention agreement to set up a joint development corporation of the Zuidas, between the city government and the national government was put in place (GemeenteAmsterdam and Zuidas, 2004). Concerning the future of the development and the ambition to have the dock model, this is a project that the City Council felt it could not develop alone. It was already a really complex project, touching several layers of the Dutch Governance system. Moreover, the ring road and the railways are the responsibility of central government in the form of the Ministry of Traffic and Water Affairs. The metro and the land on either side of the infrastructure corridor are the responsibility of Amsterdam City Council. Cooperation between all parties was thought essential at the time in order for this project to follow through. Furthermore, the financial costs and risks involved in this project were too big for the City Council to bare by itself, one more reason was that it had already taken on large financial risks in the construction of the North South metro line and it was not prepared to take on more financial risks. As such it needed collaborators with whom to share the risks. In the chosen strategy the City Council and central government would be minority shareholders and the majority of the shares would be in private ownership as illustrated by the figure bellow (fig. 39).
This setting of actors (fig. 39) is considered a network, as these actors have (1) different goals and interests, (2) and different resources (3) depending on each other for the realization of these goals (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 1), the dock model project. The figure illustrates the organizational structure of the Zuidas Company of 2007, which did not follow through not only because of the financial crisis but also because of the financial risks. The costs were extremely high (€2 billion) and returns on the investment wouldn’t be seen for a period of 20 years (www.habiforum.nl, 14/04/2012). As Bergh\(^\text{52}\) points out, “they didn’t make a choice in the steering of the project, you can not steer and pay different, that is not a choice, and they discussed about the subject, but that didn’t touch the problem”. There is always a maximum risk level banks have to stay within. If the project would go completely out of control and costs would rise and there would be a point from which banks could not participate anymore\(^\text{53}\). To sum up to the risks, other reasons responsible for the failing of this public-private partnership are the lack of commitment and willingness to cooperate.

Bruijn\(^\text{54}\) states when asked about the PPP, “It was not there, they were all at a table but there was not any commitment... It was like a play in the theatre, for about three to four or five years”. And De Sonnaville\(^\text{55}\) also has this

\(^{52}\) Personal interview with Ruud Bergh on 29/02/2012. Bergh is currently the Managing director of SADC (Schiphol Area Development Company).

\(^{53}\) Personal interview on 20/02/2012 with Pieter Klomp, Urban Designer at the Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening of Amsterdam (Planning Department of Amsterdam). Pieter Klomp was a Project Leader for the Zuidas project between 2007/ 2012 (5 years).

\(^{54}\) Personal interview with Pi de Bruijn on 07/03/2012. Bruijn is a Partner at Architecten Cie and was appointed by the City of Amsterdam as masterplanner for project Zuidas from 1998 to 2007.
type of discourse as he states, “I think this is the essence of the problem in this area. The crisis is another area, but there is another factor, that the willingness to cooperate is something else, then the real behavior of cooperation”. Nowadays some express a positive view on the failing of the PPP (public private partnership), as by privatizing this area would mean an island would be created. Dijckmeester\textsuperscript{56} states, “with the PPP we were really privatizing this area, it was almost done, we were creating an island, and by the crisis it is saved, it doesn’t matter how you call it, and now its totally opposite, our number one goal, off course, the most important it is to be the successful location, but, it must be Amsterdam”. Now it’s the state and the city alone again. The idea in the beginning was, as mentioned before, for the public parties to give markets the shares of the risks, and what seems to be the message in the end is that a government is always the final risk taker. The dock model has been approved (in 2012), although a cheaper version of it, where only the cars will be underground. The total investment for this project is almost €1.4 billion, of which €979 million will be provided by national government, €201 mln by the City of Amsterdam, €130 mln by the Amsterdam Urban Region and €75 mln by the Province of Noord-Holland (http://www.zuidasdok.nl/), 14/04/2012.

In hindsight, it can be easy to say that there was too much ambition (which is necessary in marketing) or that the participants were lacking some sort good reasoning when approaching the enormous desire to be the most innovative but also the most complex. Majoor\textsuperscript{57} states, “they really lacked some sort of common sense in a way; they always wanted to go for the most innovative, which is also, was explained to me when I was doing my research for my dissertation, was also a deliberately strategy because if you are asked the most innovative, the most complex, you hope to get at least something. If you already start by asking something, you probably end up getting nothing. But yes, they wasted a lot of time and money, and investigations in hind site of something that was way too complex”.

**Marketing responsible**

The project office Zuidas is the responsible for branding the project. Together with the Amsterdam’s DRO (Amsterdam’s planning department) and ARUP it launches the visions documents. According to Dijckmeester\textsuperscript{58}, “The market has changed, literally, so then I have to change my message”. This quote introduces the importance of the market in dictating what are the future target groups and programme for this development. The Project Office Zuidas seems to be market led and not a market oriented initiative, supported by the local government, but only marginally regulated (Majoor, 2008). This indicates that context changes have enormous influence on this development. It is interesting that, according to the research is often commented that the people that run the project act and always think they are in charge, and according to Majoor\textsuperscript{59}, “The people that run the project, they always think they are in charge, but actually they cannot do much about this more fundamental things in the economy, in politics, so off course its indeed how it continues with the office market being the important feeders of the most square meters”.

There has also been talks with several large companies on Zuidas on how the USPs (unique selling points) of the Zuidas could be promoted, for this there is a group called Zuidas partners. Huijg\textsuperscript{60} when referring to the Zuidas partners states, “So they are talking with each other about how, we have to promote Zuidas. I think that is necessary because when the project office Zuidas does it by their own, they have to look at the market. The disadvantage I think of the government, I think that they don’t know exactly what is going on in the market sometimes”.

\textsuperscript{55} Personal interview with Hans de Sonnaville on 05/03/2012. De Sonnaville is the current academic director of ABC (Amsterdam Bright City).
\textsuperscript{56} Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.
\textsuperscript{57} Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
\textsuperscript{58} Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.
\textsuperscript{59} Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
\textsuperscript{60} Personal interview with Christiaan Huijg on 21/03/2012. Huijg is the managing director of the WTC (World trade Centre).
**Schiphol**

Schiphol’s relationship with the Zuidas, is mentioned by all the respondents to be a prerequisite for the Zuidas to thrive as an international location. When referring to Schiphol, Jos Nijhuis states that, “We’re here to create an atmosphere of economic dynamism and high activity where not only the directly involved companies benefit. Something radiates from the Netherlands. Greater Amsterdam competes with other world capitals as a location, and you feel it. From the airport we fly to 284 destinations worldwide, and owning your own business centre than a 10-minute drive, you may consider yourself lucky as a region.” (www.zuidas.nl, 01/05/2012). According to such point of view, the Zuidas proximity to the airport gives it an immense competitive advantage when compared to other office locations in the Netherlands. To a level seldom seen, the airport, as one anchor of the Schiphol-Amsterdam-Almere corridor, is integrated into regional and national ground transportation and land use planning (Appold et al., 2008, p. 13-14). Lambooy states, when referring to the opening of the Schiphol airport in 1978 that “then the strong connection was given with Schiphol and southern part of the Randstad area, and at that point, Schiphol and Amsterdam Zuid became a stronger and stronger attraction point, so many people wanted to be located there”. Schiphol airport endured rapid growth in the 80’s and because the Zuidas was strategically located in relation to the airport by road and rail, the airport gave the large-scale development a prestigious regional, national and international position.

Bergh states when talking about positioning Zuidas in the above mentioned contextual scales (regional, national and international that “we have to reorient on how the position of the Netherlands and Amsterdam in the international networks will change and how we can, how we are able to fill a project like the Zuidas, with new qualities of office and networks, and in that sense Schiphol is really important for the Zuidas as a network, that is more important then they thought in the beginning”. The relationship of the Zuidas with the Schiphol is quite unique and a good example of airport-region synergy that results on the Zuidas being a 21st century airport “edge city”. Within 10 minutes (by motorway and train) the heart of Schiphol airport is connected to the heart of the Zuidas and vice versa. The highways and train lines that connect the Zuidas to Schiphol also connect the business district and airport, with a labor workforce that stretches to Almere and other residential growth centres. To support this view a comment by Van den Berg is introduced, where he points out that “There live many Dutchman, obviously also in the city of Almere, which means there is labour force that is actually quite well educated, really, really very nearby”.

On the importance and competitive advantage of the proximity of Schiphol for the Zuidas, Van den Berg states, “Then of course you have the system that you are so extremely close to Schiphol airport indeed if the people of the luggage handling corporate you really can get out of your plane and be within 45 minutes in Zuidas wherever you need to be which is quite exceptional. It’s very, very quick. So basically it’s a very attractive point to be. Every European city is easy to travel, it can be London within an hour, I mean it’s not an issue. So basically I think it is a very, very important place and for Amsterdam well if you know what you want to be, a city that has a certain a high quality standard of economical activity, I would say extremely important for Amsterdam.”

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61 Jos Nijhuis is the CEO (Chief Executive Officer) of Schiphol Group.
62 Personal interview with Jan Lambooy on 06/03/2012. Lambooy is a retired Professor of Regional Economics and Economic Geography at the universities: VU University of Amsterdam and Utrecht.
63 Personal interview with Ruud Bergh on 29/02/2012. Bergh is currently the Managing director of SADC (Schiphol Area Development Company).
64 Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.
65 Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.
Together, Schiphol and the Zuidas area still occupy the top of the Amsterdam office segment (SchipholGroup and Luyken, 2011, p. 25). As a result, as Huijg\(^{66}\) states “the Zuidas is doing fairly well because most of the companies want to be located on the Zuidas and not everybody can afford this, but for the head offices its very good to be here because all the facilities and all the near location to Schiphol Airport the City Centre. I think it’s very interesting for them but also, its competitive because they pay more rent, but the revenues on the other hand are similar.”

Bellow a collection of images is presented which represents the relationship of the Zuidas with the city of Amsterdam.

Figure 40: Relationship of Schiphol with The city of Amsterdam in 2004 (Salet and Majoor, 2005, p. 11)

January this year (2012), students from the three architectural schools joined a 10-day Winter School in which they worked on the case of the Zuidas Amsterdam (http://bk.tudelft.nl/, 14/04/2012). A presentation from this winter school exposes the latest image material found on the current and intended relationship between the city of Amsterdam, Schiphol, and the Zuidas, (fig. 41 and 42).

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\(^{66}\) Personal interview with Christiaan Huijg on 21/03/2012. Huijg is the managing director of the WTC (World trade Centre).
Figure 41: Current and intended relationship of Schiphol with The city of Amsterdam in 2012 (Delft and Zuidas, 2012)

Figure 42: Future relationships of Schiphol with The city of Amsterdam in 2012 (Delft and Zuidas, 2012)
Conclusion

This chapter focuses on the actors in four fields of research, such as: target groups, the intended Public-private partnership, the marketing responsible for this development, and Schiphol as the important player that connects this development to international networks. Although the study branches through these four fields, the emphasis to understand the process of decision-making for this development lies on the dynamics of the Public-private partnership.

According to the interviews and the use of document analysis, as the Vision of 2004 (Amsterdam and Zuidas, 2004) and of 2009 (Amsterdam et al., 2009b), there was not much difference between the intended target groups in the initial phase of this development and today. The target groups continue to focus on business decision makers, and international visitors. When referring to the target groups for dwellings, in 2004 there is a broader approach to the intended target groups, as self employed artists and designers are included. This is a bit of a paradox, as this development was at the time (2004) marketed as a high-end office hub with a high voltage of market activity targeting the higher end of the residential sector. Besides this mention of targeting within the creative industry in the vision of 2004, nowhere else is shown that they were included in the strategic planning for this development and in the vision of 2009 and interviews conducted in 2012, this target group is no longer named. As Majoors mentioned, the real estate demand for high end dwelling is not doing so well in the Zuidas, as such the Project office Zuidas has as its main concern to promote ‘living in the Zuidas’ and a target group that was there from the beginning is now having more attention, namely, students.

Concerning the target groups for offices, it is still mentioned by the project office Zuidas that this area wants to attract international headquarters. There is no doubt that the target groups intended for offices have always been high-end financial and legal services, but most of these companies are part of Dutch networks. Despite of the attractiveness of the Zuidas, it is sure to say that the Zuidas would work better as a back office for international companies than trying to be at the level of London for example, where headquarters of international companies prefer to establish themselves. As stated by Bergh, “headquarter at the moment is post letters… there are not that many headquarters anymore in the Netherlands”. The target groups for amenities in all visions are mentioned as for serving the high-end residential and office area.

The responsible for marketing this project is the Project office Zuidas, and as part of their marketing strategies, the party with which it wants to deepen its relationship is Schiphol airport because of the physical proximity to it, and the connection with international networks it provides. This is essential for the sustainability and success of this development.

As mention before this chapter focuses on the Public-private partnership. According to Healey’s types of governance relations (2007, p.16) the PPP intended for the Zuidas was organized as a coalition of interest around a particular issue in a particular area, being the particular issue the financing of infrastructure project with a real estate development in the Zuidas. Considering the levels of connectivity between networks of actors (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008) this one could be considered a close network of decision-making, which can fall under criticism as part of this ambitious development would be done with public money. Concerning Bruijn and Huvelhof definition of network structure (2008, p. 1), in what this network was concerned, it had many actors, some public, belonging to the three-tier system of Government in the Netherlands, and private, mainly banks. Mostly they had different goals and interests, (banks are competitors within themselves), also different resources, but to realize this project they depended on each other. For the city of Amsterdam (through the Project office Zuidas) to be able to steer this network in order to facilitate and create the conditions to bring and bind actors together (whom have different expertise and interests), clear discourses, communication strategies and collective action would be needed (Healey, 2007, p. 17-19). But the results

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67 Personal interview with Stan Majoors on 08/03/2012. Majoors is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
68 Personal interview with Frederijk Haentjens on 13/02/2012. Haentjens is part of the Communication department of the Project office Zuidas
69 Personal interview with Ruud Bergh on 29/02/2012. Bergh is currently the Managing director of SADC (Schiphol Area Development Company).
of the interviews show, that there were no clear and transparent discourses about the sharing of the risks. Concerning communication strategy the only information available was that it was a long term decision making process, that resulted in no collective action, mainly because of the external factors (as the financial crisis), of the high risk level that private parties did not agree to endure and because there was no willingness to collaborate. What the PPP intended to achieve was a level of interdependence where the organizations in this network would depend on each other and would cooperate in order to create added value. This PPP was intended to reshape policy discourses and would change the practice and outcomes of governance action, but it did not go through. The planning of this synergy, illustrates how planners were serving as market actors, in shaping and activating market activity. Also it demonstrates that this collaborative process masked the fact that each party was operating on its own interest, which in the end triggered the non-realization of the large-scale development strategy.

The relation between the finding of this empirical study with Mitzberg and Waters (1985, p. 258) theory on strategy, is made to create an understanding of the process this development went through within an established time line (fig. 43).

Figure 43: Findings on context and actors inserted in research design
By positioning the actor’s process together with the context, the process of this PPP and its results are illustrated. According to Mintzberg and Waters (1985, p. 258) to accomplish a realized strategy exactly as intended, at least three conditions would have to be satisfied (see section 4.3), positioning the findings accordingly, the findings reveal that:

1. The city’s intentions on this project existed but were not communicated at a concrete level of detail, as the allocation of the risk created doubts about the city’s intentions (mainly on risk allocation), the condition was not satisfied.
2. The intentions were organizational. The condition was satisfied.
3. The collective intentions were not realized as intended, which meant that external factors interfered. The condition was not satisfied.

As such the intended strategy of setting up and implementing a joint public-private partnership did not follow through and became an unrealized strategy. External factors, as the financial crisis (2008) and subsequent banking crisis, interfered with the accomplishment of this intended strategy, which culminated in an unrealized strategy. As a result, after 2008 only public parties would be involved in the dock model project and private parties were just participating in small initiatives (as Amsterdam Bright City). The contextual situation led to new emergent strategies to surface. According to Mintzberg and Waters, to form a perfectly emergent strategy “there must be order-consistency in action over time, in the absence of intention about it” (1985, p. 258). The emergent strategy consisted in fresh leadership in two levels; such as, a new representative on behalf of the government (D.J. van den Berg) and a new director of project office Zuidas (K. W. de Boer). These strategies are not purely emergent as there is an intention behind them, for the first the intention was to create manageable units so the dockmodel project could go further, and for the second the intention was to give this large-scale development another planning discourse. In 2011 external factors as the demand in infrastructure in the area, together with the strategies of these new leaderships resulted in a realized strategy (although it is incomplete as no real estate development is included), which was the agreement on the dock model project, between the National Government, the City of Amsterdam, Amsterdam’s Urban Region and the Province of Noord-Holland. What this process sheds to light is that, the risks of such innovative and complex projects (as the dock model) are ultimately taken by public parties and public money. It’s a paradox, how a market led development finds its future in public investments.
5.3 Programme

Programme Ratios

1998-2004

Brujin[70] has stated, “When I entered Zuidas they had assumed that the model split of functions was 85% business, 15% residential. I said we are going to change that fully and go for 50/50. We have half of the volume to be built dedicated to residential and that was unheard of. I pushed that very strongly. We had the support of those guys from France and Docklands”. As such, not soon enough it changed to a 45/45/10 proportion, almost half of the volume dedicated to residential and the other to offices, the 10% was left for amenities. A programmatic structure is essential and after visits to Potsdamer Platz in Berlin, La Defence in Paris and the Docklands in London, where everyone referred mix-use as the aim, mix use became fundamental[71]. This sort of programme organization (mix use) is considered successful in the centre of Amsterdam, where half of the buildings are filled with daily use for offices and the other half is living residential. This results in a lively area filled up with people during the day, evening and night, creating a fruitfulness to the shops, cafes and restaurants. The city flourishes[72].

Furthermore, it is expressed in the 2004 Vision that the municipal council’s decision to go further with this balanced mix-use programme was an important starting point for the development of the Zuidas. In 2004 the dock model also becomes quite preeminent, as it is essential for the realization of the programmatic objectives and volume. By placing the infrastructure underground an area of approximately 200 x 1200 m prime real estate would be created, which allows the creating of more square meters of offices, but also the possibility to create more dwellings and local facilities. By putting the infrastructure underground noise and pollution for the existing and future users would be reduced (www.habiforum.nl, 14/04/2012). In a different note, even urbanistically it would be a most desired connection of the two halves of the Zuidas.

The table bellow (table 17) indicates that in 2004 the Zuidas had a development potential of more than 2,700,000 m2 GFA, which indicates there is a buffer to develop more than what was stated as the total development in 2001 (approximately 2,300,000 m2 of GFA). The Zuidas programme indicated more than 1,100,00 m2 of office space, around 8000 dwellings, and a substantial programme for public amenities and culture. The investment is of around 10 billion Euros (GemeenteAmsterdam and Zuidas, 2004, p. 19-20). However without the tunnel the total programme of 2,700,000 m2 will fall to around 1 million square meters (Salet and Majoor, 2005, p. 35) which estimates a floor area for the dock of 1.700.000 m2.

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[70] Personal interview with Pi de Brujin on 07/03/2012. Brujin is a Partner at Architecten Cie and was appointed by the City of Amsterdam as masterplanner for project Zuidas from 1998 to 2007.

[71] Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam. Comments made when discussing the why of mix-use in the Zuidas.

[72] Personal interview with Pi de Brujin on 07/03/2012. Brujin is a Partner at Architecten Cie and was appointed by the City of Amsterdam as masterplanner for project Zuidas from 1998 to 2007. Pi de Brujin argumented the added value of the programme organization and distribution of the city centre of Amsterdam, when asked about the possible program changes through time in the Zuidas.
Table 17: Programme 2005 (Gemeente Amsterdam and Zuidas, 2004, p. 20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2004 VISION OF THE ZUIDAS</th>
<th>RESIDENTIAL</th>
<th>OFFICES</th>
<th>PUBLIC AMENITIES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Realised since 1998</td>
<td>137,100</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td></td>
<td>144,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under construction</td>
<td>37,700</td>
<td>111,600</td>
<td></td>
<td>167,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In preparation</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>174,250</td>
<td>75,170</td>
<td>419,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under study: medium term</td>
<td>93,750</td>
<td>78,000</td>
<td>43,800</td>
<td>215,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under study: long term</td>
<td>772,250</td>
<td>620,750</td>
<td>163,450</td>
<td>1,556,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuidas, excluding VU</td>
<td>1,073,700</td>
<td>1,121,700</td>
<td>308,520</td>
<td>2,503,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VU/VUMC</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>176,500</td>
<td>244,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL</td>
<td>1,091,700</td>
<td>1,171,700</td>
<td>485,020</td>
<td>2,718,420</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 44: Distinction between the programmatic division of 2001 and the Development potential of floorspace are in 2004 (Gemeente Amsterdam and Zuidas, 2004)
2007 revised in 2009

Haentjens\(^73\) has stated, “The actors were always the same, but you can say that between 2006 and 2008 there was more feeling for starting with apartment complexes, not only offices, we were thinking about how can we arrange the apartments in the total project... what is the place of apartments, of people that live here. At that time we started thinking how we can evolve the people living in the project, not in the surroundings, but in the project”.

In 2007 there was a new vision that was revised in 2009 (Amsterdam et al., 2009b) here the amenities became more relevant in the composition of the programme. Relating to this period in time Dijckmeester\(^74\) states “it was still more mixed and more urbanesque and then we came to the concept of 30% amenities, 30% living space and 30% office space... and in 2007 we made the 4th masterplan and in 2008 the crises started.”

