

# INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO MIXED LAND USE REGENERATION IN ZAAANSTAD

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## LEARNING FROM LIVERPOOL UK

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# PREFACE

Writing this masterthesis has been one of the most challenging experiences in the five years of my studies on Human Geography and Spatial Planning. Although I have enjoyed the fact that I was able to explore alternative planning approaches and expanding my perspective on planning it was also quite difficult to research rather abstract and multilayered subjects as 'planning approaches', 'social and economic diversity' and 'mixed land use'. The main thing I have learned about spatial planning is through this research is that planning is not something only 'professionals' (private or public) can engage in. Planning is eventually about the people using the space (businesses and residents) and therefore it seems only fair to give them a real say in the matter.

Fortunately I was not completely on my own in writing this masterthesis; a lot of people have supported me. First of all I want to thank prof. dr. ir. Luuk Boelens for his guidance and his constructive criticism during this research. He has constantly challenged me to do more than I thought I could do and dig deeper into the research than I thought was possible. Also because of his sometimes detached position I was able to learn how to deal with making difficult decisions on my own. That was a very valuable lesson which will definitely help me in the planning practice. Furthermore I want to thank Casper de Canne and Hannelore Lammers who provided me with valuable insights on the situation in Zaanstad. But more so who have many times helped me find the structure I was sometimes lacking in my research. Cooperating with them as practitioners active in the world of spatial planning gave me the perspective needed to relate scientific theory to the planning practice. A special thanks goes out to Diede Zwanenberg, a researcher at the University of Utrecht and a dear friend of mine. She provided me with the confidence to write such a comprehensive research and helped me make some of the decisions regarding scientific structure.

Very important to this research was the cooperation with and funding by the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment. Without their support of this research it would not have been possible to explore alternative and highly interesting planning strategies in Liverpool UK. The experience abroad has really widened my perspective on planning and gave me the opportunity to experience Liverpool as a city. Thanks to the research journey provided by the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment I was able to fall in love with a beautiful and interesting city where people have been very friendly and helpful in accommodating the needed information on the case studies.

I hope you enjoy reading my thesis as much as I have enjoyed writing it,

Eunice Boereveen

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# SUMMARY

In this masterthesis research is done to find out whether creating or reinforcing mixed land use (and therefore enhancing social and economic diversity) is beneficial to the regeneration of the old and disordered mixed use industrial estates of Zaanstad. An important aspect to this research is the focus on finding a planning approach which is useful in dealing with mixed land use regeneration.

## ***The role and effects of mixed land use***

The ultimate effect of mixed land use is creating social and economic diversity which in its turn leads to: the creation of sustainable communities with a mixed employment base and mixed offer of employees; enhancing accessibility to different functions; stimulating walkability instead of the usage of cars which is better for the physical environment; creating a 16- to 24-hour livelihood which can lead to social control and the increased feeling of safety and ultimately it is expected when uses are present of all kinds then users of all kind invest in the local area economically (jobs, spendings etc.) as well as socially (communities, social cohesion etc.).

The specific type of mixed use that works is context dependent. What is an important conclusion though is the fact that when an area incorporates residential space within its mixture of uses the necessity is created for day to day facilities such as supermarkets, pharmacies, schools etc. Also striking is the value that is being linked to the presence of leisure activities on small neighbourhood levels. Leisure is perceived to contribute to the social cohesion, provision of great numbers of jobs and 24-hour economy and livelihood. In addition to the leisure activities such as bars and restaurants the creative industry is also perceived as a great stimulator of improvement.

## ***An Actor Relational Approach to planning mixed land use***

When dealing with mixed land use one deals with several different interests of different actors (users). In order to manage these differing interests an Actor Relational Approach is best fit because from the perspective of this approach actors stand central to planning. Therefore the managing of their interests is a dominant principle. Also the ARA is directed towards creating a regime which incorporates a stable network of actors who are able to get things done (through power and finance). In current day society where differing networks emerge because of the new telecommunication options. It is important though for spatial planning to create stable networks which can engage in planning. In these networks the civil society is expected to take the leading role because of the fact that planning is about those people in those spaces (the society) and therefore makes them key actors in expressing what an area needs. A BID initiative is a way of creating such networks. What these initiatives lack though is the ability to truly deal with mixed land use because of their underrepresentation of *all* interests in a mixed use area (businesses, property owners *and* residents). A further expansion of their partnership is therefore needed.

As an instrument to create such stable networks of differing actors the CID has proven to be a difficult one to implement but a very much advocated one amongst professionals in the planning world (property developers, governmental planners etc.). The Dutch civil society (residents and businesses) itself is less enthusiastic about the CID concept, especially about the financing of this concept. There is also a lack of interest to invest the effort and time to be involved in planning. This can be ascribed to the fact that in Dutch society the state of mind is that managing public space is a task of the public sector (local authorities). The perception is that to engage in planning civil society has to go through much too difficult and long processes. Therefore they do not feel free enough to engage in planning but more so civil society is not prepared to invest more money or time in property which is not theirs.



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# CHAPTER ONE

## AN INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

### 1.1 Background

Cities have always been a subject in many studies, especially with respect to their economic viability and their pressure on the physical environment often comprising of the swallowing of greenery by urbanization. There have been many different perspectives on the role of cities and whether they are seen as a positive or negative phenomenon<sup>1</sup>. These perspectives have changed over time and are still evolving today.

Cities have for a long time been seen as sources of opportunity and economic development but also as sources of knowledge and culture. This view stems from the Greek civilisation and became even stronger during the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century. Here the belief grew in the powers of the economies of urban agglomerations that were apparent in cities. Cities grew fast as economic growth was continuing to sustain it. On the other hand this rapid growth within cities had some negative effects that grew along with the benefits. Cities have therefore also been viewed as places where pollution, disease, poverty and social fragmentation are generated, especially during the Industrial Revolution of the twentieth century. A movement or 'migration' towards the open land became a popular escape from the devastating life within cities. This in combination with the expanding cities resulted in a pressure on rural land and the loss of economic activities in the city. As a respond to this development an anti-urbanism perspective arose at the end of the twentieth century. Pleas for measures to conserve the rural landscape led to planning concepts such as sustainability, compact cities and growth management. This meant a return to the existing city structure (Willis et al, 2001; pp.11-12). Cities are nowadays again seen as the best location for not only the settlement of residents but also as the best location for economic development and the settlement of commercial and service companies but in a different perspective: that of world cities in networks. Within his contemporary view the focus is more on inner-city relations meaning an interdependency between many cities where cities need each other and centres are globally connected (Taylor, 2004, pp. 7-8).

In the past decades especially the concept of sustainable development has been dominating in the urban planning of many European countries. Although frequently used, the understanding of the concept of sustainability all but clear. What is understood by sustainable development? This question can be answered in many different ways depending on who answers it (Willis et al, 2001; pp.11-12). One thing that different authors have in common in their definition is the threefold that is related to this concept, namely the social, economic and physical sustainability otherwise known as "people, planet and profit". In this respect sustainable development always deals with limiting the negative effects development has on these three forms of sustainability. This may be expressed in different kinds of approaches such as containing development within the existing urban field such as growth management and compact cities (Willis et al, 2001; pp.11-12).

#### 1.1.1 Beautiful Netherlands

This has also been the case in the Netherlands where minister Cramer of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment has formulated the coalition agenda named *Beautiful*

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<sup>1</sup> K. G. Willis emphasizes in his introduction of his overview on urban planning and management that perspectives on the role of cities is traced back into the Greek civilization and these perspectives have since then been changed many times. These changes can be characterized simply as positive vs. negative meaning that the belief in cities has either been towards socioeconomic development and prosperity or either towards pollution and congestion in development.



*Netherlands.* This programme is aimed at forming efficient coalitions with different parties that stand strong in fighting the ongoing pollution and disordering of the urban space. Essential to this project is the ambiguous objective to achieve better spatial quality within the context of sustainable development. Minister Cramer argues that sustainable development is necessary because the Netherlands are losing more and more green, open space and are getting only ugliness in return. With ugliness she refers to the urban areas that get left behind in an unmanaged state in exchange for the green fresh land that is most desirable to be used by developers not only for housing but also business zones. Beautiful Netherlands is therefore set up to reverse this process and make sure that the quality of the existing urban areas is kept high and the rural landscapes stay preserved.

One important part of this programme is the Industrial Estates Development/Redevelopment Task. Research has pointed out that a third of the Dutch industrial estates or business zones have become outdated or abandoned. This is due to the process of companies using more green and open land to locate and/or expand their industries and results in a state of pollution and disordering of the existing industrial/business locations as observed by Minister Cramer. To attack this problem Minister Cramer and Minister Van der Hoeven of Economic Affairs have agreed to work out a strategy to implement the necessary actions against pollution and disordering. This strategy needs to be developed not only to address the physical problems pointed out by Minister Cramer, but also to stimulate economic prosperity.

To come to an innovative strategy the national government has appointed a few case studies that function as knowledge and learning courses. These test projects consist of a few pilots which may produce innovative working methods that display positive results from which other regions can learn. Of course each city or region is unique and requires a unique solution to the problems they face. For that reason the national government has put the focus on strategy rather than on the separate solutions within these strategies. Although a uniform solution is not something the national government strives for there should be a certain amount of representativeness to the strategies. That is, the strategies produced should be applicable in different kinds of contextual settings. To make this possible the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment has selected cases according to a theme such as for example the shrinking population, regional cooperation and the inner-city revitalization etc. (VROM, 2009).

As illustrated before, different perspectives on cities and regions have come to pass over the past centuries. These different perspectives have led to the development of different approaches and strategies to deal with problems such as disordering of existing industrial estates. When looking up information about perspectives on cities, their economic viability and their role in society, one always finds him/herself reading about Jane Jacobs. As a firm believer in the economy of cities Jacobs has written several books on the importance of cities and the characteristics cities should have to be successful.

