LIVING NEXT TO A FLAGSHIP DEVELOPMENT

A research on how the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt and its local community can benefit from the contemporary flagship area Overhoeks, Amsterdam

Thesis Plan

Robin Boelsums
16 Jan 2012
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Preface

This thesis plan is part of the MSc Urbanism of the Faculty of Architecture at Delft University of Technology. This project is developed in the graduation lab Complex Cities. The thesis plan is the step towards the thesis, which will be delivered at the end of the graduation year.

When I had to come up with a subject for my graduation project, I thought back on books that I had been reading. I was fascinated by Manuel Castells and Saskia Sassen, and I knew I wanted the project to be related to the globalising world and cities. Another fascination of mine is related to problem areas. I think it is the task of urbanists to improve these kinds of underprivileged areas.

The choice for a key location was Amsterdam, a logical choice when selecting a Dutch city. It is the largest city of the Netherlands, with many global connections. I came up with a project for Amsterdam North in which a major development is taking place at this moment, right next to an attention area.

Only when I attended a gentrification conference several months later in the project, I discovered the perfect literature to underlie my project theoretically. Brian Doucet spoke about the so-called ‘flagship project’ of the Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam. I could throw my literature study on centralities away, and found tens of papers that were directly related to the subject I was dealing with. This was an important step forward!

The thesis plan is divided into four parts, consisting of several chapters. Part 1 explains the framework in which the project is set. It shows research questions, goals, methods etcetera. Part 2 describes the most important theoretical background for the project. Much of this theory is also being used to answer the research questions, though this happens in the last part. Part 3 shows the analysis that I did so far. This is work in progress, while the previous two parts are practically finished. It shows the rough analysis results without relating this to the research yet. Part 4 makes the relation from the analysis and literature study to answering the research questions. Part of answering the questions is formulating a strategic plan and a design. I have made a start with this in that part, but this will be elaborated much more in the coming semester.

I would like to thank my mentor Roberto Rocco for his input and support during my project.

Robin Boelsums

12 January 2012
Abstract

Project framework
The rationale behind this project is the development of flagship projects. From the 1980s onwards, these projects were developed as an answer to de-industrialisation and neo-liberal strategies. The former had caused problems in industrialised cities of developed countries, leading to declining public revenues, poor city images etcetera. (Doucet 2009, pp.101-103; Grodach, p.353; Loftman & Nevin, pp.299-305)

The location that the project focuses on is the neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt and its adjacent flagship development Overhoeks that is being built from 2004 until 2017. The aim for the project is to make the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt benefit from the adjacent flagship Overhoeks in spatial and socioeconomic terms.

The main research question that leads to this goal is: How can the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt benefit from the adjacent contemporary flagship development in Overhoeks Amsterdam, in socioeconomic and spatial terms? The following methods will be used to answer this question: maps, site observation, data research, space syntax, GIS, interviews, research by design and literature study.

When taking a look at existing literature on this issue, it can be found that the literature is present, but the practical research is lacking. That is why this research is a relevant case.

Theoretical framework
Flagships focus on outsiders, in stead of on the local community. The projects focus on revitalising the city image and attracting tourists, jobs and private finances. It has been shown that many projects have a negative effect, especially on the adjoining neighbourhoods, the most important effect is fragmentation.

However, it is also possible that the flagships offer benefits for the local community, like providing possibilities for a housing career, facilities or recreational functions. The task is to find how these benefits can be taken into account when designing a flagship area, and how the beneficial possibilities can be exploited by the local community.

Analysis
The differences between Overhoeks and the Van der Pekbuurt are immense. The contemporary flagship development with its foreign architects, and high quality large apartment buildings is totally different from the prewar garden village Van der Pekbuurt, that has been built for the working class. Though, several opportunities can be found when analysing the areas.

Preliminary strategy & design
The strategy consists of two recommendations. The first one is that flagship developers should adjust their goals in order to make benefits possible for the local community. The second focuses on the possible benefits that a flagship project can bring.

The design will include the beneficial possibilities and will aim to diminish the disbenefits that the flagship brings to the local community.
# Table of contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of contents</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## part one - Project Framework

1. Organisation                              | 8    |
2. Rationale                                  | 9    |
3. Problem definition                         | 11   |
4. Aims & deliverables                        | 12   |
5. Research questions                         | 13   |
6. Methodology                                | 14   |
7. Relevance of the project                   | 18   |
8. Context                                    | 20   |
9. Time schedule                              | 27   |

## part two - Theoretical Framework

10. Flagship development                      | 30   |
11. Aims and effects of flagships             | 32   |
12. From theory to practice                   | 36   |

## part three - Analytical Framework

13. Analysis location                         | 38   |
14. Comparison study                          | 49   |

## part four - Preliminary strategy & design

15. Beneficial possibilities                  | 52   |
16. Benefits for Van der Pekbuurt             | 55   |
17. Strategic plan                            | 56   |
18. Urban design                              | 57   |

List of references                           | 58   |
In this part the framework is set for the entire project; from research to design. The first chapter describes the organisation of the university briefly. The second chapter shows the rationale behind the graduation project explaining the main issue that it deals with. The emergence of flagship projects will be explained briefly.

The following chapter points out the aims and deliverables of the project. When this is clear, I can continue to explain how this will be researched. The research questions are the steps towards reaching the aims. The methodology shows how I will try to find an answer to these questions.

Since this is an academic project, the scientific relevance is of importance, as well as the societal relevance.

Next, the key location for the project will be introduced. It shows the location on different scale levels and explains a little about the historic events that shaped the city that is now present. The characteristics of the neighbourhoods will be shown objectively, without coming to conclusions yet.

The final chapter describes the timeline that will be followed through the rest of the project.
This project is set in the mastertrack of urbanism at Delft University of Technology.

The urbanism track aims to “equip the prospective urban planner or urban designer with skills to achieve new solutions for an effective, efficient, and aesthetically satisfactory organisation and exploitation of the urban environment” (TU Delft, date unknown)

Students need to deal with the effects of urban developments. Developments can affect local communities or even a larger entities. (TU Delft, date unknown).

My personal graduation project is specifically aimed at researching the effects of urban development and therefore fits perfectly into the urbanism track’s framework. The project deals with the friction between affecting outsiders and affecting the local community that lives directly adjacent to the urban development.

The studio in which the project takes place is called Complex Cities Studio. This is short for Complex Cities and Regions in Transformation under Globalisation. It is part of the Chair of Spatial Planning and Strategy, which is led by Professor Vincent Nadin.

The mission of this studio is to “offer the best education in themes related to spatial planning, spatial strategy formulation and design in a world that has become increasingly complex, thanks to the expansion, acceleration and ubiquity of global processes” (Spatial Planning & Strategy TU Delft, 2010)

This project aims at creating a strategic plan and an urban design. The rationale behind this is the changing context on the key location.

