

**REGENERATION IN EUROPEAN CITIES:
Making Connections**

**Case Study of
Kop van Zuid, Rotterdam (The Netherlands)**

Project funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation



**URBED (Urban & Economic Development) Ltd
&
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Figure 1. Locations of case study cities and UK partners

About the project

This case-study is part of a research project carried out by URBED (Urban and Economic Development Group: www.urbed.co.uk) for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (www.jrf.org.uk). The project, entitled *Regeneration in European Cities: Making Connections*' (2005-2007), investigated how urban regeneration schemes have been used to transform three former industrial cities in northern Europe, and what conclusions can be drawn for UK policy. The research is based primarily on case studies of projects in Gothenburg, Rotterdam and Roubaix which, like many industrial towns and cities in Britain, have had to deal with the collapse, or wholesale relocation, of their principal industries. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation has supported this project as part of its programme of research and innovative development projects, which it hopes will be of value to policy makers, practitioners and service users.

The research for *Regeneration in European Cities: Making Connections* was carried out by a team from URBED (Nicholas Falk, Christopher Cadell, Vassiliki Kravva, Francesca King, Anne Wyatt) assisted by a team of local researchers. Marco van Hoek carried out the research and interviews for the Kop van Zuid case-study and co wrote the report. The facts presented and views expressed in this report are those of the authors and not necessarily of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. The final report for the *Regeneration in European Cities* project is available from the Joseph Rowntree Foundation website (www.jrf.org.uk). A four page Findings *Regeneration in European Cities: making connections*, April 2008 is also available from the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

About the author of the case-study

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Credits for illustrations

All photographs and illustrations in the report are by Nicholas Falk, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Teun Koolhaus and Han Lorzing, Sector Head at the Netherlands Institute for Spatial Research. The picture on the front cover is the Erasmus Bridge.



Figure 2. Stylish new tram system



Figure 3. The iconic Erasmus Bridge

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BACKGROUND

This is the second of three case studies written for **Regeneration in European Cities: Making Connections**, a research project which URBED carried out for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. The aim of the research is to investigate the connections between people and places in major urban regeneration schemes in various European cities, and to identify lessons that might be learned for comparable cities in the UK.

This case study on Rotterdam focuses particularly on the Kop van Zuid project on the Southern shore of the River Maas and its impact on the surrounding neighbourhoods. It starts by setting the national and city context, before identifying the features that have led to the development of the scheme, and its achievements. It goes on to consider how far vulnerable groups of people who have been affected by economic changes in the city have benefited from regeneration, including those who formerly worked in the docks and port related industries, as well as more recent immigrants.



Figure 4. Imaginative use of public art

SUMMARY

Looking from outside the city, Rotterdam is widely regarded as having gone through a renaissance over the last decade, even if locally there is some disappointment at the slow rate of progress. Its stylish modern buildings have led to it being described as Manhattan-on-the Maas. The city won recognition as European Capital of Culture in 2001. It was used as one of the best examples of urban renaissance by the Urban Task Force under Lord Richard Rogers. Direct results include:

- It has created a positive image as an exciting place to live and work, and its population has grown gradually, including attracting creative people over from Amsterdam
- By the mid 1990s both the physical fabric and the economy had begun to improve, and new employment was attracted, particularly to the north of the city, but also in the Kop van Zuid. Office space increased from 2.5 million sq m in 1986 to 3.6 sq m in 1999, and registered unemployment fell from 17% in 1991 to 7% in 2000 (though it is still double the national average)
- The city has upgraded its internal accessibility with the new Erasmus Bridge and stylish tram system, as well as a first class Metro
- It has faced up to the challenges of integrating people from different cultural backgrounds, and tackling the structural unemployment problem, though not without some obvious failures e.g. construction jobs
- It has reinforced the capacity of local government, with the municipality working closely with the provincial and national governments to some common aims, and with a system of relatively small boroughs
- The city has become more attractive to major employers, and new jobs have been created in the centre as well as on the north western edge.



While it is too early to assess its full effects, as the redevelopment of Kop van Zuid is still not complete, a number of conclusions can be reached:

1. The regeneration forms part of a much larger scheme for redeveloping the former port land on the south side of the river. If it had not been developed, it is hard to imagine other schemes going ahead, and the south side would have remained cut off

from the rest of the city. As people at the time doubted that it would ever be developed, attracting a high quality of new buildings must be judged a success.

2. However some elements of the masterplan have not succeeded as planned, in so far as most of the offices to be attracted are public sector ones. The Tax Office, for example, moved there (and the old office has been converted into very popular housing for students, and 'starters'). The main leisure elements, such as the World of Food in the Entrepot building failed financially, as there were not enough workers or visitors to make use of it. The cruise liner terminal attracts only 40 boats a year. And the New York Hotel is rather stranded, as other leisure developments could not be persuaded to set up. Hence it is not yet the mixed-use waterfront that was hoped for.

3. What has succeeded in a big way is the new housing. This has taken off, often fuelled by investors buying to let. The apartments have been taken both by young professionals and 'empty nesters'. Some of the buildings have been developed by housing associations, and it is hard to distinguish social from market housing.



4. The new housing has overcome the historic disadvantage of Rotterdam that views of the river were cut off by industry. Now as well as social housing, which had already taken advantage of riverside sites, but often in poorly connected areas, there is a much wider choice of places to live.

5. The impact of the regeneration of Kop van Zuid has been generally beneficial in terms of:

- raising the status of the wider area (and its value as a place to invest)
- improving the quality of life of existing residents and their self-image
- attracting a wider range of people to live there with a move towards rebalancing the population
- expanding the demand for local shops and services
- securing integration at least at the primary and nursery school levels and possibly in some of the shops
- contributing to Rotterdam being seen as a cosmopolitan city, where people from different backgrounds mix and get on
- encouraging a richer culture, for example in terms of street life and ethnic food
- leading to higher levels of entrepreneurship
- improving the attractiveness of Rotterdam in general and Rotterdam south in particular for private housing instead of social housing only.

1. CONTEXT

The Netherlands is widely regarded as being very successful both in developing sustainable towns and cities, and also in promoting equality, as comparative studies by Michael Parkinson and others have shown¹. Dutch success in part lies in how the country has taken advantage of its location in the European Union. But Dutch policies for social integration, including integrated area approaches and strategic neighbourhood management have also helped to improve liveability and create an orderly public realm in areas that have had exceptionally high levels of immigration as well as loss of employment. Their recent policy of ‘reordering’ or balancing housing mix in areas undergoing regeneration may offer a solution to post-industrial cities like north Southwark or Newcastle/Gateshead, which have some similarities with Rotterdam, and former industrial areas like Kop van Zuid.

This case study goes beyond previous research to understand the process of change over time. Efforts to achieve urban restructuring and social cohesion are known to be greatly helped by close collaboration between different sectors and professionals, and also between different levels of government over many years. A number of mechanisms are used to secure joined up planning and investment at both the sub-regional and neighbourhood levels, which are explored in this case study.

1.1 Cultural background

The Netherlands is a small, prosperous densely-populated country with a population of 16.3 million. The country as a whole is well-known for being neat and tidy, and relatively classless. This is often credited to the ‘polder mentality’ of people having to collaborate to maintain the dikes and keep out the sea. It means that Dutch people have a different relationship to their town or city than the British.

There has been a tradition of discouraging urban sprawl into what they call the Green Heart between the big cities of Rotterdam, The Hague, Amsterdam and Utrecht through voluntary collaboration between the authorities. Dutch thinking on spatial planning and ‘compact cities’ has led the way in Europe, (for example it has been featured in at least four editions of the journal *Built Environment*). Britain has often looked to Dutch cities for inspiration, for example in the use of Home Zones (which the Dutch call *Woonerfs*) and in shared surfaces without lots of signs to tell drivers what to do. Hence their approach to urban regeneration may also offer useful lessons.



¹ This is a longer version of the case study in the report *Regeneration in European Cities*, JRF 2008, which contains a full bibliography

		Source
Population	16,338,190	CBS (2006)
GDP (head)	£18,165	Economist (2005)
GDP Growth Rate	3%	CBS (1 st quartet 2006)
Unemployment	6%	CBS (2006)

Table 1. Basic Statistics

1.1.1 Governance

The country has a strong social democratic system. Provinces (the equivalent of English regions) are represented in the Lower House, and handle spatial and economic planning of the rural and interurban areas, while municipalities deal with the spatial, economic and social development of the urban areas. Welfare spending is second only to Sweden. Like Britain most taxes go to central government, which then tries to even out disparities.

The system of proportional representation leads to coalitions of political parties, which means more time has to be put into building consensus and mediating between different groups. A predominantly ‘corporatist’ or managerial approach contrasts with the more liberal and entrepreneurial British approach, though there is a tendency for convergence.

1.1.2 Productivity

A national priority has been to upgrade the centres of the big cities, in the belief that they act as dynamos for the wider city-region. This has been through policies aimed at rebranding them and finding new roles as service and cultural centres. The Netherlands is surrounded by strong economies, and acts as a major transport hub. Rotterdam’s port, the largest in Europe, generates 10% of the country’s Gross Domestic Product, and connects the River Rhine with the outside world.

Due to a lack of natural resources, the Netherlands has long been a trading nation, with an empire that once rivalled Britain’s. Imports and exports account for 60% of GDP, making the country vulnerable to external economic shocks. Manufacturing has fallen to only 15% of total production, and the service sector now accounts for over 70% of the economy. Economic restructuring in the 1970s and 1980s led to unemployment rising from 4% to 16% in the country as a whole, and so national priorities shifted from building more housing to creating new jobs. Unemployment then fell to 5% in the 1990s, and building new homes became a political priority.