### **1.1.2 Cities: diversity and economic development**

In her book *'The Economy of Cities'* Jacobs (1969) acknowledges the inefficiencies and impracticalities of cities, noting that cities with all of their daily activities take up large amounts of energy, time and money for management and organization. At the same time she emphasises the importance of this inefficiencies for economic development. She relates this inefficiency to diversity by illustrating how Manchester and Birmingham have developed economically. Manchester has been a clear industrial city where manufacturing was clearly organised and focused on one activity at the time. In contrast Birmingham had a less efficient organization of manufacturing whereby different activities were scattered over different organisations. At the beginning Manchester developed a great economy and Birmingham stayed behind, but in the end when certain markets came to fall Manchester was the one having trouble. Birmingham had the advantage of having different markets to rely on which

Manchester lacked. Here Jacobs illustrates that cities are better off being inefficient meaning being better off by being diverse. This belief is linked to the discussion on related variety versus unrelated variety which will be discussed in Chapter Two. Efficiency (meaning uniformity) has proven to be in conflict with development (Jacobs, 1969; pp. 87-119)

This seems like a plea for economically diverse cities but reaches much further in the definition of diversity. Not only do cities need to be economically diverse, they also need to be culturally and spatially diverse to be successful. The diversity described by Jacobs can be seen as variety in cultural opportunities, physical settings and activities that take place in a city (economic as well as social). Meaning that a successful, diverse city accounts for a social and economically viable one (Wickersham, 2001; pp.548-549). In her book '*The Death and Life of Great American Cities*' Jacobs (1960) strongly argues that diversity may favour innovation. Seeing as cities are natural places where diversities come to be, these diverse cities are seen as the source of innovation (Duranton & Puga, 2000; p.539). This diversity and the innovation that comes with it can be highly influenced by the physical design of a city. Jacobs (1960) argues that the economic and social diversity can be either supported or limited by layout proposed by urban planners. The success of diversity that the city's physical design may create depends on four preconditions: high density of activities and population; mixture of uses; small-scale structure of public space (urban concentration) and a mixture of old and new architecture. In all four of these features diversity is the key characteristic for success, no uniform development within the features would be supportive of a vibrant city. These features will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Two: The Theoretical Framework.

Many studies have been conducted to empirically test the theory presented by Jacobs. Some have come to the conclusion that diversity as defined by Jacobs does not per definition lead to a more successful and vibrant city (Schmidt, 1977). On the other hand there are a lot of studies that support Jacobs' theory. Many economists and urban planners have been inspired by the work of Jacobs, characterizing her as a prophet and pioneer of many present studies and planning concepts. Her economical insight has led to enlightenment of not only economists and urban planners, but also other areas of policy development. Her theory is also applicable to different kinds of scales. Not only does diversity matter on the city scale. It also matters on neighbourhood level which Jacobs studied intensely (Callahan, 2003).

For now it is relevant to know that this masterthesis focuses on the role of diversity in the fourfold sketched by Jacobs in the social and economic development of a city. The purpose is to examine whether sustaining or realising diversity within a city or neighbourhood leads to a successful and vibrant development of an existing area. Thereby the main focus will be on one of the features of a diverse city, namely the mixed-use districts. This will be examined in respect to the revitalisation of an inner-city area. This focus has been chosen because studies have pointed out that when dealing with revitalization diversity should be embraced to enhance the sustainability of the city (Vreeker et.al., 2004; Lees, 2003). Vreeker et.al. state that this belief is rooted in the theory of the agglomeration economies. The essential assumption of the agglomeration theory is that clustering generates certain externalities such as knowledge spillovers between workers, learning across firms, or cost and demand linkages between local industries, that are good for the economic growth of that area. Aside from the economic linkages mentioned here the study of Vreeker et.al. points out that this clustering should reach further and include the clustering and synergy of different kinds of functions to account for a sustainable redevelopment (Vreeker et.al.,2004 ; pp.300-304).

### **1.1.3 Revitalization and diversity**

Over the past decades inner-city redevelopment strategies have been focused on the exclusion of office, industrial and leisure activities from the city centre to the outskirts of the city which has led to a spatial fragmentation between different functions. This reflects the



dominance of the Euclidean zoning principle within urban planning and the redevelopment strategies for many years. The principle however has proven to be outdated only causing inner-city decline of the economic as well as the social life. The inner-city loses her economic viability by companies moving away from the inner-city, and employees following these companies out of the inner-city. Leaving the inner-city behind with a decline of economic and social life (Thomas & Bromley, 2000; pp.1403-1406).

Due to these disappointing results stemming from the segregation of functions more and more authors came to realise that an alternative approach was needed to the revitalisation of the inner-city specifically authors such as Jane Jacobs. Diversity seems to be an important factor in this alternative approach of urban redevelopment. Thomas & Bromley conclude with a requirement for a combination of at least a combination of a wider range of activities and a stronger residential function (Thomas & Bromley, 2000; pp.424-426). An example of the success of diversity in redevelopment is the revitalization in Indianapolis where the inner-city neighbourhood was able to transform into an strong neighbourhood due to the mix of communities, a wide range of housing, recreational amenities and commercial services in the context of the smart growth concept (Palladino, 2003).

## **1.2 Problem description**

The background that has been laid out above has demonstrated that there is a situation in European cities that has led to the demand for new strategies within the context of sustainability to deal with this situation. A major subject within this context is the revitalization of industrial estates. Especially within this context of large industries strategies have in the past been focused on separating these industries from housing facilities and leisure activities in order to avoid health issues. Nowadays options are considered to incorporate those industries within housing and leisure environments.

The theme that has been chosen for this masterthesis in relation to this redevelopment of industrial estates is that of the inner-city revitalization. Inner-city here is defined as “within the existing city structure” rather than in terms of the “concentric circle theory” in which the inner-city is the belt around the city centre. In the rest of this thesis inner-city will refer to areas “within the existing city structure”. The reason for the choice to examine inner-city revitalization is because most inner-city areas have been characterized by a certain spatial diversity that is slowly disappearing (Thomas & Bromley, 2000; pp.1403-1406). As pointed out before the purpose of this research is to find out whether functional diversity, that is mixed land use, is a precondition for the vibrant (re)development and the stimulation of economic prosperity of an existing area. And is so which kind of mixed land use need that be and how can this be achieved.

### **1.2.1 Urban revitalization in Zaanstad**

Zaanstad is an example of one of the redevelopment projects in the Netherlands that focuses on the inner-city redevelopment and the factors that play a role in limiting or expanding the possibilities for sustainable redevelopment. This municipality falls under the arrangement of ‘Redevelopment and Innovative Use Industrial Estates’ which is organized in relation to the concept of *Beautiful Netherlands* with the purpose to redevelop existing industrial estates and make them more accessible.

The programme is initiated in response to a trend whereby businesses choose new industrial estates instead of reusing the old ones. The reason businesses choose for new estates, is simply for the ever going argument of saving costs of revitalization, greater accessibility and health and environmental issues. A new piece of land is far cheaper to develop than an old piece of land. This is due to the costs of cleaning up a used and polluted area which is the case in most of the old industrial estates (Tweede Kamer, 2009). But there isn't always a

question of choice in the matter. An aspect that plays a major role in this matter is the applied policy by government in the concerning city or region. For many years inner-city revitalization has been directed towards the banning of the business function out of the inner-city (Thomas & Bromley, 2000; pp.1403-1406). Consequences are that the new industrial estates are often developed at the outcasts of the city, at the expense of the precious green landscape. Another consequence is the process that Thomas and Bromley describe in their study of inner-city redevelopment strategies: the inner-city loses the business function leaving it behind with a uniform housing function (Noord-Hollands Dagblad, 2007). In addition to the exclusion of the business function many municipalities in the Netherlands have been focusing on developing new industrial estates instead of redeveloping the existing ones. This leads to the overdevelopment of industrial estates whereas the demand side for industrial estates will be declining in the coming years. This will be generating an even greater need for redevelopment and revitalization in the future because of a growing process of abandonment and therefore disordering of industrial estates (PBL, 2009).

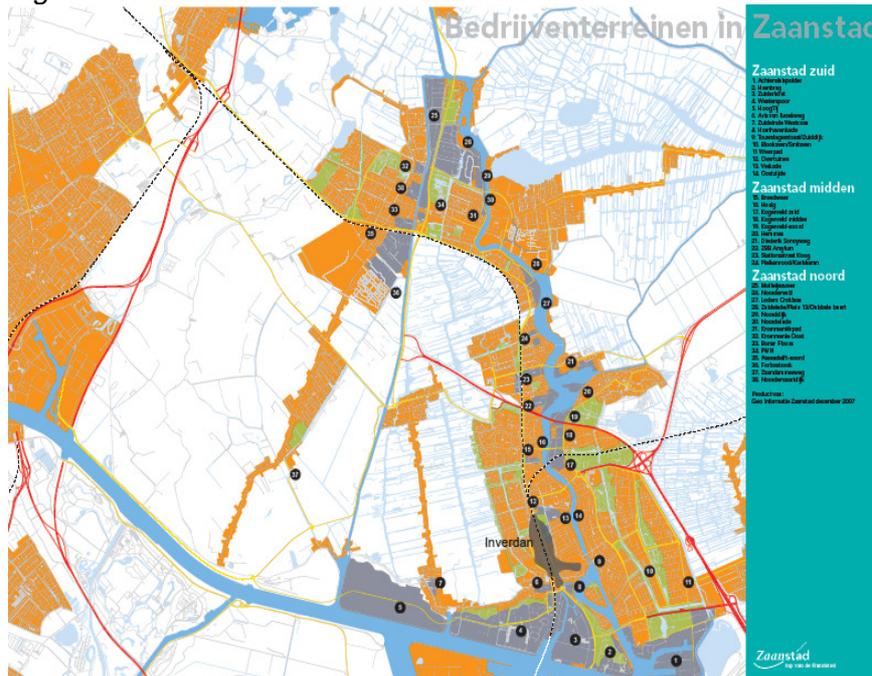
The reason Zaanstad participates in this programme is because it is exactly these issues that have been dominant in the inner-city of Zaanstad for many years. The inner-city of Zaanstad is characterized by a unique urban structure. This urban structure begins with the presence of the river named the Zaan at the centre of the municipality. Along this river the inner-city of Zaanstad has developed itself over the past centuries. This inner-city consists of a mixture of factories and businesses, and residential space close to each other. The factories and businesses are partly located on 29 inner-city industrial estates imbedded by the residential neighbourhoods (figure 1.1). Although these industrial estates are part of the uniqueness of Zaanstad, they have become a point of discussion. The inner-city industrial estates are no longer in a condition that is adequate for the living environment. First, many of these estates display a disordering and pollution of the physical space. This pollution is largely due to the contamination of the soil produced by the old factories that have been active in Zaanstad for many centuries. Some of these age old factories are still in business on the inner-city industrial estates, producing many forms of pollution such as air pollution (smells). Second, many of the industrial estates are in possession of a great economic potential that is not being used in the best possible way. Because two third of the employment of Zaanstad is located on these inner-city industrial estates and individual businesses in between the housing estates, it seems utterly important to make sure that these industrial estates get a structural spur.

The point of departure that has been central to dealing with the industrial estates in Zaanstad has largely been focused on revitalization and thereby the tendency to redevelop industrial estates into residential estates. This vision meant that more and more inner-city industrial estates have been transformed into housing estates, caving under the pressure of the demand for housing and the need of the government to raise their income. The production of housing estates produces more financial benefits for government and therefore offers more money to redevelop the inner-city. The fact that the population of Zaanstad is still growing stimulates this need to redevelop space into housing estates. As a result the inner-city area of Zaanstad is dealing with a loss of the authentic mixed land use of housing en businesses close to each other that has characterized the region for many centuries (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2007; pp.3-5).