1 Organisation

Fig. 2 Corporate identity TU Delft (TU Delft, n.d.)

Fig. 3 Corporate identity Spatial Planning & Strategy (TU Delft, n.d.)

Fig. 4 Corporate identity Complex Cities Studio (TU Delft, n.d.)
2 Rationale

Flagship development
As a result of increasing globalisation of economies, in the 1980s neoliberalism established in developed countries. This system focuses among others on a market driven economy, privatisation of the public sector and deregulation by reducing the role of law and state. (Jessep, 2002). Many small companies have disappeared, and large companies have become even larger. When a strong de-industrialisation process took place in European cities, many social and spatial changes were the result. Structural unemployment followed. (Kesteloot, 2006:129). Many harbour areas became abandoned when the industrial businesses moved out. Waterfronts in industrialised cities became a perfect location for flagship development.

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

Location of flagships
Flagships were and still are one of the answers to de-industrialisation. The first flagships, emerging in the 1980s and 1990s, were implemented on vacant land close to the city centre. This land was empty because de-industrialisation made the industries declining or moving out of the city. Next to that, the demand for offices in the tertiary sector grew. The first flagship developments arose in the cities that suffered the strongest from de-industrialisation and associated problems. These cities dealt with high unemployment, poor image and declining public revenues. (Doucet, 2009, p.102)

Critique on flagships
Flagship developments know many proponents and many opponents. Flagship development can create many benefits, such as attract tourists, jobs and investments; revitalise an attractive image for the city and create more wealth for the city (Doucet 2009, pp.101-103; Grodach, p.353; Loftman & Nevin, pp.299-305). However, many authors are critical to the developments. One of the most important disadvantages caused by flagships, is fragmentation within cities (Doucet, 2009, p.105; Loftman & Nevin, 1995, p.305; Wilkinson, 1992, p.206). Moreover, Andersen argues that segregation, exclusion of places and social and spatial inequality are causes of deprivation in neighbourhoods (Andersen, 2004). The inequalities that exist between flagship area and adjacent residential neighbourhood can be enormous, which means that flagships can increase problems in adjacent residential neighbourhood.

Choice of location
For the graduation project, the task is to intervene on a location that knows the problems just described. For the possibility of visiting the area of choice, a city in the Netherlands was my preference. Two Dutch cities deal with a large de-industrialising harbour area: Rotterdam and Amsterdam. The city of my choice is Amsterdam, where currently a flagship project is being built. It started in 2006 and will take until 2017, according to the plans. This flagship development is called Overhoeks, and is located next to an attention area Van der Pekbuurt. Since the flagship is being built in several phases, there is still
room for improvement. The research for this project can come up with recommendations on how to implement the last phases. Furthermore, along the banks of the river IJ, still many industrial places are present. This creates the opportunity to develop a strategy on how these can be developed in the future.

In Rotterdam, the Kop van Zuid is a flagship that has been built in the last decade, this can be used as a reference when researching Amsterdam.

**Problem statement**

The Van der Pekbuurt is one of the attention areas of Amsterdam. This means in general that the quality of life is poorer than in other parts. This can be researched to know how the quality of life can be improved.

Flagship development focuses on outsiders: tourists, jobs, investments. This, and other characteristics of the development, can cause problems for the local community, such as fragmentation and social exclusion. However, flagship regeneration can also cause beneficial possibilities for the local community, like amenities and public spaces.

Study is needed on how to diminish the negative effects and how to create beneficial possibilities for the local community. Research will show what the spatial and socioeconomic requirements for the flagship area are in order to make the adjacent residents benefit from it.
The problem that this project focuses on can be divided into three parts.

Van der Pekbuurt attention area
In Amsterdam North four of twenty neighbourhoods are officially ‘attention areas’ of which one is Van der Pekbuurt. In the figure can be seen how much attention the

Flagship causes disbenefits for Van der Pekbuurt
When reading literature on flagship developments, one immediately gets the impression that they cause many disbenefits: in general but especially for the local community living in adjacent neighbourhoods. Therefore, it is hypothesised that this could be a serious problem in the key location in Amsterdam.

Opportunities for local community not exploited
The construction of a flagship developments brings many opportunities. The flagship of Overhoeks can bring amenities, housing and jobs to local residents of the Van der Pekbuurt. It can stimulate regeneration in the adjacent neighbourhood.
But the question is: how can these benefits be ensured for the local community? How can the Overhoeks area be designed in such a way that the Van der Pek residents actually benefit from it? That is the challenge for this project.
4 Aims & deliverables

Project aims
The intersection of flagship development and adjacent residential neighbourhood is the field of interest. In literature the overall opinion is that flagships focus too much on outsiders, such as visitors, investors and companies, and too little on areas close to the development: the local community of the adjacent residential neighbourhood. Therefore the aim for the chosen location is to make the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt benefit from the adjacent flagship Overhoeks in spatial and socioeconomic terms.

In order to reach this aim, several aims of the project need to be reached. First of all, the specific benefits that the neighbourhood adjoining the flagship development can have, need to be studied. The possible benefits will be studied in general, and projected on the case of Amsterdam to find out which specific beneficial possibilities can take place there.

In order to make the Van der Pekbuurt benefit from Overhoeks, research needs to show what the spatial and socioeconomic requirements are to make this possible. This is another project aim, which will be shown specifically in an urban design.

Furthermore, recommendations for the future will be made in the form of a strategic plan. The strategy will show what is needed to ensure that the local community can make use of the beneficial possibilities.

To sum up:
Main aim for the area:
Make the residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt benefit from the adjacent flagship Overhoeks in spatial and socioeconomic terms

Aims for the project, and type of product:
Describe the possible benefits a residential neighbourhood can experience from its adjacent flagship development in a strategic plan
Design the spatial and socioeconomic prerequisites that need to be present to make the mentioned benefits possible

Deliverables
The strategic plan does not focus on a specific area, it describes what is needed to for the residents of the Van der Pekbuurt to exploit the beneficial possibilities. The strategy can be seen as an attitude towards further developing and designing.

The design focuses on the local scale, as can be seen in the figure below. The area to design takes part in both Overhoeks and the Van der Pekbuurt.

Fig. 8 Design area (author, 2012)
5 Research questions

The main research question is:

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

In order to come to the answer, several sub questions will function as small steps to come to the answer of the main question.

First, research needs to be done to know what kind of benefits one can expect to design for in general.
1- What are the possible benefits a residential neighbourhood can derive from its adjacent flagship development, in west European cities?

Second, the list of benefits will be projected on Amsterdam North, and changed according to the specific needs of residents and to specific possibilities and constraints of the area. Also, a selection will be made to define which of the benefits are possible to design.
2- Which of the benefits are possible to design and can be applied to the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?