Being more specific, the intended programme for 2009 is approximately 1,130,000 m\(^2\) floor space for dwellings. Depending on the average size of each unit, this equates to between 8,000 and 10,000 homes, the space for office development of also approximately 1,130,000 m\(^2\) and public amenities 376,600 m\(^2\).

Figure 45: Programme 2009 based on the Vision 2007/2009 document (Amsterdam et al., 2009b)

The intended programme for 2009 (fig. 45) is the basis of the ‘current programme’ of 2009; it is the additional programme (business case) excluding the existing buildings and required demolition. This 2009 programme is also the basis for the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). The total floorspace area is the additional programme including everything that was realized prior to 1998. The resulting programme would then encompass a total floorspace in excess of approximately 4.3 million square meters (Amsterdam et al., 2009b).

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\(^73\) Personal interview with Frederijk Haentjens on 13/02/2012. Haentjens is part of the Communication department of the Project office Zuidas

\(^74\) Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.
2012

The Zuidoas is still working towards end programme, but that is something that continuously changes as in a flux. On one hand, it is important to try to combine, some sort of the space of flows to the physical programme. According to Majoor75 “I think it is really important that the connections to Schiphol are good, that it is an attractive space for international businesses. But also, on the other hand it should also be a place, a place where people feel at comfort... for example the station, it will be expanded in the future so it is a great place...so the station it is really the secret”.

As Dijckmeester76 points out, “My only drive is to have this place used to its merit, so I would like the station to be the heart, to be proud of Zuidoas, that would be a real dream”. The high-speed train will stop there in the future, so then becomes a ‘super’ public place. To have a notion the accessibility figures in 2012 are the following (http://www.hellozuidoas.com, 14/04/2012):

- 65,000 passengers a day at Zuidoas Station
- 6 minutes to Schiphol
- 45 minutes to London
- 38% reaches Zuidoas by public transport
- 30% come by car
- 30% come on bicycle
- 2500 guarded bicycle parking spaces

The Project office Zuidoas, is active in making sure there is a balance in programme, from the international firms, which are changing in size introducing more flexible working places and also to other aspects that enrich the city, as a good transport hub, public places but also housing in different price ranges. The housing price ranges are still focused more on the high end, but with the inner city now being protected by Unesco, not much new construction will be possible, and large scale developments like the Zuidoas become a possibility for new housing to be developed. Although, according to Lambooy77, “the market conditions for housing, for high level housing are not too well”. It is also known that parts of the country are shrinking and pouring towards Amsterdam78 and if willing the Zuidoas could accommodate a broader residential programme, but that seems not to be in their ambitions for the near and distant future.

Klomp79 points out, “I think that now student housing is picking up, it will be the biggest production this year in housing...And it has always been a completely neglected segment for students, almost impossible to find an affordable place in Amsterdam, and now you get a change, I think one thousand of dwellings being added to the city this year, also in the Zuidoas”. Grobbe80 also underlines that student housing is becoming a big thing.

Klomp also stated that, “the 30% of social housing it is what the city wants but the private parties said it was strange to build it on such expensive part of the city, and off course it will be very difficult for your business case, but still the city insisted it should be in there”81.

One thing that it is also important to say is that this optimal proportion of programme is of concern to many. Some private parties understand the necessity for mix-use but don’t feel that it is necessary to equiparate the square meters

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75 Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
76 Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidoas Amsterdam.
77 Personal interview with Jan Lambooy on 06/03/2012. Lambooy is a retired Professor of Regional Economics and Economic Geography at the universities: VU University of Amsterdam and Utrecht.
78 Personal interview with Pieter Klomp on 20/02/2012. Klomp is an Urban Designer at the Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening of Amsterdam (Planning Department of Amsterdam) and was a Project Leader for the Zuidoas project between 2007/ 2012 (5 years).
79 Personal interview with Pieter Klomp on 20/02/2012. Klomp is an Urban Designer at the Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening of Amsterdam (Planning Department of Amsterdam) and was a Project Leader for the Zuidoas project between 2007/ 2012 (5 years).
80 Douglas Grobbe is the managing director of ABN AMRO
81 Personal interview with Pieter Klomp on 20/02/2012. Klomp is an Urban Designer at the Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening of Amsterdam (Planning Department of Amsterdam) and was a Project Leader for the Zuidoas project between 2007/ 2012 (5 years).
of offices with housing. If the demand for offices stalls, and as a result the city to have revenues on the land, builds more and more housing, the more business related parties feel that the influence and prestige of this office hub could decrease. At the same time the city says that developing iconic office towers one next to the other should be over\textsuperscript{82}. A reason for that is the lower demand for offices, the new ways of working with the implementation of more flexibility in the working place and the change in the use of space per employee (not to mention the increase of the quality of an urban area). On another note, as Majoor\textsuperscript{83} states “if you look at the other underlying demographics, economic outlooks, the very small emigration into the Netherlands, the greying of the population, the flexibilization of offices, all these factors they point out, on the longer term, there is not so much demand for this huge numbers of volume that they want to build”. The city government also puts limitations in the development in terms of square meters of offices, as Overmulder\textsuperscript{84} points out “the city government, which says we can only do, realize some 250 thousand m\textsuperscript{2} more until 2020 which is for us ... it restricts us, so we can not facilitate everything”.

According to Hello Zuidas (http://www.hellozuidas.com/, 14/04/2012) the programme for 2012 and the future is presented as follows:

1. Housing

Zuidas is the second location in Amsterdam for building new homes on a large scale with a programme for approximately 9000 homes. Currently more than 400 homes were:

- Eurocentre: 81 homes in 2006
- Luminuz: 56 homes in 2008
- New Amsterdam: 194 homes in 2008
- Symphony: 82 homes in 2009

The following homes are under construction:

- Django building: 74 rental apartments
- Miles building: 71 apartments for sale

2. Working

The total office programme is over 1.1 million m\textsuperscript{2} of gross floor area (GFA). Currently 650,000 m\textsuperscript{2} GLA has been delivered.

Other facts:

3. Facilities (there was not information available about which of the facilities were existing which were not)

- 28 cafes and restaurants
- 2 hotels
- 5 childcare centres
- 12 schools
- Synagogue LJG

Existing:

- Holland Financial Centre
- RAI: 2 million visitors per year
- VU University: 20,000 students
- Sports: 6000 athletes per week

\textsuperscript{82} Personal interview with Pieter Klomp on 20/02/2012. Klomp is an Urban Designer at the Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening of Amsterdam (Planning Department of Amsterdam) and was a Project Leader for the Zuidas project between 2007/ 2012 (5 years).

\textsuperscript{83} Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.

\textsuperscript{84} Personal interview with Martin Overmulder on 26/01/2012. Overmulder is a Project Developer at Project Office Zuidas.
A criticism to the current programme of the Zuidas is given by Bruijn when pointing out, “There is still very, very little residential so my fears about this area becoming a CBD, as business area more of less so far is there and people hate it. Not hate but Amsterdam does not actually has embraced it very well so, that is exactly what you can expect if matters go unguided and, so that makes it also like a big machine. It is a complexity”. The intended programme for 2009 (fig. 45), did not equilibrate the balance between housing and offices, and the development of housing is quite behind.

2015

A new date emerges and with it a new programme organizations surfaces. The data presented is the result of a consultation and cooperation with various parties, which took place between June 2010 and February 2011 and is called Zuidas Integrated Placemaking Strategy (ZIPS). The parties involved are Project office Zuidas, DRO (Amsterdam’s planning department), ARUP and DIVV (Department of Traffic and Transport Infrastructure) (Zuidas et al., 2011). The Zuidas Vision of 2009 had an intended programme of approximately 2.7 million square meters; of these only 1.5 million were built by 2009. To gain more insight into what the Zuidas can become in the future it is essential, according to ZIPS, to have a good housing and facilities strategy at work. The ZIPS aims the temporary programing of specific areas with temporary plots used to develop a temporary use. The aim is by 2015 to have a programme for derelict land and realize that programme, as an integral part of the Zuidas. Land use is integrated in the design principles and give meaning to other strategies that are intended for the whole site, which includes water management, food and agriculture, art and culture, transport and accessibility (Zuidas et al., 2011). As such the figure bellow (fig. 46) illustrates the amount of new m² planned to achieve by 2015 and the total floorspace area intended for this development. By developing 1.250.000 m² by 2015 the intended programmatic ambitions set for 2009 will be realized.

Figure 46: Programme 2015 and Total floorspace area (Zuidas et al., 2011, p. 53)

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85 Personal interview with Pi de Bruijn on 07/03/2012. Bruijn is a Partner at Architecten Cie and was appointed by the City of Amsterdam as masterplanner for project Zuidas from 1998 to 2007.
One interesting point to be aware of is that when introducing this programmatic ambitions through time, the dock model and construction on it seems to be included. Context again plays a deep role in the decision-making processes that led to such programmatic statements. A great deal of ambition is still exposed when at the same time the option chosen for the dock does not allow real estate development on top. Van den Bergh states: “you cannot construct on the road tunnels that’s not possible. It is written by law that you cannot construct in the tunnels. You need to bring the train infrastructure underground as well and I think that is very worthwhile to reopen that discussion in four to five years from now if economic circumstances of course were given incentive to reopen the discussion”.

The dock model

In 2004 the dock model became an important factor for the successful development of this project. But still today it is of extreme relevance. As mentioned before, the public and private partnership did not go through, but a new milestone has arisen in 2012 with the compromise given by the public parties to go ahead with this project. In order to build the planned dwellings and maintain the programme ratios of 30/30/30 the A10 must be brought underground as it is compromising the living environment due to noise and air pollution. As Overmulder points out, “we benefit also from it, as due to restrictions, environmental restrictions, sound and air quality we are limited in our development at the moment due to this highway”.

The infrastructure that is there today takes away for the envisioned urban centre a significant amount of space, at the same time that (according to project Zuidas) it creates a physical barrier between the both halves of the development, creating a more complex public transport flow. Grobbe states, “The dock model… the public transportation should be optimum” indicating the desire (not of every respondent) to have this infrastructure development go trough.

Another proponent reason for the go ahead for this project is that the number of users of the station is expected to increase with the opening of the Hanzelijn rail link to the north and east of the Netherlands, the high frequency rail programme (PHS) and the completion of the North-South commuter rail link. (http://www.zuidasdok.nl/, 14/04/2012). In its current condition the Amsterdam Zuid Station cannot be expanded due to the fact that it is compressed between traffic lanes of the A10 motorway, which also in its own right, and according to the Ministry of Infrastructure and Environment needs to be expanded to be able to support the increase in the traffic flow, which is expected to become critical around 2020 (http://www.zuidasdok.nl/, 14/04/2012).

The reasons to embark on such project are basically the same today as in 2004, what stalled the dock model to reach completion was the complexity of governance in this project. The big change from 2004 lies in the real estate development on top of the highway, that according to the current agreement will not happen, as train and tram rail will be on the surface and the motorway will be the one going underground.

The programme for the ZuidasDok project is the following:

- Expansion of the public transport terminal
- Widening of the A10 motorway
- Expansion and reconfiguration of the public space
- Integration of city and regional public transport services in the public transport terminal

(http://www.zuidasdok.nl/, 14/02/2012)

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86 Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.
87 Personal interview with Martin Overmulder on 26/01/2012. Overmulder is a Project Developer at Project Office Zuidas.
88 Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.
*Images of Dock model 2004*

Figure 47: Zuidas 2005 (Salet and Majoor, 2005, P. 56)

Figure 48: Zuidas 2030 (Salet and Majoor, 2005, P. 56)
Images of dock Dock model 2009

In the vision 2009 a new floorplan is introduced in which areas instead of buildings are illustrated (fig. 49). This embodies a strategic flexibility able to respond to different changes in programme. Also important to mention is that although the PPP failed, the project Zuidas and the planning department of the city of Amsterdam maintained in their vision the presence and intended development of the Zuidas dock project.

Figure 49: Zuidas Vision programme (Amsterdam et al., 2009b, p. 2)
The information that follows is the result of the collaboration of an integrated design group, which investigated the dock model project in the period June to December 2009 under the direction of D.j. van den Berg. This collaboration was between the Rijkswaterstaat, ProRail, Stadsregio Amsterdam (City region of Amsterdam), the city of Amsterdam, NS (principal passenger railway operator in the Netherlands) and Schiphol.

According to Van de Berg (2010) to make this project manageable three distinctive principles were created, which were intended for organizing, structure and analyse the available project information. Van den Berg states about this process that it “was basically taking the whole project apart simply to create manageable pieces of the project that could be brought back into discussion”.

These principles are:

1. Debundleling: A10 Train Metro Other public transport shown separately
2. Decomposing: Focuses on the station functions, housing, employment, facilities and in the disassemble of infrastructure
3. Dephasing: Is then the positioning of the project on a time axis with distinct decision points.

Being aware of this division, a focus on the decomposing is introduced (table 18) as it mentions the disassemble of the infrastructure.

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Table 18: Decomposing structure (Berg, 2010, p. 31)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Infrastructure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Amsterdam’s South station has grown stronger in recent years, more than other station in the Netherlands. -Separation of passenger flows is crucial. -It becomes a terminal station, with allure for international travellers, as it is the gateway to the city. -The terminal requires the proximity of other transport modalities (as the metro, tram, and facilities for bicycle and car parking)</td>
<td>-The current office location is mean to be transformed into an urban centre with a mix of housing, offices and facilities. -The proximity to the city and good accessibility offer appropriate opportunities for the environmental quality (noise, air and visual pollution). This is currently developing slowly which results in limited opportunities for housing. -This insures the establishment of facilities and mix use. -All variants are based on the same ratio live/work and amenities. -The projected programme in the flanks, since the Dock Prospectus increased by approximately 300.000 m2 GLA. -The programme for each variant will vary as a result of the height and location of the tunnels</td>
<td>-The accessibility of the Zuidas is one of its important assets. -In order o respond to the raise in traffic an extension of the main infrastructure has been incorporated in the plan -Space is scarce and the integration into the city is an important task. -Less deep and flat tunnels force the integration of all functions above ground, such as bicycle and car parking as well as logistic functions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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89 Personal interview with D.j. van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.

90 Personal interview with D.j. van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.
It is important for this research to expose the images and programme attached to each one of the three integral options that resulted from this collaboration, as it illustrates the ambitions and potential for the Zuidas in the future. These options are:

1. **Dock underground**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Results of integrated design (Berg, 2010, p. 32)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Flat tunnels, ground level 0.7 meters above sea level (NAP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Temporary train and metro station above road tunnels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 2 layer drive with wide streets on road tunnels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 777,000 m² property in the dock zone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Continuity of N-Z (North-South) connection during construction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Figure 50: Street view Option 1 (Berg, 2010, p. 33)](image)

**Programme option 1:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Floor area m²</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>m²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offices</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>269,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>385,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenities</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>115,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>770,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Figure 51: Longitudinal section Option 1 (Berg, 2010, p. 36)](image)
2. Dock in the ground (tunnels half in the ground and half above ground and urban integration of an elevated horizontal city)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Results of integrated design (Berg, 2010, p. 32)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Flat tunnels, ground level at 4.9 meters above sea level (NAP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Dock boulevard centrally located in the dock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- N-Z (North-South) temporary connections during construction at 15 m height</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Parnassusweg closure for 15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Temporary train and metro station on road tunnels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 2 Layer station in middle of dock boulevard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 750,000 m² of property in the dock zone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Programme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Floor area m²</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>m²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offices</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>262,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>375,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenities</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>112,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>750,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Dock above ground level (integration of urban infrastructure on tip of dock, being at Dijk level)

Figure 54: Street view Option 3 (Berg, 2010, p. 49)  
Results of integrated design (Berg, 2010, p. 32)

- Flat tunnels, 15 meters above sea level (NAP)
- Continuity of N-Z (North-South) connection during construction
- Transfer station and tracks on load bearing structure
- Fit 2 layer station between the road tunnels
- 601,000 m² of real estate on the top of the plate above tracks

Programme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Floor area m²</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>m²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offices</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>210,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>300,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenities</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>90,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>601,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 55: Longitudinal section of Option 3 (Berg, 2010, p. 53)
Concerning the future, possible further expansion can be comprised of:

- Further expansion of the Amsterdam Zuid train station to accommodate six tracks;
- An extension of the North-South commuter rail link and connections to other metro lines;
- A further expansion of the rail and metro station with additional platforms and adjustments to stairways, lifts and other station facilities;
- Expansion of the station area with even more bicycle sheds and racks and other station facilities;
- Realization of real estate above and/or adjacent to the railway lines, depending on the above and/or underground positioning of the tracks.
About the future of the dock model project Van den Berg\textsuperscript{91} states, “So it’s now simply pushing through and make sure that tunnels are made ... now is that roads are in tunnels but the real infrastructure is still above ground and I think in probably four to five years from now we will reopen that discussion whether we should not also bring the real infrastructure underground because that is where value added will really become visible, as you cannot construct on the road infrastructure tunnels but you can construct train infrastructure down”.

**Decision making processes**

When asked about the decision making processes that led to the changes in programme Dijckmeester\textsuperscript{92} answered that through out the planning of the project there is a lot of real decision-making, but when it comes to decision-making it is about zoning plans, lines, regulations and rules. The strategic ideas have been formulated much before.

Considering the Dock model, “The Ministry of Infrastructure and Environment has taken a preliminary decision on the draft Preferred Option (concept Voorkeursbeslissing) for ZuidasDok in the form of an ontwerp Structuurvisie (draft Structural Concept). In preparation for the Structural Concept many documents were drawn up to aid the selection process, such as a Milieueffectrapportage (environmental impact assessment or planMER) and a cost-benefit analysis. The draft Structural Concept sets out the spatial framework within which the ZuidasDok developments will be realized. The environmental impact assessment details the potential impact of the ZuidasDok project on the environment. After the Preferred Option has been made definitive in the spring of 2012, the necessary procedures for tracéwetbesluiten (road planning legislation) and bestemmingsplannen (zoning schemes) will be set in motion” (http://www.zuidasdok.nl/, 14/04/2012).

From now on what is important is to be steadfast and conclude what is now planned for the dock model without discussing every four years weather the project should continue or not as it would shy away possible investment in the area. Although, according to Van den Berg\textsuperscript{93}, a discussion could be reopen (if economic incentives are given in four or five years), to consider bringing the rest of the infrastructure underground, as the real added value will be visible then. This discussion lays in the fact that by law there cannot be construction above the car tunnels but above the train infrastructure it is possible. On an extra note the Dutch Government needs to commit to extra cuts of 9 billion euros, to fight the deficit budget. According to the forecasts if cuts are not put in place, there will be in 2013 a budget deficit of 4.5% of GDP, against 3% limit enshrined in the euro zone’s new fiscal pact (Economist, 2012). On one hand Van den Berg\textsuperscript{94} believes that the budget cuts won’t be concerning the dock model, as he states, “the investment is actually very, very modest. It may sound like a lot of money. But if you look at it from the perspective that this whole project will take at least in the infrastructure 10-15 years it’s a peanut on a yearly basis. It’s really not that much, and you either have the option that it will be in Zuidas where the substitution will take place or it will be somewhere outside the Netherlands so take your pick.”. On the other hand according to Douglas Grobbe\textsuperscript{95}, the possibility of it being postponed is there.

\textsuperscript{91} Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.

\textsuperscript{92} Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.

\textsuperscript{93} Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.

\textsuperscript{94} Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.

\textsuperscript{95} Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.
Conclusion

A large-scale development like the Zuidas is not without contradictions in its ambitions as it was not genuinely capable of meeting the targets it set for itself. This can be seen mainly by how its programme has developed. The findings analysed in this chapter show that the programme attested to the strategic priorities that the city of Amsterdam had installed for it during the time line analysed. In 2004, when the development was dealing with a possible privatization, and was considered as having a high voltage of market activity its intended programme ratios were (with minor percentage variations) 45% for offices, 45% for housing and 10% for public amenities. In 2009 when the development was promoting itself as a sustainable development (amongst other things), and the intended public-private partnership did not happen due to external factors and unwillingness from the private parties involved to bare the risks of such a project (dock model), the ratios changed to a equal division between offices, dwelling and public amenities (approximately 33.3% each). These balance between the three with the intended m2 proposed for 2009 were not realized by 2012 (unrealized strategy).

These changes in programme also reveal conflicts between the various stakeholders public and private. These tensions are mostly felt when concerning the dock model project, where expectations ran too high in 2004 mainly when compared with what was achieved in 2012. Before the financial crisis and the subsequent banking crisis, the Zuidas was portrait to its maximum, with an infrastructural project with a real estate development on top. In 2009 this dock model project changes into more manageable units, and three options revealed a real estate development with less square meters than before (from approximately 1,700,000 m2 in 2004 to 770,000-601,000 m2 total dock programme in 2010). These three options came after the Vision of 2009, in this vision document the intended square meters for the real estate development on top of the dock were still at its maximum. What is conflicts in this analysis is that in 2011, in the document of the Zuidas Integrated Place-making strategy (ZIPS) the square meters for the real estate development on top of the dock seem not to be in agreement with Van den Berg’s three proposals, as the total floor area intended for the end of this development (around 2030) is still the same as in the Vision of 2009 (4,280.000m2) so it still considers the maximum development for the dock. The agreement made in 2012 between the National Government, the City of Amsterdam, Amsterdam Urban region and Noord-Holland province, does not include a real estate development; it is merely an infrastructural project that comprises the widening and tunnelling under the A10 (motorway) and the expansion and modernization of the Station Zuid.

