Renewing City Renewal
A call for strong design

Henk Engel
Endry van Velzen
Olof van de Wal
Between 1970 and 1990 the prewar districts of Dutch cities underwent an unparalleled process of renewal. What began as ‘building for the neighbourhood’ in protest against extensive demolition has now come to be known as ‘city renewal’. Large numbers of affordable dwellings and social facilities were created. However, businesses often disappeared, the quality of public space did not always improve and districts sometimes became isolated from the rest of the city. Since 1990 some of the old city renewal districts have taken off again and become popular (and expensive) housing districts. But others still have problems despite the renewal.

The design studies in this book show how economic activity, infrastructure and public space can be the keys to new strategies for improving city districts. Four ‘problem districts’ have been chosen as testing grounds: Leiden’s Havenkwartier, The Hague’s Schilderswijk, Rotterdam’s Feijenoord and Amsterdam’s Indische Buurt.

Three essays describe the history of city renewal, the future of urban renewal and the role of spatial design in changing the existing city. The book ends with a call for meaningful new roles and instruments for architects and urban designers at a time when large-scale urban development has come to a standstill.

trancity-valiz, on the city, urban development and the public realm in partnership with De Nijl Architecten, Platform31 and Delft University of Technology
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photographs Jannes Linders

translation Kevin Cook
from the dutch hard copy book edition
Vernieuwing van de stadsvernieuwing
trancity®valiz, 2013
which can be ordered online
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Foreword

In 2010-2012 the Netherlands Architecture Fund carried out a programme, commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, to raise the standards of urban design and regional design. The main reason for this was the decline in urban design expertise and skills at local-authority level. One of the goals was to improve interaction between design training and everyday practice. Better use of academic expertise in solving spatial problems would, it was hoped, benefit professional practice. At the same time, research and university training in design could take fuller account of the substantial changes that were starting to become apparent in the opening decade of the twenty-first century.

This publication sets out the results of the first project funded under the programme – a research partnership between Delft University of Technology, the KEI Knowledge Centre for Urban Renewal (now Platform31) and De Nijl Architecten, entitled Renewing city renewal. The core of the project is research by design conducted in four housing districts in the Randstad conurbation of the western Netherlands that have long been described as ‘problem districts’ in both policy documents and research. Use has been made of academic knowledge to place city renewal in the historical context of urban development, to analyse the study areas and to define the design questions. For the design part of the project four design firms from outside the Netherlands were invited. The underlying idea was that the intended renewal could best be grasped by calling in experts from countries that had no experience with the Dutch tradition of city renewal.

Now that institutionalised project and area development has largely come to a standstill, it is apparent that cities can also change without input from designers or deliberate spatial interventions. Cities expand and shrink in population and economic activity. Health care, educational and cultural organisations are abolished, move and merge, all within the existing urban regions. At present our cities are mainly changing through the behaviour of their inhabitants and visitors and the functioning of businesses and institutions. In recent years the Netherlands Architecture Fund has identified many initiatives that have not been launched by the traditional clients but have enriched urban functioning in both programmatic and spatial terms. These are part of an international trend in which citizens and urban businesses are increasingly taking the initiative: the ‘civic economy’.

This is not to say that there is no longer any role for designers. Spatial analysis can still be an inspiring, connecting vehicle for outlining an attractive future perspective. According to the authors, designers’ work includes mediating in dogmas, managing complexity and providing settings. Their skills lie in design thinking, framing and storytelling; the drawn design visualises the content of urban agendas, which can be formulated by ever-changing coalitions. Now that the influence of traditional, professional clients has been reduced, designers are compelled to review their field of work. This study reports on this transition in urban renewal from the designer’s point of view: from ‘making the city’ to ‘being the city’.

Janny Rodermond
Director
Creative Industries Fund NL
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Background

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‘Although the operation was carried out stage by stage within the existing structure of urban blocks and streets, it often led to major spatial and programmatic changes – for instance in the relationship between the city and the district, the blend of urban functions, the typologies of buildings and open spaces, and the appearance of the city.’
‘Believing ourselves capable of renewing at will the environment in which we live with the resources of modern technology, we have come to realise that the environments created are generally irreversible because of a series of interests and accomplished facts over which we have little control.’(1)

The Italian historian Leonardo Benevolo’s book *The European City* points to a key feature of the existing city – namely, that only exceptional effort or an unusual set of circumstances can bring about major changes in it. One of these was the period of city renewal. Herman de Liagre Böhl’s recently published study *Steden in de steigers: stadsvernieuwing in Nederland 1970-1990* describes how redesigning old city districts became a key facet of both national and local Dutch policy in the early 1970s.(2)

A combination of political interest and generous central-government funding spurred a vast renewal operation that was primarily aimed at housing, including the dwelling environment and accompanying facilities. Local authorities played a crucial part in this process, and often had to reorganise their own administrative structure. Dwellings in the designated areas were either renovated or demolished and rebuilt, under the motto *Bouwen voor de buurt* (‘Building for the neighbourhood’). Numerous privately owned blocks of rented flats were bought up by local authorities, improved and then transferred to housing corporations. Although the operation was carried out stage by stage within the existing structure of urban blocks and streets, it often led to major spatial and programmatic changes – for instance in the relationship between the city and the district, the blend of urban functions, the typologies of buildings and open spaces, and the appearance of the city.

De Liagre Böhl’s conclusion is that city renewal was a great success. The technical state of the housing stock in the old city districts was greatly improved. Yet, despite this overall success, De Liagre Böhl notes varying results. He distinguishes between three types of district: (1) working-class districts, which maintained their character after renewal; (2) ‘gentrified’ districts, where the arrival of new groups of residents from other backgrounds led to a social rise and differentiation in the available shops and facilities; and (3) districts that are still known as ‘problem areas’ and have been the subject of additional policy efforts in successive programmes such as the Major Cities Policy, the Focus Districts Policy and the recent specific focus on South Rotterdam (*Nationaal programma Kwaliteitssprong Zuid*, September 2011) or The Hague’s Schilderswijk district (*Deal Schilderswijk*, October 2012).(3)

(3) Ibid., p. 344.
spatial/programmatic approach to these ‘problem districts’ is
the subject of this book.

The districts do not require a large-scale approach based on
restructuring of housing, for the dwellings are structurally quite
sound, with relatively high book value. What is needed in these
areas is a ‘different approach’, with less emphasis on renewal
of the housing stock and more on improvement of traffic links,
facilities and public space. The starting point is the existing
set of spatial and social features, as well as an explicit wish to
reintegrate the districts into the city as a whole. The idea of a
different approach first emerged some years ago in a number
of advisory reports by the Council for Housing, Spatial Planning
and the Environment. A large-scale approach to city districts
had already been discussed under the heading ‘natural renewal
of districts’. Renewing city renewal thus also means finding
starting points for a different approach.

Four case studies

Renewing city renewal was the subject of a research
programme conducted jointly in 2011 and 2012 by De Nijl
Architecten, the KEI Knowledge Centre for Urban Renewal
(now Platform31) and Delft University of Technology, with
funding from the Netherlands Architecture Fund (now the
Creative Industries Fund NL). The programme involved
exploring the task, conducting a closer analysis of four study
areas, proposing four design studies to local players, a design
event involving four firms from outside the Netherlands, and a
reflection on the results.

A key element of the programme was the relationship between
the district and the city. This allows links to be created
between the practice of everyday life and the spatial structure
within which this takes place. ‘Building for the neighbourhood’
weakened the urban orientation of the old city districts, and
this relative isolation now appears to stand in the way of their
future development. Renewing city renewal therefore means
creating new links between the district and the city. Although
‘natural renewal of districts’ emphasises clearly demarcated
local interventions, it does not rule out a broader view; in fact,
it calls for greater insight into the development of the city
districts involved. What role have these areas played within the
city as a whole? What potential still remains? Where does the
local order of the everyday environment still overlap with the
comprehensive order of the city as a whole? Where can new
overlaps be developed? How can efforts to tackle ‘problem
areas’ be fitted into the urban agenda – or, conversely, what do
the ‘problem areas’ require of the urban agenda?

Introduction

(4) Stad en wijk verwerven, July 2009, Publieke ruimte, July 2009 and Stad en Stijging, October 2006. These reports
can be found at www.rli.nl/publicaties.
(5) KEI-kenniscentrum stedelijke vernieuwing, Natuurlijke wijkvernieuwing, een proces van meebewegen, October 2004. See also Endry
van Velzen, ‘Gevarieerde stadslandschappen: pleidooi voor de herontdekking van de naoorlogse stad’, in de Architect, May 2005,
(6) A brief chronology indicating those involved can be found at the end of the book.
(7) The relationship between the district and the city was a key theme in the evaluation and
reorientation of city renewal in the late 1980s. See also chapter 2.
(8) In many former city renewal districts there was in fact an
ongoing process of urbanisation in the spatial and social
When exploring the task, use was made of the study *Steden van Randstad Holland in kaart* (‘Mapping cities in Randstad Holland’), which illustrates the role of various areas in urban development.(9) City renewal areas in nine historical cities in the Randstad were identified, indicating which of them are still known as ‘problem districts’. On the basis of this inventory, study areas were selected in four cities: Leiden, The Hague, Rotterdam and Amsterdam. A key factor here was the presence of urban facilities or infrastructures that could form a starting point for the development of programmes of more than just local importance. Further urban analysis was used to formulate hypotheses for locations and programmes in the four areas, and these were presented to local players.(10)

The design tasks were then fine-tuned in consultation with local contact teams, in preparation for four design studies.(11) The design studies were intended to identify the potential of the various locations and examine what part exploratory design could play in urban renewal processes. Firms from other countries were invited to carry out the studies, because their different planning traditions might reveal different design practices that could be of relevance to the Netherlands. The *Renewing city renewal* research programme was thus condensed into four case studies, which are presented in this book:

**Leiden’s Havenwijk district**, based on the former flour factory (Meelfabriek) and the Singelpark: design study by De Smet Vermeulen Architecten, Ghent;

**The Hague’s Schilderswijk district**, based on local economic activities: design study by 51N4E, Brussels;

**Rotterdam’s Feijenoord district**, based on a new cross-river link: design study by Fusi & Ammann Architekten, Hamburg;

**Amsterdam’s Indische Buurt district**, based on the Flevopark: design study by East, London.

**The changing context**
Recent years have seen substantial changes in the context of urban development and urban improvement. The hitherto predominant development model based on large-scale area development by public-private partnerships, with long-term programme and investment agreements between the authorities and major players, no longer works. Urban renewal based on an integrated approach to spatial, economic and social tasks is also a thing of the past. Political and economic developments have led to fundamental shifts in the positions of the various players and investment flows in cities. Owing to a combination of regulation, the credit squeeze, levies and scandals, major players are losing their capacity to invest

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(9) In recent years this study has been conducted by the Building Typology and History chairs at Delft University of Technology’s Faculty of Architecture. The study focuses on the nine main historical cities in the Randstad: Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, The Hague, Delft, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Gouda and Utrecht. Henk Engel et al., ‘Mapping Randstad Holland’, in OverHolland 2, Amsterdam 2005, pp. 23-70. Guus Borger et al., ‘Twelve centuries of spatial transformation in the western Netherlands, in six maps’, OverHolland 10/11, Amsterdam 2011, pp. 4-124.

(10) The urban analysis of three study areas was partly conducted at the ‘Architecture as catalyst in city renewal’ graduation workshop (Faculty of Architecture, Delft University of Technology, autumn 2011).
In Leiden, consultation with local players led to the choice of a different study area: Havenwijk. Although this former city renewal area was not included in the Krachtwijkenaanpak ('Focus Areas Approach'), it was seen as a potential 'overflow area' from the city centre. Regular attempts are made, mainly on the initiative of local authorities or the central government, to launch such a renewal. See, for example, Friso de Zeeuw et al., Ontslakken van gebiedsontwikkeling: wenken voor sneller, goedkoper en flexibeler acteren, Delft 2013; Tom Daamen, Agnes Franzen, Jolai van der Vegt, Sturen op waarde in Rotterdam, afwegen en verbinden in de nieuwe realiteit van stedelijke gebiedsontwikkeling, Delft 2012; Robert de Graaff, Hans Nuiver, Caroline van de Veerdonk, De waarde van nieuwe verdienmodellen: verslag van een speurtocht naar succes en falen van innovatieve waardencreate, vooral in binnen- en buitenstedelijke gebiedsontwikkeling, on behalf of the Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment and the Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment, Investeren in gebiedsontwikkeling nieuwe stijl: handreikingen voor samenwerking en verdienmodellen, The Hague 2012; Cis Apeldoorn, Annius Hoonstra et al., Er waait een frisse wind door deze oude stad: sneller, slimmer en flexibeler Amsterdam ontwikkelen, Rapportage Denkcommissie Naar een Nieuwe Ruimtelijke Ordeningsstrategie, Amsterdam 2011.

The changing context of urban development and urban improvement has greatly influenced the approach in this book, which tells a story of how parts of cities that were once city renewal districts could be tackled. It discusses topics that are potential starting points for a different approach to such areas, as well as the role that designers could play in it. The backdrop to all this is a different story: the loss of political interest in the physical city. The social task is no longer directly linked to a spatial/programmatic task. That creates breathing space, but at the same time it challenges us to redefine the position of architects and urban designers – of designs – in the context of urban development. Both story lines are interwoven in the four case studies and the various reflections set out below.

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(13) This essay, commissioned by the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, the Interprovincial Council and the Association of Netherlands Municipalities, was written in March 2012 by the KEI Knowledge Centre for Urban Renewal and NICIS (now both part of Platform31).
Havenwijk, Leiden
Renewing City Renewal
Havenwijk, Leiden
Havenwijk, Leiden
... a typical example of further development of a city renewal area linked to an agenda for the development of city-centre functions."
The Havenwijk district was part of Leiden's second major urban expansion in the seventeenth century (1659-1664). After the Spanish siege in 1574, Leiden grew explosively, and in the space of a century its population increased almost sixfold. During the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic, with 70,000 inhabitants and thousands of looms in 1660-1670, the city became Europe's leading industrial centre. Havenwijk was developed as an industrial area. Production was domestic, and this was reflected in marked social stratification. The great majority of dwellings were created by developers. Plots for the largest, most expensive merchants' homes were located on the Herengracht and Zijlsingel canals. Plots for the medium-sized homes of independent craftsmen were located on the Oranjegracht canal, and those for small weavers' homes on the Waardgracht canal. Behind those, in Cingelstraat and Looierstraat by the town ramparts, were the smallest dwellings, for spinners and the destitute.

From 1670 onwards Holland's towns and cities went into an economic decline, and Leiden lost over half of its population, which by 1808 had shrunk to just 27,000. The whole town, and especially the seventeenth-century expansion areas, became impoverished. This left plenty of room to absorb the new economic activity that sprang up during the nineteenth century. Havenwijk became densely populated once more, and large factories were built there. It was not until 1930 that Leiden's population again reached 70,000, but by then it had expanded considerably in area. Only the very poorest people still lived in Havenwijk, and the district was at the top of the list for renovation and demolition of slums.

The biggest expansions took place after the Second World War. In 1961, as a counterpart to this, the Municipal Works Office produced an extensive roads and redevelopment plan for the city centre. A 1962 scale model of Havenwijk showed that almost all of the district would be demolished and its canals filled in as part of a new city development scheme. An access road to the city centre was planned next to the flour factory (Meelfabriek). However, these plans remained largely unrealised, and the early 1970s saw a change of heart. There was now greater support for maintaining the historic character of the city centre; but by then most of Havenwijk had been pulled down. Thanks to schemes for city renewal and preservation of monuments and historic buildings, the entire focus of subsequent planning was on reconstruction. About half of the housing stock was then owned by the Leidse Woningstichting housing corporation.

Havenwijk is particularly interesting from the point of view of this research programme, as the city council's plans for the area now focused on one special project: redevelopment of the Meelfabriek for cultural purposes, and construction of a hotel. This is a typical example of further development of a city renewal area linked to an agenda for the development of city-centre functions.

The Meelfabriek was located on a former bastion in the historic city's defences. The factory was built in 1883, and closed down in 1988; ten years later the site was taken over by a developer. The complex is one of the main mementoes of Leiden's industrial past, and a striking landmark. A competition was launched with a view to preserving and reusing the buildings, and the winner was the design by Atelier [er staat 'Zumpthor'] Zumthor. In close collaboration with developer Ab van der Wiel, Leiden City Council and the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands, the master plan was worked out in more detail, and in 2007 it was approved by the Council of State.

Ownership of public housing has meanwhile been transferred to the Arnhem-based Woningstichting Portaal housing corporation. Given the poor quality of some of the dwellings from the period of city renewal, redevelopment (including rezoning of the car parks) is being considered. These improvements depend on the redevelopment of the Meelfabriek, and have been hampered by delays to this project. The first phase will probably be implemented shortly. There are no prospects of further implementation, especially now that all building activity has been brought to a halt by the economic crisis.

It is therefore time to reconsider things and find a basis for a less ambitious development strategy. The main focus of the design study should be on the Oosterkerkstraat/Waardgracht intersection.

(2) Ibid., p. 52. See also Ed Taverne, In 't land van belofte: in de nieuwe stad, ideaal en werkelijkheid van de stadsaanleg in de Republiek 1580-1680, Maarsen 1978.
Study area with task and design location

- **1** Oosterkerkstraat
- **2** Hooigracht (‘city ring’)
- **3** Zijlsingel (‘ring of canals’)
- **4** Hoge Rijndijk (eastern access road)
- **5** Kooilaan (northern access road)
Renewing City Renewal

Around 1970  Building structure before city renewal

Around 1990  New city renewal buildings

1976  Aerial photograph of south Havenwijk after demolition

design task
Havenwijk, Leiden
1964 Basic plan for redevelopment within and outside the Leidse Veste, from city council brochure Portret van Leiden ('Portrait of Leiden')

1971 Building quality map for 1958, from Binnenstadsnota Leiden ('Leiden City Centre Policy Document')

1964 Scale model of Herengracht-Zijlsingel redevelopment area
Around 1970  Traffic structure before city renewal

- city road
- access road to area
- (residential) street
- one-way traffic
- parking spaces along the street
- angled parking spaces
- parking along the pavement
- tram line
- railway line

Havenwijk, Leiden
1978 Veranderingsproces sinds 1850 (‘Process of change since 1850’) and Groen- en waterstructuur met ruimtevormende elementen (‘Green and water structure with space-shaping features’), from Structuurplan Binnenstad Leiden (‘Leiden City Centre Structural Plan’)

1943 Herengracht with Oosterkerk church (demolished)

1939 Herengracht-Zijlsingel traffic route (now Oosterkerkstraat)
1970 Korte Langestraat with Meelfabriek in the foreground

Around 1970  Facilities before city renewal

Around 1990  Facilities after city renewal

- **shopping** (shops / bars and restaurants)
- **education** (nursery / primary / secondary schools)
- **services** (health care / religious / district facilities)

- **recreation** (gardens and parks / sports / play facilities)
- **employment** (offices / businesses / industry)

Havenwijk, Leiden
'The focus of renewing city renewal should be on what is lacking, rather than on replacing things people evidently like.'
Historical review
The morphological history of Havenwijk is curiously monotonous. Since the district was first built in the late seventeenth century there have been plenty of dramatic changes – economic decline, a fire, a new industrial model, protests against demolition – and yet each reconstruction has been a replica of the previous one. The original ground plan, which simply repeated the pattern of parallel north-south canals in the town centre, has never been challenged or adapted. There has been no integration into the broader urban structure, and later urban expansions have had practically no influence on the district. Havenwijk has remained a morphologically monotonous island, divided into strips by canals.

And yet there are places in Leiden where historical development has led to more diversity in urban space. Leiden, a canal city built without a central square, has striking ad hoc square-like spaces that fit into the linear morphology; examples include Hooglandse Kerkgracht, a filled-in canal with curved rows of façades, or Havenplein, a terrace-fringed traffic area of locks and bridges that combines the proximity of façades with broad vistas. But there is no sign of such transforming creativeness in Havenwijk. The social stratification of the canals – Herengracht, Oranjegracht, Waardgracht – is fading, but that is the only change. Little trace of class divisions now remains in the urban fabric: a small farm in a cross street or a courtyard of working-class dwellings in between canalside mansions are rare typological dissonances amid the overall monotony.

In this respect, the development of Oosterkerkstraat is significant. This axis, perpendicular to the canals and designed to link Havenwijk to the city centre, did not make its appearance until after 1970 – a depressing, technocratically designed traffic artery devoid of urban allure. The first, late-seventeenth-century design was more imaginative. The Oosterkerk church, which was intended to dominate Havenwijk from the centre of this east-west axis, features prominently in engravings and maps – but was never actually built. The empty space outside the church by the bridges was filled up with warehouses and sheds; but all trace of these has vanished. And yet a large structure that dominated the district, with a different programme of urban importance, would eventually be built: not in the centre, but further to the east. The Meelfabriek – a closed, impressive collection of silos facing the [een waterweg, of een verkeersweg? Dat heeft gevolgen voor de vertaling] stadssingel – has recently been declared a historical monument. Its remarkable outline contrasts with the uniformity of the district.

