

Create, Commutate and Renovate

A case study of the redevelopment of the Havenkwartier in Deventer



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Create, commutate and renovate

My thesis researches the urban (re)development of the Havenkwartier in Deventer. The area near the inner city of Deventer needs to be redeveloped and the municipality of Deventer decided to use an alternative approach of city planning [organic area development] to do so. In the thesis I will embed the approach of organic area development in the current debate of the urban geography; the origin of the alternative approach is interwoven with the criticism on the traditional, dominant and large-scaled urban development of the past decennia and the redevelopment will be based on creating commuting and renovating the existing area. The criticisms on the traditional Dutch planning suit the presumed shift from a positivist and structuralist view on urban planning to the post-modern and post-structuralist view on urban planning. The criticism on contemporary urban development is that it should look beyond just the economic feature of the city and ascribe value to as well the economic as societal developments. Besides that, modern planning should have more attention to the diversity of the city and be more interactive with the citizens of the city. The origin of organic area development after these critiques on urban planning might indicate the alternative approach is an answer to these deficits of the traditional urban planning. What I research in my thesis is to what extent the method of organic area development incorporates the three societal changes in the practical implementation and the initial ideas behind the application of the concept of organic area development. In order to do so I interviewed experts in the field of the Havenkwartier; as well those concerned from the municipality as the initiators of new initiatives in the Havenkwartier. Besides the interviews I looked at documents from the municipality in order to research the intentions of the municipality of the development of the Havenkwartier.

Concluding the research I might argue the intentions of the municipality are to incorporate those societal changes in the development of the Havenkwartier. In the actual implementation, however, the changes in urban development are not as visible as intended. This holds for the more emotional view on the city and the increasing citizen participation in urban development. The required mode of thought to realize the alternative approach is not entirely present, both in the actions of the municipality and the citizens.

1. An introduction to urban planning in the Netherlands

As we speak, seven million square meters of office space are not used in the Netherlands (vastgoedmarkt.nl, 02-07-2013). Not only on the internet is the large number of empty office space an issue; last year the evening news on Dutch national television broadcasted an item on this topic, there has been a cutback in budget for urban development both from the government of Rutte I and the government of Rutte II and a decline in attention of the urban development shown in the abolishment of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment (VROM) (Know, 2012; KEI & NICIS, 2012).

The enormous amount of unused office space awoke my interest in urban planning. Articles in de Volkskrant of June 28th and July 31st of 2012 and in the Volkskrant Magazine of December 1st 2012 strengthened my interests. The first two are about the possibilities of demolishing offices and the arguments for and against; the latter is about alternative use of empty buildings as living space instead of letting them be vacant.

Urban change is a must, not a choice; “Less unoccupied buildings is in the interest of everybody” (Hans de Jonge, 28-7-2012). Why would there be so much unoccupied buildings when new buildings are still built. What happens with these empty buildings and how can the – supposedly – negative situation of decline be turned into a positive one? Questions like these crossed my mind and when I read about how the urban development and housing industry is immobilized by the current economic crisis, I found a suitable subject for my thesis. The current problem of unused office space and the housing market which got stuck are a result of the economic crisis. Studying these problems are highly relevant according to Pacione; ‘the evolution of the capitalist economy is of fundamental significance for urban geography, since each new phase of capitalism involved changes in what was produced, how it was produced and where it was produced’ (Pacione, 2005, p6). In addition to that the problem in the real estate and urban planning industry might indicate the existence of deficits in the current manner of urban planning. The cities in which we live, demand renewal and maintenance of the spaces in the city. Nowadays the renewal of a neighbourhood implies building a new neighbourhood and thus adding whole new areas to the existing city, instead of taking care of the maintenance of the present urban areas. No matter the planning approach, the goal of urban renewal remains the same;

‘In urban renewal of the future, the goal of urban planning remains unaltered; namely maintaining and building attractive, robust and vital regions, cities, districts and neighbourhoods, where people are able to dwell and live as they wish, and are the motor of societal and economic developments’ (free translation of Kei-Nicis, 2012).

When I came across the possibility to gain more in depth knowledge for alternative approaches of urban development by participating in a project of the Architectuur Centrum Nijmegen, I seized the opportunity with both hands and learned more the alternative approach of ‘organic area development’. The Architectuur Centrum Nijmegen facilitated a project in which a group of young professionals wrote an analysis and view on the Waalfront in Nijmegen. The used approach in this project was ‘organic area development’; a method which can be seen as a reaction on recent economic and societal developments; and a method very different in the construction of the process and the participation of both the municipality and the residents of a city than the traditional Dutch planning approach. Is organic area development seen as an alternative approach to traditional planning, regarding the deficits of traditional planning? The implementation of organic area development as a reaction on the societal changes in the field of the value of the city, the increasing diversity and citizen participation, will be the central subject of

my thesis. Is the approach of organic area development an approach which fits our society better than the traditional planning approach? All concepts and definitions will be explained in the theoretical chapter.

1.1 The Dutch system of spatial planning

The Dutch system of spatial planning has been praised for its strategy, integral method and cooperation in international academic planning literature (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000; Bontje, 2003; Roodbol-Mekkes, van der Valk & Korthals Altes, 2012). In this paragraph a short overview will be given on what the Dutch system of planning is, how it came to be and why a shift towards a new method of spatial planning is becoming visible.

1.1.1 Dutch spatial planning in a nutshell

Dutch spatial planning is described as a process of integral and large-scaled planning where planning professionals have a clear goal and an obvious destination. Areas are restructured, not street by street, but at once. The restructuring, or construction, of an area is seen as a project that will be finished at some point; when the planning goals are achieved. As Hajer and Zonneveld (2000) describe the process: 'The traditional Dutch urban development through large-scale complete transformation by means of a blueprint was the commonly used type of urban development and city planning' (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000).

The use of blue prints and large-scale planning contributes to certain uniformity in a neighbourhood. Uniformity, but certainly unity, is a positive effect of Dutch planning (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000); since this provides the same opportunities for all Dutch citizens. A good and healthy living environment, such as housing and public space provides the same point of departure for all residents.

Theoretically the existing planning hierarchy suggests Dutch planning is conducted systematically and includes a strong notion of integrated rationality and definition of goals (Wolsink, 2003). In practice however, Wolsink (2003) states, the planning process is discursive and decisions are made through action based on negotiation between the governmental actors and business concerns. Therefore Dutch planning may be considered collaborative planning. The many actors in the decision making process collaborate in order to develop the area. They all have their interests and by turning the area development into a coproduction the residential areas, work areas and shops, infrastructure, public space and urban green are developed simultaneously as much as possible. The complexity of the process makes many actors have to cooperate and make it a collaborative process (Buitelaar & van der Wouden, 2012).

Last but not least an important characteristic of traditional Dutch spatial planning is the strict division between the development of an area and the maintenance of an area. The area will be developed and constructed at first and when the area is finished the maintenance of the area comes in sight. To keep houses, streets and public space in good condition the maintenance is done through major repairs based on the thought neighbourhoods and areas are finished when they are built. When a building, street or even a neighbourhood is designed and built, the areas are left as they were delivered until thorough renovations or restructuring are done. The building, street or neighbourhood disappeared from the mind of the planners, while in the mean time people are living the places and even change the functions planners gave them (Schutten, 2012). This approach contradicts with the rising thought neighbourhoods need continuous attention, even when the construction phase is finished.

1.1.2 The goals of Dutch city planning

Summing up the stated above; large-scaled and complete transformations of areas have to make sure the goals of the government – national, regional en municipal – are executed. The planning goals, however, have changed over time. When we look city renewal in the Netherlands, the goals and therefore the approach of city renewal have changed.

At first, during the sixties of the previous century, the government tried to discourage the selective migration from cities through a balanced approach. Housing shortage increased the demand for houses and after WOII city expansion was necessary. Municipalities tried to renew the housing in their cities by clearing them from miserable hovels. Therefore many houses have been demolished and new ones were rebuilt on the same places. At the same time the new neighbourhoods were adjusted to the changing needs of residents, such as a good infrastructure and enough parking places for the rising number of car owners. To anticipate on the mobility facilities and housing, neighbourhoods were integrally developed, the infrastructure, housing, public space and public green, that is. The focus was on city expansion Faludi and van der Valk state 'Systematic town extension is best served by expert making and politicians subsequently approving, binding plans. This led to a new system replacing the Amsterdam planning system of Liberal persuasion based on negotiations. Dutch planning has been styled on these lines of systematic town extension ever since, with blue print planning never far below the surface' (Faludi & van der Valk, 1994).

During the seventies of the 20th century the planning goal changed from city expansion to urban renewal. With the practice 'building for the neighbourhood' ('bouwen voor de buurt') the emphasis shifted from an integrated approach with many sorts of developments at the same time to an approach that was merely focused on housing. Not the construction of new neighbourhoods, but the redevelopment of the existing neighbourhoods. Rebuilding houses which were below the Dutch housing standards in existing neighbourhoods and not necessarily building a complete new neighbourhood is what 'building for the neighbourhood' is all about. This is done in dialogue with the residents of the neighbourhood, for they wanted to stay in their neighbourhood.

From the nineties of the 20th century on the emphasis shifted from rebuilding to the discouragement of segregation. The engineering arrears are less the incentive to build and rebuild a neighbourhood, the more are contemporary and expected problems with the market value of housing or problems with the residential area and residential composition. To create a good quality of life neighbourhoods are differentiated by residential composition, housing and living environment. 'The (wish to) social ascent of residents should be central' (free translation; the VROM-raad, 2006 in: Schuiling, 2007). Residents usually experience social ascent through four ways: education, labour market, housing market and leisure time. To keep the social capital in the neighbourhoods, instead of letting the rising class migrate to other neighbourhoods or even cities, elements have to be added on these four matters.

The process of large-scale development can be seen in the Netherlands in the postwar redevelopment and later on in the development of the VINEXlocations (Buitelaar & van der Wouden, 2012).

The large-scale characteristic has had a self strengthening effect on the planning process; municipalities became more active in their ground policies and preferred to collaborate with large housing corporations and property developers (Buitelaar & van der Wouden, 2012). Municipalities bought wastelands or undeveloped grounds on which they would invest, together with housing corporations and property developers, to develop neighbourhoods. The process is based on the relative scarcity of building land and the promise of increasing economic growth. Since the actors in this process all rely on the increasing value of the grounds they bought or in which they have invested. For municipalities one of the most important ways – or perhaps the only way – to earn money is the investment in selling the land they bought, relying on the increasing value of the land. This process relies on a continuous growth of the economy, after all the value of the land increases with the growth of the economy. Besides the increase of the land price, the large-scale construction of private residences also relies on the ability of people to buy and sell their house; an activity that coheres strongly with the growth of the economy.

1.1.3 A changing planning doctrine

As seen in the section above, the goals of urban renewal have changed over time. The large-scaled approach, however, stayed. This approach has been part of the Dutch planning doctrine. Roodbol-Mekkes, van der Valk & Korthals Altes (2012) describe the planning principles together with the principle of spatial organization as the planning doctrine. The concept of the planning doctrine may serve as an analytical tool to conceptualize the ideas of good planning and its performance that guide planning practice in a specific context (Roodbol-Mekkes, van der Valk & Korthals Altes, 2012). The two dimensions interrelate and influence each other. They are not only about the planning practice but also about the set of concepts and ideas about good planning, the actors and the patterns of consensus. Although a planning doctrine is a concept that comes into existence over time – the public space changes slowly after all – and should be stable to provide a basis for the planning principles and principles of spatial organisation, the doctrines can change. ‘Political preferences, economic conditions, and scientific knowledge develop and change over the years, as does society’ (Roodbol-Mekkes, van der Valk & Korthals Altes, 2012, p 380).

In the article of Roodbol-Mekkes et al (2012) two types of doctrine change are described. On the one hand a radical, revolutionary change is described; the working methods, concepts, organisation and skills change suddenly and radically. On the other hand the evolutionary change of a doctrine is described; the concepts, principles, skills, organization and agencies change gradually.

Although the Dutch planning system is praised on international level because of its organized and well thought-out look – that is, a huge quality of the traditional manner of planning; coherence among the different components is created; for example, the public space, the urban green and the housing type, e.g. family homes, can be attuned to one another – critique is rising. In the recent decades several developments have changed the composition of the planning community and the knowledge requirements. Project developers – and other market players – gained a more prominent role in the planning community. Also market finance has replaced the government funding in many cases. Overall the process of the hierarchical implementation of programs has been increasingly dominated by the market (Roodbol-Mekkes, van der Valk & Korthals Altes, 2012). Dutch spatial planning is undergoing fundamental but gradual change, leaving intact principles such as concentration of urbanization, spatial cohesion, spatial differentiation and spatial hierarchy (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000; Roodbol-Mekkes, van der Valk & Korthals Altes, 2012).

Despite the fact that changes in the planning doctrine indicate an adjustment to changes in political preferences, economic conditions and scientific knowledge, the critique on planning is growing. Critique on Dutch planning in general and on national planning in particular.

The first point of critique is the many responsible levels in the Dutch planning principles. There has been a shift in the level on which planning decisions are made; more and more responsibility is transferred from national level to municipal level. The shift of decision-making results in the following: on national level key decisions are taken and goals are formulated, on provincial level regional plans are constructed and on municipal level structure plans are made. Planning is ineffective and slow. Spatial planning on this many levels may cause a situation where people are talking at cross purposes (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000; Roodbol-Mekkes, van der Valk & Korthals Altes, 2012). Not only the potential misunderstandings or different agendas of the governmental levels result in critique on the many responsible governmental levels, also the idea that national programs are applicable to all sorts of municipal areas in the Netherlands, is superseded (KEI & NICIS, 2012 p. 5). This approach ignores the complexity of the city and reduces it to an interchangeable concept. The characteristics of the area are reduced to the minimum and only the sameness of places used to develop cities in the same manner.

The second point of critique contains the involvement of the residents. According to Schuiling (2007) the participation of residents became a routine in the eighties and nineties but 'the enthusiasm diminished with the residents' (free translation; Schuiling 2007). Schuiling states the residents are not as willing to participate in the decision-making process as they were in the eighties. On the contrary KEI & NICIS (2012, p. 14) state the traditional Dutch approach has a strong linear top-down character and there is no room for 'interactive decision-making'. The government aims on realizing its ambitions instead of listening to what successful entrepreneurs want and which obstacles are standing in their way to get there. Hajer and Zonneveld (2000) make a statement in line with KEI & NICIS. They state: 'The capacity of the existing institutional arrangements falls short to accommodate the demand for discursive exchange with societal actors' (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000 p. 349).

Third, the traditional Dutch approach requires a certain order in developing neighbourhoods: at first the building and real development is done and then the houses and public space are maintained in the same condition. The maintenance is done, based on major repairs. Thus the houses or infrastructure of the entire neighbourhood are reconstructed – or maintained – at the same time. This results in very well-maintained houses and public space (KEI & NICIS rapport of 2012, p. 25). However, the neighbourhoods remain static, they do not adapt to societal changes because they are not developed further – only superficial and major maintenance is done – once the neighbourhood is made a living area. The neighbourhood is not thought of as a part of a city that needs continuous attention and maintenance instead of major repair every once in a while. The static neighbourhood also leads to a neighbourhood that does not adjust gradually to societal changes. The only changes to the neighbourhood are made at major maintenance projects.

The fourth point of critique is that because of the large-scale and comprehensive integrated approach the pitfall of the Dutch approach is the composition of the neighbourhood is already outdated when the project is finished in 15 or 30 years (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000). In other words the neighbourhood does not anticipate on societal changes and perhaps changes in wishes to the living conditions.

1.2 An alternative approach in urban planning?

Alternative approaches in Dutch urban planning have not been needed for a long time. The Dutch planning was internationally praised for a long time (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000) and the system was fruitful regarding the production of space in the Netherlands. Public space in the Netherlands is well-maintained, the same holds for the maintenance of housing. The large-scaled production of the everyday living environment intended to provide equal chances for citizens.

However, the four points of critique stated above might indicate the turn to a different route in planning. The first studies on the alternative approach organic area development and other alternative approaches of urban development have been written (e.g. PBL, 2012; Kei-Nicis, 2010 & 2012, Urban Urban Design, 2012; Schutten, 2012). Those publications are mainly about the practical implementation and whether organic area development is possible within our current system of legal terms.

The description of organic area development and the practical implementation contributes to the existing theories in planning and urban geography, since the description proposes new developments in urban planning and the approach is relatively new and unknown. According to Knox and Pinch (2000, p. 9) the spatial organization influences society and the individuals in it:

'While not necessarily the dominant factor in shaping patterns of social interaction, spatial organization is undeniably important as a determinant of social networks, friendships and marriages. Similarly, territoriality is frequently the basis for the development of distinctive social

milieux which, as well as being of interest in themselves, are important because of their capacity to mould the attitudes and shape the behaviour of their inhabitants.' (Knox & Pinch, 2000, p9)

Therefore the description and embedding of a new approach to urban planning is of enormous value to the understanding of contemporary society. In addition to that the subject of this thesis describes and positions organic area development in a broader and perhaps even more sociological perspective by reflecting on organic area development as a reaction on three societal changes and to what extent organic area development incorporates the societal changes of 'an emotional view on the city', 'the increasing diversity in the city' and 'increasing citizen participation'. This thesis adds to the discussion about alternative approaches in planning by providing a case study of the implementation of organic area development in the Havenkwartier in Deventer and to research to what extent the approach of urban development answers the gap between planning and society arose by the societal change stated above.

The number of people living in cities is still rising; the majority of the world-population is even already living in a city (Fred Pearce, 29-10-2011). Glaeser even states cities are the places where the educated give birth to new ideas leading to the advancement of humanity (Glaeser, 2011). Combining these statements with the idea spatial organization and the territoriality influence the behaviour of individuals, the development of urban planning is of interest to both those concerned in the behaviour of people and those interested in urban development in the physical and practical way. Thus both scientific and practical knowledge can be derived from this thesis.

First, the description of organic area development places the current developments in the urban geographic theoretical framework. The connection between planning theory and the major societal changes provides an up to date view of planning in the Netherlands. This thesis contributes to the current scientific debate on urban planning; positions itself in the debate opposed to the traditional Dutch planning and in favour of creative and alternative planning.

Second, linking scientific theory and the case study of the Havenkwartier can provide valuable insights for those executing the urban development and those expecting things from urban development in the Netherlands. The practical relevance of this thesis regards the implementation of organic area development. The presumption used and researched in this thesis is that societal changes influence urban planning. The practical implementation of organic area development in the Havenkwartier in Deventer might diverge from the theoretical expectations derived from the social changes, from the intentions of the municipality or the expectations of the city dwellers. The output might help to realize, shape and polish the new development of organic area development and places the knowledge about organic area development in perspective. It might even help to uncover potential deficits in the new approach by detecting a gap between the practical realization of the approach and the initial ideas and expectations. Knowing this gap might be relevant for those executing urban developments, whether they are municipal or dwellers.

1.3 Research goal and question

As stated briefly above, this thesis provides a case study of the implementation of organic area development in the Havenkwartier Deventer. In this case study I will research the intentions of the municipality of Deventer in the development of the Havenkwartier and the actual incorporation of the three societal changes in the implementation of organic area development in the Havenkwartier. Critique on the current urban development might lead to new ideas on urban development, I try to research whether there is a gap between the ideas and critique and the actual implementation of the concept. As well in the intentions of the municipality as in the actual implementation of the approach in the Havenkwartier.

The outcome of this thesis might be interesting for projects with the same intentions and ambitions and for scholars interested in alternative methods of urban planning.

Taking the stated above in consideration the research question of this thesis is:

To what extent has the method of organic area development incorporated the more emotional view on the city, the increasing diversity in the city and the increasing citizen participation the city in the practical implementation and the initial ideas behind the urban development of the Havenkwartier?

After the introduction the theory chapter will describe the societal changes which indicate deficits in the coherence between societal developments and urban planning and those embedded in the current debate of the urban geography literature. In the methodological chapter I will explain my choice for the Havenkwartier as a case and the operationalisation of the concepts 'organic area development', 'traditional Dutch planning', 'an emotional view on the city', 'increasing diversity in the city' and 'increasing citizen participation in urban development'. In the empirical chapter my case is described. In the analytical chapter the three societal changes are compared to the implementation of organic area development in the Havenkwartier. And in the conclusion I describe what this means for the theories I used in the theory chapter.

2. The shift to a new approach in city planning?

In the theoretical chapter I will describe the current debate in urban geography and try to embed and place organic area development in this debate. In order to do so, first the shift to a new approach in city planning is described by elaborating on the changing conceptions in space and place, the criticism on the Dutch traditional planning embedded in the conceptions of space and place and the theory of new strategies in urban development. Second the alternative approach in urban development – organic area development – is described in the paragraph a new strategy in urban development. The final paragraph of this chapter will describe the research expectations.

Combining the critique on large-scale and integrated planning and a gradual shift in planning doctrine as described in the above indicate a shift to a new approach in city planning. The critique on the Dutch planning approach can be embedded in a conceptual change in thinking about space and spatial planning and a broader spectrum of critique on planning. This paragraph describes successively a shift in the conceptions of space and place in spatial planning, criticism on the Dutch planning embedded in the changing conceptions of space and place, theories of new strategies in urban planning and a new approach of urban planning.

There has been a shift in the conceptions of space and place in spatial thinking; broadly speaking the conceptions of space and place changed from positivism and structuralism in spatial thinking to post-modernism and post-structuralism.