1.1.3 Liveability

A high proportion of the population (40%, the highest in Europe) live in apartments, largely rented from not-for-profit housing associations. Most people are able to get to work very quickly, with most municipal workers living close to the city centre. Higher

densities help to support investment in infrastructure, which has a big effect on the quality of life. About a fifth of low rent housing is occupied in the Netherlands by people on relatively high incomes, particularly in large cities where owner occupied dwellings have been scarce in the past, as in Rotterdam.

The last ten year housing programme to build a million new homes, which was called by the acronym VINEX (Fourth Planning Report Extra), produced a huge growth in the suburban housing stock. Some 455,000 homes were built in 90 new settlements, including New Towns, which increased the housing stock by 7.6%. One result of a sustained high rate of house building is that there is now a much greater choice of housing than in the UK. As in the UK, there is also a long-term trend for families to move out to houses with gardens in smaller towns, and their places in the cities have been taken by immigrants. Thus in Rotterdam the number of dwellings increased from 201,000 in 1960 to 284,000 in 2000, but in the sub-region as a whole the number almost doubled, from 273,000 to 522,000, and the average household size fell.

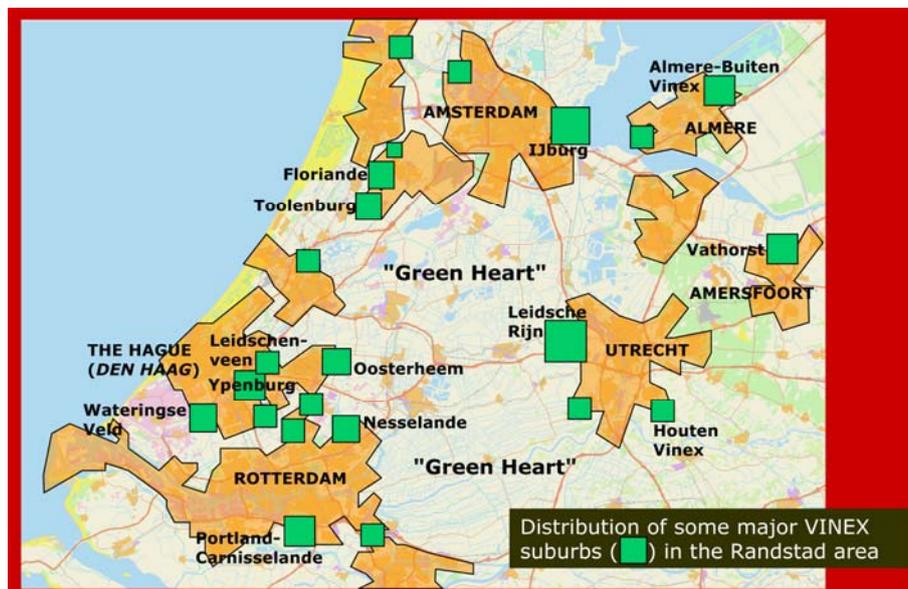


Figure 5. Distribution of some major VINEX suburbs in the Randstad area

1.2 Policy context

1.2.1 Decentralisation

The Netherlands have led the way in developing the concept of City-regions, and the history may offer some pointers for the UK. Local authorities have long played a much more proactive role in planning and development than in the UK. Indeed as much of the land was reclaimed from the sea through 'polders', their function as drainage authorities was indispensable. Historically, the Netherlands had been a decentralised state. Influenced by the French centralised unitary state, the financial autonomy of local authorities was gradually minimised during the late 19th and early 20th century but never

marginalised. The state has always endorsed local authorities' roles, tasks and competencies.

The need for a stronger welfare state emerged after WWII. The call for large-scale provision of housing and the renewal of a heavily damaged urban environment gathered administrative and financial powers back to the centre, until a balance could be restored. This weakened the position of both provinces and local authorities. Despite the loss of financial autonomy, and consequent capacity to make decisions and integrate activities at a local level, the change had some advantages at the time. Parkinson argues that the centralised administration heavily subsidised provision and renewal of housing, and made local authorities less vulnerable to local economic circumstances². Also municipalities did not have to compete for local taxes, and so found it easier to collaborate.

During the 1960s, a wave of metropolitan-government initiatives was introduced in Europe (the London County Council and the Metropolitan County Councils in the UK, the Urban Communities in France and the experimental Openbaar Lichaam Rijnmond in the Rotterdam Region). By the 1980s most governments had either abandoned or replaced the structure of metropolitan authorities with the exception of France and its Urban Communities. The failure of metropolitan government to take off in the Netherlands was attributed to potential confusion; as the suggested fourth tier had to fit in with already influential local and regional authorities.

In an attempt to maintain an inter-municipal collaboration, the government called for referendums in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, on several options: additional formal administrative reform; or more voluntary forms of inter-municipal co-operation. The Overlegorgaan Rijnmondgemeented was an agreement between Rotterdam and the 15 Rijnmond municipalities, which would have kept the three tier system, but proposed dismantling the municipality of Rotterdam into 10 new municipalities, to ensure equal participation in decision-making. The results of the referendum led to the abandonment of the plan. Civil servants did not want to implement the new structure; and politicians were unable to generate enough support for it. Despite the outcome, collaboration between local authorities was not affected, as municipalities had already recognised informal city-regions as the only choice for the economic competitiveness of major cities and the Netherlands as a whole.

During the 1990s, and after the successful renewal of cities and the development of new towns, the nation moved back to a more decentralised state. A more rational and integrated policy framework was needed to improve national competitiveness. New policies gave local authorities more responsibilities, encouraged public-private partnerships, and reduced state intervention in the welfare state and housing.



² Parkinson. M, et al, 2003 '*Urban Renaissance Characteristics of the EU Non-Capital Cities*', report for the Core Cities Group

1.2.2 Housing renewal

In line with other European countries, and the UK, the focus of the housing sector shifted towards profit making. After an extensive period of highly subsidised construction (95%) (Van der Schaar, 1987) and centralised housing provision, a more decentralised approach was introduced with the private sector playing an important role (Priemus and Metselaar, 1992).

During the 1960s house building and improving unfit dwellings were the priority. The role of government as the main provider resulted in a high proportion of social housing, but catering for all incomes. The first attempt to promote owner-occupancy in the late 1970s collapsed as a result of economic recession, and the government stepped in. The second attempt was made at the same time as the introduction of the Major Cities Policy. A shift of responsibilities to local authorities, the privatisation of the housing corporations (the equivalent of housing associations), and cuts in public expenditure, enabled central government to withdraw from the housing market (Balchin, 1996). Nowadays, only subsidies are provided for house building, linked to needy locations.

Like private institutional investors the housing corporations found it increasingly unprofitable to provide housing just for low income groups and opted to cater for higher income groups. The main advantages of the new Dutch framework are that it secures a mix of residents in the same neighbourhood; and also encourages those who can afford it to move on to private housing, thus freeing up cheaper dwellings for lower income groups. However, there are still major criticisms and concerns about whether this new policy will lead to spatial concentrations of low-income households and indeed whether the traditional Dutch social welfare system will break down.

1.2.3 Social inclusion

The Netherlands developed a very strong social welfare system following the post-war years, second only to Sweden (Blok et al, 2000). Despite a rising migrant and elderly population, national figures show that the numbers living in poverty declined to 13%. This can be partly attributed to the availability of low cost housing as well as increases in minimum wages.

With the rise in immigration, the system went a step further in promoting dialogue with minority groups through dedicated advisory councils at the municipality level. Housing corporations play a major role in providing better living conditions and local welfare foundations (or voluntary organisations) support the municipality and the cultural life of immigrants. The right to vote in local elections is given to foreigners after five years of legal residence in the country, and so immigrants have quickly become a major political force. The National Plan for Inclusion and the subsequent Aliens Act 2003 provides compulsory integration programmes for newcomers. It also reinforces the formation of partnerships to improve social services.

While the renewal of urban areas successfully tackled housing, it did not originally include other aspects of urban living. During the second half of the 1980s measures were tried out to improve living conditions and social cohesion at a neighbourhood level. The social renewal policy of 1991 was not seen as successful and was quickly abandoned. Central government provided the framework, but the responsibility for implementation was given to local authorities, residents groups and private institutions (Blok et al, 2000).

Although the policy failed to achieve a more integrated approach, the process stimulated local coalitions and laid the basis for administrative reform and the Major Cities Policy in 1994. This was initiated by the mayors of the four large cities – Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague and Utrecht, who ‘constantly and collectively lobbied the national government for greater support’. Consistently high unemployment, along with recognition of the impact of the international market place, brought economic issues to the forefront.

1.2.4 Proactive planning

The Dutch planning system has had a long tradition of local autonomy. But in fact local authorities lost their powers during the 1950s, due to extraordinary circumstances. As the nation was in a state of emergency, central government assumed executive powers to allocate funding and implement large-scale projects. After enough housing had been built, local government regained its control over development in 1990s, through the Major Cities Policy. Hence the recent success of the Netherlands is a good example of what happens when power is devolved from central government.

One effect of the long tradition was the ability of the municipalities to take on a proactive role to planning. Evidence of this in Rotterdam during the 1970s, was when a group of politicians was able to pinpoint housing needs in the city, and bring about changes to the planning system. This was also the case during the 1990s and the emergence of the Major Cities Policy, when Mayors of the four major cities in the Netherlands, successfully lobbied for more attention on social problems and more powers to implement the national framework.