Evaluation of city renewal
To assess the city renewals that took place in Havenwijk in the 1970s, we need to make a historical excursion. City renewal followed on the heels of protests against plans for extensive demolition and upscaling, including the filling-in of canals. This seems – and indeed was – a victory of small-scale, historically continuous, human-scale urban design over outsize, a-contextual, efficiency-driven modernisation. Yet in a broader historical perspective it was just another replica of the island of canals. Far from being reduced, morphological monotony was increased by programmatic and typological uniformity. City renewal left alleys, canals and Oosterkerkstraat with exactly the same dwellings. There were practically no shops, facilities or places to eat and drink, and there was no longer any provision for employment. In 1988 the homogenisation process was completed by the closure of the Meelfabriek, the aloof colossus on the edge of the district. This process was most evident in the nature and atmosphere of public space, which was intimate and domestic, designed as an extension of the dwelling to be shared with the neighbours. The small scale was scrupulously maintained, the few open spaces were occupied by parked cars, and the supposedly indispensable traffic axis, Oosterkerkstraat, was reluctantly accepted. The houses along it were scarcely different from the canalside mansions, as though the only acceptable public space was the canal. The opportunities for public life that would have been provided by a road with a higher hierarchical rank in the city ground plan were rejected.

This analysis indicates where the focus of renewing city renewal should be.

Renewing city renewal: a vision
The passé Zeitgeist of 1970s architecture and domestication of the canals could be rejected – but history warns us not to do so. Successive waves of demolition and rebuilding the same thing have created the strange
The focus of renewing city renewal should be on what is lacking, rather than on replacing things people evidently like. This means concentrating on the structural faults that repeated reconstruction has failed to remedy or has actually made worse: the unsatisfactory east-west links at right angles to the canals, the programmatic and typological monotony, the lack of variety in public space, the absence of central places in this unremittingly linear district. The failure of Oosterkerkstraat – first through inability (the unbuilt Oosterkerk) and later through lack of will (the despised traffic artery) – cries out for a new start.

This will require momentum – a force that can provide the necessary leverage but cannot be generated spontaneously from within the economically fragile Havenwijk. The district can only overcome its structural faults and enhance Leiden’s city centre if a more powerful urban force comes into play. And this is now happening, for two projects of strategic importance to the city are taking place on Havenwijk’s very doorstep. The urban project for the Singelpark (by LOLA landscape architects and Studio Karst), which was adopted in 2012, will have a definite impact on Havenwijk, for the small district parks on its fringes will be merged into a single park surrounding the city centre, effectively making the district less isolated.

Even more inspiring is the planned redevelopment of the disused Meelfabriek, based on a master plan from 2005 by Peter Zumthor. This will inject a mixture of programmes that is ambitious not only for Havenwijk but for Leiden as a whole, ranging from luxury housing, physical fitness and exclusive consumption to a hotel and conference centre and finally student flats. The closed character of the complex and its one-sided focus on the Singel will be eliminated: Zumthor’s project is challengingly open, creating numerous triggers for the development of the district on the city-centre side by adding volumes and restoring waterways.

There is plenty of opportunity to renew city renewal in Havenwijk, provided it can take advantage of the momentum generated by the Singelpark and the Meelfabriek and can link up its own interests with the broader importance of these strategic projects to Leiden as a whole. Our design is an exercise that explores these opportunities.

Design
The objectives of our design are morphological, programmatic and typological. In its most elementary form, it is a [eventueel een andere term?] building-line plan for Oosterkerkstraat and Lakenplein.

This means concentrating on the city-centre side by adding volumes and restoring waterways. The new building lines will be oriented towards Zumthor’s tower block of student flats and will link the district to the development of the Meelfabriek. An intermediate scale will be created in between the urban scale and the prestigious programme on the one hand and Havenwijk’s small-scale dwellings on the other.

Oosterkerkstraat will become the district’s urban centre. This street is central in two respects: it is located not only in the middle of Havenwijk but also between districts, filling the gap between the stereotypical urban facilities in [de in het Engels onbekende afkorting ‘Ir.’] oogt heel vreemd in een straatnaam, en je weet niet hoe je het moet uitspreken, dus liever ‘Ingenieur’ voluit – bij Google Maps staat overigens ook ‘Ingenieur Driessenstraat’ Ingenieur Driessenstraat and the exciting prospect of Zumthor’s Meelfabriek. For example, it can provide premises for small new businesses, neighbourhood shops and affordable, exotic places to eat and drink, extending eastwards to Zumthor’s square with trees (which our project has moved), the block of student flats and the Meelfabriek agora. It is a street where local
residents' paths can intersect with those of visitors taking an alternative route from the city centre to the fashionable factory site.

The new building line for the Lakenplein square will also be oriented towards the student flats, which will occupy the short end of the square. Provision can be made for a type of dwelling that the district now lacks: dwellings with extra space for people to work at home while looking out onto the square, with a view of the Singelpark from the upper stories – an orientation hitherto largely forgotten in this canal district. The vertical line of the tower block, the horizontal line of these dwellings and the green fringe of the park will suffice to create a striking square on the edge of the city centre – the kind of place where you might expect, say, a flea market patronised by loft-dwellers, students and tenants of rented canalside houses. Just as the block of student flats will be the ideal focus of the district in urban design terms, the students will be the social group that links the more and less affluent neighbours. Being socially mobile and perhaps quite literally located in between the two groups, they will make social group identities diffuse and fluid – a prerequisite for urban exchange.

The Lakenplein square (by the park) will be the counterpart to the Kaarsenmakersplein square (by the canal) and will link up with Groenesteeg, the second east-west axis in the district. The narrow Groenesteeg, today an intimate and charming route, will in turn be the counterpart of the new, urban, busier Oosterkerkstraat. More pronounced differences and more attractive east-west links will break up Havenwijk’s one-sided pattern and make its morphologically more balanced. Lofts, homes with space for working at home, workshops, studios and offices for new small businesses can restore employment to a district where weavers once worked and lived. But as the district becomes more visible and accessible, its shortage of local communal facilities can be placed on the agenda. The area between Waardgracht and the Meelfabriek, which is used only extensively in Zumthor’s master plan, provides opportunities for this. Our project opts for a broad-based school with space for sport, musical and artistic expression and premises that can also be used by clubs and local committees. This place in between the urban blocks and the park – a certain amount of noise would do no harm – is very suitable for such purposes.

The result will be a pattern of diverse public spaces that would create something new in Havenwijk: room for play, commerce and anonymous urban exchange. To achieve this, parking space must make way for open space. Our project tests the opportunities for parking underground or in inner areas. All the new buildings that could absorb parts of the parking programme are located close to Oosterkerkstraat. This will keep the canals free of parked cars, while the central location will minimise walking distance to the garages.

Strategy
Besides urban design principles, there are also good strategic reasons to opt for a concentrated city renewal project and to combine rather than disperse social goals and resources. Since the project involves only a small number of buildings, it can be implemented in small, manageable stages as and when resources become available. Things will improve even if only parts of the project are implemented, for people will have started thinking differently about Havenwijk. Once the different approach has been set in motion and the intermediate scale created, their potential will become apparent. In any case, urban spaces need time to evolve – they do not have to be completed in a matter of years.

We believe the first step should be to talk to the investor in the Meelfabriek and his designer about the links between Zumthor’s master plan and the new developments in the district. As we have indicated, the two intentions are compatible. The Meelfabriek and Havenwijk have parallel interests, and the city council needs to make its programmatic expectations known on behalf of the district. The same applies mutatis mutandis to the Singelpark project.

Architecture
A building-line plan and flexible, adaptable buildings with spaces that can be lofts, workshops or offices: does this automatically mean conservative, featureless buildings whose main feature is their standardisation? We don’t think so. We are thinking far more of forms of programmatic, associative and contextual expression that will make the simple buildings memorable and distinctive – for instance with clear differences between canal-side façades and street façades, or between rentable premises

Havenwijk, Leiden
De Smet Vermeulen Architecten
and public buildings. A public building that looks like a standard office building will not do. Readily recognisable buildings that bear the marks of their social role will arouse the public’s interest, will take root in the public memory and are more likely to survive. An inscription or a distinctive feature on a façade has never prevented reuse for other purposes. New users are proud of their building’s history. If such be needed, this is a lesson the Meelfabriek can teach us: that buildings with character, which are not ashamed of their origins, are buildings that last.
Existing: domesticated Groenesteeg

Existing: domesticated Oranjegracht

Existing: technocratic Ir. Driessenstraat

New: Nieuwe Waardstraat as a local square

New: Oosterkerkstraat as a main street

Havenwijk, Leiden

De Smet Vermeulen Architecten
Oosterkerkstraat as a main street, oriented towards Zumthor’s tower block for students

Nieuwe Waardstraat as a local square
Dwellings for working from home on Lakenplein looking out onto LOLA's Singelpark and framing Zumthor's tower block for students

Waardgracht, broad school building on Zumthor's square with trees
Contact team in Leiden
Leiden City Council
Ons Doel housing association
Portaal housing corporation

De Smet Vermeulen Architecten
Project team
Laurens Dekeyser
Henk De Smet
Benjamin Eggermont
Peter Geens
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De Smet Vermeulen Architecten was set up in 1989 by Henk De Smet (b. 1954) and Paul Vermeulen (b. 1962). De Smet teaches at Belgium's Catholic University of Leuven and Vermeulen at Delft University of Technology in the Netherlands. A book on their work up to 1996, entitled Hernemingen, verdichtingen, economie, has been published by deSingel. Their architecture has been published in European books and journals and has repeatedly made the pages of the Flanders Yearbook of Architecture. They have produced urban designs for the Flemish Community’s Urban Renewal Fund, sometimes in partnership with others, including Frits Palmboom and Georges Descombes. Paul Vermeulen is also a well-known architecture critic, and in 2011 he was awarded the Flemish Community’s biennial Cultural Prize for Architecture. De Smet Vermeulen Architecten is based in the Belgian city of Ghent (www.hdspv.be).
From postwar reconstruction to urban renewal

‘The loss of primary functions related to the city as a whole may have been a key factor in the relative failure of certain interventions during the period of city renewal.’
Renewing City Renewal

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From postwar reconstruction to urban renewal

‘The loss of primary functions related to the city as a whole may have been a key factor in the relative failure of certain interventions during the period of city renewal.’
City renewal took place over a period of some twenty years, and involved areas first built before the Second World War. It began in response to protests around 1970 about wholesale demolition in city centres, and ended in the 1990s, at which point the term *stadsvernieuwing* (‘city renewal’) was replaced by *stedelijke vernieuwing* (‘urban renewal’) in government policy.\(^1\)

City renewal only really got going under the 1973-1977 Den Uyl government. The responsible minister, Jan Schaefer, visited city councils in person to encourage them to take more action. Project groups including representatives of councils, housing corporations and residents’ organisations were set up in many cities. The groups ensured decentralised implementation of city renewal at district level and did much to restore confidence in the government’s spatial planning policy.

The shift to ‘urban’ (rather than ‘city’) renewal was reflected in the Fourth Policy Paper on Spatial Planning published by the second Lubbers government in 1988. City renewal could be summed up as ‘building for the neighbourhood’; urban renewal, on the other hand, meant creating an ‘attractive housing and working environment’ that would make Dutch cities, especially those in the Randstad, more competitive in the international arena.

The period of city renewal has been seen as a historic turning point in thinking about cities and as a ‘laboratory’ for the urban renewal that later became a key part of government policy.\(^2\) It also had a dramatic impact on the work of architects and urban designers. Since then, work on the transformation of our cities has been guided by analysis and evaluation of the existing city, rather than by utopian ideas of the future city. Large-scale urbanisation had come to an end, and architects’ and urban designers’ focus on ‘tomorrow’s city’ was no longer relevant: ‘Today the existing city is not a marginal phenomenon within an endless mass of new urbanisation. Quite the contrary: new urban expansion is located in the margin of the existing city.’\(^3\)

Such comments began to be heard around 1990, when it was clear that the Fourth Policy Paper had marked the end of city renewal. This was also the point at which people began to talk of ‘renewing city renewal’ – the title of the study presented in this book.\(^4\) The question at the time was what was supposed to happen after city renewal – not so much in the areas where it had taken place (and in some cases was still in progress), but in the city as a whole. We are now asking the same question, only this time with regard to a number of city renewal areas which, after twenty years of city renewal followed by twenty years of urban renewal, are still considered ‘problem districts’. Given the problems that are now arising there, one has to ask whether the


purely district-oriented approach which continued to be adopted in the ‘problem districts’ even after city renewal had been abandoned still suffices.

This part of the study looks at local interventions during the period of city renewal in the light of the changes that have taken place in the various city councils’ urban agendas. We will first look at city renewal in a somewhat broader perspective. The specific interventions will then be examined in detail. We will conclude with the questions that guided the four case studies: Leiden’s Havenwijk, The Hague’s Schilderswijk, Rotterdam’s Feijenoord and Amsterdam’s Indische Buurt districts.

**City renewal in a broader perspective**

City renewal was a response to protests against the urban agendas promoted by city councils and their housing and urban development departments. These agendas had taken shape during the postwar reconstruction period, and at first had been almost entirely geared to housing production in new districts. It was important to keep housing costs low so that businesses could recover economically with a wage-restraint policy. This meant that housing was not an attractive option for private investors, and during the reconstruction period it was funded by the central government. Local implementation was the responsibility of local councils and housing corporations. Until the 1960s this policy was quite successful in economic terms – but there were two drawbacks. Not only was there a persistent housing shortage, but maintenance of the prewar housing stock was seriously neglected because of the need to keep rents low. Plans to do something about this did not emerge until the 1960s, following a report in 1957 stating that 145,450 houses in the Netherlands were in such poor condition that they had to be pulled down. The result was a demolition and reconstruction scheme in which 80% of the purchase cost of land and buildings was covered by the central government. Many local authorities made grateful use of this scheme during the 1960s.

Old working-class districts were to be demolished and rebuilt principally in order to maintain cities as economic centres, creating space for offices, car traffic and multi-storey car parks. During the first years of city renewal, however, economic interests became less important. Urbanity was no longer associated with the city as a focus of commerce, but with city centres as places of encounter, culture and interaction. Priority was given to housing and small businesses. For example, the 1978 plan *Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit* stated ‘The regional, national and international functions of the city are deemed less important inasmuch as they serve to undermine the city itself.’ (6)
This new urban agenda, also reflected in the 1976 Policy Paper on Urbanisation (part 2 of the Third Policy Paper on Spatial Planning), did not last long. Following the 1973 oil crisis the Netherlands had been hit by a recession which soon proved to be the worst economic crisis since the Second World War. Unemployment was rampant, especially in the cities. At the same time, the populations of the main cities were starting to decline unexpectedly fast. Of the nine leading historical cities in the Randstad, only Leiden, Dordrecht, Delft and Gouda continued to increase in population between 1970 and 2000; over the same period the populations of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht and Haarlem fell by 12%, 13%, 20%, 16% and 14% respectively.\(^{(7)}\)

The decrease in population in these five cities was entirely due to more extensive use of urban land. From 1970 onwards the decline in average housing occupancy became a crucial factor;\(^{(8)}\) in the nine aforementioned cities the figure fell from 4.5 people per dwelling in 1910 to 3.7 in 1940, 3.1 in 1970 and 2.1 in 2000. As a result, the housing capacity of the existing housing stock declined even faster.\(^{(9)}\) The fall in the urban population has often been described as ‘flight from the cities’ owing to dissatisfaction with living conditions there. This was certainly a factor; but the main reason was that after 1970 cities such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht and Haarlem were no longer able to expand any further, and so build enough new homes to compensate for the loss of nearly 30% of their housing capacity. The result was a constant exodus of mainly affluent residents.\(^{(10)}\)

City-centre densification now became a matter of great urgency, but city renewal based on the motto ‘building for the neighbourhood’ was of little help here. The districts involved were in the old city centres and the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century expansion areas around them (see the ‘study areas’ maps on pp. 26, 70, 114 and 162). Often these were already the most densified parts of the cities, and efforts to improve the quality of the dwellings and the housing environment usually resulted in fewer dwellings per hectare rather than more. In addition, the focus of city renewal was almost entirely on housing for the lowest income brackets. Only reuse of disused factory and harbour sites provided some relief in expanding the more expensive segment of the housing stock and creating new jobs.

In 1982, Architecture International Rotterdam (AIR): De Kop van Zuid, a major public event organised by the Rotterdam Art Foundation (RKS), launched an urban agenda aimed at the complete revitalisation of the city.\(^{(11)}\) On that occasion urban design was presented as the ideal instrument for exploring and displaying the various possibilities. AIR was in line with similar...
events elsewhere in Europe, and the 10 immagini per Venezia ('10 images for Venice') exhibition was brought to Rotterdam; there are also parallels with the Internationale Bauausstellung (IBA) programme in Berlin. Of the architects invited to take part in the design section of AIR, Joseph Kleihues and Oswald Maria Ungers had been involved in IBA, and Aldo Rossi in the Venice event as well as Roma Interrotta. What typified all these public events was the simultaneous use of the various underlying components of an architectural culture: design, criticism and historical description.

In parallel with city renewal, AIR was followed by a series of projects inspired by the international debate on architecture and the city. In the Netherlands this mainly involved projects based on large-scale reuse of factory and harbour sites: the IJ-oever project in Amsterdam, the Verbindingskanaal project in Groningen and the Sphinx Céramique project in Maastricht. There is something to be said for the suggestion that this broadened the urban agenda of city renewal; but it should be remembered that these projects were designed for a different segment than the one the city renewal project groups were dealing with.

Like AIR: De Kop van Zuid, the IJ-oever, Verbindingskanaal and Sphinx-Céramique events were aimed at the general public, policymakers and potential clients. Instead of stencil machines, they used exhibitions, glossy catalogues and journals. At the time there was much talk of the ambiguities of the ‘seductive image of the city’. Furthermore, a completely different kind of organisation was needed for such projects. Rather than residents’ action groups, developers and major investment funds were invited to take part. The instrument the government made available for this purpose was ‘public-private partnership’. Parts of these projects were chosen by the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment as the first model projects for Public-private partnership and urban renewal. In the Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning, public-private partnership became the norm, and city renewal was shunted aside. City renewal areas now only appeared on the political agenda as ‘problem or focus districts’.

A closer look at city renewal

Protests against wholesale demolition and prestigious new city centres had begun to be heard during the 1960s. Plans for the Hoog Catharijne complex in Utrecht (1967-1973) went unopposed, but there was more resistance to the Netherlands Bank building (1961-1968) and the new city hall (1968-1986) in Amsterdam. In the late 1960s, construction of the Amsterdam metro led to full-scale riots in the Nieuwmarkt district of the city, New York en Rotterdam: veranderende relaties tussen stedelijke openbare ruimte en grootschalige infrastructuur, Uitgeverij Jan van Arkel, Utrecht 1996, pp. 340-371.

Internationale Bauausstellung (‘International Building Exhibition’), Berlin 1977-1987. The IBA programme was divided into two parts: IBA-Altbau (old buildings) and IBA-Neubau (new buildings). One of the first events at IBA-Neubau, directed by Joseph Kleihues, was an international competition for interventions in the southern part of Friedrichstadt (1981), for which sixteen architects were invited, including Aldo Rossi and Rem Koolhaas.

Roma Interrotta was an international architectural event held in Rome in 1978. Twelve architects were invited to produce an ‘imaginary design’ for Rome. Each of them was given one of the twelve sheets from Giovanni Battista Nolli’s 1748 map of Rome as a theme for an equal number of architectural fantasies. See Francesco Dalco, “Rome onderbroken” of “onderbroken architectuur?”, in Te Eldere Ure, No. 26, 1978, pp. 782-812.


Ibid, pp. 319-320.


A. Hereijers, P. Roelofs, D. Schuiling, with E. Gramsbergen and K. Mastenbroek, 5 PPS projecten voor stedelijke vernieuwing:
but was finally completed after agreement had been reached on the urban reconstruction plan submitted by architects Aldo van Eyck, Theo Bosch, Paul de Ley, G. Knemeijer and D. Tuinman (the winner of the competition held in 1970).

The design for Nieuwmarkt was accompanied by an information document entitled Stadskern als donor (‘The city centre as donor’) – a veritable manifesto for city renewal. In 1972 a start was made in other parts of Amsterdam on a different approach to the historic city centre, based on a programme of ‘filling gaps’. In this connection, Paul de Ley and Jouke van den Bout’s design for a number of gaps on Bickerseiland (1971) and Van Eyck and Bosch’s design for Palmhwaarsstraat in the Jordaan district (1972) were detailed elaborations of the types of building that had only been roughly outlined in the Nieuwmarkt plan. These designs ingeniously combined building-by-building division of the building mass with new kinds of access such as trapportieken (shared staircases from street level) and short galleries.

Around 1970, people in other cities also began to raise their voices. Action groups managed to prevent demolition in Rotterdam’s Oude Westen, Oude Noorden, Crooswijk and Feijenoord districts. After the 1974 local government elections, the Dutch Labour Party formed a ‘programme council’ that embarked on large-scale city renewal, led by local councillor Jan van der Ploeg. He started by buying up 17,000 dwellings and putting project groups in twelve districts in charge of implementation. The first city renewal project in Rotterdam was carried out on the former site of the bankrupt ship-dismantling firm Simons in Feijenoord. The Oude Westen district became known nationwide as a ‘laboratory for city renewal’ and in 1980 the Oude Westen Action Group won an award for its pioneering work.