The three main points of critique of urban planning, and therefore necessitating new urban theory are the lack of emotional view on the city, increasing diversity in the city and changing relations between the government and citizens. The planning approach 'organic area development' tries to incorporate these criticisms in urban planning. An approach in which citizens and bottom-up planning are important, the cultural diversity is stressed and planning is seen as a process not as a project.

2.1 Conceptions of space and place in strategic planning

The conceptions of space and place in strategic planning are not fixed, they change over time. Within the discipline of geography the late 1950's were marked by the emergence of positivist spatial planning, this approach challenged the earlier 'empirico-physical' conception of space (Hubbard et al. 2004). The positivist spatial planning reached planning in the 1960's, having its widest influence on planning thought in the first half of the 1970's. The paradigm shift is founded upon two distinct theories: 'the systems view of cities and the perception of planning as a "rational process" of decision making' (Davoudi & Strange, 2009, p.20). In practice the positivist planning holds a view of the visionary planner, the planner with a birds view from above. 'Space was seen as a neutral container, a blank canvas that is filled with human activity' (Hubbard et al. 2004). Positivist spatial planning contains an absolute view of space in which the social world must be explained and the causes of human behaviour should be found. For space was seen as a neutral container, planning can be arranged. However positivist planning is evidence based – surveys are conducted before plans are made (Davoudi & Strange, 2009).

The introduction of structuralism in spatial planning was largely through structuralist Marxism. From the mid 1970's geographers and sociologists as Lefebvre (1991), Massey (1984) and Castells (1977) applied a Marxist analysis to space and structural reading on the city. Applying a structuralist view of planning on the city means: 'Within social sciences, structuralists search for hidden structures and forces, whether psychological or social, which are seen as determinant of human behaviour' (Davoudi & Strange, p.27). The influence of Marxism into planning resulted in the view that planning and the state were considered as an integral part of the political economic context of liberal capitalism. Planning was

necessary to the ruling class in order to facilitate [capital] accumulation and maintain social control in the class conflict. For spatial planning this meant the urban policy changed from 'blaming the victim' to 'urban problems'; searching for structural explanations of deprivation.

Since structuralists conceptualize space as socially produced and consumed within the wider capitalist political economy, the social world must be understood from within by seeking the meaning of action. Understanding society and class differences through the meaning of action was a new conception of space. In planning practice this lead sometimes to the initiation of bottom-up initiatives; however in general the planner continued, at least implicitly, the logical positivism. Even though structuralist have a relational view of space, opposed to positivists who see space as a blank canvas that is filled with human activity.

The gradual change from an absolute view of space to a relational and socially constructed space leads to a relational geography based on "multiple geographies of affiliation, linkage and flow" (Amin, 2004:38 in: Davoudi & Strange, 2009, p.36). As Davoudi and Strange state 'We agree with those commentators who suggest that things have changed in economic, social, cultural and political relations that is suggestive of some form of transition to being in "post" modern or "new times"' (Davoudi & Strange, 2009:33). Post-modern or post-structuralist geography focuses on the thought that power is no longer resided in 'institutions or the economy but ... instead in codes, simulations and the media' (Holt-Jenson, 1999: 133 in: Davoudi & Strange, 2009). It suggests space is constructed not of structures but of relations. Cities and regions are seen as 'sites of heterogeneity juxtaposed within close spatial proximity' (Amin, 2004:38 in: Davoudi & Strange, 2009). According to post-structuralists the world is being fixed through language. Language, however, is constantly changing and unstable, leading to different understandings and influences of language: discourses. Therefore the meaning and influence of language is worth researching. The shared belief or premise is that all forms of representation have shared meanings or discourses, and that these discourses 'shape and create the world through the underlying assumptions ... that they incorporate' (Knox & Pinch, 2000:5). In human geography the analysis of 'culture' can be seen as the key aspect of post-structuralist work.

The work of Dusty and Soja brings the relevance of post-structuralism for interpreting urban life and structures. Their work focuses on space and place as culturally produced, bringing with recognition of the interaction of the material and discursive constructions of space and place. (Davoudi & Strange, 2009:35). The relationship between space and place knows two strands in the debate: the space of flows and the space of place (Castells, 1996). 'The first one is centered on global homogeneity – the global space of flows undermining local ways of life and place identity as a consequence of the logic of capital accumulation. The second asserts that places become more important in a period of globalization through the identification of their local specificity and distinctiveness; as such, history, culture and environment become "crucial in perpetuating capital accumulation"(Hubbard et al. 2004:9)' (Davoudi & Strange, 2009:35). The stated above implies the recognition of the *constant making and remaking* of space and place. Since space and place are discursively constructed and language constantly changing and unstable.

When space is constantly made and remade, the influence of language and culture and the emphasis on space as a rational construct, differences in urban planning occur. Planning is characterized as a product of modernity. 'It is argued that post-structuralism and its relational concepts of spatiality put the emphasis on fluidity, reflexivity, contingency, connectivity, multiplicity and polyvocality' (Davoudi & Strange, 2009:37). For Dear (1986) the discourse in the future could be that of an 'evolving postmodern hyperspace' in which the planning role is reduced to that of facilitator.

The areas in which post-modern planning might be concerned are; a growing interest in participatory planning, the search for place identity and cultural specificity, an appreciation of the historicity of places and the turn to heritage, the primacy of mixed and flexible land use, and a return to the

human scale, urban compactness and high-density development. Scale would be seen in terms of interconnections; an overlapping network with continuous flows of people, resources and knowledge. The role of the planner in a post-modern perspective might be a 'collaborative planning' through discursive deliberation (Healy, 1997).

Summing up, Simin Davoudi and Ian Strange describe the change of the conceptions of space and place from a positivist and structuralist way of planning to a post-structuralist and post-modernist way of planning. However not at all the same, positivists and structuralists both rely on a top-down method of planning and are characterized by the belief of discovering the 'truth' about human behaviour and social action. Therefore planners from both schools try to steer society in the desired direction. The shift to post-modernism and post-structuralism shows a growing emphasis on the 'time of everyday life'; a growing interest in participatory planning; the search for place identity and cultural specificity; an appreciation of the historicity of places and the turn to heritage; the primacy of mixed and flexible land use; and a return to the human scale, urban compactness and high-density development (Davoudi & Strange, 2009).

2.2 Criticism on traditional Dutch planning embedded in new conceptions of space and place

In the first paragraph of this chapter critique was given on the traditional Dutch planning approach, these points of critique can be embedded in the conceptions of space and place as described by Davoudi and Strange (2009).

When we look at the four points of critique, the concept of future has changed within positivist and post-structuralist and post-modern conceptions of space and place. In positivism the future is capable of being forecasted, predicted, achieved as planned for and is the future as known and ordered. In post-structuralism and post-modernism however, the future is paddled with uncertainties and risks, emergent in unexpected ways and is the future unknown and disordered. These assumptions are both in the extreme, on the one hand a predictable and controllable future and on the other hand an unknown and risky future. The critique that the design of a neighbourhood is probably outdated when the neighbourhood is finished in fifteen, twenty or even thirty years indicates however that the conception of the future changes from a predictable future, positivist, that is, to an uncertain future, post-modernist, that is. The same holds for the assumption that neighbourhoods need continuous attention and adjustment when they become a 'lived space' and when their future is changeable and the outcome not fixed.

Besides the 'concept of future', the treatment of time has changed as well. In the positivist concept time is seen as linear and time order. In the post-structuralist and post-modernist concept time is seen as 'present', real time and the importance of the everyday is stressed. Hubbard states: 'Everyday life in cities, after all, something that cannot be adequately prepared for: no matter how carefully scripted, urban life has the tendency to surprise, and we are constantly forced to improvise and adapt to events as they unfold around us' (Hubbard, 2006, p 95). The shift to the emphasis on the continuous attention for neighbourhoods can be linked to a change in the concept of time. The emphasis on the everyday life and the fact that elements in neighbourhoods will be used differently than scripted through time, acknowledges after all time and the 'time of the everyday life' has its influence on the design of a neighbourhood. Continuous attention and adjustment moves to a different concept of time.

Not only in the contents of spatial strategies have changes occurred between the positivist, structuralist and post structuralist/post modernist conceptions, also in the processes of spatial strategies. The methods of engagement are different in the degree to which they consult the residents of an area; positivists use top-down tokenistic consultation, structuralists normally use a public inquiry and in the post-structuralist and post-modernist conception 'discursive deliberation' is used. The critique on the traditional

Dutch planning system about the lack of involvement of the residents can be embedded in the discussion on the methods of engagement. The different conceptions all show a different engagement and participation of the residents, the trend towards more participation and engagement is visible in the conceptions. Critique on the lack of it points out the thoughts are changing. The positivist approach, the top-down approach that is, is slowly disappearing. However whether the structuralist or post-structuralist approach is pursuit is not unambiguous. Both concepts imply involvement and participation of residents. The critique on traditional planning that residents are not heard and don't have any power to decide is heard more often than the critique that the enthusiasm of residents to participate, has decreased (Schuiling, 2007). The presence of both points of critique might indicate a gradual shift in the conception of space and place, not an already changed fact.

Last but certainly not least, there has been a shift in the institutional structures, governance and power relations. Positivists see planning as hierarchical and a formal government system. In the post-structuralist and post-modernist view governance is a matter of multi-level governance generation power to enable private and public action. Also in this matter the shift from positivism to post-structuralism is not radically taking place, but it might shift gradually. The many levels of decision making within governmental structures are talking at cross purposes, has been the critique stated above. However, this means, the hierarchical system has already slowly shifted to a multi-level decision making process. The fact that critique is given, shows the positivist conception of space and place still has some ground. When decisions are made hierarchically, the critique was not applicable after all.

2.3 Theory of new strategies in urban development

This paragraph describes successively why the current common process of urban planning is outdated and what should be done in urban planning instead. Sandercock, Fainstein, Castells, NICIS and Uitermark argue urban planning has to change in order to fit to contemporary society. As Sandercock states: 'new modes of thought and new practices are needed to shift what once was considered as natural, some of the outmoded assumptions embedded in the culture of Western planning' (Sandercock, 2004). All authors above initiate and add new modes of thought and new practices to the thought about urban planning.

2.3.1 An emotional view on the city

Sandercock and Fainstein argue for a more emotional and justified view of the city, opposed to the rational and competitive view of the city. Sandercock (2004) states: 'I propose a different sensibility from the regulatory planning that dominated the 20th-century practice [...] a sensibility that can help the citizens wrest new possibilities from space and collectively forge new hybrid cultures and places'. She argues a city in which emotional and political economies are both valued equally, the same holds for the senses of the city and the censuses of the city, the soft-wired desires and hard-wired infrastructure, the ludic and the productive spaces and finally that people are as curious about the spirit of place as they are critical of the capitalist excesses. In other words, Sandercock argues in favour of quality instead of quantity and away from economy- and growth-thinking towards an emphasis on the more 'soft-wired' and 'emotional' side of the city. The city and the space in which the city is situated are not only to be seen as places to make profit and rational decisions, but also as places that contain emotional value. According to Susan Fainstein the emphasis in the traditional planning approach is too much on 'competitiveness and the dominance in policy making [...] aims at reducing government intervention and enabling market processes' (Fainstein, 2012 p. 8). She makes justice the first evaluative criterion used in policy making; hereby she creates a normative framework promoting 'the just city', in which justice stands for 'encompassing equity, democracy and diversity' and the just city is 'a city in which public investment and regulation would produce equitable

outcomes rather than support those already well off' (Fainstein, 2012 p.3). Putting the emphasis on justice or treat emotional economy equally with efficiency is a new manner of looking into policy making and urban development.

2.3.2 Increasing diversity in the city

Besides the argument of Sandercock and Fainstein that the city must be seen in a more emotional manner, the urban planning should be adjusted to the new urban condition of plurality, otherness, diversity and difference (Sandercock, 2007). Both Castells and Sandercock argue the contemporary society has increased in diversity and urban planning should adapt itself to those circumstances. 'I see planning as an always unfinished social project whose task is managing our coexistence in the shared spaces of cities and neighbourhoods in such a way to enrich human life and to work for social, cultural, and environmental justice. This social project has an imperfect past and an uncertain future, but as an enduring project, planning needs to come to terms with the social realities [...]: a new urban condition in which difference, otherness, diversity, and plurality prevail' (Sandercock, 2007). Castells (1977, 1996) argues 'the newest urban sociology' describes the transformation of cities in the information age is organized around three axes. First, cities organize around global and local processes at the same time. Dominant processes in the economy, media, technology and institutionalized authority are organized in global networks. However, the everyday life takes place in essential local spheres. On the one hand a gap between the local and the global exist and on the other hand the two are interwoven and influenced by the other. Second, the increasing tension between individuals and communes; the city as the place for many communes, but at the same time a place where many individuals are forced to live together, the increasing individuality stresses on the social system of the city. And Third, a tension exists between the space of flows, a network of electronically linked separate places that is, and the space of place, putting the emphasis on the locality of the place that is.

An example of the intertwined friction and influence of the global dominant process of economy and the local everyday life is the influence of the economic crisis on urban planning. The local [municipal] urban planning policy was aimed at large scale projects arranged by municipalities. In order to earn money the municipality bought much building land, prepared the land until it was ready to build on and then sold the land with profit. This mechanism is build upon the thought of on-going economic growth and increasing land prices. However, when the crisis struck the municipality has the ownership of much land and they are saddled with the land because people are either not able to buy the land, nor are they prepared to take the responsibility. The economic losses of the municipality [since they have no income but still pay interest on the land they own] have implications for the future approach in the urban development. For the everyday life this implies building projects are stopped; houses are not being sold (since people are not interested to buy a house in times of economic crisis) or there is no project developer to finance the project (Buitelaar, E., Feenstra, S., Galle, M., Lekkerkerker, J., Sorel, N. & Tennekes, J, 2012).

The three arguments stated above describe the transformation of cities in the information age. According to Castells they are the key elements to social-spatial change. With the change of the function, meaning and form of the cities belongs a diverse culture, a dominant culture is no longer present because only global media have the power to send dominant messages and they reproduce rather a cultural and personal diversity than a common set of values. 'The nostalgia of the public domain will not countervail the structural trends toward diversity, specification, and individualization of life, work, space, and communication, both face to face and electronic' (Castells, 2000).

Here Castells and Sandercock come together; they both argue the contemporary society heads toward more diversity. KEI & NICIS (2012) states the same for the contemporary Dutch society; the image

of the Dutch society starts to change. The social diversity within areas [and between groups] increases in variation. With the coming and going of migrants and the increasing number of sub-cultures the NICIS even states the term 'hyper diversity' is appropriated (KEI & NICIS, 2012). However, not only the social diversity is changing the demography of the Dutch society, the demography is also changing rapidly. The expectation of an on-going economic growth starts to crumble, so has the expectation of the on-going growth of the population. Increasing differences between areas are observed; some areas are dealing with a constant growth in population, others deal with a constant decline in population. The change of the population demands a different view on urban planning.

A change in diversity and a change in demography change the expectations of the living environment (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000). Due to the network society the consumption of space by individuals has shifted from a mostly quantitative search for housing, work and recreation to a 'complex and diverse search for high quality locations' (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000). A cultural and demographic diverse society demands a very complex and diverse search for high quality locations. Citizens expect their direct surroundings to fulfill their needs and wishes. However, the needs and wishes are constantly and quickly changing as they constantly receive new and 'fresh' information, stimuli and challenges. Therefore the expectations of the neighbourhood are changing. An increasing diverse culture and therefore an increasing diverse life course, leads to many different lives and many expectations of the residential area. As Castells states; 'Patterns of residence, transportation, shopping, education, and recreation evolve to adjust to the multidirectionality of individual needs that have to share household needs' (Castells, 2000).

The stated above has argued so far the contemporary society becomes more and more diverse. However, counter-arguments are also present. Since the beginning of the industrial society, technological innovations succeed each other fast; electricity at home, cars and the internet. Most of them are examples of developments that influence people in their daily lives. Even though most technological innovations are developed for the benefit of people, not all scholars regard them as sheer positive. Some scholars (e.g. Berman, Castells & Lefebvre) call technology the 'cold' destroyer of authentic places. 'The implication here is that the city is constantly redeveloped to "keep-up" with the ever-accelerating pace of life, and to accommodate new communication technologies. Each time this occurs some things are lost forever. [...] some dwellers may "resist" the onset of new technologies, most [people] become more-or-less willing participants in technological innovation' (Hubbard, 2006:140). The world-wide technology boost and the world consisting of information flows (Castells, 1996), the constant exchange of information and knowledge between people that is, might uniform places. Cities, and therefore people, are adjusting to technological development, regardless of the city or place. This means the authenticity of places might decline and places all over the world might start to diverge in culture. The phenomenon of places all over the world looking the same is in social sciences called the 'McDonaldization of society' (Ritzer, 1993 in: Ultee, Arts & Flap, 2003). A McDonalds in China looks in general the same as the McDonalds in France, while the cultures, and thus the 'authenticity' of the places, are very different. On the one hand the McDonaldization of society and the space of flows might uniform cities. On the other hand the emphasis on the space of place and 'authenticity' of places increase the diversity of culture.

The space of flows and the space of place are processes intertwined and processes, which can coexist in the same society. The McDonaldization of society however, might exist simultaneously with the space of flows and the space of place. Norris and Inglehart (2009) state the McDonaldization is on its return. They ask the question to what extent cosmopolitan [global] identity has replaced the national and local identity. The access to information and the influence of information is not questioned: 'Many societies have experienced a flood of information from diverse channels originating far beyond local communities and even national borders, transmitted through the rapid expansion of access to mass communications.

This is a core component of the broader phenomenon of globalization' (Norris & Inglehart, 2009). Nevertheless Inglehart and Norris state cultures are resilient in times of globalization; the loss of individuality or authenticity of places is compensated by the increasing emphasis on the authenticity of local places. The mass protests against meetings of the WTO, IMF and G-8 and for example the rise of the 'slow food movement' 'indicate that local and national identities have not faded away, and may even have resurfaced with new vigor in a reaction against globalization' (Norris & Inglehart, 2009). Juxtaposed to the 'slow food movement' there is also the 'slow city movement'. According to Knox (2005) the slow city movement pleads for local products and local culture: 'the more universal the diffusion of material culture and lifestyles, the more local and ethnic identities are valued. The faster the information highway takes people into cyberspace, the more they feel the need for a subjective setting—a specific place or community—they can call their own' (Knox, 2005).

2.3.3 Increasing citizen participation in the city

Third, besides a more emotional view of the city and an increasingly diverse city, another trend is going on in the city: active citizenship is growing. The national government, municipalities as well as citizens themselves demand more participation and responsibility of citizens in the everyday life and in decision making processes. More and more responsibility is shifted from the national government and municipalities to citizens (Tonkens, 2008). The expectation of active citizenship from the government and the expectations of citizens are two different sides of the same trend.

On the one hand the government expects more involvement and participation from citizens in the decision-making process; they put more responsibility in the hands of citizens. For example in health care; citizens become responsible for taking care of the little assistance they need such as housekeeping. The responsibility is shifting to volunteer aid of family or neighbours instead of the government. The shift in health care policy alone stresses on the relationship with your neighbours and puts pressure on citizens, thus when more responsibility is expected in more policy fields the pressure and responsibility accumulate. However, not only in health care, but also in urban planning the shift of responsibility and the ability to manage oneself, is taking place. The moral solution is put at the citizens (Tonkens, 2008). The government expects active citizenship is the solution to four major problems in de Dutch society: the lack of social cohesion between several communities; consumerist and antisocial behaviour; social exclusion; and the gap between the citizen and the government (Tonkens, 2008). Therefore many municipalities think about the influence of citizens on the design and maintenance of their neighbourhood and the increase of active citizenship and citizen participation are often seen as an inevitable development (Nicis, 2010: 12). The Government increasingly expects of citizens they participate in decisions on public space such as the maintenance of urban green.

On the other hand citizens become more independent and responsible and they demand an opportunity to participate. They slowly become more and more enthusiastic Do-it-Yourselfers (DIY) and try to solve social problems themselves (Nicis, 2010:22; Boyte, 2004; Bang & Sørensen, 1999, 2001). Inglehart (1997) states industrialized countries in the end all have to deal with the phenomenon that citizens are less compliant in doing as they are told, and tell their governments what to do. In line with the rise of the enthusiastic DIY'ers, is the increasing number of occasions where citizens ventilate their opinion on everything in their daily lives; e.g. through tv-programmes and twitter. They expect [and to a certain extent even demand] to be heard and thus to be involved. In all sorts of fields the change in expectations arises. Citizens want to ventilate their opinion and co-decide on the future plan of their everyday environment. 'The design of society also happens in other places and ways, driven by other people' [than the official politics and politic decision-making] (free translation; Nicis, 2010:11). Applied on residential areas and

neighbourhoods this implies: 'The citizens of a city and region demand more involvement and authority in their everyday environment. The degree to which living and the everyday environment is professionalized, starts to pall on the citizens' (free translation; Nicis, 2012:5). Almost all decisions are made by professionals and citizens themselves do not make any contribution to their neighbourhood.

The two described trends above – as well the shift of responsibility from the government to citizens initiated by the government as well as the shift initiated by citizens – and the economic crisis lead to an impasse of the development of the everyday environment. The impasse leads to a new citizenship discourse; the ideal of voluntary citizenship. Here the citizens have more influence through voluntary participation. The discourse of the voluntary citizenship has already started. Uitermark (2012) names the website 'Wikipedia' as the paradigmatic example. Such Open and Collaborative Platforms (OCP's) represent a new ethic of collaboration in which the regulations of the market and the compulsion of the state become redundant (Uitermark, 2012). Where people at first thought these platforms would end in chaos, it turns out to work and people add valuable information to the site and collaborate active on collective goods.