In addition to the exclusion and disappearing of the business function from the inner-city (Thomas & Bromley, 2000) there is also the fact that governments have for a long time been developing many new industrial estates at the outcast of the city's (Tweede Kamer, 2009). In Zaanstad this has also been the case. Policy has been directed towards the investment in new industrial estates at the periphery of the municipality, neglecting the care for the existing inner-city industrial estates. Consequently, more and more industrial estates have been and are still being created in the authentic rural landscape of Zaanstad, destroying the moorland that characterizes the region (Noord-Hollands Dagblad, 2007).



Figure 1.1: Overview of the industrial/business estates in Zaanstad



Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2007

These issues have been recognized by the government of Zaanstad leading to a reconsideration of the starting point from which inner-city redevelopment and industrial estates is seen. A demand for a combination of preservation and redevelopment of existing industrial estates and the development of new industrial estates at environmentally justifiable locations has come to the front. In preserving the existing inner-city industrial estates the government adapts her vision towards the acceptance and promoting of the inner-city mixed land use of housing en businesses next to each other. Giving both housing and the industrial estates space to develop and create a balance in diversity that is necessary for a vibrant and economically strong city (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2007; pp.3-5).

To further understand the structure of Zaanstad and thereby the call for a return to or clinging on to the old structure of mixed land uses i.e. the mix of housing and business, it is important to know more about the history of Zaanstad.

### 1.2.2 The history of Zaanstad

As early as the sixteenth century Zaanstad has been a precursor in the development of modern industries. This modern industry was built on the presence of highly advanced windmills. One of the most important factors was the invention of the wood saw mill in 1594. This made it possible for the wood saw industry in Zaanstad to grow enormously. By the eighteenth century more than 600 of the wood saw mills were active in Zaanstad (Bitters, 2001; p.9). In the beginning of the seventeenth century the development in the shipbuilding and the wood industry meant a first rising of industrial clusters on the countryside of the region. Before that time, the economic activities lay spread across the watery moor landscape. The economic prosperity of this period meant a robust increase of the number of inhabitants and a strong wave of urbanisation surrounding the economic clusters. Through the presence of the wood industry in the region, the building of wooden houses became an obvious choice. These two processes resulted in an interrelated cycle where the urbanisation meant the greater production of wood for housing and the employment that was generated by the greater production of wood meant a further growth of the population (Kleij, 2003; p.13).

The nineteenth century meant a new phase in the industrial development of Zaanstad. This new phase was enforced through two impulses. The first one was the construction of the Noordzeekanaal (a canal). Through the construction of the straight Noordzeekanaal, it became easier to export products in large ships to mainly Amsterdam. The canal thus enhanced the export capacity of the region and meant a first, strong economic impulse for Zaanstad (Bitters, 2001). At the end of the nineteenth century came the second economic impulse, namely the introduction of the steam engine. The by steam engines driven businesses were established in factories along the Zaan (Bitters, 2001; p.10). The development of factory industry partially changed the appeal of Zaanstad into a strong urban, industrial territory. Zaanstad was no longer a farmer's region with a large amount of windmills to lead the production. The part surrounding the Zaan was transformed into an industrial landscape surrounded by housing accommodating labourers working in the factories. The idea was to provide the labourers with housing nearby or even next to the factories so that the distance travelled to work would be minimized and the times spend in the factory maximized. This was the case in many European countries during the Industrial Revolution of this period. In Zaanstad an extra driving force for building housing close to the industrial estates was the argument that the ground surrounding the Zaan was laid dry in a matter that resulted in ground that was easy to build on. The rest of Zaanstad still consisted of the unstable watery moorland (Kleij, 2003; p.19).

What also makes Zaanstad unique is that this urban structure was maintained far into the twentieth century. In many European countries there was the belief that the industries were polluting the cities too much, affecting the living environment. The solution was often sought in the banning of these industries from the inner-city. This process was further encouraged with the fall of the industrial sector and the up come of the service sector during this century. Also in the Netherlands this was visible. Many regions lost their industrial function. Zaanstad shows a less dramatic fall of the industrial sector. Many factories stayed active, producing large percentages of the economic prosperity of Zaanstad. In 1985 60 percent of the economic activities were still focused on production industries, especially on the food industries. In 2008 22 percent of the working population was active in the industrial sector (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2009). As pointed out before two third of this employment is located on inner-city industrial estates greatly embedded by housing. People living in Zaanstad for many centuries have always known their living environment to be a mix of housing and industries. Here the identity of mixed uses i.e. the combination of housing and business dominants (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2007).

This historical overview makes it clear that diversity and therefore the concept of mixed land use is a concept that has always been a characteristic of Zaanstad. In the past this historical characteristic has 'worked' in a positive way for Zaanstad. Nowadays this characteristic is becoming more and more problematic. This masterthesis is therefore focused on finding out what can make this mixed land use work again.

### **1.3 Research question and disposition**

The problem description of Zaanstad and the deliberations of Jane Jacobs are taken as a starting point in looking at inner-city revitalization. This means that diversity (and especially mixed land use) is seen as the perspective from which revitalization should be viewed. The hypothesis that follows from this is: *"Diversity is needed when dealing with inner-city revitalization. This leads to sustainable social and economic development of a city or region."*

#### **1.3.1 Research question**

From this point of view there are still a few important questions that need to be answered such as what is meant by diversity, how is this achieved and how does this relate to social



and economic development. These questions that remain lead to the following research questions:

Main question:

*“What kinds of mixed land uses in the inner-city seem to be prosperous for the improvement of the social and economic structure of the city and what do these improvements consist of?”*

To narrow down the research of this main question the masterthesis will look at three sub questions, namely:

Sub question one:

*“What does mixed land use contribute to the social and economic structure of the city and what type of mixed land use will help achieve that?”*

Sub question two:

*“Through what kind of planning approach (public-private partnership, private initiative of civil initiative) can a beneficial type of mixed land use be achieved best and what are the possible merits of implementing this type of planning approaches for the social and economic revitalization of inner-city Zaanstad?”*

Sub question three:

*“How can the above mentioned planning approach be implemented so that it produces the aforementioned merits?”*

These research questions will be examined in three parts. First the focus will be on finding out **what kind of mixed land use** in the inner-city will be prosperous. What kind of housing-and-business mix will be beneficial for Zaanstad and what does this mix contribute to the city? Second the focus will be on how to achieve an optimal form of mixed land use. **What kind of approach** is needed to achieve a useful inner-city diversity and housing-and-business mix? Should inner-city revitalization be organized through public sector initiative or through private sector initiative or somewhere in between? Is it necessary to approach it from the housing side or from the business side or from both sides? Can these approaches be implemented in institutional setting of Zaanstad? What are the merits of implementing certain approaches? Hereby the focus will also be on **what the effects** of this type of inner-city diversity and the selected approaches. Third, this research is focused on finding out **how to implement** this planning approach. As will be apparent in the Theoretical Framework (chapter two) diversity can be defined in economic terms (businesses) as well as social terms (population composition). In both cases diversity seems to have an effect on the structure of the population and their socio-economic status (social) and the structure of the businesses and the city's productivity (economic). Of course there is a cross sectional relation between the social and the economic structure because by influencing one there is an implication for the other.

The goal of this masterthesis consists of two layers. First and foremost this masterthesis is directed towards the creation or at least the recognition of an approach and a strategy (or strategies) that are best fit in dealing with inner-city revitalization. This relates to the policies of the Minister of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment to develop innovative strategies in reaching sustainable development and fighting the disordering of space. For many decades the approach to dealing with the issues that stand central to this research has been the same: the government taking the leading role in (re)development projects in terms of investment as well as defining what is needed for areas.

In the contemporary network society where locations have a different role and networks of actors emerge and the economy doesn't permit the government to invest largely in projects as had been the case in previous years different approaches need to be looked at (Boelens, 2009). What is especially important in this case is looking at other ways of financing

(re)developments through concepts such as the Business Improvement Districts (BID's) and leaving the task to initiate such (re)developments up to the actors in the networks themselves instead of looking at investment and the leading role of the government.

Second, the problem of disordering of areas within the existing city structure (especially on industrial estates) is a problem which many European cities deal with nowadays. It not only makes cities undesirable and threatens the open greenery; it also means a stagnation of economic development (businesses and productivity of the city) and social development (population composition). In this context the focus of this masterthesis on this problem makes this thesis relevant for society and therefore the economy. The goal related to this is that of realising options for cities such as Zaanstad in becoming sustainable and economically strong cities where people enjoy both living and working.

To find answers to these questions this masterthesis will consists of a qualitative research whereby the focus is on finding patterns in the involvement of mixed land use in regenerating industrial/business zones. This will be followed by an empirical study of different approaches to the revitalization of mixed use areas in Liverpool, the UK. Zaanstad and Liverpool will be compared to each other with the purpose to visualize the best suitable approach for the problem at hand. The comparison of Liverpool with Zaanstad is relevant due to the similar history that these cities have experienced and the similarities in terms of social and spatial structure but especially because of the fact that Liverpool has gone through a period of major revitalization in which they have dealt with similar issues as those in Zaanstad now. This all will become apparent in the Empirical Research of Chapter Three in which attention is paid to the history and the social and spatial structure of Liverpool.

In this context the study of Liverpool as well as Zaanstad will function as learning courses as in the vision of Minister Cramer (Beautiful Netherlands concept). As a result of this study this masterthesis will in the end focus on what is learned from the UK and what can be advised to the municipality of Zaanstad in dealing with inner-city revitalization.

### **1.3.2 Disposition**

To that end this research consists of the following disposition of the masterthesis. **Chapter Two** will be a **theoretical framework** on what is known about different kinds of diversity and mixed land uses. In addition an inventory is necessary of the existing theories, approaches and strategies on dealing with diversity and inner-city revitalization. Also there will be a study of what is known about the effects that certain forms of diversity and strategies may have on economic development and the environment seen as these are the two issues that are clearly central to the problem in Zaanstad. The outcome of this chapter is to distinguish a set of criteria to which diversity, strategies and effects are to be measured. **Chapter Three** will consist of the **empirical research** that will be conducted in the UK. First there will be an translation of the distinguished criteria into a set of measurable variables. Several research methods will be explored and eventually the best fit methods will be chosen to be implemented in the research of Liverpool. Second there will be an analysis of the findings in the UK. Questions such as "What kind of diversity seems to work for the development of the city?", "What kinds of strategies are suitable for inner-city revitalization in the context that is at hand?" and "What are the economic and environmental effects?" This will be followed by **Chapter Four** were Zaanstad is re-evaluated and the findings from Liverpool are linked to the situation in Zaanstad. There will be an examination of **the applicability** of learning points of Liverpool in the institutional setting of Zaanstad and what this will mean for the economic and environmental development of Zaanstad. **Chapter Five** will reflect the drawn **conclusions** from this research and will result in well formed **recommendations** for Zaanstad to approach the problems that dominate the inner-city.