1.2.5 Step by step approach

Local authorities regained their powers after the 1970s, through communication and collaboration between central and local government, as well as with other organisations, such as housing associations. The decentralised system has allowed room for flexibility in implementing national policies. Central government draws the guidelines and local authorities implement as they think best fits in with local circumstances. This flexibility can be a source of creativity, making the most of local opportunities. Officers can be more entrepreneurial in a flexible environment.

Another important characteristic of the 'Dutch approach' is their ability to form and work through informal networks. This is sometimes attributed to the 'polder mentality' of having to work together to keep the water out. Collaboration of local and central government has been very important in working towards a common goal or dealing with a common enemy. This has been usually done in a voluntary way, to allow for changing arrangements if there is a mistake. Examples include the rejections of well-defined city regions, and the successful formation of partnerships (public-private, public-public).

1.2.6 Urban management

Planning in the Netherlands has long aimed at building the Complete City, based on social and economic as well as physical pillars. However the focus has shifted over time both spatially, and over the role of the private sector as governments have swung backwards and forward. Following the housing shortages caused by the war and the influx of immigrants in 1950s and 1960s, the government responded with extensive residential developments in and around towns. The suburban exodus of affluent inhabitants and the inability of the remaining private owners to renovate their properties shifted the focus to inner areas and unfit housing.

In Rotterdam, during the 1970s a group of elected social democratic politicians, triggered by the decay of old districts set up urban renewal organisations involving local residents in the worst-off areas. The objective was to prioritise areas for governmental funding (Hajer, 1993). Helped by the sharp increase in housing subsidies, a series of government-funded 'renewal areas' were created. The emerging policy (Bouwen voor de Buurt - Building for the neighbourhood) meant that local authorities bought old properties and transformed them into social housing. A key feature of the policy was to re-house former owners and inhabitants in the same neighbourhood

The policy was quite successful. By the end of the 1980s more than 25,000 houses were renovated and by 1965 50% of the total housing stock in the urban renewal districts was modernised (Rotterdam city information centre, 1997). The provision of good quality low-cost social housing has helped counteract the impact of post-industrial transition during the late 1980s. But the policy was still criticised for the persistence of pockets of deprivation, because while most of the previous residents remained in the area, those who could afford better housing left.

The new Major Cities Policy (Grote Steden Beleid) aimed at creating the Complete City, and was based on three 'pillars' (economic, social and physical) and a 'bottom-up' approach to implementation. Four key principles were identified to improve the co-ordination of existing and emerging policies and to provide maximum scope for local autonomy:

1. Promotion of deregulation and decentralisation
2. Leadership capacity of local authorities to take on more powers
3. Redeployment of national government funds

4. Collaboration between central and local government.

The outcome was a five year agreement between local and central government to *'form common ends and agree reciprocal obligations'*. The policy was first introduced as a pilot in 1994 in the four main cities. The agreements (known as covenants) between the government and the four major cities, stated:

"As elsewhere in Europe, there is evidence in the Netherlands of a process of erosion in the cities which is affecting the vitality of our society as a whole in the social and economic sense.There must be more commercial activity in the big cities. In addition, we must prevent a dichotomy from emerging along social-economic, social and ethnic lines in the cities, and in certain areas of the cities in particular."

Since 1999, when the first pilot ended, two more five year agreements have been introduced, and the number of towns was extended to thirty. Each 'covenant period' has had different objectives depending on what had previously been achieved. Each agreement starts with a framework and budget provided by central government. The municipality then drafts a programme containing specific performance agreements on output indicators. The municipality bears the responsibility for the implementation of the agreed programme. As Rotterdam played such a leading role in the process, it is a particularly interesting city to choose as a case study.

1.3 Rotterdam in its wider context

1.3.1 Economic context

Located close to the North Sea where the Rhine, Meuse and Rotte rivers come together, the growth of Rotterdam has always been linked to its ability to control the waterways and take advantage of its strategic location within Europe. The dam in the river Rotte, gave the city its name and existence (Rotte[r]dam). In the 14th century Rotterdam was still a fishing port situated on the river Rotte, but six centuries later Rotterdam was the most important port in Europe and one of the biggest ports in the world.



Figure 6. The old docks, Rotterdam

With the capital The Hague, only 15 miles away on the railway line to Amsterdam, and Utrecht in the East, Rotterdam forms part of the Randstad (which translates as Rim City), or what is now called the 'Holland Region' consisting of the four most urban provinces in the centre of the Netherlands (north and south Holland, Utrecht and Flevoland) surrounding what the Dutch call the '*Green Heart*' (and which is a little larger the boundaries of Greater London). The City of Rotterdam has a population of 600,000 but lies within a city-region (or Travel to Work Area) of about 1.4 million residents. The city has smaller towns on its edge, ranging from 8,000 to 75,000 in size. South Holland as a whole had a population of 3.3 million in 1996. As can be seen from the basic statistics, Rotterdam is seen as a 'poor relation' of the rest of the sub-region.

		Source
GDP (head)	£11,855	Urban Audit, EU
Unemployment	6%	Urban Audit
Economic Activity Rate	70%	Urban Audit
Number of Inhabitants	588,718	COS, Rotterdam
Immigrants	46%	COS, Rotterdam
Number of Houses	285,933	COS, Rotterdam
Home Ownership	26%	COS, Rotterdam
Low Income People	55%	COS, Rotterdam
Number of People Employed	306, 215	COS, Rotterdam
People Looking for Job	14%	COS, Rotterdam
Security Index	6,9	COS, Rotterdam

Table 2. Basic statistics

Rebuilding after the war The Netherlands was severely affected by World War II. On 10th May 1940, the German army attacked the country. Part of the German strategy was an extensive bombardment on Rotterdam on 14th May, and the heart of the city was completely destroyed. After the German capitulation in 1945, the rebuilding of the city began, and the period that followed World War II has been one of continuous reconstruction. Disastrous as the 1940 bombardment has been, it provided the city government with the opportunity to rebuild the heart of a large city. Many new buildings were erected to fill up the empty spaces between the older buildings that had survived the war. This created a curious mix of old and new buildings dating back to the turn of the 19th century (or older) standing side by side with the latest architectural styles. The post-war reconstruction gave Rotterdam its unique architectural character, which is unlike any other city in Holland. It has given the city the catchphrase 'Manhattan on the Mass', but has also created some ugly and disconnected places.

The port of Rotterdam also suffered heavily from the war. The reconstruction of the port was completed during the 1950s, but the growth of the economy soon required further extensions. The development of Europoort ('Euro gate') started in 1957. A large complex of port and industrial areas were created between Rotterdam and the entry to

the North Sea. As more space was needed a new port area was built in the North Sea, the Maasvlakte Area ('Maas Flats'). By means of dikes, dams and sand deposits the coast line was extended out to include many square kilometres of new land, where the petroleum, container and ore terminals and the Maasvlakte power plant are located. The construction of the Maasvlakte extended the total area of the port of Rotterdam by 3,000 hectares to 10,000 hectares.

Demographic change Over time the composition of the population has changed dramatically. After the war the number of people living in the city centre fell from 80,000 to 28,000, compared with a working population of 80,000 workers. Like some British cities, in over just two decades, the population of the city as a whole fell by 175,000, or a quarter from its peak of 740,000 in 1965, with the decline levelling off after 1975. At the same time as the better off residents left for the new suburbs, others took their place. In the 1950s Europeans and North Africans came to work in the rebuilt port, followed in the 1970s by immigrants from Cape Verde and the Dutch Antilles. During the 1960s and 70s immigrants also came from the former Dutch colony of Surinam, mainly as guest workers attracted by jobs in the port, jobs that then disappeared with containerisation and mechanical handling. By 1990, a combination of 'chain migration', and an influx of refugees and asylum seekers from Africa, Asia and Latin America, referred to as traditional ethnic minorities, had created major challenges for the big cities. By 1996 22% of the working population and 40% of the residential population in Rotterdam was of non Dutch origin. Young people have tended to move into the city to study or join a partner, while those with a Dutch background have tended to move out to the suburbs in their 30s.

Employment change Although the government managed the redevelopment of the city centre and port adequately, one of the biggest challenges was the effects of advanced technology. With the mechanisation of the industry and the containerisation in the logistics centre the city lost many low-skilled jobs. Rotterdam has suffered more than the rest of the Netherlands from long-term unemployment. Both manufacturing and port employment declined in the 1980s, and overall employment fell by 10%, creating a mismatch between the availability of unskilled jobs and the numbers available to fill them. For example in the post-war low rise suburb of Hoogvliet, Shell reduced its manpower from 8,000 to 700. Whereas in 1981 31% of jobs were in the industrial sector, by 2001 this had declined to 21% (Blok et al 2000). 44% of the registered unemployed were from ethnic minorities, mainly living in the old pre-war neighbourhoods that had escaped bombing. In 2005 11% of the labour force in Rotterdam was without a job, with the increase mainly among the traditional ethnic minorities.

Vision and aims Rotterdam, like many English cities, has had to cope with a legacy of ugly post-war commercial buildings, poorly designed blocks of flats, large derelict and isolated former industrial sites, and competition from other nearby cities with much more cultural appeal and stronger knowledge based economies. Back in the 1980s the

city recognised it could never compete with The Hague or Amsterdam as an office centre and therefore sought to differentiate its role and image.

Rotterdam has therefore focussed on making the most of its pivotal position at the mouth of the Rhine, promoted as the Delta Metropolis, through the modernisation and expansion of the port, and the development of related logistics industries. In its strategic development framework *Koers 2005* (perhaps best translated as *Destination 2005*) the city promoted a vision of itself as a service centre for transport and logistics as well as an incubator for new economic activities in the creative industries sector (for example in modern culture, architecture and new media). In 1998, the vision was updated, with the four simple themes of a strong city, valuable neighbourhoods, concerned citizens and enterprising government.