The new ethic of collaboration implies self organization by citizens. Self organization – or in other words, demanding of citizens they solve problems themselves – is not the same as participating in procedures initiated by the government. Shifting responsibility from the government to citizens does not imply participation only but to a certain extent also self organization. Schinkel (2012) states the government should be aware of the difference. An important characteristic is that self organization does not always lead to solutions that are optimal according to the government. Self organization is not as efficient as governments wish it to be. The new ethic of collaboration reveals itself particularly in the growth of self organization, urban planning is also influenced by this new ethic of collaboration.

2.4 New strategy in urban development

In the paragraph above, three main developments in society [the time for a more emotional view at the city, more diversity in the city and more participation of citizens] indicate a shift to a new strategy in urban planning. A planning which should be concentrated more on those three shifts in society. Sandercock (2004) therefore proposes four qualities that might contribute to a new planning culture; as a planner be political, dare to break the rules, be creative and develop a more 'therapeutic' approach to urban conflicts.

First, a new mode of thought should be reached; planning is political. It helps to redefine the political debate, producing new sources of power and legitimacy, changing the force field. Planners have to choose carefully whom to work for; do you work for the environment, work on an exciting mega project, work on historic preservation etc. Each choice influences the politics and building a better city. Decide which matters are given attention and which are not, by listening and acting as a political being. The way data, models, plans and other work is made, reflects the decisions of the planner as a political being.

Second, risks have to be taken: dare to break the rules. This results in thinking beyond the short term when the sustainability is at stake and involving the public in decision making, and to surrender some control. Both these things are great risks, but building better cities depends on both things happening, Sandercock (2004) states. 'The most likely way to bring it about is through an active citizenry applying pressure at all levels of government, along with a critical media' (Sandercock, 2004). This fits with the shift to more responsibility for citizens and more self organization.

Third, expand the creative capacities of planners. Think outside the box in developing new strategies of planning, to include the more soft-wired desires and emotional sides of the city. This quality does not only view urban planning and urban development as a sheer rational development. Emotional values have to be included as well.

Fourth, developing a more therapeutic approach to urban conflicts; ‘what has been missing from most of the collaborative planning [...] is the recognition of the need for a language and a process of emotional involvement, of embodiment’ (Sandercock, 2004). In other words, good planners do not only include what people say, but also how they say it. It requires its practitioners to be fluent in a range of ways of knowing and communicating.

The two paragraphs summarized and added up leads to the conclusion a new approach in urban planning is necessary. A new approach of planning that is concerned with the larger diversity, more emotional view on the city and the increasing citizen participation, is ‘organic area development’ (Planning agency for the living environment, PBL, 2012). Urhahn Urban Design has written a book on the same approach and name it ‘the spontaneous city’. PBL and Urhahn Urban Design wrote a view on the spontaneous city;

The Spontaneous City is shaped by its occupants, in a never-ending process of transformation, growth and adaptation. Individuals and groups, comprising both residents and business people, re-use or re-organize spaces in apartment blocks, workplaces, parks and streets – or on the grounds of wind farms and companies. Urban planning professionals work in close collaboration with the project initiators. They forge a path between individual choice and common interest. Government and market work closely together, but with a different focus: the initiatives, creative energy and investment capital of the end user. ‘The new urban planner must break through an historical trend of design that is always increasing in scale, involving collaboration with only the bigger partners. It’s the city user’s time’ (Urhahn Urban Design, 2010).

In practice this means the emphasis of urban planning has shifted from a focus on merely large-scaled and integrative planning to a focus on small-scaled and local projects and developing an area gradually, by local and bottom-up initiatives. This means concrete for a city or area they will not be developed and build at once, but developed on the property, parcel or initiative-level. Most of the initiatives are local ones. Neighbourhoods or small areas can be developed by this patchwork principle. The development is a continuous process and will not be finished within a certain period, thus it does not have to be finished within a defined space of time. Furthermore the patchwork principle and the bottom-up approach create more room for a diverse and ‘authentic’ place-making.

Several new characteristics opposed to the traditional integral Dutch planning appear; first, the increasing responsibility of citizens. If the new planning approach is about small and local bottom-up initiatives that show an active role for the end user, the positions of the municipality and the citizens change. The old hierarchic steering demands an open form in which many small steps lead to a large result (Hajer, 2011, p. 46). A philosophy, in which relevant actors are inspired, persuaded and involved at dissolving urban questions. The planning approach changes from ‘to-make-cities’ to ‘to-be-cities’ (KEI & NICIS, 2012). In other words; planning professionals let the city ‘be’ and let the citizens participate instead of making a blue print of the area through which the city is ‘made’. The control and responsibility is partly handed over to citizens. Therefore changing from what ‘we want’ (the government) to what ‘they want’ (dwellers of a city and the entrepreneurs in a city) is a part of the new spatial planning (KEI & NICIS, 2012 p. 14). The position of the government changes from an executive role to a facilitating and enabling one. The new approach is facilitating and inviting; the government provides the conditions in which end users, initiators and citizens, are able to develop and implement their initiatives.

The second characteristic of ‘organic area development’ opposed to traditional Dutch planning is; seeing planning not as a project but as a process. The mode of thought in which planning is seen as an ongoing process, is different from before. Urban planning is seen as a process and not as a project.

Approaching urban development as a process implies planning – the project – will never be finished and the change of the neighbourhood is never ending. Second it means that if one is looking at a neighbourhood, it will not be finished simply when the construction work is done or the public space is finished and the blue print fulfilled. In the new approach neighbourhoods are managed in such a way they are continually developed, thus continually the area is adjusted and rebuild, in Dutch the term ‘ontwikkeland beheren’ is used. The major advantage of the ‘continuous development’ is the neighbourhood can be continually adjusted to societal changes and therefore neighbourhoods are much more sustainable.

Third, the emphasis on generating value in neighbourhoods instead of national programs is a characteristic that has not had much attention in the integral city planning. Small-scaled and local initiatives use the creativity, plurality and talents of citizens. Urban renewal focuses more and more on made-to-measure policies. The increasing diversity makes policies are not uniformly applicable. Areas are developed and policies are made based on the supply, the specific potential of the area and the capabilities of the actors (KEI & NICIS, 2012a). The [predicted] outcome of urban planning, the real effect in society, should be the starting point of city development. Not the ability to make profit, selling houses or competing with other cities and municipalities (KEI & NICIS, 2012; PBL, 2012; Urhahn Urban Design, 2010).

The new planning approach thus rests on three main pillars. The change from an active and executive to a facilitating and cooperative role of the government; the executive role shifts towards citizens, therefore citizens and end users have a more prominent role in urban planning. The fragmented and continuous small-scaled development; the shift towards seeing urban planning as a process developing local and small initiatives. And last the emphasis on the local authenticity instead of uniformity.

2.4.1 Plus points of organic area development

The concept of organic area development has some advantages, other than the adjustment to the societal changes. PBL and Urhahn define the involvement and thus commitment of the citizens in the spontaneous approach as a plus-point. By letting the citizens participate in the development of an area, the city uses the talents and creativity of her citizens most. Besides the usage of the capacity of citizens, another advantage can be pointed out: through their participation citizens might feel more responsible for their neighbourhood, since they helped developing the area.

According to PBL and Urhahn the small-scaled changes keep the developing of the city manageable for the city and her residents. Not the entire neighbourhood will be renovated or renewed at once, but the chaos is quite manageable when the construction is done in phases. The continuous development of the city will lead to a reduction of large-scaled city-transformations. Most of the large-scaled transformations done in the past have been estimated wrongly (Buitelaar et al., 2012). The time-schedule and outline of the costs were too optimistic. When less large-scaled projects are done, the city is more capable in making estimations on when things are done. Not only in planning predictions the large-scaled planning has its disadvantages, the anticipation to changes in demands of the residential area or neighbourhood is easier when planning is not done in large-scaled and integral area development programs (Buitelaar, 2012).

Finally the PBL points out the city will be more immune to unforeseen circumstances when she is developed through the spontaneous approach. Buitelaar et al. state ‘Organic area development is able to cope with uncertainty and the risks resulting from the uncertainty’ (Buitelaar et al., 2012 free translation). According to Buitelaar et al. (2012) the city is able to cope with uncertainties, such as an economic crisis, because the initiatives are ‘loosely coupled’. Thus if one of them fails or the development comes to a halt, the other initiatives do not experience the same setback. They are each responsible for their own progress. Being flexible is not only necessary when it comes to the economic developments; also the demography of the Netherlands is changing. Buitelaar (2012) describes two scenarios of the Netherlands in 2040, in the

one scenario the population increases and 3 million new houses are needed. In the other scenario no new houses are needed, because the population stays at the same level. In both cases it is likely the urban planning policy should be flexible in case growth is calculated but not happening or vice versa.

2.4.2 Critique on organic area development

Being invited, being stimulated and showing responsibility demands effort of citizens. The change is remarkable especially for the Dutch citizens, who are used to the government and organizations taking care of their problems. They have to get used to a different mode of thought. KEI & NICIS (2012) states the governments have to aim the invitation policy at citizens with the right contacts and the citizens who already are able to organize themselves. Stimulate and facilitate the pioneers and precursors, organize and seduce the followers. However, in my point of view the policy of self organization should not be aimed at the pioneers alone, since they are already the citizens with the right 'capital' and are more capable to take care of themselves and their initiatives. Uitermark (2012) states a similar point of critique on organic area development and in particular self organization.

The traditional Dutch urban planning has been organized to give all people the same opportunities. According to Uitermark (2012) putting the emphasis on self organization creates inequality in society. Self organization is a problematic measure to solve social problems, he states. Social problems exist in places where the capacity for self organization is weak. What does this mean for the less privileged in society such as elderly and people that are isolated from society? Citizens with relatively strong networks close to the government, much social capital & economic capital develop and execute their plans relatively easy. They are able to make a contribution to society themselves, ask for it and even call in the government. The risk of governing through self organization is the gap will be enlarged between the citizens. Between those for whom self organization is not granted, or for whom self organization is relatively difficult and those that have access to the resources needed for self organization.

Besides the argument that self organization might polarize society and create inequality, the question remains if Dutch citizens ['passive' and 'expectant' as they are] can be seduced to participate in an urban policy that demands as much participation as organic area development does. Developing a neighbourhood through local and small-scaled bottom up initiatives and the continuous development of a neighbourhood or area demands a different mode of thought from citizens. They might be willing to ventilate their opinion and demand an opportunity to comment, expecting continuous participation is a very different matter. Changing a mode of thought from 'passive citizenship' to 'active citizenship' is a slow and gradual process and in my opinion the beginning is there but I have my doubts whether the mode of thought of Dutch citizens has changed enough to make organic area development a successful concept.

The third point of critique comprehends the changing relations between the government and the citizens. The concept of organic area development contains a strong notion of bottom up initiatives and decision making. However, the initiatives and decisions are strongly regulated, invited and enabled. The question is to what extent the approach actually relies on bottom up initiatives when the initiative to a certain extent comes from the government.

2.5 Research expectations

Researching the implementation of the concept organic area development in the Havenkwartier in Deventer creates the opportunity to reflect on the ability of organic area development to solve the deficits of traditional integral planning and shifting the emphasis to a more emotional view of the city, more diversity in the city and the changing relation between the government and her citizens. Based on the

theory those are the three points in which organic area development is expected to differ from the traditional Dutch approach. That holds for the general expectations reflecting the theory.

When we look at the implementation of organic area development in the case of the Havenkwartier in Deventer, the expectation is organic area development bears those three main points of criticism in mind; to consider the more emotional view of the city, increasing diversity and the increasing citizen participation in urban development in the approach of urban development. However, in the particular case of the Havenkwartier I expect the emphasis on the three criticisms is not equal for each of the points of critique. Since increasing diversity and a more emotional view on the city are both changes that do not affect the government as much as the third, I expect those two changes to be clearly present in the development of the Havenkwartier and the increasing citizen participation in urban development is less present in the development of the Havenkwartier. The mode of thought in bottom up initiatives is changing, but is still in the beginning of the process. For the government departing from the hierarchic tradition is a difficult and long process, thus I expect this emphasis to have shifted the least. The other two shifts influence the government not as strongly as the changing relation between the government and her citizens, I expect the government to implement the emphasis and focus on those points of critique earlier and easier.

Hypotheses:

- a) In areas developed by the concept of organic area development is a stronger emphasis on the more emotional view on the city than with the traditional Dutch approach.
- b) In areas developed by the concept of organic area development is a stronger emphasis on the increasing diversity in the city than with the traditional Dutch approach.
- c) In areas developed by the concept of organic area development is a stronger emphasis on the changing relation between the government and her citizens than with the traditional Dutch approach.

3. A case study of the Havenkwartier in Deventer

In this thesis the aim is to research to what extent organic area development incorporates the three mentioned societal changes more than traditional integral Dutch urban development. The changes in society are concentrated in three shifts; the shift towards a more emotional view on the city, the shift to more diversity in the city and the shift to an increase in citizen participation in urban development. Those changes should be clearly visible in the practical implementation and intentions behind development of the Havenkwartier by means of organic area development. Therefore organic area development as a manner of urban renewal might fit to contemporary society.

In order to research the practical realization of organic area development a single case study of the Havenkwartier in Deventer will be performed. In this chapter I describe the choice of performing a case study, the choice for the Havenkwartier Deventer and the operationalisation of the concepts; organic area development, traditional integral planning, an emotional view on the city, more diversity in the city and citizen participation in urban development.

3.1 The method of case study

In order to research the posed research question several methods could be used. Research can be done from different methodological and philosophical approaches and consistent with that the research design can either be quantitative or qualitative. A quantitative research design seems, in my opinion, not suitable to research this question. Use large data sets and statistical analyses would not reveal the intentions the municipality has in developing the Havenkwartier by means of organic area development and the actual incorporation of the defined changes in the development of the area. A large data set is able to show how many areas in the Netherlands are developed by the approach of organic area development and how many initiatives arise. However the in depth material of the research would not reveal the intentions of the municipality and whether or not the societal changes actually are implemented in the Havenkwartier and especially why that might not be the case. A qualitative research design will however, have the ability to answer these questions. Several qualitative designs can be thought of, such as discourse analysis and a case study.

My choice of performing a case study has multiple foundations. First; organic area development is a relative new method of urban planning. Therefore not much research has been done to discover this phenomenon and not much is known about the practical implementation of this method of urban planning. The relative unknown character of the phenomenon is according to Boeije (2008) a reason to perform a case study on the subject. Qualitative researchers want to indicate how a certain phenomenon is constructed and in addition to that they want to know why the phenomenon works as it does. The results thus contain, besides a description of the phenomenon, assumed relations between concepts or the relation between circumstances and the appearance of a certain outcome. Qualitative research is according to Creswell (1998) '... a methodological tradition of inquiry that explores a social problem'. For the analysis of organic area development this means the research does not only describes the process of the form of urban planning, but also tries to research the relations between practical outcomes of the implementation of the policy and the circumstances in the Havenkwartier in Deventer.

Second, performing a case study holds the phenomenon is not only studied in a descriptional and relational manner, it is also studied in the natural context. Case study is often used in policy research, usually diagnosing or evaluating a practical problem related to a new program or policy (Boeije, 2008). Since organic area development is a relative new program it is of vital importance the current developments are placed in a historical context.

Third, the benefit of researching the Havenkwartier as a case is the analyses are done on different levels and from different perspectives. In this research the information will be derived from different levels of responsibility and decision making; the municipality, advisors to the municipality, successful initiators of projects and initiators of projects that are no longer active in the Havenkwartier. In order to analyze the Havenkwartier on different levels and from different perspectives qualitative researchers try to use more than one method of data collection to discuss organic area development from different angles. In this research secondary and primary data will be used.

3.1.1 The Havenkwartier in Deventer

The case used in this thesis is – as can be seen above – the Havenkwartier in Deventer. The Havenkwartier is an area near the centre of Deventer where the government decided to develop the area through organic area development 5 years ago. In the old dockland area a large urban renewal blueprint masterplan was designed. However, the masterplan did not get off the ground and the municipality decided the area was a good opportunity to develop the urban site through organic area development. As it happens all the ingredients for organic area development are present. As Kei-Nicis (2012) states, the biggest challenges in urban development occur in the current city not in the new developed city. To transform a run-down and abandoned dockland gradually into a dazzling area is a huge assignment for the municipality. Since organic area development has been implemented five years ago in the Havenkwartier, eventual difficulties, outcomes and effects can be analyzed. The ability of analyzing possible difficulties, outcomes and effects is my first reason to use the Havenkwartier as a case. The second motive is because the choice of organic area development was not one of necessity. The government decided to develop the Havenkwartier through this method before the real-estate and economic crisis started. Thus the motives to use the method of organic area development reach further than ‘just’ the economic and real estate crisis; the more reason to choose the Havenkwartier as a case, since this study focuses on the concepts and ideas behind the choice for organic area development and the practical application of the concept. Last, the Havenkwartier can be used as a ‘most-likely’ case, the perfect place to start organic area development. On paper the Havenkwartier has all the right ingredients for a successful gradual and bottom-up development; a willing government, a great location, empty and abandoned property and a history of citizen participation. Nineteen years ago the municipality of Deventer had the wish to increase the citizen participation, e.g. labour participation and neighbourhood and voluntary participation. The method was called the DeventerDistrictApproach – Deventer WijkAanpak. The method is strongly demand-driven and the government has an enabling role. The entire city is divided in seven areas in which different task groups – taakgroepen – work on projects and questions from the citizens of Deventer (van Soomerem, 2012). This implies the citizens and the municipality of Deventer have a history of citizen participation and the citizens are more willing to put energy in the development of the Havenkwartier and the municipality is more willing to let the responsibility go.

The stated above made me decide to use the Havenkwartier in Deventer as a configurative case study to provide a good description of the theory and to analyze the process of the organic area development in the Havenkwartier.

3.1.2 Data

In order to describe the process of organic area development, research the intentions of the municipality and the actual implementation of the approach the process is looked at from different levels and different angles and primary and secondary data are analyzed in this thesis. Since the goal of a case study is not to be representative, but to gain a deeper insight in the respondents’ feelings, attitudes and motives (Flowerdew & Martin, 1997) semi-structured interviews are used as a source of primary data. The interviews are semi-

structured, thus they do not rely on a rigid set of questions worded beforehand because the researcher is then able to understand the issue in the interviewees own terms. However a list of terms and beforehand formulated questions is constructed and used as a red thread during the interviews. Interviews in semi-structured form take a conversational and fluid form as a dialogue rather than an interrogation. The interviewees are able to explain the complexities and contradictions of their experiences and ideas. The emphasis is on considering the process. And since the researcher participates in the conversation they have the chance to go back over the same ground, asking the same questions in different ways in order to explain issues thoroughly (Bryman, 1988).

To get the information I needed to give an answer to my research question, I interviewed the project leader of the Havenkwartier; Dennis Laing, the independent advisor to the municipality on organic area development and gradual urban development; Wouter Grootte, the artist Babet Olde Weghuis and the initiator Linda of DokH2O.

As stated above not only primary data are used, also secondary data are used for document analysis. The secondary data provide a context for the primary data I have collected. It helps to place the current developments in the Havenkwartier in a historical context (George and Bennet, 2005). By looking at the historical context – what were the plans before and what was the initial design of the area – the current developments can be placed in perspective. The documents used as secondary data are in this research; the ‘ontwikkelingsplan – ruimte voor ideeën’, the ‘ontwikkelingsscenario’s van de gemeente’, the ‘beeldkwaliteitplan’ and policy documents of the gemeente Deventer. All of these documents are originally from the gemeente – whether in cooperation with others or not – and give a good overview of the intentions of the municipality with the Havenkwartier. By analyzing the plans and initial ideas of the municipality with the Havenkwartier, the intentions behind gradually developing the area and thus ideas behind the policy can be shown.

3.2 Operationalisation of the main concepts

In this paragraph the most important concepts, which are needed to answer my research question, are explained. The definitions I will use in my analysis will be described below, respectively of; organic area development and traditional Dutch planning the two types of urban planning used in this paper. Added to that the three societal changes in which organic area development differs from the traditional planning; an emotional view on the city, increasing diversity in the city and the increasing citizen participation in urban development.

3.2.1 Organic area development

First and foremost the concept which needs to be described is the concept of organic area development. Since the concept is relatively new and not used very often, a clear description is not easily available. In this thesis, when ‘organic area development’ is used, a combination of the description of the ‘Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving’, 2012 (PBL) and the ‘Kei-Nicis’, 2012 is meant. The PBL states organic area development is characterized by an *open end process* and thus the developments are not leading towards a clear point in the future when the development is finished. This indicates also organic area development has *no blueprint* of how the area should be and which place should be where. Urban development without a blueprint also means the renewal or development is *less large-scaled* than it used to be with traditional Dutch planning.