Considering the multiple land use, this is still to be realized according to what most respondents say, mainly in having the same ratio of offices and dwellings, although it is still marketed as such, as a mix use development. The answer is in the dock model, the intended housing programme can only be realized at the southern fringe of the project due to restrictions, as noise and sound pollution. Part of this is now solved if the A10 goes underground as agreed, but construction on top of car tunnels is not possible, so for now, the total floorspace area presented in the vision of 2009 and on the ZIPS document cannot be realized. Some respondents, mainly Van den Berg states that the dialogue is still open and that opportunities for the real estate development to happen are still possible, if the economic climate would allow it. The intended connection, as to transform this area into a collective whole, will not take place soon, as the division will still be there due to the station and rail infrastructure. As such, the marketing message of the project Zuidas is that the station is the key and the heart of the project. Changes within the context variables, influence the programme and in its own right, changes in the programme influence the image of this development.

The figure below (fig. 58) illustrates how the programme developed through time, in relation to the actors and to the context.

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96 Personal interview with D.j.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.
According to Mintzberg and Waters (1985, p. 258) to accomplish a realized strategy exactly as intended, in this case the intended programme strategy for 2009, at least three conditions would have to be satisfied (see section 4.3), positioning the findings accordingly, the findings reveal that:

1. The organization (Zuidas Project Office, Amsterdam’s planning department) intentions on the programmatic strategy existed and were precise; it was communicated at a concrete level of detail on its 2009 Vision document, so there are no doubts about the programmatic intentions. The condition is satisfied.

2. The parties involve did not share the same intentions. The Project Office and the Amsterdam Planning department (DRO) together with ARUP were responsible for this vision document, but for the total floorspace area intended to be realized, public and private investment had to happen. Because of the non-agreement to establish a PPP those square meters of programme could not be realized when intended. The condition is not satisfied.
3. External factors, as context variables interfered with the intended strategy (financial crisis), resulting in a lack of investment from private players. The condition was not satisfied.

Due to changes in the context variables, 1.250.000 m² were not built in 2009. In 2011 an emergent strategy arises, the ZIPS, where it states that the Zuidas will develop by 2015 1.250.000m² of floorspace area, which would match the intended programme for 2009 although with a 6-year delay. This emergent strategy is not perfectly emergent as it has an intention of its own behind, which is the development of more m² to be able to have return on investment and to transform the Zuidas into the new urban centre with mix land use they promote themselves to be.

Considering the long-term programme strategy for the future, if maintaining the maximum of development potential (4.280.000 m²) it has already suffered a cut back, an unrealized strategy as there wont be (for now) a real estate development on top of the model. If context variables change, an emergent strategy could influence the process.

5.4 Marketing strategies

When launching a large-scale urban development several challenges come with it, one is the challenge of image. The visibility and exposure of a project is crucial in this time of global networks, as a large-scale development becomes an instrument of language, a vehicle and a catalyst for planning development strategies. A well-managed large-scale development is capable of positioning cities in global business arenas, making them visible and attractive to “external” networks players. The Zuidas operates on two levels of marketing. On one hand it emphasizes the attractiveness of its assets and their innumerous possibilities and on the other hand it is trying to collaborate with the local community and consult the users of the site on the development process.

When analysing the different vision documents, it is perceptible that in the vision of 2004 there was a focus on the dock model and on its potential, the vision of 2007/2009 embodies more the sustainability concept, and today, although there is no published vision document, the Zuidas seems to continue its focus on sustainability but also on an organic development, where its future although within boundaries can develop symbioses and metamorphosis. It is very interesting and innovative as the Zuidas is portrayed not only as a development that will be finished in 2030, but as one that already exists. It is an existing area, people use it, some people live there, some people shop there, so project Zuidas promotes what is there now and not only what the area is meant to be in the future. It is a combination of short term with long term, where the long term is not a fixed plan⁹⁷. Per sei, in the long term, which is broadly defined, the Zuidas should be a sort of a new urban centre. But what an urban centre is in 2030 is uncertain.

Image

As stated by Van den Berg⁹⁸, “If Amsterdam really wants to be an important city in Europe you have to have an area like Zuidas, where you can receive your top notch customers that really want to be in you city,”. A project like the Zuidas has as such to represent itself. The Zuidas has always been portrayed as an office development, and in 2004, that was one of its more preponderant assets. While for private parties, which attach a lot of value on image, this is then the preferable location. For the common Amsterdammer, the Zuidas was then and is still today, (despite the efforts to insert mix-use) seen as a formal office development where nothing happens in the evenings and night⁹⁹. It’s windy, always in the shade and has iconic buildings that could be anywhere. On one hand, the iconic buildings from famous architects can be almost called architecture pornography¹⁰⁰(fig. 59). But on the other hand, iconic buildings

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⁹⁷ Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.

⁹⁸ Personal interview with D.J.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.

⁹⁹ Personal interview with Martin Overmulder on 26/01/2012. Overmulder is a Project Developer at Project Office Zuidas.

¹⁰⁰ Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
give it the status for which most office locations in the Netherlands are thirsty for, as such denoting a balance of tensions between the global and local spheres.

Grobbe\textsuperscript{101} states “Well it should become sort of as of a Manhattan, where the buildings are not so... where the buildings have more functions. A building is partly apartment, partly office, partly department store, but it is not so traditional. The architects built very traditional stuff,”. Herein, it is important to say that when talking about image (and mainly image for the future), that the opinions exposed during this research almost differ from each individual. Giving an example, while some want it to be a sort of Manhattan others find it important for the Zuidas to inherit some of the characteristics of the historic centre of Amsterdam. Bruijn\textsuperscript{102} shares Van der Made\textsuperscript{103} approach as he states, “This synergy between this very intricate old interesting city together with the uniqueness of Zuidas it will bring even more excitement.” Van den Berg\textsuperscript{104} points out that this development “has to be very careful because, part of the whole decision making process is lot of for co-decision of the people that live there and everyone even remotely is involved ... and I think it would not be very wise to underline too much the whole international thing of it because then it will be alienated from the people that think that they own the place... So I think, rightly so, the whole place has been presented as sort of hybrid place where you know ordinary people from Amsterdam would live but of course you would have these office development as well. So that of course presents a bit of a mixed picture but once you have gone through that and also depending on the opportunities you see in the market you will then have the opportunity to better profile the whole proposition”.

Lambooy\textsuperscript{105} adverts, “The Zuidas represents a bit giving the hand to the financial sector, its all about the banks, ok there is also the lawyers and the accountants but it is all within a market culture, lets say, or a business culture.” Consequently, the financial crises influenced the image management of the Zuidas, as there was no new investment, no money and “ in the last 3 years we sold nothing... no project at all”\textsuperscript{106}. As such, according to Dijckmeester\textsuperscript{107} the economic downturn did influence the image of the Zuidas but it did not influence the ambition. Furthermore, Overmulder\textsuperscript{108} points out, “When you see the document of 2004 ... I don’t know what is the ambition back then. But everybody knew that the Zuidas was a central business district, and we did nothing to change that image. Because it was going good with offices, and there was no need to do that but now we want to develop new apartments, we want to be more connected to the city, and we see we have to do a lot to change the images of people.”

A relevant point of attention is the current financial turmoil we are living in, which can be very critical to any marketing strategy. By trying to facilitate the markets to generate new development, can also mean that whatever private investment is there, they\textsuperscript{109} will facilitate. The significance of this (and related to the broadly defined long-term vision) is that hope lies that the mix-use programme, wont exist solely in the rhetoric’s of marketing\textsuperscript{110}.

\textsuperscript{101} Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.
\textsuperscript{102} Personal interview with Pi de Bruijn on 07/03/2012. Bruijn is a Partner at Archetecten Cie and was appointed by the City of Amsterdam as masterplanner for project Zuidas from 1998 to 2007.
\textsuperscript{103} Personal interview with Hans van der Made on 05/04/2012. Van der Made is a Senior Urban Designer at the Amsterdam’s planning department (DRO). Van der Made sees the Zuidas absorbing some of the characteristics that make the Amsterdam city centre so lively and unique.
\textsuperscript{104} Personal interview with D.J.van den Berg on 28/03/2012. Van den Berg is currently the President of the executive board of TU Delft and Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties for the Zuidas.
\textsuperscript{105} Personal interview with Jan Lambooy on 06/03/2012. Lambooy is a retired Professor of Regional Economics and Economic Geography at the universities: VU University of Amsterdam and Utrecht.
\textsuperscript{106} Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.
\textsuperscript{107} Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.
\textsuperscript{108} Personal interview with Martin Overmulder on 26/01/2012. Overmulder is a Project Developer at Project Office Zuidas.
\textsuperscript{109} Referring to Project Office Zuidas
\textsuperscript{110} Personal interview with Stan Majoors on 08/03/2012. Majoors is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
Figure 59: Architecture examples of buildings of the Zuidas (Salet and Majooy, 2005, p. 130-135)
Figure 60: Zuidas in the Future (Salet and Majoor, 2005, p. 129)
Exploring the context with images

The Vision of the Zuidas document of 2004, although sharing the same international, national and regional contexts than the Vision document of 2009, is more introspective when images are concerned. The Project office Zuidas had an “eye to the world” (fig. 61 and 62)), which is represented by the multiple trips made to other large-scale developments. Dijckmeester\textsuperscript{111} states “We took people to Potsdamer platz in Berlin to show that this is what we are coming to. All the clients we took to Potsdamer platz”.

Bruijn\textsuperscript{112} points out “at the time that I was involved we invited guests from La Défense in Paris and Docklands in London to discuss the various aspects of such a comprehensive development and that was very useful because these guys told us their experiences and they said don’t fall in the same trap that we have been falling into to make extremely large overkill of business using buildings of offices, because this is very unfruitful thing you can on the short term, you can think yourself very rich to produce a lot of money for the city by leasing or selling land... but it will eventually be very baron and bad part of your city.” This quote by Bruijn underlines the fact that by wanting to position the Zuidas at the same macro (metropolitan, European, World) and meso (Zuidas and surroundings connections) level as other large-scale development, the micro level (programme and interface of public, collective and private) can be influenced. It is in the Vision of 2009 that these levels are better illustrated, which enhances the marketing capability of the Zuidas, as it is boosting its assets.

\textit{Zuidas at a macro-level (Metropolitan, European, World)}

Figure 61: Zuidas position in the world and in the Netherlands (Amsterdam et al., 2009b, p. 12)

\textsuperscript{111} Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.

\textsuperscript{112} Personal interview with Pi de Bruijn on 07/03/2012. Bruijn is a Partner at Architecten Cie and was appointed by the City of Amsterdam as masterplanner for project Zuidas from 1998 to 2007.
Figure 62: Zuidas comparison (Amsterdam et al., 2009b, p. 18-19)

- **London Canary Wharf**
  - **Currently:** 1.5 million m², including offices, homes, 200 shops, hotels, bars and restaurants
  - **Development:** a further 0.4 million m², depending on market demand
  - **Ambition:** construction of the highest quality in a tranquil and healthy environment for employees and visitors

- **Paris La Défense**
  - **Currently:** 3.3 million m² offices; 0.6 million m² residential usage; 0.2 million m² retail
  - **Development:** a further 0.5 million m² (mixed programme)
  - **Ambition:** a “future-proof” new La Défense; only sustainable projects will be considered

- **Amsterdam Zuidas**
  - **Currently:** 1.5 million m² construction.
  - **Development:** growth to 4.2 million m² (38% offices, 29% residential and 33% amenities).
  - **Ambition:** successful and recognizable, compact and liveable, efficient and responsible.

- **Amsterdam Centre**
  - **Currently:** 0.5 million m² commercial/light industrial; 1.4 million m² offices; 3.5 million m² residential and 2.2 million m² amenities.
  - **Development:** increasing demand for small business premises.
  - **Ambition:** a good balance between residential and business usage; less motorized traffic with greater use of the bicycle and public transport.
Zuidas at a Meso-level (Zuidas and surrounding)

Figure 63: Zuidas and its surroundings (Amsterdam et al., 2009b, p. 13)

On the note of scale levels, one of the effects of the crisis seems to be, the discourse change, which entails the context in which the Zuidas should operate. At a macro level, and then looking at the international competition, although the project office Zuidas, tries to maintain a comparative relationship with the Dock Lands in London and La defence in Paris, most of the other interviewees place it competing with places like Copenhagen, Stockholm, Hamburg, Leon, and Frankfurt. Grobbe\textsuperscript{113} alludes to the fact that “London has a various specific appeal to it … If you say you have to office in London, it says something about your company. Paris also … I think our competition is places like Copenhagen, Stockholm, Hamburg, Leon, and Frankfurt”. Lambooy\textsuperscript{114} refers to competition as “we cannot compete with London, so we have to change the strategy, it is not in competition with London although some second level financial organizations can go to Amsterdam, because of the level of rents is a third or a quarter of what you pay in London… this competition is with other major cities as, Dusseldorf, Munique, Brussels and other cities”.

More and more the Zuidas should look more to its neighbours within the country boundaries, than to those outside the country. It is necessary to operate with all the four major cities in the Netherlands, which would be extremely well

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\textsuperscript{113} Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.

\textsuperscript{114} Personal interview with Jan Lambooy on 06/03/2012. Lambooy is a retired Professor of Regional Economics and Economic Geography at the universities: VU University of Amsterdam and Utrecht.
connected with the existence of another infrastructure costly project, a metro that would cross the “green heart” underground.

Huigh\textsuperscript{115} states, “I think, and it's my perspective, that Amsterdam is the location for financial, Den Haag is the main city for you can say it's government and all related things. Rotterdam is crucial for the port and Utrecht is the centre of Netherlands which is very important for logistic parties”. Referring to the meso level Grobbe\textsuperscript{116} points out, “So it's better to see this as one project, one banana, Schiphol Zuidas and Zuid-oost than to see them as separate parts”. Zuidas Oost now comes more into the picture; as it has cheaper rents and the Zuidas is now in a situation where some companies leases expire and they move to this location (Zuid Oost).

\textit{Ambitions translated in images}

This sub-chapter introduces the main changes in the vision documents; as such presenting the topic and correspondent image that seems to characterize the ambition of the Visions. Oudenapsen\textsuperscript{117} states, “Its like a Mamuth project, but the image of the project is flexible”.

\textit{2004}

In this Vision documents what seems to be the main ambition, essential to the realization of the Zuidas is the main infrastructure for road, rail and metro (dock model). Moreover the dock was seen as necessary for developing the building mass, which contributes to the intensifying of square meters of real estate. This was seen as essential for increasing the housing programme on a large scale. By bringing the infrastructure underground, the noise and air pollution cease to be a nuisance for the development of housing and of certain facilities as schools and kindergartens. Dijckmeester\textsuperscript{118} states, “the debate started about having the dock model, could it be organized, could it be financed, because the dream expanded and exploded”. The realization of the dock would then transform the Zuidas into a high-rise city centre (fig. 64), capable of generating economic effects with a clear spin-off not only for Amsterdam but also for the Netherlands.

\textit{Figure 64: Birdseye view of the Zuidas (http://remmeltmeijer.wordpress.com/, 03/05/2012)}

\textsuperscript{115} Personal interview with Christiaan Huijg on 21/03/2012. Huijg is the managing director of the WTC (World trade Centre).

\textsuperscript{116} Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.

\textsuperscript{117} Personal interview with Merijn Oudenapsen on 13/03/2012. Oudenapsen is a PHD candidate at the Tilburg University

\textsuperscript{118} Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.
2007/2009 “Het nieuwe Amsterdam”

Although continuing with the principles of the previous Vision document, the Vision document of 2009 is more focused on the Sustainability issues of this large-scale development. Although the Vision document of 2004 also introduced sustainability, it did not to this extent (fig. 65). The main ambition is represented in the document by the sentences: “A sustainable and successful urban environment of international allure, but with traditional Amsterdam qualities.” (Amsterdam et al., 2009b, p. 21) and “By 2030, Zuidas wishes to be among the Top Ten sustainable urban centres in Europe”
Haentjens\(^{119}\) points out “After 2009, 2010, we started with thinking on how can we start to make a better connection to the city, how can we connect with the green surroundings in the east and western part of the Zuidas and how can we more connect political and with society, what is the plus of this project for our surroundings”.

It all seems to point to a more organic Zuidas. The project office Zuidas portrays this development not only as something that will be finished in 2030 but as something that is already existing and should be used. It is a combination from short term to long term, and what is in the long term is not a fixed plan\(^ {120}\). Majoor\(^ {121}\) states “You should make a project more robust, more fit, and by expanding, doing different things...And if you only have one plan, which works well if conditions are stable, and supportive for that plan but you have no alternative for other changes, other situations, you are in trouble off course. So then you are very efficient but you are not exploring. So here we look at how a project can be exploring but also sort of efficient in the same way. Because only exploring does not work, it creates a very strange project. But only being efficient only goes well when conditions are stable”.

Furthermore, the 15 images (fig. 66), of the new set of images that represent the ambitions of the initiative 15 by 15 are chosen as the appropriate to illustrate the organicity mentioned above.

\(^{119}\) Personal interview with Frederijk Haentjens on 13/02/2012. Haentjens is part of the Communication department of the Project office Zuidas.

\(^{120}\) Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.

\(^{121}\) Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
Framing the Zuidas

Framing “is an organizing principle that transforms fragmentary information into a structured and meaningful whole” (Healey, 2007, p. 183)

Majoor assessment of the symbolic-cognitive framing of the Zuidas in ‘Disconnected innovations’ revealed that in the mid-nineties the project was initially framed in three ways, namely (1) as a new economic competitive location for high-end business for Amsterdam, (2) as a major infrastructure project, and (3) as a mixed –used urban area (Majoor, 2008, p. 76). Based on these three domains, a graphical representation of the symbolic cognitive framing of the Zuidas, during different periods in time is elaborated (table 19).

Table 19: Symbolic-cognitive framing of Zuidas and its development (Majoor, 2008, p. 83) completed with findings from personal interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zuidas as a new economic location</strong></td>
<td>After the failure of the IJ bank development, due to serious private interests, Zuidas is presented as Amsterdam’s new prestigious office location</td>
<td>Very successful economic development, Zuidas is the most prestigious Dutch office area (as reflected in the rent levels), but lacks international investments.</td>
<td>Lack of investment. Less demand for offices. Development suffering for the recession but has steady slow growth. Still the most prestigious Dutch office area, but lost momentum Also receiving criticism by draining other parts of the Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zuidas as a mixed use urban area</strong></td>
<td>Some early plans for mixture of uses, but basically a plan for an office area</td>
<td>Mixed use developed into the most important spatial ambition for the area but hardly visible in investments. Dependence created on dock</td>
<td>Continues being the most important spatial ambition. Although housing is at a much lower number than ambitioned. Vibrant Urban Centre not yet visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zuidas as an infrastructure project</strong></td>
<td>Plans from national government to expand infrastructure at Zuidas, unrelated to urban development</td>
<td>Slow and difficult process to integrate urban development and infrastructure expansion. More government support for dock mode.</td>
<td>Agreement between the public parties, the A10 will be underground. 10 years of construction work. Will it be a construction site for 10 years?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Related to Marketing</strong></td>
<td>No information available</td>
<td>High density-Intensity Focus on the development of the dock exposing the South side of the Zuidas as attractive High end office hub, the most attractive in the Netherlands</td>
<td>Substantial boost to accessibility and quality of life in the key economic region, the Randstad. Station is the key, the heart of the Zuidas. Bigger connection with existing institutions in the area, the RAI and the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Zuidas Amsterdam Bright City is a joint venture of the VU University of Amsterdam and ABN AMRO, which had the expectation to create a closer relationship between the academic and the business community by combining a business centre with a Grand Café. In short, the aim was to develop an innovative, international business centre, where science and business would join hands. Sonnaville notes out, “My first goal was to develop managers and using the knowledge and the experience of the academic world, I was not focused on students, I was focused on junior managers, senior managers, what we call pos-graduate education”.

The uniqueness of Amsterdam Bright City is that it is financially supported by several parties. They are large business service providers in and around Amsterdam, cultural centres, students - and their organizations and the academic world (http://www.amsterdambrightcity.nl/, 02/05/2012). Sonnaville states “This is a foundation has two pillars, the academy, that is my part, and a physical grand cafe in the other end... the intention was, that in that way we should have 5 years to develop more cooperation between parties and the University. Especially the college should be a vehicle that management development, so teaching managers leadership and innovation.... This is our last year of the 5 and to be honest the grand cafe is a huge problem, because ABN Amro put a lot of money in that grand cafe and it did not come up with the (expected) results, and college is small ...I think to be honest we have to conclude after 5 years, that the crisis, but not only the crisis, also the absence of willingness of cooperation makes this kind of initiatives a failure”.

Temporary building- Intended strategy

This intended strategy refers to the creation of addition programme, as a response to the (predicted) 10 years of construction of the dock. Huijg states, “While this whole area is being reconstructed, the road will go underground and people will stop being over there. So we have a lot of construction going on here. In the whole period this area should be safe, clean, it should be accessible which is big issue”. Dijckmeester points out while talking about the critical success factor for this development that, “At this moment I would say how to get through the coming 10 years, because there will be a major, incredible, huge infrastructure project going on... so how can we keep this location 1st class in the coming 10 years...That is major, and how can we turn that in also fun and quality, so we have to prove, and if we could succeed there, I think that is the critical success factor for the coming 10 years”. About the construction of the dock Klomp adds, “That has also been a difficult point, that probably major operation that disturbs the hole thing there, what we did was, they put the image of the Info-Box, the thing at Potzdammerplatz Platz, ... the red cube,
it turned out to be the number one tourist attraction in Berlin for many years... so many people came to see of what was happening there, in this, they made a very good trick in making it a happening sort to speak”.