The Hague and Leiden, unlike Amsterdam and Rotterdam, did not immediately draw attention to themselves in the early years of city renewal. In the case of Leiden this is surprising, for the future of large parts of the historic city centre hung in the balance. However, as in Rotterdam, the 1974 local government elections brought a change of tack. The 1961 Roads and Redevelopment Plan for Leiden was scrapped after some demolition had already taken place, especially in the southern part of Havenwijk. The new city council opted for urban reconstruction according to the recipe worked out by the circle of architects round Aldo van Eyck. Great efforts were also made to restore the seventeenth-century ‘weavers’ dwellings’, which had previously not been deemed worth preserving.

The Hague was a special case. The Oranjeplein location in Schilderswijk shows how difficult it was for city renewal to get van voorzet naar voorbeeld, Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, The Hague 1989.


(20) Gemeentelijke Dienst Volkshuisvesting, Bouwen in open gaten, Amsterdam 1974; Lex van Drooge, Jeroen Verhulst (eds), Bouwen voor de buurt, Stichting Wonen, Amsterdam 1976, pp. 55-112.


(22) See note 1, pp. 87-93.

(23) Lex van Drooge, Jeroen Verhulst (eds), Bouwen voor de buurt, Stichting Wonen, Amsterdam 1976, pp. 9-40; Architect Simonsterrein: Henk van Schagen in partnership with Dienst Volkshuisvesting Rotterdam.


Renewing City Renewal
under way there. In 1969 the *Van Grijs naar Groen* (‘From Grey to Green’) plan for tower blocks was turned down by the provincial government of South Holland, and Schilderswijk residents demanded a different approach. Much of the area round Oranjeplein had already been pulled down. It took five years, and five different plans, for the first dwellings in the blocks between Koningstraat and Jacob Catsstraat to be completed in accordance with residents’ insistence on affordable rents.(29)

The result, designed by the architectural firm Van Tijen, Posno and Van Randen in partnership with the city’s housing department, consisted of semi-open urban blocks with communal inner courtyards and a typology of flats with indoor staircases and kitchens, built on three and four levels. The type of building and the accompanying land development were costed down to the last nail, and served as a model for the aforementioned Simons plan in Rotterdam.(30) The architectural quality of the first city renewal projects in The Hague and Rotterdam can fairly be described as ‘sober’.

City renewal in The Hague only began to draw attention after one of the first activists, Adri Duivesteijn, became councillor for spatial planning and city renewal in 1980.(31) He adopted a systematic approach to city renewal, and in 1985 his policy gained nationwide fame when, together with the Hague Municipal Museum and the Dr H. P. Berlage Foundation, he launched the ‘City renewal as a cultural activity’ campaign.(32)

Focusing on the cultural dimension of building in the existing city (which *AIR* had called for in Rotterdam), Duivesteijn warned that city renewal architecture must not become monotonous, but should take the specific characters of the various districts into account. The Portuguese architect Álvaro Siza was invited to contribute. His *Punt Komma* project in Schilderswijk (1985-1993) revived the Hague tradition of the *portiek* (porch), focusing in particular on the dwellings’ ground plans, so that the dwellings were also geared to use by residents from other cultures.(33) This may certainly be seen as one of the positive effects of the broader debate on city renewal after 1980.

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(28) See note 1, pp. 181-192.
(29) See note 21, pp. 41-53.
(30) Ibid., p. 20.
(31) See note 1, pp. 111-118.
(33) See note 1, pp. 122-123.
Exploring the task

It is now often regretted that the city renewal areas have lost their historic character. However, at the start of the period of city renewal this was usually not seen as a quality but as a sign of failure to develop. The aim was to bring the dwellings and the housing environment up to contemporary standards. Strikingly, the architecture of the period is by no means similar in appearance. At first there was a strong emphasis on the preservation and renovation of existing buildings, but as time went on there was more demolition and replacement with new buildings than renovation (see the ‘building’ maps on pp. 28, 73, 119 and 167). Especially from 1980 onwards a variety of architecture emerged that often harked back to the heyday of public housing. Thus the new buildings in Amsterdam’s Indische Buurt district recall the Amsterdam School, and the row housing along Nassauhaven in Rotterdam’s Feijenoord district is reminiscent of the New Objectivity. However, it was not just the appearance of the city renewal areas that radically changed. It was in another, more structural respect that they lost so much of their quality. In line with sociological studies by such authors as Henry Lefebvre, it may be said that urban life is articulated on three levels: the private sphere, the everyday environment and urban space. In traditional city architecture these three levels were not juxtaposed within the urban block, but overlapped. ‘The accumulation of activities in a limited space encouraged a type of living that was not solely connected with the rhythm of the household.’

In architectural terms, the urban dimension was manifested in the physical elements that gave shape to the enveloping level of public space.

Accordingly, interventions in the nature of buildings and public space, as well as the restructuring of businesses and facilities, had far-reaching implications. The main component of the ‘building for the neighbourhood’ programme was improving the housing stock through renovation and demolition plus new building. The result was usually a new type of housing, portieketagebouw (flats with a shared staircase), that differed greatly from the existing pattern of separate buildings. The main change was in access to the street: the number of front doors was greatly reduced, and the location of storage areas on the ground floor meant that the plinths now often largely consisted of featureless walls.

The second item in the programme was improvement of the housing environment by redesigning public space. One-way streets kept through traffic out of the district and made space available for car-parking and play areas. The network of streets was turned into a hierarchical pattern of through streets and home zones/living streets (see the ‘traffic structure’ maps on

pp. 31, 74, 117 and 165). In addition, many shops and small businesses disappeared, not just because of lack of demand but also to limit pollution. What businesses were left were now on the through streets along the edges (see the ‘facilities’ maps on pp. 33, 77, 121 and 168).

In this connection we should also note that the areas tackled during the period of city renewal were historically the first city-centre densification and urban expansion areas following the long period of stagnation in Dutch urban development between 1700 and 1850. During the period of renewed urban expansion after 1850, important urban institutions were often built in these areas, such as the Technical College buildings in Delft and the Wilhelmina Gasthuis hospital in Amsterdam.(35) During the period of city renewal it was precisely these buildings, which were important to the city as a whole, that were moved to other locations as part of a general restructuring of urban institutions such as health-care establishments and universities.

New facilities were also created during this period, but these were almost always local facilities such as schools, community centres and club houses, branches of public libraries, health centres and sports facilities. The loss of primary functions related to the city as a whole may have been a key factor in the relative failure of certain interventions during the period of city renewal. However, it is important here to consider the individual development of the cities concerned.

For example, the first urban expansions after 1850 included important new harbour and industrial areas, such as Feijenoord and Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam, the Eastern Harbours in Amsterdam and the Laakhaven harbour in The Hague, with the gasworks, the slaughterhouse and the wholesale fruit and vegetable market (nicknamed de maag van Den Haag, ‘The Hague’s stomach’). (36) During the period of city renewal these areas became disused or were deliberately cleared in the interests of urban renewal. This led to the loss of many businesses and jobs that had been of importance to the residents of adjoining city renewal areas such as the Feijenoord, Indische Buurt and Schilderswijk districts (see the ‘building’ maps on pp. pp. 28, 73, 119 and 167).

Looking for links

Finally, if we look for possible links between local interventions and the city as a whole, one important conclusion can be drawn from the foregoing. In most city renewal areas, the interventions in the nature of buildings and public space, and the restructuring of businesses and facilities, brought about a transformation in the


urban structure that cannot easily be reversed – even assuming this would be desirable. There were good reasons for the changes that took place. They led to improvements in the quality of dwellings and the housing environment that are necessary for living in today’s cities. The overlaps between ‘the private sphere, the everyday environment and urban space’ that were shaped by the traditional urban block have been greatly reduced, but they are still there. This can be seen in Rotterdam’s Oude Westen district, a city renewal area that is certainly exemplary in this regard.

The district is bounded to the west by Henegouwerlaan and ’s-Gravendijkwal (both part of the Tunneltraverse urban motorway) and to the east by Kruisplein, Westersingel and Eendrachtsplein. The northern boundary is Weena, and from east to west the district is bisected by West-Kruiskade and Nieuwe Binnenweg. The southern boundary is formed by Mathenesserlaan and Rochussenstraat. These ‘through lines’ divide the district into a number of islands. The biggest island is in the centre, between West-Kruiskade and Nieuwe Binnenweg; three schools, a library, two community centres, a sports hall and a health centre were built here, as well as a number of squares and a district park.

When businesses were moved (as happened a great deal in Oude Westen), opportunities were provided for workshops to relocate along Weena, offices in Westersingel and ’s-Gravendijkwal and shops along West-Kruiskade and Nieuwe Binnenweg.(37) The latter two streets have thus been able to survive as through shopping streets with very different characters. West-Kruiskade has developed into a multicultural shopping street, a typical area for immigrants. Nieuwe Binnenweg, with its hi-fi shops, design stores, bars and second-hand clothing shops, has become a meeting place for new city-dwellers. These two shopping streets are still the main features of the urban public realm in the district, and form the main link to the rest of the city and city life.(38)

Oude Westen shows that the overlaps between ‘the private sphere, the everyday environment and urban space’ are now structured in larger units than they were in traditional urban blocks. We should not forget here that even in the traditional urban block not everyone was in contact with the public realm. The urban block consisted of rows of buildings surrounding an inner area in which people often lived in alleys or courtyards. There were workshops, warehouses and stables. In the early twentieth century schools were preferably built there, and sometimes also bathhouses and swimming pools. ‘The everyday environment’, referred to in the aforementioned French urban studies as ‘the sphere of personal life’, was largely located in the inner areas, outside the public realm. With a slight stretch of the

imagination, by analogy with traditional urban blocks, the ‘islands’ in the network of through traffic links can be seen as ‘super-blocks’.

The studies presented here focus specifically on ways of enhancing the urban dimension. The selected districts are Leiden’s Havenwijk, The Hague’s Schilderswijk, Rotterdam’s Feijenoord and Amsterdam’s Indische Buurt: four city renewal districts which, because of their location near the city centre, can be described as a ‘central peripheral environments’. Similar city renewal areas such as Rotterdam’s Oude Westen and Amsterdam’s Jordaan or De Pijp benefited from this. So why this did not happen in the areas we have chosen to study?

The position of these districts in their respective cities and their role in urban development have greatly changed since they were first created. During the period of city renewal a great deal was done to improve the dwellings and the housing environment. However, these districts are now clearly less important to the city as a whole than they once were. Most of them, however, are now in a better position, among other things through the development of adjoining areas in the course of urban renewal. This creates opportunities to enhance their urban dimension. The triggers for this are as varied as the districts’ historical development. In all four cases, however, the available opportunities for further development go beyond the scope of a purely district-oriented approach and call for a thorough debate on the four cities’ urban agendas.
Schilderswijk, The Hague
Renewing City Renewal
‘For the development of local economic activities in Schilderswijk, the islands of business need to be reconnected and links to the city centre and Hollands Spoor station developed.’
Whereas most cities in Holland contracted, The Hague continued to grow throughout the eighteenth century. Its role as the location of the stadtholder’s court and the States-General (parliament) became increasingly important. In 1814 The Hague became the seat of government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the capital of the Province of South Holland. Up to 1850 it became increasingly densified within its seventeenth-century boundaries. Between 1850 and 1910 it expanded faster any other city in Holland, increasing its built-up area more than fivefold.

There was a great difference in quality between the districts built on sandy and peaty soil. Well-to-do citizens took up residence in the sandy areas, and the workers ended up in the peaty ones – including Schilderswijk. This was the first new working-class district: a patchwork of industry and workers’ dwellings. The area developed after the construction of the Haarlem-Rotterdam railway line and the opening of Hollands Spoor station in 1843.

After 1900 the Transvaal district developed to the west, separated from Schilderswijk by the route of the steam tram to Scheveningen (today’s line 11). In the larger scheme of things there were also plans for a drainage canal from the Laakhaven harbours to the sea. The harbours were built south of the railway line in the early 1920s, but the drainage canal never materialised. In 1938 the city’s market was moved from the city centre to the vacant land between the intersection with Hobbemastraat and the intersection with Hoefkade.

The area south of the railway line and along the steam tram route to Scheveningen can be described as a typical ‘fringe belt’. Functions that took up a lot of space and were a major nuisance in the city centre were moved out there. The Laakhavens were intended to replace the Spui harbours, now the site of the city hall, the Danstheater, the Dr Anton Philips Hall and several ministries. Until it was moved, the city market was held in the area between Prinsengracht and Spui. This is reflected in such local street names as Grote Markt, Grote Marktstraat, Kalvermarkt, Korte Beestenmarkt, Lange Beestenmarkt and Varkensmarkt (all referring to livestock and other markets); the city’s main department stores are now located there.

The first plans to improve the southern part of the city centre and Schilderswijk emerged in the mid-1950s. Large numbers of buildings were pulled down, but the plans for a prestigious new city centre did not come to fruition. A 1966 draft zoning plan for Schilderswijk, entitled Van Grijs naar Groen (‘From grey to green’), foresaw tower-block housing alternating with small parks. After a wave of protest this plan was also scrapped, and city renewal on the principle of ‘building for the neighbourhood’ commenced. Most of the area’s population are now immigrants.

The effect of the district-oriented approach can clearly be seen in the changed distribution of facilities in the area. In 1970 Hoefkade was still an unbroken ribbon of shops from Hollands Spoor station to the city market. This was now reduced to two islands. Along with the fine-meshed pattern of streets in the middle of the district, all the businesses disappeared. So did practically all the shops along Vaillantlaan, and only a few remained in Van de Vennestraat.

There were hardly any starting points left for the development of local economic activities in Schilderswijk. Only in Hobbemastraat did businesses revive, linking up with the development of Paul Krugerstraat in the Transvaal district. A lively centre thus developed round the head of the city market, with Hobbemaplein and the Transvaal district park. However, the connection between the city centre and the area round Hollands Spoor station had been broken; Schilderswijk was no longer a link.

For the development of local economic activities in Schilderswijk, the islands of business need to be reconnected and links to the city centre and Hollands Spoor station developed. The city market should have a much more conspicuous profile. The ‘sandy’ Hague has become the city of international institutions. The ‘peaty’ Schilderswijk should again become a ‘maze city’ where a ‘multicultural market’ can develop. This will be the focus of the design study.

3) Ibid.
4) See note 2, ‘5x5’.
Location of study area in the city

buildings in urban areas
- up to 1850
- up to 1910
- up to 1940
- up to 1970
- up to 2000

city renewal areas
- up to 1850
- up to 1910
- up to 1940
- recently as part of focus districts policy
- transformation areas

study area
- Railway line with station
- Metro line / station
- Tram line
- Main access road / motorway exit

Design task
potential intervention area (streets)
potential intervention area (squares and gardens)
extent of economic activity in streets
urban functions, strong economic activity
urban areas, strong economic activity
links / routes
links / routes, tram
railway route, barrier

1  Hoefkade / Koningstraat
2  Hollands Spoor station
3  Laakhaven
4  City centre
5  Stationsweg / Wagenstraat
6  Hague Market
7  Transvaal district park
8  Vaillantlaan
Renewing City Renewal

1967  Rijswijkstraat and rear of HUS bread factory

1962  Courtyard on Koningsstraat

1967  Rijswijkstraat and rear of HUS bread factory

1974  Renovation of urban blocks between Koningstraat and Jacob Catsstraat

1962  Courtyard on Koningsstraat

design task
Around 1970  Building structure before city renewal

Around 1990  New city renewal buildings

Schilderswijk, The Hague
Renewing City Renewal

**Around 1970**  Traffic structure before city renewal

**Around 1990**  Traffic structure after city renewal
1967 Koningsstraat with shops, towards Hooftskade and city centre

1967 Jacob Catsstraat with HUS bread factory

1967 Kemperstraat with Hofstad garage

Schilderswijk, The Hague
1976  *Structuurschets Schilderswijk* ("Structural sketch of Schilderswijk")

1976  Future green structure, shop structure and business and office structure, from *Structuurschets Schilderswijk*
Around 1970
Facilities before city renewal

Around 1990
Facilities after city renewal

Schilderswijk, The Hague
‘Schilderswijk needs economic opportunities ... Schilderswijk is not an island ... Schilderswijk is not a project.’
Introduction
To obtain a clearer picture of the problems and potential in Schilderswijk we have looked at the district in a broader context – that of the Rotterdam-Hague metropolitan region. On this larger scale, the strategic position of Schilderswijk becomes readily apparent: aside from the internal problems that have made the district so notorious, it has an excellent location in the centre of a multinodal network that operates on various scales. As a result, the district is linked to numerous economic clusters and city programmes in the region: commercial areas, business parks, intensive agriculture and port facilities, as well as universities and service and office clusters. And yet, after reading the available documents and taking a guided tour of the district, we observe that it is difficult for Schilderswijk to build up a healthy local microeconomy. This is due to a combination of factors. The traditionally working-class district today attracts an immigrant population. It has become an ‘arrival district’ that appeals to people arriving in the Netherlands in pursuit of new opportunities and work. In redeveloping the district, the city renewal projects of the 1970s and 1980s mainly focused on improving the quality of the dwellings and public space (including recreation areas); this not only created a large amount of public space, but also turned many mixed urban blocks into collective housing projects with built-in parking facilities. The built result is not entirely geared to today’s inhabitants. The quiet, residential atmosphere could be ideal for a more settled population that already has work and an extensive social network. But that is not the case here; on the contrary, there is a need for interventions that can reduce the district’s isolation and link it to its economic and other surroundings, once again providing space for a young population looking for ways to build up lives of their own.
Our project is first of all aimed at finding specific answers to specific problems, and so treats the existing situation in Schilderswijk as a serious object for study. The design proposal begins by formulating basic principles that bring the intentions of our approach into focus. The actual approach is then divided into two stages. First, a series of ten potential ‘productive spaces’ – spatial interventions that are not immediately tied to a particular place but instead function as a varied catalogue of responses to the specific spatial and economic problems in Schilderswijk. Second, these interventions are put to strategic use in context: the list of possibilities is specifically deployed in a number of places. Elements from the neutral toolbox are used to make a specific, goal-oriented choice and so arrive at a pragmatic, operational design proposal – a design exercise that goes beyond mere spatiality to become part of a larger ambition for the district on the part of the city council (as indicated in recent policy papers).

The multi-layered question we were asked has also been answered on a second level. More systematically, we have reflected on an alternative approach to spatial and urban development. The specific attitude behind the design proposal – being part of a greater whole, which is then activated in terms of a specific spatial conception – is meant to show how we believe we can renew city renewal. Our answer focuses on the pursuit of more synergies: between spatial and socioeconomic dynamics, and between public and private investment. This results in spatial proposals that rely on the economic opportunities they generate; rather than a definitive solution, this is a new framework offered by the public authorities, and one that provides an opportunity for the development of private initiatives. This means the study is a flexible, adaptable process that develops in stages. It also clearly identifies, by means of specific designing research, the margins that are not – or cannot be – put to use by current policy. The question that then arises is whether there is enough mental and other space to give this approach a place in current policy, and so inject a new dynamism (including economic dynamism) into society.

Four guiding principles

Schilderswijk needs economic opportunities
Schilderswijk is a small, centrally located district of The Hague, with an ethnically very mixed, low-income population. Unemployment there is not disastrously high, but it is still twice the city average, which puts the district at a structural disadvantage. It is physically very homogeneous. For years a great deal of energy went into creating high-quality housing and an over-abundance of public recreational space for local residents. Urban renewal projects in Schilderswijk were always based on a social, welfare-state approach; for many years there were no developments that focused on the local economy. What is needed today is an approach that also takes the productive aspects of the housing environment into account. Creating opportunities for residents to become part of society also means creating opportunities for them to work. An increase in productive space, with programmatic diversity and a variety of different forms, is a structural priority for the district project. This can be done by making use of possibly superfluous public space, or by carefully densifying the existing fabric. The proposal is not against public space as such; but public space, as a platform for collective life, can – and must – be far more than just a place to relax.

Schilderswijk is not an island
At a rough estimate, only a quarter of the required jobs can
Schilderswijk is not a project. This traditionally working-class district is also an area that has been repeatedly rebuilt and redesigned. Schilderswijk has been almost entirely renovated, yet it feels inflexible and is too strictly defined. Although the population is extremely diverse and many of its inhabitants come from cultures with a spontaneous attitude to public space, this diversity appears to have been stifled by strict rules and regulations, so that there is little informal use of space. The challenge is thus not only to provide strategic guidance, but also to ‘allow’ strategic space. Several of the proposals focus on this: changing the rules and regulations, and following up the private initiatives that can emerge as a result. In some places, proactive intervention may be needed to boost such initiatives. Strategic guidance should be confined to places that can provide leverage: along the boundaries of the district (the canal, the city market, the railway and tram lines), where improved mobility is associated with targeted interventions in the adjoining districts. The ‘glue’ in the entire operation is public space, seen here as a combination of open space, programme and varied mobility. The city we would like to bring back to the district is a city in motion.

An organic operation
The proposals use a series of typologies developed in the light of critical observation and opportunistic analysis of Schilderswijk. They have been fleshed out and fine-tuned with the help of a set of indicators in order to sharpen the profiles of each intervention in relation to the rest. Taken as a whole, the typologies cover a broad range of interventions, with various scales, investments and effects, from small areas for new businesses to large areas for small and medium-sized ones, which are currently unavailable in the district. They provide space for various programmes: from space for commerce and services to facilities for logistics and small-scale production and processing. The various interventions each call for a
different kind of commitment on the part of users. Some parts of the infrastructure are public and can be rented, some are private and can be either rented or purchased, and others have been built and developed by the end users. The interventions are differently organised (private or collective initiatives, at district or city level), but what they have in common is that they simultaneously tackle open and built space. The purpose of the interventions is to open up, link or reprogramme existing functions or introduce new ones. This diversity is a direct response to the dynamic potential of Schilderswijk’s young population, and allows the operation to be built up flexibly. Today it is no longer feasible, or desirable, to manage everything centrally as a single overall project; instead, the operation will be split up into smaller, more flexibly manageable parts, in which knowledge can be built up in stages and used for a successive stage – learning by doing, as a way to improve or adjust things, but also to gradually build up trust, which is something Schilderswijk’s residents and ‘managers’ badly need. This proposal is a development strategy to create this trust organically, so that Schilderswijk can gradually become a diverse and ever-changing part of the city.