Organic area development is about *relatively small-scaled (re)developments*; the development is *less integrally* than the traditional Dutch planning. Less integrally developed as well financially, thus the financing of the area development will not be entirely interwoven and interdependent, as organizational, the development of the aspects in the area will not be entirely dependent of the development of the other

initiatives and aspects; the small-scaled (re)developments will be *loosely coupled*. Concrete this means the development of the area happens gradually and through small initiatives, therefore the development of initiative A does not entirely depends – financially and organizational – on the development of initiative B. The stated above leads to a situation in which not all elements of the area will be (re)developed at the same time; the public space recuperated, old buildings restored, and many new houses build at once to form a coherent whole – as traditionally happened through integral urban development. Organic area development leads to a situation in which the area is *gradually developed*; scattered over the area houses will be build, only the buildings which are dangerous will be demolished otherwise a new destination will be found, developments are not completely interdependent because they all have different initiators. The *initiatives rising from society are leading*; the *government has an enabling role* in the process and facilitates the possibility to develop the area. In other words this means the area will not be developed by one property developer, but by different actors. The *emphasis is on the development by the end user* of the property; mainly actors with a long-term interest in the area, such as residents, companies, investors and housing corporations. Kei-Nicis states the emphasis on the end user makes the *residents of the city an active actor* in urban renewal, not only a passive one. The *building of the property, the supervision, the maintenance and the development of the property – and therefore of the area – are continuously interwoven*. Since the property or initiative belongs to the end user, the end user is responsible for those four processes of development. The processes do not have to be separated phases of the urban development, but form an interwoven process.

Project developers and municipal development companies are – according to the PBL – excluded from the development of the area; they are not the users of the property and only have a short term interest in the area because they sell the houses quickly in order to make a profit.

Finally Kei-Nicis states the ambitions of the development should be in the *local features and characteristics*. The emphasis of the urban development should not be on the great ambitions of the municipality, but on the possibilities of the area.

3.2.2 Traditional Dutch planning

The second concept which has to be described and explained briefly is the traditional Dutch planning. According to the PBL (2012) the traditional planning contains *large-scaled* and *integral* planning, the whole area will be developed and built at once and developed through the plan of a *blueprint*. The blueprint reflects the *ambition in numbers* based on the national average (Kei-Nicis, 2012). In addition to that urban renewal is not only based on blueprints, it is also *economy driven* (Kei-Nicis, 2012). Much urban renewal is done because the economic climate is good enough to have the ambition to grow as a city.

Traditional Dutch planning has a very strong *linear top-down character*. *Citizens are a passive actor* in the process of urban renewal; they are not considered a serious actor. The *building of houses and areas, the supervision, the maintenance and the development are seen as different tasks* for different actors (Kei-Nicis, 2012). According to Sandercock (2004) traditional planning is *rule bound* and *obsessed with order and certainty*; this leads to a situation in which planning is seen as *regulatory* and *inflexible* (Sandercock, 2004).

Besides the use of national numbers, the national policy is reflected in local policy through acts and laws supported by local investments (Kei-Nicis, 2012). The implication of taking the *local, regional or national average as a benchmark* leads to a policy of urban renewal aimed at the *neutralization of difference*. The success is not reflected in an increasing, but the more in a decreasing difference (free translation of Kei-Nicis, 2012). According to Uitermark (2012) the decrease in difference creates an equal starting position for citizens.

3.2.3 An emotional view on the city

The first societal change described and operationalised is the 'emotional view on the city'. Sandercock (2004) was the first to name the concept 'an emotional view on the city'. She tried to persuade planners to look beyond the economic profit and possibilities, through having *attention for the emotional economies and political economies* of cities. Look at the city with a less commercial point of view and therefore look beyond the political economy of the city. This can be done by being alert to the *city senses*: the sounds, the smell, the taste, the touch, the sight and last look beyond the city censuses. This can be done by having attention for the *ludic spaces*, not only the productive spaces. The ludic and productive spaces are inseparable and need each other. Planners need to be critical of capitalist excesses and be curious about the *spirit of places*. Here lies an opportunity for citizens to wrest new possibilities of space and *collectively make new hybrid cultures and places*. Sandercock pleads for *creative solutions*. Inherent to creative solutions is according to Sandercock also not only let the ratio play a part in the decision making process, but also the emotion. Be prepared to acknowledge and deal with the emotions that underpin many planning issues. *Juxtapose emotion and reason*, not treat them as mutually exclusive.

The Kei-Nicis institute states physical as well as social results should be reached through economic thinking. 'The value which is created, is value for the area; just as much as value for itself. This can be financial value – e.g. real estate value – and about social value – e.g. drive and culture (free translation Kei-Nicis, 2012). Kei-Nicis also pleads to look beyond merely the economic value of a property by looking at *different forms of output of an initiative; financial, material or social*.

In the analysis I will make a difference between the intention for a more emotional view on the city and the actual implementation of the described characteristics of the more emotional view on the city. If two third of the characteristics is present intentional and more than half of the characteristics is present in the actual implementation in the Havenkwartier I consider the concept as present in the approach of organic area development in the area.

3.2.4 Diversity in the city

The second societal change is the increasing diversity or the increasing emphasis on diversity in the city. In contrast to the former policy which was aimed on the decrease of difference and diversity and produced the same conclusions for different neighbourhoods, areas and cities (Kei-Nicis, 2012) new urban planning should be aimed at the *individuality of the area*. According to Kei-Nicis (2012) the municipality should *strive for a vital everyday surrounding*. 'Being vital is being able to continuously react on changing surroundings' (free translation of Kei-Nicis, 2012). Striving for a vital surrounding means looking for 'vitality' and for the dynamics; in the way people live, how they work and how they are entertained. The former means by definition a stronger *emphasis on difference and the individuality* of the area. The individuality can be seen in the *people that live and work in the area*, in the *companies based in the area*, in the *history*, the *culture*, the spatial construction and the *place the area has in the city*. An important note is Kei-Nicis states the individuality changes constantly because the people and the circumstances change.

In other words being vital is being able to continuously react on a changing environment. This is important for several reasons, first because the economic crisis has shown the *future is not as sure* as was thought. Second, because of the *changing demography*, the composition of the population changes in age, household composition and ethnicity for instance. Some regions will decrease in censuses and others will increase. Places have to be able to react on the changing demography (Kei-Nicis, 2012).

Looking at the individual strengths of the area means inherently acknowledging the possibilities and opportunities of the area. The feature which differs from the particular area from other areas should be searched and used. The line of thought of Kei-Nicis matches the line of thought of Castells when he states

there is an increasing *emphasis on local initiatives*. As does Knox (2005) when is stated that ‘the more universal the diffusion of material culture and lifestyles, the more local and ethnic identities are valued’.

In the analysis of the increasing diversity in the city I will make a difference between the intention and the actual implementation of the described characteristics. Also here counts that if two third of the characteristics is present intentional and more than half of the characteristics is present in the actual implementation in the Havenkwartier I consider the concept as present in the approach of organic area development.

3.2.5 Citizen participation in urban development

The last concept which I will describe and explain is the societal change of citizen participation in urban development. To understand what in this study will be meant with this concept I will use definitions of the Kei-Nicis institute, Uitermark and Sandercock. According to Kei-Nicis (2012) the *fundamental attitude* of the decision making actors – government, corporations, civil society – will have to change, the automatism of doing the pioneering work is ceased. This does not mean they do not act at all, but their new role is in *inviting and enabling citizens and initiatives*. People have to be able to propose their initiatives and the deciding actors have to be willing and enabling towards successful initiatives. Local politicians have to be representatives of the people but also representatives of promising local initiatives. The local government can be supported by the national government through a form of management of speech in inviting actors to write a view of an area without exactly elaborating what the new area should be like.

For the *local government this means they trust their residents* and give them access to *understandable information*. Therefore they have to renounce their method of planning and develop a more *open mode of thought*. For instance the zoning scheme (bestemmingsplan) should be more flexible; in Dutch this is called the ‘*Soepel of Open bestemmingsplan*’. Planners have to dare to break the rules and think about the *long term sustainability* and *active citizenry*. Therefore being creative in the way of planning and use creative solutions contains acting beyond merely consulting citizens. Consider the *citizens as a serious actor* in the process of urban renewal. This also means to reward citizens with good initiatives and (partly) finance their own project with *less administrative work*. Not by punishing them with a prohibition on earning a profit. In other words the rules for the development of initiatives should be easier. This would be, according to Kei-Nicis (2012) a sign of the increasing power of citizens. So would be the *financing of budgets per district* that citizens can use to finance their project or initiative (Kei-Nicis, 2010). Justus Uitermark states the government also has to look into the *accessibility of the ‘less privileged’*, the people being less capable of self organization such as elderly.

For the citizens this means they have to *show an active role* and put in effort to execute their idea or initiative. They have to *trust the municipality* and be willing to put effort in self organization. This also requires a change in the mode of thought of citizens; they cannot wait for the government to lead the development and take care of the urban development.

Third, also in the analysis of the increasing citizen participation I will make a difference between the intention and the actual implementation of the described characteristics of the increasing citizen participation in urban development. If two third of the characteristics is present intentional and more than half of the characteristics is present in the actual implementation in the Havenkwartier I consider the concept as present in the approach of organic area development.

4. Organic area development in the Havenkwartier – the empirical material

The empirical chapter presents the empirical data. As stated in the methodological chapter, primary and secondary data will be used. The primary data will be ordered in chronological order. The secondary data are ordered per concept. The verbatim interview transcriptions can be found in the Appendix at the end of this thesis.

First, in the paragraph of the secondary data, the origin of the Havenkwartier and the recent history of the area are described. Second, the current status of the Havenkwartier is described; what does the area look like these days, what kind of people are attracted to the area, what sort of buildings are present and what are the direct surroundings of the area. Third, the future plans of the Havenkwartier are described; thus what are the goals of the municipality and how are they planning to reach those goals.

Second, in the paragraph of the primary data, the interviews with Dennis Laing, Wouter Groote, the founder of Dok H2O: Linda and Babet Olde Weghuis; an artist based in the Havenkwartier are summarized to the statements they make on the four analyzed concepts; organic area development, the emotional view on the city, the increasing diversity in the city and the increasing citizen participation in urban development.

4.1 Secondary data

In this paragraph the relevant parts of the secondary data collected for this thesis are summarized and described; the raadsvoorstel of september 2005, the development plan of the municipality, the visual quality plan and the developmentscenarios. In each of them parts of the operationalised concepts can be found.

4.1.1 Havenkwartier; the area

Origin of the area

The Havenkwartier is a part of the industrial estate 'Bergweide' in Deventer, which is located between the city centre and the motorway A1. The Havenkwartier is located close to the old and historical centre of Deventer, east of the district 'Knutteldorp' and is connected through the Prins Bernhardlock to the river 'IJssel'.

The exact area 'the Havenkwartier' is defined by;

- Mr. H.F. de Boerlaan on the west side
- Industrieweg on the north side
- Hanzeweg on the east side
- And the water of the IJssel and the lockcomplex on the south side



Source: ruimtelijkeplannen.deventer.nl

The Havenkwartier is originally the initiative of mayor De Boer; in 1920 he planned to build an industrial area on the – then empty – area of Bergweide. The area is built in three phases, first the area on the west and first of the ‘dug out elongated shaped water’, thus the water on the right of the Havenkwartier. Second the area in the middle of the two ‘dug out elongated shaped waters’ was developed and third, the area in the east of the Havenkwartier.

The first developed area was a such a success; after ten years more than half of the working population was working in the Harbour (Gemeente Deventer, Groote advies, Twynstra Gudde, Andries Geerse stedenbouwkundige bv., Johan de Wachter architecten, 2009). So the harbour could be expanded; the second and third parts of the Havenkwartier were developed. Each new part of the harbour was developed on a larger scale; the buildings and grounds became larger. Most of the activity in the Havenkwartier considered the tranship and storage of goods, such as derivatives, grain, flour and tapioca. The two large silos at the entrance of the Havenkwartier are a good example of places where goods were stored. The Bodenloods was also used to store goods and spread those goods through the enterprises and shops around Deventer. It was an area with the image of hard work, ‘an industrial zone where work is done’ (ruimtelijkeplannen.deventer.nl).

Two trends of the last century are visible in the construction of the Havenkwartier; first the separation of work and the private life; the Havenkwartier and Bergweide are both two areas in which the design only shows places to work. People lived in ‘Knutteldorp’ and worked in Bergweide or in the Havenkwartier. The other trend visible is the trend towards scale enlargement, not only visible in the structure and buildings of the new areas in the harbour of the Havenkwartier, also it made enterprises look for a new location with more space to expand their business. Besides that the transport over water decreased, while the transport of goods over the road increased. In other words, the activity in the harbour decreased over time; especially in the oldest part of the Havenkwartier. The oldest buildings do not lend themselves for modern and large scale development and innovations of entrepreneurs.

Recent history

Being not adjustable to the modern large scale developments, the oldest part of the Havenkwartier needs a redevelopment project. To avoid the vacancy and decline of the existing buildings, the municipality allows artists to have their studio in the Havenkwartier. Simultaneously the municipality develops a masterplan to renew the area. The masterplan holds the gradient development of the area resulting in a mixed living- and working area with approximately 1.000 m² residences and 70.000 m² of non dwelling functions, such as;

offices, working accommodations, showrooms, commercial and non commercial facilities. The redevelopment of the Havenkwartier is done in phases, the three areas; the eastern area around the Mr. de Boerlaan, the Haveneiland in the middle of the area between the water and the western area around the Hanzelaan are developed successively.

Background of the redevelopment of the Havenkwartier:¹

The redevelopment of the Havenkwartier comes with difficulties; the financial crisis in the housing market and the location of the Havenkwartier near the industrial area Bergweide. However, the possibilities and opportunities to create a neighbourhood with added value for the city of Deventer are convincing enough to put effort in the redevelopment of the Havenkwartier, according to the raadsvoorstel of 5 October 2005. The plus points of the Havenkwartier are the location of the area; near the old centre of Deventer, near the water, the environs and the arterial roads. These characteristics turn the Havenkwartier into an area worth developing.

The stated above indicates thinking in possibilities and using the strong points of an area as a point of departure for urban development. The 'Nota Ruimte' steers in the direction of a 'development planning' (free translation of 'ontwikkelingsplanologie'); thinking in possibilities and not in restrictions as with the 'permissionplanning' (free translation of 'toelatingsplanologie').

As said redeveloping the Havenkwartier is difficult because of the location near the industrial area 'Bergweide'; the environment requirements of building close to an industrial area are strict; for the safety, the noise and the smell. In the original redevelopment plan for the Havenkwartier only the area around the Mr. de Boerlaan was redeveloped. However, the possibilities with this area are limited through the environment requirements. With a redevelopment plan for the Haveneiland, the possibilities multiplied and the masterplan for the development of the Havenkwartier came into being. In the masterplan the buildings round the Hanzeweg and Industrieweg are developed as an urban developmental wall; the area will be hosting companies, which will add no extra environmental pressure on the area and will be a buffer between the industrial area 'Bergweide' and the residential area in the Havenkwartier.

Content of the masterplan

The new neighbourhood Havenkwartier will be 'a mixture of urban residential and employment functions' using the strong characteristics of the area. In this thesis only the plans concerning the area located near the Mr. de Boerlaan will be described, since that is the area in which organic area development is implemented later in time.

The area around the Mr de Boerlaan is destined for residences and non commercial facilities. And according to the raadsvoorstel of October 5th it is necessary to make a detailed zoning scheme for the area in which the environmental aspects of the area are guaranteed and the plan to create a residential area is also preserved. Besides the guarantee of the residential area the zoning scheme has to leave some space and flexibility for the development of the non commercial facilities in the area. The possibilities and actual flexibility of the development of non commercial facilities is however well-delineated, since the initiatives have to fit within the detailed masterplan. This can be seen as an example of the permissionplanning as stated in the paragraph above.

The actual execution of the residential area contains of partly grounded houses and partly apartments. And the destination of non commercial places in the area can be interpreted as education or

¹ In the paragraphs: 'background of the redevelopment of the Havenkwartier', 'content of the masterplan', 'practical implementation', 'communication' and 'social output' the information is derived from the raadsvoorstel in the council of the gemeente Deventer of October 5th 2005.

cultural buildings. The restrictions of the zoning scheme of the area around the Mr de Boerlaan clearly show the choice to build no stores and other commercial establishments at the Mr de Boerlaan.

In the past few years the municipality of Deventer bought 32 residences and 11 business properties in the area around the Mr de Boerlaan. The original idea was to buy the properties and demolish them in order to redevelop the area. In order to implement the masterplan – the residential area and non commercial properties – of the Havenkwartier.

Redevelopment of the Havenkwartier from an industrial area to a residential area has consequences for the industrial companies located in the Havenkwartier and on the industrial area Bergweide. These industrial companies and the location of the Havenkwartier near the motorway increase the pressure to satisfy the environmental demands. The environmental demands hold the subjects of noise, external safety, odour and the quality of the air. To live up to the environmental demands the companies in the Havenkwartier and Bergweide are not able to expand, the so called ‘stand-stillprinciple’ is applied; the environmental space of the companies is neither increased nor decreased. This way the environmental value remain the same and the municipality is able to implement the masterplan in the Havenkwartier and redevelop the area around the Mr de Boerlaan into a residential area. The masterplan of the Havenkwartier is designed such a way the north, east and south side provide a wall of high buildings. The industrial companies in the Havenkwartier and Bergweide profit from this design since they do not have to decrease their noise and the residents of the new Havenkwartier profit from the decrease in noise through the wall of buildings. In other words the design of the urban developmental concept is created in such a way it directs and realizes a residential and working climate, of which the development of the one is dependent of the realization of the other.

The stated above means the realization of the masterplan of the Havenkwartier – especially the residential area – can only be realized if the ‘wall of higher buildings’ around the Havenkwartier in realized or when it is definitely realized in the future. In other words, the realization of a residential area in the Havenkwartier depends on the realization of the office buildings in the Havenkwartier.

Practical implementation:

The development of the masterplan in the Havenkwartier is implemented in phases and during a period of ten to fifteen years, according to the raadsvoorstel of October 5th 2005. Through the phased development the municipality tries to anticipate continuously on the opportunities the economy gives. Through this strategy the municipality tries to keep the economic risks under control. The knowledge is the long term developments and the economy change during the process of the development of the Havenkwartier. By developing the Havenkwartier in phases, the municipality takes the fluctuations of the economy into account and is able to adjust the masterplan to the wishes of the economic market. This way the economic risk of the masterplan remains limited. As a result of the ownership of many buildings around the Mr de Boerlaan, an active zoning policy in this area is used. Individual initiatives are allowed but have to fit within the points of departure of the masterplan.

Therefore it is important to keep the area vibrant in the years the area is (re)developed. This counts especially for the area around the Mr de Boerlaan since this is the entrance to the city and the area is redeveloped into a residential area. The public space is maintained in such a way deterioration has no chance, thus the area will – even if the development takes years – show no sign of decay.

An important measure to keep the area alive is to initiate a temporary breeding place for artists and creative entrepreneurs. The breeding place leads to a continuous activity in the Havenkwartier. Besides the activity the creative breeding place also creates an inspiring ambiance, which leads to creativity and entrepreneurship. At first the cultural breeding place is located at the Mr de Boerlaan, since eleven

company buildings are owned by the municipality. The breeding place will move around the Havenkwartier. According to the raadsvoorstel of October 5th 2005 Deventer needs room for discussion, encounters, a platform for art and culture and company contacts. The existence of catering industry in the Havenkwartier can create vibrancy and increases the chances of encounters between the economic and cultural field. The rise of such a business climate can give a positive impulse to the creative economy in Deventer. Transferring the breeding place around the Havenkwartier implies a flexible attitude of artists and creative entrepreneurs, since they have to adjust to different places and buildings. Besides a flexible attitude, moving the breeding place also indicates the breeding place has a temporary character; if the masterplan of the Havenkwartier is finished, the breeding place has nowhere to go.

Communication

In the process of the masterplan of the Havenkwartier several actors should be active in the field of communication; the Stichting Bedrijfsbelangen Havenkwartier, Overleggroep Havenkwartier and the municipality of Deventer. The Stichting Bedrijfsbelangen Havenkwartier represents the interests of the companies in the Havenkwartier. The municipality and the Stichting will consult during the process of the redevelopment of the Havenkwartier. Besides the contact with the Stichting, the municipality also communicates with residents, companies and stakeholders, this will be done through the consultative body: Overleggroep Havenkwartier.

Considering the desired interaction between the municipality of Deventer and the companies, residents and stakeholders, the decision making process is not solely linear top-down. The municipality takes the interests of other parties into account.

Social output:

The implementation of the masterplan of the Havenkwartier is an uneconomic scenario for the municipality of Deventer; the municipality does not gain economic profit from the execution of the masterplan. However, the municipality has planned to invest in the redevelopment of the Havenkwartier since they consider the added value of the social output – maatschappelijk rendement – of the masterplan of greater significance than the economic value. By social output building new residences and buildings in the area is meant. Rehabilitate the existing houses is seen as a lower social output than having new houses in the neighbourhood, thus building new houses, or better; a new neighbourhood, is seen as the highest possible social output for the city of Deventer. In the raadsvoorstel of October 5th 2005 the gemeenteraad is asked to think about the social output of the masterplan; *'That is why your board has to make a comparative assessment. The assessment comes down to the answer on the question which method of redevelopment/revitalization of the Havenkwartier brings the largest social output'* (free translation of the Raadsvoorstel of October 5th 2005).

Masterplan:

The masterplan as the municipality planned it in 2004 aimed at 'living near the water'. The area around the Mr de Boerlaan and the Haveneiland would be transferred into a residential area with approximately 1000 houses. Along the Hanzeweg a covering wall of offices was planned and the emphasis was strongly on demolishing the old buildings and build a new one. The goal was to create a brand new and chic urban area with a new identity.