In 2002 a new vision was developed by the newly elected party of Pim Fortuin 'Leefbaar Rotterdam', the politician who was killed later in the same year during the national elections. The new vision focussed on creating a more 'liveable' Rotterdam that was safe with a mixed community (income and race) and a government that was accountable for its actions.

Repositioning Rotterdam The development of the port towards the sea as well as the growth of suburbs around the city meant that a lot of activities take place outside the city borders. Rotterdam therefore had to find ways to manage its development in co-operation with its neighbouring municipalities and the provincial authorities. Although the administrative system did not become a fully developed 'metropolitan' government, several regional authorities and co-operation bodies were set up to facilitate the development of the Rotterdam Region in a sustainable way.



Figure 7. Kop van Zuid - re-establishing the south bank of the Maas

One of the main strategies for Rotterdam has been to make the most of its Industry, Port and Logistics Sector, and to develop the knowledge and services required to manage such a cluster of activities. While the port has developed physically outside the city, and is the main host of the physical logistical process, the city has invested in its roles as a meeting place for knowledge workers and as a location for businesses that provide services to the port. The city provides opportunities to develop knowledge further and form a breeding ground for innovation.

As the world economy has moved from an industrialisation to a global knowledge economy, Rotterdam has become a post-industrial city in transition. Knowledge workers have high expectations with regard to for example their living conditions and urban facilities. Rotterdam has been investing in other sectors to diversify its economy, in for example the medical cluster, cultural sector, tourism and the creative industries. In diversifying its economy, the city government has sought balanced development. It knows that not all groups of society, not all neighbourhoods and not all districts in Rotterdam will automatically benefit from economic growth. The main aim of current urban strategies has therefore been to diminish the gaps between rich and poor, between well-educated and low-skilled, between employed and unemployed.

One of the most difficult issues for cities like Rotterdam is how to communicate and negotiate with immigrant groups, at the same time as improving relations with existing residents. Settling in pre-war neighbourhoods, often in small upstairs flats that are rented privately, there are tensions with both the older Dutch residents, and other ethnic groups. These problems are well documented in case studies under the EU's Urbex programme of two areas that were previously dependent on the port and related industries for employment.

1.3.2 Integrated Area Approaches

With the introduction of a free market approach to planning and the recognition that efforts should work simultaneously on different levels and aspects, the Dutch planning system adopted a holistic approach towards urban regeneration called the Integrated Area Approach. This targets specific problem areas by combining three types of policies:

1. The Major Cities Policy which sought to include all three pillars of sustainability, social, economic and environmental in strategies to combat economic inactivity
2. The 1970s Urban Renewal Policy which focuses on the physical aspect of urban environments
3. The Social Investment Policy which is aimed at citizens' better integration into the system, also making them less dependent on social assistance.

In Rotterdam there are five selected areas, each with its own dedicated project team involving civil servants, landowners, residents, companies, social organisations and political administrations working together. Rotterdam was the first city to combine social and housing policies with the Major Cities Policy. In a conference paper, the authors (Van Hoek et al, 2000) identify three principles as the backbone of Rotterdam's strategy:

1. **Reversing trends:** opportunities are targeted rather than concentrating on weaknesses, in order to strengthen the local economy.
2. **Integrating planning and implementation:** policies for employment are combined with policies for better living conditions, but their implementation depends on a range of parties collaborating. So data and information is made easily accessible; joint-teams are supported through good coordination and communication; constant monitoring of progress allows room for manoeuvre and correction; and experience and learning is exchanged with team working on similar programmes elsewhere.
3. **Engaging the support of target groups:** good communication is critical to getting the message across and creating confidence in a project. The formation of public-private partnerships is also seen as important and residents and companies are involved at the policy-making stage as well as later stages.

Since 1996, Rotterdam (under the Major Cities Policy) has had five city-wide employment initiatives which include:

1. Creating at least 10,000 new jobs for the long-term unemployed in areas such as health care, security child care etc
2. Strengthening the local economy, including support for new businesses and key clusters
3. Improving links between the port of Rotterdam and the hinterland
4. Targeting training and making education more relevant to work
5. Using local authorities to create more jobs, including various voluntary work schemes, and integrating immigrants through measures such as youth facilities.

2. CASE STUDY AREA: THE KOP VAN ZUID REGENERATION SCHEME

2.1 Context

The name Kop van Zuid (KvZ) can be translated as Southern Headland. It lies on the unfashionable South Bank of the River Maas, directly opposite Rotterdam's city centre. However it was cut-off by a river that is several times the width of the Thames in central London. The regeneration area forms a peninsula, which used to contain working docks and a shipyard, and was abandoned when the port moved west to the mouth of the river. The area was also separated from the river by warehouses, and from the surrounding areas by railway lines crossing over the river. Much of it used to be fenced off for security reasons as part of the Port of Rotterdam.

2.1.1 The Kop van Zuid project (KvZ) is mainly located in the Feyenoord borough, one of 13 within the city. The project area is part of the Feyenoord Sub-Municipality which consists mainly of poor residential neighbourhoods where people who once worked in the port or other riverside industries used to live. The sub-municipality has traditionally been an area of low educational achievement and high unemployment. It had a very poor image, making it hard to attract private investment on any scale. According to Han Meyer in his study of urban waterfronts before the war:

'Rotterdam's housing policy treated the Kop van Zuid, and particularly the peninsula of Katendrecht, as a dumping ground and area of concentration for groups of residents and people passing through who were regarded as a bad influence on the social and cultural well-being of the city's population'.

When the KvZ project was first started, the neighbourhoods of the borough – Feyenoord, Afrikaanderwijk, Katendrecht and Hillesluis – were marked by a low-quality living environment and a weak social-economic structure. In particular Feyenoord, Afrikaanderwijk and Hillesluis had major unemployment and a high percentage of foreign migrants. The housing stock in these neighbourhoods was very one-sided and unattractive, with low home ownership, which helps explain the lopsided social structure. When in the 1980s harbour-related activity with much low-skilled labour left the area, the unemployment rate rose rapidly.



		Source
Number of Inhabitants	70,622	COS, Rotterdam
Immigrants	63,9%	COS, Rotterdam
Number of Houses	32,955	COS, Rotterdam
Home Ownership	12,6%	COS, Rotterdam
Low Income People	60%	COS, Rotterdam
Number of People Employed	15.487	COS, Rotterdam
People Looking for Job	19%	COS, Rotterdam
Security Index	6.0	COS, Rotterdam

Table 3. Basic Statistics

2.1.2 Attractive city KvZ forms one of a number of ‘flagship projects’ aimed at transforming Rotterdam (which are well-covered in books published to commemorate the city’s award of Cultural Capital of Europe, and City of Architecture). Thus the municipality had succeeded in attracting new employment into the heart of the city centre, as well as a major growth area on the Northern edge (near the airport and on the route to The Hague). Instead of covering over the shopping centre with a new roof, as had once been proposed, the city remodelled the centre. It used new leisure facilities to create a series of linked spaces connected by a high quality public realm that stands comparison with any city. High rise office blocks in the centre, and striking new blocks of apartments gave Rotterdam the name of ‘Manhattan on the Maas’.



The Kop van Zuid project has formed an important part of Rotterdam’s strategy for creating an attractive city as a whole for some time. Core elements of the strategy were building high-grade business locations, the construction of expensive houses to draw more affluent citizens to live in the city, the promotion of the metropolitan feeling by stimulating art, culture and spatial quality, the improvement of access, and the achievement of spin-off effects to the surrounding area. Published as Vision 2010, the scheme was based on the key concepts of quality, competitiveness and collaboration. The fashionable idea at the time of a waterfront similar to Baltimore Inner Harbour or Boston was promoted. However this plan met with considerable scepticism, as it was simply not considered feasible given the area’s location and history and the competition from other cities for offices (Van den Berg).

The regeneration process proper in the old port started with projects to change the city’s image. Rotterdam has had a long tradition of promoting modern architecture. The city sought to combine economic competitiveness with strengthening the relationship

between the city and the river. The port was traditionally seen as an ‘urban spectacle’ for the bourgeoisie, not something to be hidden away. Considerable use therefore has been made of architectural competitions to get innovative buildings that are also affordable, given the relatively low rental levels that the city can achieve. The initial steps in the regeneration of the old docks involved some iconic buildings. The oldest dock was turned into an industrial museum. A new library and a new Metro station were built nearby. An apartment block of ‘cube houses’ on their sides was built which was quite different from anything ever built before, and promoted a memorable new image at a time when there was little else new to see near the river apart from the Maritime Museum.



2.1.3 Management The Port of Rotterdam was owned by the Municipality, and public ownership of almost all development land has made it easier to secure agreement on development plans and proposals and to encourage public-private partnerships. However there were also parts that were owned by harbour companies that had to be compulsorily purchased. The original masterplan is quite flexible and is used as guidance. During the development of Kop van Zuid there have been and there will be changes. For example in 2000, a number of developers were asked their opinion of the Kop van Zuid and its future.

When the port moved away from the centre of Rotterdam it was clear that the Kop van Zuid needed redevelopment. The Architecture Centre in Rotterdam had promoted a competition for ideas as far back as the 1970s and this led on to a formal competition in 1982. Although a number of architects submitted proposals, none of them secured much support. Following the economic problems of the early 1980s the original municipal plan of 1978, which was to develop social housing on the South side, was replaced by a scheme by the great Dutch planner Teun Koolhaas in 1986, aimed at shifting the focus towards city’s economic base.