This perspective on how to react to the construction process while the area is still in development is introduced in the Vision Document 2009 (Amsterdam et al., 2009b, p. 79). This document mentions that efforts will be made to ‘make a virtue of necessity’. A similar information point as the Rote Box of Potzdammerplatz is the answer to the increased nuisance of the construction works, as the Zuidas intends to have temporary amenities or public events at strategic points.

Figure 68: Die Rote Box temporary information centre, Berlin (Amsterdam et al., 2009b, p. 79)
15 by 15- Emergent strategies (2010)

The Zuidas project formulated 15 concrete actions/projects, which are supposed to be realized by 2015 (therefore the name 15 by 15). The actions will provide additional impetus to the foundation of the Zuidas. The projects range from the creation of 1000 dwellings, 50 new international companies to public space. The ZIPs can be used as guidelines in further developing the appropriate actions.

According to the Zuidas project office, “Zuidas Amsterdam and its partners have therefore established a supplementary programme for the coming five years, known as ‘15 by 15’. It sets out fifteen interim projects to be implemented by the year 2015, preferably with the support and assistance of our various stakeholders. These projects are intended to enhance the vitality of the district.” (www.zuidas.nl, 14/04/2012). The key words introduced with this initiative are: Amsterdam Qualities, International, Ambitious and Vibrant. Dijckmeester\(^{127}\) states, “the 15 by 15 is having events, having happy people ... it is not about the dock, that’s our big business, off course it goes on, and that is also very important... but the 15 by 15 is another approach... how to create new environments...That is the revolution.”

The fifteen additional project and objectives that are to be achieved by 2015 (http://www.zuidas.nl/, 14/04/2012) As stated in the Zuidas project site, they are:

1. Zuidas will actively seek out a further fifty international companies wishing to relocate to Zuidas, with a view to strengthening the international character of the district yet further.
2. Amsterdam Zuid Station will be upgraded to make it even more attractive and recognizable as a national and international transport hub. It will have new retail outlets, more bicycle storage facilities, dynamic travel information and increased transfer capacity.
3. Zuidas is to develop five new street kiosks in a contemporary style, to establish a new standard for the vitality of the district.
4. Zuidas will press ahead with the development of one thousand new housing units (500 permanent homes and 500 temporary student accommodation units) to promote synergy between the business and residential functions.
5. Zuidas will promote Mahlerplein as a location for attractive public amenities in order to create an even more pleasant setting for residents and visitors. Close attention will be devoted to the public areas, including their trees and greenery.
6. New, vital functions will be introduced to all existing buildings in the district, on either a temporary or permanent basis. They may include a sports/dance centre, flexible workstations and a nightclub.
7. Zuidas devotes particular attention to sustainability and flexibility. Buildings must be readily adaptable to meet future requirements without excessive modification costs.

\(^{127}\) Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.
8. Zuidas wishes to exploit the district’s potential as a venue for major public events. We have the space and we enjoy excellent accessibility. An extremely varied annual programme is to be devised, with everything from a marathon to a circus and a cycling race to concerts.

9. Initiatives to promote social interaction will be encouraged: football matches shown on large screens, Tai Chi on the square and free WiFi in the park area are just a few of the current ideas.

10. Various arts and cultural events will be organized as the development progresses. Zuidas and the Virtual Museum will facilitate the use of areas for exhibitions and similar events.

11. Zuidas will establish clear connections with the nearby recreational areas such as the Nieuwe Meer, Amsterdamse Bos and the river Amstel, facilitating their use by walkers, runners and cyclists.

12. Beatrixpark is to be upgraded to offer users a location with its own special atmosphere. There are plans for garden areas and a teahouse.

13. Zuidas will ensure that the ongoing construction work causes as little inconvenience as possible. Visual impact can be reduced through the use of new resources such as public art, while agreements will be made with contractors regarding routing, road closures, site management and communication.

14. A new partnership is to be established with a view to increasing vitality by ensuring that best possible use is made of the street-level sections of large buildings. Investors, developers and property agents will be invited to help produce an action plan.

15. The quality of the district is to be greatly enhanced by moving the A10 highway underground, specifically by reducing noise nuisance. It is hoped that work will begin before 2015.

Zuidas Integrated Placemaking Strategy ZIPS- Emergent strategy (2010-2011)

The Zuidas Integrated Placemaking Strategy (ZIPS) is (as mentioned before) the result of a consultation and cooperation with various parties, which took place between June 2010 and February 2011. The parties involved are Project office Zuidas, DRO (Amsterdam’s planning department), ARUP and DIVV (Department of Traffic and Transport Infrastructure) (Zuidas et al., 2011). The ZIPS is focused on the near future (2015) and concurs with the overarching principles of the Zuidas Vision document of 2009. The ZIPS is not mandatory but is a regulatory tool for controlling the process for the design of a meaningful and sustainable Zuidas. It is an instrument that is used to achieve an integrated design. The attention of the ZIPS focuses on specific areas, “focus areas” that are subject to change, these areas will serve as an example for further application of these strategies in the Zuidas. According to the ZIPS document (Zuidas et al., 2011) while preparing the ZIPS it became clear that to secure a “placemaking”, a strategy will be required so that the non-physical strategies could also be developed further. This applies to the socio-cultural aspect of the programme (what people want for the Zuidas, live, work, exercise, and use of facilities, etc.) and movement of people across the area (flows of individuals).

According to this document (Zuidas et al., 2011) the Zuidas is to develop into a rich, authentic and meaningful place, and for that is it necessary for sometimes conflicting components to reconcile. The many forces in the “game” must be brought together in a clear and honest vision, meaning that there must be made room to answer to any unexpected elements characteristic of the dynamic nature of a city. The Integrated Zuidas Placemaking Strategy puts down a strategy that provides insight into the possibilities of the Zuidas as a whole, combined with the development of the Zuidas in specific areas with their own characteristics. In other words, it is an approach to provide guidance in the area in its entirety, for example the completing of the framework for further development of public space in conjunction with the realization of projects within subareas. The planning and urban cohesion within the Zuidas and the relationship it has with the objectives of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is also important. It therefore has its focus on the large and small-scale initiatives.

The Zuidas Integrated Placemaking Strategy (ZIPS) is a way of thinking that focuses on the interplay between, on one hand having a clear vision for the future and on the other being ready for unexpected current dynamic changes. The ZIPS therefore emphasizes on a long-term strategy while it stresses the need for shorter-term strategies capable of responding to change (therefore the focus on 2015). As a result, the Zips describe wide area strategies and design principles to be applied on the “focus areas”. The area strategies cover the spatial components of the Zuidas, and the design principles provide general guidelines (fig. 70).
2012

Hello Zuidas- Initiative

Hello Zuidas (2012) is professional management organization, intended to make the Zuidas accessible, lively, clean and safe. It is an initiative of ABN AMRO, Accenture, Amsterdam RAI, Gemeente Amsterdam (Zuidas Amsterdam and Stadsdeel Zuid), Loyens & Loeff, ORAM, Royal Zuid (Bouwfonds, Eigen Haard and ERA Contour), Verkeer Advies, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, World Trade Centre Amsterdam and Zuidschans (AM, Amvest and Bouwfonds) (http://www.hellozuidas.com/, 14/04/2012).

The focus points of HELLO ZUIDAS are:

- Clean, complete and safe
- Accessibility and mobility
- Liveliness
- Sustainability as a pre-requisite

Grobbe\textsuperscript{128} states, “Well we set up Hello Zuidas which you have heard of and that is actually the next step, the next step which means that while this whole area is being reconstructed, the road will go underground and people will stop being over there. So we have a lot of construction going on here. In the whole period this area should be safe, clean, it should be accessible ... It should be developed sustainable; it should be lively and obtaining. As all those things will have to continue while it is being reshaped.

\textsuperscript{128} Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.
**Added value**

As a result of the interviews and although there were diverging opinions, two lists (table 20) are introduced to report on the finding of what the respondents find as the added value of the Zuidas to Amsterdam, and the added value of Amsterdam to the Zuidas.

**Table 20: Added value according to the respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADDED VALUE</th>
<th>Zuidas to Amsterdam</th>
<th>Amsterdam to Zuidas</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Infrastructure</td>
<td>• RAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Station</td>
<td>• University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Culture of innovation</td>
<td>• Historic centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Spin off</td>
<td>• Human capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• City of now</td>
<td>• Infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Contemporary city</td>
<td>• Schiphol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Global orientation</td>
<td>• Tax situation, fiscal climate for companies to set up their headquarters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Important role in international network which reinforces the relationship with</td>
<td>• Good schooling system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Schiphol</td>
<td>• Attractive housing market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Metropolitan city with a human scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Identity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conclusion**

This chapter of the research focuses on the marketing and image management activities this development endured through the established time line. The marketing of this development (intended for specific audiences with diverse needs and interests) has had a strategic dynamic approach to be able to accommodate the context changes. A large-scale development like the Zuidas has experienced periods of intense growth (prior to 2008) and periods of decline (with the current lack of investment). It has been subject to internal and external forces, the first can be characterized by the strains felt on the infrastructure development and the second by leadership power shifts, financial crisis and the real estate fraud. This study has shown that there are no quick solutions for a place marketing strategy to achieve success. To be able to respond to certain external factors contingency plans need to be formulated.

The development in the beginning (before 2008) seemed sure of its success, and marketed itself as a high-density area and high-end office hub, the most ambitious and innovative in the Netherlands. The intended high density with mix use was not realized by 2009 (and 2012), and as such the marketing of the Zuidas after 2008, focused more in the connections of the development with the surroundings, as Schiphol and the city centre of Amsterdam, while emphasizing the fact that is was aiming at achieving a sustainable mix-use development. Today the marketing of the Zuidas focuses on the boost to accessibility (result of the latest agreement on the dock model project), represented by marketing the station as the heart of the development. As a result its image marketing keeps changing to accommodate the new messages. Although it is quite difficult to measure to which extend this market strategies were a success because the time line only incorporates fourteen years, some results of the marketing can already be considered as realized strategies, the first is the Zuidas being considered the epicentre of Dutch National Economy and the second that it is highly connected with international networks which are facilitated by the relationship with Schiphol. This development was also able to accomplish to have systematic place marketing with sufficient organizing capacity (through the Project Office Zuidas).
The figure below (fig. 72) summarizes the analysis of the processes and strategies this development went through.

Figure 72: Findings on marketing strategy, context, actors and programme inserted in research design

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**Context**

- Ziel is an urban centre with mixed use (2001)
- High value for market parties with international real estate
- Infrastructure and urban project - Real estate development, associated policy

**Actors**

- Ziel as a public-private partnership
- Public-private sector
- Financial institutions with expectation in development and infrastructure

**Programme**

- 2006: Mainly business, 25% residential
- 2008: Mainly business, 25% residential
- 2012: 30% offices, 40% housing, 25% amenities
- Involvement of large number of financial institutions

**Marketing Strategy**

- High density in line with land use
- Focus on the development of the site, improving the main road of the Zuidas as an arterial road
- High cost of development

**External factors & Realized Strategy**

- Real estate development
- Real estate development
- Real estate development

**Process**

- 1998: Real estate development
- 2004: Real estate development
- 2008: Real estate development
- 2011/2012: Real estate development

**Time-line**

- Unrealized strategy
- Deliberate strategy
- Realized strategy

**Governance Discourse**

- Economic Entrepreneurism
- Economic Entrepreneurism & Welfare planning

**Images**

- Images

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According to Mintzberg and Waters (1985, p. 258) to accomplish a realized strategy exactly as intended at least three conditions would have to be satisfied (see section 4.3). In this case the intended strategy is the initial marketing strategy of 2004: (1) High density, intensive land use, (2) Exposing the South side of the development as attractive (3) High end office hub, the most ambitious and innovative in the Netherlands. Positioning the findings accordingly, the analyses reveals that:

1. The organization (Project Office Zuidas) intentions on the marketing strategy existed and were precise; it was communicated at a concrete level of detail on its Vision documents of 2004 and 2009, so there are no doubts about its intentions. The condition is satisfied.
2. The parties involved in marketing this development shared the intentions during the time line analyzed. The Project Office and the Amsterdam Planning department (DRO) were responsible for the Vision documents (in the latest ARUP collaborated). The condition is satisfied.
3. External factors, as context variables interfered with the intended strategy. The result of this context changes was a lack of investment from private players and as such the intended density was not realized. This provoked a shift in the marketing strategies from promoting a big real estate development on top of the dock to just an infrastructural project. This condition was not satisfied. But the condition is satisfied for exposing the south side of the development as attractive, and for creating an image of high-end office hub.

Mainly because the economy was and is in a downturn, the expected programme for 2009 was not accomplished, and as such the images representing this intended programme also had to change. Two emergent strategies came to be in 2010-2011 such as, the 15 by 15 and the Zuidas integrated place-making strategy (ZIPS). These emergent strategies are not perfectly emergent as they have an intention of its own behind. The results of both of these emergent strategies can be measured in 2015, as it is the target the Zuidas project office and the Amsterdam’s planning department established for it.

After the study and analysis elaborated in this chapter the sub-research question can be answered. The question is: How are marketing strategies implemented and validated (in the large-scale development Zuidas), throughout different periods in time?

According to Kotler (1993, p. 80) strategic market planning can be carried out in various ways and the way chosen for the Zuidas was the creation of a single government department that conducts the strategic planning functions, the Project Office Zuidas. The Zuidas Office Project is constantly trying to improve the visibility of this development through the creation of a character for this development, a “sense of place”. This in its own terms has reflected how decision-making has affected the place’s development. To deal intelligently with context changes and be successful, place marketing needs to combine both strategic and operational skills, and what the findings expose is that the responsible for the place marketing of this development is reacting to the context variables, and as such transforming their message through the process to accommodate such changes.

The strategic market planning process moves trough five stages, such as place audit, visions and goals, strategy formulation, action plan and implementation and control (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 81). Starting with the place audit, the Zuidas collaborating with external companies like ARUP, has diagnosed the area by studying the threats and opportunities. Furthermore, it elaborated its visions and goals in the Vision documents 2004 and 2009 based on a realistic assessment of the area values, resources and opportunities. Here the project Zuidas together with the Amsterdam’s planning department (DRO) expose their ambitions and create an image and an identity for this development. The study found some difference between both Visions, which were in alignment with the changes in the context variables the development endured. The strategic formulation and action plan can also be observed in the Vision documents, although there is an adaptation in the image management of the Vision 2009 when compared to the one of 2004, the goal and ambitions formulated were not so different as both focused on a distant future. More recently (2010-2011) the Project Office Zuidas has developed a plan of action involving several intermediate stages of investment and transformation. The Zuidas is changing its strategy and is no longer only a development that will be completed in the future but it is also a development that exists today. These strategies become clearer in documents
as the ‘15 by 15’ pamphlet, where 15 actions/projects that are to be achieved by 2015 are formulated and by the ‘Zuidas Integrated Place-Marketing Strategy’ (ZIPS) document. Implementation and control is also established in the ZIPS. The ZIPS are the result of consultation and cooperation between various parties (Project Office Zuidas, Amsterdam’s planning department, ARUP and the DIVV). This document is a regulatory tool for controlling the process for the design of a meaningful and sustainable Zuidas although only for a near future (2015).

According to Kotler (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 149-150) the guidelines for designing a place’s image are: (1) it must be valid, (2) it must be believable, (3) it must be simple, (4) it must have appeal and (5) it must be distinctive. The Project Office Zuidas seems to follow the same principles, Although, concerning validity, there are gaps between the physical outcome and the images created, which introduces a challenge for the place marketing of this development. The tools the Zuidas used to communicate these images were (1) slogans as “Het nieuw Amsterdam”, “A world class location” and “Hello Zuidas. (2) Image positioning, as it places itself regionally, nationally and internationally as a high-end office hub, the most ambitious and innovative in the Netherlands, (3) clear messages to facilitate the understanding of the intended target audiences (4) visual symbols, as the iconic architectural towers by renowned architects and (5) events as the Zuidas run and outdoors cinema (amongst others). By doing all this, the Zuidas is validating and implementing the Zuidas’s values and image so that the potential target groups are fully aware of the place’s distinctive advantages.
5.5 Critical success factors

Besides analysing the 4 embedded units of analysis, this research wants to take a step forward by studying the critical success factors of this development to be able to complement and interconnect the four units of analysis and give and answer to the research question: “How can the same decision and strategy making processes of the Zuidas, be adapted to brand other large-scale developments?”. This section (5.5) introduces an analysis that deepens and launches the research into the future realm for this large-scale development. The findings of the empirical research on the four units of analysis (context, actors, programme and marketing strategies) are linked and analysed in the context of success and failure in order to understand how the Zuidas related to the three success factors (trust, leadership and image change) and consequently reproduce (or not) these processes to achieve success in other large scale developments.

Hobma’s three level of success and failure (Hobma, 2011, p. 219-234) are the theoretical base for this analysis. In the previous sections of this chapter the context variables and the necessary conditions to achieve success or failure (see section 4.3) were analysed within the study of the four units of analysis: context, actors, programme and marketing strategies. But the players of this development cannot influence the context variables: Economic climate, political climate, cultural background, demographics and changes in legislation and regulation, which are also quite bounded to the universe in which the project operates. Concerning the necessary conditions for success: project scope, economic feasibility and unambiguous marketing, these can vary from project to project. The focus of section lies on the critical success factors, trust, leadership and image change as they have extreme influence on the success or failure of the Zuidas and can be translated into other developments. These three factors are relatively difficult for the actors to influence but represent the aptitude and proficiency of a location to take the respective factor into consideration (Hobma, 2011, p. 219-234).

According to Klomp, “The old measure of success was how much this can bring for the city, and the city earned lot of money on the Zuidas, that success was already there, but that is not enough, it is not what a city is for”. Majoor states, “ Its future success relies on the major players’ capacity to steer, finance and give life to a complex and risky project”. As a reaction to Klomps and Majoor’s comments, profit and steering by themselves do not do not ensure success, and moreover are not critical success factors. Financial revenues as in economic feasibility, can be a necessary condition to ensure success or the inexistence of them failure. The success in Majoor’s quote is more related to the critical success factor, leadership. Critical success factors are areas of activity that should receive constant attention and management and are also areas in which a good performance is necessary to ensure the attainment of goals (Vink, 2009). While performing the document analysis the researcher was still lacking information about the critical success factors, as the Vision documents mainly approached the necessary conditions for this development to achieve success. To understand which were the critical success factors of this development, the interviews were thought fundamental. But when analysing the results, the responses did not incorporate one of the three critical success factors analysed in this research and mainly focused on the context variables and necessary conditions. The critical success factor that was amply mentioned was image change, mainly by incorporating more innovativeness and flexibility in the development, or pointing out that the image of the station as the heart of the Zuidas is now part of the current place marketing strategy. These results of the analysis on the interviews are introduced in the table below (table 21).

129 Personal interview with Pieter Klomp on 20/02/2012. Klomp is an Urban Designer at the Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening van Amsterdam (Planning Department of Amsterdam) and was a Project Leader for the Zuidas project between 2007/ 2012 (5 years).

130 Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
Table 21: Critical success factors according to the 14 respondent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Success &amp; Failure</th>
<th>Context variables</th>
<th>Necessary conditions</th>
<th>Critical Success Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic climate</td>
<td>Development in the service sector</td>
<td>In terms of growth of Schiphol and KLM and is also air France (Air france owns KLM now)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political climate</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture Background</td>
<td>Cultural Background</td>
<td>Stopping Islamofobic atmosphere</td>
<td>Open attitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Change in legislation and regulation</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Project scope</td>
<td>Schiphol</td>
<td>Becoming part of Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic feasibility</td>
<td>Economic feasibility</td>
<td>For the dokmodel</td>
<td>For density</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unambiguous marketing</td>
<td>Unambiguous marketing</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>Fresh leadership</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Image Change</td>
<td>Mix use</td>
<td>Amsterdam being well known place for innovation and an interesting area for managers, entrepreneurs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legenda:

- **Contradicting opinions about this necessary condition, some respondents did not see this project as necessary for the success of the development.**
- **No available answer**

In the results, the dock model factor is the one that within the public, private sectors is in both spectrums of the possible results. Some respondents (in both sectors) don’t agree that the dock model is a necessary condition, while some do. Huigh\(^{131}\) does not see it as necessary to achieve success, while Dijckmeester \(^{132}\) (to name one), sees in it the possibility to develop more housing and hence equilibrate the programme ratios between housing and offices.

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\(^{131}\) Personal interview with Christiaan Huig on 21/03/2012. Huig is the managing director of the WTC (World trade Centre).
In order to analyse the importance of the critical success factors in the process of the Zuidas, two periods of time were chosen, 2004 and 2012 as it covers the main process of this development. Each success factor is evaluated according to four dimensions, (see section 4.3): organizing capacity, presence of substance, strategic utilization and follow up (Rainisto, 2003/4, p. 228-230). The critical success factors were analysed with the fix presupposes that the presence of this success factor (being a high value of the variable in question) promotes success and the absence of the same factor (or a low value of the corresponding dimension) will endorse failure. This meaning that there is a range within which the value tends on one extreme to associate with success on the other associate to failure (Wigmans et al., 2011, p. 229-234). The values defined are high and low in order to give a constant to the evaluation, as for example in trust, the private is a value and the public as well but these are not repeated together in leadership and image change, this to say that the critical success factors are valued twice. Not all the values within the four dimensions analysed have to be high to endorse the overall success of the critical success factor. For methodological reasons the critical success factors will be evaluated with the presuppose that majority of the dimensions needs to have the high value in order for the critical success factor to ensure success and not failure.