However, the masterplan appeared to be unrealistic regarding the changing circumstances in the housing market, according to the document with developmentscenarios of the municipality of Deventer in 2009. Possible buyers of houses want a grounded house with a garden and not an apartment, Deventer has much

vacant buildings, thus it is a very big financial risk to build new offices and the estimation of the development of parking space in the area have been unrealistic, which creates a big financial risk. Besides these arguments to give up the masterplan of 2004, the breeding places in the area have developed successfully. The Havenkwartier appears a good place to develop small-scaled innovative and creative businesses.

Three possible approaches:

Dutch model: a ground based residential and working area in a modern ready for use district with historical accents.

- A quarter of the houses planned in the original masterplan
- No reuse of buildings
- Open access along the water is expanded (nowadays only 10% of the access to the water is public)
- The new neighbourhood is exquisite, the streets are clean and there is room for events as long as they do not cause inconvenience. The use of the water in the harbour will mainly be of pleasure yachts, residents and entrepreneurs from the area.
- Nieuwe wijk oogt keurig: dus vooral plezierjachten, bewoners en ondernemers in het water
- The breeding place can exist in the DAVO factory

Flemish model: the starting point is maximum preservation and reuse.

- The pace of the redevelopment is determined by the initiators of developments.
- Residents and small entrepreneurs provide their ideas for the silos, pilots and factories. This way new ideas come into being about new and old buildings and about living space, working space and culture.
- Things of value are not being demolished
- A quarter of the houses planned in the original masterplan, however the houses are not ready for use, they are built by the future residents
- Ability to organize events, also if they cause nuisance.
- Breeding places are the pounding heart of the Flemish model

'Save my purse' model: The municipality of Deventer withdraws from the Havenkwartier and sells her buildings to the highest bidder.

- The municipality does not invest in public space
- The initiative comes from private parties
- The industrial heritage is outlawed
- The future is open since the development of the area depends on the initiative of private parties. Whether it is a project developer buys land in the Havenkwartier and decides to build a new quarter or the dwellers of the area start a collaboration to build their own neighbourhood.

The Havenkwartier nowadays

The dock, the machines – which are left behind – and the material of the streets determine the atmosphere in the area. But the 'buildings with a story' also determine why the Havenkwartier is a special area. The buildings in the next 7 photos are worth it to mention; they remain in the Havenkwartier and determine its character. They attract pioneers, artistic, adventurous and urban historically minded people to the area and they are the pivot of the new urban development.

Picture 1: Bodenloods



Picture 2: old suitcase factory



Photos by Suzanne Brunner

Picture 3: DAVO; old cap factory



Picture 4: DAVO; part 2



Photos by Suzanne Brunner

Picture 5: machine factory Eijsink



Picture 6: Black Silo



Photos by Suzanne Brunner

Picture 7: High Silo



Photo by Suzanne Brunner

4.1.2 The strategy of organic development in the Havenkwartier

In this paragraph the practical implementation of organic area development is described. The documents used are the developmentscenarios of the Havenkwartier (Gemeente Deventer et al. 2009), development plan 'space for ideas' (Gemeente Deventer, Twynstra Gudde, Andries Geerse stedenbouwkundige bv, Johan de Wachter architecten, Groote Advies, JEEN bureau voor communicatie, DHV, SPARIC & Vormen, 2010) and the visual quality plan (Gemeente Deventer, Andries Geerse stedenbouwkundige bv & Redscape, 2011). Those documents give an overview of the aims and ambitions of the municipality for the Havenkwartier, the process of the development of the Havenkwartier after the choice for the Flemish model and the plans for the future of the Havenkwartier. In order to describe the process to the approach of organic development I will describe the three documents in chronological order.

The developmentscenarios of the Havenkwartier, 2009

Even though the municipality of Deventer decided to turn the original masterplan down, they committed themselves to the development and future of the Havenkwartier. The municipality tried to map the possibilities and bottlenecks of the urban development of the area. The so called developmentscenarios are the result of 'thinking, debate, drawing and calculating'.

The values that are put central in developing the Havenkwartier through the Flemish model are:

- Respect for cultural heritage: the buildings stated above have to be treated with respect and serve as a source of inspiration

- Working in the city: Deventer has always been a city in which dwellers worked and lived. The program of the Havenkwartier takes that into account; the present activity is respected and at the same time new people have to be attracted.
- The pivot of the place: breedingplaces: the creative industry already discovered the Havenkwartier. This sector makes the area 'alive' and is the 'booster' of the area. The idea is the municipality invests little energy in the breeding places and the places are the home for beginning entrepreneurs.
- Popular living: The choice for the Flemish model implies 'the "maximization of the number of houses" is not the starting point of the development of the Havenkwartier. The housing stock needs to be adjusted, in number and in character, to the (environmental) space of companies in the Havenkwartier.' "The program aims on a lacking niche market in Deventer; the combination of working and living for young and old diy'er who respect the robust atmosphere of the dock.
- Gradual development: the municipality chooses to make a virtue of necessity and develop the Havenkwartier gradually. The complete transformation of the area seems harder than thought at first. Through gradual development the Havenkwartier does not become a standard drawing-board neighbourhood from 2009, but an organic grown area from 1920, 1930, 1950, 2010, 2025 etc. According to the development scenarios the Havenkwartier is helped by a relaxed and cautious approach. This way the historic characteristics, the dynamics and property proportion can be taken into account. Besides the stated above, innovative residents and entrepreneurs and other small-scaled or middle-scaled entrepreneurs have more room to realize their ideas through the development per parcel.

Summarized the approach in the Havenkwartier stated above is different from traditional Dutch urban planning on the following points:

- Instead of the large-scaled transformation thought, the area is developed on parcel level, thus house by house, parcel by parcel and building by building.
- The starting point is not a new design from the drawing-board, but an approach that incorporates the present ambience, perception and history of the area.
- The aim is a mixed living and working environment in contrast to the traditional supply: the monotonous neighbourhoods and large-scaled industrial parks.
- Instead of the supply-oriented approach the demands and wishes of the dwellers are put central in the urban development.
- Urban development is not only the responsibility of the municipality but also of the other parties in the area.

Important sub characteristics of the Flemish model

Development-aims: The important aims for Deventer are focused on culture, economy, employment, cultural history and living. These aims come together in the Havenkwartier. Also there is the logical combination with learning and education. More and more educational institutions look for connections with the practice through the offer of creative vocational education or practical internships. The Havenkwartier can therefore be a place for starting entrepreneurs, for youngsters. A successful development of the Havenkwartier would be helped by an integral program approach in which other aims play an important role, besides the 'physical aim'. The physical aim is the aim in an area for a certain amount of houses. Strive for aims focused on culture or education looks beyond the merely physical part of urban development and look for social development as a part of urban development.

Collaboration: The Flemish model presumes a varied development of the area. This development can only be successful, according to the development scenarios 2009, if strategic partners are searched and several collaborations are entered. The municipality searches collaborations with partners who contribute to the realization of the ambitions of the Flemish model. This can be creative developers and investors, but also a collective of private individuals desiring to realize their idea. Also a housing cooperation can play an important role in the development of the Havenkwartier. According to the development scenarios it is important the municipality dares to be selective in their choices of whom to collaborate with. Not every possible collaboration partner fits to the ideas of the Flemish model.

The role of the municipality: The role of the municipality is varicolored; they help in the development of parcels but also enable the realization of different initiatives. Because the municipality facilitates the realization of initiatives, they still have a finger in the pie with the urban development of the Havenkwartier.

Pace of the urban development of the Havenkwartier: Due to the gradual development in the area the speed and pace of the development is determined by parties with good initiatives and own properties or ground in the Havenkwartier. The municipality has no longer alone the control over the pace of the development; it depends on the willingness and availability of other parties and the collaboration between the municipality and others.

Preservation of cultural historical heritage: The preservation and reuse of cultural historical heritage is an important characteristic of the Flemish model. For the buildings in the Havenkwartier this means in concrete the following; when the municipality owns the cultural historical heritage they are able to renovate and redevelop the historical buildings. When the municipality does not own the building, they can steer to the renovation of the building, through the preservation of the building.

Set of instruments: Special to the policies of the municipality in the suggested method of the Flemish model is the necessary notice for flexibility in plans and procedures, concept development and area management, the preservation and reuse of cultural historical heritage and a supported and clear environmental strategy. Flexibility is one of the key starting points in the Flemish approach. On the one hand because the world changes constantly; five years ago breeding places were not acknowledged as opportunities and was the mixing of functions 'not done' and nowadays it becomes more and more the standard. Building offices and apartments was then in its heyday, while they are vacant nowadays. The real estate market is flighty and hard to predict. Therefore flexibility in planning is of importance. Building on the described flexibility in the concept of the Flemish model good management of the area, a clear urban development supervision and to anticipate on the opportunities are more important to the success of the urban development than a detailed fixed spatial framework. The flexibility of adapting to the circumstances is more important than to hold on to the framework made beforehand.

Development plan Havenkwartier Deventer – space for ideas, 2010

The development plan for the Havenkwartier Deventer is roughly divided in two parts, at first the ambitions and aims of the municipality are described and second the practical policies used to organize the ambitions are described.

The ambitions to create a vibrant and lively Havenkwartier are; popular living, heritage as source of inspiration, the discovery of the dock, working in the city and a sanctuary for creative ideas. In the next part the five ambitions of the municipality will be looked at closer.

Popular living: Deventer creates the opportunity to keep innovative dwellers in the city by creating a living area which is not ten in a penny, but has small-scaled and unique projects reflecting the robust and

enterprising character of the area. To reach the formulated ambition, the following development goals are formulated:

- Create robust and unique houses and therefore a place for trendy and tough living
- The possibility for people to build their own houses. All the relevant information is bundled in a 'parcelpassport', the municipality opens an office window for all questions and information for residents and a part of the parcel is suited for all purses.
- Create student rooms and therefore Deventer characterizes itself as a student city. The Havenkwartier can also serve as a place for internships for students with a creative education.

Heritage as a source of inspiration: The dock tells the story of Deventer as a trade- and industrial city. The historical grit and buildings are, however, more than just a relic; they are the pivot of the atmosphere which is 'different than usual'.

- Space for the dock; the dock is in the future still used for the commercial shipping. The installations of the dock increase the 'role one's sleeves up' atmosphere. Therefore the streets and quay are designed in the same no-nonsense style.
- Space for industrial heritage: the heritage will be preserved and reused; new functions will take place in the industrial heritage buildings, the place will not be an open air museum. The municipality will start with the redevelopment of the industrial heritage owned by them as an example. The realization of ideas which increase the feeling of the dock get the priority over other initiatives and ideas.
- Space for the construction of new buildings: if the new buildings strengthen the character of the Havenkwartier they can be built. In short it has to be rough.

The discovery of the dock: around the IJssel are strict rules and there are little places where ships can moor, thus the Havenkwartier is a welcome change. Besides a place to moor for ships it is also a beautiful scenery for living, working and events.

- Space for wateractivities: the dock remains a dock, but because efficient design space is created for additional functions such as waterexperiments, such as a floating restaurant.
- Space for looking at the dock. Nowadays just 300 meters of the 2.5 kilometer quay is public space. This proportion will change; there will be a shortcut to the Havenkwartier in the form of a walking and bicycle bridge. Besides the expansion of the quay the places with a good view will be preserved and recuperated.
- Space for a pounding heart in the centre of the Havenkwartier. Because of the size of the Havenkwartier the different activities have to be grouped; the Scheepvaartkade will be designed as a multifunctional Havenplein, the public activities will be grouped around the Noordzeestraat and the quay.

Working in the Havenkwartier: The Havenkwartier Deventer is seen as an urban industrial area, as the link between the centre of the city and the business park Bergweide. After several decennia of zoning functions, now mixing becomes the norm.

- The Havenkwartier is a place for handicraft, production of goods or small-scaled logistics. Service, retailtrade and catering are 'welcome boosters' for the area.

A sanctuary for creative ideas of all: The Havenkwartier is a place where can be experimented; an initiative that is not welcome at other places, is welcome in the Havenkwartier.

- Space for creating and realize new ideas; In the Havenkwartier is space for experimenting, breeding, consuming and producing initiatives. All those ideas can be of temporal or permanent nature.

- Space for the connection and encounter of people. To create a place where people are able to meet others places, moments to remove barriers and start relations are necessary.
- In the Havenkwartier stagnation is seen as deterioration; the Havenkwartier is *the* place where constantly new things can be experienced.

Breedingplace

In 2005 the municipality of Deventer decided to support the development of the cultural breeding place in the Havenkwartier. The creative sector showed interest in the area and the experience from other cities – such as Amsterdam – showed breeding places can be the booster for an area such as the Havenkwartier. The municipality provided the five buildings they own in the Havenkwartier with support from the Province Overijssel. In 2010 the development plan ‘space for ideas’ concluded the cultural breeding place in the Havenkwartier is still developing and the period was too short to draw conclusions on the success of the place. The current design of the breeding place rests on the subsidy from the municipality and the provincial government. Developing the Havenkwartier with the Flemish model shows opportunities for a new design of the breeding place. This can lead to the permanent embedding of the breeding place in the Havenkwartier and thus can lead to new investments. A future design of the breeding place would be helped by more openness, new investments and more room for market oriented entrepreneurs; these measures might create a cultural breeding place which is able to function without subsidies from the municipality.

The organization of the organic development in the Havenkwartier

For the organization of the organic development in the Havenkwartier five perspectives are important; the area, the real estate, the program, the users and the partners.

Area: The municipality realizes the ‘projectbureau Havenkwartier Deventer’, which has the tasks to place the Havenkwartier in a cultural position in the city and to do the marketing and communication. It has the task to guide the policy, plans and procedures regarding the Havenkwartier to start up new projects to boost the area development and to enable private individuals to realize their ideas. In other words the projectbureau is a place where questions about the realization of your idea can be asked. The bureau should be located in the Havenkwartier itself because the door should always be open and the place should be easily accessible for dwellers with questions. The ‘office window for starters’ should be designed by the projectbureau Havenkwartier, the programcommittee and the users of initiatives in the Havenkwartier. People get their questions answered about where to begin with their project. Besides the ‘office window for starters’ the municipality wants to realize a guidance team for the urban development and architectural realization. This team should consist of a supervisor, an urban developer of the municipality and an authorized member of the building aesthetics. The municipality wants to investigate what role the entrepreneurs and residents of the Havenkwartier could get in the guiding of projects in the Havenkwartier. Important in the actualization of ideas, initiatives and projects is the atmosphere, quality and assignment of the Havenkwartier remain present.

Real estate: The development of the real estate in the Havenkwartier is organized in such a manner the new developments should fit in the atmosphere of the Havenkwartier, whether it is about private investors or professional project developers.

Program: an important part of the sanctuary of the Havenkwartier is a lively programming of events and activities. The users of the area organize the activities and an umbrella organization arranges the cohesion between the activities, the marketing and initiates new activities. The present ‘Stichting Havenkwartier’ can play a large role in raising the umbrella organization.

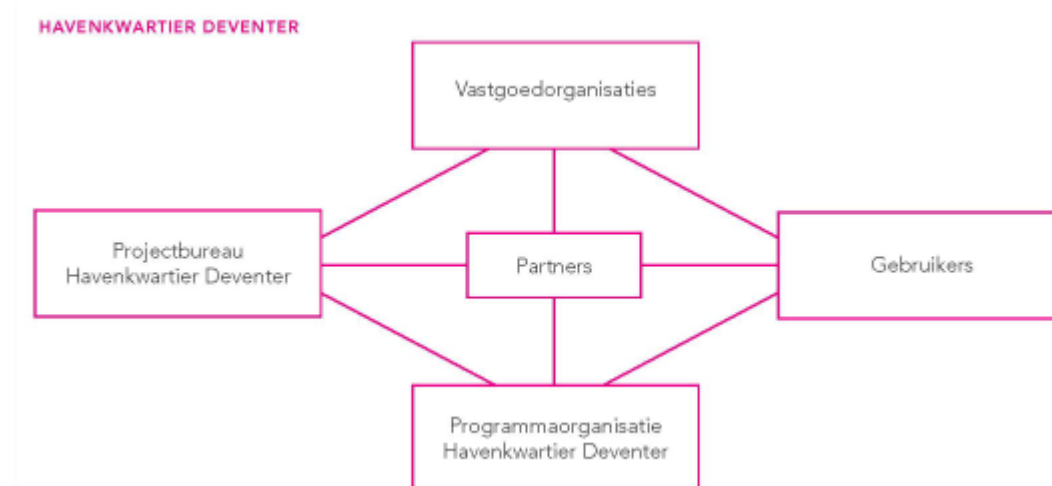
Users: The users of the Havenkwartier are able to organize themselves in many forms.

Partners: Besides the users of the area, several partners are important in the development of the Havenkwartier. Partners in the areas of: innovation and employment, knowledge and education, marketing and communication, art and culture and development and building. Possible partners in the development of the Havenkwartier are the Province of Overijssel, Kunstenlab, Saxion, ROC Aventus and the VVV.

Summing up the stated above can be concluded the development of the Havenkwartier can be seen as a networkorganization. The organizations mentioned above all have their own responsibility and cooperate at the same time. 'The Havenkwartier can therefore be seen as a networkorganization. Between the different parts is no hierarchic relation, it is a se connection. The different organizations act autonomous, but are interdependent at the same time.' For example; the Stichting Havenkwartier can organize the program, but still needs the users in the Havenkwartier. The networkstructure of the different parties in the Havenkwartier can be seen in figure 1.

The gradual development of the Havenkwartier is on the one hand a practical approach in an area in which the municipality and many others own real estate property. On the other hand is large-scaled transformation of the Havenkwartier not desirable. Through the gradual transformation of old and new property might origin a varied, colorful and mixed living- and workplace. The actual realization of small-scaled initiatives and creative ideas of particular individuals increases.

Figure 1. Networkstructure in the Havenkwartier



Source: 'Ontwikkelingsplan – ruimte voor ideeën', 2010.

Visual Quality Plan Havenkwartier Deventer, 2011

The theme of the Havenkwartier is 'space for everyone', which means the residents or entrepreneurs with an inspiring idea can realize their idea, also those with a small or average income. To design a Havenkwartier which does right to the rich history and heritage of the Havenkwartier and at the same time take the budget of the residents and entrepreneurs into account the following strategy is thought of: 'It is the challenge to design an aesthetics which is build not only on money, but on the combination of pragmatism, imagination and creativity that suits an adventurous dockatmosphere.

4.2 Primary data

In this paragraph the primary data collected for this thesis are summarized and described.). In the first interview I talked to Dennis Laing – the projectmanager of the Havenkwartier for the municipality of Deventer (www.Havenkwartierdeventer.com). In the second interview I talked to Wouter de Grootte – who

was advising the municipality of Deventer on the developing strategy of the Havenkwartier, organizing external collaboration and shaping the process and project of the Havenkwartier. Next to the advise on those domains he performed projectmanagement activities in the Havenkwartier (urbanmind.nl). The third interview is with Linda, the founder of Dok H2O. The first permanent organization in the Havenkwartier and therefore a pioneer. Last, the fourth interview is with Babet Olde Weghuis, one of the founders of the corporation Podium Willie and a painter with an atelier in the Havenkwartier.

4.2.1 Interview structures

All interviews I did were semi structured interviews and thus I composed a few questions for the interviewees and a few topics about which I wanted to talk with them. In the next paragraph I will show the interview guidelines per interview and give a short description about the interviewee. After the descriptions of the interviewees I will shortly summarize what was said during the interviews about the constructed concepts. Each concept will be described separately by means of the content of the interviews.

Dennis Laing

On June 21th 2013 I interviewed Dennis Laing, projectmanager of the Havenkwartier and employee of the municipality of Deventer. On behalf of the municipality of Deventer, Dennis Laing is together with Ingrid Bomhof responsible and contact person for the projects and initiatives of the municipality. These initiatives are the private construction of houses (zelf- en samenbouw), the public space of the Havenplein, the development of the real estate property of the municipality and the area around the Black Silo (www.Havenkwartier.nl).

During the interview I had the following questions in the back of my head.

- Why the choice for the Flemish model to develop the Havenkwartier?
- Is the Flemish model a temporary approach or does the municipality thinks this approach will be the standard in the future?
- Is the approach also applicable in other parts of the city?
- How sees the municipality the future of the Havenkwartier?
- To what extent is the development plan guiding?

Wouter Groote

On June 25th 2013 I interviewed Wouter Groote, founder of UrbanMind and consultant and manager of urban development. His focus is on demand-driven urban development through an organic process. He advised the municipality of Apeldoorn on the development of the Kanaalzone by mapping what the strengths of the area are and what they could be used for. Because of this experience Wouter Groote was asked to be the projectmanager of the Havenkwartier and to write a development point of view (ontwikkelvisie) for the Havenkwartier. From 2008 until the end of 2012 Wouter Groote designed the plan of the Havenkwartier in Deventer with Dennis Laing.

During the interview I had the following questions in the back of my mind:

- Why was the choice to the Flemish model made in the Havenkwartier? Is the choice for the development approach temporary? What does the future look like from your point of view?
- To what extent does the organic development of the Havenkwartier creates more diversity in the city of Deventer of the quarter of the Havenkwartier?
- To what extent is the development scheme guiding?

- In the development scheme is the following phrase written: ‘The Havenkwartier will be the place where continuously new things can be experienced, after all: stagnation is deterioration’ (free translation of the development scheme Havenkwartier, 2012). How would you define progress?
- Private contribution and private initiative are the moving force of organic area development, also in the Havenkwartier. To what extent is the development in the Havenkwartier actually the result of bottom-up initiatives? Is it also a matter of steering along the lines of the designed point of view by the municipality? And what are the restrictions to actually realize the initiative?