Then, a strategy will be developed to ensure the listed benefits.
3- How can the benefits be planned in a strategy for the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?

After this, research will be done on the specific requirements that are needed to be designed in order to make the benefits possible.
4- What socioeconomic and spatial requirements are needed to ensure beneficial possibilities in the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?

Different methods will be used to answer the questions, and the answers will be formulated in forms of different deliverables. How all the questions will be answered exactly, will be explained in the next chapter ‘Methodology’.
6 Methodology

The methodology for the entire project can be described in three subjects: phasing, methods and case study. First the phasing will be described, this is the general framework that will be used as a guideline through the process. Second, the different methods will be described, that will try to find answers to the research questions. The methods focus not only on the project area of Amsterdam itself, but also on several case studies. In the last part will be explained why and how case studies will be used.

Phasing

First of all, several urban topics were for me the reason to do this project. The subjects from this rationale form the framework in which the project is based. Within this framework, several problems take place, that show the relevance of dealing with these issues. From the problems, an aim can be described, solving the problems. The sub questions lead to one main research question. The answer to this question tells how the aim can be reached.

Two of the sub questions lead to the two deliverables this project will end with. The deliverables contain the concrete answers to the questions raised.

Fig. 9 Phasing the project (Source: author (2012))
Maps
Maps can be used to understand a specific location. By analysing crucial elements and showing them in maps, we can divide all information into understandable segments. From analytical maps conclusions will be derived, helping to understand the characteristics, problems and opportunities of an area. Not only can maps of the project location be used, also case studies will be used to answer the questions.

Site observation
Site observation is an obvious method, that seems simple. Indeed, it is not hard to observe a location. However, the goal of site observation is to answer three of the sub questions, therefore I will go to the site and observe specific items. Beforehand it must be clear how the site observation can lead to answering the questions. The way I will use site observation is only in combination with other methods to answer the questions. For me, the observation will aim to get ideas on what to research further. The observation will not only take place in Amsterdam, but also in the places that I will use as case studies.

Data research
Data research is a simple tool to get an idea of the characteristics of an area and to indicate problems. When doing data research in Amsterdam, several topics can be studied to describe the specifications of the area and its inhabitants, for example: origin of residents, nuisance, safety, jobs, income.
Data can show where and what the problems are, and show the importance of the intervention in the flagship development.
The data will be only used in combination with other methods to answer the formulated questions.

Space syntax
Space syntax is a method to research spatial configurations. With the help of software (Depthmap will be used) it is very easy to measure and compare different values of street segments. These values can be based on several topics, of which I use the ‘global integration analysis’. This analysis shows the integration of street segments.
Every segment is valued by the total number of direction changes to all other street segments of the city or region. The fewer direction changes, the higher the global integration value. Usually the streets that are highlighted by the software, are the shopping streets. (Van Nes, 2009) I will use space syntax to research the integration and segregation of certain streets. When making a design, the integration of the area is very important, therefore I will compare the locations before and after my design is
implemented, as a research by design tool.

**GIS research**
The Geographical Information System is a combination of data and location. DoE defines it as a system for capturing, storing, checking, manipulating, analysing and displaying data which are spatially referenced to the Earth (1987, p.132 in: Maguire). GIS makes it possible to see data that is related to space in a geographical map. The system will be used in combination with other methods to answer the sub questions that relate to the project location.

**Interviews**
Interviews are a way of retrieving information from persons, companies or governmental organisations. For the project I will use open interviews as input for all of the research questions. Most interviews will be with actors involved in the development of Overhoeks. I contacted several of them already. One of the interviews is with a specialist on flagship effects: Brian Doucet. Also, I will try to interview people that are involved with the case studies I select.

The interviews will be (or were) held with:
- André de Reus - actor at Overhoeks - real estate developer at Ymere Ontwikkeling (30 Jan 2012)
- Gerard Schuurman - project developer Vesteda housing corporation - actor at Overhoeks (30 Jan 2012)
- Pascal van der Velde - project developer Noordwaarts - actor at Overhoeks (31 Jan 2012)
- Shell - actor at Overhoeks (invitation pending)
- Joep Boute - expert on Kop van Zuid Rotterdam - urbanist at dS+V (3 Feb 2012)
- Brian Doucet - expert on flagship development - Professor at University of Utrecht (16 Dec 2011)

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

“If design wishes to develop a coherent response to the demands of design research it must therefore find a way of analysing the fitness of its practices to its problems and audience needs. This should come from a criterion-based analysis of research per se, plus any discipline-specific needs of design.” (Rocco, Biggs & Büchler 2009, p.375) This means that when an urban design is made, the designer should analyse it and based on this, refine the design. Assuming it is a cumulative process, the designer needs to ask questions in order to get answers. The analysis will be done based on criterion or questions, and can be repeated as many times as desirable. One makes a design, analyses it, uses the analysis as input to improve the design, etcetera. This is the way the author will use this method, research by design.

**Literature study**
Literature literally means “acquaintance with letters”. For the study of urbanism, literature must be scientific in order to be reliable. In the literature study therefore, it must be taken into serious consideration what type of literature will be used. Scientific journals are most reliable to use as a source, and amongst them the peer reviewed articles are most scientific. Also dissertations and scientific books are generally usable as sources of information. As most of the other methods, literature study will be used as much as possible in relation to other methods. If literature will be used in combination with a practical method, e.g. the use of maps, it can become a very strong source of information.

**Case studies**
Some of the mentioned methods will be used not only in the key project location, but also in several case studies. It is a very practical approach and when the cases are selected carefully and are well comparable with the case of Overhoeks and the Van der Pekbuurt, it can be a strong information source.

An explanatory strategy will try to answer the underlying principles of the chosen flagship development and residential surroundings. The result of the research will gain a sharpened understanding on the processes taking place, as will be formulated in research questions. It will provide information on what to research further on, and more important, how the goals that this project aims for, can be reached.

The cases should be selected in a way that they are comparable. If one thing occurs in one of these cases, we can suppose it is likely to happen in another case that has
similar characteristics. It does not give the possibility to copy, one can never be a hundred per cent certain that it will happen in the same way. However, it does bring the researcher closer to understanding why something happens and what this can lead to.

For the case studies seven steps will be followed:
1- formulating research questions
2- select criteria to compare cases
3- select cases
4- define methods to answer questions
5- collect data
6- analyse data
7- formulate conclusions and recommendations

1- formulating research questions
The two sub questions in which the case studies contribute to answering them, are:
SQ 1: What are the possible benefits a residential neighbourhood can derive from its adjacent flagship development, in west European cities?
SQ 4: What socioeconomic and spatial requirements are needed to ensure beneficial possibilities in the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?