2.1.4 Leadership The 125 hectare area was originally to have been redeveloped for social housing. The appointment of a new City Planning Director, Riek Bakker in 1986, led to a new vision for the city as a whole, aimed at making the most of its ‘hidden assets’ which included the waterfront. The new plan was to transform the Kop van Zuid area into a multifunctional district and to connect it to the city centre on the other side of the river. Upgrading the infrastructure would physically link the city centre and the southern

areas. But most of all it was social and economic connections that were needed to achieve a transformation in the area's prospects.

Having considered and rejected a series of proposals from well-known architect-planners, the municipality appointed a new Planning Director, Riek Bakker, who is largely credited for the area's turnaround. She started with a two week long brainstorming session with her staff, which produced a 30 point plan for 30 Hidden Places. This identified a range of projects that could provide 'early wins' throughout the city. She then commissioned the plan secretly from the famous Dutch planner Teun Koolhaas. He developed the idea of a 'collage city' which struck a balance between a free enterprise city like New York and a well controlled and equitable garden city. The main themes were quality, accessibility, cross-subsidisation and integration.

Though responsibility for leadership is in the hands of an 'adoptive alderman' or champion for the borough in the municipality, and a directly elected chairman for each borough, in this case a city official played the entrepreneurial role needed to 'sell the vision' to all concerned. She was supported by the dedicated Project Team, and the staff and resources of the City Development Corporation and the Department of Urban Planning and Housing. To guarantee the quality of the Kop van Zuid, an external Quality Team of architectural and urban experts was established. A Steering Committee, consisting of senior officers and directors of different municipal departments, supervised the project. A lot of emphasis was given to the co-ordination and communication of the project through the Project Bureau, the Communication, and Mutual Benefit teams.

To implement the masterplan a special project organisation was set up with a lot of emphasis on co-ordination and communication at different levels, from the mayor and responsible aldermen to neighbourhood organisations. To safeguard the architectural quality an external panel of experts was set up as the Quality Team. In the Steering Committee the directors of the different municipal departments, together with the architect of the master plan (Koolhaas), supervised the project.

A Communication Team was set up to create support for the project, and the Mutual Benefit (Social Return) team was set up to establish social-economic relations with the adjoining areas. Its brief was to channel employment, reinforce the economic structure and develop innovative projects and services. Special programmes were developed to give incentives to private companies to hire people from the surrounding neighbourhoods for the development and maintenance of the Kop van Zuid project. Other projects were restructuring and



upgrading the shopping streets to make the development more balanced, upgrading the infrastructure, and establishing educational facilities at the Kop van Zuid with capacity for the surrounding neighbourhoods.

2.1.5 Funding partnerships From the beginning different departments of the city were involved in working together. The support of all the public agencies was crucial to securing the initial investment, which in turn attracted private investors into the area. The initial idea for implementation was to set up a public-private partnership, whereby the government would be responsible for the public space and infrastructure, and the private sector for the construction of the buildings. But during negotiations it appeared that the public sector needed to do more to get the project under way. Private sector developers were not willing to take the risks required without support from the public authorities. However the public sector needed more information on what it had to do.

To reduce the risks the planning department needed backing and finance from the public sector. First of all the different departments of the municipality, the city council as well as sub-councils, had to be convinced. Partnership between the different municipal departments was essential for a successful implementation of the project. Support was secured through extensive communication and debate which led to a start on implementation of the project through the public sector being the first clients. The



municipal port authority's customs, legal and tax departments decided to move to the new area. The transport company (RET) agreed to create a new underground station. Later the decision to build some public colleges in the area and the relocation of the Luxor Theatre added to the public commitment. The cooperation of the different department as well as local political enthusiasm, created the necessary local commitment to get regeneration going.

The involvement of the national government in the project was also very important. Once they were convinced of the importance of the project to the national economy they agreed to co-finance some of the infrastructure and relocated the National Photo and Film Institute from Amsterdam to Rotterdam. Attention was paid to the surrounding municipalities as well to avoid potential protests and envy and to make them aware that strengthening the core of the region through the regeneration of KvZ would benefit the region as a whole.

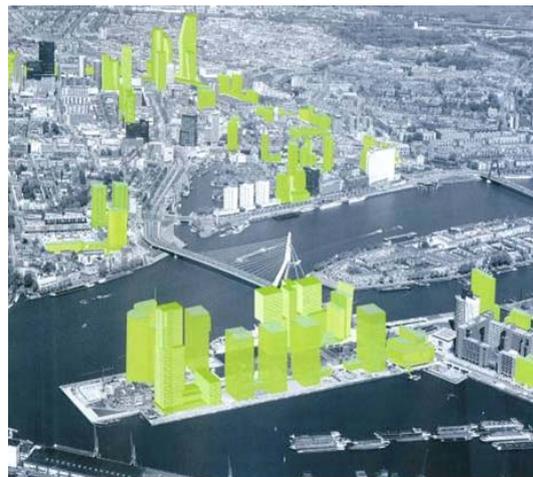
As soon as there was clear public commitment, the interest of private investors and developers grew. Priority for projects with a high quality design in the initial phase led to private investment in later stages of the project. Co-operation between the public and private sector was based on mutual trust and common goals. In evaluating proposals the

planners looked for win-win situations that benefited both the public and private actors. This called for flexibility and creativity on the part of the public sector to change plans according to the opportunities at hand, and the skills of the Rotterdam Development Corporation.

2.1.6 Rotterdam Development Corporation (OBR) The Rotterdam Development Corporation is now responsible for the overall project management, supported by the Department of Urban Planning and Housing (dS+V), the Department of Public Transport (RET) and the Port of Rotterdam. The Dutch approach to regeneration has been successful because of the leading role played by the Municipality in both devising spatial strategies, and securing their implementation. Dutch Development Corporations, unlike their British equivalent, are permanent bodies and report to the City Council, not government or a regional agency.

The Rotterdam Development Corporation is a large body, responsible not only for spatial planning, (and hence the vision and strategy for developing the city), but also for organising the provision of infrastructure, and selling off land to developers and investors. It was formed through a merger of the City's Estates and Economic Development Departments. As the City owns the port as well as the freehold of all the land, it has extensive powers. In the 1970s the City sought to involve the American Rouse Corporation as a joint venture partner because of its experience in Baltimore's Inner Harbour, but it proved impossible to secure private sector interest in the undeveloped port lands. Hence the Development Corporation realised it had to pump-prime the regeneration of Kop van Zuid.

The regeneration of Kop van Zuid formed part of a larger strategy for the city, with a number of major projects, which are brought on stream as market conditions allow. The strategy was agreed with the national government, and the Province was hardly involved. Some projects were not approved by the government at the time. For example the idea of a Knowledge Boulevard from Rotterdam Airport to Delft was turned down because it might have competed with development around Amsterdam, and also because it required an expansion of the airport which would have hurt the neighbouring suburbs. A cut-down version of this has since been approved, as part of a rethink of the role of the 'green belt'.



The Development Corporation was not only able to promote a masterplan for Kop van Zuid, but also commissioned the site preparation and infrastructure works. The project

had to be approved by the City Council in the light of alternative scenarios, including a worst case scenario in which there was no demand for offices and the site had to be developed entirely for social housing.

The Corporation made use of its own capital (at the time worth about 100 million euros), which included risk capital built up from land deals, plus the income from ground rents on the city as a whole. This was used to mobilise funding from other sources. Thus the government was persuaded to put up the bulk of the funding for the Erasmus Bridge and Metro Station which itself cost some 100 million euros, through a Key Projects Fund, which the City of Rotterdam initiated. Similarly the extension of the tram system was funded through the Transport Authority, which was persuaded by the prospect of introducing a higher fare zone.

2.2 Achievements

The new masterplan for Kop van Zuid, adopted in 1994, aimed to create a series of distinctive buildings and quarters in order to broaden the population, and create new jobs in the area. Two university colleges with 10,000 students were built to broaden the area's functions. The masterplan provided for 5,300 houses, 400,000 m² of offices, plus business, education and leisure facilities. Many of the buildings were designed by leading architects, such as the World Port Centre by Sir Norman Foster, and the telecom headquarters by Renzo Piano. The overall vision was expressed as *Connecting the Divided City*.



2.2.1 Reuniting the city As the area looked derelict and inaccessible, there was a major issue of how to build confidence in its potential. Key early ingredients aimed at generating confidence were the iconic Erasmus Bridge, a new Metro station, Tram-plus, and new road connections to the ring road. Significantly, as van Hoek points out, politicians were persuaded to support the most expensive of three bridge options as well as to move several government departments to the area (Customs and Tax office and the Court of Justice). From the start the regeneration of Kop van Zuid was promoted as a project that was for the good of Holland as a whole.



Another important part of from the redevelopment of Kop Van Zuid has been the building of a wide new road linking the city centre via Erasmus Bridge with the

Southern districts and out to the ring road. The road crosses the main railway tracks that once cut many areas off from each other. Another railway line was lowered to improve lateral connections. Connections are being further upgraded with a new orbital light rail orbital system that will provide ten minute services between the towns of the Randstad. Rotterdam is also being connected to the new high speed Eurorail system from Brussels, which will cut the journey time to Amsterdam and Schiphol Airport to less than 35 minutes.

2.2.2 Quality transport has been at the heart of the city's renaissance. The city invested in a high quality tram system and an underground railway with several lines stretching over 80 miles. A new Metro line was built from the central railway station under the river in 1968, and a further new East-West line was added in the 1980s. A new tram line was built in advance of development to assist the area's regeneration and promote the use of public transport. The Erasmus Bridge connects the city centre through the Kop van Zuid out to the Ring Road to the South, and also opens up links with adjoining residential areas. A major project is underway to upgrade the area round the central railway station, and Rotterdam will soon have a much stronger position on the European High Speed Rail network that links Paris through to Berlin.