Linda Dok H2O

On August 14th 2013 I interviewed Linda. Linda is the founder of the cafe-restaurant Dok H2O in the Havenkwartier. She started Dok H2O with Art and they opened two months ago. The restaurant is placed in the centre of the Havenkwartier in the old Bodenloods and is the pioneer, since they are the first commercial business in the Havenkwartier. The founders took the risk to be the first to invest in the Havenkwartier.

The questions I had in the back of my head during the interview were:

- What is it like to be located in the Havenkwartier
- How was – and is – the collaboration with the municipality?
- Is the development of the Havenkwartier a success?

Babet Olde Weghuis

On August 14th 2013 I interviewed Babet Olde Weghuis. She is a painter who works in the Davo building in the Havenkwartier from the beginning in 2005. In this building is the breeding place located. She also was one of the initiators of ‘Podium Willie’ an organization that was one of the first initiatives in the Havenkwartier. Podium Willie was a platform for artists to exhibit their work and later it was also a musical stage and a popular place for events in Deventer. The organization is, however, nowadays not present in the Havenkwartier anymore.

During the interview with Babet I had the following questions in the back of my head:

- What was Podium Willie?
- Why is the organization not present in the Havenkwartier anymore?
- How was the mutual collaboration within the organization of Podium Willie?
- How was the collaboration with the municipality of Deventer?
- Has the breeding place changed during the last 5 years?
- Is the development of the Havenkwartier successful?

4.2.2 The interviewees about organic area development in the Havenkwartier

The organic area development of the Havenkwartier was the red thread through all interviews; however in some interviews it was emphasized more than in others. Dennis Laing and Wouter Groote were proud of the organic development they practice in the Havenkwartier while on the other hand Linda stated she did not notice a different approach of urban development compared to other places.

According to Dennis Laing the development of the Havenkwartier has no blueprint and therefore no beginning and no end. In the entire area around the Mr de Boerlaan the zoning scheme indicates mixed functions are allowed. This indicates a much more loose development than the zoning scheme of the

traditional planning in which almost everything is determined. Wouter Groote states the Havenkwartier is never finished and the process will go on.

Dennis Laing also states the municipality has an enabling role in the process of the development of the Havenkwartier. He states “the municipality has an enabling and steering position”. Along with the enabling position of the municipality belongs to take care of the information supply for the residents of the area. In order to do so the municipality organizes courses and information nights where the future residents or initiators based in the Havenkwartier are able to gain information and learn about the aspects of building a house or start an initiative in the Havenkwartier. According to Dennis Laing these nights and courses are helpful to the residents and initiators in the Havenkwartier, since they get to know how the processes, but also get to know the other residents and initiators. He states the cohesion in the area increases through these nights.

It takes a huge change of the municipal organization to change the mode of thought within the municipality and inform their citizens. Wouter Groote states the mode of thought of a municipality should go through a major change in order to let organic area development work. People should not be afraid to go to the municipality with their idea, present it and try to realize it. The municipality should embrace the idea instead of wait expectantly and skeptically. According to Wouter Groote the municipality of Deventer has gone through a major transformation with the development of the Havenkwartier. Linda of Dok H2O agrees with him on this only partly. In line with Wouter Groote Linda states the municipality has to change and residents and the municipality should collaborate in order to develop the Havenkwartier. The municipality is however, according to her, not ready for this change. She experienced the municipality promised an office window in the Havenkwartier where the municipality could connect with the initiators in the Havenkwartier and the initiators could get their information, however, the office window is still not there.

On the question whether organic area development is about to replace the large-scaled urban development Wouter Groote stated organic area development is only a niche in urban development and not the replacement for the large-scaled developments. However according to him it is nowadays the question what the traditional VINEXneighbourhoods add to society. Dennis Laing agreed with him.

4.2.3 The interviewees about the emotional view on the Havenkwartier

To have an emotional view on the city requires a very different mode of thought compared to the economy based and profit aimed development which was dominant. However what I saw in my interviews was the ability or willingness to look beyond only the economic profit and financial possibilities appears in the interview with Wouter Groote. He states progress in the case of the Havenkwartier means people actually go there, want to be there and want to live there. He also defines progress as an area that keeps changing and remains interesting, with a differentiated number of facilities. For the Havenkwartier that means on the short term, buildings should be renovated and built and on the long term it should remain interesting through the initiatives and atmosphere.

Besides the definition of progress he states the people and stories of the area are important and should be pivotal in the development of the Havenkwartier. To not create an entire new area but to build on what is already there. The history and stories and memories of the people are important for the new vision of the area.

Babet Olde Weghuis agrees the municipality sees different forms of value; financial value and social value in case of the Havenkwartier. However those values are definitely not equal; with Podium Willie they tried to invest in the Havenkwartier and to make the place well known. All the energy and effort they did

voluntarily but the municipality kept asking for adaptations to their mode of operation and did not communicate about the major rent raise which would take place. The municipality did not settle the effort of the volunteers and the added value of Podium Willie to Deventer with the rent of the place in the Havenkwartier.

4.2.4 The interviewees about the increasing diversity in the Havenkwartier

Incorporating the increasing diversity in the Havenkwartier was the third concept I tried to question in my interviews. The first noticeable in the interviews with Dennis Laing and Wouter Groote was they stated the history, the atmosphere of the area and thus the place the area has in the city should be taken into account at the redevelopment of the Havenkwartier. The present buildings are pivotal in the development and new vision of the Havenkwartier.

Besides the use of the present buildings the ground thought of the development of the Havenkwartier was the maximum mix of functions, Dennis Laing states. It was his idea to make the breeding places the pivot of the development of the Havenkwartier. Besides the breeding places, the public space with a cultural program helped in defining the ground thought of the Havenkwartier, he states. According to Dennis Laing the mix of functions in the area attracted a mixed public to invest in the area. Besides the attractiveness of the mix of functions it might also create social control in the area. Since the mixing of functions creates activity in the area for every part of the day; residents are present in the mornings, artists and entrepreneurs during the day and visitors of events during the evening and night, the social control increases.

Not only the functions should be mixed, but also within the same function the appearance of the houses should be diverse. Dennis Laing states the municipality strives for many unique houses in the Havenkwartier and therefore let the people choose whatever house or style suits them.

Diversity in urban development is not only about the mixing of functions but also about the changing demands of the residents of a city, the changing demography and the ability to react on those. Adding to this Wouter Groote states the municipality of Deventer took the trends towards a more demand-driven economy and multifunctional areas into account in the development of the Havenkwartier, not only as a result of the economic crisis, but already before the crisis.

4.2.5 The interviewees about the increasing citizen participation in the urban development of the Havenkwartier

The increasing citizen participation in urban development is the most practical concept in this research; therefore it was most discussed during my interviews. There is one major division to be made within the concept of citizen participation and that is the difference between the ability of the municipality to let the responsibility be in the hands of the citizens and on the other hand the ability of the citizens to take the responsibility.

Organic area development is made or broken by the bottom up initiatives of the residents and initiators in the area. For this to work the guidelines for the development and information flow from the municipality to the residents and back has to be good.

The municipality has to set guidelines – create a vision of the area – for their residents otherwise not much can be expected of them. As well Dennis Laing, Wouter Groote and Linda of Dok H2O agree. However, to what extent these guidelines are present in the current development of the Havenkwartier, the opinion differs. Dennis Laing states the municipality has set clear guidelines in what kind of initiatives and residents they want to accommodate in the Havenkwartier. According to Wouter Groote setting guidelines as a municipality does not only mean to create a vision of what the area should be like but also have an answer

to many questions. “Enabling as a municipality means; put a lot of energy in the process, give real estate a new use, redevelop property, communicate with initiators in order to answer their questions: what can I do, what am I allowed to do, what does it cost?”, Wouter Groote. If those answers are not available initiators lose their interest in the project or get confused. Linda agrees with Wouter Groote and states the municipality does not have its answers to those questions ready. Many times Linda wants to organize an event in the Havenkwartier, which according to the mixed zoning scheme should be possible, but it is could not be realized because the other departments of the municipality are not informed or not adjusted to the approach of development in the Havenkwartier. Especially regarding permits the municipality has its answers not available and the guidelines are not clear. This in contrast with the interview of Dennis Laing when he states the process of organic area development in the Havenkwartier demands a change in mindset for the municipality and the municipality functions nowadays as an office window where people with good ideas can come with their information.

The approach of urban development as used in the Havenkwartier is not applicable to more locations, since people are not ready to invest the amount of time in their living environment as the approach demands. Most of the people are not ready to build their own house and may never be.

According to Wouter Groote, one of the most important characteristics of organic area development is to place the most of the responsibility at the residents. They have to organize themselves. However, he also states not every resident has the capacity, time or energy to organize him or herself. Looking after the less privileged Dennis Laing states the municipality tries to build rental houses in collaboration with housing cooperations to build rental houses, which will be the possession of the renter on the long-term. However, this is a difficult project and not the priority of the municipality.

Both Linda and Babet do not feel as if the municipality consider them as a serious actor in the development of the Havenkwartier; the municipality does not communicate with them about their plans with the Havenkwartier and what is about to happen. This communication would show an equal and fair treatment of the municipality and would get both of them to trust the municipality much more than they do now. The constant change of spokespersons of the municipality and the decision making actors does decrease the trust they have in the municipality as well. They both state they do not know the new responsible decision maker from the municipality and they have to explain everything to them and build their trust. That takes time and in this time they cannot develop the Havenkwartier as would have wanted to.

5. Organic area development in the Havenkwartier – intentions, practice or just an illusion – the analysis

In this analysis chapter the first conclusions will be derived from the empirical data in the previous chapter. The concepts as described in the methodology chapter will be discussed successively; organic area development, an emotional view on the city, increasing diversity in the city and the increasing citizen participation in urban development. The description of organic area development and the traditional Dutch planning will be discussed in the same paragraph.

The chapter describes whether the formulated characteristics of the different concepts are seen in the empirical chapter and which findings are remarkable.

5.1 Organic area development

In this paragraph I try to describe whether the urban development in the Havenkwartier is done by the approach of organic area development as operationalized in chapter 3.

The first and careful conclusion is that in the intentions of the municipality to develop the Havenkwartier through the approach of organic area development is absolutely there, however in the actual practice the approach is scarcely out of the egg.

In the aims of the municipality in the development scenarios of the Havenkwartier (2009) can be seen the central values in redeveloping the Havenkwartier are: respect for cultural heritage, a mix of working and residential area, the breeding place as the pivot of the place, characteristic houses and a gradual development. The municipality states their role is 'varicolored; they help in the development of parcels but also enable the realization of different initiatives'.

Dennis Laing states *'What I think is most interesting is the direct contact with the end users of the area. The intermediate layer of developers and investors makes the process of urban development a difficult process'*. This quote shows the intentions of the municipality to place the users of the area central in the development and the switch from a large-scaled development to small-scaled development. Since the collaboration with project developers and intermediate layers are seen as complicating factor in the process of urban development. The development of the Havenkwartier is also an open end process without the use of a blueprint.

Several times the 'ambitions in local features and characteristics' recur; the influence of the existing buildings on the atmosphere and the importance of preserving the atmosphere in the Havenkwartier lead to the development of the area.

Remarkable however, is the interwoven building, supervision, maintenance and development of the property is stated nowhere in the empirical material. The idea the end user is responsible for all of those stages of the process cannot explicitly be found in the intentions of the municipality; for now the intentions are about the building of the process. They think about the short term consequences for the end user.

Another remarkable feature of the organic area development is the initiatives from society, which are leading; the municipality has a very strong vision on what the Havenkwartier should be like; a creative, tough and unique place. The initiatives from society can play a role in that development but the concept of the municipality is leading. Also looking at the interviews with the two users of the area, the initiatives do take place, but the idea of the municipality is leading. The initiatives have to adjust to the concept and the idea of the municipality. Thereby is the communication with the municipality is very bad.

The difference between the organic area development and the traditional Dutch planning are presented in the development scenarios of the Havenkwartier (2009);

- Instead of large-scaled transformation, the area is developed on parcel level, thus house by house, parcel by parcel and building by building.
- The starting point is not a new design from the drawing-board, but an approach that incorporates the present ambience, perception and history of the area.
- The aim is a mixed living- and working environment in contrast to the traditional supply; the monotonous neighbourhoods and large-scaled industrial parks.
- Instead of the supply-oriented approach the demands and wishes of the dwellers are put central in the urban development.
- Urban development is not only the responsibility of the municipality but also of the other parties in the area.

Looking at these intentions the Havenkwartier is being developed through organic area development and not through the traditional Dutch planning. However, looking at the characteristics of traditional Dutch planning, the practice of the development of the Havenkwartier has still some characteristics of the traditional planning. According to Linda and Babet; the municipality is still very regulatory, rule bound and inflexible. The goodwill of the municipality decreases if the area becomes more popular and they are able to earn more money, according to Babet. Still if the municipality has the opportunity they choose to let them lead by the economy.

The current approach is – then again – not like the old masterplan a good example of traditional Dutch planning. The former masterplan was a large-scaled and integral plan in which many developments were interwoven; such as the wall of buildings, which would form a buffer between the area of Bergweide and the Havenkwartier. And in order to choose in favour of the Flemish model the Raadsvoorstel stated: *‘That is why your board has to make a comparative assessment. The assessment comes down to the answer on the question which method of redevelopment/revitalization of the Havenkwartier brings the largest social output’*.

Many of the characteristics of organic area development are seen in the development of the Havenkwartier; only two characteristics are not seen in the empirical chapter. Thus I carefully may conclude in the Havenkwartier report has it that the approach of organic area development, the way I defined it in the methodological chapter, is used.

5.2 An emotional view on the city

In this paragraph I try to describe the emotional view on the city in the organic area development in the Havenkwartier. In the methodology chapter I defined a few characteristics of the emotional view on the city which can be found in the empirical chapter.

In the development aims in the development scenarios (2009) is written *‘the important aims for Deventer are focused on culture, economy, employment, cultural history and living. These aims come together in the Havenkwartier. ... The Havenkwartier can therefore be a place for starting entrepreneurs, for youngsters. A successful development of the Havenkwartier would be helped by an integral program approach in which other aims play an important role besides the ‘physical aim’*. This quote represents the emotional view on the city as experienced in Deventer. The municipality tries to look beyond the economic profit and possibilities by formulating aims on education, culture and living.

The municipality also has the intention – or aim – to preserve, renovate and redevelop the cultural historical heritage in the Havenkwartier (development scenarios, 2009). The cultural heritage is put central

in the concept of the future Havenkwartier; the atmosphere in the Havenkwartier and the industrial look are mostly determined by the existing buildings. Give the existing buildings a central role in defining the atmosphere of the 'new' Havenkwartier indicates the municipality looked at the spirit of the Havenkwartier.

The municipality has the intention to embed the cultural breeding place in the Havenkwartier. Making a breeding place the booster of the area can be seen as a creative solution to give a positive vibe to the place and to make the place well-known. This intention does show a more emotional view on the city; there might be attention for other economies of the city, such as emotional economies. However, the interview with Babet Olde Weghuis does show in practice the implementation of the emotional view on the city is different. Babet states the municipality tries to make her sign a year contract and keep the artists in the Havenkwartier for at least a year. This might indicate the municipality still sees the space in the Havenkwartier as sheer productive space, while this vision could be extended to ludic space.

Also in the collaboration between the municipality and Podium Willie, the municipality tried to weight up the acts of Podium Willie and the financial contribution of the municipality. They made the exchange Podium Willie could be in a building in the area without paying rent, if they organized events and boost the Havenkwartier. According to Babet the effort Podium Willie put in the area was not appreciated enough by the municipality. The effort was very big and the municipality did not pay attention to it. They just wanted to earn more money and make sure the success of Podium Willie was maintained. In this, there are different forms of value; financial, material and social. However, these values – for example the financial and social value in the case of Podium Willie – are not valued equally. Babet feels the social value of Podium Willie equaled the financial value of being in the Havenkwartier, but the municipality thought differently. Which is logically for the municipality, since they cannot keep spending money, however, they did not acknowledge the effort of the team of Podium Willie enough?

The visual quality plan (2011) states: *'It is the challenge to design an aesthetics which is build not only on money, but on the combination of pragmatism, imagination and creativity that suits an adventurous dock atmosphere'*. The former quote indicates the municipality has a view for the ludic, and not merely productive, spaces, to look beyond the solely productive and incorporate the creative. It also might indicate they juxtapose emotion and reason, looking for a combination of imagination and pragmatism shows both emotion and reason are used in creating the Havenkwartier. And third, this shows the municipality is alert to the city senses; to the feeling and keeping the dock atmosphere.

Wouter Groote defines progress in the Havenkwartier as *'a state in which people actually go the Havenkwartier, want to be there and want to live there. Progress is the area remains interesting and keeps changing. A differentiated number of facilities; Dok H2O where you can eat drink or work; concerts, people meeting those are the things that define progress in the Havenkwartier. On the short term progress means buildings are being built and renovated'*. In this definition of progress Wouter Groote shows the willingness to think beyond the production of property and to juxtapose the different forms of value.

The mixing of the breeding place, the renovation of cultural heritage, the building of new buildings and the mix of working and living can be called a hybrid culture. The question is to what extent this mix is created by citizens. The aim of the municipality is according to Dennis Laing: mix to the max. And in the zoning scheme the mix of functions is established. The citizens can however, give their own interpretation to the area and the function they want to implement in the Havenkwartier.

The stated above might indicate the concept of the emotional view on the city is seen in the development of the Havenkwartier; however I need to place a critical note. The intentions of the municipality point very much in the direction of a more emotional view on the city since all nine characteristics can be found in the documents which describe the intentions and in the interviews with Wouter Groote and Dennis Laing. The

interviews with Babet Olde Weghuis and Linda show juxtaposing emotion and reason is done by the municipality as long as the area is not popular and no profit can be made. In other words as long as they do not have a lucrative alternative. In this intention there seems to be a relation between the occurring of the economic crisis and the practical implementation of the emotional view on the city; when the municipality does not have the opportunity to gain profit from the Havenkwartier, they are willing to look beyond the profit and juxtapose emotion and reason. However, it might also be the case the change to the emotional view on the city is still moving slowly and thus the mindset is still changing. It appears the intention of the municipality is there to implement the emotional view on the city in the development of the Havenkwartier. In practice it is moving towards the incorporation of a more emotional city in developing the Havenkwartier.

5.3 Increasing diversity in the city

In this paragraph I describe to what extent the increasing diversity in the city is seen in the development of the Havenkwartier. The vital characteristic of the increasing diversity in the city is there is an eye for the individuality or uniqueness of the area; for the people that live and work in the area, companies which are based in the area, the history, culture and the place the area has in the city.

The aims for the development of the Havenkwartier, written in the development plan (2010), try to hold on to the uniqueness and individuality of the Havenkwartier by using the cultural heritage as a source of inspiration, keep the unique feeling of the dock, the atmosphere of hard work and robustness, try to mix the work and residential function in the Havenkwartier and make the Havenkwartier a sanctuary for creative ideas. The combination of these aims point to a unique part of the city of Deventer; the old heritage buildings and influence of the area still being a dock combined with the new working and residential area of the creative class provides a unique and diverse area in which the diversity is reflected.

Dennis Laing states *'The aim for the Havenkwartier is a maximum mix of functions'*. The choice of choosing a mixture of functions grew also organically. Hardly any people lived in the area; by creating the function of living in the area the social function is increased. Combining the functions of living, working and catering in the area creates a natural social control in the area.

However Babet Olde Weghuis is more pessimistic about the heterogeneity – and thus diversity – of the residents and artists in the area. The municipality tries to attract many creative people to the area, but according to Babet Olde Weghuis the most artists have moved to the area just around the Havenkwartier, to the industrial area. This way they still have the connection with the area, but not the fuss and paperwork the municipality requires. Most artists in the Davo building doubt if they want to stay.

Besides the heterogeneity of the artists in the area Babet also states the concept the municipality wants to realize, is not a success. *'The success of the development of the Havenkwartier is decreasing. The new people and new places are not very creative themselves. It depends on the people they attract to the Havenkwartier if the concept the municipality had in mind will be a success.'* She agrees the development of the Havenkwartier can still be a success if the idea of the municipality of attracting the creative class does not work. The area can still develop very well if the actual outcomes deviate from the original concept for the Havenkwartier.

Furthermore the increasing diversity takes the changing demography and uncertain future into account. In the interview Wouter Groote states *'Urban development oriented on the demands of the consumer is a growing trend. More often is wondered what the monofunctional residential areas, office parks and VINEX areas add to society'*. The changing demography and development on the demands of the consumer result in diverse areas developed with an eye on the future. In the interview he also states a

vibrant area means progress in his definition. Therefore 'striving for a vital everyday surrounding' might be seen in the development of the area.

In the development of the Havenkwartier is a special notice for flexibility, this is important because the world is constantly changing (developmentscenarios, 2009). The real estate market is flighty and hard to predict, therefore flexibility in planning is important. With the use of gradual development, the municipality tries to make the Havenkwartier flexible and adaptable to the constant changing market, demands en demography. The flexibility of adapting to circumstances is seen a more important than to hold on to the framework made beforehand.

The stated above indicates the increasing diversity in urban development is present. All of the formulated characteristics are present in the analyzed documents and interviews. The current circumstances might influence the presence of the increasing diversity, but more likely would be the increasing diversity in the city has started to appear in urban planning and especially in organic planning in the Havenkwartier.