2- select criteria to compare cases
For the case studies I will compare different flagship projects and their adjacent residential areas. The criteria to select the cases, are based on to what extent they will be comparable, and on the existing literature that is available on the relation between flagship and neighbourhood. The key case is taken as a starting point. This is the case of Amsterdam North, with the flagship project Overhoeks and residential neighbourhood Van der Pekbuurt. The other cases should therefore be comparable to the key case.

Requirements city of flagship project
- regional connections
- de-industrialised city

Requirements flagship project
- located at waterfront
- several functions (at least offices and dwellings)
- international architects
- developed in 1980s or later

Furthermore, there should be sufficient literature and data available of the flagship development.

3- select cases
Based on the criteria the best comparable cases will be selected, that also have enough literature written about it, especially on the topics that I try to answer.

4- define methods to answer questions
The methods used to answer the questions, can be found in the scheme at the beginning of this chapter. Sub question 1 will be answered with the use of interviews and literature, so this is a study of the theory underlying the practices. Sub question 4 will be answered by mapping, site observation, space syntax and interviews, related to the case studies. This information provides examples of how the benefits can be obtained by the local community. It can give an insight on what requirements should be present to enable the beneficial possibilities.

5- collect data
The next step in the process is to collect the data with the methods described in the previous section.

6- analyse data
Once the data is collected, the analysis can start. By analysing the data, specific questions should be leading. When looking at sub question 4, it should be specified which of the benefits will be investigated. Not all possible benefits will be researched by case studies, because probably not all benefits are present in the cases. There will be made a selection to research the benefits separately.

7- formulate conclusions and recommendations
This is the most important part of the case study. This will consist of answering the research questions and explaining how this can be used in the future.
7 Relevance of the project

Societal relevance
This world is globalising. Cities have global relations, and these are only being strengthened more and more. This often contradicts with the needs and demands of the local community. Flagship projects are still being built nowadays, and these often emphasise the gap that exists between global and local relations. This project designs for the local communities, but also aims not to deteriorate global needs and relations. The societal relevance is shown by the fact that there is still no solution to the intertwining global, Fig. 11 Newspaper articles on Overhoeks and Volewijck. Translation headings, from left to right, up to down:
- Stabbing at Mosplein in North (Het Parool, 2011)
- Threat of shortage of millions for Filmmuseum (Het Parool, 2011)
- Man killed in Amsterdam-Noord (Het Parool, 2011)
- House burglars discover North (Het Parool, 2010)
- North is popular amongst all residents of Amsterdam (De Volkskrant, 2008)
- The future in North is now (NRC, 2010)
regional and local relations in flagship projects. Flagship development is not something new, yet the exact influences of the developments on the local community are underresearched.

**Scientific relevance**
The main issue of this project deals with the relation between flagship projects and their direct surroundings. Much has been written on this subject. Literature tries to make clear what the effects of flagship development on adjacent neighbourhoods are. Every case is different, but it is possible to see several general effects.

However, research on what specifically causes the effects, in specific the local benefits, has not been done yet. The spatial and socioeconomic requirements needed as a base to provide beneficial possibilities, are not known yet. The research for the project will try to answer this issue, and therefore add to the body of knowledge.

**Ethics**
Ethical issues are ones that deal with morality. They ask: what is the ‘right’ thing to do? Certain moral conducts are valued high by most people, but there are no exact rules to follow when dealing with ethical issues.

In this project it is inevitable that there will be moments in which ethical decisions need to be made. One of the incentives behind this project is social justice. The apparent influence of flagships on high and low incomes, strikes me.

When designing for the area in Amsterdam North, a certain ethical attitude will influence the design. One of the examples deals with the main aim of the project. The aim describes benefits for the local community. The local community lives in an attention area, and is considered to have few economic and spatial opportunities. Because this community is considered to be less fortunate, they get the attention in this project. However, to what extend do they ‘deserve’ benefits generated by Overhoeks? When taking it to the extreme, it can mean that people living in Overhoeks suffer from the interventions that cause benefits for others.

Another example is the case of gentrification. The flagship project could generate gentrification, leading to the displacement of residents of the Van der Pekbuurt. This is an ethical issue. It can lead to improvements for the neighbourhood in general, and to the people that keep living there. But, do I want to sacrifice low income households for the sake of others? Or do I choose to prevent the neighbourhood from being gentrified, in order to assure everyone to be able to stay in the area?

What about the potentials of the area? Should I not improve the quality of public spaces in order to ensure market values to stay affordable for the current inhabitants?

All these questions will be dealt with during the process. When ethical decisions will be made, this will be explained in the relevant chapters.
8 Context

The project location was briefly introduced in the first chapter. The location consists of two neighbourhoods in Amsterdam North: the flagship area Overhoeks and the residential area Van der Pekbuurt.

In this chapter, the location will be described in several parts and scales, from the European region to the neighbourhoods themselves.

Europe

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

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

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

Fig. 12 Amsterdam in Europe (Streekplan Groningen, 1994)

Fig. 13 Urban agglomerations in the Netherlands (Nota Ruimte, 2004)

Fig. 14 ‘Spatial perspective’ of the Randstad (Randstad 2040 Startnotitie, p.48)
Amsterdam region

Amsterdam is located at the estuary of the river Amstel and IJ. In the beginning of the 19th century, Amsterdam was surrounded by much more water than presently. The water of the lake southwest of the city, now consists of a polder where Schiphol is located. In the East of Amsterdam in the 1950s a new province arose on a polder landscape. Amsterdam was the first city with a train track. In the end of the 19th century the train between Haarlem and Amsterdam was built. It took a long time before also the city centre of Amsterdam was connected by train, there were even plans of locating the central station at the southeast of the canal zone. This shows that the central point of the city was not always where it is now. The river IJ is now becoming a central point of Amsterdam, while for long it was only the edge.
City

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

At the beginning of the 20th century, the municipality of Amsterdam realised it should plan the expansion of the city, in response to overcrowding. Plans were made for expansions in the West and South. The latter plan was designed by Berlage and approved in 1917. Amsterdam North -the part across the river IJ- was developed early in the 20th century. In 1928 the jump across the river IJ was made. There was a high need of dwellings for the working class. These were built rapidly in the 1930s. Amsterdam North was experimenting with garden city principles. This is still visible in the area, where most of these dwellings are still intact. Then, in 1935, the general expansion plan of Amsterdam was made, the city grew rapidly.

Amsterdam used to be an industrial city. Since the 1980s industrial businesses are declining or moving out of the city. These were located at the waterfronts of the IJ, part of the key location for this project.