# CHAPTER TWO

## THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This theoretical framework consists of an exploration of the literature on the three parts that are central to this research. First the focus is on finding out how diversity can be perceived and which role diversity plays in the development of cities. Second this chapter focuses on the spatial structuring of diversity, namely mixed land use. The question here is what kinds of mixed land uses in the inner-city seem to be prosperous for the improvement of the social and economic structure of a city and what these improvements consist of. Third this framework looks at views in the existing literature on how to achieve useful inner-city diversity and mixed use environment. Therefore several approaches to the planning practice are examined. In addition to that there is again a focus on what the benefits/ advantages are – in this case of certain planning approaches - to the social and economic development of a city.

The ultimate goal of this framework is to distinguish a set of criteria and preconditions by which cities ought to be measured in order to produce the desired socio-economic and physical development i.e. the positive effects that are related to diversity and certain approaches to planning which are suitable to deal with that. These concepts then are put in relation to each other in a conceptual model which expresses the expectations and hypotheses that are examined in the empirical part of this research.

### 2.1 The diversity of cities

Before looking at various forms of mixed land use it is important to focus on what is understood by mixed land use in this masterthesis. By defining mixed land use there is an important concept that presents itself: 'diversity'. As mentioned in the introduction the ultimate supporter of diverse cities is journalist and activist Jane Jacobs. When looking up information on diverse cities Jacobs is the first name one encounters. In her book "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" (1961) Jacobs expresses fierce critique on the type of planning that had been dominating up till then: Euclidean zoning<sup>2</sup>. The ideas on diverse cities posed by Jacobs form the basis of this masterthesis. Therefore the first step is to look at what Jacobs defines as diverse cities. Jacobs's work on diverse cities and her controversial ideas about planning have indirectly meant some implications for Euclidean zoning. What she defines as vibrant, diverse cities contain of: (1) a mixture of uses; (2) small-scale, pedestrian based public space; (3) a mixture of new and old architecture, and (4) high density of population and activities on a neighbourhood scale.

#### ***Mixed land use***

Hereby the mixture of uses is seen as the essential precondition that makes up for a diverse city. This mixture of uses refers to mixed-use districts that offer housing, offices, shops and other services and activities and illustrates the emphases on diversity. With the argument for mixed uses Jacobs criticises the sorting out of functions into single-use districts or better said neighbourhoods, believing that this sorting out limits the innovativeness of the city because it limits the spill-over of knowledge and the pursuing of common interests. Although Jacobs is one of the first to argue strongly that mixed land use is important for the economies of cities (on neighbourhood scale), there have been several theorist that have examined the role of mixed land use maintaining their own definition of what the mixture of uses comprises of like

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<sup>2</sup> Euclidean zoning can be seen as the standard form of planning that was widely adopted during the 1920s. Euclidean zoning is generally characterized by dividing an urban area into uniform districts whereby it regulates density, scale and uses in a consistent manner in each district. The main presumption of Euclidean zoning is that uses should be strictly separated and densities should be restrained (Wickerham, 2001)



Rowley (1996), Van Oort et. al. (2007), etc. These will be discussed in more detail further on in this chapter.

### **Accessibility**

Aside from mixed uses cities, according to Jacobs small-scale structure of public space is also needed. This argument is related to the importance of the two features explained before. To make density and mixture work for different kinds of users of the city it is important that this mixture is provided by a public space that makes it easy to reach these different kinds of uses even by foot (accessibility). This also minimizes isolation and fragmentation within a city. This argument is strongly related to the context in which Jacobs has made her observations; being great American cities. Within the American context of the 1960's many cities were dealing with the development of suburbanization and the splitting of housing from other activities that mostly stayed in the city centre. During the early 1960s the clearing of slums, and their replacement with sterile modern structures was also no longer the liberal's utopian objective that it once was. Suburbs were largely set up with many public spaces and much greenery. Activities as simple as bringing the children to school and getting the groceries were mostly done by car. The American society then turned into a car-based society (Klemek, 2008).

### **Architectural mixture**

Another physical dimension of the diversity proposed by Jacobs is the importance of architectural mixture not only in an aesthetic sense but more so in an economic and social sense. Old buildings do not only stand for the emotional and visual difference in preferences but are also meaningful for the difference in price. Old buildings are in general cheaper settings depending on the location. This may attract different kinds of businesses and residents in a single district. Old buildings also tell the story of evolution of the city that need not be forgotten because it is part of the identity of a city (Wickersham, 2001; pp. 550-552). This type of mixture is also seen to be needed because this creates a building stock that varies in values. Some functions can only be attracted to a district by offering less expensive space (often meaning old buildings). For instance creative entrepreneurs and young starter companies often look for a space that has low rental or buying costs and often find them in old buildings (Schmidt, 1977, pp. 54-55).

The relevance in attracting these types of businesses can be related to the argument of Richard Florida who argues that the creative class is essential in creating vibrant cities which experience economic growth. In his book *"Cities and the creative class"* (2005) Florida argues that creative people are the driving force in regional economic growth. This view in which creative people power regional economic growth – in specific regions as well as cities and neighbourhoods – is called the *Creative Capital Theory*. Within this theory the view is that places which have large concentration of the creative class tend to have high levels of innovation and high-tech industry which boost economic growth. Hereby companies – that in traditional views tend to be seen as those factors that are central in stimulating economic growth – are seen to be attracted by this creative class within a certain region. This clustering of this type of human capital is a crucial factor in Jacobs's externalities which in turn are crucial factors in generating regional economic growth. Here the argument is that firms tend to concentrate there where they can reap the advantages that stem from common labour pools, in this case the creative class. The creative class here is defined as those people who are highly educated and engage in work where creating meaningful new forms are essential. This creative class can be divided into two groups: (1) the super-creative core – being those who create innovative products – and (2) the creative professionals – being those who work in knowledge-intensive industries created by the super-creative core. In attracting this creative class diversity as defined by Jacobs plays a central role. Diversity is often seen as the diversity of firms (economically). Jacobs emphasizes that diversity in terms of firms as well as people is necessary in powering innovation and economic growth of cities. According to Florida this diversity of people creates an environment which is tolerant to all kinds of

people with different kinds of ethnicities and cultural backgrounds and therefore accounts for an environment that has low barriers to entry for the creative class (Florida, 2005, pp. 32 – 39).

### ***High density – urban concentration***

By high density is meant a high density of population and housing as well as activities conducted by this population in commercial areas. Against all planning concepts that arose during the sixties where more open space and more greenery were essential, Jacobs argues that less is better. According to Jacobs densities should run up to over a 100 dwellings per net residential acre (Wickersham, 2001; pp.550-552). This idea in a sense matches the ideas of the compact city and growth management developed in the late twentieth century to sustain the open land outside of cities described by Willis (2001).

#### ***2.1.1 Interdependency of the preconditions of diversity***

Jacobs emphasizes that the preconditions set out in her ideas are interdependent meaning that all four conditions are needed to make up for a diverse, vibrant city. Starting off with the small-scale, pedestrian based public space, the relations are quickly made. When having small-scale urban structure the physical environment tends to come closer together. This has implications for the proximity and therefore the density of activities and people within these buildings. To maintain a small-scale, pedestrian based urban structure the issue of accessibility arises. It should be possible for the people within an area to be able to reach several kinds of activities on foot. This means that uses such as living, working, shopping and leisure ought to be accessible on foot, therefore creating a necessity for mixed land use. These relations also count the other way around. When looking at the concept of mixed land use issues of accessibility, density and mixture of buildings are key factors (Callahan, 2003).

The key argument for having mixed land use at a neighbourhood level is to have easy access to at least more than one primary and secondary function in order to create a successful neighbourhood or city district. Jacobs defines primary functions are those functions that attract people to a city district or neighbourhood in the first place. These primary functions are in general: residential space, offices and industries, and recreational and educational activities. The secondary functions are described as those functions that complement the needs that are created by attracting people to a district, such as retail for shopping and service functions like pharmacies etc. on the part of density of population (the second key factor in having mixed land use) there are some strong relations to mixed land use. To make the mixture of primary and secondary uses viable a minimum of users is necessary including both residents as non-residents. To Jacobs this minimum should be at levels of great density to account for a successful neighbourhood. She therefore argues that densities should run up to over a 100 dwellings per net residential acre, creating enough bases for many businesses and a number of other activities to settle and prevail in a district (Schmidt, 1977, pp. 54-55).

#### ***2.1.2 Accessibility and density within contemporary society***

Jacobs's theory on diversity strongly builds on notions of accessibility and density, having many different functions, activities and consumers in proximity to each other. The question that might be raised here is: "Are these notions of accessibility and density relevant within contemporary society?" Since the turn of the nineteenth century here has been a strong debate about cities and whether geography still matters. Many debaters have argued that *geography is dead* meaning that locations and distance are no longer important. This belief is created through the development of the Internet and modern telecommunications and transport systems which generated the idea that face-to-face contact is no longer necessary and so people no longer need places to come together and perform economic activities. Modern day economy is seen to operate in spaces rather than places (Florida, 2005, p. 28).

In support of this argument there is the growing concept of the 'network society'. The emergence of this new network society means that the interrelated activities of citizens and enterprises are no longer necessarily concentrated in a specific physical locality. Specific requirements such as the availability of transport routes and natural resources are now making place for specific business location preference which are no longer bound to locality (WRR, 1999, p. 5). One of the most well quoted authors on the principles of this network society is Manuel Castells (1996). In his book "*The Space of Flows. The Rise of the Network Society*" Castells emphasizes that within the modern day technology new forms of spatial separation and connectivity emerge. Old concepts of neighbourhoods, cities and states now exist alongside networks of selectively connected 'enclaves'. In this context Castells speaks of the space of flows next to the space of places. Places no longer play a central role in the global economy rather the emphasis is on the flows – of people as well as materials – that form a network and stimulate economic development worldwide. The emergence of this network society has implications for the role of public space. Although the abstract notion of space defined as flows become central to economic development – in which space play a role in social practices and vice versa making concepts such as accessibility and density questionable – public space now is given the role of capturing economic development which tends to result in higher investment in public space (Wissink & Van Drunen, 2009, pp. 3-6).