5.4 increasing citizen participation in urban development

In this paragraph I describe to what extent the increasing citizen participation is present in the development of the Havenkwartier. This concept is defined by many characteristics, which I will not discuss point by point, but will try to arrange them in subcategories.

The first subcategory is; the fundamental attitude of the government and decision making actors has to change by inviting and enabling initiatives. This consist of a place where the people are able to propose their initiative, the deciding actors should be willing and enabling towards new initiatives and the local government has to give understandable information to the residents and trust them.

The municipality, however, has been an organization that decides what is good for her citizens in the last decades. Many residents do not dare to come to the municipality with their idea or initiative because they are afraid they do not get help, whereas the municipality should embrace the initiatives, according to Wouter Groote.

For the organization of the organic development in the Havenkwartier five perspectives are important; the area, the real estate, the program, the users and the partners. These perspectives should come together in the 'office window' for starters. The office window is important in the actualization of ideas, initiatives and projects. Summing up the stated above the Havenkwartier can be seen as a network organization. The organizations – as seen in the figure in the empirical chapter – all have their own responsibility and cooperate at the same time. Between the different parts is no hierarchic relation, it is a loose connection (Development plan, 2010). This indicates the government considers the residents a serious actor in the process of the urban development. There is no hierarchical structure. In order to do so the organization of the municipality has to change. They have to invest a lot of energy in the process of urban development; think about a concept or vision for the area, communicate with residents and initiators and have the answers ready to get the people going, since the normally lose their interest in six months, according to Wouter Groote. To give residents understandable information the office window has to be present, in the development plan it was the intention to be there, just as Dennis Laing and Wouter Groote stated in their interviews. However Babet and Linda state the office window is still not present in the Havenkwartier yet. This results in a lack of information for the entrepreneurs in the area. Babet states *'the contact with the municipality is bad because they do not communicate'*.

Besides the communication and the network structure of the Havenkwartier an enabling municipality has to set guidelines for the development of the area. Dennis Laing states: *"The municipality*

should act facilitating, but not do too much. The citizens get other expectations of your facilitating position and expect you to arrange many things in public space. The balance in what the citizens expect of us and what the municipality wants to give has to be found”.

The second subcategory is; the planners think of active citizenry and consider the citizens as a serious actor. They reward active citizens with less administrative work.

Considering citizens a serious actor also means they have to be heard. According to Babet and Linda this is not the case. *‘Several years we tried to explain to the municipality they could not find someone else to organize the same program as we did with Podium Willie, but they would not listen’* - Babet. *‘We had to adapt to the demands of the municipality; make a website, make a new marketing plan, program a year in advance. We did everything. But they ask so much of you in the form of a mass of paperwork and interim evaluations while organizing the events was good as it was’* - Babet. Linda states she is not very positive about the collaboration with the municipality of Deventer; many times the communication is not clear or absent. Besides that, the coordination of the policy about the Havenkwartier within the organization of the municipality is not as it should be.

However, the fact the Havenkwartier is develop gradually through a Flemish model suggests the municipality does see the citizens as a serious actor. Due to the gradual development in the area the speed and pace of the development is determined by parties with good initiatives and own properties or ground in the Havenkwartier. The municipality has no longer alone the control over the pace of the development (developmentscenarios, 2009).

There is space in the Havenkwartier for citizens to build their own house. The government trusts the citizens are willing to do so. The same holds for the Havenkwartier as a sanctuary for creative ideas, to brand the Havenkwartier in that way and to depend on citizens to act, the municipality has to trust the active citizenry (development plan 2010).

The visual quality plan has its origin in the consultations between the municipality and the future residents of the Havenkwartier. The consultation was not only with the private individuals who are building their house in the Havenkwartier, but also with people who buy pilots in order to develop them and people from the foundation industrial heritage. The consulting of the citizens and other developing parties before the elaboration of the concept of the Havenkwartier shows equality in the treatment of the other parties. And thus are residents considered a serious actor in the process.

The third subcategory is; the municipality has to have an open mode of thinking and a flexible zoning scheme.

Having an open mode does mean for the municipality they let part of the process go and place the development in the hands of residents. A big step and according to Linda not all departments of the municipality were able to adapt to this mode of thought and work. The gap between the flexible zoning scheme where many possibilities are in the Havenkwartier and the department of permits is big. However, Linda, Wouter Groote and Dennis Laing all agree the municipality has to give guidelines to the citizens in the Havenkwartier since they need a vision and a future image of the area. If there are no guidelines, the residents do not know what to do. The experience shows people expect some guidelines in the process of urban development. Since people are not used to the freedom and do not know how to act, according to Wouter Groote.

The fourth subcategory is; the municipality can make budgets per district and has to look after the accessibility of the less privileged.

Wouter Groote states; some people are able to organize themselves and are able to think beyond their own needs and wishes. However, there are few who have enough capacity, time and skill to actually organize their living environment. For the majority of the people holds they do not have the time, skill or capacity. Although Dennis Laing and the municipality try to help the less privileged to start their initiative; think along with housing corporations to build a few rental houses for people with little money and going to the bank for an artist to show the bank the municipality trusts in them. But overall the Havenkwartier is a place where the less privileged are not able to participate, even if they have the ideas, they do not have the money. If the office window actually will be realized in the Havenkwartier also those who do not have the access to knowledge, will be able to gain the knowledge. But as we speak this is not the case.

The fifth subcategory is; citizens have to show an active role, they have to trust the municipality and have to be willing to put effort in self organization.

The existence of the different initiatives in the Havenkwartier indicates the willingness of the citizens for self organization. However, Wouter Groote and Dennis Laing both state the majority of the people does not want to put as much energy in their living environment as the Havenkwartier asks.

For the people in the Havenkwartier holds they are willing to put the effort in the Havenkwartier, but they do not trust the municipality. Babet states; *'the municipality is a very different organization than the artists in the Havenkwartier. To make a bridge between the artists and the municipality is difficult. We [artists] had the goodwill to put ourselves in the position of the municipality, but the other way around it appears to be more difficult. They have to keep law and statutes in mind.'*

The stated above does not give an exclusive conclusion on whether the increasing citizen participation in the city is reflected in the urban development in the Havenkwartier. The formulated characteristics of the increasing citizen participation can all be found in the analyzed data. However, for most of the criteria counts the intention is there but the practical implementation is not. Especially for the information provision and the involvement of the less privileged in urban development, counts the implementation is not ready. Thus the careful conclusion can be made urban development through bottom up citizen participation is not the case in the Havenkwartier.

6. Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter I will summarize and reflect on the most important findings of this research and the effects of the findings on the theoretic framework from chapter two. In the discussion section I will reflect on my research and give suggestions for future research.

6.1 conclusion

In this study I tried to focus on the concepts and ideas behind the choice for organic area development and the incorporation of 'an emotional view on the city', 'increasing diversity in the city' and the 'increasing citizen participation in urban development' in the practical implementation of the concept. In order to do so I tried to answer the following research question:

To what extent has the method of organic area development incorporated the more emotional view on the city, the increasing diversity in the city and the increasing citizen participation the city in the practical implementation and the initial ideas behind the urban development of the Havenkwartier?

The Havenkwartier in Deventer was the central case in my thesis and could be seen as a 'most likely case' in which the development through organic area development is able to work and the three societal changes on paper have the possibility to appear. To answer my research question I had to describe the phenomenon of organic area development in the Havenkwartier, look at the relations between the practical outcomes and implementation of the policy and the circumstances in which they are implemented. In other words the description of the current state of the Havenkwartier lead to the search for the presence of the concept of organic area development in the development of the area. To research the incorporation of the three societal changes in the approach of organic area development I decided to distinguish the intentions of the municipality to practice the changes and the actual implementation or realization of the changes.

In order to answer my question I researched the documents about the development of the Havenkwartier and interviewed decision makers being a part of the municipality, an artist involved in a successful project and an unsuccessful project and an initiator of a current successful initiative in the area. I have thus interviewed as well the view of the municipality as the view of the citizens, thus different perspectives and different decision making levels.

In the empirical and analytical chapters can be read to what extent the concept organic area development is used in the development of the Havenkwartier. My careful conclusion is the development of the Havenkwartier is done by the approach of organic area development. According to my findings the intentions and actual practice of the urban development in de Havenkwartier differ very much from the traditional Dutch planning and many characteristics of organic area development can be found in the Havenkwartier.

As for the incorporation of the concept 'emotional view on the city' holds the intentions to practice the concept and act on the societal change are there, as can be found in the documents and interviews. However, the actual practice of the concept is not there, since many of the characteristics are not realized in the Havenkwartier. An example is the different forms of value which are present as long there is no alternative and the financial value does not lives up. The disparity between the intentions and ideals and the implementation might be that having an emotional view on the city does not fit in the current liberal ideals and framework of society. Deviating from this point of view demands a very big change in the mode of thought. After all to be creative and to place creativity and ludicity central in urban development

deviates from the thought everything should be used and useful. I still think the change to think beyond merely the productive space is slowly appearing since the intentions as well from the municipality as from the residents is present. The civil service and the organization of the municipality has not had the change to adapt.

For the concept of the diversity of the city the counts both the intentions as well as the implementation are present in the Havenkwartier. All defined characteristics can be found in the analyzed documents and the held interviews. Possibly for this concept there is no gap between the organic planning ideals and the implementation because the trend of a growing diversity has started few decades ago with the growing possibilities and life courses of people. The meritocratic society multiplied the options of the life course of people and the multicultural society also started decades ago.

To the concept of the increasing citizen participation in urban development can be ascribed the same conclusion as the concept of the emotional view on the city. The intentions of the municipality are present, however there cannot be found enough characteristics of the concept to conclude the implementation of the concept is present. This holds both for the perspective of the municipality as well as the perspective of the citizens. Why can this disparity possibly exist? In my opinion this can be seen in the interviews with Wouter Groote and Linda. They both state the municipality has to go through a major change on organizational level and mode of thought in order to actually realize a successful self organization in the Havenkwartier. According to Wouter Groote the municipality gone through a major transition already, however Linda puts the statement of Wouter Groote into perspective. She states the transition of the municipality is not thoroughly enough to enable successful self organization and bottom up development in the Havenkwartier. The start of the transition from an omniscient government to an enabling and cooperative government has begun, but perhaps not far enough to actually realize the urban development of the Havenkwartier through a bottom up activity.

The present ideals of organic planning and the lacking implementation of those ideals can be related to the theory in the second chapter of my thesis. In the theory chapter I elaborated on the changing planning doctrine and the accompanying 'planning principles' and 'principles of spatial organization'. The principle of spatial organization is a complex set of concepts about the spatial arrangements in a given area, that is. A successful principle of spatial organization acts out the underlying ideas. The planning principles are related to the preparation, form and implementation of plans. They are not only about the planning practice but also about the set of concepts and ideas about good planning, the actors and the patterns of consensus. According to Roodbol-Mekkes et al. (2012) the planning doctrine can either change suddenly and revolutionary but it can also change gradually. In the case of the organic area development in the Havenkwartier I think the latter is the matter. The set of concepts about the spatial arrangements in the area change slowly and this also counts for the preparation, form and implementation of plans. The preparation already has changed but regarding the implementation the change is not that advanced.

In other words the planning doctrine is slowly changing to a post-modern doctrine. According to Healy (1997) the post-modern planning is concerned with a growing interest in participatory planning, the search for place identity and cultural specificity, an appreciation of the historicity of places and the turn to heritage, the primacy of mixed and flexible land use, and a return to the human scale, urban compactness and high-density development. Scale would be seen in terms of interconnections; an overlapping network with continuous flows of people, resources and knowledge. The role of the planner in a post-modern perspective might be a 'collaborative planning' through discursive deliberation (Healy, 1997). The changes described by Healy in the stated above can all be found in the planning in the Havenkwartier.

To conclude regarding to my hypotheses, all three concepts of societal change can be found in the intentions of the organic area development and the emphasis on all three of them is stronger than with the traditional Dutch approach. However, the emphasis is stronger for the diversity in the city, since this concept is as well intentional as implemented present.

6.2 discussion

This research focused on the Havenkwartier in Deventer and choose to evaluate the incorporation of the three larger societal trends in the policy of organic development. Since this research is only about the Havenkwartier, the results cannot be expanded to the rest of the Netherlands and other implementations of organic area development. However, it might be interesting to do a similar research in other cases in the Netherlands in order to see if the same results appear. Researching other cases might enlighten on mechanisms shown in this research and might show different results for cases or projects in different phases of the development.

Since the approach of organic area development is scarcely out of the egg, knowledge about the bottlenecks and origin of certain developments is informative since they can help to improve the approach of urban development and ease the process of urban development. The output might help to realize, shape and polish the new development of organic area development and places the knowledge about organic area development in perspective. Knowing there is a gap between the ideals of the municipality and the residents and the actual implementation might be relevant for those executing the urban development in the Havenkwartier. They are able to track the disparities and try to overcome them.

Every research has its strong and its weak points, so does this research. Being my first qualitative research it shows some deficits in the research framework. The choice for the Havenkwartier in Deventer as a case was a choice for the most likely case scenario; if the organic area development would work somewhere it would be in Deventer with a rich history of citizen participation and shared responsibility. Comparing two cases and see if the same problems occurred in both cases would be interesting as well, if not more constructive. So would have been interviews with more people to enlighten more angles of the story. Such as different people from the municipality – for instance the permit department – and different entrepreneurs from the Havenkwartier itself.

On the other hand, this research also has its strong points. Organic area development is a recent development and at the same time a reaction on recent developments. Developments in the urban planning, but also broader societal developments. The description and theoretical embedding of a new development leads to new knowledge and practical useful knowledge. The recent development of the approach can be seen as a weak and a strong point at the same time. The actual implementation of the approach in the Havenkwartier has just started recently, thus it might be possible not all deficits are visible yet. On the other hand it also means the development is alive and ongoing and evaluating while implementing the direction of the project can be adjusted.

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Appendix

Interview with Dennis Laing

In the Havenkwartier private individuals have the possibility to build their own house. There is room for 15 to 30 houses, depending on the width of the houses; they can be built on strips of land of 1.2m, varying from four to eight strips of land. People build the houses next to each other; this is a different form of building private houses. Before, it consisted of the selling of parcels, but when people build their house against the house of the neighbours there more to it than just your own ideas. You have to take the house of the neighbours into account.

The municipality gives much freedom in the design of the house; the number of floors is free to choose, the height, the depth, the color, the material. The visual quality plan (beeldkwaliteitplan) gives an example of what the Havenkwartier could be like and what the houses can be like. It inspires to think about the uniqueness of the houses. During the first information night 90 people were interested, but many people dropped out because they thought the project was too free. People want to have the freedom themselves, but when their neighbour has the same freedom, people do not like the freedom. Eventually about 40 people dropped out because they could not get their project financed or could not sell their own houses. As we speak 15 houses are sold in the Havenkwartier. An employee of the municipality is in charge in order to see if the construction of the houses is well and if the builders need help. The municipality takes an enabling and steering position.

The municipality of Deventer tried to create cohesion between the new residents of the Havenkwartier by organizing classes and information nights. The new residents had to present their ideas to each other and give feedback and learn from each other. The meetings result in the first barbecues before the building has started and the people already feel connected.

The course contained of three nights in which different aspects were treated; how do I build a house, to which things I pay attention, how I choose an architect, how do I arrange the financial part and what does a building agreement contain – juridically considered.

The meetings of the course had the side effect the people got to know each other, discussed their plans and felt connected. However, the municipality learned from this course when the municipality regulates things for her citizens, they become expectant. An example; the municipality thought a collective construction site for the future residents would be a good idea, thus not every building contractor has its own hut and aggregate. The future residents also thought the collective construction site would be a good idea, however, because the municipality came up with the idea the residents made it the responsibility of the municipality to create the site and waited for the municipality to actually arrange it. The future residents sat by and watched and waited for the municipality to present the next step, because of the offer of the courses. But this is not the case, people have to act themselves. Take over too much tasks creates expectant people commenting the municipality and waiting for the municipality to act. *Was that also the case in other examples or aspects?* There were several times when the municipality thought it would be good to act coordinative, when it appeared to be not a good idea after all. When the municipality takes the control/coordination people eventually expect more than we can offer. You almost become a project developer, which is just not the idea.

Is offering or organizing guidance to residents or other people with good initiatives in the Havenkwartier a responsibility of the municipality? In fact it is primary not a responsibility of the municipality. Looking at private initiatives of building a house, it is the responsibility of the people themselves. However, people

appreciate the municipality acts guiding and besides that, it is a way to steer the processes in the area. At the information nights the future residents meet each other several times and the social cohesion is already organized. On these nights the municipality acted as tutor and grants permissions for the buildings. In this process external parties also thought about the permissions for the buildings. By letting the external people think along with the future residents the process became as effective as possible.

I [Dennis Laing] am also concerned with the construction of the business district A1, besides the construction of the Havenkwartier. What I think is most interesting of those projects is the direct contact with the end users of the area. The intermediate layer of developers and investors makes the process of urban development a difficult process. When the contact is with the end user – who eventually pays the project – you do not have to worry about the quality of the building or project. *Is it a matter of more involvement in the area?* Yes, much more! People are worried about everything; the design of the public space, where the lamppost will be located etc. People will think along about everything; in the Havenkwartier the thinking along leads to a better process because the people are enthusiastic. The visual quality plan has its origin in the consultations between the municipality and the future residents of the Havenkwartier. The consultation was not only with the private individuals who are building their house in the Havenkwartier, but also with people who buy pilots in order to develop them and people from the foundation industrial heritage.

Is the development in different tempos a hindering for the public space? Do people mind the different tempos? Normally the public space is constructed last in urban development, when the houses and other buildings are already constructed. In the Havenkwartier it is the other way around. The public space is already created. The municipality did so to give a signal to the new investors the municipality also is willing to invest in this area, that they want to do more than only publish a book on what the area could be like and also actually wants to do something concrete. For the future residents and entrepreneurs it is also good to have the public space finished, since they do not live on a construction site for five years.

Has the municipality a clear idea of what the Havenkwartier will look like? We do not know how the Havenkwartier will be in the end. The development plan (ontwikkelplan) is a kind of final image, but it is an example image of what the area could be like. What is certain are the places where can be build and where is room for public space. The division between public space and building space has been defined. But even that division is not that strict; about ten percent of the public space can be built on. Further we want a mix of functions in the area, where they are located is not important. What is important is that around the Havenplein initiatives are started which will cause a stir. Those initiatives should fit to the open character of the square. Besides those guidelines the municipality has a few initiatives they want to realize in the next few years; to restore the silos and a few pilots and to build 140 student rooms.

According to Dennis Laing the process without a clear begin and end is not uncomfortable for the residents of the Havenkwartier. For the employees of the municipality that is however the case. The process demands a change in mindset for the employees of the municipality. Since the municipality of Deventer owns several buildings in the Havenkwartier they have the possibility to rent or sell them to parties or initiatives they trust and of whom they think will fit in the image they created of the Havenkwartier. Nowadays the municipality functions as an office window where people with good ideas can come for information. This way they try to trigger the organic development in the Havenkwartier. The slow, differentiated manner of development is not interesting for project developers.

To what extent is the concept used in the Havenkwartier applicable on other areas in Deventer? The municipality researches how the flexibility of the zoning scheme and the communication with the different parties during the process can be used in other places and areas. In Deventer there are many areas where would be build. What you could do is to throw all the masterplans, views of the area, and development plans away and make room to guide initiatives which can lead to development of the area; just as is done in the Havenkwartier, based on organic development. A certain framework has to be made. If there is no framework, people can get no grip on the project and development. You cannot expect people to develop initiatives. But the principle of as a manner of speech give someone with a good idea a red carpet treat and serve as an office window for good ideas, is a principle which is applicable in more places in the city. The ground thought of thinking from the tempting of the citizens to organize and to think along with them should be practicable in more places. *Does the municipality see the residents of Deventer want this development? And does the municipality think there is enough initiative from the people?* The number of people willing to build their own house, is slowly growing, but I estimate about 80 percent of the people is not ready to build their own house and they will not have to. Still many rental houses and VINEX houses are built to supply those who do not want to build their house of their wishes. It is a misunderstanding organic area development is the easy way out for the municipality; they have to do many preparations and have to create a vision on what they want with an area. Otherwise, without a framework, you cannot expect anything of the residents of your city. They need guidelines.

To what extent is the development plan guiding? In principle the development plan is a guideline and is the zoning scheme a large orange spot 'mixed functions'. However, there will always be initiatives which will not fit in the Havenkwartier; if a supermarket or mortgage shop wants to settle in the Havenkwartier the municipality thinks they do not cause a stir in the Havenkwartier. But if they are determined to settle in the Havenkwartier, the municipality has no ground to refuse them from being there, the zoning scheme has after all room for 500 m² office buildings.

Why the choice for the Flemish model? The three scenarios – the Dutch model, the 'save my purse' model and the Flemish model – have been presented to the council of the municipality of Deventer and all parties except the Socialist Party vote in favour of the Flemish model. The Socialist Party voted against the plan because the alderman could not guarantee the plan would be executed as designed.