![City plan of Amsterdam 1928](Source: Jolles et al 2003)
Neighbourhood

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

History

In the 19th century, part of the river IJ was drained to become the polder on which the Van der Pekbuurt is built on. The neighbourhood was built in the 1930s as one of the first areas that was based on the garden city principles. Along the IJ was the harbour area of Amsterdam, that contains much industry. The Van der Pekbuurt was built to provide houses for the working class, the people working at the industrial companies. (Amsterdam Noord, 2008)

One of the companies located at the waterfront is Shell. In the beginning of this century the company is being moved from several small, low buildings into one building that contains all offices and laboratories. As a result, a large piece of land becomes vacant. Shell sells this piece to the municipality to become Overhoeks, but stays involved in the development of this area.

In the pictures the change from an industrial area towards a mix of offices and dwellings can be seen. (Noordoost, 2010)
**Van der Pekbuurt**

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

![Map of Van der Pekbuurt](image)

A typical street can be seen on the picture below. Though renovated, the original architecture from the 1930s can be recognised.

![Typical street of the Van der Pekbuurt](image)

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

![Housing prices](image)

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

![Park in the Van der Pekbuurt](image)

Different types of public space can be found in the area (see also chapter 13), but not all are maintained properly.
Overhoeks

At the beginning of this century, the company of Shell decided to move. The company was scattered around the Overhoeks area in many buildings and they wanted to move into one that contains all offices and laboratories (no. 1 of figure 34). The land that becomes vacant is sold to the municipality of Amsterdam. Shell and the municipality together with EYE, Ymere and housing corporation Vesteda, will develop the area into a high quality living and working environment with many facilities.

Overhoeks becomes a mixed area, with thirty percent working and seventy percent living. Twenty percent of the dwellings will be rented in the social sector, eighty percent will be rent and sold in the market sector. These will be 50-200m2. (Atelier Shell, Geurst & Schulze Architecten, 2004, p.2)

EYE is the owner of the film museum, which is located at directly at the waterfront (no. 3 of figure 34). The film museum, that is now located at the Vondelpark in Amsterdam, attracts around 150,000 visitors per year, but hopes to attract around 250,000 visitors on the new location (Filmtotaal, 2006). However, recent papers reported on
extreme shortages before the opening. The film museum was designed by Delugan Meissl Associated Architects from Vienna, and will open its doors in April 2012. It consists of exhibitions and four cinemas.

Also, there is room for meetings and offices. There will be a shop, a café-restaurant and a terrace at the water. (EYE, 2011).

**Phasing of the project**
The development of the area started in 2004, and was planned to be finished in 2017. It is unclear whether this is still planned, looking at the current economic situation of the Netherlands.

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**Fig. 31 No. 3: Impression of the 'highrise strip' (Shell, 2006)**

**Fig. 32 Phasing of the project (author, 2011)**

**Fig. 33 Artist impression of the 'highrise strip' with the film museum (Van der Giessen 2005 in: Gemeente Amsterdam 2006, p.30)**
9 Time schedule

To give a general idea on what time I will spend on which sub questions and deliverables, the following scheme was made. It shows the four presentations that are left, and the sub questions I will answer before which of these.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P2</th>
<th></th>
<th>P3</th>
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<th>P4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SQ 1</td>
<td>What are the possible benefits a residential neighbourhood can derive from its adjacent flagship development, in west European cities?</td>
<td>Lit</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Lit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ 2</td>
<td>Which of the benefits are possible to design and can be applied to the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?</td>
<td>GIS</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>GIS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ 3</td>
<td>How can the benefits be planned in a strategy for the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?</td>
<td>Lit</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>Lit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ 4</td>
<td>What socioeconomic and spatial requirements are needed to ensure beneficial possibilities in the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?</td>
<td>Lit</td>
<td>Mp</td>
<td>Lit</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Mp</td>
<td>Design</td>
<td>RD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remaining deliverables |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

Key location | Case studies | Preliminary deliverables | Deliverables | Mp = Maps | GIS = GIS Research | Int = Interviews | Lit = Literature

Legend:
- Lit = Literature
- Int = Interviews
- GIS = GIS Research
- RD = Research by Design
- Strategy
- Design
- Presentation
- Thesis
This part is about the theory that underlies the entire project. The theoretical framework provides the information needed to understand the relevance of researching the relation between flagship and adjacent neighbourhood.

The structure of this section is as follows.
In the next chapter, chapter 10, the rationale behind flagship development will be described in general, with the critiques over the years.

Chapter 11 gives a description of the goals flagship developers aim for. By understanding their aims, we can see whether they have the intention that neighbourhoods should benefit from the projects, or if the aims should be adjusted in order to create beneficial possibilities.

The chapter also discusses critiques for and against the developments, by pointing out the actual local effects of the developments according to literature.

Chapter 12 explains how this theoretical framework can be used in the project.
Global flagships, local effects

As a result of increasing globalisation of economies, in the 1980s neoliberalism established in developed countries. This system focuses among others on a market-driven economy, privatisation of the public sector and deregulation by reducing the role of law and state. (Jessop, 2002). Many local companies have disappeared; global companies established and play important roles in national economies.

When a strong de-industrialisation process took place in European cities, many social and spatial changes were the result. Structural unemployment followed. (Kesteloot, 2006, p.129). Many harbour areas became abandoned when the industrial businesses moved out. Waterfronts in industrialised cities became a perfect location for flagship regeneration, stimulated by the new ideas of neoliberalism.

Flagship development can be defined as “significant, high-profile and prestigious land and property developments which play an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration” (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.252). Flagship developments are places where global and local influences intertwine. The global deals with a focus on tourists, investment, global companies; and also on image building for (inter)national relations. On the contrary, the local focuses on users and residents of the area, the spaces that are located in a specific urban fabric. (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.254)

The first flagships, emerging in the 1980s and 1990s, were implemented on vacant land. This land was empty because de-industrialisation made the industries declining or moving out of the city. The first flagship developments arose in the cities that suffered the strongest from de-industrialisation and associated problems.

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

The aim of this part is to answer the following question: what are the possible benefits that flagship development can generate for the local communities living in adjacent neighbourhoods and how can these benefits be exploited?

A brief overview of flagships

The first flagships

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

The prestigious flagship projects tend to be confined to areas with the highest development potential, such as the city centres, locations with significant heritage value or waterfronts. (Bianchini et al., 1992; Loftman and Nevin, 1995). “It was a response to both the cataclysmic shifts in cities brought about because of de-industrialisation and as an example of neoliberal strategies being developed and implemented at this time.” (Doucet, 2009, p.101)

Flagship projects aimed at creating more wealth for the city under neoliberal ideas.