**Trust**

Trust can be demonstrated by the successful development of a strategic process. It can be established at personal level and as a long-term professional commitment (Wigmans et al., 2011, p. 230). Urban area development presupposes some degree of partnership between the public and private parties involved, and being the Zuidas such a politicized development with so many players, the analysis of this factor will focus on the latest (long-term professional commitment). Figure 73 illustrates the analysis of this critical success factor.

Figure 73: Analysis of the critical success factor: Trust

Considering the private value attached to the public-private partnership initiative, the organized capacity of the public parties made it possible to initiate a dialogue concerning the participation of the private parties in this large scale development. There was presence of substance represented by the dock model project, and it was strategically intended to have as an outcome the division of risks, responsibilities and benefits. Through the interview findings, it was mentioned that there was no willingness to cooperate between the parties, as there was no clarity on the risk allocation. Also there was the presence of some bias, as private parties seemed to think that the public sector is not as well informed about the market conditions as the private. Furthermore the private parties, which were mainly banks, are competitors within themselves, which may have created strenuous relationships. Stereotypes seem not to have been avoided, which added tension to the trust levels in this intended coalition of public and private parties. The intended interdependence, where the parties in this network were intended to be dependent on each other and cooperate in order to create added value, did not go through. In 2012 the results of the failed public private partnership are obvious as it is left only to the public parties to take the risk, not as a choice but as a consequence. As a presence of substance there an agreement was made between the Dutch National government, City of Amsterdam,

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132 Personal interview with Robert Dijkmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijkmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.
the Stadsregio Amsterdam and the Province of Noord-Holland to invest in the dock model but only in the infrastructure. These parties are the liable ones for the risks connected with this project. Strategically for the Zuidas, as there is demand for better infrastructure in the region, the city of Amsterdam got the other tiers of Dutch governance collaborate in the financing of the tunnel.

Majoor\textsuperscript{133} states, “Their relationship with the national government was generally speaking very poor all the time. Well, but they needed the national government for this dock model ... so they needed some sort of other approach... the national government didn’t think that this piece of road and rail infrastructure was too important... now they reframe this as part of the corridor Schiphol-Amsterdam-Almere which is sort of the economic back bone for the north wing of the Randstad, and well, the current government is much more focused on solving the infrastructure problems, and traffic jams... So they put a lot of money in this. And now suddenly, in a way suddenly, the south axis is in the middle of this corridor”. When talking about the new agreement and current economic climate in the Netherlands, Grobbe\textsuperscript{134} points out, “but in the budget cuts this 1.4 billion is taken to account as well. I don’t know, it could well be that they postpone it”. As observed, lack of confidence between the public and private parties involved in this process resulted in strong resistance for the dock model project. Private parties were unwilling to sign up to the demands of mutual collaboration in order to realize the intended “common goal”. As such, there was no commitment to a long-term relationship between the parties (no follow up). From the findings of this research a speculation is formed that also between the public parties involved, the relationship is strenuous as are the levels of confidence in this investment. As a result of the banking crisis, the failing of the PPP, the spoiled attitude of the Zuidas parties in the beginning (before 2008) and the current political Dutch climate (to mention a few), participants seem to end up more mistrustful with each other than before and as such this critical success factor trust has a low value.

\textbf{Leadership}

Leadership can be individualized, being the leader one person, or it can be collective. When talking about an individualized leadership Hobma introduces John Kingdom’s term ‘policy entrepreneur’, “he is a person that by virtue of his authority, persistence and tenacity can bring together policy stream, the political stream and the problem stream” (Hobma, 2011, p. 231). Leadership can be considered the most critical challenge in place development and place marketing as marketing leadership means, the holistic capability of the place management to conduct the complex process, form the right strategies and obtain the organizing power (Rainisto, 2003/4, p. 84-87). Leadership is here analysed (fig. 74) as the ability of the city government to steer the urban development process.

\textbf{Figure 74: Analysis of the critical success factor: Leadership}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure74.png}
\caption{Analysis of the critical success factor: Leadership}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{133} Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.

\textsuperscript{134} Personal interview with Douglas Grobbe on 23/03/2012. Grobbe is the Managing Director of ABN Amro.
In both periods of the process (2004 and 2012) there were two distinct leadership styles. At the governmental level in 2004, Minister Zalm (finance) was very interested in financing public works through private money and was an influencing promoter of the intended PPP. Concerning Project office Zuidas, the director of the Project office Zuidas, Jan Stoutenbeek also shared this governance discourse of economic entrepreneurialism. As such a synergy between the public and private parties was initiated. The strategic utilization of this leadership embodied an innovative way of financing, as it was intended to obtain the division of risks between the parties in pursuit of economic feasibility.

As mentioned previously (see section 4.1) Majoor\textsuperscript{135} stated, “fresh leadership comes to cope with the situation where there was no automatic demand for offices or expensive apartments, where they really had to rethink their strategy and also where they had to rethink their discussions with the national government”.

As a response to the external factors, the financial crisis, banking crisis and the fall of the strategic utilization of the public-private partnership, in 2009 a fresh leadership emerges with a new representative on behalf of the government (D.J. van den Bergh) and a new director of the project office Zuidas (K.W. de Boer). The first organized the project of the dock model into manageable units of analysis, strategically utilizing them to create feasible options for the accomplishment of the dock model project. The second, de Boer is a sort of ‘policy entrepreneur’, and introduces a new approach to planning the development by including a welfare planning discourse of governance, intended at creating a new image (more connected to the city) for this development. In both periods there was organizing capacity, presence of substance, strategic utilization, and follow up, which means the distinct leaderships presented a strategy supporting action plans. As such the steering of the project in both periods has a value of high. As there was the capacity to react to change, accommodating the demands created by the context variables, which are still being followed through, the overall value for the critical success factor leadership is high.

\textbf{Image change}

The image of a place is a result of complex long-term activities. After diagnosing the existing image of this large-scale development it is possible to support, modify or change the place’s image. Image change is as such, a critical success factor in the transformation of a site (Hobma, 2011, p. 232). This critical factor is of interest to this research as place marketing can promote the whole development through images associated with it and adapt them through time to make it more attractive to the intended target audiences. A place’s image is the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that represent a simplification of a large number of associations and pieces of information connected with the place (Kotler et al., 1999). Most images of this development are simplifications of reality that reflected general societal, cultural, economic and political changes. Image change here will be valued according to its capacity to accommodate change.

\textbf{Figure 75: Analysis of the critical success factor: Image change}

\textsuperscript{135}Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
The Project Office Zuidas has been and it is still today the responsible for marketing the Zuidas, as such it has the organizing capacity, with the collaboration of the Amsterdam’s planning department (DRO) and ARUP, to elaborate on its visions and goals through Vision documents, marketing pamphlets and Place-making strategic documents (ZIPS). In 2004 the strategic utilization of the 2004 Vision document (Amsterdam and Zuidas, 2004) was intended to illustrate a dynamic, high-end and well-connected office hub, focusing mainly on attracting office headquarters. The most common images were the ones of iconic buildings that were intended to enhance the prestige of the location. In 2012, the results of the image change are visible through the exposed images. As the context variables suffered changes and the governance discourse approached one of welfare planning. The 2009 Vision document (Amsterdam et al., 2009a), the Zuidas Integrated Place-making strategy (Zuidas et al., 2011) and the 15 by 15 pamphlet promote a more organic, more social, not focused on itself development that has the intention to connect more with the surroundings. It explores better sustainability and flexibility, as it introduces a Zuidas that already exists, not just a Zuidas for the future. By analysing the image change the findings suggest a capacity of reaction to change, able to accommodate the demands of the external factors through a metamorphosis in its images. This is still being followed through, as strategies emerge to respond to the demands of the current context. The image change has been adapted well through time, responding to change in the context variables and having the appropriate platforms in which to be communicated. As such the value for the critical success factor image change is an overall high.

After this analysis the sub-research question: ‘How can the same decision and strategy making processes of the Zuidas, be adapted to brand other large-scale developments?’ can be answered.

For other developments to adapt the lessons learnt from the Zuidas, the focus should lie on the analysis of its critical success factors, trust, leadership and image change. The study shows that the critical success factor trust has been poorly managed and as such, an identical process of decision and strategy making should not be reproduced, although lessons can be withdrawn from it. Lessons as: the relationships between parties are imbedded with strategic behaviour, and this can damage the trust towards the actor that practices it. This leads to a reliability paradox (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 92) where actors use strategic decision making for the process to run effectively. Their use without any reverse can make the other actors involved loose trust, and unreserved use of these strategies may harm their reliability. If this has been harmed the interaction with other may be hampered. Trust should not be overestimated, it needs time to build up and consistency to be maintained, it cannot just be assumed without question (Hobma, 2011, p. 231).

Concerning the critical success factor leadership, the nature of the leadership should be regarded first, be it organized horizontally as in a network or vertically as in an hierarchy, it is a factor that should be taken into consideration before trying to adapt a strategy or imitate a decision and strategy making process. The Zuidas project office, seems to have had Hobma’s ‘policy entrepreneur’ (2011, p. 231). De Boer\(^{136}\) represents a person with tenacity that is able to steer the project in uncertain times, and give confidence to the other actors involved. As Majoort\(^{137}\) mentioned, he introduced a fresh leadership. The analysis on this critical success factors leads to the speculation that, as a result of changing context variables, a shift in leadership is required.

The image change is a result of the changes of leadership discourse. It was verified by this research that images respond to contextual changes in a successful way (high value of the critical success factor), as the new images created do justice to the intended changes. The Zuidas changes the images in order to go from a mixed image, where there is a mix of negative and positive elements (as the current night liveability in the Zuidas area) to the desired positive image. Positive image represent a stage where the large scale development does no longer have the necessity to change its image, but can amplify it and extend it to a greater audience (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 35-36).

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\(^{136}\) K. W. de Boers if the Director of the project office Zuidas

\(^{137}\) Personal interview with Stan Majoort on 08/03/2012. Majoort is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
IV Conclusion

6. Conclusion & Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

Main research question

1. How are the marketing strategies for the Zuidas influenced by the governance processes and context changes?

The answer to this research question is based on the findings (fig. 76) of the fieldwork of this research in connection with the theoretical framework. To be able to understand the connections between marketing strategies, governance processes and context variables, it is important to separate the three dimensions of governance processes analytically. Governance refers to ‘collective action’ intended for public purposes, which are broader than the purposes of individual agents (Healey, 2007, p. 17). Governance activity is apprehended by analysts of public policy, as determined by and performed through a set of complex interactions, linking the domains of the state, the economy and civil society in varied ways (Healey, 2007, p. 17). According to Healey (2007, p. 21), Governance processes have three dimensions: networks, discourses and practices. Context is approached with the context variables of Hobma 138 (2011, p. 219-235), which are included together with necessary conditions and critical success factors in the success and failure levels of the governance processes of this large scale development.

Considering the dimension network in the governance processes, governance can be seen as a framework for steering networks, as it is the capacity to bring together and bind actors with divergent perspectives. It requires clear discourses, as a clear communication strategy (which goes beyond policy making) (Healey, 2007, p. 17-19). It is important to know the levels of connectivity between the network’s actors, as the influences exerted by it do not flow in a simple, linear way. This large-scale development often fell under criticism that close networks performed the decision-making processes in which certain projects were mostly decided upon and executed. The metropolitan realm in which the Zuidas is included is abundant with public and private actors, which express different visions and goals for the area. This multi-dimensional arena has experienced conflicts on various occasions, mainly concerning the dock model project, and its co-existence did not succeed in promoting new innovative ways of collaboration (parties being interdependent of one another through a public-private partnership). The intended governance practice (PPP) was organized as a coalition of interest around a particular issue in a particular area, being the particular issue the financing of infrastructure project with a real estate development in the Zuidas. Relating it to the levels of connectivity between networks of actors (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008), this one could be considered a close network of decision-making. This synergy between public and private parties had the intention to achieve a level of interdependence where the parties in this network would be dependent on each other and would cooperate in order to create added value. As a consequence they would reshape policy discourses that would change the practice and outcomes of governance action, but it did not go through. The dialogue between public (in the three-tier system of Government in

138 Fred Hobma is an Associate professor of Planning Law at TU Delft
the Netherlands) and private (mainly banks) parties, resulted in no collective action, mainly because of the external factors (as the financial crisis), of the high risk level that private parties did not agree to endure and because there was no willingness to collaborate. And as such the challenge for the city of Amsterdam (through the project office Zuidas) of organizing the connectivity between the different spheres of action still exists. A new coalition has been created, consequence of the failing of the PPP, and of an increase of demand for expansion of the infrastructure in the Randstad conurbation (external factor). The Dutch National government, City of Amsterdam, the Stadsregio Amsterdam and the Province of Noord-Holland reached an agreement on the Zuidas dock project on February of this year (2012) for the widening and tunnelling under of the A10 motorway and the expansion and modernization of the country’s fastest growing rail station, the station Zuid.

Concerning the governance discourses, it is important to understand how this development has been framed, as these frames provide the basis for identifying the strategic parameters that subsequently reshape the governance discourse. According to Healey (2007, p. 185) strategies have the power to ‘frame’ discourses and the capacity to transform action through the strong persuasion of their main concepts. Framing “is an organizing principle that transforms fragmentary information into a structured and meaningful whole” (Healey, 2007, p. 183).

In 2004 the Zuidas was going through very positive context variables; it was embedded in an economic growth climate, where everything seemed to be possible. The Zuidas represented a high voltage area for market activity with international headquarters and international oriented businesses. The Zuidas was framed according to a concept of new urbanity, combined with high-density development, which had a strong economic value. This line of thinking was in agreement with what the private sector also intended for the area, making it one of the strongest supporters for this new urbanity, which resulted in a conceptual programmatic mix-use ratios of 45% offices, 45% housing and 10% amenities. This mixture underlined the attenuation of the investment risks, as office developments can be often volatile but housing, at least in Amsterdam had been very stable. Although there was the intention to create a mix use within the programme, the discourse at the time led to the perceived and observed preference of transforming this location in an office hub, which would represent international and national headquarters. This introduces the other process of framing this development as a project of national economic importance and prestige (Majoors 2008, p. 82-83). The governance discourse present was one of economic entrepreneurialism, where the role of strategic planning is more inclusive and by nature more market oriented (Madanipour et al., 2001, p. 193-194). This development seemed (and still is) to be more market led than market oriented. The actors involved in the planning work can play an important role in the institutional design of systems and practices, and in the Zuidas, planners were serving as market actors, shaping and activating market activity. This discourse defends that strategic planning should be pro-active and should expedite marketing initiative by contributing to the growth of the economic infrastructure. As such the resulting marketing strategies of the Zuidas (elaborated by the Project Office Zuidas together with the Amsterdam Planning department) were focusing on high density and intensive land use, on a high-end office hub, the most ambitious and innovative in the Netherlands. These strategies were translated through images of an introspective and demanding nodal development, with iconic architectural symbols (lacking the ‘sense of place’).

By 2009 many external factors such as the real estate fraud (2005/06), financial crisis (2008) and the subsequent banking crisis (where ABN Amro had to be saved by the state) had interfered with the decision and strategy making of the Zuidas. The context variables (mainly the economic and political climate) had changed. Furthermore, the private players were no longer involved with the dock model project. The growth of the Zuidas was consequently stalled. Notwithstanding, the vision document of 2009 (Amsterdam et al., 2009b) still promotes the Zuidas as a high voltage of marketing activity area, but transforms its image and programme to accommodate to contextual changes. The programmatic division has now the ambition to have similar ratios between offices, housing and public amenities (33.3%), which represents a bigger concern for socially shared facilities. The Zuidas starts reframing itself as a

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139 Personal interview with Hans de Sonnaville on 05/03/2012. De Sonnaville is the current academic director of ABC (Amsterdam Bright City).
140 Personal interview with Robert Dijckmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijckmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.
141 Personal interview with Stan Majoors on 08/03/2012. Majoors is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
sustainable development. Although still maintaining the economic entrepreneurialism discourse, it transitions towards the welfare planning discourse, represented by the shift from the intended privatization of the area towards transforming it into a part of the city of Amsterdam. This change was probably influenced by a leadership change on two levels. First, changing the direction of the Project Office Zuidas, K.W. de Boer as the new director. Second, by a new appointed representative on behalf of the government, which transformed the dock model project into more manageable units of analysis (fresh leadership as an emergent strategy).

The Welfare planning discourse stand for the dominant orientation in the Dutch strategic planning, in it there is an effort to unite a positive, proudly social-democratic agenda for planning, in which social ambitions, as integration and creation of employment are focus point in the plan for sustainable discourse (Madanipour et al., 2001, p. 193-194). The prime unit of discourse is then the city of Amsterdam. This new reframing generated new ways of thinking about certain issues and about new priorities and demands, and as such the marketing strategies had to adapt having as its main focus a better and bigger connection with the surroundings, the sustainability of the development and as a consequence its images become more mixed and urbanesque. As the intended programme targeted for 2009 was not achieved (unrealized strategy), the marketing strategies start covering (to a greater extend than offices) the housing segment. Furthermore the images of this development become more comprehensive and at the same time more flexible, showing different programmatic options, newer and varied possibilities for the future.

In 2012 the framing of the Zuidas is equivalent to the one of 2009, based on the sustainability of this development. At a more macro level it is trying to reorient the position of Amsterdam (and of the Netherlands) in the international networks, having the proximity and connectivity with Schiphol as the main added value. The governance discourses also continue the same although; the Project Office Zuidas tends (in the interviews) to give more emphasis to the welfare planning discourse. Notwithstanding, through its operational practices the economic entrepreneurialism discourse is represented with the same relevance as before. The context variables continue to interfere with the success and failure levels of this development as the political climate is instable and the economy continues in a downturn. Surpassing this, as already mentioned, the public parties reached an agreement on the dock model, which entailed the widening and tunnelling of the A10 leaving the station at ground level. This represents a total investment cost of 1.4 billion, and as such, there is still some unease concerning the realization of this project, as the National government intends to make extra cuts of 9 billion euros, to fight the deficit budget (The Economist, 2012). This agreement underlined the fact that the final risk taker of this complex project is the National government. Majoor pointed out that this project channels a considerable amount of public money and as such, this issues should be more explicit and more politicized, as in more publicly debated in order to achieve a more inclusive urban governance.

Programmatically this agreement is of high value for the Zuidas, as the noise and air nuisance will no longer be an obstacle for the development of housing. As for the programme ratios and the (approximately) 1.250.000 m2 of programme that was not achieved (unrealized strategy), the Project Office Zuidas together with the Amsterdam’s planning department (DRO), ARUP and the DIVV (department of traffic and transport infrastructure) launch the Zuidas Integrated Place-making Strategy (ZIPS) which is not mandatory but is a regulatory tool for controlling the process for the design of a meaningful and sustainable Zuidas (Zuidas et al., 2011). The ZIPS, by targeting result for 2015 (as does the 15 by 15 set of strategies) introduce a new frame for the Zuidas: the Zuidas is no longer a development for the future, it is already there, it already exists. To respond to context changes, to the necessary conditions to achieve success (as according to some respondents, the scope of the new agreement on the dock) marketing strategies have to co-evolve with values that give them validity, legitimacy and framing power (Healey, 2007, p. 31), and it is in this adaptation to the economic, political and social climate that it does so. The marketing strategies now cover the substantial boost to accessibility and quality of life in the key economic region, the Randstad. It positions the station as the key (the heart of the Zuidas) at the same time that it promotes a bigger connection with the existing institutions in the area such as, the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the RAI. But the Zuidas has yet to be deployed in a way to connect to a wider public, the common Amstelammer is yet to see the Zuidas as the place to be. Being aware of the cultural background of the area the images become more organic, more social oriented. And new emergent strategies

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142 Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
as the 15 by 15 try to encompass the necessary marketing strategy for a connection with a greater audience providing not one but 15 images that try to create a ‘sense of place’.

The third discourse introduce by Healey (Madanipour et al., 2001, p. 193-194) the discourse of cultural planning seems not to be included in the governance of this development. This discourse advocates that planning should be around the creation of a country as a region of variety, justifying it by the growth in society’s diversity and by the fact that this society can be seen as organized around various places, stressing the necessary analysis on the quality of the same. Although there is a search for the place’s qualities, the Zuidas has a target audience in the high end of the different spheres of society, it was and it is still high-end oriented.

How governance discourses operate, how they interact, are produced and diffused has its reflection in the development’s marketing strategies, as its strategies co-evolve in a setting that is the result of the context variables. The answer lays in the connection between all the units of analysis of this report (context, actors, programme and marketing strategies) in coordination with the values of the critical success factors (trust, leadership and image change). The marketing strategies to have lasting effect need to shift from the established frame of construction on to governance discourses and practices (Healey, 2007, p. 184). When the discourse is one of economic entrepreneurialism, the images on the marketing strategies are more introspective and more focused on the development itself. When the welfare planning discourse is introduced, albeit sharing with the discourse of economic entrepreneurialism, the images are more organic, more social and not focused only on the development but also on the qualities of the surroundings.
Sub-research questions

2. How are marketing strategies implemented and validated (in the large-scale development Zuidas), throughout different periods in time?

Strategy formation involves apprehending the wider significance of the surrounding environment, in which ideas, matters and tensions are generated. It depends on creative undertakings to visualize future possibilities (through its potentialities and constraints) and in the ability to position and give them meaning in the context (Healey, 2007, p. 192). Strategic market planning begins with the premise that the future is fundamentally uncertain. Its challenge is to design itself as a functional system that can absorb and accommodate change, and has the competency to adapt rapidly and successfully to threats and opportunities (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 80). Strategic market planning can be carried out in various ways and the way chosen for the Zuidas was the creation of a single government department that conducts the strategic planning functions with sufficient organizing capacity, the Project Office Zuidas. This department is responsible for finding solutions on how to promote, co-ordinate but also motivate various stakeholders and is constantly trying to improve the visibility of this development through the creation of a character for this development, a “sense of place”. Its objectives are then to express robust consensus by designing strategies rich and inclusive enough, so they become widely shared and accepted by their target audiences. But such strategies will always find constraints and opponents, and may well be put under pressure as context variables change. As such, to deal intelligently with context changes and be successful, place marketing needs to combine both strategic and operational skills. The findings of this research indicate that the responsible for the place marketing of this development is reacting to the context variables, and as such transforming their message through the process to accommodate such changes.