Synthesis
The design proposal combines scales and components. Two interventions along the boundaries of the district are focused on creating attractive focal points and lowering barriers between Schilderswijk and the city. A cluster of bars and restaurants (instrument 7), serving as a point of contact between residents and visitors, is proposed along the canal between the district and the city centre. This attractive cluster may help revive the reduced business activity along Hobbemastraat. On the other side of the district, near Hollands Spoor station, we propose a larger-scale project managed by the city council (instrument 9): a concentration of business premises round an existing community centre, flanked by a new training/working hotel along the railway line, with a physical link to the roof of the shopping centre (instrument 10) and hence to the educational cluster in the old harbour beyond the railway lines.

The proposals for the central area are smaller in scale (instruments 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8) and designed to link the two focal points and enhance the district through private initiative, backed by more flexible rules and regulations.
1 Pop pavilion

Small-scale interventions in open space, at prominent points – a programme aimed at people from close by or far away, to give the surrounding district a new lease of life. This typology can also involve reuse of existing buildings or structures.

2 Small corner shop

Extremely small-scale interventions in residual spaces within the urban fabric, ideally located at intersections. These will offer space for small commercial activities that can give the street a new lease of life and can themselves be built in accordance with adapted regulations.
3 Workshop in inner courtyard

Medium-scale interventions in under-occupied inner courtyards of urban blocks: extensive, high spaces with logistic access for shop units, studios or workshop areas for various activities that are otherwise mainly carried out at home (such as sewing).

4 Loft workspace

Extensions on top of existing buildings, mainly where the maximum permitted building height has not yet been reached or the existing building adjoins an extensive, open public space and the height limit can therefore be raised (e.g. along railway lines).

5 Square extra

Limited spatial adjustments on the ground floors of buildings round public open spaces can be used to create an integrated programme that reactivates the many squares and parks and gives them new meaning. These include commercial activities or services (late-night shops, a dry cleaner’s, medical services and so on).

6 Productive outdoor space

Reprogramming of open space, not as an event but on a permanent basis. Public open space is seen as productive – and accessible – space (e.g. orchards rather than stretches of grass, small urban farms, canopies fitted with solar panels, small windmills).
7 Theme cluster

Activation of commercial space in thematic clusters (e.g. sports centres, health-care products, a bicycle shop, a chiropractic practice), linked up into a single programme to boost the critical commercial mass.

8 Live/work

Reintroduction of housing typologies with work spaces of their own, and two entrances (from both the street and the dwelling). This model may be provided on various scales: renovation of the ground floor, new multi-storey volumes forming part of existing structures, or even entirely new buildings.

9 Metropolitan attractor

Interventions on a significant scale with a specific central function that attract plenty of people – focused on the local scale, but at the same time an urban-scale destination, to allow a blend of different population groups (e.g. a hotel along the railway line, run by local people, where passengers can spend the night).

10 City linkages

Interventions whose sole purpose is to link existing and planned city destinations and functions, whatever their scale. These will make public links between the various city centres interesting, attractive walks or short cuts that can be programmed as secondary features.

Schilderswijk, The Hague 51N4E
51N4E is an international architectural firm focusing on architecture, concept development and strategic management of spatial transformations. Run by three partners, Johan Anrys, Freek Persyn and Peter Swinnen, the firm currently has 22 permanent staff. It was set up in 1998 and made a name for itself through key projects including Lamot (2005), TID Tower Tirana (2004), C-Mine (2006) and Skanderbeg Square (2008). In 2010 Peter Swinnen was appointed Chief Architect of Flanders. In recent years 51N4E has won several international awards, and the firm is currently involved in the development of strategic visions for large-scale urban design regions such as Bordeaux (50,000 dwellings), Brussels (Brussels Metropolis 2040) and Istanbul (Making City).

Through designing research, 51N4E hopes to contribute to social and urban transformation.

51N4E is based in Brussels (www.51n4e.com).
‘Rid of the burden of solving social problems by piling up bricks and mortar, they can assume a role they are very well suited for: that of matchmakers.’
Contact team in The Hague
The Hague City Council
Haag Wonen housing corporation

51N4E
Project team
Freek Persyn
Sotiria Kornaropoulou
Matthieu Moreau

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‘Rid of the burden of solving social problems by piling up bricks and mortar, they can assume a role they are very well suited for: that of matchmakers.’
Thanks to the infrastructural giant Strukton, people in Rotterdam now have a nicer place to go swimming without having to pay extra. Just outside Enschede, a health-care establishment has given the village of Lonneker a supermarket of its own once more by arranging for patients to work there, and people don’t mind paying a little extra for the privilege. These are just two examples of facilities being kept going by unlikely players; better still, they do what they are good at, or what they were set up for, in a previously unfamiliar way. The benefits for local people (having a nice place to swim, and being able to shop close to home) are a welcome extra.

The first case involves an Energy Service Company (ESCO)\(^\text{(1)}\) that maintains and manages buildings and ensures that health-care establishments, swimming pools, offices and so on are more modern and comfortable, and can save more energy. Rotterdam’s city council has reached the following agreements with Strukton’s ESCo: guaranteed savings of 34% on energy costs, a reduction of 15% in maintenance costs, and a structural improvement in the indoor climate of the swimming pools. How has this been done? By making substantial savings on energy and guaranteeing stable maintenance costs over a ten-year period.

In the second case, the village supermarket and a day-care centre for mentally disabled and other patients in the village of Lonneker had both closed in rapid succession. Faced with one problem, health-care provider Aveleijn found a solution to both of them: a new village supermarket run by mentally disabled people.\(^\text{(2)}\) The shop gives Aveleijn’s clients meaningful work, enables them to participate in society and at the same time improves quality of life for the village’s 1,800 residents. How has this been done? By combining two kinds of income that would each be insufficient on their own: funds available under the Social Support Act, and proceeds from supermarket sales.

Both cases point to a change of attitude in the Netherlands. Whether we are talking about a commercial firm helping to achieve social goals or a welfare organisation attempting to achieve its goals in a commercial way, the government is needed in order to recognise the initiative and provide space for it – but that is all. At a time when the long-announced reduction in the Dutch government’s Urban Renewal Investment Budget is accompanied by a well-nigh existential crisis in building and housing, with drastic cutbacks and economic stagnation, such changes are indicative of how urban development could develop in the future. And these are not the only examples – several can be found in every Dutch city. Strikingly, the inspiration for them often comes from elsewhere: not only

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\(^{(1)}\) An ESCo combines the renovation of building installations with maintenance, management and improvement of energy performance over a number of years, and arranges funding for this.

\(^{(2)}\) See also http://www.aveleijn.nl/main/?categorie=aanbod&item=i-locaties&stad=Lonneker&locatie=Buurtsuper%20Atten
from abroad (especially the United States, Britain, Germany and Denmark), but also, regularly, from other parts of the region. Repeated visits are paid to housing and health-care partnerships between villages in the Dutch province of North Brabant, and the resilience of once-shrinking communities in the east of the Province of Groningen and the pragmatic development of a business site in Zutphen have also drawn attention. The case of Lonneker is especially significant. What all these examples have in common is that urban design has, at most, played only a minor role. The initiators have mainly been driven by the available opportunities – not by forecasts based on ambitions.

The city is off the agenda

These new initiatives have been accompanied by another development. The physical city is no longer on the political agenda – to put it mildly, an astonishing development. All over the world, cities are growing both spatially and economically. Economists such as Edward Glaeser(3) see cities as the dynamos of society, the basis for economic, social and cultural life. Cities are increasingly popular as business locations, in the Netherlands and elsewhere. International urban development has been monitored with great optimism by such researchers and writers as Richard (‘creative class’) Florida(4) and Doug (‘arrival cities’) Sanders,(5) and this is acknowledged in Dutch professional media and forums for designers and planners. Even in regions where there is shrinkage, this has been accompanied by expansion of the stronger urban centres. Urbanisation is continuing. It is no accident that the Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis report Stad en land (‘City and country’) talks of the ‘resurrection of the city’.(6)

Yet Dutch politicians now have their doubts about how cities function. Although people are still moving from rural to urban areas, and cities account for what little growth now persists, the main emphasis is on the problematic aspects of urbanisation. Whereas the focus was once on ‘problem’ districts, the other side of the urbanisation coin, shrinkage, is now making itself felt. Enthusiastic efforts to ‘revitalise’ cities, through city renewal and then urban renewal, have given way to doubt. Have all the millions spent on districts such as Schilderswijk in The Hague actually had any effect? Is the situation in those districts any better than when the programmes were launched?(7) The main issue here is the sustainability of the investments that have been made. Viewed in these terms, cities are mainly a source of problems (take South Rotterdam) rather than the places of economic, social and cultural innovation that others have seen in them.

(3) See, for example, Edward Glaeser’s Triumph of the city: how our greatest invention makes us richer, smarter, greener, healthier, and happier, Penguin Books, London 2012.
(5) Doug Sanders, Arrival city: how the largest migration in history is reshaping our world, Pantheon, New York 2011.
After more than half a century of government investment in both urban expansion and city renewal, in the constantly restated conviction that cities generate both social and economic progress, we are now seeing a rapid decline in central-government spending on their spatial development. The focus is now on management by local authorities, regardless of whether the community concerned is a city, a town or a village. The 2012 coalition agreement, building on earlier developments, is a clear illustration of this shift in priorities. The recent major changes in Dutch social welfare legislation all entail decentralisation and a massive transfer of financial resources from central to local government. The Municipalities Fund has almost doubled in size – but the increase in municipal responsibilities is far in excess of the available funds.

Add to this the local authorities’ growing financial concerns due to over-optimistic land policies, and it will be clear that they have little option but shift their own focus from the physical to the social sphere. And that is not all. The central government has decided to cut back the role of housing corporations in urban renewal. This is partly for ideological reasons. The present cabinet believes that, with a target group of 1.8 million households, the 2.8 million dwellings owned by the corporations disrupt market forces. In addition, the local authorities have too little scope for control. However, a more important factor is the corporations’ various failures, for example – as a study by their own umbrella organisation Aedes has made clear – excessive risk-taking on the property market, inadequate internal and external supervision and the lack of a collective moral compass and self-corrective ability.

All these developments can best be summed up as a loss of political interest in the physical city. It is also one of the many manifestations of the ‘less government’ phenomenon. This is thus a more fundamental shift than – as has often been suggested – a response to the economic recession.

Flaws in the engineered society

In the twentieth century the Dutch government embraced the idea of ‘making cities’ – a development that was symbolically launched by the 1901 Housing Act and after the Second World War (not by chance) merged with that of the welfare state, both reflecting the notion of the ‘engineered society’. This led to several waves of investment. The modernist districts built after 1945 are a good example. Districts such as Pendrecht in Rotterdam and De Wijert in Groningen emerged as vehicles for modern society and the welfare state. But barely forty
years later they were held up to scrutiny and found wanting, whereupon they had to be re-engineered during the period of urban renewal. The same applies to city renewal in the prewar districts: costly, large-scale operations that did not always prove sustainable. Good examples are Oude Westen in Rotterdam (the erstwhile ‘laboratory for city renewal’) and Schilderswijk in The Hague. A great deal of money and energy were put into both districts in the late twentieth century, but thirty years later they are both still labelled as ‘problem districts’. These and many other districts in the Netherlands have found it hard to fulfil the implicit promises in the successive waves of investment. This was often because they were expected to correct the flaws in the engineered society with the help of spatial resources. In the period of ‘making cities’, the spatial task was often weighed down by a political agenda of social change.

Now that this agenda is being abandoned, it is undeniably more difficult to keep on making the necessary investments. Generous central government grants performed a key function in triggering investment, often based on multipliers by a factor of ten (one euro’s worth of grant yielded ten euros’ worth of investment). And yet the loss of grants may in fact prove highly beneficial for the sustainability of investments. Pressure to implement the social agenda has been shifted to the social sphere, and this offers ways of escaping from what has patronisingly been termed ‘physical determinism’: the notion that spatial interventions, especially in housing, can remedy even the most serious social problems. The correlation between low rents and social issues led above all to interventions in housing (low rents). Plenty has already been said about this. Arnold Reijndorp makes this painfully clear when he writes that the housing district is the result of a social/spatial policy that has manoeuvred both residents and professionals into a stalemate. However, once social/spatial policy is no longer the driving force, there may be a way out. City renewal can then re-emerge in the margins. After ‘making the city’, there may now be room for ‘being the city’.

**From planning for what is needed to aiming for what is possible**

The question that inevitably arises when outlining these changes is: who is doing the measuring? During the period from postwar reconstruction to the Fourth Policy Paper on Spatial Planning, and from city renewal to urban renewal, everyone’s positions and accompanying roles were fairly clear. Government was there to manage and invest; housing corporations, and to a lesser extent developers, were there...
to implement the government agenda. In the golden years of rising property prices this also enabled Dutch spatial designers, from architects to urban designers and landscape architects, to reach great heights and acquire international fame.

These players’ roles are certainly not over; but their position has fundamentally changed, and so has the way in which they are manifested. The government’s shift in focus has already been mentioned, and housing corporations are barely able to meet their maintenance responsibilities – let alone continue to invest – owing to the slump on the housing market, the ‘Vestia levy’ (to compensate for the consequences of mismanagement) and creaming-off of assets as a result of new political choices. For some years now developers have felt confused, for they are unable to finance their main task, which is risk-bearing investment; and in recent decades designers have seen their added value in mainly cultural terms, and have gradually ended up in the luxury sector, with less and less relevance to urban development.

Meanwhile the cities are increasingly dynamic. The aforementioned examples of local supermarkets and swimming pools are by no means unique. In Deventer an ESCo has been set up to renovate 2,500 homes so that total annual energy costs to residents will be nil. Temporariness has been embraced and has led to the development of a small pop-up facility industry. Local businesses have been set up to programme and sometimes even design public space. This is still urban renewal, but at a slower pace, and less burdened with social expectations. Renewal seems to have found a new motor in a combination of enterprise and the ‘civic economy’.(9) This is a form of pragmatic urban development that still pursues social goals (such as well-functioning public space) but is much more modest and more in keeping with the well-understood interests of the players involved. The result can best be described as ‘urban renewal on invitation’, in which planning for what is needed is replaced by aiming for what is possible.

In neighbouring countries this situation is much more part of the urban development tradition, but in the Netherlands it is still a novelty. The players are able to make contact, but find themselves bogged down in good intentions. There are opportunities for those who are able to use their professional knowledge to establish links between players that want to implement their initiatives. This may enable designers, in particular, to become less marginalised. Rid of the burden of solving social problems by piling up bricks and mortar, they can assume a role they are very well suited for: that of match-makers. Through their training and experience they are used to

(9) 00:J, Compendium for the civic economy, trancityxvaliz, Haarlem 2012.
designing for both public and private quality, recognising the interests of both individuals and institutions. And they supply a product that contributes to the development of value: a design.

New relevance for design

Since in the Dutch context these design qualities were only selectively acknowledged and the large number of tasks stifled the need to make use of them, it seemed a good idea to ask designers from Germany, Britain and Belgium to submit proposals for situations in the Netherlands. Precisely because of their relative unfamiliarity with the Dutch social agenda, the four firms have made highly interesting contributions. Rather than adapt to that agenda, they have sought what Julian Lewis of the London firm East has called an agenda for connection.

Despite the considerable differences between them, all four have managed to make the connections in their own particular ways by presenting their designs as stories: conversation pieces, the beginning of a development process, rather than ambitions laid down in a programme. The design derives its strength from its role in framing the debate. It then becomes clear where the urgency lies, and this can be incorporated or enhanced in the design process. They themselves speak of the need to create a scenario, and more specifically a scenario for typologies (Paolo Fusi of the Hamburg firm Fusi & Ammann Architekten), using a number of structures that leave room to create various urban forms or typologies.

In all four firms' proposals, the design has become a strategic instrument that must constantly be able to add information at urban and architectural level. As Paul Vermeulen of the Ghent firm De Smet Vermeulen Architecten says, the trick after completing a morphological study is not to get preoccupied with the area and the study, but to become part of strategies and developments taking place in and round the area, to engage into existing programmes. This does not necessarily mean correcting errors (which often consumes a great deal of energy and resources), but looking carefully at what is lacking – looking for openings that will provide opportunities for a missing programme, without imposing it.

Taking four different routes, the four firms have developed a 'strategy for development on invitation'. The strategies can be summed up as (a) mediating in dogmas, (b) managing complexity, (c) providing a setting and (d) catching and steering. The designs are discussed in detail elsewhere in this publication, but here we will look at the ways in which each strategy can prove useful.
Mediating in dogmas

Havenwijk in Leiden has remained very much on the sidelines. During the 1970s it was largely demolished as part of a roads and redevelopment plan; then, during the period of city renewal, contemporary housing was combined with reconstruction of the urban structure. Vermeulen was asked (a) to improve links between the district and the city centre and (b) to redevelop the Meelfabriek (former flour factory). This connection is the basis for Vermeulen’s proposal, which mainly focuses on the traffic arteries crossing the district.

More importantly, however, he has launched a debate on what people think of the various parts of the area. In general, they are not impressed by the interventions in the early 1980s. The consensus regarding this part of Leiden is so overwhelming that the only realistic option is to pull it down and start all over again. And yet this assessment is culturally driven rather than based on users’ actual evaluation of the area and the economic value it represents. Vermeulen’s proposal offers an alternative to starting from scratch and destroying the invested capital by presenting a scenario in which the desired urban perception can be achieved with relatively small investments. It also creates an opportunity to tie small investors to the area and help enhance the character of Leiden’s city centre.

Managing complexity

Of the four districts covered in the study, Schilderswijk in The Hague has been in the spotlight the longest. Since the ‘Structural Outline for Schilderswijk’ was presented in 1979, it has never managed to shake off its label as a ‘focus’ or ‘problem’ district. The district was extensively transformed by largely ignoring the existing urban design structure, erecting new buildings, separating functions and introducing a complicated traffic system mainly based on one-way streets. These interventions did not yield the hoped-for lasting results, and new investments followed: the ‘social district approach’, urban renewal, the ‘district approach’. After the turn of the twenty-first century, complexes built during the period of city renewal were again – significantly – scheduled for demolition, as their quality was deemed insufficient. During this period there was also a conspicuous shift from mainly rented to a greater proportion of owner-occupied housing. In 2012 the city council presented its latest investment project, costing a total of 11 million euros.

Bureau 51N4E was basically asked to suggest ways of improving opportunities for business in the district, given the realisation that in a ‘passageway’ district such as Schilderswijk...
enterprise would provide the best opportunities for economic and social development (see also Doug Sanders's *Arrival City*). The firm has above all looked at the rather complicated structure that had arisen since the 1970s, and has made proposals to make this complexity manageable. These mainly focus on two parts of the strategy used for city renewal: mobility (because of the traffic system) and separation of functions. The plan provides frameworks for spatial interventions – ‘buttons to be twiddled’. These have also been clearly presented in the design study. The plan will still need to be ‘loaded’ with spatial/economic data, but it shows how the ‘investment scenario’ can be implemented.

Providing a setting

In recent years South Rotterdam has become a problem of national proportions. Remarkably, the problem has been approached as an isolated task that seemingly has little to do with developments on the north bank of the river. In existing planning, an area that is only a river's breadth away from the north and centre of Rotterdam has developed into an almost peripheral district. Fusi was challenged to produce a study of possibilities for a new cross-river link. Even if in these days of rapidly expanding government deficits the whole question of a third city bridge may be put on ice, the plan certainly deserves attention. It shows how a city can develop, as a setting in which various scenarios are possible. The proposal is more than just a conversation piece, giving the main players an opportunity to discover jointly how not only the city but above all urban life can develop in the area – without even specifying who or what should be located there. Unlike 51N4E’s ‘button-twiddling’ plan, it creates a playing field in which the various interested players will be invited to make a move. It is a strategy for that invitation.

Catch and steer

The fourth example comes from the London-based architecture, urban design and landscape architecture firm East. The focus here is on a park on the edge of East Amsterdam, where many initiatives are found in relative isolation from one another, none of them large enough to develop fully on their own. East's proposal introduces an approach that the firm has developed in Britain and that they have dubbed ‘catch and steer’. The essence of this approach is that every design and every development can, and should, take advantage of developments in the surrounding area. This can be done by not just being aware of them but also seeking them out and suggesting mutually beneficial alterations. This might also be termed ‘making work out of work’. The designer’s task here
is not only to take stock of the context, but also to determine which interventions in your own and other people’s developments can yield benefits for both – and, of course, to translate this analysis into design proposals that make the opportunities clear to those involved.