On the other end of this debate are those researchers and academics who believe that place remains important as a locus of economic activities because of the tendency of firms to cluster together. Clustering is seen to stimulate economic activity through the capturing of efficiencies generated by spillovers, face-to-face contact and the concentration of talented, creative people who power innovation and economic growth. Within this view concepts such as accessibility and density still prove to be relevant in creating the right circumstances for economic development. A precondition for making place bound clusters successful is the presence of facilitating networks between companies, meaning a certain level of communication and cooperation (Florida, 2005; Visser & Atzema, 2008). Within this thesis it is believed that places do matter and that places are definitely not dead. Places still form part of people's identity and do still attract people – who play an important role in powering innovation and economic development pleaded for by the Human Capital Theory as well as the Creative Class Theory. But in addition, the evolving network society is something that cannot be ignored meaning that networks are also concepts that need to be considered when looking at economic development. The idea is that both places and abstract spaces of networks exist alongside each other and play a role in regional economic growth.

### **2.1.3 Economic diversity**

Although Jacobs speaks of a broader sense of diversity in her work, as a journalist with economic views essentially her work has economic views at the heart of it. Therefore her work is often interpreted by economists and has been related to several economic theories. In her book "*The Economy of Cities*" Jacobs goes further into detail about the role that diversity plays in the development of cities as a whole. Her theory is often interpreted by economists as a fresh look on economic processes. When focussing on the definition of diversity economist in this context tend to emphasize the economic diversity that Jacobs speaks of in her work rather than the social and physical diversity she relates to it. For example in his article "*Jane Jacobs on development*" David Ellerman emphasizes that the economic diversification is key to economic development. The economic diversification as defined by Jacobs is focussed on variation in economic activities in terms of different types of economic sectors. One of the advantages of having diversification in economic activities within a certain district is the process of knowledge spillovers. In contrast to many other economists Jacobs believes that important knowledge spillovers occur between differing businesses and industries. As proven by Glaeser (1992) spillovers between diverse businesses tend to have a greater effect on innovation and growth than spillovers between

businesses and industries within the same specialisation (models of clustering by MAR and Porter)<sup>3</sup>. The idea is that economic diversity generates competitiveness within cities or districts which through its externalities generates economic growth (Ellerman, 2004, p.2).

#### **2.1.4 Related versus unrelated variety**

Within many economic theories – within which the ideas of Jane Jacobs fit – the focus is on spillovers that occur between firms within a sector – the so called '*localization economies*' – as well as spillovers that occur between different sectors – the so called '*Jacobs externalities*' which means a focus on the complementary character of variety in economic activities. However, there are different ways of looking at the relationship between variety and economic development. In contrast to looking at externalities as being a complementary factor to economic development as Jane Jacobs sees them, external factors such as a downturn in demand can also be seen as having negative impacts on economic development especially in terms of unemployment. In this case variety serves as a key player in protecting a region or city against these negative impacts by creating a broad span of economic activities to which a region can turn to in times where other economic activities loose there strength. These are called the '*urbanization economies*'. In addition to this variety can also be seen as a factor that has an impact on the whole economic system. Variety here is seen as the developing of innovative economic sectors on which an economy can fall back on and can absorb labour that has become redundant in pre-existing sectors. Here variety in itself may be an extra source of knowledge spillovers and innovation.

Within these views there is an emphasis on the fact that variety is strongly related to the degree of urbanization meaning that the more urbanized an area the more variety can be sustained. This argument relates to the belief that a variety of activities can only be sustained if there is sufficient local demand to support it. Frenken et. al call the economic externalities linked to urbanization the '*urbanization economies*' (Frenken et. al, 2007, p. 686). Jacobs (1961) calls this the need for high density in a neighbourhood.

The difference between the localization economies and Jacobs externalities is mainly in the effect that these external economies convene. Localization economies are seen to increase a company's productivity where Jacobs externalities are expected to facilitate innovation and the creation of new markets. This last one can therefore be more useful in examining issues like employment growth which can provide a view on socio-economic development. These different views on the external economies can be called '*related variety*' – referring to localization economies – and '*unrelated variety*' – referring to Jacobs externalities. The main question within the literature about related and unrelated variety is: "Which of these types of varieties is most rewarding for economic stability and economic growth?". The conclusion that Frenken et.al draw from their study on related and unrelated variety is that both types express an effect on economic growth but that these effects differ in nature. Related variety has proven to have a greater effect on employment creation which is strongly related to the fact that related variety is seen to produce more innovative economic activities due to spillover effects. In contrast unrelated variety has proven to dampen the unemployment growth and is therefore good for controlling negative effects instead of creating positive ones (Frenken et. al, 2007, pp. 687 – 696).

In determining the role of economic diversity in economic development it is thus important to distinguish between the types of economic diversity. This distinction often comes down to the distinction between related and unrelated variety as described here. Boschma et. al.(2007) conclude that variety *per se* does not affect growth no matter how growth is defined. It

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<sup>3</sup> MAR and Porter model: "The Marshall-Arrow-Romer (MAR) model emphasizes the grouping of firms in the same industry and predicts that local monopoly would out-perform local competition due to better internalization of the rewards to innovation. A model associated with Michael Porter also focused on groupings or clusters of like firms but emphasized local competition." (Ellerman, 2004, p.2)

strongly depends on how variety is defined and measured. They too find that related variety express different effects on economic development than unrelated variety both being of some importance (Boschma et. al, 2007, pp. 17 -18).

### **2.1.5 Social diversity**

Except for the focus on economic diversity many articles on the role of diversity have a focus on *social* diversity. In many cases social diversity is seen to create societal instability and with it stagnating economies. In contrast, cultural homogeneity is seen to stimulate the development of social capital and therefore stimulating thriving economies.

In their study Nettle et. al. (2007) distinguish between three types of social diversity: linguistically, ethnically, and in terms of religious affiliation. They found that the cultural diversity – defined through linguistic, ethnic, and religious terms – has a negative effect on social stability, creating a society that is not able to produce significant social capital and with that exerts negative effects on economic development in terms of GDP (Nettle et. al., 2007, pp. 1 – 3).

Although the argument of societal instability is a strong one, not all theories are in line with this negative connection between social diversity and economic development. Some studies point out that although social diversity can result in societal instability it can also result in a diverse society which has a positive effect on economic development. One of these – as already discussed in this chapter – is the theory of the Creative Class by Richard Florida (2005). He argues that having socially diverse cities make up for cities that express high levels of tolerance meaning that cities are open and inclusive to all ethnicities, races, religious beliefs and lifestyles. Such tolerant cities are proven to have low barriers to entry for creative people who are powered to generate economic growth (Florida, 2005, pp. 37- 40).

In their study Ottaviano and Peri (2006) believe that social diversity may very well be an important aspect of urban diversity, influencing local production and/or consumption. They believe that ‘place of birth’ can be a feature that differentiates individuals in terms of their attributes, and that this differentiation may have positive or negative effects on the productivity (through complementarities and externalities) and the utility (through taste for variety) of native residents. They found a dominant positive effect of diversity on productivity: a more multicultural urban environment makes citizens more productive (Ottaviano and Peri, 2006, pp. 12 - 39).

According to Jacobs, having economic and social diversity within a district or neighbourhood automatically account for a successful one. The question is what Jacobs defines as ‘successful’. In her work Jacobs relates the success of a neighbourhood to the potential ‘attractiveness’ for businesses as well as for residents. This attractiveness is achieved when there is:” ... the absence of such problems as delinquency, crime, disease, high mortality, and abject poverty.” (Schmidt, 1977, p. 54). But success is also measured by the concept of socioeconomic development. This ‘development’ as Jacobs sees it is not just defined by the increase of GDP and the number of job generated – although these are important – but development is seen more as change through differentiation, diversification and transformation. Meaning that as long as there is diversification of activities in a neighbourhood - economical as well as social and physical - there is economic development (Ellerman, 2004, p.4).

### **2.1.6 Conclusions**

As seen here diversity in general is a notion which strongly related to ‘usage’ in social terms meaning that it is about the actions of people themselves rather than about the physical ordering of those actions. This ‘usage’ has a clear economic and social dimension meaning

that diversity is either focused on economic activities or on social groups. The literature suggests that these economic activities in combination with different social group seem to have a positive effect on the social and economic development. Social improvement is measured by looking at the quality of life, sustainability of communities (societal stability) and levels of tolerance towards individuals and innovation. These social factors seem to have a positive effect on economic growth in terms of GDP (and thus productivity), income levels and employment rates. Also the pure economic benefits of diversity (localization economies and Jacobs' externalities) can have a positive effect on the economic and social structure of the city.

Essential is that this diversity is present on a neighbourhood scale in the inner-city all the way down to the single building level. Smaller scale levels of diversity seem to have the most social and economic benefits due to issues like accessibility and the merits of density even in the network society of today. What makes this notion of diversity (focused on usage rather than physical structuring) important for this masterthesis in relation to planning is because when dealing with spatial planning one has to deal not only with physical structuring in itself but more so with the economic and social actions that are active in a physical environment.

Going back to the background and problem description of this masterthesis: In order to deal with the issues of the expanding city and the rising of more and more derelict inner-city estate and thereby improving the social and economic structure of the city the literature points out that economic and social diversity at smaller scale levels are important. Although the activities (economic and social) are highly important the physical dimension is essential in looking at spatial planning. It is clear that Jacobs emphasis that there is definitely a physical dimension to diversity that is through mixed land use. It is therefore important to look at this physical dimension in further detail in the next paragraph.

## **2.2 Mixed land use**

This paragraph deals with mixed land use in particular instead of diversity in general. The difference between diversity and mixed land use isn't per se about the content of the two notions but rather about the distinction between 'usage' and the spatial creation of combined usage. In looking at definitions of diversity it soon becomes clear that mixed land use is an important aspect of diversity. The question that immediately comes to mind is: "Aren't diversity and mixed use one and the same?" In this research it is believed that although the two concepts are strongly related they do have an important difference. Diversity here indicates the *usage* within a space which can be *spatially structured* through mixed land use.

Just like diversity mixed land use can be defined in many different ways. This paragraph focuses on the views on mixed land use with the purpose to come to a definition of mixed land use that fits within this research. In addition in this paragraph the effects of having different kinds of combination of uses are examined. It is believed here that land use policy has a great influence on the possibilities of having mixed land use and the way in which it might be organized.