According to Kotler (1993, p. 81). The strategic market planning process develops within five stages, such as place audit, visions and goals, strategy formulation, action plan and implementation and control. Starting with the place audit, the Zuidas project office together with the planning department of the city of Amsterdam (DRO), collaborated with ARUP and together have diagnosed the area by studying the threats and opportunities. Furthermore, in the vision documents 2004 and 2009, based on a realistic assessment of the area values, resources and opportunities, the project Zuidas together with the Amsterdam’s planning department exposed their ambitions and created an image and an identity for this development. In the vision 2004 the Zuidas was marketed as a high-density area and high-end office hub, the most ambitious and innovative in the Netherlands. In the vision document of 2009 the focus lies on the connections of the development with the surroundings, as Schiphol and the city centre of Amsterdam, while emphasizing the sustainability of this mixed-use development. Furthermore, as a response to the changes in the context variables the development endured, there are differences on the image management of the Vision 2009 when compared to the one of 2004. The images on the vision 2004 are more introspective (focusing more within the developments boundaries) while the ones present in the vision 2009 document give emphasis to sustainability. Although there are differences in the goals and ambitions formulated in both visions, these are not so different as both documents focus on a distant future. As such, the strategic formulation and action plan can also be observed in the Vision documents.

More recently (2010-2011) the Project Office Zuidas has developed a plan of action involving several intermediate stages of investment and transformation. These stages become clearer in documents as the ‘15 by 15’ pamphlet, where 15 actions/projects that are to be achieved by 2015 are formulated; and by the ‘Zuidas Integrated Place-Marketing Strategy’ (ZIPS) document (see section 5.4). The empirical findings were not substantial to determine how to implement and control strategic market planning although there are some references to it in the ZIPS document. The ZIPS are the result of consultation and cooperation between various parties (Project Office Zuidas, Amsterdam’s planning department, ARUP and the DIVV). This document is a regulatory tool for controlling the process for the design of a meaningful and sustainable Zuidas although only for a near future (2015) (Zuidas et al., 2011, p. 3). The Zips connects with the spirit and ambition of the Zuidas Vision 2009 where the overarching principles for the future of
this development are stated together with the ambitions and desirable image situation for 2030. While concurring with the main principles of the Vision of 2009, the Zips focuses (as does the ‘15 by 15’) on a Zuidas for the present. A new Vision document will supposedly be released this year (2012), and thorough the research findings speculation can be made that this vision will focus on the boost to accessibility (result of the latest agreement on the dock model project), represented by marketing the station as the heart of the development and with its images being more organic (in the sense that they can more easily accommodate change by demonstrating an increase level of flexibility).

Although the image of a place is a result of complex long-term activities (Hobma, 2011, p. 232) the project office Zuidas is constantly trying to validate and implement the Zuidas’s values and image (with are subject to changes in context) so that the potential target groups are fully aware of the place’s distinctive advantages. As such, most images of this development are simplifications of reality that reflected general societal, cultural, economic and political changes. A place’s image is part of a complex construction that incorporates a sum of beliefs, views and impressions that represent a simplification of a large number of relations connected with the place (Kotler et al., 1999, p. 141). According to Kotler (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 149-150) the guidelines for designing a place’s image are: (1) it must be valid, (2) it must be believable, (3) It must be simple, (4) It must have appeal and (5) It must be distinctive. The Project Office Zuidas seems to follow the same principles, Although, concerning validity, there are gaps between the physical outcome and the images created, which introduces a challenge for the place marketing of this development. The tools the Zuidas used to communicate these images were (1) slogans as “Het niew Amsterdam”, “A world class location” and “Hello Zuidas. (2) Image positioning, as it places itself regionally, nationally and internationally as a high-end office hub, the most ambitious and innovative in the Netherlands, (3) clear discourses and images adapted to reach the intended target audiences (4) Visual symbols are an important asset for place marketing (Kotler et al., 1999, p. 153) as they have appeal and stay engraved in public minds, for that Zuidas has the iconic architectural towers by renowned architects and (5) events as the Zuidas run, outdoors concerts and cinema (amongst others).

As the time line analysed only incorporates fourteen years, it is quite difficult to control and measure to which extend the strategic market planning for the Zuidas was a success or a failure. Some marketing strategies can already be considered as realized strategies, as the Zuidas is considered the epicentre of Dutch National Economy and as it is viewed as being highly connected with international networks which are facilitated by the relationship with Schiphol.

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143 Personal interview with Hans van der Made on 05/04/2012. Van der Made is a Senior Urban Designer at the Amsterdam’s planning department (DRO).
3. How can the same decision and strategy making processes of the Zuidas, be adapted to brand other large-scale developments?

“In the context of city branding, cities seek to assume a positive image in order to realize symbolic and economic added value. With this added value of the ‘city brand’ they hope to reinforce the city’s position as a residence, business location or destination. Kavaratzis (2004) sees city branding as the next step in the development of city marketing.”(Braun, 2008, p. 36)

To adapt the lessons learned from the Zuidas in order to brand other large-scale developments, the emphases and focus lies on the three critical success factors, trust, leadership and image change as they had and have extreme influence on the success or failure levels of the decision and strategy making processes of the Zuidas (see section 5.5). These three factors are relatively difficult for the actors to influence but represent the aptitude and proficiency of a location to take the respective factor into consideration (Hobma, 2011, p. 219-234).

Trust is important to achieve organizational success and respond to the uncertainty and ambiguity of high complexity contexts. It allows for relationships to be maintained and promoted in complex environments as it enhances the ability to resolve conflict by helping to preserve and foster the necessary cooperation’s (Six, 2004, p. 1). Trust should not be overestimated, it needs time to build up and consistency to be maintained, it cannot just be assumed without question (Hobma, 2011, p. 231). Trust has been poorly managed in several decision-making processes of the Zuidas (mainly during the formation of the intended public-private partnership) (see section 5.5) and as such, an identical process of decision and strategy making should not be reproduced, although lessons can be withdrawn from it.

Lessons as: the relationships between parties are imbedded with strategic behaviour, and this can damage the trust towards the actor that practices it. This leads to a reliability paradox (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 92) where actors use strategic decision making for the process to run effectively. Their use without any reverse can make the other actors involved loose trust, and unreserved use of these strategies may harm their reliability. If this has been harmed the interaction with other may be hampered. If the strategy-making with its goals and ambitions would have been transparent and inclusive enough, trust between the parties could have been facilitated, and as such the willingness to take risks concerning the complex an innovative ways of financing (the dock model project) and its intended strategy of having interdependencies between public and private parties, could have had a different outcome.

Concerning the critical success factor leadership, the nature of the leadership should be regarded first, be it organized horizontally as in a network or vertically as in a hierarchy, it is a factor that should be taken into consideration before trying to adapt a strategy or imitate a decision or strategy making process. In recent years the leadership structure has been shifting away from a hierarchical, essential vertically organized to one of interdependences. According to Bruijn and Heuvelhof (2008, p.3) a network requires interdependencies to be dexterous and capable to accommodate change and having strong leaders with a top-down behaviour may deprive organizations of their proficiency and adaptiveness. The project office Zuidas, seems to have had two distinct types of leadership concerning the steering of networks. The first (before 2008) is represented by the director of the project office Zuidas, Jan Stoutenbeek. His strategic utilization of leadership embodied an innovative way of financing through an intended division of risks and benefits (in pursuit of economic feasibility) between the public and private parties. Majo144 has stated “The old director, whose name was Jan Stoutenbeek he was also there for a long time... in a way very successful in making sure that this project carried on in the way they foresaw, and it was a period when the project in its own term was very successful... he was quite a sort of narrow minded, focused project manager that was to complete the task and everything that was sort of disturbing he tried to push out.” As a consequence to the external factors, the financial crisis, banking crisis and the fall of the strategic utilization of the public-private partnership, this sort of intended

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144 Personal interview with Stan Majo on 08/03/2012. Majo is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
development path was put under question. But still Bergh\textsuperscript{145} adds, “they didn’t make a choice in the steering of the project, you can not steer and pay different, that is not a choice, and they discussed about the subject, but that didn’t touch the problem”. In the beginning of the development the qualities of leadership demanded were to initially develop a high ambition for the Zuidas. The Second (after 2008) is represented by the current director of project office Zuidas, Klaas de Boer. De Boer\textsuperscript{146} seems to embody Hobma’s ‘policy entrepreneur’ (2011, p. 231). He represents a person with tenacity that is able to steer the project in uncertain times, and give confidence to the other actors involved. As Majoort\textsuperscript{147} mentioned, he introduced a fresh leadership and with it a more open to dialogue attitude which leads to the assumption that a more horizontal and even-handed organization (within project office Zuidas and external coalitions) is created. The analysis on this critical success factor leads to the speculation that, as a result of changing context variables, a shift in leadership is required, although both leadership styles were considered successful in its own terms regarding the contextual environments of their time.

The image management of a large scale development is a real challenge as it is “the on-going process of researching perceptions (city images) among relevant audiences, making key decisions on the positioning of the city for its audiences, identifying strategic options for image improvement and develop a city image framework enabling to steer and coordinate the image improvement efforts undertaken at the level of customer groups and at city level” (Braun, 2008, p. 93). The image of a place is a result of complex long-term activities and the mental image held a place has become important for economic success and failure (Braun, 2008, p. 32). After diagnosing the existing image of this large scale development it is possible to support, modify or change the place’s image, image change is as a such, a critical success factor in the transformation of a site (Hobma, 2011, p. 232). It was verified by this research that image change is a result of the changes of leadership discourse and that images respond to contextual changes in a successful way (high value of the critical success factor), as the new images created do justice to the intended changes. The Zuidas changes the images in order to go from a mixed image, where there is a mix of negative and positive elements (as the current night liveability in the Zuidas area) to the desired positive image. Positive image represent a stage where the large scale development does no longer have the necessity to change its image, but can amplify it and extend it to a greater audience (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 35-36).

The Zuidas with its success and failure levels is a great case study for other large-scale developments, as it endured economic, political, social changes through its process of decision and strategy making.

\textsuperscript{145} Personal interview with Ruud Bergh on 29/02/2012. Bergh is currently the Managing director of SADC (Schiphol Area Development Company).

\textsuperscript{146} K. W. de Boer if the Director of the project office Zuidas

\textsuperscript{147} Personal interview with Stan Majoort on 08/03/2012. Majoort is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
Intended Strategy

**Context**
- Economic Entrepreneurialism

**Programme**
- Intended floorspace area (2009) 2,690,000 m²
- Total floorspace area (potential for the future) 4,280,000 m²

**Marketing Strategy**
- Intended floorspace area (2009) 2,690,000 m²
- Intended floorspace area (potential for the future) 4,280,000 m²

Unrealised Strategy

**Context**
- Economic Entrepreneurialism

**Programme**
- Intended floorspace area (2009) 2,690,000 m²
- Total floorspace area (potential for the future) 4,280,000 m²

**Marketing Strategy**
- Intended floorspace area (2009) 2,690,000 m²
- Intended floorspace area (potential for the future) 4,280,000 m²

Emergent Strategy

**Context**
- Economic Entrepreneurialism

**Programme**
- Intended floorspace area (2009) 2,690,000 m²
- Total floorspace area (potential for the future) 4,280,000 m²

**Marketing Strategy**
- Intended floorspace area (2009) 2,690,000 m²
- Intended floorspace area (potential for the future) 4,280,000 m²

Deliberate Strategy

**Context**
- Economic Entrepreneurialism

**Programme**
- Intended floorspace area (2009) 2,690,000 m²
- Total floorspace area (potential for the future) 4,280,000 m²

**Marketing Strategy**
- Intended floorspace area (2009) 2,690,000 m²
- Intended floorspace area (potential for the future) 4,280,000 m²

Realized Strategy

**Context**
- Economic Entrepreneurialism

**Programme**
- Intended floorspace area (2009) 2,690,000 m²
- Total floorspace area (potential for the future) 4,280,000 m²

**Marketing Strategy**
- Intended floorspace area (2009) 2,690,000 m²
- Intended floorspace area (potential for the future) 4,280,000 m²

Empirical findings match with theoretical propositions

- The Zuidas approach is the most important and decisive scheme for urban development, in order to respond to changes in society.
- The proposition lies in the strategy of the actors and program during time, with the interaction of emergent strategies, which are not yet planned or planned but are of great importance. As a result, we can conclude that the strategy of the actors and program during time is crucial for the success of the Zuidas project.
6.2 Propositions

In the section the findings of the empirical research are analysed vis-à-vis with the theoretical propositions.

Proposition I

Throughout its most important and decisive milestones, the Zuidas has adapted its marketing strategies in order to respond to changes in context.

A large-scale development like the Zuidas has experienced periods of intense growth (prior to 2008) and periods of decline (with the current lack of investment). This study has shown that there are no quick solutions for a place marketing strategy to achieve success but has indicated that there is space for a dynamic approach through the incorporation of changes and adaptations in these strategies (to respond to the context dynamics) (fig. 77). This development has had several milestones that allowed it to transform from a “peripheral centre” to the epicentre of Dutch national economy. In the Amsterdam city plan of 1981 the Zuidas was one of the “peripheral centres” and its strategic location between the airport and the city had not yet been acknowledged as a potential development area. Through the entire 1980s and 1990s, official planning documents were underlining the hierarchy of the core city (focusing more on its inner boundaries). But in 1998 the first masterplan for the Zuidas was approved representing a change in the embedded planning concepts of urban containment and territorial cities of the 90’s.

In 2004 another plan is produced which proposes the creation of an area with an urban essence, by building high density and mix use. This masterplan already had a real focus on the development of the dock (infrastructure project with a real estate development on top) as a declaration of intend to realize it (the dock) was agreed between the Municipality of Amsterdam and the National Government. This masterplan illustrated the city’s planning strategy through a demanding and rather introspective nodal development, which is essentially enclosed within the city’s pre-existing administrative boundaries and adjacent to the historic urban fabric. For the city government an important slogan for the project was created through the intensive land use, which was a policy goal that helped creating enthusiasm and political support for it\textsuperscript{148}. A process to set up a joint public-private Zuidas Development Corporation also started in 2004. The PPP intended for the Zuidas was organized as a coalition of interest around a particular issue in a particular area, being the particular issue the financing of infrastructure project with a real estate development in the Zuidas. The marketing strategies were in alignment with the intension to leverage the private sector resources to fulfill the public purposes. The Zuidas started to be marketed as a new urban centre and a nodal point of high voltage of market activity. The marketing strategies developed by the project office Zuidas were focusing on high density of land use, and exposing the development as the most ambitious and innovative high-end office hub of the Netherlands.

In 2008 the development was subject to internal and external forces, internal forces as the fall of the intended public-private partnership and external as the real estate fraud, the financial crisis and subsequent banking crisis. The Dutch economy was then in a downturn, as was the declaration sector. As a consequence the intended high-density mix use was not realized by 2009 (and is still not realized in 2012) and marketing strategies shifted its focus to the marketing of housing (which became as important as the offices) and to the connections of this development with the surroundings, as Schiphol and the city of Amsterdam. Due to the lack of investment and demand for the “huge number of volume they wanted to build”\textsuperscript{149}, the Zuidas was not portrayed anymore as an introspective nodal development, but as one that belonged to the city of Amsterdam. The project office Zuidas started marketing this development as more sustainable, mixed, and urbanesque.

Almost two decades later from the approval of the first masterplan, the planning department of the city of Amsterdam (DRO) is focusing on the internationalization of this southern flank, represented by “the expansion of

\textsuperscript{148} Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.

\textsuperscript{149} Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
Schiphol Airport, the development of Zuidas and the intensification of the residential and business areas in Amsterdam-South-East and Station-Zuid, at the heart of Zuidas” (DRO, 2011, p. 19). There is a demand for an infrastructure expansion between Amsterdam and the other municipalities of the Randstad and as such on the 9th of February of 2012, there was an improvement in the planning for the infrastructure project, which is meant to improve the accessibility of the Amsterdam Zuidas and the northern Randstad, in road and public transport. The marketing of the Zuidas focuses now on the boost to accessibility (result of the latest agreement on the Zuidas dock project, between The Dutch National government, City of Amsterdam, the Stadsregio Amsterdam and the Province of Noord-Holland), represented by marketing the station as the heart of the development.

The research indicates that the marketing strategies kept changing and adapting their messages in order to respond to context changes and as such the empirical findings match with the proposition “throughout its most important and decisive milestones, the Zuidas has adapted its marketing strategies in order to respond to changes in context”.

Figure 77: The influence of context dynamics on marketing strategies

**Figure 77**

**Context**

1. Zuidas as the main urban centre with mixed land use (2011)
2. High number of opportunities for businesses to experience the benefits of the Dock
3. The Dock is seen as an area of high economic growth
4. The Dock is seen as a location for innovation and creativity

**Marketing Strategy**

1. More connections with the surroundings, city sustainability development
2. Housing business as important as offices
3. More mixed and alternative

**Marketing Strategy**

1. Zuidas is a business and residential area
2. Zuidas is a place for innovation and creativity
3. Zuidas is a place for economic growth
4. Zuidas is a place for leisure and entertainment

**Marketing Strategy**

1. Zuidas is a place for business
2. Zuidas is a place for leisure
3. Zuidas is a place for cultural activities
4. Zuidas is a place for social events

**Marketing Strategy**

1. Zuidas is a place for business
2. Zuidas is a place for leisure
3. Zuidas is a place for cultural activities
4. Zuidas is a place for social events

**External factors**

1. High density in land use
2. High demand for business space
3. High demand for residential space
4. High demand for leisure space

**External factors**

1. High density in land use
2. High demand for business space
3. High demand for residential space
4. High demand for leisure space

**External factors**

1. High density in land use
2. High demand for business space
3. High demand for residential space
4. High demand for leisure space

**External factors**

1. High density in land use
2. High demand for business space
3. High demand for residential space
4. High demand for leisure space

**Process**

- Intended strategy
- Deliberate strategy
- Allocating
- Unrealized strategy
- Emerging strategy
- Unrealized strategy

**Time-line**


**Milestones**

1. The Masterplan Zuidas was approved
2. Zuidas was included in the national development plan
3. Zuidas was included in the regional development plan
4. Zuidas was included in the local development plan
5. Zuidas was included in the international development plan

**Theoretical proposition matches with the large scale development process**

1. The Zuidas throughout its most important and decisive milestones has adapted its marketing strategies in order to respond to changes in context.
Proposition II

Accelerations in the pace of the process do not depend, or at least not merely depend, upon a plan, deadlines and milestones, but in the threats and opportunities that emerge during the process. Instead of just implementing a plan, the city of Amsterdam (represented by project office Zuidas) was aware of the threats and opportunities and had competency to be adaptive: to grasp an opportunity and avoid the threats.

Until 2008 (when external factors, as the financial crisis and subsequent banking crisis happened) the city government had the idea that through this development it could create demand. This is backed up by some of the respondent’s comments that characterized the ambition of this development before the crisis as arrogant and spoiled. Dijckmeester\(^{150}\) has stated, “We were very spoiled because we never did a thing for... no acquisition”. Also by trying to be the most innovative in financing (with the intention to privatize the area through the sharing of the risks, costs and benefits), the city government was not able to avoid the complexity and the threats of trying to reach an agreement (PPP) with a different number of actors that mostly had different goals, interests (banks are competitors within themselves) and also different resources. For the city of Amsterdam (through the Project office Zuidas) to be able to steer this network in order to facilitate and create the conditions to bring and bind actors together (whom have different expertise and interests), clear discourses, communication strategies and collective action would be needed (Healey, 2007, p. 17-19).

But the results of the interviews show, that there were no clear and transparent discourses about the sharing of the risks and that both the design and the governance of the PPP were very complex. When commenting on this PPP Bruijn\(^{151}\) stated, “It has been interesting as a joke as only a theatre play. It is like these guys they are not going to tell each other their secrets. They will not give away any penny and euro... they wasted I think five years and after five years there was no more air left to escape”. Private parties were unwilling to sign up to the demands of mutual collaboration (risk sharing) in order to realize the intended “common goal” (the public and private financing of the dock model project) and as such, there was no commitment and no willingness to collaborate in a long-term relationship.

In retrospect, it can be easy to say that there was too much ambition (which is necessary in marketing) or that the participants were lacking some sort good reasoning when approaching the enormous desire to be the most innovative but also the most complex. Majoor\(^{152}\) states, “they really lacked some sort of common sense in a way; they always wanted to go for the most innovative, which is also, was explained to me when I was doing my research for my dissertation, was also a deliberated strategy ... but yes, they wasted a lot of time and money, and investigations in hind site of something that was way too complex”. Dijkmeester\(^{153}\) has another view to the fall of the PPP, he has stated, “ with the PPP we were really privatizing this area, it was almost done, we were creating an island, and by the crisis it is saved, it doesn’t matter how you call it, and now its totally opposite, our number one goal, off course, the most important it is to be the successful location, but, it must be Amsterdam”. Although one statement is not sufficient to describe a person’s opinion on such a broad and intricate issue, with this statement Dijkmeester puts sole responsibility of the failing of the PPP on the crisis, which this research indicates as one but surely not the only reason why the PPP did not go through. By mentioning the saving of the Zuidas (through the non privatization of the area) is a paradox, as it is known that before 2008 the project office Zuidas was a proponent of the intended PPP. As the context has changed the messages of the Project Office Zuidas change accordingly and again it seems it is not part of a strategy but a response to whatever the market dictates.