2.2.3 Balanced housing The development of the Kop van Zuid is divided into two parts. The first project is the Kop van Zuid. The second project is Parkstad, also called Kop van Zuid II, which started in 2007. Parkstad will be more like a suburban area. Fifteen years after the adoption of the masterplan the development of the first phase is largely complete, financed largely by public investment, and by attracting in much higher income residents. A new masterplan is being developed in response to pressure from housing associations and private developers, who need to know how the wider area is to be developed. A major challenge now is to secure private investment in housing and offices to '*balance the investment equation*'. There is an ongoing commitment to building 3,000 homes a year in the city, both to broaden the housing stock and to replace unpopular municipal blocks of flats and low grade private housing that are being demolished in other areas. The scheme seems to have achieved a critical mass in giving Rotterdam a new sense of identity and direction, which is an essential step in attracting the private investment and new jobs required to diversify its main role as a port.

2.2.4 Urban design The redevelopment of Kop van Zuid provides good examples of the Dutch approach to 'shared surfaces'. There is ample street parking in most residential areas combined with wide tree-lined pavements, which often incorporate a cycle lane. Cars are often parked head to the kerb against terraced houses, with no distinction between the street



and the pavement. Parking is controlled in the centre through using either credit or prepaid cards, with multi storey and underground car parks.

Surfaces are pleasantly coloured, with careful use of cobbles, and there are no yellow lines. Services are installed by the municipal Development Corporation, and perhaps as a result there are no signs of street works, other than the extension of paved areas in public squares. The streets are kept clean by gangs of cleaners and by the use of large underground receptacles into which rubbish has to be put. The waterside has been opened up to people on foot.

Replicable features include the imaginative use of public art, good lighting, a minimum of street clutter such as poles and signs, surface level street crossings, reserved lanes for trams, which are grassed over on the Tram-plus routes, and iconic public buildings, such as the police station or bridge control tower. Though Rotterdam does not have an extensive park system, the constant views of the river and old docks along with extensive street trees, and some small front gardens help people to keep in touch with nature.

2.2.5 Heritage and culture The problem was not just the area's poor image and isolation, but the derelict state of the environment, with many abandoned buildings. Some, like the old liner terminal, had considerable historical and architectural significance. The former Holland America terminal was therefore turned into the atmospheric Hotel New York, with super public art outside. The Entrepot building became a supermarket and restaurants featuring food from around the world, so as to retain some of its old atmosphere and character. Though the restaurants failed due to insufficient demand at the time, the scheme succeeded in changing the area's



image, and attracting high quality private investment in housing. The empty space is used for exhibition, and land for parking until demand materialises. Famous architects like Sir Norman Foster and Renzo Piano were commissioned to design key buildings, and new office and commercial buildings include the KNP building, the World Port Centre, the Cruise Terminal and the Luxor Theatre. As a result Rotterdam won the title of European City of Culture, and also Architecture.

2.3 Good practice

2.3.1 Communications Great stress was put on communications, and on using neutral parties as intermediaries. An important role is played by the municipal information centres, which are used to communicate the elements of new schemes and to create a more informed dialogue with different communities. For example a large shop front visitor centre in the city centre uses techniques such as Virtual Reality. There was

concern from the start of the development of Kop van Zuid that there could be opposition from local people to locating prestige projects next to very poor neighbourhoods characterised by high unemployment, low level of education, high percentage of foreign migrant families and a bad image. A 'prestige' project could be seen as a threat to the existing community, and this might diminish the possibility of success. A permanent information centre was therefore set up for all the different interest groups, from tourists to investors and Rotterdam residents. Independent Architecture Centres are also to be found in every Dutch city, and help generate a higher level of discussion on new projects.

2.3.2 Mutual Benefits Programme The municipality also set up a special body to secure a 'social return' based on the American concept of 'linkages'. The idea was to encourage developers to provide jobs, housing, and public facilities for the local population. There was already a project concerned with the socio-economic development of the surrounding areas. In 1991, the Municipality approved the project Mutual Benefit (Wederzijds Profijt), originally called Social Return, launched by the Rotterdam City Development Corporation. They financed the project with a budget of 5 million guilders for five years. In 1996, five more years of financing were agreed. Moreover, the program received funds from the European Commission through The European Regional Development Fund.

The general goal of the Mutual Benefit project is to use the Kop van Zuid redevelopment to help improve the socio-economic conditions of the residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods. There are two main programmes:

- *Employ people from the neighbourhoods surrounding the Kop van Zuid in the developments done in the area.*
- *Revitalise and promote the creation of small and medium enterprises in those neighbourhoods.*

The programmes are recognised to have provided some benefits to the people of the surrounding areas and were a good example of collaboration between different departments within the municipality. About eight different organisations work to recruit people and find them jobs, including the Labour Offices, the administration of Feyenoord (Deelgemeente Feyenoord) and neighbourhood organisations. However the jobs created fell far short of what was originally expected.

The Mutual Benefit (Social Return) team sought to create economic benefits through incentives for private companies to hire local people for the development and maintenance of Kop van Zuid. They also funded projects to restructure and upgrade shopping streets, and to establish educational facilities with capacity for the surrounding neighbourhoods. Clear guidelines in national urban policy together with financial incentives for collaboration between the different sectors, should ensure that policies for social cohesion are turned into results. However the attempt to secure major spin-offs from the development of Kop van Zuid for local employment did not work out as

intended, particularly as far as construction jobs were concerned, as companies used their existing work forces. Nevertheless the efforts were appreciated.

2.3.3 Opzoomeren and Cleaner Safer Greener streets While there is a national programme for 'cleaner greener safer streets' Rotterdam introduced its own innovative programme which uses street improvements to secure community development. Since 2000, the *Opzoomeren* programme, which started in Hoogliet, has operated successfully in over 700 of some 2,400 streets with 4 staff and 50 others, with a target for agreeing social contracts in 150 streets by 2006. The basic idea is to challenge residents to take responsibility for their own environment. Piles of rubbish were being blamed on the local authority when much of the problem came from how some parts of the community behaved.

The new initiative focussed on individual streets rather than the wider neighbourhood. There is a three stage programme, which uses facilitators backed up by the police and social workers to build up social capital. It is mainly focussed on unsafe neighbourhoods and appeals to local social and cultural talent. The programme starts with a diagnostic phase aimed at understanding who is living there, and then encouraging local people to take better care of the environment through activities that build contacts with neighbours. The underlying model is of personal development through a ladder with ten steps, ranging from aggression at the bottom to self-control at the top. The first step of *Opzoomeren* involves activities to get people to know each other, for example through street parties that celebrate diversity.

The second step is called 'urban etiquette', which is getting people to accept rules, for example that football can be played in the street but not after 8pm or that rubbish should be put out on the street on the day it is collected. Finally there is a social contract to secure long lasting cooperation. Difficult or aggressive families are visited, and threatened with sanctions. This can involve the police. It also means ensuring that the municipality really does keep the streets clean. A social contract uses the incentive of the municipality putting in some investment, in return for residents taking responsibility.

The social diagnostic phase takes about a month, and leads to an action programme with the support of at least a third of the young or elderly. The first phase then takes 3-4 months and the result is an agenda from and for the street. This may, for example, involve activities for children. It also involves appointments with corporate organisations to get them to take care of the street provided local people play their part. The final implementation phase in theory can last for ever. There is a bonus for the street of 4,500 euros (£3,000) to help build civic pride and safety.

2.3.4 Summary of progress and overall success By 2007, or about 13 years after the plan's approval about half the masterplan has been implemented. Almost all of the office space has been taken by public organisations such as the Municipal Tax

Department and the Court of Justice. The project has created an attractive waterfront for the South side of the city, which was previously cut off from the river. The Mutual Benefit team is of particular interest. Though the benefits in terms of job creation (in for example the construction sector or security business) were relatively few, the efforts to improve the public realm in the surrounding areas have been appreciated, according to the Urbex case study. The special programme for Mutual Benefits for the Kop van Zuid was finished in 2002 and the sub-municipality of Feyenoord is now responsible for Mutual Benefits for the entire borough.

The importance of good connections can be seen in the high prices paid for flats in tower blocks that are close to the city centre, or transport connections. Buildings by world famous architects provide landmarks which makes navigation easier. The success of the first 40 storey apartment tower means that it will be followed by a number of others. In another ten years the gaps between the river and the residential districts to the South should have been filled, and the disparities with the surrounding areas reduced. Masterplanning the final phase has started, with the idea of broadening the roles that the area plays, and rebranding KvZ.