The projects were a necessary answer to the declining industries. The developers aimed at diversifying the city’s economic base and encouraging private investment (Bianchini et al., 1992; Healey et al., 1992; Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.304). Declining city economies led to a ‘flight’ of the affluent households, because there were not enough possibilities to move into owner-occupied, high quality housing and high unemployment existed. Flagship projects aimed at attracting affluent households by building according to their housing needs. The projects facilitate the physical restructuring of certain areas to
meet with the changing demands of the production and consumption services. (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.304) Another need for the regeneration was the worsening image of the city, another effect of declining industries. The prestigious projects aimed at revitalising an attractive city image (Doucet, 2009; Smyth, 1994). Flagships became icons for the city, such as the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao or the Erasmus Bridge in Rotterdam.

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

After the first flagships arose in declining cities, many other cities copied the development. The prestigious projects appeared to be successful in numerous cities. The places seemed economic attractive and the planned physical transformation took place. (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.302)

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

Another change is the use of local community input and participation, that exists in a few contemporary projects. This is a major shift from the former property-led development, and meets partially with critiques, as can be read in paragraph 4.2.

However, it is not true that the ideas of the 1980s and 1990 have disappeared. Several authors have argued that the neoliberal winner-take-all approach has continued. There are many examples of flagships in Europe that are nowadays still being built along the lines of traditional flagships. Much regeneration is “still predicated on iconic, consumption-led projects that are aimed at a higher-income or visitor audience”. (Doucet, 2009, p.103) Despite the fact that some developments now also pay attention to less fortunate residents, most of the other goals remain present. Critiques remain similar.

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

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

Aims of flagship developers

Aims of private developers

Developers formulate aims when planning the flagship projects. The most important aims were previously mentioned, the flagships should:

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

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

Developers put forward a lot of aims that focus on the large scale. They want the prestigious projects to put cities on the map (Rodriguez et al., 2001, p.167), so they become more attractive for different target groups and investments. The project should attract regional and (inter)national visitors. Also should it attract people with high incomes to buy or rent a residence in the area (Doucet, 2009).

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

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

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

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

Regeneration is a tenuous notion that can have many different effects on neighbourhoods, positive but also negative when for instance talking about gentrification. Gentrification is a widely discussed subject, that will not be discussed in detail here. One of the critiques on gentrification can be mentioned, in the sense of residential benefits. This is the fact that residents of adjacent neighbourhoods will not be able to benefit from the flagship if they are displaced from the area. This happens often when gentrification takes place, then it means that the effects of the development are still focused on outsiders: residents from elsewhere that move into the adjacent areas once the flagship has been built.

**Municipal aims**

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

**Effects of flagship development**

In this section several effects that are mentioned in literature will be pointed out. These effects are the ones that developers do not specifically aim for, but that are being noted by critics. First effects that plead for the development of flagships will be discussed, second effects against it. At the end of this section, several phenomena that threaten successful flagship development will be discussed.

**Positive effects of flagship development**

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

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

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

Another economic effect proponents see, is the raising of property values (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.303). However the question remains for whom this is a positive effect. Many neighbourhoods adjoining flagships were built decades ago for the working class that lived next to industrial businesses. This means that the dwellings are relatively small, and mainly for low rent-prices. Only house and land owners can actually benefit from rising property values. Proponents state that the benefits of the flagships are for all residents, although this is not widely accepted in literature. Proponents claim that all residents benefit from the creation of wealth and jobs and the use of new public spaces and facilities. The flagship provides many jobs in the service sector, but also supporting jobs for which a
lower education is needed. The latter can be filled by the often low educated people in adjoining neighbourhoods, they say.

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

**Negative effects of flagship development**

The most important negative critiques can be divided into spatial and economic effects.

Starting with the economic effects, several disadvantages can be mentioned. First of all, flagship projects have a high financial risk (Loftman and Nevin, 1995; Temelová, 2007, p.97). The construction needs investments of several project developers, and often also of municipalities. The economic returns take a long time, and are not always as high as predicted (Bianchini et al., 1992, p.253; Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p.308). Moreover the financial risks are high (Eisinger, 2000, p.323). This goes together with other economic disadvantages. The investments are concentrated on a few places only, which has the effect that benefits are unevenly distributed (Parkinson & Evans in: Bianchini et al., 1992, p.252). It has been argued that the people benefiting from the flagships are mainly tourists and middle or high class residents. Low-income residents living close by the newly developed area benefit the least.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Threats for successful flagship development**

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

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

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

Future challenges
To conclude, an answer will be given to the main question ‘what are the possible benefits that flagship development can generate for the local communities living in adjacent neighbourhoods and how can these benefits be exploited?’ In the previous sections several benefits for the local community have been mentioned, which are listed in a scheme (figure 1).

It can be seen that flagships do have the ability to function as a catalyst for important local benefits such as urban regeneration, local economic development and the use of urban spaces.

Now the second part of the question remains: how can the possible benefits for local residents be exploited? In the paper it has been put forward that not only the aims of developers lack focus on adjacent neighbourhoods, also the negative effects described in literature seem to worsen existing disadvantages of lower income households and parts of the city. In order to let the local community exploit the beneficial possibilities, the challenge for the future is two-fold.

On the one hand the aims of flagship developers and actors involved in the project should be repositioned to be more economically and socially inclusive (Doucet, 2009, p.106). Only then, flagships can offer benefits for people other than tourists, developers and high income households. Only then, flagships can affect adjacent neighbourhoods and their residents in a positive way.

On the other hand, several effects of flagship developments prevent the local community from benefiting from the project (figure 2). These effects need to be taken away or diminished in order to make the flagship beneficial for residents of adjacent neighbourhoods.

Now that the theoretical part is set, the challenge for the future is to explore the practical part of this issue. How can flagships be developed and designed in such a way that they ensure adjacent neighbourhoods and their residents to benefit from it? The paper puts forward a list of beneficial goals, now the tools to reach them need to be explored.

How to use the theoretical framework
The theoretical framework contains the literature study that is needed to help answering all of the sub research questions. It provides the input that, together with other methods, will help to find an answer to the questions. In the last part ‘preliminary strategy & design’ there will be given a preliminary answer to several of the questions, based on this theoretical part.
In this part it is time for the first practical subject. After framing the goals and questions for the project, underly- ing it with theoretical background, now the practical part can begin!

In chapter 14, an analysis of the key location in Amsterdam can be found, relating it to problems that are present. The analysis starts on a higher scale, and zooms in to the neighbourhood level. The analysis is related to several subjects that are relevant for this project. In every section a map of the location is shown, together with one or two pictures, and a conclusion in text. This analysis is not finished yet; it will be elaborated later on in the process.

In chapter 15, the case studies will be introduced briefly, though not analysed yet. This happens later, on the base of specific questions that will be answered by analytical maps of the case studies.
The chosen location consists of the two neighbourhoods Overhoeks and Van der Pekbuurt, as can be seen in the figure. In this chapter I will show the first analysis of the area. The figures show analytical maps, the text shows the conclusions that can be drawn from the mapping.
In the figure it can be seen that the public transport covers good parts of the Van der Pekbuurt, consisting of bus lines and a newly planned metro that runs from the north to the south of Amsterdam.