\(^{150}\) Personal interview with Robert Dijkmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijkmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.

\(^{151}\) Personal interview with Pi de Bruijn on 07/03/2012. Bruijn is a Partner at Architecten Cie and was appointed by the City of Amsterdam as masterplanner for project Zuidas from 1998 to 2007.

\(^{152}\) Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.

\(^{153}\) Personal interview with Robert Dijkmeester on 16/02/2012. Dijkmeester is the commercial director of the project office Zuidas Amsterdam.
The research indicates that, although emergent strategies (as a new sort of leadership), tried to respond to the threats of the new context realities they were a reaction and not a previously planned action to respond to a possible failure of the public-private partnership. The city of Amsterdam was overly optimistic and after no agreement was reached on the PPP “they didn’t really have much other alternatives”\textsuperscript{154}. The empirical findings indicate that there was no safeguard for threats like the downturn of the economy (more precisely of the service sector) and for a non-agreement on the intended public-private partnership. As such, the empirical findings do not match with the proposition “Accelerations in the pace of the process do not depend, or at least not merely depend, upon a plan, deadlines and milestones, but in the threats and opportunities that emerge during the process. Instead of just implementing a plan, the city of Amsterdam (represented by project office Zuidas) was aware of the threats and opportunities and had competency to be adaptive: to grasp an opportunity and avoid the threats”.

**Proposition III**

*The proposition lies in the change of the actors and programme during time, with the incorporation of emergent strategies and change the governance discourse, to answer to contextual changes and hence to manage the image of this development in different ways through time to be able to achieve success.*

The research findings indicate that leadership has a proactive role in the formation of competitive benefits as it represents the umbrella aspect to manage the processes concerning the development of the Zuidas. The change of actors during the development of this project led to the speculation that, as a result of changing context variables, a shift in leadership is required, although by itself it does not ensure the success of a decision making process. The justification of this proposition referring to the change of actors focuses on (a micro perspective), the people that work in this project. At the governmental level in 2004, Minister Zalm (finance) was very interested in financing public works through private money and was an influential promoter of the intended PPP. The director of the Project office Zuidas, Jan Stoutenbeek also shared this governance discourse of economic entrepreneurialism. The strategic utilization of this leadership embodied an innovative way of financing, as it was intended to obtain the division of risks and benefits between the parties in pursuit of economic feasibility. As a consequence to the external factors, the financial crisis, banking crisis and the fall of the strategic utilization of the public-private partnership, this sort of intended development path was put under question. There was a lot of criticism that the project was too much focused on itself. As a response a fresh leadership emerges (2009) with a new representative on behalf of the government (D.J. van den Bergh) and a new director of the project office Zuidas (K.W. de Boer). The first, organized the project of the dock model into manageable units of analysis, strategically utilizing them to create feasible options for the accomplishment of the dock model project. The second, de Boer is a sort of ‘policy entrepreneur’, one of his tasks was to get support and recognition for this project. Majoor\textsuperscript{155} states that this “fresh leadership comes to cope with the situation where there was no automatic demand for offices or expensive apartments, where they really had to rethink their strategy and also where they had to rethink their discussions with the national government”. While before (2008) the political climate encompassed a high degree of the public parties intervention in the market, represented by an economic entrepreneurialism governance discourse. With the change in economic context (2008/2009), the governance discourse started leading towards welfare planning, representing a shift from the privatization of the Zuidas, to the Zuidas being more connected to the city of Amsterdam.

Changes within the context variables also influence the programme. In 2004, when the development was dealing with a possible privatization, and was considered as having a high voltage of market activity its intended programme ratios were (with minor percentage variations) 45% for offices, 45% for housing and 10% for public amenities. In 2009, with the economic turmoil created by the financial crisis, the dock model project was put under question. With the fall of the PPP, the lack of investment and lack of demand for headquarters high-rise buildings, the Zuidas started promoting

\textsuperscript{154} Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.

\textsuperscript{155} Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
itself more as a sustainable and mix-use. It increased the important of public shared facilities and was marketed as more urbane. The project the ratios changed to an equal division between offices, dwelling and public amenities (approximately 33.3% each). The expected programme for 2009 was not realized, and as such the images representing this intended programme also had to change. Two emergent strategies came to be in 2010-2011 such as, the 15 by 15 and the Zuidas integrated place-making strategy (ZIP).

The image change is a result of the changes of governance discourses. It was verified by this research that images respond to contextual changes in a successful way, as the new images created do justice to the intended changes. When the economic entrepreneurialism discourse was preponderant (before 2008) the images were introspective, focusing only on the development and on its architectural symbols (high-rise iconic buildings). After 2008 the governance discourse shifts towards welfare planning (result of the context dynamics allied to a new style of leadership) the images of the Zuidas become more sustainable and flexible and introduce possible variants to the future of the development. Today (2012) images are even more organic, more social and illustrate not only the future but also the inherent qualities of a development that already exists.

The empirical findings (fig. 78) match with the proposition “the proposition lies in the change of the actors and programme during time, with the incorporation of emergent strategies and change the governance discourse, to answer to contextual changes and hence to manage the image of this development in different ways through time to be able to achieve success”.

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Marta Bastos | 4116429 | Master Real Estate & Housing | Faculty of Architecture | Technical University of Delft
### Figure 78: Programme and actors influence on the governance discourses and image management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CSF (Critical Success Factors)</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image change</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### CSF Overview
- **Context**: (1) Situated in a urban centre with mixed use (20%) (3) High sign-off of marketability and international reach (4) Integration of stakeholders and public (5) Integration of the 3 planning and policy processes (6) High profile development, Delft-West (2008)
- **Actors**: (1) Only the public parties would be involved in the decision (2) Public parties participate only in small limitations (3) Metaphor as a more important ally than before
- **Programme**: (1) Note: 1 million m² 2006 (2) Plan becomes more relevant in the composition of the area (3) 2006 Note: 1.350 m², 21% offices, 52% housing, 12% retail (4) Western part, needs to be urbanised, 94% freehold, 6% flatshare (5) Potential for 1.635 m², 21% offices, 72% housing, 12% retail (6) Development of 2.700 m²
- **External factors & Realized Strategy**: (1) Metallic (2) Ruby (3) Diamond (4) Planning is difficult (5) Need to be owned by the state
- **Realized Strategy**: (1) Metropolitan urban development (2) Conceptual planning and development (3) Metropolitan urban development (4) Conceptual planning and development

#### Time-line
- **1998**
  - **Unrealized strategy**
  - **Emergent strategy**
    - 12th floor plans
    - Agreement on block-model
    - Approval, 1.250 m² built by 2009
  - **Emergent Strategy**
    - 12th floor plans
    - Agreement on block-model
    - Approval, 1.250 m² built by 2009

#### Process
- **Intended strategy**
  - Economic Entrepreneurism & Welfare planning
  - Economic Entrepreneurism & Economic Entrepreneurism
  - Welfare planning & Economic Entrepreneurism

#### Governance Discourse
- Economic Entrepreneurism
  - More sustainable
  - More flexible through the possible choice of material/object
- Economic Entrepreneurism & Welfare planning
  - More sustainable
  - More flexible through the possible choice of material/object
- Welfare planning & Economic Entrepreneurism
  - More sustainable
  - More flexible through the possible choice of material/object

#### Theoretical proposition matches with the large scale development process
- (1) Accelerations in the pace of the process do not depend, at least not entirely, upon a plan, deadlines and milestones, but in the threats and opportunities that emerge during the process. Instead of post-investigating a plan, the city of Amsterdam (managed by project office 'Zustad') was aware of the threats and opportunities and had to compete to grasp an opportunity and avoid the threats.
6.3 Recommendations

For governance processes:

- To create conditions in which unambiguous decision-making can eventually advance by constantly adjusting and reconsolidating the organizing principles that structure the whole (framing).

When dealing with networks there is a high probability that the social constructions of actors become negotiable and as such the process of decision-making becomes more important than the content of the decisions, which in its own terms represents a lack of interest in the outcome. The decision-making should not represent a power game, as it did when the intended PPP was under negotiation. Unambiguous decision-making can be fostered by a more transparent and predictable process. In order to accomplish this, a phased and sequential decision-making and substantive problem analysis should be implemented (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 141-143). Decision making processes in a network should approach the democratic ideal, through “plurality, a decision is reached that reflects the variety of definitions of problems and solutions, and this decision has sufficient support” (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 143).

- To recognize emergent conditions and create strategies that accommodates them.

Problem perception of actors is fundamental, as the benefits of problem solving are less visible than its costs. According to Bruijn and Heuvelhof (2008, p. 62) ‘priming’ is a strategy which gives a better ‘covering power’ to the perception of a problem as it creates a context in which parties are sensible enough to perceive a particular problem. Through it actors can recognize the problem and have enough information and insight to accommodate strategies (emergent) that respond to them.

- To have leadership and trust as critical success factors in the process of decision and strategy making.

The Zuidas has had in several stages of its development the need to create partnerships and coalitions to be able to obtain financial resources, particularly when it comes to the financing dock model project. This dock model project created new challenges for the city of Amsterdam in the formulation of strategies and their appropriate implementation. These new challenges require good leadership qualities for the place’s management. With the intended public-private partnership formation before the financial crisis in 2008, private players (who had their own targets and interest in mind) were becoming stakeholders of this development. In this initial stage of the development the kind of leadership applied was one of ambition, with an introspective management focusing on the end goal, the financing of the dock model, which positioned this development as a high-end office hub. Majoor has stated “he was quite a sort of narrow minded, focused project manager that was to complete the task and everything that was sort of disturbing he tried to push out”. But these strategy, represented by an innovative way of financing the public works with private money did not respond to a common felt need among the key actors and strategic mobilization towards it was not achieve. In the second phase of the development (after 2008) new qualities of leadership emerge. Although a change in leadership by itself does not ensure the success of a decision and strategy making process, the change in discourse created leverage in the mobilization of political power through the creation of a coalition only among the public parties, which agreed on financing the infrastructure works for the dock. De Boer embodies Hobma’s ‘policy entrepreneur’ (2011, p. 231). He represents a person with charisma and tenacity that is able to steer

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156 Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
157 K. W. de Boers if the Director of the project office Zuidas
the project in uncertain times, and give confidence to the other actors involved. As “Leadership is a necessity, be it by way of specific competencies or the charisma of public or private individuals who successfully drive the project forward” (Wigmans et al., 2011, p. 60). Successful leadership qualities are quite difficult to pinpoint, but having this awareness on the foreground, this research suggests that in the initial phases of the development the leadership qualities should be more ambitious in order to position this development according to its goals and visions, and in a realization phase the leadership qualities should be more pragmatic to be able to respond, create and support strategies that respond to and accommodate context changes in order to keep the project going.

Trust must exist between the key players of the Zuidas in order to create a sound development strategy. The researcher speculates that in order to foster trust, the organizational context of the project office Zuidas towards other actors (and within its own organizational structure) must contain rules and resources that align the benefits of individual actor’s to the goals of the organization. It’s strategy should incorporate norms directed at avoiding opportunism; and moreover, the project office Zuidas has to give sufficient importance to its relationships and their maintenance which consequently will improve other individual in the relationship (Six, 2004, p. 16). Furthermore, as Human behaviour is goal directed (Six, 2004, p. 11), the background goals of project office Zuidas should be in alignment with the main goals, which should be transparent to all the key actors.

- More coordination in the creation of clusters (as between the existing parties of the Zuidas, the VU and the RAI) to provide new spatial and economic vitality.

The project office Zuidas in order to develop its policies needs the support and collaboration of other organizations, institutions and even of target groups (Bruijn and Heuvelhof, 2008, p. 1). The presence of headquarters in the Zuidas (as ABN Amro, APG pension funds, etc.) indicates that important decision-makers are present in this development, which in its own turn generates demand for other high-end services. The University and the RAI are key ingredients to make the Zuidas attractive for knowledge based companies and intuitions and therefore are important partners in creating added value for the area.

- Create more platforms of debate, as to involve a wider public before agreeing on grand public investments.

This recommendation was based on Majoor’s158 statement “For the future I think, the success factors, will be more like, ... an open attitude for the future and experimenting with new things, and also in a way politicizing the project a little bit more. Because now it was very much portrait like everybody should not be involved... But if you really want to connect it with the city, to activities in the city, it should be also debated, there should be different alternatives discussed...here it is a bit more technocratic; like ok we have this project office nobody knows, except people that are interesting business... we are just doing our things. No big political debates”. By creating platforms of debate this development would be creating a catalyst for an increased public participation and approval, as (for example) the Amsterdamer’s would participate in the shaping of the urban landscape of their city.

- Avoid Inflexibility and lengthy decision-making process.

The project office Zuidas should incorporate in its governance processes a more short-term performance management. The targets expressed in these short-term programs should be also linked to performance as in to motivate and impose responsibilities on the working team. Focus should not only lie on the general design and final accomplishments but also on the wider significance of details and short-term accomplishments. This can be done

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158 Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
through the formalization of rules, which monitor, maintain and reward strategic ideas and processes during shorter periods of time.

- Create discourses that cover social inclusion (in reaction to the private players wanting to discuss, as in ‘renegotiate’ the 30% of obligatory social housing)

The target audiences of the Zuidas are mostly within the high-end sector of housing and offices. If the 30% of obligatory social housing would be negotiated (as some of the respondents suggested) the sustainability of this urban area in which refers to mix use would be compromised. The Zuidas is part of a city, and as such narrowing down its target audiences could create a cluster which would distance this large scale development even more from the inherent characteristics of a city like Amsterdam (which is a paradox when its recent governance discourses are more directed to welfare planning). Although it is difficult to impose a broader spectrum of target groups in the Zuidas, a reduction of the percentage of social housing is not recommended. Majoors stated, “In my perspective most project developers are quite conservative... They repeat things that worked in the past and yes; they are quite reluctant, for example to mix highbrow and lowbrow things. I mean, so this is difficult...”

For image management:

- To interpret the threats and opportunities of the environment, to evaluate the strategic challenges and marketing capacity.

In order to make the project fit to accommodate and respond to threats and opportunities, a systematic and flexible approach to place marketing should be put into place and it should focus on key elements that would be maintained all through the place’s marketing processes. One of the key elements is the relationship with Schiphol, which is an important player that connects this development to international networks. Another key element should be the reproduction of Amsterdam’s qualities, not by concentrating on the physical qualities, as it cannot reproduce the urbanity of the historical city centre, but by focusing more on the social qualities Amsterdam has to offer, as a lively mix of cultures, ages, religions, etc. In sum a non-monotonous and non-segregating social environment.

- The ability to implement place marketing must be guaranteed, for that economic feasibility is a necessary condition (as in the success and failure levels).

The platforms of communication in which the images of the development are endorsed, should be secured in order to promote efficiently and in an accessible way the place’s values and image so the target audiences know the distinctive advantages the place has to offer.

- Introduce of a different kind of management, by creating another layer in the organization of Project office Zuidas.

The new management should see the importance of social dimensions, against a management that just wants to be efficient. This layer of the organization would be solely responsible for place marketing. Its strategic management would have the organizing capacity to coordinate and articulate clearer messages that would make the project fit to

159 Personal interview with Stan Majoors on 08/03/2012. Majoors is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
survive the contextual changes and be accepted by broader audiences (by avoiding unambiguous marketing). This layer of the organization would evaluate the progress and would confront it with the intended action plan.

- Unity from the parties involved is essential to establish an identity and an image for a place. As such trust and openness between the parties is a critical success factor.

In order to achieve unity in the management of place marketing processes, a high value of leadership and trust is demanded to build internal consensus and an effective organization. The researcher speculates that the leadership style for place marketing is one with a high strategic ability that incorporates charisma, inspiration and first and foremost is attuned with the individuals they manage. With the creation of another layer in the organization of project office Zuidas the strategy management for place marketing would be more independent in strategy implementation.

- Continue to have as a goal the creation of a positive image as to suppress the existing mixed one (in which the development has both positive and negative elements that characterize it)

In its present state the Zuidas is characterized by large scale mono-functional buildings and its public space is almost of residual character (Boelens et al., 2010, p. 36). The project office Zuidas is currently trying to transform its image into one of a well-integrated urban district, which is sustainable and embodies the social and urban qualities of the city of Amsterdam. One solution to improve the Zuidas’ image is an increase of the public amenities. A versatile cooperation between the place’s public amenities and the one’s in the surroundings should benefit both parties (and as such promote the connection of the development with the surroundings, creating a different flow of people). Another solution is the increase of cultural activities by incorporating young designers (target group that does not seem to have a place in the Zuidas). Majoor has stated, “they always did something with art in the project, but in the way superficial. I mean they gave some money. So you can see there was some sort of little fire burning.”

160 Personal interview with Stan Majoor on 08/03/2012. Majoor is an Assistant professor at UVA in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies.
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Appendix 1
## Interview Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Objectives of the interview</th>
<th>Specific Information needed</th>
<th>Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Academics:</strong></td>
<td>- To receive indications of interesting actors to interview, actors which could enrich the content of the research</td>
<td>- Decision-making processes</td>
<td><strong>Context:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Programme, actors, context and marketing strategies and its changes during four periods of time(pre2008/2008/present/future)</td>
<td>1. Relating to change in economical, political and demographic climate, and its demand for flexibility, which were the most important milestones of this project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- To receive indication on where to find the most relevant documents concerning the Zuidas</td>
<td>- Success and failures of the Zuidas marketing strategy (pre2008/2008/present/future)</td>
<td>2. How did the economical crisis of 2008 influence the image management of the Zuidas? What were the emergent marketing strategies used to respond to this crisis?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- To analyze which and how physical features, stories of actors and context changed over time and hence discover which is their common denominator concerning the image management.</td>
<td>- Critical Success and Failure Factors</td>
<td><strong>Actors:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Who are the actors involved in this development?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- To learn the Zuidas market strategy</td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Who is responsible for elaborating the marketing strategy for the Zuidas?</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>5. For which target groups was this development intended in its initial form?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- To learn which are the success and failure critical factors for the marketing of the Zuidas</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Programme:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>6. When in time did changes in the programme of the development occur?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- To discover the influence of decision-making processes of a network in defining the marketing strategies of the Zuidas.</td>
<td></td>
<td>7. What were the main reasons for these changes to be necessary?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>8. Which decision-making processes led to the changes in the programme to take place?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Project Office Zuidas:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Marketing strategies:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Robert Dijkstra, Commercial Director</td>
<td></td>
<td>9. What is the added value of the Zuidas for the city of Amsterdam?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Frederik Haentjens, Communication</td>
<td></td>
<td>10. Who are the major players in branding the Zuidas?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Martin Overmulder, Project Manager</td>
<td></td>
<td>11. How are marketing strategies implemented in the branding of the Zuidas?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WTC:</strong></td>
<td>- Christiaan Huizing, Managing Director</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Future:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>12. How do you see the Zuidas in the future and for whom?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13. What are the factors that make this development successful?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABN Amro:</strong></td>
<td>- Douglas Grobbe, Managing Director</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Architecten Cie:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Pi de Bruin, Architect &amp; Supervisor of Zuidas project</td>
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<td><strong>SADC:</strong></td>
<td>- Ruud Bergh, Managing Director</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TU Delft:</strong></td>
<td>- D.J. van den Berg, President of the executive board of TU Delft &amp; Chairman of consultative committee of commissioning parties of Zuidas project</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>DRO:</strong></td>
<td>- Pieter Klomp, Urban Designer</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Hans van der Made, Senior Urban Designer</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>VU:</strong></td>
<td>- Hans de Sonnville, Academic director of ABC</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Data analysis

To analyse the data that was collected, the researcher used the computer software Atlas.ti. Atlas.ti is a programme that organizes large volumes of qualitative research data in a clear manner, as the information can be classified, grouped and managed in a systematic way (www.atlasti.com). After having the interview transcript complete, they were inserted in Atlas.ti and the data was divided through selection of quotations, which exist out of a paragraph or a few sentences. Those quotations indicate the relevant information acquired in the interviews, and as such, must include a sufficient amount of information, so it will not lose its content. Those quotations were marked with one or more codes and those codes give the bases of the quotation. Not all the data needs to be put into quotations, only the relevant information (www.atlasti.com).
Interview summary sheet

General Information:
1. Name of interviewer: Marta Bastos
2. Student number of interviewer: 4116429
3. Email of interviewer: martar.bastos@gmail.com
4. Date of the interview: dd-mm-yyyy
5. Location of the interview:
6. Number of the interview:
7. Interviewee’s contact information:
   Name: -------
   Phone number: -------
   Email address: -------

Information about the interviewee:

Relation to Zuidas:
   a) Public/Private stakeholder
      Connected to which entity/company: -------
   Job position: -------
   Job description: -------
   b) Critic /academic
      Connected to which entity/company or freelancing: -------
      Publications: -------

Consent agreement:
Did the interviewee give permission for:
1. His/Her name to be public as an interviewee?
   a) Yes
   b) No
2. To be quoted if the researcher chooses to do so?
   a) Yes
   b) No
3. For the interview to be audio taped?
   a) Yes
   b) No

Interview Summary:
Interviewee requires summary:
   a) Yes
   b) No
Summary:

________________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________________
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________________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________________
Interview scheme

1) Introduction:
This interview is conducted to support a master thesis developed on behalf of the TU Delft University, Faculty of Architecture, Department of Real Estate and Housing. I am currently developing a master thesis on the influence of city governance processes on the image branding of large-scale developments, being the case study the Zuidas. Concerning the Zuidas I am interested in exploring the changes over time that led to different marketing strategies, as who were the dominant actors and their stories that together with context changes led to a change in the physical features (as programme) of this large scale development.