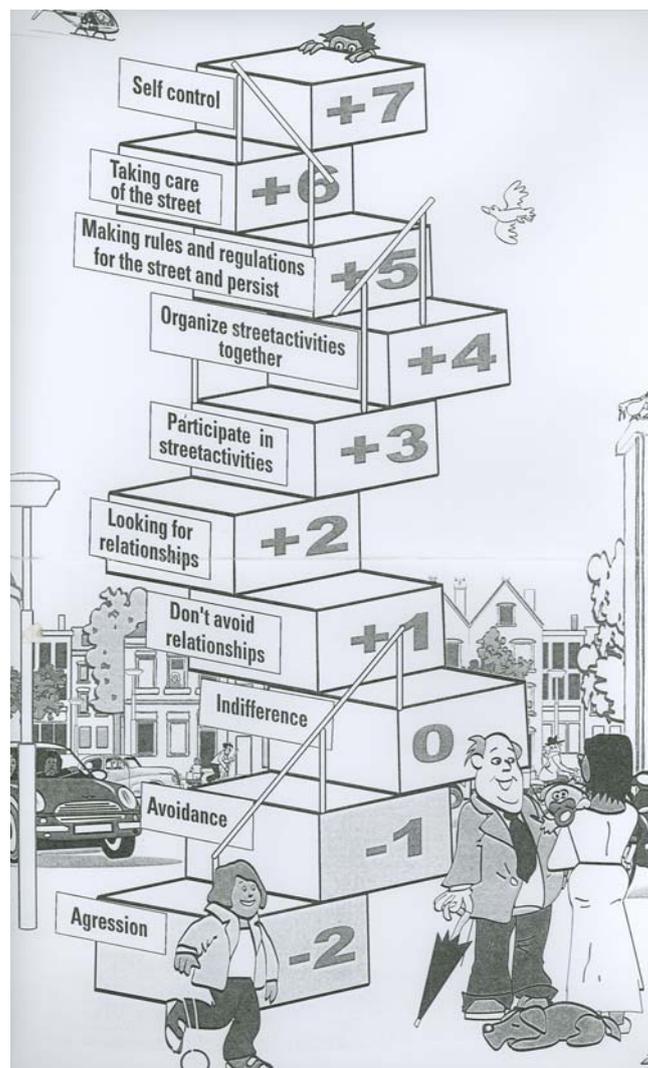


Figure 8. The Opzoomeren model for neighbourhood management

3. IMPACTS OF URBAN REGENERATION ON VULNERABLE/DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

A major question is whether the inhabitants of the adjoining neighbourhoods in the Feyenoord District have also received benefits from the development of the Kop van Zuid. This could be in the form of improved services, or a wider choice of jobs, and better shops. But it could also be a sense that the area as a whole is better linked to opportunities in the rest of the city region, or a better place to bring up children, and a greater feeling of self-esteem.

3.1 Community engagement

In the case of Kop van Zuid community involvement played an important role in providing some benefits for the neighbourhoods surrounding the waterfront area. Since the renovation programmes of the 1970's the neighbourhood organisations have been important players in the urban development in Rotterdam (Van den Berg, 1995). There is a Federation of Neighbourhood Associations through which different parts of Rotterdam are represented.

When the redevelopment project for Kop van Zuid was made public, the Federation rapidly pointed out the danger of an excessive contrast between luxurious new developments and the deprived situation of the surrounding old urban districts. They advised using the new project to create some benefits for the inhabitants of those neighbourhoods. From that moment the neighbourhood associations were included in the Project Organisation of the Kop van Zuid they had an active and formal role in the decisions about the redevelopment. They are also informally involved as far as they are informed of those decisions about the project that affect them.

The neighbourhood organisations participated in the definition and development of the Social Return project. They had the idea of trying to employ people from those neighbourhoods in the companies settled in Kop van Zuid. They set up the 'Kop van Zuid Dienst', which was meant to recruit people that could work for the companies, especially in cleaning and security jobs.

The area to be developed was abandoned and in decay. The residents' organisation pointed out the adjacent neighbourhood presented high levels of deprivation with the presence of problems as unemployment, low educational level and criminality. This led to the rapid inclusion of a social programme in the Kop van Zuid project that would provide social benefits to the concerned neighbourhoods and help implement the Social Renewal policy for Rotterdam.

3.1.1 Direct benefits When the Mutual Benefit programme was set up in 1991, a macro-economic estimate was made of the total employment effects that the realisation of the

KvZ would generate. The expectation was that a total of over 20,000 jobs would be generated. In the course of 1992 MB defined projects and set employment targets for them in a bottom-up approach. The target was to realise 150 jobs by the end of 1995, that is considerably less than the employment expected from the construction in 1991. There are several reasons for the disappointing result. Builders held themselves aloof from employment projects, preferring to keep the training of job-seekers to themselves. Also the labour market was less favourable at the time than it is today. The supply of labour was much greater than the demand, while now the reverse seems to be true. Finally, many of the job opportunities in the area, for instance with the Court and the Tax Office, were the result of moves rather than new creation. However, indirect job opportunities with complementary services (hotels and catering, cleaning, retail trade, etc) did ensue. The total number of jobs created for residents of the neighbourhoods was 289 (in 1996) or half the envisaged number (and figures are no longer available).

3.1.2 Wider impact By the time Kop van Zuid was regenerated, the demographic composition of the borough Feyenoord has changed considerably. The project area attracted many residents with above average incomes. That is due to the favourable evolution of the housing market during the 1990s, low interest rates and a prospering economy. The qualities of the area in terms of town planning and architecture enticed investors at an early stage to put their money into houses. Thanks to the flexibility of the masterplan, the sections that were originally aimed at the office market, were developed as housing. The social structure of the Feyenoord Borough improved to the point that the EU reduced its grants since the area scores better than before on certain social-economic indicators.

The adjoining neighbourhoods, on the other hand, have retained their one sided income structure. Unemployment may have diminished, but no more than in line with the national trend, which makes the actual effects hard to quantify. In terms of social-economic indicators the borough of Feyenoord is still inferior to Rotterdam, which itself scores poorly in comparison with other Dutch cities.

3.1.3 Image There are other signs of positive spin-offs from Kop van Zuid. The appeal of the area seems slowly but surely to have a favourable effect on the surrounding neighbourhoods. The housing corporations in the surrounding neighbourhoods have raised their ambitions thanks to what had been built. They have built houses that are more expensive and are paying more attention than before to demand from owner-occupiers. Indeed the official policy is now to attract the 'upwardly mobile' and promote 'gentrification', as this is seen as helping to reorder or rebalance the area.



Corporations are also giving more explicit attention to the quality of the public realm. The proximity of the KvZ appears to have had a positive influence on the development generally. Developers, who look some time ahead, confirm the development potential of the borough of Feyenoord. Because of that very potential, the borough no longer qualifies for a generous portion of the URBAN-budget. The city council assumes that the market can tackle the revitalisation of Feyenoord and prefers to sponsor less promising areas.

However, the proximity of the KvZ is not a guarantee of success. The neighbourhoods must become more attractive on their own account. More variety in the housing supply would be a good start; the more so as the ambitions of the present residents are rising. At the same time, the housing market is generally so open that residents (even the foreigners) prefer to own their own dwelling.



The social problems have a spatial and a human aspect, which is why investment in people is necessary as well. Many residents are structurally unemployed and cannot profit from the favourable development on the labour market. Their main problem is that their educational level does not match the demands of employers. For unskilled labour, there is hardly any work available. At best, the unskilled can find a job in auxiliary services, such as cleaning and catering. Such structural problems will take a long time to solve, one remedy being investment in education.

Before the area's regeneration, the image of South Bank Rotterdam was extremely poor. Residents of the North bank rarely visited the other side and to move to that part of the city was too many unthinkable. Now many residents of Kop van Zuid have come over from the North bank and the facilities in the new centre are attracting people from the entire region. The psychological barrier between north and south has started to be demolished, for one thing because the Erasmus Bridge now spans the river, which was the greatest physical barrier.

3.1.4 Local pride Kop van Zuid has also changed the image of Rotterdam. The project cannot be considered in isolation from other developments in the city that have also contributed to the new image, such as the Exchange Traverse (a shopping street in part laid out below street level), the theatre square, the Film Festival and several sports events. Thanks to these developments, Rotterdam is enriching its status as a working, harbour and



industrial city with elements such as shopping, entertainment, sports, culture and art.

The Erasmus Bridge has become a symbol of Rotterdam's renaissance as a whole. Moreover, Kop van Zuid has been promoted as a top location for companies, boosting Rotterdam's economic prospects. The Communication Team has given the project an identity and status of its own [Communication Team KvZ, 1999]. KvZ has generated much media attention, not least as a model project for other cities. Publicity in the media has also added to the pride of residents in nearby neighbourhoods. At first most of them were sceptical of the project, but that has changed as a result of positive media coverage. Gentrification is now seen as a positive force, as it overcomes the tendency for poorer areas to fragment into 'ghettoes'.

3.2 Stakeholder analysis

3.2.1 Residents of Feyenoord From the interviews with inhabitants and the Neighbourhood Associations it became clear that initially a lot of inhabitants were sceptical about the development of the Kop van Zuid project, which was seen as a prestigious project but not for them. When they were invited by the Project Office to contribute to the development and co-create the Mutual Benefit program, the project was seen in a more positive way. Through the Mutual Benefit program the inhabitants hoped to gain employment, but also better physical linkages between the new project area and the existing neighbourhood (for example as a result of putting the railway lines underground). Another example has been improvements to the Rotterdam-Zuid railway station, inside the Feyenoord district, which was seen as a result of the Kop van Zuid project.

However over the years in terms of employment the project was not that successful. Although it might be expected that this would lead to a negative feeling about the project this was actually not the case. The inhabitants had developed good relationships with the project office as well as with the sub-municipality of Feyenoord, and used this relationship to put new demands on the table. The focus shifted from employment creation to improving public space and safety in the Feyenoord district.

Together with the main housing associations new plans were made to renovate and renew different housing blocks in the district, to create a more mixed group of inhabitants. There was a shared feeling that the neighbourhood suffered from having developed into a low-income and migrant groups district without opportunities. When asked about the development over the last five years the neighbourhood association says that there were improvements, not necessarily caused by the Kop van Zuid project, but more because of their own efforts in co-operation with the sub-municipality.

The main impact according to residents was the improved accessibility of the neighbourhood, because of the new infrastructure and particularly the new school facilities close by. Some inhabitants said that since they started building more expensive

housing in the neighbourhood and in the Kop van Zuid, they are now thinking of staying in the neighbourhood while in that past they thought only about moving out.