### **2.2.1 Mixed land use: the spatial structuring of diversity**

Although Jacobs was one of the first to express fierce critic on the land use zoning and emphasizing the importance of diversify in the 1960s – 1970s, she has definitely not been the only one since then. In 2008 Ritsma van Eck & Kroomen published an article called "*Characterising urban concentration and land-use diversity in simulations of future land use*" which expressed the disbelief in the success of land use zoning. In their article they show that land use zoning (Euclidean zoning) has been dominating most of the twentieth century up until the 1960s and 1970s. Hereby lands use zoning has created mono-functional urban areas which are connected through the grown infrastructural possibilities. Around the late

1980s and early 1990s there emerged a counter reaction to this Euclidean zoning principle in the Netherlands: the mixture of land uses. Mixed and multifunctional land use became the key principles in creating - as Ritsma van Eck & Kroomen call it - '*spatial quality*' in urban areas while at the same time enhancing efficiency of land use. In their article they define mixed and multifunctional land use as: *combining several functions such as business, residential, recreational and economic activities within urban as well as rural areas*. They find that this concept of mixed land use is strongly related to the concept of concentration of urbanisation meaning that mixed land use often goes hand in hand with density within an urban area (Ritsma van Eck & Kroomen, 2008, p.126).

In support of the argument against land use zoning Rowley (1996) emphasises the growing importance of the mixing of urban uses. In his observation mixed lands use is becoming more and more popular in relation to the creation and maintenance of attractive, liveable and sustainable urban environments. He argues that although mixed land use in general offers some benefits to the development of urban areas, these benefits aren't per definition present in any kind of mixing of land use in any given context. Therefore he emphasises that it is important first and foremost to look at what a mixed-use development actually is, how this can affect the urban quality and how this mixed-use can be achieved.

In looking at the definition of mixed land use Rowley (1996) finds that there are several dimensions to mixed land use that have to be considered. One of those dimensions is the idea of density in the form of the 'compact city' strongly relating to the historic structure of urban areas. Density – of people as well as activities – is seen to influence the performance of mixed-use development through the presence of a consumption base. Secondly, an important dimension of mixed-use is scale. Urban areas can be mixed at differing levels of scale: (1) district or neighbourhood level, (2) within the street or other public spaces (3) within buildings or street blocks and (4) within individual buildings. Another dimension that seems to be quite important when looking at the mixing of uses is that of time. Different uses can come together at the same time within a single area but different uses can also take place within the same space at differing moments in time. Here too the definition of mixed land use comes down to a functional one: *mixed-use is the mixing of functions within one space on differing levels of scale at one or several moments in time* (Rowley, 1996, p. 85 – 87).

### **2.2.2 The role of scale**

In their study Ritsma van Eck & Kroomen (2008) look at urban areas on a regional scale, specifically at Cooperating Regions. In their analysis of the regions they find that at regional levels there is a high degree of functional diversity, but when zooming in to the city level this land use diversity becomes rather low which makes up for a more mono-functional city structure. This conclusion seems rather logical but what is important about this conclusion is the link to socio-economic development. The results of the study point out that with a regional, more diversified structure the potential for a viable socio-economic structure is much higher than that city with a mono-functional structure. This means that having a more diversified urban area pertains a stronger socio-economic base. Further on in this chapter there will be more attention on these benefits of mixed land use.

The regional scale is remarkably larger than the city district scale used by Jacobs. Although this stands in contrast with the belief of Jacobs that land use should be regulated at a decentralized district level within a city, it does not necessarily stand in contrast with the preconditions set by Jacobs. Just like Jacobs, Ritsma van Eck & Kroomen mention aspects that are indispensable when looking at mixed land use, namely density of population and activities. They call this urban density the 'urban concentration' or the 'level of urbanisation' and link it to the strategies proposed by the New Urbanists<sup>4</sup> and the Smart Growth

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<sup>4</sup> "New Urbanism: This mainly American movement considers design and planning as essentials for high-quality development of neighbourhoods. New Urbanist neighbourhoods are based on short walking distances and

movement<sup>5</sup> to create the conditions for sustainable economic growth in urban areas. At the heart of these strategies lies the belief in the mixing of urban land uses to make spatial planning more efficient (Ritsma van Eck & Kroomen, 2008, pp. 126 - 133).

The importance of scale in implementing and interpreting indicators can hardly be overstressed. Spatial scale (e.g. grid cell size), thematic scale (e.g. land-use typology) and extent (e.g. study area) are crucial in findings on the mixing of land use (Ritsma van Eck & Kroomen, 2008, p. 137). In his study in the definition of mixed land use Rowley (1996) also touches on this crucial dimension of the concept of mixed use. The obvious conclusion that Rowley encounters is that at city wide level all urban areas experience the mixture of different uses: the higher the scale, the bigger the area, the more activities are present which per definition leads to an observation of a functional mixture of uses. Therefore Rowley distinguishes four other scale on which mixed land use should be looked at which are less obvious to have such a mixture of uses: (1) district or neighbourhood level, (2) within the street or other public spaces (3) within building- or street blocks and (4) within individual buildings. On different levels of scale it is found that there are varying planning issues to be dealt with. Mixed use on a street level raises the issue of public space development. Mixed use is then dependent on the structure of the public space and the activities that fit within this structure. On the single building level especially – although this issue is relevant on all scale levels – the concept of mixed-use development relates to how property is held and occupied and by whom and who has responsibilities to what part of the building (Rowley, 1996, p. 87).

Although the issue of scale is inherently linked to mixed land use it is also partly due to the context from which one looks at diversity and mixed land use. Mixed land use tends to have different definitions in different contexts. The definition held by Jacobs is a view within the American context of looking at urban areas and planning concepts. Ritsma van Eck & Kroomen can generally be seen as the European continental view on mixed land use. In both the American and the European continental context planning tends to be looked at on a neighbourhood level. In the UK context mixed land use is generally interpreted as a functional mixture of uses within a single building as mentioned by Rowley whose study was on British cities with mixed land use.

### **2.2.3 The social and economic effects of mixed land use**

Mixed land use is often seen as a beneficial planning concept in improving urban quality. Therefore mixed land use is often applied to such schemes that deal with (1) conservation of established mixed-use settings, (2) revitalisation and restructuring of existing parts of towns, including reuse, conversion and refurbishment and (3) comprehensive development or redevelopment of larger areas and sites. The issue that arises here is what can be seen as urban quality; is urban quality a social or rather a spatial aspect? The notions of urban quality vary considerably. In general urban quality has certain concerns such as for the visual, functional and environmental qualities of places and for the urban experience. Urban quality thus has a social as well as an environmental and ecological dimension. It is essentially about the promotion of life between the buildings rather than within the buildings. This life between the buildings can be experienced in different ways by different people – of different ages, race, gender, family circumstances and affluence – at different levels of scale. For instance, feminists argue that the integration of uses will create more equality in opportunities for women and might reduce the risk of harassment and assault. In environmental and

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contain a mix of housing and work environments. New Urbanists claim that compact and mixed development is the best way to reduce travel time and commuting, to increase the supply of affordable housing, and to control urban sprawl." (Vreeker, et. al., 2004, p. 290)

<sup>5</sup> "Smart Growth addresses three inter-related subjects, namely, the density of urban development, the spatial separation of land use functions, and the relation between land use, mobility patterns and transport mode choice. Proposed solutions include urban infill development, mixing land use functions and the creation of transit and pedestrian-friendly environment." (Vreeker, et. al., 2004, p. 291)

ecological terms there are both positive and negative effects of mixed-use. It is perceived that higher densities of uses are likely to reduce energy consumption and therefore has positive results for sustainable development especially on a smaller scale (Rowley, 1996, p.87 - 89).

This notion of reclaiming urban quality is related to the concept of urban renaissance which considers urban redevelopment as a driving force for creating more diverse, interesting and economically vibrant places. Urban revitalization initiatives embrace diversity, both social and economic, as well as functional and spatial also known as mixed-use and multi-purpose zoning. Diversity in this sense is seen to reverse such processes as (sub)urban sprawl and mall developments at the outskirts of the city and alienation. From the study on this phenomenon Lees finds that in creating economically and socially diverse cities with mixed-use of functions the process of gentrification sets in drawing back in the middle and higher income households who previously moved away to the suburbs. Residential gentrification helps to push up per capita income. Within the vision of Portland – which Lees examined in his research – the mixing of uses contributes to the city's economic, social and physical diversity leading to a more interesting, vibrant and liveable city. The so called mono-zoned spaces are replaced by hetero-zoned spaces such as work-play, live-work and play-live zones. The healthy mixture of uses – in particular combining living, working and recreating – then makes up for a vibrant urban area.

Although mixed-use has the general effect of creating vibrant cities there is a downside to this liveability. First of all, in generating the process of gentrification there is the risk of enhancing the income inequality and consequent social distance between gentrifiers with high incomes and other residents with a low income level. Secondly, a group that is strongly attracted to vibrant cities is the urban youth. This youth group is increasingly seen to be undesirable occupants of public space within the city. Finally, in creating so called hetero-zoned spaces with functional and spatial diversification cities increase the possibility for conflicts to emerge between different functions which have different spatial needs and also conflicts between differing residential and visitors groups that then use the same space. With the functional and spatial segregation of zoning alternative activities and social groups are kept apart in the interest of social order and economic efficiency (Lees, 2003, pp. 613 – 623)

One of the greatest arguments for having mixed use on neighbourhood level is that of accessibility at least more than one primary and secondary function in order to create a successful neighbourhood or city district (Schmidt, 1977, pp. 54-55). Some researchers take the argument of accessibility as far as having influence on levels of BMI (Body Mass Index), overweight and obesity. Mixed use has been conceptualized as a key ingredient needed to support walking and recent studies suggest mixed use is important in maintaining healthy weight as well. The theory is that population density makes walking efficient, decreases the appeal of driving through congested areas where parking is often scarce, and creates demand for destinations. Mixed use brings many diverse walking destinations together in an area which may be especially important for supporting walking for transportation purposes (Brown et. al., 2009, p. 1130).

#### **2.2.4 The ingredients of mixed land use**

Mixed land use in general may be seen as a desirable objective, but much depends on which land uses are actually mixed. A combination of urban and rural land uses, for example, may create environmental tension with respect to issues such as pollution, disturbance et cetera. This also counts for the mixing of industrial uses with residential units (Ritsma van Eck & Kroomen, 2008, p. 136). Therefore it is important to look at what kinds of mixing is beneficial in terms of economic development as well as in terms of social and environmental (physical) development.

In the 1970s, planners and designers, influenced by the work of Jane Jacobs (1961), started introducing the concept of mixed-use development. Early applications of the concept were

mainly based on the redevelopment of old historic buildings and districts. This was, however, limited to combining office and retail functions. In the 1980s, generated by the gentrification process, the integration of housing with retail and office functions became more common. In addition in the 1990s, the integration of recreation and entertainment was introduced. This concept brings together theatres, sports facilities and restaurants with functions such as office, retail and housing (Vreeker et. al, 2004, p. 290).