**An agenda of opportunities**

The great challenge for urban development in the near future is to work out how the sum total of public and private initiatives can jointly generate added value. Bringing in fresh perspectives from other countries, the developers in *Renewing city renewal* have suggested a number of ways of rising to this challenge. Managing complexity in the spatial and socio-economic situation is a vital role that designers can play. They can deploy skills that not only get a debate going, but also offer alternatives to the dead-end dogmas in urban processes – and, more proactively, not only map out the playing field and suggest scenarios that give an idea of the future, but also intervene and establish links themselves.

If designers can resist the temptation to take the lead in implementing political agendas (such as emancipation through urban design or, more recently, ‘architecture of consequence’), they can play a key role in the future of urban development; and so they can still help create the conditions in which such political agendas (and other social agendas) can be implemented – as an added benefit of urban development on invitation.

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(10) *Architecture of consequence* was a programme organised by the Netherlands Architecture Institute in 2009-2011 to investigate how architecture could play a significant role in social issues.
Feijenoord, Rotterdam
Feijenoord, Rotterdam
‘This is a classic instance of how urban agendas and local city renewal can clash.’

Feijenoord, Rotterdam

NEW LINKS

design task

PERSOONSDAM

(3) See note 1, p. 88 and p. 90.
(5) Sabine Lebesque, Olof Koekbakker (eds), Exploring the river, verkenning van de rivier: zeven studies naar een nieuwe oeververbinding in Rotterdam, NAi Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1998.
Feijenoord is the first city renewal area in Kop van Zuid, a port and industrial area that developed in the late nineteenth century. The development of Rotterdam as a port received a major boost with the completion of the Nieuwe Waterweg ship canal in 1870. From 1872 there was also a rail connection to Antwerp. The line ended on the southern bank of the river at the Mallegat, just below today’s South Rotterdam station. What was still lacking was a link to the railway lines on the northern bank of the river. This was completed in 1877, connecting the harbour basins at Feijenoord to the Dutch railway network. This combination of water and rail infrastructure typified future building patterns around Feijenoord, and has left an unmistakable mark on the area. There is less trace of the original mixture of housing and employment.

Over the years Rotterdam’s port activities shifted further and further westwards, and the first area to be affected was Feijenoord. It started to go downhill after the Second World War. A typical feature of the city renewal that took place here from the mid-1970s onwards was simultaneous intervention in the existing housing stock through renovation and new building on former industrial sites.

City renewal in South Rotterdam took a new turn after the international AIR: De Kop van Zuid event in 1981. The designs produced for this showed that the area was perfectly suited for an expansion of the city centre across the River Maas. The city council adopted this suggestion in its subsequent planning, resulting in the construction of the Erasmus bridge and the railway tunnel. To the west of the railway line, railyards were cleared and sections of the harbours were filled in. These developments mainly benefited the western part of Feijenoord.

The eastern part, where city renewal had begun, remained a backwater, mainly because links with the city centre across the river became worse rather than better when the new Willemsbrug bridge was built. The old one had come into service in 1878 and, together with the Koninginnebrug bridge, had created a link between the Boompjes (a major entertainment district on the northern bank), the Noordererland (North Island) and the Stieltjesplein square in Feijenoord. Until the Maas tunnel was built in 1942 these two bridges had formed the only fixed cross-river link, and had become increasingly congested as regional car traffic expanded. Yet even later on this link was still the only one that allowed the two banks of the river to function as a single urban area, for it was easily accessible to both pedestrians and cyclists. All this came to an abrupt end in 1982, when the old Willemsbrug was replaced by the new one.

This is a classic instance of how urban agendas and local city renewal can clash. Plans for a new Willemsbrug had existed since before the Second World War. The 1946 Basic Plan for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam included the new bridge, as well as conversion of the Boompjes district into a primary sea wall and main traffic artery. The old bridge had been an obstacle to shipping, and the main purpose of the new one was to ensure unobstructed passage for vessels on the river. The new bridge was also seen as a major north-south link for car traffic. The entry into service of the Van Brienenood bridge in 1965 and the Benelux tunnel in 1967 made the whole concept obsolete; yet when Feijenoord underwent city renewal the new Willemsbrug was built as a car bridge with little or no access for pedestrians and cyclists.

Improved access to the eastern part of Feijenoord for public transport and low-speed traffic (pedestrians, cyclists, mopeds and so on) would seem crucial to the further development of the area – not just links to the western part of Kop van Zuid, but also to the centre of Rotterdam across the river. The district is ideally located to become part of the city centre.

In this connection, the protracted discussions about a third city bridge need to be revived. Development of an east-west route for low-speed traffic and trams through Feijenoord will link the area to the eastern edge of the city centre and the university. A city bridge can be of vital importance here, for it can link up the two parts of the city in a self-evident manner. If necessary, a metro link can be built in a tunnel further south-east, in conjunction with the new Feyenoord soccer stadium.

At the same time, a start can already be made on improving access by introducing a water bus or ferry. We suggest that plans for the eastern part of Feijenoord be re-examined, on the assumption that the east-west route for low-speed traffic and trams will have to be created. The design study will mainly focus on the redevelopment of Persoonsdam.
Location of study area in the city

### Buildings in Urban Areas
- **up to 1850**
- **up to 1910**
- **up to 1940**
- **up to 1970**
- **up to 2000**

### City Renewal Areas
- **up to 1850**
- **up to 1910**
- **up to 1940**
- **up to 1970**
- **up to 2000**
- **recently as part of focus districts policy**

### Study Area
- Railway line with station
- Metro line / station
- Tram line
- Main access road / motorway exit

### Design Task
- Renewing City Renewal
1. Persoonsdam
2. Possible location of third city bridge
3. Erasmus University
4. City harbours (Kop van Zuid / Katendrecht / Maashaven)
5. Afrikaanderplein
6. Hart van Zuid
7. South Rotterdam station
8. Willemsbrug / Koninginnebrug / Oranjeboomstraat / Rosestraat route
9. Water taxi
1979 Feijenoord with new housing on the Simons plot just finished and preparations for new housing along the Persoonshaven
1978  Planning map and example of redesign of urban block, from the residents’ newspaper Bestemd voor u (= ‘Meant/Zoned for you’)

**Around 1970**  Traffic structure before city renewal

- city road
- access road to area
- (residential) street
- one-way traffic
- parking spaces along the street
- angled parking spaces
- parking along the pavement
- tram line
- railway line

**Around 1990**  Traffic structure after city renewal

*Feijenoord, Rotterdam*
1972 Oranjeboomstraat with Wilhelminakerk church on the corner of Persoonstraat before demolition

1959 Koninginnebrug bridge, towards Stieltjesplein with Martyrs of Gorkum Catholic church (demolished)

1972 Willemsbrug bridge from Van der Takstraat, towards city centre
Around 1970  Building structure before city renewal

Around 1990  New city renewal buildings

1978  Planning map and example of redesign of urban block, from the residents' newspaper

Bestemd voor u
1973  Persoonsdam, towards Piekstraat

1976  Proposed redesign of Zinkerweg (Feijenoord North Island Policy Plan)
1963  Persoonshaven harbour, seen from Persoonsdam

Around 1970  Facilities before city renewal

- **shopping** (shops / bars and restaurants)
- **education** (nursery / primary / secondary schools)
- **services** (health care / religious / district facilities)

Around 1990  Facilities after city renewal

- **recreation** (gardens and parks / sports / play facilities)
- **employment** (offices / businesses / industry)

**Feijenoord, Rotterdam** 121
‘... our design is a speculative one. It shows what cannot simply be captured in rules and general recommendations – namely, the location’s potential to create an unusual and vital part of the city.’

design study
A METROPOLITAN CONTEXT
Fusi & Ammann Architekten, Hamburg

(1) Fritz Schumacher, Vom Städtebau zur Landesplanung und Fragen städtebaulicher Gestaltung, Tübingen 1951, p. 37.
Analysis and design

The task of renewing Feijenoord’s Persoonsdam gives us architects and urban designers an excellent opportunity to think about what kind of city and forms of urbanity we can create in European metropolises. The current transformation of our cities challenges our profession to become involved in all kinds of strategic design, which calls for greater insight into the potential of metropolitan culture and proposals for urban spaces and architectures that the public can identify with.

Originally metropolises were cities that produced colonies, and their special character is still determined by their role in the global economy. Rotterdam’s existence is entirely bound up with the development of its port, until recently the biggest in the world. But metropolises are not special just because of their global image and their physical size. They have always been highly attractive to people from all over the world, and they have displayed an ability to generate great diversity in forms of ‘urbanity’. Hamburg’s city architect from 1923 to 1933, Fritz Schumacher, put this very aptly:

‘In essence, today’s “metropolis”, indeed even today’s large town, is no longer a construction which can be reduced to a single basic principle. It is composed of individual districts, each with its own very different sociological characteristics. This differentiation can even be seen as a character trait. (...) It would be totally wrong to want to force them to conform to a single formal law. The dominant geometric spirit in the administrative district is utterly different from that in the business district, and is expressed differently again in the industrial district. Even in the different kinds of residential district we can easily recognise the characteristics which determine the type, whether it be “medium-sized town”, “small town”, “garden city”, indeed even “village.”’

As architects and urban designers it is not our job to analyse in depth the socioeconomic and political aspects of the phenomenon of ‘urbanity’. Our main focus is on the physical and morphological dimension, which is essential to the process of urban transformation and the principal subject matter of the urban design. In this sense our discipline has a role and meaning of its own in the development of our urban culture. Its principal task is to recognise new urban developments that provide a reason to redetermine the identity of the city. The question then is how metropolises can generate new forms of urbanity in response to today’s way of living.

In this connection, Schumacher’s observations have lost none of their relevance. He points out that metropolitan space is not homogeneous, but takes many different forms. This also means that the various places do not have equal opportunities to develop, and that our instruments and type of interventions should take account of this. Of course, in a general sense, a degree of flexibility in planning is required. To bring about urban transformation, it is important to engage in intensive dialogue with residents and potential investors. It is necessary to create forms of public-private partnership that they can participate in. However, especially if physical interventions are to play a part in the intended urban transformation, the urban design is needed in order to keep the goal of the operation clear.

We are not talking here about a ‘blueprint’ to be implemented as it stands within a number of years, but about how to determine the kind of urbanity and the type of architecture and urban spaces to be created in the particular place in order to achieve sustainable development. This requires a scenario the initiators can commit themselves to, even if at first it is perhaps little more than a hypothesis. Urban analysis and urban design exist to provide an idea (based on professional expertise) of where things should be heading. We trust that our design for Feijenoord can contribute to this idea of what could potentially be achieved.

The third city bridge and Persoonsdam

Our design is an elaboration of the task we were assigned for the preliminary study. The starting point for our study is the choice of a new location for the third city bridge as part of the development of an east-west tangent. This will improve Feijenoord’s connections with both the eastern flank of Rotterdam’s city centre (where Erasmus University is located) and the western part of Kop van Zuid (which has been developed in recent decades). Our main focus is on the architectural and urban design choices regarding the third city bridge and the building pattern for Persoonsdam.

Both the Willemsbrug and the Erasmus Bridge are road bridges. Both were designed as solitary icons, and the Erasmus Bridge became the emblem of Rotterdam. Rather than compete with these, the design for the third city bridge should focus on creating a genuine city bridge, a bridge with lasting value. Everyone agrees that the third bridge is only needed for low-speed traffic and trams. This raises a new question for the city: how to build a bridge that will span 350 metres of water and yet remain attractive to pedestrians and cyclists? At the moment Rotterdam lacks such a bridge – a bridge where people can spend time and do things, a ‘living bridge’ that links up parts of the city in a self-evident manner. In a city where shipping
is sacrosanct, our proposal is sure to be controversial – yet the task exists.

A third city bridge is undoubtedly a long-term project. In the short term, however, traffic conditions in the area can already be improved by raising Feijenoord station to Intercity status and introducing a ferry link to the university. Such measures should be considered now that renewal of the buildings in Persoonsdam is on the agenda. The community centre and the sports centre are scheduled for demolition, and there are plans to replace them with housing. Given Feijenoord’s excellent location on the edge of the city centre, a more far-reaching, less short-term ambition would seem more appropriate. Mixed, more intensive use of Persoonsdam could give a boost to the economic activities now taking place in the existing business buildings.

Our proposal for the further development of Feijenoord links up the building pattern in Persoonsdam as a set of ‘hybrid buildings’ with the third city bridge as a ‘living bridge’. Together they form an ‘urban mall’, a promenade consisting of a succession of public spaces. This urban mall is the missing link in an east-west tangent, the other parts of which already exist.

**Recommendations and ‘five-finger exercises’**

To sum up, our design for the redevelopment of Persoonsdam is based on a number of strategic recommendations:

1. Improve access to the area, and include this in the development of an east-west tangent.
2. Increase the density of the area, ensuring a mixture of functions and various types of occupancy. Introduce a typology of hybrid buildings that is sufficiently generic to house various functions and types of occupancy and allow changes in the future. Use this generic building typology to organise open space in a way that will create a set of precisely determined urban spaces with a recognisable hierarchy in the structure of the area.

In this sense, our design is a speculative one. It shows what cannot simply be captured in rules and general recommendations – namely, the location’s potential to create an unusual and vital part of the city. In fact, the urban design is the only way to discover and give shape to that potential. In doing so we have identified a number of programmes, not just to test the concept but also to indicate which players in the city should in our view be involved in the further development of Feijenoord – especially the public transport company RET (which could create a new tram route into the area) and Erasmus University (which could give the area an added boost by locating some of its departments there, and could even manifest itself with a prominent site overlooking the river).

The episodes accompanying the 800-metre promenade across the bridge are an extension of the university. A sports hall and an open-air swimming pool are planned next to the existing rowing club. A River Research Institute (possibly in partnership with Delft University of Technology) and living and working space for students will make the bridge an educational centre that is open to exchange with the city. The axis of the bridge will extend into the Persoonsdam area. At the foot of the bridge, an existing block will be replaced by a building for storage, with trees and allotment gardens on the roof. An existing factory hall will be converted into a covered playground.

The axis of the bridge will end in a centrally located square, terminated to the west by a new tower block at the intersection of two diagonal streets that still recall the route of the former industrial railway lines. The tower block will be a landmark, like the Water Tower across the river. From this point the tram line will follow the diagonal south-west towards Feijenoord Station, while the other diagonal will lead north-west towards the city centre. The square will be bounded to the north and south by two hybrid complexes. The ground floor is mainly designed for business, bars, restaurants and shops, but the upper floors must also provide an opportunity to combine housing and employment. The size and type of
the buildings have been chosen so that Persoonsdam, which is more than 200 metres wide, will be divided up in a satisfactory manner. The building type, including inner courtyards, will allow part of the open space to be allocated to the buildings and attractive public spaces to be created along the two harbour basins.

We have called the complex on the south side the ‘House of Cultures’. In addition to housing it will include restaurants, shops and multi-purpose areas for music, meeting people and cooking, where ethnic groups can manifest themselves. To the south there will be a terrace with steps leading down to the water.

On the north side of the square there will be a similar complex. We have called this the ‘Parade House’ to recall the army buildings that once stood here, and also because of the long colonnaded elevation. The complex will incorporate the three existing residential tower blocks and combine them into a single unit.

A building of the same type is planned on the east side of the square, at the foot of the bridge. This building has been designed for a different type of dwelling, for students or people requiring sheltered housing. The communal areas will be on the ground floor, and could also be used by the neighbours.

Finally we will add a row of town houses to the park north of Persoonsdam, on the same scale as the existing buildings. This will restore the street space, so that the fragments of existing buildings will no longer look so forlorn. We hope our design will provide a perspective and a source of inspiration that those involved in the further development of Feijenoord can draw on to give the area new élan.
Urban mall: building pattern in Persoonsdam and third city bridge as a ‘living bridge’
Location in the city: urban mall as a link in the east-west tangent

Overall view from the east, towards Persoonsdam in Feijenoord
Overall view of Persoonsdam from the west

East-west cross-section (urban mall)
Persoonsdam building plan: upper floor

‘Parade House’

‘House of Cultures’
Contact team in Rotterdam
Feijenoord District Council, Rotterdam
Rotterdam City Council
Woonstad Rotterdam Housing Corporation

Fusi & Ammann Architekten
Project team
Paolo Fusi
Stefanie Ammann Fusi

Paolo Fusi and Stefanie Ammann
Fusi established their architecture and urban design firm in
2000.

Born in Italy, Paolo Fusi studied
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Fusi & Ammann Architekten have
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early 2013, in Albstadt.
www.fusi-ammann.com
Designing for a different approach

‘An empirical attitude calls for a precise way of looking, analysing and choosing tasks. The design must respond to existing situations, their potential and the forces around them.’
Contact team in Rotterdam
Feijenoord District Council, Rotterdam
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Designing for a different approach

‘An empirical attitude calls for a precise way of looking, analysing and choosing tasks. The design must respond to existing situations, their potential and the forces around them.’
‘Spatial planning in a city of permanent renewal is not a linear, finite movement from need to product, but a theoretically endless process of developing, adjusting, rejecting and replacing proposals ... Within this model, spatial design can be seen as a special way of acquiring knowledge. If it is true that spatial planning has become a kind of exploratory research, then spatial design is its main research instrument. The flood of spatial "plans" can then be seen as a series of experimental arrangements that can be used to reveal the potential meaning of a given urban place. One of the strengths of such a research strategy is its relatively realistic character. Such an experimental arrangement need not just lead to research findings, but can in principle also be implemented and hence start to function as a plan. At the same time, it can be worked out in such specific detail that it elicits committed responses from potentially interested players.’

For many years, spatial policy was a key instrument for implementing political agendas and programmes for economic development or social change. Examples include the major public investment programmes from the period of city renewal and the public-private area development or urban renewal practices that predominated until recently. Given such policies, the physical task was usually part of a broader social one. This influenced views on the capabilities of architecture and urban design, and the role that designs could play in them. Designs sometimes had a highly ideological slant. Designers were expected to give shape to social goals, and to use the right vocabulary. Now that the formerly close links between the physical and the social task are becoming looser, there is room to reassess architecture and urban design and disengage them from excessive social pretensions. This calls for a profoundly modest attitude.

Architecture and urban design cannot solve urban problems in the broad sense. However, with their range of knowledge and ability to make connections, they can contribute to a fuller understanding of the city’s spatial and programmatic structure, and to projects designed to improve specific places or areas. The starting points for such projects may be highly diverse, depending on the existing dynamics: redesign of a park, construction of a road, renovation of a housing complex, treatment of a monument, rearrangement of facilities, management of communal sites and so on. The trick will be to connect these separate projects to broad-based, long-term strategies. That calls for a different approach to the old, linear connection between programme and implementation. This chapter will examine the opportunities for such a ‘different approach’ by examining in detail the design studies for the four city renewal

(2) Calls for the disengagement of physical and social issues are not new. See also Arnold Reijndorp, Stadswijk, stedenbouw en dagelijks leven, Rotterdam 2004, particularly ‘Bevrijding van de stedenbouw’, NAi Uitgevers, Rotterdam 2004, pp. 201-211.
(4) In Kern van de stedenbouw, a project carried out in partnership between the Urban Design department of Delft University of Technology’s Faculty of Architecture and the Van Eesteren-Fluck & Van Lohuizen Foundation, design is seen as a distinctive quality of urban design, with urban design preceding architecture. The project defines urban design in terms of four aspects of urban design. Books have been published on three of these aspects: Jan Heeling, Han Meyer, John Westrik, Het ontwerp van de stadsplattegrond, SUN, Amsterdam 2002 (on design of the city ground plan); Han Meyer, Frank Josselin de Jong, MaartenJan Hoekstra, Het ontwerp van de openbare ruimte, SUN, Amsterdam 2006 (on the design of public space); Han Meyer, John Westrik, MaartenJan Hoekstra, Stedenbouwkundige regels voor het bouwen, SUN, Amsterdam 2008 (on urban design rules for building). The fourth aspect is the spatial/functional organisation of the basic area.
districts in the changing context of urban development and urban renewal.

Planning, urban design and architecture

Planning is about the organisation, preparation and implementation of spatial development in the city. This involves a number of different players and professionals. Within the city council alone this means a whole range of departments, each of which often has its own representative on the planning team: the development department (with land, project management and communication sections), the spatial planning and licensing departments, the various policy departments with their sectoral and other programmes, the public works departments (with sections for the design, construction and management of public space) and so on. In classic planning practice there is a hierarchical planning system: from programme via structural plan and urban design plan to building plan. At the end of this process, all the architect has to do is fill in the details within the urban design framework. Depending on political and economic circumstances, planning practice has taken various forms over the years, with varying positions for urban design and architecture.\(^{(3)}\)

Urban design and architecture are designing disciplines in which knowledge of the city and its structures is linked to design proposals for new projects. In Dutch planning practice, urban design is usually seen as a framework for architecture.\(^{(4)}\) However, this hierarchy is a questionable one, especially in the existing city, which is not a tabula rasa but a situation full of specific factors: structures, buildings, open spaces, property and living practices. These specific factors resist classic planning practice. Architectural interventions are often catalysts in urban designers’ thinking about places and areas; conversely, urban designs benefit from a precise architectural reading of the area being studied. In this situation, the spatial design shifts back and forth between scales, and architecture and urban design are well-balanced.