In the contemporary development of Overhoeks, there is no public transport running through. This raises the question if there are new or modified bus lines planned for the future. If this is not the case, this makes that residents and visitors of the area should have to walk to the bus and metro stations in the Van der Pekbuurt (which takes maximum 10 minutes). This fact could be considered as a link between the two areas. At the bus and metro stations people from both neighbourhoods come together.
Car routes

Fig. 45 Car routes towards the ring road of Amsterdam (author, 2011)

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

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

Fig. 46 Picture of S-roads (author, 2011)
In the picture, two streets can be highlighted that play a big role in retail, the daily shopping. These are the Van der Pekstraat and the Docklandsweg. The question rises what the relation between these will be. How many and what kind of shops will be located in Overhoeks? Will they be complementary to the existing shops or will they attract the same customers and therefore compete with each other? These questions need to be answered during this project.
Overhoeks is obviously different from the surroundings, already if we only have a look at the building heights.

The render on the left shows the view in 2017 from Mosplein (at the northern part of Van der Pekbuurt) towards Overhoeks. Only the strip with highrise—that is not built yet—is visible from parts of Amsterdam’s city centre and North.
This shows the gap existing between the two areas. The contemporary architecture of Overhoeks opposed to the traditional architecture of the 1930s in the prewar neighbourhood.
Public and private

It can be seen that in Van der Pekbuurt much more public space is present. In Overhoeks actually only the streets are and the park are public, of which the park has not been constructed yet.

The tip of Van der Pekbuurt at the IJ river is remarkably private. This may be researched more extensive to find opportunities for regeneration at this place.
As said before, the Van der Pekbuurt contains much more public space than Overhoeks. The public spaces have different functions which makes the area lively. The spaces can be used by different people on different times of the day.
Overhoeks was previously owned by Shell entirely, but the bigger part was sold to the municipality of Amsterdam in 2004. The Van der Pekbuurt contains much social housing, so this probably belongs to the municipality as well.
Barriers

The two neighbourhoods are separated from each other by water. Many bridges try to connect the pieces of land together. Most of these are only for slow traffic. Only one bridge connects the areas for cars. Four bridges are part of the development of Overhoeks, and have just been built or will be soon in the future.
Political visions

Randstad 2040
The state policy document ‘Randstad 2040’ focuses on four main aspects.
1 Living in a ‘climate-proof’ and green blue delta
2 Create quality by stimulating interaction between green, blue and red
3 Make stronger, what is internationally strong
4 Powerful, sustainable cities and regional accessibility
(Rijksoverheid, 2010)

As we can see, the third and fourth statement focus on the regional and international scale. This is of much importance for this project, and should be taken into account during the process.

Vision Amsterdam 2040
The municipality of Amsterdam has a vision (“structuurvisie”) on the development of the riverbanks of the IJ. In both scenarios (figure on the right) the current industrial areas will be transformed into a working-living environment. As we can see the de-industrialisation-process continues.

Fig. 64 Two scenarios for the development of the harbour area of Amsterdam (Kaart: DRO, Johan Karst Uit: Amsterdam structuurvisie 2040, p. 14)
14 Comparison study

Based on the criteria mentioned in chapter 6, three case studies are selected: Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam and Céramique in Maastricht. In this chapter both will be described briefly. Later, they will be used to answer specific questions, such as: if benefit x is present in the case of Céramique, what prerequisites make it possible for the local community to exploit this benefit?

Kop van Zuid

The Kop van Zuid is a flagship project in Rotterdam which was developed in the end of the last century. It was developed by a collaboration of the municipality of Rotterdam and private developers.

It is located at the waterfront of the river Maas, a former industrial area. Rotterdam is divided into North and South by the river. The Kop van Zuid is close to the city centre, and creates a bridge from Rotterdam North (where the city centre is located) to the Rotterdam South. This is literally created by the prestigious Erasmus Bridge. The flagship area is -like the key project in Amsterdam- located next to an attention neighbourhood: Afrikaanderwijk.

One of the aims of the project was to create ‘social return’. For the municipality this meant that it is important that the Kop van Zuid is being built not only for an outside audience, but also for the people living in Rotterdam South. (Doucet, 2012)
Céramique

The flagship area Céramique was built in the end of the 1980s in Maastricht. It is located at the waterfront of the river Maas. Like in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the river divides the city into two parts. Céramique is located at the opposite site of the city centre. The masterplan was made by Jo Coenen. Although it does not contain highrise, there are some prestigious buildings, like the museum ‘Centre Céramique’.
The deliverables for the graduation project are a strategic plan and a design. To give an insight on what to expect at the end, now already a preliminary version of these two will be given. These show the first steps and are certainly not definite.

How the strategy and design are being developed, is by answering the sub research questions. Therefore the four questions will be the guide line through this part, each one represents a section.

I have started to find answers on the questions with the use of several methods. Literature, mapping and GIS have been explored and will answer the questions partially. Other methods will be explored later and the results will contribute later to the preliminary answers and thus to the preliminary strategic plan and urban design.
15 Beneficial possibilities

A preliminary answer to the first sub question follows in this chapter:

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

According to the methodology scheme, this question will be answered with the use of: site observation, GIS, literature and interviews. Until now, this question has only been studied in literature; the results of this study can answer the question partially. In part two -the theoretical framework- the literature that supports the following statements is explained in detail. In this part the most important effects are mentioned.

Not all effects that are listed in the schemes can be read there, in this chapter I try to make an overview that is as complete as possible.

In order to know whether developers mean to let the local communities benefit from their projects at all, we need to have a look at the aims they put forward. According to literature, the following list can be made.

Aims of flagship developers

1. Create more wealth for the city
2. Changing local perceptions
3. Put cities on the map
4. Catalyse regeneration
5. Promote “organic” growth
6. Place-marketing
7. Attract private sector finance
8. Inter-city competition
9. Attract high income residents
10. Local economic development
11. Attract visitors
12. Defend position in global hierarchy
13. Boost municipal revenues
14. Revitalising an attractive image for the city

Additional aims of municipalities

15. Local quality and benefit
16. Helping people out of poverty
17. Attention towards deprived communities
18. Resident participation in planning flagship projects

References

Doucet 2009
Smyth 1995
Rodríguez et al:167
Smyth 1995
Doucet 2009
Doucet 2009:102
Loftman, Nevin 1995:299
Grodach:353
Loftman, Nevin 1995:304
Grodach:353
xxx

Manchester Council in Doucet, 2009
Doucet, 2009
Doucet, 2009
xxx

Fig. 70 Aims of public and private flagship developers (author, 2012; sources in scheme)
When looking at the aims of developers that create beneficial possibilities for local residents, it is remarkable that these are only the municipal aims! According to the literature study, none of the private developers aim for local benefits.