Ask interviewee for cooperation
Assure confidentiality (if necessary)
Guarantee anonymity (if required)
Ask if there is a time limit
Indicate the duration of the interview (1 hour)

2) The interview summary sheet
It should be filled in by the interviewer, but in case of missing information, ask the interviewee the necessary questions to complete it, before the beginning of the interview.

3) The recording of the interview
The interviewer starts the recording of the interview if authorization is given by the interviewee to record.

4) Start of the interview (the questions to be asked are divided in help cards according to the areas of interest. Maintaining the sequence attributed to the cards is of high importance).

4.3) Context (12 min):
1. Relating to change in economical, political and demographic climate, and its demand for flexibility, which were the most important milestones of this project?
2. How did the economical crisis of 2008 influence the image management of the Zuidas? What were the emergent marketing strategies used to respond to this crisis?

4.2) Actors (12 min):
3. Who are the actors involved in this development?
4. Who is responsible for elaborating the marketing strategy for the Zuidas?
5. For which target groups was this development intended in its initial form?

4.1) Programme (12 min):
6. When in time did changes in the programme of the development occur?
7. What were the main reasons for these changes to be necessary?
8. Which decision-making processes led to the changes in the programme to take place?
4.4) Marketing strategies (12 min):

9. What is the added value of the Zuidas for the city of Amsterdam?
10. Who are the major players in branding the Zuidas?
11. How are marketing strategies implemented in the branding of the Zuidas?

4.5) Future (12 min):

12. How do you see the Zuidas in the future and for whom?
13. What are the factors that make this development successful?

5) Conclusion of the interview
The interviewer replies or reacts to the last answer of the interviewee and asks whether the respondent has further questions or wants to add any comments to the interview. The interviewer thanks the interviewee for her/his time. The contact sheets are checked and the interview ends.

6) Material
- Word cards previously prepared by interviewer with the questions to be asked
- Recording device
- Pen and paper
- Interview summary sheet
Appendix 2
Planning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Graduation organization</th>
<th>Primary task</th>
<th>Reflection and follow up on primary task</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>P2 Exam</td>
<td>Week 3 <em>P2 presentation</em> <strong>Quantitative research methods exam</strong> <strong>Report for elective</strong> <strong>Interview Martijn Overmulder</strong></td>
<td><strong>To finish semester responsibilities for other courses</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 4 <em>Reflection and follow up on primary task</em> <strong>Quantitative research methods exam</strong> <strong>Report for elective</strong> <strong>Interview Martijn Overmulder</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Graduation lab 7 weeks</td>
<td>Week 1 <em>First round of interviews</em> <strong>Document analysis</strong> <strong>Theory Phase I and phase II</strong></td>
<td><strong>Structuring results according to the units of research and milestone (Phase I, II, III and IV) start scheme.</strong> <strong>Preparing interview transcripts</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 2 <em>Second round of interviews (if necessary)</em> <strong>Further analysis on units of analysis and milestones</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 3 <em>Further analysis on units of analysis and milestones</em> <strong>Document analysis</strong> <strong>Theory Phase III and phase IV</strong></td>
<td><strong>Organize all results (Empirical from Phase I, II, III and IV) prepare interview transcripts</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>Graduation lab 7 weeks</td>
<td>Week 4 <em>Round of interviews (if remaining)</em> <strong>Document analysis</strong> <strong>Theory Phase III and phase IV</strong></td>
<td><strong>Prepare interview transcripts</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 5 <em>Analysis of theoretical and empirical part of the study</em> <strong>Preparation for P3</strong> <strong>Preparation for 2nd try Quantitative research methods exam if necessary</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 6 <em>Drawing conclusions and answering research questions</em> <strong>Preparation for P4</strong></td>
<td><strong>To finish semester responsibilities for other courses</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 7 <em>Preparing for P4</em> <strong>Structuring results according to the units of research and milestone (Phase I, II, III and IV) start scheme.</strong> <strong>Preparing interview transcripts</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>P3 Week</td>
<td>Week 1 <em>P3 presentation</em> <strong>Reflections on P3 remarks and make necessary corrections and necessary improvements</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 2 <em>Second round of interviews (if necessary)</em> <strong>Further analysis on units of analysis and milestones</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 3 <em>Further analysis on units of analysis and milestones</em> <strong>Document analysis</strong> <strong>Theory Phase III and phase IV</strong></td>
<td><strong>Prepare interview transcripts</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Graduation lab 7 weeks</td>
<td>Week 4 <em>Corroborating theoretical with empirical data</em> <strong>Working on model of ingredients to brand successfully a large scale development</strong></td>
<td><strong>Answer research questions as complete as possible based on results obtained</strong> <strong>Prepare interview transcripts</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 5 <em>Drawing conclusions and answering research questions</em> <strong>Preparation for P4</strong></td>
<td><strong>Prepare interview transcripts</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 6 <em>Preparing for P4</em> <strong>Structuring results according to the units of research and milestone (Phase I, II, III and IV) start scheme.</strong> <strong>Preparing interview transcripts</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>P4 &amp; P5 Weeks</td>
<td>Week 1 <em>P4 presentation</em> <strong>Reflections on P4 remarks and make necessary corrections and necessary improvements</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 2 <em>Refining final conclusions</em> <strong>Structuring and finalizing report and presentation</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 3 <em>Structuring and finalizing report and presentation</em> <strong>Preparation for P4</strong></td>
<td><strong>Prepare interview transcripts</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Week 4 <em>P5 presentation</em> <strong>Reflections on P5 remarks and make necessary corrections and necessary improvements</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3
### Definitions and descriptions of city marketing and related concepts (Braun, 2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition/ Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geographical marketing</td>
<td>The process of geographical marketing combines promotional, spatial and organisational activities, and can be aimed at various groups. (Meester &amp; Pellenburg, 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City marketing</td>
<td>The tuning between the supply of <em>urban functions</em> and the demand for them from inhabitants, companies, tourists and other visitors. (Van den Berg, Klaassen and Van der Meer, 1990)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban marketing</td>
<td>Urban marketing is an instrument which can be used to advantage by the city to achieve two goals: to face up against competition on a supranational scale and to reorganise urban policies in order to enhance local resources. (Ave and Corsico, 1994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional marketing</td>
<td>Regional marketing is part of regional management and within its framework of the presence of alternative options for users, an entire plan of activities by regional authorities that is aimed at enlarging the use of regional products by businesses, investors, visitors and other users of the region by means of optimisation of the agreement between the wishes of those (potential) users on the one hand and the supply of regional products on the other hand. (Van ‘t Verlaat, 1997)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place marketing</td>
<td>Place marketing is a process whereby local activities are related as closely as possible to the demands of targeted customers. The intention is to maximise the efficient social and economic functioning of the area concerned, in accordance with whatever wider goals have been established. (Ashworth and Voogd, 1994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place marketing</td>
<td>Place marketing means designing a place to satisfy the needs of its target markets. It succeeds when citizens and businesses are pleased with their community, and the expectations of visitors and investors are met. (Kotler et al, 2002; p183)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban place marketing</td>
<td>Urban place marketing can be seen as a managerial principle in which thinking in terms of customers and the market is central as well as a toolbox with applicable insights and techniques. (Van den Berg &amp; Braun, 1999; p993)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>Marketing is ‘a social and managerial process by which individuals and groups obtain what they need and want through creating, offering, and exchanging products or services of value with others’ (Kotler, 1997).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>Marketing is the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for customers, clients, partners, and society at large (American Marketing Association, 2008).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing Management</td>
<td>Marketing management is the process of analysing, planning, implementing and evaluating of marketing activities in an organisation, with a view to achieving its marketing objectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing Concept</td>
<td>The societal marketing concept implies that organisations’ objectives are attained by their identifying the needs and wants of target markets better and satisfy the wants and needs of customers more efficiently than the competitors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal Marketing Concept</td>
<td>The societal marketing concept implies that organisations’ objectives are attained by their identifying the needs and wants of target markets better and satisfy the wants and needs of customers more efficiently than the competitors, in such a way that the welfare of the customers and society is not put in jeopardy, or is even improved.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### City Branding

“Branding in its advanced form is primarily about people, purpose and reputation, not about money—although there is little question that organizations which are clear about their brand values and brand strategies ultimately stand a better chance of sustainable profitability than those which are not” (Anholt, 2007).

“It is about a clear division of tasks and responsibilities between the municipality, support organizations involved and private parties. Intensive cooperation should lead to a stronger identity and image.” (Gehrels et al., 2003)

“In the context of city branding, cities seek to assume a positive image in order to realize symbolic and economic added value. With this added value of the ‘city brand’ they hope to reinforce the city’s position as a residence, business location or destination. Kavaratzis (2004) sees city branding as the next step in the development of city marketing.” (Braun, 2008)

### City Identity

“City identities are rooted in city communities, and they concern the identification with a particular place (city, district, neighbourhood and streets), its space, people, community culture, traditions and heritage. Identity is a source of civic pride and gives people a sense of belonging and a sense of place.” (Erik Braun, 2008)

### City Image Management

“...City image management: the on-going process of researching perceptions (city images) among relevant audiences, making key decisions on the positioning of the city for its audiences, identifying strategic options for image improvement and develop a city image framework enabling to steer and coordinate the image improvement efforts undertaken at the level of customer groups and at city level” (Erik Braun, 2008)
Appendix 4
Press releases

09-02-2012 (www.zuidas.nl)

Substantial boost to accessibility of northern perimeter (Noordvleugel) and quality of life Zuidas: ZuidasDok gains the go-ahead

February 9, 2012

The Dutch National government, City of Amsterdam, the Stadsregio Amsterdam and the Province of Noord-Holland have reached agreement on the ZuidasDok project. The widening and tunnelling under of the A10 motorway and the expansion and modernisation of the country’s fastest growing rail station in terms of passenger numbers will give a substantial boost to the accessibility and quality of life in this key economic region of the Randstad. This investment will enable Amsterdam’s Zuidas to develop further over the coming decades into a new and varied city centre, with a mix of (international) company headquarters, shops and new housing.

Minister Melanie Schultz van Haegen of the Ministry for Infrastructure and Environment today reached agreement on the design of the ZuidasDok with the City of Amsterdam, Stadsregio Amsterdam and the Province of Noord-Holland. The existing A10 motorway will be developed into an eight-lane highway for through traffic with four lanes for locally bound traffic. The motorway will go underground where the station is currently situated.

Taking the A10 underground at the Zuidas will create the possibility for the outdated Amsterdam Zuid station to be developed into a high-quality public transport hub. The railway station, built in 1978 and sandwiched between the traffic lanes of the A10, will be substantially expanded. This expansion is necessary in order to serve the increasing flows of rail commuters through the Schiphol-Amsterdam-Almere-Lelystad corridor. Over the coming years the frequency of trains on these lines will be stepped up substantially. Instead of the current 12 trains an hour, there will be 20 to 24 trains an hour. In the longer term passenger flows are expected to swell to some 95,000 to 130,000 rail passengers per working day.

The new station will boast an additional entrance, widened rail platforms and new metro platforms and will offer the space for a high-grade tram link to Amstelveen. Immediately alongside the station entrance, situated above the A10 tunnel, there will be a new bus terminal for city and regional bus services as well as a taxi rank. Bicycle sheds will be located under the Mahlerplein. The plans also provide for a further increase in the number of railway lines in the future.

Taking the A10 underground will be beneficial in terms of air quality and will reduce traffic noise. In this way it boosts opportunities for future housing construction on the Zuidas. What’s more, the reconfiguration of the infrastructure will fuse the two halves of the neighbourhood into a single living, working and shopping space. The presence of the
university and its students makes the Zuidas a strong and lively centre of knowledge.

Minister Schultz van Haegen said the project has a key role to play in the economy. “With this project we will boost the accessibility of the Randstad’s entire northern perimeter as well as enabling the further development of this top location near Schiphol. This represents a major adrenalin boost for both the regional and the national economy,” she said.

Councillor Maarten van Poelgeest of the City of Amsterdam: ‘By taking the cars underground this can become a real neighbourhood where people can work, live, shop and study with a major public transport hub close by. The solution that’s been reached here will cost less than half the investment required a couple of years ago. That way we’ve ensured that despite the current crisis we can continue to invest in the economic strength of Amsterdam and the Netherlands. We’re investing in the city of the future and the quality of life on the Zuidas now.”

The project requires an investment of almost €1.4 billion, of which €979 million will be provided by National government, €201 mln by Amsterdam municipality, €130 mln by the Stadsregio Amsterdam and €75 mln by the Province of North Holland. Construction work is scheduled to begin in 2015. Trains, buses, underground and railway station will continue to operate while construction is in progress. The new A10 tunnels will be built alongside the existing motorway, so that no traffic lanes will have to be closed while construction work is being carried out.
15 X 15 is already bearing fruit

PRESS RELEASE
November 2011

15by15 is already bearing fruit
MULTINATIONALS, KNOWLEDGE INSTITUTES, INSECTS AND HOLLAND FESTIVAL FLOCK TO ZUIDAS AMSTERDAM

During the first half of 2011, the dairy giant Fonterra, the medical specialist in baby food Mead Johnson, and Arcadis swapped Hamburg, Paris and Arnhem respectively for Zuidas Amsterdam, quickly followed by a dozen other international companies. Meanwhile, the Duisenberg School of Finance and the Tinbergen Institute were also setting up home at this desirable international location. Due to the large number of students attending VU University Amsterdam and other educational institutes in the district, a plan to build 500 student residences at the Zuidas at the end of 2012 has been given the go-ahead for the first time. To ensure the viability of the district, the train station at Zuid WTC will be given a facelift, additional facilities for cyclists will be provided, and herb and fruit gardens will be planted next to the existing vegetable garden. All these developments reflect the ambitions of 15by15 to attract high-flying international talent to the district by turning Zuidas Amsterdam into a bustling centre with just a touch of Amsterdam cockiness. And this is all being achieved within 2.5 square kilometres.

15by15: 15 projects for 2015
After 10 years building soaring office towers and glass facades, the Zuidas now also boasts 650,000 m2 of real estate. The number of vacant lots in the district is far below the national average; namely 11.2% compared to 15% nationally. CBRE recently issued a report confirming this status. An additional set of projects formulated for the coming years has been given the apt name '15 by 15': fifteen projects to be completed at the Zuidas by 2015.

Housing, recreation, work
In an effort to stimulate the synergy between working and living space, plans are afoot to build approximately 3000 residential properties by 2019, focused primarily in the Gershwin district. The sale of a new block of 46 apartments, Opzuid, began mid-October. Due in part to its proximity to VU University Amsterdam, a proportion of the 3000 properties will be designated as student residences. Construction will begin at the end of 2012, start of 2013. Students, however, are not the only ones to take up residence in the district; over the past six months a number of insect hotels as well as 71 residential properties have shot up out of the ground, a supermarket has been opened and more shops are planned. A total of 12 international businesses have also found their way to the Zuidas, occupying approximately 13,200 m2 of office space. The station entrance is under reconstruction, more shops are being opened in and around the station, and the number of bicycle parking facilities are being expanded considerably. Not only businesses and retailers are being drawn to the Zuidas, the Holland Festival, the Grachtenfestival and the international sculpture route Art Zuid have also all passed through the Zuidas over the past six months.

Still a lot to do before 2015
"We should be very pleased with the results so far but it is still too early to sit back on our laurels", according to Klaas de Boer, director of Zuidas Amsterdam Development Office. "My favourite 15by15 project is number 15: the construction of the Dock. Our district will be given an enormous impulse once the A10 disappears underground. Perhaps the most
significant testament to our success is the collaborative partnerships between businesses, institutes and developers. These show that the initiative for developing the district is shifting from local authorities to users. It is at this point that the Zuidas will become a district in its own right.'

NOTE TO THE EDITORS
For further information, please contact Frederijk Haentjens on +31(0)20-5752111/+31(0)-654975021
Successful launch of Hello Zuidas

"Hello Zuidas will contribute to the economic development of Amsterdam as an international business district," said Klaas de Boer (Dienst Zuidas) during the launch of Hello Zuidas on November 1st at the WTC Amsterdam Business Club. Representatives of various organizations recognized the need for this initiative and decided to participate in Hello Zuidas, including Kempen & Co, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, NS, CBRE, NEWNRG and Sushi Time.

The Chairman of Hello Zuidas, Douglas Grobbe (ABN AMRO) introduced Olivier Otten (WTC Amsterdam Business Club and Amsterdam Bright City) to the audience as the proposed managing director of Hello Zuidas. "It’s an exciting time, because on the 16th of December a large number of participants is needed to continue with Hello Zuidas. With sufficient funding, the board will decide to proceed with Hello Zuidas as a permanent organization. The initiators have already decided to participate, but that’s not enough" commented Grobbe.

Hello Zuidas is the management organization of Zuidas and represents residents, students, property owners, employees and employers. The goal is to promote a district with an international appeal, with high quality working and living conditions. Hello Zuidas focuses on four pillars: sustainability, to improve the working and living environment; liveliness, to combine initiatives in arts, sports, recreation and business, by day, but also during the evening and the weekend; accessibility, if Zuidas grows it is crucial that it remains accessible for bicycles, cars and public transport; and forth, clean, complete and safe, because a clean and safe public space is crucial for a prime location as Zuidas.

Zuidas is a special area. It is located in the southern center of Amsterdam, only eight minutes away by train from Schiphol Airport, it has a university and is surrounded by nature. This makes Zuidas the ideal location as the new center of Amsterdam. It has the potential to become a real Amsterdam neighborhood, where people besides work, also study and live.

In order to use the full potential of Zuidas it is crucial that all parties involved - companies, property owners, residents and students - combine their strengths and join Hello Zuidas. The enthusiasm of intended participants will determine the decision on December 16th 2011 to change this initiative into a permanent organization.

Hello Zuidas is an initiative of ABN AMRO, Accenture, Amsterdam RAI, Gemeente Amsterdam (Dienst Zuidas and Stadsdeel Zuid), Loyens & Loeff, ORAM, Royal Zuid (Bouwfonds, Eigen Haard and ERA Contour), Verkeeradvies, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, World Trade Center Amsterdam and Zuidschans (AM, Amvest and Bouwfonds).
Appendix 5
Reflection

“Cities are focal points of development, the catalysts of innovation, the places where our confrontation with economic, social, and cultural challenges become genuinely physical.” (Boelens et al., 2010, p. 6)

Cities are dynamic organisms deeply connected to its social, economical and political context. Having always lived in a city, I have always felt that decisions taken at higher national and municipal levels, have a deep impact on the quality of life of its inhabitants and therefore on the city’s future. Knowing that the urban region is the future of cities, and cities the future of countries (Boelens et al., 2010, p. 9), my interest in urban area development begun and the platform in which I was supported and oriented through this field was the urban area development laboratory at the real estate department of the TU Delft University. Through a laborious approach to urban area development I built the framework with which to develop this research. The first topic, governance had from the beginning a deep influence on the directions I wanted to follow to explore urban area development, as it is first and foremost connected to the social context of a place. The second topic, image management was chosen as it helps to illustrate how different governance discourses influence the images presented in a place’s marketing practices and how in its own terms a place promotes itself. The Zuidas is the urban area development in the Netherlands with the highest ambitions on international, national and municipal scale, and it capitalizes on the Amsterdam’s assets and reputation. As such, it became the immediate choice as a test case for the “laboratory” where the research is conducted. Furthermore, as the content of urban area development is about an arrangement of interconnected and integrated units (Wigmans et al., 2011, p. 10), it was necessary to have a clear understanding of the context, its multiplicity of actors and the programme that constructs the content of this development. Through the methodical line of approach of the UAD laboratory the method chosen to elaborate the framework of the research, was based on elements that feed the processes of urban area development, such as, context, actors, programme and marketing strategies.

This master thesis represents an incredible opportunity to adapt and enhance my perspective and understanding about the urban development of Amsterdam and, to a broader extend, of cities. Amsterdam belongs to the second layer of global cities (Sassen, 2001). With its rich heritage and position as the financial centre in the Netherlands, in the years of the Dutch booming economy it developed the ambition to move up one level and compete with major global hubs like Paris and London. Studying the case of the Zuidas, has given me clear insight into the policies that underplayed that ambition and the driving forces behind them. New practices of governance have emerged, as coalitions between the state and the private sector. On the one hand I have learned the flaws and misconceptions inherent to new and innovative ways of collaborating, mainly through the formation of the Public-private partnership that failed. On the other hand, I have acquired valuable insight on how alternative strategies can emerge to create an answer to changes in context. To relate governance processes, networks and practices with the marketing strategies, has increased by body on knowledge and my position towards the debate on how large-scale developments react and promote themselves through time.

Researching in a Dutch context, proved to be quite ambitious as it was often that I was faced with the language barrier. By conducting interviews and using digital translation software, this handicap surpassed and I was able to complete my objectives for this master thesis. To be able to interview such influential actors in the arenas of Dutch governance, business and academia, and have a dialogue about common topics of interest was enriching and very fruitful for this research. For that I extend my appreciation to those who were willing to facilitate their time for participating actively in my research process. I am pleased to accomplish this body of interviews; it was hard work but it was most definitely worth it.

Overall, this one-year process has restructured my methodological approach to research, has enhanced my communication skills and enhanced my curiosity, knowledge and interest to continue researching and working in the field of urban area development.