This way of working, which typified the urban development and urban renewal culture in Barcelona around 1992, can now also be seen in Flanders, especially the city of Antwerp. Manuel de Solà Morales discussed it in 1989 under the heading ‘another city planning’.\(^{(5)}\) He pointed to the gap that had developed from the 1920s onwards between abstract urban planning and architecture with an excessive focus on individual expression. This made it difficult to tackle a number of issues in the development of European cities, especially urbanisation tasks within and between existing urban areas. He therefore called for

\(^{(5)}\) Besides the prevailing hierarchical planning practice, the Netherlands also has a flourishing tradition of exceptions in which an architectural design (feasibility study) gives rise to negotiations between the initiator and the local authority. An urban design framework that fits neatly into the building initiative is subsequently drawn up. This way of working is mainly found outside major area developments, and is made legally possible by special regulations for cases with limited planning impact or project zoning plans.


urban design on an intermediate scale to bridge this gap. This approach was based on two key assumptions. First, the idea of the ‘city of parts’: the city consists of specific elements, each with its own special properties. (8) Second, the idea of urban architecture: architecture that can have a structuring impact at urban design level. In place of a deductive approach based on schematic concepts, De Solà Morales proposed an inductive one that set out from the specific complexity of the task and the context. He called this ‘the urban project’. The project was urban because it had a greater impact on the city than just the intervention. At the same time, however, it was limited in space and time; it had a clear scale and date for completion.

Around 1990 the foundations were laid for the Dutch planning practice we have seen in recent years. This period coincided with the end of city renewal – or rather, with a far-reaching reorientation of city renewal on many levels, including scale (from district to city), programme (not just housing, but also business, infrastructure and urban facilities), funding (the market as well as government) and instruments. This happened against a background of government policy that focused on revitalising cities and regions as locations for new economic activities. Within this context, planning practice changed, and so did the positions of urban design and architecture.

Urban design hardly played any part in city renewal. The focus was on process and participation rather than the hierarchical planning system of urban expansion and redevelopment. The existing urban design structure was the framework for relatively small projects on urban-block scale. At the same time, active use was made of the zoning plan to regulate or exclude functions. The operational level was entirely that of architecture, especially housing. (9) With the shift of emphasis to the city, urban design became more important. The idea was now to construct links between developments in various places within the urban territory. The spatial plan was an ideal way to explore these potential links. (10) The renewed focus on design was largely due to cultural events organised by city councils in the previous years as an alternative to existing planning practice in city renewal.

The Rotterdam Art Foundation’s AIR: Kop van Zuid (1982) and AIR: Spoortunneltracé (1987) events played a pioneering role here. In both cases, renewal of the city was displayed by architectural designs for clearly demarcated spatial/programmatic interventions on an intermediate scale. This broke with existing planning practice in city renewal by reversing the order of things. Projects were not the result of a process but instead, through their imaginative power, functioned as ‘triggers’ for

(8) The concept of ‘the city of parts’ (la città per parti) was introduced by the Italian architect Aldo Rossi in his book *L’architettura della città* (1966). Rossi makes clear that the physical structure of the city cannot be reduced to just one principle. The city and its form are a sum total of parts that have been assembled over time in a process of growth and differentiation. Its many parts and districts differ greatly in both their formal and their social features, and it is this very differentiation that makes the city a phenomenon in its own right. See Aldo Rossi, *De architectuur van de stad*, SUN, Nijmegen 2002, pp. 62-63 (the Dutch translation of *L’Architettura della Città*, published in English by MIT Press as *The Architecture of the City* in 1984).


Other cities also experimented with the submission of specific proposals as motors for renewal: examples included The Hague (the City renewal as a cultural activity campaign in 1985) and Groningen (the Verbindingkanaalzone event in 1987).

Around 1990 strategic projects became the basis for new planning practice. The current situation was presented by the brand-new Netherlands Architecture Institute at the Verleidelijk stadsbeeld: ontwerpen voor stedelijke vernieuwing (‘Seductive image of the city: designing for urban renewal’) exhibition.

The three main criteria for projects were (1) added value for the city, (2) mixture of functions and (3) public-private partnership – echoing the basic ideas of the Barcelona urban project. Yet the Dutch project approach was never very clearly defined. Differences could be observed even in 1990, with different relationships between programme, architectural appearance, morphological embedding and urban management. From the outset the projects were relatively large, in terms of both the size of the area involved and the planned completion date, and the focus was usually on large-scale housing areas as the main programmatic vehicle.

The élan of compact, clearly demarcated spatial projects that intelligently created a link with a broader context was thus short-lived. A new planning practice – integrated area development – soon emerged. More and more sectors became involved, and the players were increasingly bogged down in agreements on programmes, time and money. In this managerial environment, the role of design was restricted. The process-based approach from the period of city renewal returned in a new guise, as did remnants of the old hierarchical planning system with its master plans and subprojects.

Once again, however, this approach proved hard to sustain amid the complexity of the existing city. By the time subprojects got under way, earlier programmatic or financial assumptions were often out of date as a result of market developments or new insights, and master plans and all the accompanying agreements constantly had to be renegotiated. Recent political and economic developments, leading to a drastic reassessment of investment and funding in cities, have made these problems painfully evident. Planning practice based on major, integrated development of areas and public-private partnerships has now had its day. So where do we go from here?

Four areas, four strategies

The tasks for the four areas are not the outcome of an overall
policy, but are based on a careful analysis of each area and awareness of potential links between approaches to ‘problem’ districts and the urban agenda. Inventory, analysis, task and design study are successive stages that reveal the potential of a place or area. Crucial features in all four cases are the repositioning of areas by making new connections, redesigning facility structures or tackling public space. The public realm and the intermediate scale are constantly recurring themes. However, the specific focus differs from area to area.

**Havenwijk, Leiden:**

**public space**

Havenwijk forms the eastern edge of Leiden’s city centre. During the period of city renewal it was completely given over to housing, reducing exchange with the more mixed environment of the city centre. At the same time, the city council and the housing corporations see its location close to the centre as an opportunity for gentrification. This will depend on a different setting for the dwellings. Havenwijk must become more fully integrated into the city. Starting points for this are two projects that are already on the city’s agenda: redevelopment of the monumental Meelfabriek (the former flour factory) and redesign of the historic city ramparts to form a coherent park (the Singelpark). Both projects are private initiatives. The Meelfabriek has been purchased by a local developer; the Singelpark is a citizens’ initiative. (17) All this has been taken into account in the task for the study area round Oosterkerkstraat and Waardgracht.

The design study has been drawn up by the Ghent firm De Smet Vermeulen. The fine-meshed property structures and the limited number of private investors have resulted in a specifically Flemish approach to city-centre development, including small interventions and compact, clearly demarcated projects. Striking use has been made of earlier experiences in Italy and Spain. (18) Setting out from a historical urban analysis, Paul Vermeulen shows how the one-sided character of Havenwijk is due to the morphological, typological and programmatic homogeneity of the area. Previous attempts to break this pattern by introducing other, more urban elements have largely failed. In this connection Vermeulen refers to Oosterstraat, the result of a short-cut for traffic from the period of city renewal which has proved spatially and programmatically unsatisfactory. With the Meelfabriek and the Singelpark as potential links to the urban level, Oosterstraat and Lakenplein are seen as new public spaces. This will introduce an intermediate scale into Havenwijk, allowing mediation between the district and the city. Local and urban uses can overlap in these new public

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(17) The citizens’ initiative for the Singelpark is professionally organised and works closely with the city council. See www.singelpark.blogspot.nl.

(18) Antwerp’s chief city architect Kristiaan Borret has pointed in various lectures to the specific situation in Flanders, and the fact that during their training during the 1980s the current generation of Flemish urban designers became well acquainted with Italian urban research and the Spanish practice of urban projects. See also Els Vervloesem, Bruno De Meulder, André Loeckx, ibid.
spaces, so that the district will have a more prominent place on the ‘mental map’ of the city.

The design proposal involves a building-line plan for Oosterstraat and Lakenplein, thus altering the ground plan of the city. The structure of the urban spaces will be clarified and enhanced by a small number of new buildings and adjustments to parts of the plan for the Meelfabriek. Oosterstraat will have an unambiguous profile, Lakenplein will look onto the Singelpark, and the new square near the Meelfabriek will be linked to Oosterstraat. The new tower block by the Meelfabriek will be visible from all three urban spaces and will thus become the focus of the spatial composition. The design proposal combines old and new features and makes them a self-evident part of the district’s urban fabric. The building-line plan is accompanied by a proposal for major differentiation in the programme, typology and appearance of the new buildings. This diversity will enhance what is now available in Havenwijk and will act as vehicle for public space. Here Vermeulen calls for varied architecture, based on the differences in programme and location. He believes such architecture will create opportunities for identification and give the appearance of the city historic depth.

**Schilderswijk, The Hague: economic activity and employment**

Before city renewal Schilderswijk had plenty of shops and workplaces, located in inner courtyards and through streets. The streets linked the district to nearby facilities and businesses, for example in the city centre, the area behind Hollands Spoor railway station, the Laakhaven harbours and the Hague Market. This network of streets and businesses mediated between the district and the city. After city renewal there were few businesses left in Schilderswijk, and the proportion of social facilities greatly increased. The city council recently concluded that, although years of social policy may have saved the district from a worse fate, they have brought little structural improvement. The council is now therefore looking for a broader development perspective that mainly focuses on emancipation and social rise through training and employment. This strategy will both literally and figuratively provide more room for economic activity and employment, making it a more visible, self-evident part of everyday life in the district. This, then, is the task for Schilderswijk: connecting this programmatic strategy to a spatial one.

The design study has been drawn up by the Brussels firm 51N4E. The firm describes the situation in the district as a ‘lack of permeability’, in both spatial and mental terms: there
is relatively little overlap between the city and the district. 51N4E points to the monofunctional character of large parts of Schilderswijk. Both the buildings and the numerous squares, gardens and inner courtyards are subservient to housing. Despite the diversity of cultures, there is little variety or expressiveness in the appearance of the streets. This is because of the lack of openings for appropriating and differentiating public space, for instance through commerce, industry or productive use of space. To break this pattern, 51N4E proposes a two-track ‘steer-and-release’ strategy linked to various parts of the area:

deliberate interventions along the edges of the district and the tram routes, based on the presence of public transport and interfaces with other parts of the city;

space for small private initiatives in the centre of the district, possibly by altering regulations and pursuing an active, ‘inviting’ policy.

Both kinds of intervention are linked by public space, which 51N4E sees as ‘space for mobility’, ‘permeability’, again in both spatial and mental terms.

The design proposal consists of a set of possible interventions. Each intervention has its own profile, based on a specific combination of process, programmatic and spatial features. The scale of the interventions ranges from small private initiatives to major public interventions. By way of illustration, the set of possible interventions has been applied to the part of Schilderswijk between the city centre and the railway line. The focus is on activating the many open spaces in the district and enhancing the long lines of Koningstraat and Jacob Catsstraat, with Hoefkade and Hoofdtkade/Hobbemastraat at right angles to them. Besides the small interventions in the existing buildings, there are two striking types of proposal:

A major intervention in the area between the railway line and Hoefkade, near the De Mussen community centre. Here the district will be opened up to the city by improving the spatial structure and introducing two new buildings with significant functions at both district and urban level.

The many small new buildings in the open spaces or on the edges of them. These buildings will create room for production or commerce that can activate and differentiate the use of the open spaces. At the same time, they can lead to a step-by-step improvement in the spatial structure: the urban space of streets, squares and gardens will be more clearly demarcated, giving the existing ‘backs’ a ‘front’. 

Renewing City Renewal
Feijenoord, Rotterdam: new connections

Before city renewal Rotterdam’s city centre, North Island and Feijenoord district were well linked up by the continuity of streets and bridges. After city renewal all this changed. Successive interventions in the system of cross-river links have shifted routes and severed connections, leaving the eastern part of Feijenoord isolated. At urban level there has been a lengthy debate on the nature and location of a third bridge on the eastern side of the city. At the same time, the lack of satisfactory tangential links in South Rotterdam and within the city is more and more widely acknowledged. New connections are the starting point for the task regarding the study area round Persoonsdam. A new cross-river link with routes for low-speed traffic and trams will link South Rotterdam to Kralingen and Erasmus University. This will once again give the eastern part of Feijenoord a central position in the urban area.

The design study has been drawn up by the Hamburg firm Fusi & Ammann Architekten. Like many German cities, Hamburg pursues a strong urban development policy based on sustainability, with such themes as density, mixing of functions and public transport. It is therefore understandable that Fusi & Ammann have set out from a similar strategic agenda. Taking the new cross-river link as their starting point, they see Persoonsdam as a new urban location that forms a link in a larger series of public spaces between the Kralingen woods and the parks near the Maas tunnel. This location is also emphatically presented as a new central point in the eastern part of Feijenoord that can attract a greater diversity of functions and residents. The proposed intervention therefore has a broader impact than the actual project. The rest of the area will also acquire a new meaning thanks to the new links, locations and functions.

In the urban project tradition, the design proposal has been drawn up on several scales. Fusi & Ammann have used a classic conception of architecture in which the buildings shape space and act as ‘containers’ for various functions. The design proposal involves a configuration of buildings that defines a number of open spaces and creates hierarchy in the spatial structure. The ground plan of the city will be substantially altered. In place of the present situation, with separate buildings in an undefined open space, the proposal offers the prospect of a traditional urban structure with well-defined urban spaces as a precondition for public life. Existing buildings that do not need to be replaced have been incorporated into the new proposals. The focus of the configuration will be Persoonsdam and Nijverheidsstraat, where two complexes of
buildings and a long row of townhouses will form the boundaries to a central square, a park and two harbour basins that will meet at the dam. The space-shaping effect of the complexes of buildings will be supported by unambiguous urban architecture. There will be little typological differentiation between the two complexes. The generic approach will provide space for various functions and allow for changing use over time.

**Indische Buurt, Amsterdam: enhancing position**

Next to Amsterdam’s Indische Buurt district is the Flevopark, one of a ring of parks round the city centre. The city council sees these as vital vehicles of quality for the surrounding urban, mixed housing environments. Improvement of the parks and their links to the surrounding areas is therefore part of the city’s agenda. The parks are increasingly popular; but with its relatively small number of visitors the Flevopark is a striking exception. This is partly due to its peripheral location in the city, the lack of through cycling routes and the closed character of the park’s edges. The park is scarcely accessible from Indische Buurt. The park and the district are separate worlds. With the conversion of the Eastern Harbours area into a housing district, the gentrification of the western part of Indische Buurt and the construction of the new university building to the south of the park, the park now has a more central location in the city. The task is to improve its links with the surrounding areas, and so connect Indische Buurt literally and figuratively to the park.

The design study has been drawn up by the London firm East. In Britain the private sector has traditionally had a strong position, and in the ‘Big Society’ climate local initiatives are gaining more influence. City-centre development is pragmatic, and based on potential coalitions and alliances that have to be organised from scratch every time. East sets out from two criteria: (1) careful documentation and analysis of the spatial situation and its use, and (2) consultation of everyone involved about their ideas, aspirations and initiatives for the area and the task. In the light of this, East proposes a ‘spatial strategy for selective change and improvement’, where possible making use of existing locations and tendencies to change; this will make the strategy and the proposals readily recognisable to those involved. A typical feature of this approach is ‘catch and steer’ activities and projects in the district so that they can help improve connections between the park and the surrounding area.

East’s observations of places and their use, and the wishes of all those involved, are recorded on maps and in drawings.

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creating a spatial link that can act as a transition to the design proposal. The strategy is elaborated in a number of diagrams indicating places for intervention. By way of illustration, a detailed overall situation has been drawn, with a list of 49 specific measures, interventions or projects linked to various resources and policy goals. The focus is on the points of connection between the park and the city: the tram stop and the sports hall by the underpass beneath Insulindeweg; the end of Javastraat; the south-west corner near the university building; and the south-eastern tip of the park. The approach is different in each case, depending on what is already available. Proposals consisting of a set of minor and major interventions have been drawn up for three of these points of connection. The interventions involve routes and links, public space, programming of functions and activities, adaptation of existing buildings or an occasional new building. East has adopted a picturesque conception of architecture in which urban space and buildings are treated as a ‘landscape of objects'. In this view of architecture, the ultimate form of the proposed interventions can remain flexible.

Exploratory design

Although the four design firms have set out from different positions and traditions, it is striking that the design proposals have all been drawn up in detail. These are not abstract development plans, but specific proposals for strategies and interventions linked to specific areas and places, with precise drawings on various scales. There are expert drawings of the spatial/functional organisation of the area, the ground plan of the city, public space, building typology and the arrangement and appearance of the buildings. The basis is still professional expertise, but the approach is different.

What typifies this different approach is an empirical attitude. The source of knowledge is findings. The existing situation is the trigger for thinking and action, as regards not only the spatial and programmatic features of the place and the area, but also the dynamics acting on them: the mechanics of change and tendencies to change, the planned investments and projects, the latent initiatives and aspirations of all those involved, and so on. An empirical attitude calls for precise observation, analysis and selection of tasks. The design must respond to existing situations, their potential and the forces around them. The design selects and combines. East has neatly summed this up as ‘catch and steer'. East’s design study for Amsterdam’s Indische Buurt district absorbs all kinds of existing initiatives and incorporates them into a wider discourse on the park and the city. This is something
the initiators can recognise. Vermeulen has done something similar in Leiden’s Havenwijk district by altering parts of the plan for the Meelfabriek. ‘Catch and steer’ means connecting the operational and strategic levels in a different way – linking operations to a strategy, rather than translating a strategy into operations. A specific initiative creates a productive link with a broader context. Investment flows and interventions are connected to broader goals for the development of a place or area. This inductive way of working complements the customary deductive method whereby an overall policy is implemented in plans.

As well as implementation-oriented design, there is thus also exploratory design. The former involves drawing up a plan in preparation for construction; the latter involves exploring a situation, revealing potential and investigating potential links, in an exploratory, speculative, inviting, seductive, agenda-setting manner. Exploratory design is more meaningful when the design proposals are drawn up in detail. This may seem paradoxical, for there is a risk of confusion with implementation-oriented design. And yet realism has a rhetorical force that should not be underestimated. Their direct relation to the existing situation means that the proposed interventions can be literally imagined. They are in keeping with the players’ observations, questions and ideas, and can actually be built. The precisely drawn proposals allow the potential of a place, or the intentions of a strategy, to be visualised and discussed. They stretch the players’ thinking, as it were. 

And yet they remain detached from physical construction. The proposals are hypotheses and are open to dialogue, at two levels: discussions with those directly involved, as well as the broader public debate on the future of a place or area. This creates room in the process. City councils, in particular, can take advantage of this detachment – to ensure they are not too closely identified as initiators with a duty to implement the proposals, and to invite other players to commit themselves to the redesign of a place or area.

However, once the proposals are to be implemented, this detachment must be abandoned. To move from exploratory to implementation-oriented design, a link must be created between the proposal, the initiator and the city council. Often referred to as ‘matchmaking’, this can be done in various ways. The council, or a private player, can take the initiative directly; but often a mediator is called in to bring the players closer together. Traditionally this has been a developer, but increasingly this role is played by other professionals, such as the manager of a shopping street or park, or a ‘facility broker’. 

(20)The design studies for Leiden’s Havenwijk, The Hague’s Schilderswijk and Amsterdam’s Indische Buurt districts have had this effect. (21)In the case of Schilderswijk in The Hague, the city council said it needed specific proposals that the shopping-street manager could use in discussions with entrepreneurs and producers. In the case of Indische Buurt in Amsterdam, the driving force in making connections was the park manager. For more on various kinds of ‘facility broker’, see Marc van Leent, Publiek vastgoed, trancityxvaliz, Haarlem 2012, especially Part III.
Obviously, architects or urban designers can also play such a mediating role through their design proposals. The design connects the elusive question to knowledge of the area and becomes part of a broader story about the area. The design selects and combines. Especially in the context of smaller projects and separate initiatives, with less room for intervention by council officials, designers are well placed to become the focus for a different approach. However, they must be competent partners for all the players involved. If architects or urban designers are to become such ‘new professionals’, they will need other skills besides their traditional expertise: initiative, dynamic analysis, strategy-setting, cooperation and persuasion.\(^{(22)}\)
Indische Buurt, Amsterdam
Renewing City Renewal
Indische Buurt, Amsterdam
Indische Buurt, Amsterdam
‘As a result of all these changes, the Flevopark now occupies a central position on the eastern flank of the city centre and could play a similar role to the other parks surrounding the centre.’

Indische Buurt, Amsterdam
ENHANCING POSITION

design task
JAVAPLANTSOEN (ACCESS TO THE FLEVOPARK)
Apart from a few urban blocks in the north-west corner, Amsterdam's Indische Buurt district developed during the period 1910-1940. At the time it was on the edge of the city, beyond the railway line that came into service in 1874.\(^{(1)}\) Between 1932 and 1942 the railway line was raised onto dykes. These 'East Amsterdam Railway Works' included the construction of the new Muiderpoort station in 1939.\(^{(2)}\) Since then the points of access to the district have been the viaducts at the station (connecting to Insulindeweg), Eerste van Swindenstraat (connecting to Javastraat) and Zeeburgerdijk (connecting to Borneostraat).

As long ago as 1908, biologist Jac. P. Thijsse had put forward plans for a park to the east of Indische Buurt, extending as far as the Merwede Canal (built in 1893 and incorporated into the Amsterdam-Rhine Canal in 1952).\(^{(3)}\) The Flevopark, designed by E. M. Mandersloot and J. P. Koning, was completed in the late 1920s.\(^{(4)}\) Although the Jewish Cemetery (built in 1714) was located between the southern part of Indische Buurt and the Flevopark, the park was still readily accessible. But at the end of the 1960s all this changed.