Also in reaction to the desire of revitalization of postmodern and post industrial cities in the last decades and the process of gentrification a lot of mixed use development started to reach further than the traditional combination of offices, retail and apartments. In order to boost economic development this expansion of mixed-use has especially been focused on attracting cultural and creative industries<sup>6</sup> (Lees, 2003, p. 614). As mentioned before Florida (2005) was one of the first to promote the benefits of attracting creative industries to cities. Having these creative industries on a neighbourhood and single building level creates preconditions for the neighbourhood to have those same benefits (regional economic growth). This same argument counts for the cultural industries. Cultural industries tend to a certain attractiveness of the city through the creation and maintenance of identity and the creation of distinctive places of consumption further boosting urban economies (Lees, 2003, p. 614).

Jacobs defines the essential uses within a mixed-use neighbourhood as primary and secondary functions. Primary functions are those functions that attract people to a city district or neighbourhood in the first place. These primary functions are in general: residential space, offices and industries, and recreational and educational activities. The secondary functions are described as those functions that complement the needs that are created by attracting people to a district, such as retail for shopping and service functions like pharmacies and cultural activities such as bars, cinema and museums (Schmidt, 1977, pp. 54-55).

Brown et. al. (2009) make a distinction between residential land uses and non-residential land uses. Residential uses include single and multiple family housing, planned unit developments, condominiums, and trailer parks. Non-residential land uses include destinations such as office spaces, stores, schools, and park all within a walking distance. These are seen to be important within a neighbourhood structure. (Brown, et. al., 2009, pp. 1134 – 1135).

### **2.2.5 Conclusions**

Many perceptions of mixed land use exist depending on the context in which it is viewed. In this research mixed land use is defined as: *“the mixing of functions within one space on differing levels of scale at one or several moments in time”*. This means that mixed land use encompasses more than the clustering of economic activities but also the allocation of land use claims made by housing, business, transport, water, recreation and nature as is also the case in Zaanstad. This clustering of differing functions in an urban concentration indicates the spatial role that mixed land use has in creating diversity in economic as well as in social terms (businesses and people).

One of the most important aspects of mixed land use is the level of scale on which one is executing his or her analyses. The city level is the least interesting to be looked at in relation to mixed land use because of the fact that this higher scale level often has the obvious

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<sup>6</sup> The notions of cultural and creative industries are often used as one concept within literature. Although these notions both are centered on the cross-over of traditional economic activities with art, pop-culture, commerce and entertainment they have different definitions. Cultural industries are more related to the historical identities of urban areas and reaches back to the commercialization of culture during the mid twentieth century like the development of music and film. Creative industries are less related to the historical context and reach a broader scope of economic sectors. Creative industries are those industries that have creativity at the core of their business not necessarily related to culture but more so related to innovation and technology.

presence of mixture of uses. Cities for the most part have residents as well as businesses with uses that serve both these groups. Therefore a smaller scale level seems much more interesting in this research especially because of the fact that mixed land use on small scale diversity (neighbourhood, street and building level) is less common. In those cases that there is a mix on such levels there are some interesting developments in relation to the social and economic structure as mentioned above. What is specifically interesting is the combination of the neighbourhood level with that of the street and single building level as proposed by Rowley (1996) especially because this research is based on a comparison study of a region within the general continental European context (Zaanstad) and a region within the British context (Liverpool). In the continental European context mixed land use is often viewed on a neighbourhood and street level. In the UK on the other hand it has been mentioned by practitioners in Liverpool that with mixed use it is generally meant a single building level mixture (Douglas, 2010; Rice, 2010). This research is based on a case study research in the UK in relation to the situation in Zaanstad where mixed land use is predominantly spoken of on street and building level. In this research mixed land use will therefore be measured on neighbourhood level (having varying functions within a district on street level) and on single building level.

As mixed land use is perceived as the spatial structuring of diversity the effects of creating mixed use areas are related to those effects generated through diversity in terms of economic and social structure. What mixed land use has as additional effects are those related to the spatial/physical nature. Here scale goes as far as influencing the effects that can be related to having mixed use. The closer differing functions come together the more conflicts emerge between them especially uses which have clashing spatial claims. This means that the 'right' mixture of uses is necessary especially on a smaller scale level. This research will focus on finding out what this right mixture might be and whether the 'standard' combination of apartments, retail, leisure and creative industries is enough to create the diversity that is necessary for social and economic improvement.

## **2.3 Approaches to spatial planning**

The question that has an important focus within this thesis is: How should planning and –in the specific case of Zaanstad– mixed land use and therefore diversity be organized? What kind of planning approach is suitable to achieve a beneficial form of mixed land use that is sustainable in social, economical and physical terms? In order to answer these questions first there will be an inventory of the planning theories that have had the role of shaping planning approaches. Therefore the principles, and advantages and disadvantages are examined in this respect within the main planning theories of the past decennia.

### **2.3.1 Looking at planning theories**

There have been many different theories by which the planning approaches have been shaped. These theories have always been related to the perceptions about space and place, and to the evolving society. For many years – especially in European countries such as the Netherlands – planning has solely been a government activity whether national, regional or local. This has largely resulted in many planning policies by which the urban structure was formed. Over the last decades much critique has surfaced about the leading role of the government in planning. This critique was especially created through the changing society. Society as it was during the beginning of the twentieth century was more and more becoming a dynamic differentiated society by the end of the twentieth century. The individual became more central than the greater good within the whole of the society making the government planning (which was oriented towards serving the greater good) largely doubted on. In reaction to this evolving society the theories about planning changed, along which the planning concepts changed from a more technical, rational decision based and comprehensive planning concepts to concepts that stood in contrast with these principle

such as the Institutional Theory, the Actor-Network Theory, the Urban Regime Theory and The Post-structuralism. Within these theories the principles are more orientated towards relations between actors, planning as a perspective rather than just policy and more planning as a communicative process rather than a decision-making one (Wissink, 2003, pp.1 - 18).

### **2.3.2 The concepts of place and space in contemporary society**

Nowadays an area is no longer as uniform as been perceived in the past. An area has more and more become a complex web of many 'things' coming together (Rooij ea., 1999). The physical environment comprises of all sorts of functions coming tighter in time and space, for example apartments, offices, green space and roads. In order to form a vision decide on a strategy and formulating policy there needs to be a clear view of all the functions and activities that are active in the area in question. The ways in which these 'objects' are placed within space shape the characteristics of a city, region or country, and express the way in which people use that space for work, living and recreation and therefore express the needs and identities which shape people (De Heus en Steinhauser, 2003). In short this means that space has an influence on initiating and facilitating desirable behaviour and that in its turn people's behaviour has an influence on shaping space.

Graham en Healey (1999) find that planners often look at space and from a different perspective: an object oriented perspective. The city is often seen as a unitary place; a surface on which economic as well as social activities take place and one which is receptive to land use policy. Within this vision human live is seen as something that is shaped by characteristics of a location and the physical environment in which it unfolds. Hereby a certain amount of interrelation between society and the physical environment is recognised. In planning mostly the goal is to shape and steer society by interventions in space and to anticipate on changes in society by adjustments in space. Although the recognition of certain interrelatedness is made there is still the focus on the dominating power of the physical environment. In addition to that elements within the physical environment are seen as elements that stand on their own and not as interwoven with each other.

According to Graham and Healey (1999) this so called 'absolute' approach to space and place (loose physical elements coming together in time and space) is out dated and needs to be replaced by a more relational approach to space and place. This does not mean that the physical characteristics of space and place aren't relevant anymore. On the contrary, the physical elements are a great part of the equation in which the relationships are shaped. A relational approach implies that the physical as well as the non-physical elements within a space or place all stand in relation to each other. These new perspectives on the concepts of space and place lead to a necessity for new perspectives on planning which correspond to these new perspectives on space and place within contemporary society.

### **2.3.3 Institutional Theory**

As mentioned above planning approaches nowadays are more orientated towards relations between actors, planning as a perspective rather than just policy and more planning as a communicative process rather than a decision-making one. Within the Institutional Theory institutions are the arena within which policy-making takes place and therefore shape the perspective from which planning takes place. Institutions are seen to affect the distribution of power and make political life manageable and also they are seen to express the values underpinning a political system. Clearly the Institutional Theory is strongly concentrated around the role of politics and the values that form them. The Institutional Theory in its original founding of the 1960s was hereby still closely related to the old perceptions of planning and society. Central to planning were politicians who formed policy which in its turn formed public life and the urban structure. In this setting it is one powerful political individual

or ruling class that sets the standards of the institutions that dominate society through policies created by the state.

This perception of institutions is later on placed within the perspective of modern day society where concepts of time and place are differentiated recognising that institutions are unique in both time and in place. This differentiation can be linked to the concept of context. This context can differ between as well as within nations for the most part being determined by the history, political systems, values and cultures. Institutions are seen to embody not only political decisions but also cultures and the historical context within which society evolves. This means that institutions can be seen as those regulations and policies that shape public life (formal institutions) but also those values and beliefs that influence peoples acting within the public life (informal institutions).

In short the Institutional Theory can be seen as the approach by which decision-making is steered by institutions whether formal or informal and therefore determine how actors act within a planning process. One of the criticisms on the Institutional Theory is related to this 'core' principle. There has been pleated that actors often circumvent institutions in the pursuit of their interests. The idea here is that any institution that is suppose to steer the decision-making process can lose its importance if powerful actors or groups of actors are able to influence the decision-making through having major resources such as great funding. Another important criticism on the Institutional Theory is that the focus is strongly on the institutions rather than on the human actions that in fact shape the institutions. These human actions often find expression in the shape of conflicts, interests and politics. The Institutional Theory tends to ignore the importance of the existence of these conflicts and actor interests in shaping and changing institutions. The relationship between institutions and decision-making in planning is simplified within the theory when in fact this relationship is fairly complex.

In the attempt to respond to this criticism the Institutional Theory was revived during the 1980s with more attention paid to other aspects that could influence on shaping of institutions and the creation of policy such as the economy and interests. Hereby recognising the complexity of decision-making no longer only relying on the central role of institutions on decision-making and policy-making. Although the attempt is made in reshaping the principles of the theory in fitting with modern day society, the theory still places the state (government) at the centre of its analysis and so leaves out the importance of different kinds of actors and their actions (John, 2001, pp. 39 – 65). In relation to mixed land use this approach to planning therefore seems to be too limited. With mixed land use different uses and users (actors) with their varying interests come together. Policy-making therefore should be focused on managing the interests of those actors rather than focusing on the steering power of institutions. Why this theory is discussed here anyway is the fact that although the focus should not be on institutions it is very important to take institutions into account in planning because of their steering power.

#### **2.3.4 Urban Regime Theory**

Steering power can thus come from institutions as well as actors. A more actor orientated theory is the Urban Regime Theory. The question that stands central to this theory is: 'Who has the power to determine what happens?'. Is it the government that has the power and means to determine what happens, or are it for instance influential actors like multinationals that power? When looking at mixed land use and therefore the coordinating of varying interests these questions are important questions to be asked. Which of all the present actors in a mixed area are expected to have the power to rule in the planning process?