This does not mean that the neighbourhood is out of problems, because there are still some tensions between different ethnic groups. There is a large informal economy made up of people that receive public benefits but have a business on the side in for example their country of origin. With a new city government that was elected a lot is expected from creating so-called 'opportunity zones' and a special policy for young people.

3.2.2 Housing associations Since the privatisation of the Housing Corporations in the Netherlands their role has changed. While originally these corporations were set up by the government to manage and maintain the social housing stock, with privatisation they are given guidelines for their public tasks but operate as private sector companies with the ability to develop housing for sale. The relationship between the city and the corporation has changed drastically the last couple of years. The Feyenoord district has a large percentage of social housing stock and several housing corporations play an important role for the development of the district. Some of them are also involved in the development of the Kop van Zuid project. The new Parkstad project (Kop van Zuid II) is an initiative of one the housing corporations.

From interviews the housing corporations emerge as important players with a lot of knowledge of the neighbourhood. Providing a large part of the housing stock, the corporations also have a good feel of the problems in the district. When asked about the role of the Kop van Zuid, they confirm the observations of the inhabitants with regards to the improved accessibility and educational facilities, but they also highlighted the importance of the improved image of the South District in general with the development of the Kop van Zuid. This created a better opportunity to build more mixed neighbourhoods, because there was a new housing potential for middle income, owner-occupied housing, especially for the local inhabitants that are moving up the social ladder.

One of the corporations mentioned the idea of 'housing careers' in their revitalisation strategies, meaning that they try to provide the opportunities for improving their housing situation by moving inside the neighbourhood instead of moving out. This should generate a more balanced mix of people and also keep the sense of 'belonging'. This sense of belonging to the district for years was a big problem, since the turnover of inhabitants had been very high before. The problem was aggravated as the groups moving in were migrants and the people moving out were locals. The philosophy now is that the creation of a sense of belonging, or local identity, is inter-cultural. This shared identity requires very strong measures when it comes to safety, public space and the creation of economic or social opportunities.

For economic opportunities the availability of sufficient business locations in the neighbourhood together with efforts to stimulate entrepreneurship were mentioned. The

social opportunities are linked to meeting places and joined interests. The Opzoomeren project discussed earlier is a good example how a common interest to clean and improve a street can lead to a stronger community. The schools, both primary and vocational, are very important in linking people in the neighbourhood together (though Kop van Zuid does not yet have a secondary school of its own, and children have to cross the river to get to the best schools).

When asked about the relationship between the inhabitants of the Kop van Zuid project and the Feyenoord district several stakeholders said that that it was impossible to see this as one community, which will probably never happen, since the profile of the inhabitants of the new district differs so much from the original inhabitants. This is not considered to be a big problem though, as long as Feyenoord residents do not feel they are neglected or less important than the new inhabitants.

3.2.3 Education Interviews with the school representatives found that the integration and impact of the new development with the surrounding districts is a major opportunity. The new schools in the district have given the young inhabitants the chance to improve their skills and benefit from better facilities. It also creates a common interest for parents to connect with each other. The school is used as a meeting place for the neighbourhood. The primary school is recognised as having an important social function for the integrations of parents in the two districts. The new vocational schools should provide opportunities for job creation, entrepreneurship and innovation that could benefit the district as a whole.

The schools mentioned that their role was not originally part of the development policy, but the government now sees the potential. This has resulted in the new programme called 'pact op zuid', which is a joined-up initiative of the city government, sub-municipalities, housing corporations and educational institutes in which all the parties co-sign the agreement to join forces to upgrade the South side of the city. Investing in the human potential of vulnerable groups is a key element.

Finally the school representatives agree that this investment is only worthwhile if certain physical and economical conditions are met, such as improved accessibility, new and well designed facilities, and availability of new business locations to make the 'pact op zuid' project successful. A mixed neighbourhood is another prerequisite for successful development, and the past policies of social housing concentration are to be avoided in the future (although care should be taken to not diminish the total social housing stock all together, because a lot of people still depend on it).

4. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS

4.1 Dutch and city context

The Dutch planning system had a long tradition of local autonomy. However local authorities lost their powers during the 1950s, due to extraordinary circumstances. As the nation was in a state of emergency, central government assumed executive powers to allocate funding and implement large-scale projects. After a balance was achieved in housing, local government regained control over development in the 1990s, through the Major Cities Policy.

Local authorities are used to taking a proactive role to planning. Evidence of this can be found in Rotterdam during the 1970s, when a group of politicians was able to pinpoint housing needs in the city, and bring about changes to the planning system. This was also the case during the 1990s and the emergence of the Major Cities Policy, when Mayors of the four major cities in the Netherlands, successfully lobbied for more attention on social problems and more powers to implement the national framework. However, the latter policy came about at a time when market-based approaches to development were at the forefront.

A step by step approach has reinvigorated local authorities' powers since the 1970s, through communication and collaboration between central and local government, as well as other organisations, such as housing associations. The decentralised system has allowed room for flexibility on the part of the municipalities' implementing national policies. Central government draws the guidelines and local authorities implement as they think best fits in with local circumstances. This flexibility can also be a source a creativity, making better use of opportunities in the local context. It also encouraged a more entrepreneurial approach on the part of councillors and district officers.

Another important characteristic of the 'Dutch approach' is their ability to form and work through informal networks. This could be due to the 'polder mentality'. Collaboration of local and central government, as well as with other organisations has been very important in working towards a common good or dealing with a common enemy. This has been usually done in a voluntary way, to allow for changing arrangements in case of an error. Examples include the rejections of well-defined city regions, and the successful formation of partnerships (public-private, public-public).

4.1.1 Regeneration of Kop van Zuid

The story of Kop van Zuid shows how long it takes to turn an area around. Even though extra efforts were put into communication and mutual benefits, the direct economic benefits have been small. Significantly the report of the meeting of European Ministers in Bristol identified the key barrier to progress in the Netherlands as communication skills and being able to negotiate between different interests. This

suggests there may have been strains in the process. For example there are clearly tensions between different racial groups.

Participation rates in the economy of 59% are still relatively low (though it may be better for many mothers to be involved in voluntary work, rather than leaving their children to get poor paying jobs elsewhere). The Integrated Area Approach has been criticised by some as ineffectual, and as it is on top of other responsibilities, may outstrip the capacity of local authorities to manage the process. The different tiers of government create problems too, just as they do in the UK, but with fewer adverse consequences.

However there is no doubt that the regeneration of Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam has turned a redundant port area into an attractive mixed-use area with housing for people with a range of incomes and from a range of backgrounds, plus offices, leisure and educational facilities. At the same time it has connected the regenerated area with the poorer neighbourhoods adjacent to it. Crucially it is opening up a previously closed area, and making connections (both physical and social) between the city centre and the Southern Side of Rotterdam. While the scheme is helping to attract high and middle income groups to come to live and work in Rotterdam, and thus making a valuable contribution to the city's long-term economic strategy, considerable attention has been paid to spreading the benefits to the surrounding low-income areas.



Kop van Zuid can be seen as a success in terms of a public-led mixed-use development that turned around the destiny of a redundant industrial area. It has opened an area for residents from a wider income background and has attempted to contain growth, both economic and residential, within the city borders. Particular lessons for the UK relate to the role played by local authorities. Their capacity to undertake large-scale projects, has been aided by the flexibility allowed by both central and local government through the contractual agreements, and through the efforts put into training staff, and building effective partnerships.

The success of the Kop van Zuid project is the outcome of a series of policies that have evolved since the 1960s. They succeeded in regenerating a derelict area in South Rotterdam, re-imagining the city as a whole, and attracting both employers and employees of the new knowledge-based economy. Although social issues were not tackled directly



until recently, the surrounding residential neighbourhoods, have benefited spin-offs from the regeneration of the old industrial and dock areas.

4.1.2 Lessons Features of the process from which other cities may learn include:

1. Recognising the need for the city to transform its image and appeal in order to compete in a highly competitive global economy.
2. Finding new economic roles to replace lost jobs e.g. logistics, offices.
3. Owning most development land within the public sector.
4. Using an independent “Quality Team” providing development briefs that encourage good quality design.
5. Having clear and agreed visions at the city region, city and neighbourhood levels that apply principles of good urban design, sustainable development, and social cohesion.

4.1.3 Good practices that might be replicated to help vulnerable groups are:

1. Municipal contracts through the Major Cities Policy with the national government to coordinate investment at city and neighbourhood level, and encourage neighbouring authorities to collaborate on integrated programmes for tackling physical, social and economic issues together.
2. Municipal Development Authorities, such as the Rotterdam Development Corporation, to coordinate housing development and transport investment and secure greater leverage from public investment, using municipal property holdings to underpin investment projects.
3. A multi-disciplinary Local Project Office for the project, with physical development and social services coordinated at a neighbourhood or borough level (units of around 70,000 residents) to create balanced communities with well-ordered streets and public spaces.
4. Large not-for-profit housing associations owning most of the housing stock in “old neighbourhoods” to promote neighbourhood renewal and develop more balanced communities, with a mix of tenures.
5. Developing programmes that aim to engage communities in the development process and secure “Mutual Benefit” for existing communities.

6. Maintaining social order and the attractiveness of high density living through good neighbourhood management and a high quality public realm that is clean, tidy and safe.
7. Making housing affordable and flexible through a large not-for-profit social rented sector (now largely privatised), using cross-subsidisation between households with different income levels to secure a mix of incomes within the same neighbourhood or block, and higher levels of public investment in social housing and related infrastructure.

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