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

### Positive critique
- Boost civic pride
- Boost business confidence
- Raising property values
- Raising development activity in adjoining areas
- Arrest the spiral of decline in urban areas
- Benefits for all residents: wealth, jobs, places

### Negative critique
- Social polarisation
- Fragmentation of cities
- Individual planning, not integrated
- Concentrate investment on few places only
- High financial risk
- No public resources for deprived neighbourhoods
- Benefits are unevenly distributed
- Residents distrust expenses of government
- Low economic returns

### Threats
- Instability of market: no reliable regeneration
- Delay, curtailment, failure of projects
- Oversupply of prestigious projects

Now it is possible to see that four of the six positive critiques show a benefit for the local community. But also several effects are a disbenefit for them.

In literature there is also spoken about negative externalities. These are effects that cannot be controlled by developers of the projects, but can be taken into account. Besides this, critics write about future challenges: possible improvements that developers could take into account. Both are listed in the following scheme.

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Fig. 71 Aims of public and private flagship developers (author, 2012; sources in scheme)
The ‘future challenges’ show only benefits for residents living next to the development. This shows that critics do have attention for the local community, and can even mention several beneficial possibilities. This is a very good thing, but it should be taken into account by practitioners in order to actually create possibilities!

### Negative externalities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Benefit for local community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jobs go to commuters, farther away from source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mismatch of jobs and skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Little benefit for poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mask social and economic divisions within cities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Future challenge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Benefit for local community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Generate socially just outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Create more inclusive spaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rethink goals of key actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Provide possibilities for housing career for residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Amenities, transport, recreational facilities, jobs, housing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Fig. 72 Negative externalities and future challenges (author, 2012; sources in scheme)**

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**Fig. 73 Café in Van der Pekbuurt (author, 2011)**
16 Benefits for Van der Pekbuurt

For this project, the logical next question is sub research question 2:

Which of the benefits are possible to design and can be applied to the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?

As can be seen in the methodology, this question will be answered by: maps, data research, site observation, GIS, literature and interviews.

- Literature can give information on possible benefits, as described in the previous section.
- Data research might show what the specific needs or problems in the Van der Pekbuurt are.
- Site observation and GIS has provided information on the facilities that exist in the Van der Pekbuurt.
- Maps show what facilities are present and planned in the new development.
- Interviews will help to explain what needs the local community of the Van der Pekbuurt has.

For now, several conclusions will be drawn based on literature research. The other methods that have been used so far, do not yet provide sufficient information. A list can be made, that shows the benefits that were highlighted in the previous section. From this list, the ones that can be influenced by urbanists can be selected.

Besides knowing what kind of beneficial possibilities the flagship project can generate, it is needed to know how these can be exploited. Several disbenefits for the local community were mentioned previously. These are listed in the following scheme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefits for local residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Local quality and benefit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Helping people out of poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Attention towards deprived communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Resident participation in planning flagship projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Boost civic pride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Raising development activity in adjoining areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Arrest the spiral of decline in urban areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How to generate socially just outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Create more inclusive spaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Rethink goals of key actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Provide possibilities for housing career</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Amenities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Possibilities for transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Recreational facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Urban places</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 74 Benefits for local residents (author, 2012; sources in previous schemes)

In this list, the effects that prevent the local community from being able to exploit the benefits, can be selected. The most important one of these, is fragmentation within cities. This is a characteristic that can be designed and thus changed by urban designers.
The third sub question is:

**How can the benefits be planned in a strategy for the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks?**

The previous research provides input for developing the strategic plan and the urban design. The strategic plan aims at creating a framework which contains the requirements that make a successful urban design possible. The strategy therefore focuses on the non-spatial aspect, which are:

1. Planning flagship developments
2. Aims of flagship developers

**Planning flagship developments**

In the Netherlands, many plans are made by public-private-partnerships. In most cases, this means that the municipality works together with private developers. This is the case in Overhoeks. The project cooperation is called ‘Noordwaarts’ and consists of several actors:

- Ymere (private developer)
- Shell
- Municipality of Amsterdam
- EYE (Film museum)
- Vesteda (housing coorporation)

It is positive that the municipality is closely involved in the process. We have seen that Dutch municipalities tend to aim for profits for the local residents. However, to create more benefits the local community should be involved in the process of decision making. They know best what kind of facilities they need or will use.

**Aims of flagship developers**

The aims of private developers do not focus on the benefits of the local community. This is a problem, because if they do not value these benefits high, they can never be designed properly. There is a need for developers to rethink their goals. Only then, beneficial possibilities can be created for neighbourhoods related to the flagship they are developing. What should their aims be?

The goal of developers should be to develop a flagship area that is *integrated in its surroundings* to make certain that it does not cause fragmentation in the city. The *attention* should go to the local community that lives next to the newly developed flagship.

In the flagship development Overhoeks, 2200 dwellings are being built. For the residents of the Van der Pekbuurt there should be offered the possibility to have a *housing career*. This means that the prices of dwelling in Overhoeks should partially overlap with the prices of the Van der Pekbuurt. People that earn more money over time, can then stay in Amsterdam North when buying or renting a dwelling that is more expensive than their previous one. It is shown that people that live longer in one neighbourhood, feel responsible and attached to their environment. This has a positive effect on safety issues, nuisance and crime rates. (Van Kempen, 2000)

**Next steps**

Much elaboration is needed on the strategic plan. Several methods that have not been used (extensively) yet, will provide information to develop a strategic plan for the development of Overhoeks and the Van der Pekbuurt.
Sub question 4 will be answered by developing a design for the Van der Pekbuurt and Overhoeks:

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

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

1. The beneficial possibilities should be provided
2. The effects of Overhoeks that prevent the local community from benefiting, should be diminished or removed entirely.

Both have been discussed in the previous chapter. The effects and possibilities that can be designed by an urban designer, are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefits for local residents that can be designed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Create more inclusive spaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Provide possibilities for housing career</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Amenities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Possibilities for transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Recreational facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Urban places</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disbenefits for local community that can be diminished by design</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Social polarisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fragmentation within cities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How the beneficial possibilities can be designed, will be researched later.

The disbenefits should be turned around so that the flagship diminishes social polarisation and is integrated with its surroundings.

I have not yet developed a design for the area, since the requirements are only partially mentioned. More will follow when the research continues. When the research is developed further, I will start designing.
List of references


Images


Glossary

Urban design
the arrangement, appearance and functionality of towns and cities, and in particular the shaping and uses of urban public space

Strategic plan

Flagship development

Flagship project

Local community