In 1969, the section of Insulindeweg along the edge of the park became part of Amsterdam's first ring road, connecting with the Schellingwouderbrug bridge (built in 1959); the road was raised and has since formed a barrier between the northern part of Indische Buurt and the park. In 1982 the Jewish Cemetery had to be closed to the general public because of vandalism, and so the park was no longer accessible from the southern part of the district either. The only connection between Indische Buurt and the Flevopark was now an underpass beneath Insulindeweg from the Javaplantsoen garden. This situation did not change even when the outer ring road came into service with the construction of the Zeeburger tunnel in 1990. Although Insulindeweg was now a much less important traffic route, its former capacity was maintained. Furthermore, the Flevopark's position in the city was by now very different. Whereas initially it had been located in a remote corner of the city, the Eastern Harbours area to the north of the park had since become a housing district, and a major university building had been erected in Watergraafsmeer to the south. Most recently, the new IJburg housing project has been developing to the east. As a result of all these changes, the Flevopark now occupies a central position on the eastern flank of the city centre and could play a similar role to the other parks surrounding the centre. In this connection, cycling routes through the park should be created; the Javaplantsoen could also become an eye-catching entrance to the park from Indische Buurt, creating a conspicuous landmark on the eastern edge of the district. We see this as a crucial starting point for exploring and debating the various possibilities through design, in keeping with Het Grote Groenonderzoek ('The Great Green Study') produced by Amsterdam's Spatial Planning Department.\(^{(5)}\)

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\(^{(1)}\) Guus Borger et al., 'Twelve centuries of spatial transformation in the western Netherlands, in six maps', in OverHolland No. 10/11, Amsterdam 2011, p. 71.

\(^{(2)}\) Ibid., p. 91.

\(^{(3)}\) Ibid., p. 73 and p. 87.


\(^{(5)}\) See the Internet.
Renewing City Renewal

Weesp
Diemen
Schiphol
Holendrecht
Diemen Zuid
Duivendrecht
Bijlmer ArenA
Amsterdam RAI
Amsterdam Zuid
Amsterdam Amstel
Amsterdam Amsterdam Centraal
Amsterdam Amsterdam Lelylaan
Amsterdam Amsterdam Sloterdijk
Amsterdam Amsterdam Muiderpoort
Amsterdam Amsterdam Science Park
Amsterdam Amsterdam Muiderpoort
Amsterdam Amsterdam Science Park

Location of study area in the city

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>buildings in urban areas</th>
<th>city renewal areas</th>
<th>study area</th>
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<tr>
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Railway line with station
Metro line / station
Tram line
Main access road / motorway exit
Around 1960  Javaplantsoen gardens with initial construction of Flevoweg and viaduct to Schellingwouderbrug bridge
Around 1970  Traffic structure before city renewal

Around 1990  Traffic structure after city renewal

- city road
- access road to area
- (residential) street
- one-way traffic
- parking spaces along the street
- angled parking spaces
- parking along the pavement
- tram line
- railway line

Indische Buurt, Amsterdam
1979  Current state of city renewal, including road construction

1971  Boniplein before city renewal
Around 1970 Building structure before city renewal

Around 1990 New city renewal buildings

1978 Traffic redistribution plan in city renewal area around Boniplein
Around 1970  Facilities before city renewal

Around 1990  Facilities after city renewal

- **shopping** (shops / bars and restaurants)
- **education** (nursery / primary / secondary schools)
- **services** (health care / religious / district facilities)
- **recreation** (gardens and parks / sports / play facilities)
- **employment** (offices / businesses / industry)
Walking route from Flevopark to the new Flevohuis building in Kramatweg.
‘(...) to strengthen connections, linkages, legibility, and access between all parts of the city so that they can each co-exist rather than just offer alternative amenities.’
Introduction
In the late 19th century parks were often designed as counter conditions to the city; a special extent of character, designed as entire healthy green experiences; a kind of alter ego to the city; set apart, exotic and ‘other’. Flevopark itself has recently been described as the ‘Hidden Green Pearl’ of Amsterdam.

Like a tree growing up through iron railings, the larger city of Amsterdam has found itself hampered by historic rings of infrastructure, themselves legacies of the 1950’s and 70’s planning for access and speed. A review of the city shape is required to help guide the consequences of older edges becoming closer to the centre.

Indische Buurt is a place at the eastern edge of Amsterdam rich in diversity of ethnicity, building ages and spatial experiences. The streets are named after islands, and as a territory historically built upon reclaimed land, with sand and piles, there is an overriding feeling of an archipelago; islands that are placed around each other; and over the years, disengaged. The area is made up of islands of both land and water, of city and park, offering a special condition to work with. This is exciting.

Today, green and open spaces in the city are in increasing demand, and the need to engage these areas as part of the city drives the brief for this design project, which has been identified by TU Delft, Platform 31, and De Nijl Architecten, and which East are now developing further.

Approaching from London
The challenge is the same in London, to strengthen connections, linkages, legibility, and access between all parts of the city so that they can each co-exist rather than just offer alternative amenities. By increasing the proximity and ease of access between the Indische Buurt and the Flevopark, and the spaces beyond, a place shaping can be achieved that establishes vitality through the careful location and provision of new uses, and public realm measures. In other words, we wish for the city area of Indische Buurt to become better connected with the green spaces of Flevopark, and for Flevopark to become visible, animated and accessible at its edges and entrances.

Methodology
Our methodology is as follows:

Documentary
We have taken a careful look at the existing place; the Indische Buurt and the Flevopark, and have made drawings that highlight the relationships between spaces and uses.

Analysis
We see an urban condition of specific characters, the park, the housing, the water spaces, that have suffered from a lack of recent planning at their edges; or recovered from the severance of modern infrastructure. Half of the area is inaccessible land and water. Social uses are sporadic, out of view and poorly linked or related to each other. The island like quality suggests a historic character; a territory laid across sand, reclaimed land surrounded by water. This in turn enhances the diverse quality of the park; a range of gardens lakes and woodlands, formal and informal. It’s not just a park, it’s several places at once, with different characters, ranging from ‘naturalistic’, to ‘urban’.

There are unique moments of sublime beauty in the islands serviced by the Jewish cemetery for instance. These spaces are currently perceived as obstructive, rather than as the rare wild and bio diverse spaces that they are - these can be reclaimed as part of the urban territory.

The modern road infrastructure separating the park from its neighbourhood, forming barriers and underused and awkward spaces, many of which form the edges to the park. Specific and creative examination and adjustment would re-appropriate these as part of the city environment both locally and in forming a gateway to the Metropolitan green spaces to the East.

Learning from London
We have taken London as a reference for how a city made up of many layers of community, urban grain, and history, seems to work. This has enabled a design perspective informed by examples of spaces we enjoy, and considered how these may or may not work in Amsterdam.

Also, we have had the advantage of being new visitors to the area, and have complemented a careful documentary with leaps of imagination, inspired by the place itself.

Collaboration
We have met several of the client and stakeholder group members responsible for the area, and feel we now have a good understanding of how the place is used, it’s issues, and what shared and individual aspirations are. The general excitement and positive attitude to change that we have seen in these members and officers is inspiring. This has helped us take a design approach that joins in with this existing activity; accommodating and locating programmes and ideas already identified, and to add further to these within an overarching spatial strategy.

Indische Buurt, Amsterdam
East
Strategy
We propose a spatial strategy for selective change and improvement that is practical and ambitious. The strategy is flexible and can be phased. Making good improvements will not rely on big gestures and lots of money, but will identify, guide and steer programmed projects to deliver best value to the place in terms of the strategy objectives.

This approach places emphasis on the edges of the Flevopark. Each edge is different, and contains different roles and potential for improvement. At the west, the green buffer requires opening up to the Indische Buurt, and enhanced use (whilst retaining the sanctuary of the cemetery) and presence. At the north edge, sports and leisure coincide with the raised road infrastructure. Uses are mute and generally unseen, and we propose selectively revealing uses compatible to these surrounds whilst improving entrances to the park. The eastern edge requires selective, small adjustments to respond to the large open water. The southern edge is about making a new route through and establishing better relationships with university uses.

The strategy objectives would be:

1. **Link it up**
   Enhance the place as an area with good linkages around; including to the east. This is not a cul-de-sac, but a great part of Amsterdam; easily accessible and close to the centre. If this was London, we would be in Burgess Park!

   A local infrastructure of small-scale interventions (through planting and signage) at key moments on the edges of the Indische Buurt (crossing the canal, by the train stations) could be used to signify the proximity of the park, and begin to create a local and special character for the neighbourhood.

2. **Animate what already exists**
   Enhance all assets to increase the richness; in terms of experience, legibility, history, use and social spaces. This can involve new buildings, physical measures, festivals, interpretation temporary events, community uses, play space, signage, art, crowd funded activities, or developer funding.

3. **Catch and steer**
   Influence proposals by others to deliver benefits to the area and to the park, such as the planned university buildings. These could bring public uses at ground level and a bridge across the canal as part of the planning gain.

   ’Catch and steer’; a colloquial planning term championed by Design for London, is a useful way to explain part of our approach to the proposals here at Indische Buurt/Flevopark.

   Simply put, this is about working across the various boundaries and ownerships through the process of design. It means thinking outside of the red line of a planning application, and it means being prepared to design areas that are outside of the immediate remit or governance. Importantly, it relates to being aware of the emerging designs of others, and having a say on how those relate to the bigger picture. Of course, it helps to have a planning authority to keep an overview on this, and Design for London, within the GLA in London have a clear status, and...
sometimes funding, to help steer this overview and review process. But an interesting aspect of this, is that Design for London also have a kind of autonomy and semi-formal way of working, enabling conversations with developers and architects to be semi-informal themselves. This helps the conversations to be less formal and stiff, and places emphasis on design.

It should be said that this informal approach of reviewing the work of others can be carried out by anyone with a view to keeping hold of a bigger picture, and who has a good design and strategic approach to an area. We have seen that the officers at the Council have a clear understanding of this, and have already been working flexibly with their knowledge and contacts of the area. The missing ingredient then is a clear area wide spatial story that supports influence, negotiations, and inspiration to get things to happen that people understand and benefit from. A big plan is needed, and detailed proposals that show not just how improvements could look, but what they offer. It is possible to draw up a strategic plan to underpin the vision and objectives, but it is also important to show detailed ‘possible scenarios’ to engage the imaginations of all stakeholders. These can then be discussed, revised, drawn around, and adopted through an ongoing and sustained dialogue of engagement.

It’s not hard to do; it just takes the right process to be set in place, design clarity, a clear urban story, and willpower. Money will follow.

4 Design edges as places
Make new city transitions using special spaces and buildings that provide uses, links and visibility in ways that are site specific. These are about clustered uses and physical improvements; which could involve adjusting existing buildings or providing new. It would include new entrances to the Park; with increased accessibility and feeling of safety and orientation. This has to do with making better relationships between the park and the Indische Buurt. Along the perimeter, the appropriation and participation of the local communities to reclaim and invigorate the existing streets spaces and create special moments only possible here.

5 Increase pedestrian access into and through
New pedestrian and cycle routes to go through and around the wider place, not just the park. This is about understanding the area as an important part of Amsterdam connecting new parts of the city with the old; not just a cul-de sac. It’s not just about making the fastest route, but the most legible, accessible and interesting route. This route links up with many of the existing activities, and new ones too. It opens the park up to the city in ways that are rich in benefits to local communities.

6 Early wins
A number of things could be implemented almost immediately, and in the recent future in order to test and direct the current aspirations. These projects could also help prime and encourage longer term proposals. Many of these ideas are already being considered by officers,
and have been identified in the Flevopark brochure (branding, swimming and camping, neighbourhood gardens, Flevo Festival, network of organisations). Items such as park signs using materials such as scaffolding and painted signs would raise attention to the park and could be done in conjunction with artists, volunteers, the university and local communities. A continuation, and expansion, of the current programme of events to test particular places within the park and establish places to play, dance, picnic, grow things, with a focus on strengthening the main routes through use. Conversations should be started early with those currently developing sites to establish how these can be used to deliver appropriate and generous public space on the edges of the park to support its uses and activities.

**Key opportunities**

To make a fine grain urban ‘stitching in’ of the various parts of the place, enabling the edges to become animated; more ‘urbanised’. This will also reveal the identity and history of the park to the city by making new places out of existing entrances, amenities and spatial characters. To make assets out of what are currently problems, or inconveniences; for example the large spaces caused by the transport infrastructure (into new entrances, and places of orientation and transition), the sublime invisibility of the cemetery (into a reason for going there), the uncertainty of how to move around (into an enrichment of experiences), the diversity of the place (offering potential for generosity).

To open the place up using bridges, increased visibility through selective opening up of planting and tree canopies, signage, cycle routes and pedestrian routes, lighting, new uses that complement existing spaces and uses.
Tools list:

1. Bostheaterplek / woodland clearing
2. Historic city gates
3. Playground
4. Cafe building
5. Graffiti 'Hall of Fame'
6. Skate ramp
7. New bike dirt track
8. Neighbourhood gardens / allotments
9. Pocket park
10. Jewish cemetery wall and gate
11. Tennis centre
12. Petting zoo
13. Jeugdland fort and gardens
14. Tall building used as a landmark
15. Special terrazzo picnic mats
16. Brewery house and new jetty for deliveries by boat
17. 'Land jetties' extending the public green space and creating views
18. Pontoon and island for swimming in Nieuwe Diep
19. Bandstand/stage on pond
20. Boardwalk and enclosed swimming area
21. Flevopark style naturalist planted areas on edge of Indische Buurt
22. Special signage at entrances
23. Welcome mat to park with improved access and re-configured public space
24. New buildings with companion community uses
25. Special gateway buildings to Jewish cemetery - with water tap
26. Widening of main route
27. Re-providing play space
28. Picnic area by pond and play spaces
29. Public toilets (associated with cafe)
30. Special lighting along key routes
31. Re-configure the sports centre
32. ‘Unpack’ sports activities into the public realm
33. Camping sign
34. Road crossing improvements for pedestrians
35. Spaces for events - markets/street parties
36. Proposed development - needs design guidance
37. Bridge across canal provided by new development
38. Flower meadow - pick your own
39. Removal of hedge to create connection between Insulindeweg and park
40. Mushroom growing in woods
41. Improved lake edge 'grassy beach'
42. Sculpture/installation islands for special events
43. Community event based installations in the woods
44. Cinema in the park
45. Ice skating on the lake
46. Orchard - sponsor a tree
47. Jetties around grassy edges of pond (temporary and permanent)
48. Woodland route for pedestrians and cyclists
49. Flevopark network
1a Gardens, parks and festivals co-exist using limited infrastructure

3a The park should be able to be experienced intimately and from a distance

Making use of the park fruits; sold in town.

FLEVOJAM!

4 Tree pits for new and existing trees to explain their species and history; and tree lighting illuminating places and pathways

5 Seasonal planting by volunteers can be supported by events and competitions

6 Walking maps and wayfinding discs

7a Outdoor music events and film screenings help animate the park into the evenings

7b Quiet moments with nature should also be able to be enjoyed
1. Landmark tall building
2. School
3. Jav’art community music centre
4. Special sign, cafe and seating Garden
5. New building with park views
6. Creche
7. Flevopark style naturalistic planting
8. Improved ramped route
9. Special lighting
10. New building with ball court / play
11. Jewish Cemetery
12. ‘Land jetties’ with views over

City Gates
Improving the existing routes into the park by establishing entrances which are part of both the park and the city. Removal of some trees and hedges visually engage parts disconnected

- Park housing, with sports uses at the entrance, add to the public gateway character

Special signage can be combined with structures to create new spaces, whether temporary or otherwise

Add and adjust gates; permanent and temporary

Indische Buurt, Amsterdam
East
Station playground
The park must become highly visible at all sides. This has to do with opening up/extend/adjusting existing buildings, making use of spaces under the road infrastructure, and providing some big signs.
By placing housing next to a park, you make the park feel safer. You also help make the city feel humane.

The main routes through the park should enable walking and cycling. Play and fitness amenities and furniture should be ‘woven’ along and around these routes.

Park signs could be made as a ‘quick win’; using scaffolding and painted signs to raise attention to the park. To be done in conjunction with artists, volunteers, the university, and the local communities.

Good communication helps to create a network of park users from the neighbourhood and further afield.

**University Bridge**
Connecting the Science Park and its users back to the neighbourhood. Using ‘Catch and Steer’ methods to deliver a development that acts as a new city gateway.

1. New buildings
2. New bridge
3. Special park signs
4. Flevopark style naturalistic planting
5. Community garden
6. Pocket park
7. Jewish Cemetery
8. ‘Land jetties’ with views over cemetery
9. Existing green space
10. Bandstand on the pond
11. Jetties on pond
12. Meadows
13. Grassy ‘beach’
14. Boardwalk
Contact team in Amsterdam
Amsterdam City Council
East Amsterdam District Council

East
Project team
Julian Lewis
Dann Jessen
Judith Lösing
Sophie Maubon
Alex Smith

Julian Lewis
Studied at University of North London, obtaining Diploma with commendation in 1989. Extensive experience of developing ideas, design and research as well as project/team management and project implementation on a wide range of building, landscape and urban projects.

Urban Design Advisor to the Greater London Authority/ London Development Agency. Teaching and lecturing since 1992, now holding a Diploma Unit teaching post at London Metropolitan University.
A call for strong design

‘... working on a strong city calls for more than just bottom-up initiatives. Strategies for development on invitation must be connected to broad-based, long-term vision (political and otherwise).’
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A call for strong design

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Working on a strong city

Work on the existing city has changed drastically in recent years. The predominant development model of large-scale area development in public-private partnerships with long-term agreements on programmes and investment no longer works. The district approach is a thing of the past. With the loss of these substantial public investment flows, the physical task has also been taken off the political agenda. Pressure to implement the social agenda has shifted to the social domain. This creates opportunities to escape from ‘physical determinism’ – the notion that spatial interventions can remedy even the most serious social problems. At the same time, however, this challenges us to redefine the position of architects and urban designers – of designs – in the field of urban development. The findings of the Renewing city renewal research programme may provide a starting point for this.

Around 1990 there was a brief period in which urban renewal meant expanding city renewal so as to strengthen the city as a whole. In response to the prevailing economic crisis, as well as cultural events on architecture and the city, the district agenda in city renewal was broadened into an urban agenda whose goal was complete revitalisation of the city. City renewal had brought about a drastic change in urban policy. The focus of debate and policy had shifted to the existing city. The result was a completely new playing field, for the existing city is not a tabula rasa, but a situation full of ‘urban artefacts’: property, buildings and open spaces associated with a variety of interests and living practices.

This change also meant a drastic change in the work of architects and urban designers. The vigorous architectural debate in the 1980s bears witness to this. Work on the transformation of our cities was no longer based on an utopian idea of the future city, but on analysis and evaluation of the existing city. Spatial design as an exploration of possibilities within the existing city now emerged. Besides city renewal areas, the new focus was on old harbour and industrial sites that had become disused during the 1970s. These ‘empty’ areas were ideal for the ‘attractive living and working environments’ that cities badly needed in order to present themselves once more as interesting locations.

During the 1990s this broad-based approach was split into two tracks: development policy, and policy for disadvantaged areas. One track was aimed at promising major new city-centre developments, especially in the ‘empty’ areas; the other was aimed at the redevelopment of ‘problem districts’ – not only
the postwar housing districts that became eligible tasks after the period of city renewal,(1) but also the now ‘disadvantaged’ former city renewal districts. Besides local action groups and housing corporations, investment funds and developers now became involved. A cautious start was made on public-private partnerships in city-centre projects – first on a modest scale, but later with bigger and bigger projects.

Area development became the norm; but paradoxically it also led to a loss of connection with the district. The decentralised approach to city renewal was abandoned. District project groups were emasculated and closed down, and city development companies were set up in their stead. In the wake of the Dutch government’s 1995 privatisation scheme, the housing corporations also changed from public service providers into large private property companies. Unlike city renewal in the prewar districts, renewal of the postwar housing districts now became a task for public-private partnerships. Involvement of residents and public debate with directly involved citizens became a depoliticised part of fine-tuned planning processes. Compulsory ‘public consultation’ undoubtedly widened the gulf between ordinary people and major institutions, including city councils.

The two-track policy has now largely come to a standstill, and this seems unlikely to change any time soon. Yet we believe it is now particularly important to bring district and urban agendas closer together once more. The recent emergence of local bottom-up initiatives is a welcome starting point for a different approach. Beyond the framework of official area developments, they show the vitality of the citizens and businesses involved.(2) But working on a strong city calls for more than just bottom-up initiatives. Strategies for development on invitation must be connected to broad-based, long-term vision (political and otherwise).

The position of places and districts in the urban context, and the interaction between them, help determine their vitality. The four case studies in the Renewing city renewal study show that this relationship has sometimes changed drastically, for example through changes in the pattern of traffic links or the mixture of urban functions.(3) The loss of primary functions in relation to the city as a whole may well have contributed to the relative failure of certain interventions during the period of city renewal. During that period, the ‘building for the neighbourhood’ policy weakened some districts’ links with their cities. This relative isolation now seems to stand in the way of these districts’ development, which is why it is important to develop new links between the district and the city.

(1) In 1992 the Stichting Van na de Oorlog (‘Postwar Foundation’) was set up to focus attention on the need to renovate the postwar districts. Five years later it published its final report: Esther Agricola, André Ouwehand, Gert Jan te Velde (eds), De naoorlogse wijk centraal, Rotterdam (010) 1997. For a more detailed examination of the design task for the postwar city, see Ad Hereijgers and Endry van Velzen, De naoorlogse stad: een hedendaagse ontwerp-poggave, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 2001.