In Belgium the habit of buying your piece of land and develop your own house on the land has settled down. People in Belgium do not buy a house of a project developer. The thought of how to deal with housing is also different in Germany than in the Netherlands. In Germany residents buy a piece of land with their saving money and the bank mainly finances the buildings on the land. *Not everyone has the same possibility to create or execute their own initiative. For instance get the finances done for the project is more difficult for one or another.* Rental houses will always be necessary, that is what corporations are for. Even though also other parties offer rental houses these days. If you do not have a regular income the private building of a house or developing in the Havenkwartier is difficult, even though people want to. The municipality tries together with corporations – and other investors – to build rental houses, which will be the possession of the renter on the long-term. This is a difficult process. Normally twenty percent of the houses built in an area should be social rental houses, in the Havenkwartier however this demand is not valid. The assignment does not fit with the demand. The lack of the percentage of social rental houses should be dealt with in a different way. The municipality tries to bring up different solutions, such as the creation of rental houses on small scale; the large project development company BAM is willing to build

three rental houses in the Havenkwartier. But because of the crisis the large project developers are less willing to cooperate in such experiments.

In the development plan three aims are described; boosting the area development, stimulating economic innovations and the improvement and to broaden the cultural supply in Deventer. Why the choice for those three aims and what do they concretely mean? What the aim was for the Havenkwartier is a maximum mix of functions, which was the ground thought. This started with the breeding places in the real estate property when the masterplan was not executed. Besides the breeding places, the public space with a cultural program helped in defining the ground thought of the Havenkwartier. These initiatives were originally planned for five years, but when I began with the development of the Havenkwartier² my thought was to put the breeding place central in the development of the area. The breeding place cannot be subsidized forever, that would not be a healthy situation. A balance of cheap ateliers, more expensive studios and more expensive, even market commercial, places for catering and other office-like functions. If those buildings and functions can be profitable together, we can try to leave them for 30 to 40 years, was the original thought. The original idea did not hold out; some properties had to be sold. However the mix of different functions did attract different parties. That is why the choice was made to make the breeding place a permanent initiative in the area.

The choice of choosing the mixture of functions grew also organically. Hardly any people lived in the area, by creating the function of living in the area the social function is increased; by the private building of houses and the building of student rooms. Combining the functions of living, working and catering in the area makes there is a natural social control in the area.

Are certain demands written for the added value an initiative has to have in order to be allowed in the Havenkwartier? We made a workbook of every building in the Havenkwartier, for the concept, for the aim. The content of the workbook is flexible, but we try – certainly for the DAVO building with the mix of public space, ateliers and studios – to find people who will add to the concept of the building. As the municipality you do not want to play the police officer and tell who can or cannot have their atelier in the building. Thus the Kunstenlab³ gives advice on the new renters of the ateliers in the DAVO building. Not everyone is accepted; there was an artist who thought he added value to the Havenkwartier, but he renovated chandeliers and would get his website build by someone in the DAVO building. The municipality thought his added value to the area not big enough, because his daily job is very introvert and not visible. We [the municipality] are not that flexible. As we speak some artists leave because of the rent raise. The old inhabitants of the breeding place think raising the rent leads to the die out of the breeding place. I think it is healthy when every couple of years or months new artists move into the breeding place. The place was not meant to house artists for twenty years.

Interview Wouter Groote

In the Havenkwartier the switch to organic area development was made before the economic crisis in 2008. Urban development on small-scale is still possible only with different investors than with the traditional large-scale developments of traditional urban development. Before the economic crisis the municipality of Deventer also took the trend towards multifunctional areas and demand-driven urban development into account. Only after the crisis this became very practical and pregnant; it became urgent. Urban

² Before Dennis Laing another employee of the municipality was responsible for the development of the Havenkwartier. Dennis Laing was not in his function when the masterplan was declined.

³ Organization who arranges the rent of ateliers in the city of Deventer

development oriented on the demands of the consumer is a growing trend. More often is wondered what the monofunctional residential areas, office parks and VINEX areas add to society. However, organic area development is only a niche. It is not a replacement for the large-scaled development that is also still present, but an addition.

In the Havenkwartier organic area development was chosen with the trend towards multifunctional areas in mind and because of the current state of the area. Connect to the buildings and structure the area already has, instead of demolishing everything in the area. Connect to the stories from the area and place those stories pivotal in the development of the Havenkwartier. Give the people who already live and work in the Havenkwartier a voice in the developments. The stories of the area can be used to identify with the area and with the identification people want to be a part of the Havenkwartier. If you can create that feeling, the areadevelopment of the Havenkwartier can be designed very fast. The feeling and story of an area has to be constructed from scratch if the entire Havenkwartier has to be rebuilt. With that in mind the approach of organic area development was chosen in the Havenkwartier.

Is the organic area development an approach, which can be used in other areas? Yes, the same principles count everywhere. The approach is the other way around compared to the old approach; when an area is developed through organic area development the future residents come together and are asked how they see the future, including the pictures of the area and the surroundings. From that point the development point of view is designed, this lead in the Havenkwartier to the desire for freedom and self organisation. However, even in the Havenkwartier – where people wanted freedom and less rules – the people asked for some guidance when the municipality did nothing, gave no guidelines and no rules. The people asked the municipality why they did not cleaned the streets and realized people drove very hard on the roads near the Havenkwartier, maybe the municipality could do something about that. This is one of the pivotal points of organic area development; place the majority of the responsibility at the residents of the area. *Do people like the sound of that?* People like the idea they can arrange and design their living environment. However it is the question to what extent they are professional enough and if they have enough capacity, time and skills to actually execute it. Also, some people have the time and energy to arrange the self organization, but some people do not have the time and energy. That is why the municipality started to guide people. In organic area development it is not enough to let people organize themselves and provide the zoning scheme (bestemmingsplan). You have to let the process go. Enabling as a municipality means; put a lot of energy in the process, give real estate a new use, redevelop property, communicate with initiators in order to answer their questions: what can I do, what am I allowed to do, what does it cost? The municipality has to do her homework very well to answer those questions. Otherwise it takes to long before people see results; their current curve is only sex to nine months. The municipality has to make sure they can reach something in that short period otherwise the particular initiator loses the interest in the area and the project.

In the Havenkwartier this process is even more complex through the many existing interests in the area; the people who already live there, the property which is owned by the municipality and the property which is owned by private owners. The conflicting interests between the tenants in the Havenkwartier and the municipality. The tenants expected they could stay in the area for the same amount of rent they paid before because they added cultural value to the area. The municipality however, wanted to raise the rent because they did no longer wanted to subsidize renting a place in the Havenkwartier and wanted the economic costs and benefits to even.

The concrete role of the municipality is they are the director of the area; they outline the development of the area. If the outline is demand-driven, the market is organized by the municipality and the people willing to participate; either by buying property or with good ideas are selected. An image of the future is created. In the Havenkwartier this meant the municipality did many conversations with possible initiators, and open days with information about the Havenkwartier. With that information the collective aim was decided.

The demand-driven approach considers an open process and much transparency. The development easily becomes a political sensitive subject. The decision making process is open for everyone and many people can use their social capital to influence the process.

To what extent does municipality steers which initiatives area allowed and which do not 'fit' in the Havenkwartier? No, people can decide for themselves if they belong to the Havenkwartier. If you have the feeling you 'belong' in the environment, the municipality thinks it is good enough as long as you buy a property in the Havenkwartier. There is no description based on age, occupation, sex but there is a description in feeling and perception. Whether you are young, old, man or woman if you feel good in the environment and character of the Havenkwartier, you can.

However when it comes to real estate, a certain concept has to be the basis of the idea which fits in the idea of the municipality of the Havenkwartier. In the case of the Havenkwartier the municipality decided the creative sector fits in their future image of the Havenkwartier. Those who are extravert fit in the buildings around the Havenplein and those who have an introvert character – for instance those who create amazing things on computers – are suitable for buildings at the back. There has been a classification based on the added value for the Havenkwartier and based on that selection some corporations had to move and some have dropped out. After all there is an image of the future in twenty years which is aspired, the municipality steers in this.

Is it still organic development when the municipality steers to a certain direction? Some people, who had to move, thought not. The municipality thinks it is.

Is the Havenkwartier ever finished? No, the development goes on, however when the municipal organization of the area can withdraw. That would be a good sign, since the ground ownership in the Havenkwartier then has changed. The municipality has to get the process going, but that is a temporary project. They keep facilitating within the framework of rules and possibilities.

Does it remain the role of the municipality to facilitate new initiatives with the possibilities they have and what is the framework of rules and possibilities? To a certain extent this remains a role of the municipality. The municipality changed in the last 80 years into an arrogant organization who determines what is good for her citizens. Many residents do not dare to come to the municipality with their idea or initiative because they are afraid they do not get help, whereas the municipality should embrace the initiatives. This policy changes slowly, but in practice the change is not yet perceptible. The municipality of Deventer has gone through a major transformation with the approach of the Havenkwartier. The possibility to let the decision making process go and the possibility to discuss with the residents is huge. Considered from the perspective of the municipality the Havenkwartier is a pilot which slowly changes the direction of the giant boat that represents the municipality. Some people see the good idea and want to follow. *Is this change also visible for residents?* Some people see the change and give their compliments; others have difficulties with the uncertainty.

Is there a selection in which people actually are able to realize their ideas? There is a selection; the most enterprising people are able to realize their idea. And there are many people who have good ideas but no

money to realize them. In previous times the money, ground property and the ideas were from the same party. Nowadays the ideas are often from individuals, many parties have real estate properties or ground to build them on and the finance can be arranged by alternative methods like fundraising and crowdfunding. In this triangle there is room for the municipality to act. For instance in the Havenkwartier did Dennis [Laing] talk to the Rabobank to get the finance on a project. The chance the Rabobank agrees is much bigger, than when the artist asks for financial support from the Rabobank himself.

The initiatives that survive are those select few who get through with their idea, one way or the other. Those are the initiatives that survive. Many initiatives fail because they do not get the finances complete or they cannot compete with the initiatives and entrepreneurs who are already present in the area. For instance five restaurants might not be possible in the Havenkwartier. Partly is a part of the economic free market, thus if initiators want to invest in the fifth restaurant in the area, they can. However, the municipality does steer a little in the facilities in the Havenkwartier.

How would you define progress? In the Havenkwartier stagnation is decay of the area because the area becomes more unsafe and degenerates. Buildings get less safe and they easily collapse. Progress is when the people actually go to the Havenkwartier, want to be there and want to live there. The Havenkwartier is more than an area to live. Progress is the area remains interesting and keeps changing. A differentiated number of facilities; Dok H₂O where you can eat, drink or work; concerts, people meeting, those are the things that define progress in the Havenkwartier. On short term progress means buildings are being built and renovated. That is the physical side of progress. Progress also means the area remains economically neutral. Since a number of buildings remain owned by the municipality, the earnings of the rent have to cover the costs of the maintenance of the buildings and the financial costs of owning the property. These buildings are rented to artists, they keep the area interesting and the municipality tries to keep the artists in Deventer.

Is it possible organic area development becomes the accepted and common method in urban development? No, because most residents can do without self organizing their living environment. The residents of entire neighbourhoods and entire communities can do without. They want a clear framework of rules and a prediction of the near future. The question is to what extent people can think beyond their own interests, only a few can. Think about the interests of the district might be possible, but about the neighbourhood is more difficult and for thinking about the interests of the entire city a government is needed.

In the policy of the government top-down thinking was very present. The economic crisis shows the countermovement of bottom-up thinking. But eventually the balance is somewhere in between. For the municipality holds they have to recognize they have to give their residents more power in the process of urban development. The starting costs for this change however, are very high since the municipality has to find out how to do so. The municipality has to find out for themselves what they want with the redeveloped area, what is possible and how; they have to 'do their homework' and besides that they might have to reorganize their civil service (ambtenarenapparaat). The costs of this reorganization might be high; on the other hand the risks of the urban redevelopment are much lower; the investment in buying and demolishing property is much lower than with the traditional urban development. In the Havenkwartier the lower financial risk was one of the reasons to choose for the organic development of the Havenkwartier.

Interview Linda Dok H₂O

Being a pioneer in the Havenkwartier shows the founders of Dok H₂O have faith in the development of the area and they want to contribute to the improvement of the area. However she is not very positive about

the collaboration with the municipality of Deventer. Many times the communication is not clear or absent. Besides that the coordination of the policy about the Havenkwartier within the organization of the municipality is not as it should be. Many times Linda wants to organize an event in the Havenkwartier, the zoning scheme leaves room for events on the Havenplein, however the rules about the permits are not tuned to the new policy of the Havenkwartier. An example of the mismatch in the arrangements within the municipality is; according to the zoning scheme of the Havenkwartier an artist is allowed to expose his work outside, however he needs to make a request for a permit to expose his art on the Havenplein. This also counts for the organizations of permits for other small events; multiple times the event is allowed to be organized, based on the concept of the redevelopment of the Havenkwartier and based on the zoning scheme. However, in practice permits have to be requested. This is one point where the actual realization of the Flemish model deviates from the concept, according to Linda. Another point is the realization of the office window in the Havenkwartier. According to the development plan (2010) the municipality would organize a place, located in the Havenkwartier, where people could turn to with their questions about the Havenkwartier or the realization of their idea. So far the office is not there yet, though Linda thinks it would be an improvement for the area. People have a place where they can go to ask what they are allowed to do in the area, when do they need to request a permit. The answer on these questions should be easily available, now she has to go to the department of permits of the municipality and it takes months to request a permit, which might be denied after all. Other information Linda would like to have is what is about to happen in the Havenkwartier. Since the zoning scheme allows mixed functions in the area, many events can be organized in the area, most of them will take place in the public space of the Havenplein. The surrounding actors in the Havenkwartier do not have to be informed until three days before the event. This causes friction within the Havenkwartier, because Dok H2O does not know what is about to happen right in front of their restaurant. Three days before the event, they are not able to perhaps collaborate with the event or to reschedule one of their own events. The office in the Havenkwartier could give the information about the requested permits earlier, so Dok H2O can act upon the information.

Besides the fact the office in the Havenkwartier would mean an easier access to information, it would be good to have a coordinating organization in the area. An organization actually located in the area and sees how the actors are doing, so they know the actors and know what they want and why. The face to face contact is important, she thinks. In the process of development of the Havenkwartier many different people have been responsible for the development and thus the actors in the area had to get used to many different people and modes of operation. Every new person in charge had to put a lot of energy in the process of development because they had to gain knowledge on the process, the actors, the area etc. This causes much friction in the collaboration between the municipality and the actors in the area.

Linda thinks the miscommunication between the department of the municipality promising many things about the Havenkwartier and the permission department rejecting new ideas based on the limits of the law, is a gap between releasing responsibility and rules of urban planning and the law and acts not designed to let go. The Flemish model is about to let the restrictions of the urban planning go, the approach demands a different mode of operation from all departments of the municipality. Being a pioneer in the Havenkwartier results in much difficulties, since the municipality is trying to get used to the new approach of urban planning. They have not decided how many rules of urban planning have to be let go and how much freedom the actors in the Havenkwartier get. Linda thinks the actors in the area need a framework of guidelines. They have to know what they can or cannot realize in the Havenkwartier. She thinks if the Flemish model means the municipality gives no guidelines and no framework the development through this approach is an illusion. People need guidelines. Setting guidelines through trial and error is also difficult

because once a rule is deleted it is difficult to reverse, actors in the area wonder 'why is my neighbor able to organize this and am I not?'. For the initiators of Dok H2O operating in the Havenkwartier means the same as being located in an area developed through the traditional approach.

The positive note about being in the Havenkwartier is that all the actors based in the area have the best intentions with the area. The development and of themselves and the area comes first. Therefore the relationship between the people in the area is good, people see each other frequently and know what is going on in the area. This certainly holds for Dok H2O, since they are located in the centre of the area.

Interview Babet Olde Weghuis

Podium Willie is a corporation founded by four artists working together to organize exhibitions. First they were located in another building without paying rent for over two years. The owner of the building thought Podium Willie was a great initiative and put his building at disposal for their activities. When they had to move, they thought about breaking in with the intentions of squatting the Havenkwartier, but eventually they made an arrangement with the municipality; in exchange for making the Havenkwartier well known, Podium Willie could be located in the Havenkwartier without paying rent.

In the beginning the organization of Podium Willie existed of four artists, but when it became a success the organization became bigger and eventually we were with fifteen people. The starting point was the idea that everyone was equal, but with fifteen people there has to be a leader. Podium Willie and the public were a success, however with us [the organization] it went downwards. We tried to stay in the Havenkwartier, but there had to be a leader and no-one stood up. Besides the lack of a leader, the arrival of other actors in the area lead to different demands from the municipality; it had to be more commercial and professional and other parties thought they could organize better events.

The corporation of Podium Willie is still there, only non-active. The founders of Willie are gone, but there is still money. If a leader rises new activities can be organized, but nobody takes action. If the programming of Podium Willie stands still, everything starts to stagger. It is difficult to keep a stage like Podium Willie with such a niche programming and arranged by volunteers.

In the Davo building many artists have their studio, so does Babet. The building is owned by the municipality and a new department of the municipality recently became responsible for the Davo. I am thinking about leaving the Havenkwartier because there is a lot of fuss with other actors and the atmosphere gets very bad in the Havenkwartier. It causes tumult for the building to get a new owner, we do not know him and we do not trust the new people yet. It also means the prices of the rent will rise a few times.

Much has been promised the last few years, but it came to nothing. *Like what?* If we would make the Havenkwartier well-known, we would not have to pay rent and get goodwill as Podium Willie. Suddenly we had to pay 35.000 euro per year to the municipality; this step was too big for us. Several years we tried to explain to the municipality they could not find someone else to organize the same program as we did with Podium Willie – voluntary – but they would not listen. This place has a nasty taste for me. The municipality tells everyone the development of the Havenkwartier is fantastic and people have to come here. But we do not see it that way.

Is there much contact between the people from Davo, Dok H2O and other buildings? Yes, there is. That is also the case because Dok H2O has been in this building for a while and I exposed my work in their restaurant. Between the organizing people in the Havenkwartier the contact always had been good. *And*

the contact between the people in the Havenkwartier and the municipality? That contact is difficult because the municipality does not communicate. If it is about money and there are several interests at stake it is hard for the municipality to keep the goodwill from the time the area was not popular. Nowadays the popularity is questionable again and several artists withdrew from the area and a couple of buildings are empty. The municipality asks from the artists in the Davo building to sign a year contract while many developments in the building have not yet been decided or fine-tuned. The municipality wants to have the certainty the artists stay in the building. I do not want to sign a year contract because I do not know them, do not trust them and eventually the prices will rise again. All those things are hard when you start from scratch with a new owner of the building. The other artists from Davo think the same.

The municipality wants to keep the breeding place, but states at the same time they cannot subsidize the breeding place for ever. If the prices rise, but there will be a better communication do you want to stay in the Davo? The province of Overijssel subsidized the breeding place, which was great! But that the municipality of Deventer looks at it that way is understandable. We all knew the rent had to rise and nobody did mind. For the municipality, however, it is hard to put themselves in the position of the people acting voluntarily for Podium Willie. Because we did the organization of Podium Willie voluntarily we gave the municipality much for free. The step from paying no rent to paying 35.000 euro per year without communicating was too much. We had to adapt to the demands of the municipality; make a website, make a new marketing plan, program a year in advance, we did everything. They ask so much of you in the form of a mass of paperwork and interim evaluations, while the organization was good.

The bottleneck of the last few years was the exchange between the municipality and Podium Willie; because we paid no rent we made the deal to organize a program four nights in a week but preferably all nights of the week. Because we did it on voluntary basis, we could not do it anymore.

Is it possible the development of an area goes automatically? On our previous location that was the case; there was chemistry between the organizers, then the ideas came, the goodwill and eventually the visitors. But in a municipality with laws and statutes the story is very different. The program has to be planned a year in advance and continuously look ahead. The municipality wants the process of the urban development of the Havenkwartier to progress automatically, but it does not work like that. Collaborating with the municipality means one good turn deserves another and continuously evaluating. You have to be in conference all morning, look ahead and evaluate while it produces nothing.

Do you think the result could be different regarding to Podium Willie? I acknowledge the organization of Podium Willie is to blame, because nobody stood up as a leader. For the municipality counts they could have listened better to us; why was Podium Willie a success and what went well? They could show some appreciation for the many people coming to the Havenkwartier. Most of the people who come in the Havenkwartier still come here because we organized events. The current actors in the area get the credits from that.

Most artists in the Davo building do not want to stay here; they do not want to sign the contract for a year; not with the promises of redevelopments without a date. We are waiting for the redevelopment for years. We just heard the conditions, changes and costs and want to see if these changes are good before we sign another year contract. The municipality is rushed and wants the certainty we will stay for a year. Most artists however have moved to the area just around the Havenkwartier, to the industrial area. This way

they still have the connection with the area, but not the fuss and paperwork with the municipality. Most people in the Davo building doubt if they want to stay.

Do you think the Havenkwartier is a success? Personally I think the success is decreasing. The new people and new places are not very creative themselves. It depends on the people they attract to the Havenkwartier if the concept the municipality had in mind will be a success.

If it will be different than the concept, it can still be a success, with the Theaterboat, Dok H2O and the houses being built. Even though people still withdraw from building their house; partly because they have trouble to finance their house and partly because it is not such a success as they expected it to be. The last two years almost nothing happened.

The moment the municipality comes in the process delays and gets stuck. The municipality is a very different organization than the artists in the Havenkwartier. To make a bridge between the artists and the municipality is difficult. We [the artists] have to have people who can make a bridge to the municipality and the vice versa. Often this is not the case. Looking at the municipality of Deventer many different people have been responsible for the Havenkwartier. We had the goodwill to put ourselves in the position of the municipality, but the other way around it appears to be more difficult. They have to keep laws and statutes in mind and the thought of 'thus far and no further' at least that is what they think.