(2) Nico de Boer and Jos van der Lans have linked this vitality to the decentralisation of central government tasks to local authorities and the need for local authorities and major institutions to assume new roles. See Nico de Boer & Jos van der Lans, ‘De verzorgingsstaat voorbij: de stad als sociaal laboratorium’, in De Groene Amsterdammer, 2 October 2013. This article is part of the Do it ourselves dossier (http://www.groene.nl/dossier/ourselves).

(3) The subjects of the four case studies in this book are Leiden’s Havenwijk, The Hague’s Schilderswijk, Rotterdam’s Feijenoord and Amsterdam’s Indische Buurt districts.
What is needed is a different approach at the strategic level: assessing initiatives and projects in terms of their benefits to the city, and connecting them to a broad-based, long-term strategic awareness. This is par excellence a task for city councils, but one that nowadays calls for different approaches. A good example of such an approach is Antwerp’s Strategic Spatial Structural Plan. This is based on a precise analysis of the city and its tendencies to change, across all scales and disciplines, grasping the city in all its complexity. The design-oriented way of studying, describing and interpreting reveals links and potentials, and helps identify strategic spaces, programmes and projects. Antwerp’s plan thus provides an inspiring framework for thinking and action on urban development that initiators and designers can relate to in specific designs.

A different approach to the existing city is also a matter of organisation. The relationship between public and private players will have to become looser, and smarter. Both city councils and leading private players will have to focus more closely on their own roles and capabilities. Here it is advisable to broaden the development perspective. Apart from the familiar strategy of redesigning housing, strategies aimed at repositioning places and areas will gain in importance, such as improved access, strategic choice of locations for urban and other facilities or the redesign of public space. These new strategies will have to be matched up with existing financial flows in the city, e.g. for maintenance and management, or for specific sectoral tasks. Instead of integrating everything at area level, the motto must now be to combine things in smart ways at project level. Here again, Antwerp’s approach can serve as a model. There, investments by the city council in one policy area are often linked up at project level with goals in other policy areas, for instance by combining specific programmes, deliberately choosing certain locations or reusing iconic buildings and making projects part of a cultural and architectural policy.

However, it is no simple matter to broaden the development perspective and combine investments in smart ways. Different departments or sections of businesses are often responsible for development and management. The same can be seen in city councils. Financial flows and implementation practices follow these boundaries and cannot easily be merged in the bureaucratic environment of large organisations.

Strong design

Why is it important to keep working on the existing city?
The city is constantly in motion. Patterns of use change over time, and buildings and public spaces are adapted to current needs. Private initiatives and public affairs must constantly be matched up. A good deal of future urban development will take place within the existing city and the existing building stock. This calls for a political agenda based on ‘strong cities’. These are needed in order to attract and hold on to talented people and businesses. Working on ‘problem districts’ and urban development should no longer be seen as separate tasks, but as two sides of the same coin: working on an attractive, sustainable city.

Even though the city is constantly in motion, it must be complete at the end of each project – an old axiom from the period of city renewal. Spatial structure can only be changed within a project that is clearly demarcated in time and space. With an uncertain future it is unwise to anticipate follow-up projects. That is why the existing city is always the spatial framework for change. Working on the existing city by definition means continuing and remoulding existing forms and structures – but that is not enough. Often old forms cannot be repeated, because new programmes for buildings and public space call for changes in typology. So the form of the project cannot simply be derived from the context, but only acquires meaning through the direction it imposes on the further urbanisation of the area.

What role can the design play in such a new way of working? Let us conclude with five recommendations:

1. **Read the city in all its layers**
The starting point is the existing city. This calls for knowledge of the city and the situation on the ground. Such knowledge is obtained through ‘close reading’: a multi-layered interpretation that takes the complexity of the existing city into account. Elements of such an interpretation include historical development, spatial structures, typology of building forms and open spaces, property boundaries, the symbolic order and identity of places and areas, everyday use, relevant programmatic aspects, policy issues, tendencies to change, potential initiators and so on. Space, programme and dynamics can be linked up by maps and analytical drawings. This will open the way to new insights and perspectives. (9)

2. **Work on a strategic spatial agenda**
Approaches to the existing city will benefit from a broad-based, long-term agenda that can give direction to a variety of initiatives and projects. Such an agenda will provide

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(7) During an exchange between the professional communities in Rotterdam and Antwerp in 2011, a policy adviser to Antwerp’s then mayor Patrick Janssens said “Your approach is integral; ours is integrated.” See AIR and Van der Leeuwkring, Stadsbezoek Antwerpen, 26 September 2011.

(8) Practice in Antwerp is again illustrative here. Two examples: (1) after the Strategic Spatial Structural Plan was adopted, the city’s urban development department was restructured to take the fullest possible account of the plan; (2) chief city architect Kristiaan Borret attends licensing meetings so that he is constantly in touch with what is going on in the city and can link this into strategic policy.

(9) Good examples of data-gathering on the existing city are the online maps of Amsterdam entitled Stad in beeld (http://www.amsterdam.nl/stad-beeld/). Various appeals for, and examples of, ‘close reading’ of the existing city have been published in recent years. See, for example, Maurits de Hoog, De Hollandse metropool: ontwerpen aan de kwaliteit van interactiemilieus, Thoth, Bussum 2012; Arnold Reijndorp, Leerke Reinders, De alledaagse en geplande stad, overidentiteit, plek en thuis, SUN Trancity, Amsterdam 2010; Ivan Nio, Arnold Reijndorp, Wouter Veldhuis, Atlas Westelijke Tuinsteden Amsterdam: de geplande en de geleefde stad, SUN Trancity, Amsterdam 2008.
a goal to aim for, and may tell a story about the area, the city or the urban region – a story that can be told over and over again, is open to additions and can fire people’s enthusiasm. It is important here to shift back and forth between different scales and disciplines and seek connections between goals in different sectors. Investment flows in one area can be used to produce effects in others, and so contribute to the spatial/programmatic development of the city as a whole. A spatial approach may be useful when drawing up such an agenda. Close reading of the situation on the ground can reveal the potential of places and areas. The maps and analytical drawings will allow links between space, programme and dynamics to be discovered or constructed. Tasks can then be drawn up for places or areas, and presented to the various players in the form of proposals – exploratory design.

3 Focus on interventions

Actual changes in the city take place through interventions: large and small initiatives and projects for traffic links, open space, buildings, programming, temporary use and so on. The initiators are private individuals and players, but the public sector also often invests in infrastructure, public space or facilities. Remain open to such interventions, for they represent the energy in the city. However, facilitating bottom-up interventions does not just mean assisting them, but also fitting them into broader strategies – the ‘catch and steer’ approach. Strategies can be complex and intelligent; but proposals should ideally be simple and feasible.

4 Broaden professional expertise

The essence of the different approach is linkage; and this can be achieved in two ways. First, it is often necessary to create links within the initiative or project: between the programme and the location, between the user and the project, between the initiator and the city council and so on. Second, there is a pendulum movement between (a) initiatives and projects and (b) broader strategies. This link is no longer as self-evident as it once was. Sometimes a strategy has to be translated into operations, and sometimes vice versa. Architects or urban designers can play a mediating role through their designs. However, the path from task to implementation is increasingly unclear. Simple locations and circumstances are increasingly rare. Clarifying the task and proposing the ‘right’ intervention are now part of the job, with an alternation of exploratory and implementation-oriented design. Both kinds of design will benefit from precise proposals that allow the issues

(10) In a call for new practice, Zef Hemel mentions three specific components of different, open planning: knowledge, story and dialogue. See Zef Hemel, *De stad als brein* (‘The city as brain’), inaugural address for the Wibaut Chair, University of Amsterdam, 2012.

(11) A term used by East. See the explanatory notes on the design study for Amsterdam’s Indische Buurt district elsewhere in this book.
and effects to be visualised and discussed. If designers are to become such ‘new professionals’, they will need other skills besides professional expertise. They must be competent partners for all the players involved, with an empirical attitude. This calls for knowledge, realism, precision, imagination and commitment.

5 Seek dialogue

An important part of the new way of working is openness; curiosity about the people who are, and want to make, the city; readiness to cooperate, but not any price. See design proposals as hypotheses that are open to dialogue. Organise discussions with all those involved, and where necessary expand this into a public debate on the future of a place or area. Make clear that choices about the future of the city are not the outcome of a technological process, but part of a vital, democratic society.

‘In other words, if the architecture of urban artefacts is the construction of the city, how can politics, which constitutes the decisive moment, be absent from this construction? ... Who ultimately chooses the image of a city if not the city itself – and always and only through its political institutions.’(12)
Renewing city renewal was the title and subject of a research programme carried out in 2011 and 2012 by De Nijl Architecten in partnership with the KEI Knowledge Centre for Urban Renewal (now Platform31) and Delft University of Technology, with support from the Netherlands Architecture Fund (now the Creative Industries Fund NL). This programme was sponsored as part of the Urban Design Scheme created to support the ‘Enhancing urban design and regional design’ component of architectural policy for 2009-2012. The publication, by Trancity, was funded by a separate grant from the Creative Industries Fund NL.

We set up an ‘RCR Team’ consisting of members of our various organisations. The team worked together with students and teachers from various faculties, staff of city councils and other institutions, and designers from four firms based in other countries. A number of private and public meetings were held. This publication marks not only the end of the research programme, but also the start of a broader debate on the future of design in work on the existing city.

The programme consisted of four parts

1 Exploring the task

In exploring the task, we made use of the Delft University of Technology study *Mapping the cities of the Randstad*, which illustrates the part played by various areas in urban development. We identified city renewal areas in nine historical cities in the Randstad and indicated which of these areas are still considered ‘problem districts’. In the light of this inventory we selected study areas in four cities: Leiden, The Hague, Rotterdam and Amsterdam. Part of the inventory was carried out by two students from Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences as part of their pre-graduation practical training at De Nijl Architecten. In spring 2011 Delft University of Technology then organised a series of lectures by speakers from the Netherlands and abroad entitled ‘Complex urban projects: city regeneration, catalysts interventions in urban transformation’.

2 Inventory and analysis of case studies

The study areas in The Hague, Rotterdam and Amsterdam were included in the Delft University of Technology’s graduation workshop ‘Architecture as catalyst in city renewal’, and in autumn 2011 the case studies were analysed by students attending the workshop. The results of this analysis and further urban analytical research were used to formulate hypotheses for locations and programmes in the chosen study areas. In spring 2012 these design tasks were discussed and fleshed out in consultation with contact teams in the four cities. During the same period, preparations were made for the design event. For each
case study we complied a location file and a task, and invited a firm based in another country to produce a design study. At the same time, as part of her pre-graduation practical training at De Nijl Architecten, a student of architectural history at the University of Amsterdam carried out archive research into city renewal in the four study areas. Her findings were presented in thematic comparisons of the situation before and after city renewal, as displayed in maps, and she wrote a thesis based on the research. Designs for three study areas were produced at the graduation workshop in spring 2012.

3 Design studies

The design studies were launched at an initial meeting with the designers, the contact teams and the RCR team in July 2012. The central part of the meeting included a presentation on the subject and the case studies, with four separate on-site visits and a discussion of the tasks. Halfway through the design studies, workshops were held on each case study, with opportunities for exchange and greater detail. In October 2012 the design studies were exhibited, presented and discussed at a final meeting which formed part of the international European Association for Architectural Education (EAAE) conference at Delft University of Technology. In spring 2013 we held a separate final meeting with the four design firms, focusing on the proposed design strategies. The exhibition could also be seen at the Rijnland Architecture Platform (RAP) in Leiden in December 2012.

4 Publication

In the course of the research programme it became clear that the exploration of new urban design strategies for former city renewal areas was bound up with a broader ‘identity crisis’ in the practice of urban development as a whole. This profoundly influenced our thinking about the results. We decided that the publication should focus on two ‘story lines’: (1) possible approaches to areas of cities that had once been city renewal districts, and issues that could be starting points for a different approach to such areas, and the role designers could play in this; (2) the loss of political interest in the physical city, and the need to redefine the position of architects and urban designers – of designs – in the field of urban development. The research findings were re-edited for the publication. The location files were thematically edited, with additional illustrations made available by the various city archives at specially reduced fees. We asked Jannes Linders to produce thematic photographs for each case study.

The study

RCR team
- Erik van den Berg (De Nijl Architecten)
- Henk Engel (Delft University of Technology)
- Anouk Schuitemaker (Platform31)
- Endry van Velzen (De Nijl Architecten)
- Olof van de Wal (Platform31)

Teachers at the Delft University of Technology graduation workshop ‘Architecture as catalyst in city renewal’ (attended by thirty students)
- Henk Engel
- Otto Diesfeldt
- Esther Gramsbergen
- Paul Vermeulen
- Henk Mihl
- Roberto Cavallo
- Olof Caso
- Maurice Hartevedt
- Willem Hermans
- John Westrik
- Marcelo Sánchez Gutiérrez

Pre-graduation practical training students:
- Annebeth Kuster (Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences)
- Johan Verwoerd (Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences)
- Renate van Schaik (University of Amsterdam, majoring in architectural history)

Case studies

- Havenwijk, Leiden: design study by De Smet Vermeulen Architecten, Ghent
- Schilderswijk, The Hague: design study by 51N4E, Brussels
- Feijenoord, Rotterdam: design study by Fusi & Ammann Architekten, Hamburg
- Indische Buurt, Amsterdam: design study by East, London

The study was funded by grants from the Creative Industries Fund NL and contributions from Leiden City Council, The Hague City Council, Feijenoord District Council, Rotterdam City Council, the Woonstad Rotterdam housing corporation and Amsterdam City Council (eastern ward).
About the authors

Henk Engel is an architect, chief university lecturer at Delft University of Technology’s Faculty of Architecture and co-founder of the Rotterdam firm De Nijl Architecten. He teaches architectural theory, design and research at the Faculty of Architecture. For the past ten years he has been in charge of the Mapping Randstad Holland research programme. He is editor-in-chief of the OverHol-land series, which publishes the results of the research and related studies. In addition to built work, he has produced design studies and publications on De Stijl, CIAM, Team 10 and Tendenza. Two recent publications of his are ‘Theo van Doesburg & the destruction of architectural theory’, in the Tate Modern catalogue Van Doesburg & the international avant-garde, London, 2009, and ‘The Neo-Rationalist Perspective’, in Andrew Peckham and Torsten Schmiedeknecht (eds), The Rational-ist Reader, London, 2013.

Endry van Velzen is an architect and urban designer, as well as a partner at the Rotterdam firm De Nijl Architecten, which has been involved in various kinds of urban renewal since the early 1980s. The firm sets out from the strength of what exists at the interface between project and strategy. Endry van Velzen is involved in the transformation of places and areas in large and medium-sized cities in the Netherlands and Flanders. He has initiated various studies, including the design task for postwar areas and the role of facilities in urban renewal. In addition to his work for De Nijl Architecten, he has been a lecturer in urban renewal at Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences. He has regularly published material on issues in urban renewal.

Olof van de Wal graduated in history, and since then has constantly sought ways to boost the public debate on the built environment, initially at the interface between architecture and urban design. He has worked as project secretary at the A star is born and Blue Moon festivals in Groningen, and later as the founder and coordinator of the Groningen architecture centre Platform GRAS and debate curator at the Netherlands Architecture Institute. In 2007 he switched to the field of urban renewal when he was appointed director of the KEI Knowledge Centre for Urban Renewal (now part of Platform31, the knowledge and networking organisation for cities and regions), and he is now a member of the management team.
Sources of illustrations

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Maps

A number of similar maps have been produced for each city. The ‘Location of study area in the city’ maps (pp. 26, 70, 114 and 162) were produced by Delft University of Technology using GIS software, based on a 1:10000 scale topographical map (c. 2010) and information from various sources. The ‘Study area with task and design location’ maps (pp. 27, 71, 115 and 163) were produced by De Nijl Architecten in partnership with Delft University of Technology. The ‘before and after city renewal’ diagrams for building structure, facilities and traffic structure (pp. 28-33, 72-77, 116-121 and 164-169) were produced by De Nijl Architecten in partnership with Delft University of Technology and were based on a 1:10000 scale topographical map (c. 2010). The situation in 1970 was reconstructed for the planning areas from this map on the basis of 1:25000 scale topographical maps (c. 1970). Various Internet and other sources, as well as visits to the locations, were used for the analyses.

Visual essays

The visual essays for the four study areas were produced by Rotterdam-based photographer Jannes Linders. The photographs were taken during the period April-July 2013. The essays consist of a series of photographs of south Havenwijk in Leiden (pp. 12-23), Schilderswijk in The Hague (pp. 56-67), Feijenoord in Rotterdam (pp. 100-111) and Indische Buurt in Amsterdam (pp. 146-159).

Design task:

Havenwijk, Leiden

pp. 28-29: Aerial photograph by Frans Rombout, Leiden, 1976
p. 30 top: Portret van Leiden (city council brochure), J. M. Galjaard and F. H. Kinschot in collaboration with the City Public Works Department (main urban development section) and Leiden City Archives, 1964, Leiden Regional Archives Library
p. 30 centre: Binnenstadnota Leiden, Leiden City Council, 1971, Leiden Regional Archives Library
p. 31 top: Leiden Regional Archives Image Bank collection, c. 1970
p. 32 centre: Leiden City Public Works, 1939, Leiden Regional Archives Image Bank
p. 32 bottom: G. van der Mark, 1943, Leiden Regional Archives Image Bank
p. 33 top: Leiden Regional Archives Image Bank, c. 1970

Design study for Havenwijk, Leiden, De Smet Vermeulen Architecten, Ghent, 2012

p. 35 top: Leiden Regional Archives Image Bank, 1948
p. 35 bottom: Leiden Regional Archives Image Bank, c. 1938
p. 36 bottom: Leiden University Library, COLLBN Port 330 N 156, www.geheugenvannederland.nl
p. 37 top: Peter Zumthor, Haldenstein, Switzerland, www.meelfabriek.nl
p. 37 bottom: LOLA Landscape Architects, Rotterdam
p. 38 top right: C. Hagen, 1675, Leiden Regional Archives Image Bank

Renewing City Renewal
Design task: Schilderswijk, The Hague
p. 72 bottom left: Reconstruction and Urban Development Department, 1967, Hague City Archives Image Bank
p. 72 bottom right: Urban Development Department, 1962, Hague City Archives Image Bank
p. 75 top left: Urban Development Department, 1967, Hague City Archives Image Bank
p. 75 bottom right: Urban Development Department, 1962, Hague City Archives Image Bank
p. 76: Struktuurschets Schilderswijk, Urban Development Department, 1976, Hague City Archives

p. 84 (3): Steiff Beteiligungs-gesellschaft mbH, Germany, www.facadesconfidential.blogspot.be
p. 85 (9): Tom Schiphorst, www.mimoa.eu

Design task: Feijenoord, Rotterdam
p. 116: Port of Rotterdam Authority, 1979, Rotterdam City Archives
p. 117 top: Bestemd voor u (residents' newspaper), 1978, Rotterdam City Archives
p. 118 top left: L. de Herder, 1972, Rotterdam City Archives
p. 118 top right: L. de Herder, 1959, Rotterdam City Archives
p. 118 bottom: L. de Herder, 1972, Rotterdam City Archives
p. 119 top: Bestemd voor u (residents' newspaper), 1978, Rotterdam City Archives
p. 120 top: L. de Herder, 1973, Rotterdam City Archives
p. 120 bottom: Beleidsplan Feijenoord Noordereiland, 1976, Rotterdam City Archives
p. 121 top: L. de Herder, 1963, Rotterdam City Archives

Design study for Feijenoord, Rotterdam, Fusi & Ammann Architekten, Hamburg, 2012

Design task: Indische Buurt, Amsterdam
pp. 164-165: Spatial Planning Department Archives and legal predecessor, Amsterdam City Archives Image Bank
p. 166 top: Indische Buurt Community Centre Archives, 1979, Amsterdam City Archives
p. 166 bottom: Spatial Planning Department Archives, 1971, Amsterdam City Archives Image Bank
p. 167 top: Interim balance scheme: designation of part of Indische Buurt as a city renewal area and adoption of a restructuring plan for that part under the City Renewal (Financial Support) Order, Amsterdam City Council, 1978, Amsterdam City Archives
p. 168 top: Spatial Planning Department Archives, 1974, Amsterdam City Archives Image Bank
p. 169 top: Spatial Planning Department Archives and legal predecessor, Amsterdam City Archives Image Bank
p. 169 bottom: Spatial Planning Department Archives, 1972, Amsterdam City Archives Image Bank

Design study for Indische Buurt, Amsterdam, East, London, 2012
p. 177 top right: Movement Caf., Morag Myerscough, photograph: Gareth Gardner, www.weheart.co.uk (UK)
p. 177 3rd row left: Tyler Porter, www.ttuporter.wordpress.com (USA)
p. 178 top right: www.grenfellactiongroup.files.wordpress.com (UK)
p. 178 bottom right: Lee Ryda, London, UK
p. 179 top right: John, Black, Nottinghamshire Wildlife Trust, UK
p. 179 2nd row left: Daniel Case, Englewood, USA
p. 179 3rd row right: Movement Caf., Morag Myerscough, photograph: Gareth Gardner, www.weheart.co.uk (UK)
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