The urban regime theory is more a model than a theory. The focus lies on the internal processes in forming coalitions, such as public cooperation or informal co-ordination across different institutional borders (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). Therefore Stone (2005) calls

the approach the *'Urban Regime Analysis'* rather than the theory. The goal of the urban regime analysis is to come to an effective manner of problem solving. Within this analysis this means that in order to reach something there has to be cooperation between those actors that haven an interest in the matter. These actors can be a part of a public body as well as a company, a group in the society or an individual. The issue at hand forms the central point around which the actors with interest organize themselves to come to the most effective solution to the problem at hand. Here the focus is on the 'power to' instead of the 'power over'. Meaning that it is first and foremost about creating a partnership that has the power to make the most effective decisions. These partnerships (regimes) don't by definition mean that there is agreement on every aspect of the solution, but that there is room to come to a compromise that can create possibilities. Private parties (the business sector) are seen to be key parties in decision-makings coalitions because of their extensive resources. The power of these private parties as well as that of public parties, differ from place to place and can change over time (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001; Stone, 2005). In short, this approach offers an analytical framework with which in one can analyse coalitions between parties within a local context, in which private parties play an important role (Horlings e. a., 2006)

In addition – according to Urban Regime Theory – the power of local authorities is believed to be strongly fragmented. A part of their power seems to lie in the hands of private parties. These private parties have greater access to economic resources and therefore have great influence on the forming of policy. In order to bring together this fragmented power, the Urban Regime Theory sees policy-making as something that has to happen within the principles of 'governance' (Hamilton, 2004). In this context governance is seen as the creation of informal collaborations between public and private parties where there is no such thing as a formal hierarchy (Horlings e. a, 2006).

Although the Urban Regime Theory can be applied in different fields of research and different levels of scale it especially offers advantages on the regional level. On this level local authorities are not always able to solve problems of land use development and economic development. Through the use of a regime these problems appeared to be much more solvable (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). In accordance to this belief, Horlings e. a. (2006) also put the focus on the Urban Regime Theory in their research on the role of regional policy in relation to the growing regional scale because the theory can offer a new perspective on the regional complexity within which policy is to be formed. In short, this theory – although strongly political – has more attention for actors that are involved and their interest that shape their actions than the Institutional Theory. the problem is that it focuses on a selecting a group of actors within an area which have political power and thereby place the remaining actors in an area on the background.

### **2.3.5 Actor-Network Theory**

Finally a theory that has the most attention for actors and their actions and interests is the *Actor-Network Theory*. This theory corresponds strongly with the ideas about the evolution of society and the new concepts of time and space.

To this day theories have often focused on either the purely sociological arguments or the purely physical arguments for the change of urban structure. Little attention has been paid to a relational perspective in shaping urban form. Within a relational perspective urban form is perceived as being the result of associations between human and non-human actors (Wissink & Van Drunen, 2009). In addition to this Wissink reverse to Latour who argues that urban form cannot solely be defined by social factors but that social factors can only be reconstructed when is recognised that associations of physical objects, social actors and institutions arise together. The focus of the Actor-Network Theory is therefore on the interconnection between human and non-human actors. This implies that 'things' can be actors as well as people not solely because they are the result of human interaction but also because they take part in shaping associations which make of for contemporary society. In



this actors – human as well as non-human – are seen to solely exist within networks (Wissink & Van Drunen, 2009).

The involvement of human and non-human 'objects' also plays a key role in the work of John Law. Law discusses a 'network approach' in which 'heterogeneous engineers' combine the entities of people, experiences, objects and natural phenomena in explaining (technological) developments. In the network approach of Law, there are two strongly related principles for studying of the heterogeneous networks. These are the principles of (1) general symmetry (all components are equivalent within the analysis) and (2) mutual definition (actors are those entities that express visible influence on others). When entities are not visible to the human eye, their existence within that specific network is questioned (Law, 1987). This is also emphasised by Murdoch. In his book Murdoch points out that – according to the Actor-Network Theory – an actor can only influence the world by being a part of heterogeneous networks. This means that no single actor can carry out an effective intervention in its surroundings (physical or non physical) without the support of others. Action is per definition an association/relation and supports the idea of Latour that actors solely function within networks (Murdoch, 2006 p.74).

Networks are thus created through the merging of humans and objects, these objects can also become disconnected resulting in the disintegration of networks. According to Latour, a network must remain transforming spaces in order to make the network more stable and lasting over a longer period of time. Only with this transforming of spaces networks are able to grow (Murdoch, 2006 p.64). Within the view of the Actor-Network Theory there is no specific distinction between 'global' and 'local' meaning that larger networks aren't necessarily world-wide networks. Larger networks simply reach further than smaller networks in terms of connecting actors (Murdoch, 2006 p.70). The size and scale are nothing more than an end-product of the continuous extension of a network. The theory then implies that geographical or simply spatial research has to focus on detecting these networks and finding out what these networks mean and which of the interrelations are sustainable or unsustainable. This means that in order to understand how space(s) and time are created one should look at how networks come to be established and where the networks lead to (Murdoch, 2006 p.71). These principles show that the Actor-Network Theory has a strong relational view on time and space as described above. Networks create their own different space and time conceptions from the different 'materials' that come together within the network. The shaping of space is hereby nothing more than an effect of a network (Murdoch, 2006 p.73).

The application of the Actor-Network Theory to spatial research and practices such as spatial (urban) planning is a true challenge. The principles of this theory sets out a different way of looking at space – that is a relational way – and a different way of looking at spatial relations – they are seen as a network. This means an adaptation of the standard (absolute) way of looking at space that most spatial planners are used to applying (Murdoch, 2006, p. 75-76).

### **2.3.6 Actor Relational Approach**

In the beginning of this paragraph is stated that planning theories have the role of shaping planning approaches. These planning approaches are seen as to – on their turn – shape the planning practices that shape the urban structure. Unfortunately this is not always the case. Many debates have been centred on the discussion that the academic side of planning (planning theories) are no longer translated in the planning practices of planners nowadays. Necessary in developing a planning approach that stands closer in the lines with contemporary society and contemporary needs is creating a stronger interrelation between planning theory and planning practice.

In an attempt to translate the principles of the Actor Network Theory into a planning approach Boelens (2009) argues for what is called the Actor Network Approach. In his book *“The Urban Connection”* Boelens looks at the implications of contemporary network society for the application of planning approaches. Central to this actor-based approach is the relational view on space and time and places the actor at the centre of planning rather than the object. These actors are seen to be interrelated and take place in a network of actors – human in this case –, institutions and the physical environment (places). This makes planning an activity that deals with (1) identifying opportunities and connecting them to possible actors instead of creating ‘the plan that works’, (2) working with key actors; those who have the capacity and incentive to invest, (3) the concept of sustainability (economic, social and environmental) which means recognising unique selling points, (4) planning beyond the confines of the government restricting policies and (5) planning through associative democracy whereby associations between actors are central.

In this context the leading actors can be defined as being part of the public sector (with a primary focus on representational vote-winning), the private sector (with a primary focus on profit-making; here defined as property development companies etc.) and the civic society (with a primary focus on dealing with specific common interests; here defined as being citizen groups as well as business groups). Central to the Actor Relational Approach is the idea of organizing spatial planning outside-in instead of inside-out. Outside-in means focussing on the goals and expectations of citizens and businesses – i.e. the civic society – instead of focused on the government with the government ways of doing things in formal structures (inside-out).

A seven step scheme has been set up in order to approach planning through an Actor Relational View. These seven basic principles within the Actor Relational planning approach as defined by Boelens are the following:

1. *“Interpreting the problem by determining the focal actors and unique core values”*,
2. *“Actor identification and actor analysis”*
3. *“Opportunity maps and developmental possibilities”*
4. *“Bilateral talks and round tables”*
5. *“Business cases and pilots”*
6. *“Regime development and general plan outlines”*
7. *“Democratic anchoring in special district”*

According to Boelens (2009) these seven principles within the Actor Relational Approach are essential in conducting planning in order to come to spatial developments which fit in the needs of the network society of today (Boelens, 2009). Thereby it is most important to keep in mind that although this outside-in approach is focused on giving citizens and businesses the leading hang in planning, this outside-in approach will never work without the coordination and controlling role of the government (Hirst, 2000; Grubben, 2009).

### **2.3.7 Conclusions**

From this overview of spatial planning approaches it can be concluded that in the different theories which are meant to form planning approaches the emphasis is on varying aspects of planning. Over the years there has been the realisation that actors are central to the planning process which has led to the development of the Actor Network Theory. In this theory it is recognised that although institutions (Institutional Theory) and power relations (Urban Regime Theory) are important it are the actors which deserve the emphasis. These actors (human and non-human) stand within a network with each other as well as with the institutions eventually forming power relations which take the leading role in dealing with spatial matters.

The actor relational approach is an attempt at translating planning theory into an approach which can be applied in the planning practice. This approach in many ways is the translation

of the Actor Network Theory because it puts the emphasis on the broader scope of actors that are involved in a planning process while recognising that these actors stand in relation to one another and to institutions and their environment. Important in this planning approach is the formation of regimes (power relations) which stand strong in shaping spatial plans.

This way of approaching spatial planning is important to this research because in contemporary society where networks (spaces of flows) connect different actor it is important to look at spatial planning from within the actors in a certain situation (outside-in) instead of looking at spatial planning from the institutions to the shaping of actors actions (inside-out). Also in relation to mixed land use and thereby diversity planning deals with a diverse scope of involved actors because of the different people that the different uses bring together which stand in relation to each other (in networks). Because places do matter it is also important to look at the unique selling points a place has to offer. Also when it comes to 'getting things done' in spatial planning it has to come down to a regime which has the ability and power to invest in planning and influence spatial developments. In finding the right approaches to dealing with mixed land use in the revitalization of industrial/business zones this research will look at whether this Actor Relational Approach is applicable and truly beneficial or whether other approaches are more effective.

## **2.4 Conclusions and implications for research**

### **2.4.1 Conclusions**

What are the most important findings on diversity, the role of mixed land use in (re)development and the approaches to planning mixed land use?

The literature shows that diversity has an economic and a social dimension meaning that diversity is either focused on economic activities or on social groups. These economic activities in combination with different social group on a small neighbourhood and building level have a positive effect on the social and economic development. Social improvement is measured by looking at the quality of life, sustainability of communities (societal stability) and levels of tolerance towards individuals and innovation. These social factors have a positive effect on economic growth in terms of GDP (and thus productivity), income levels and employment rates. Also the pure economic benefits of diversity (localization economies and Jacobs' externalities) can have a positive effect on the economic and social structure of the city.

Mixed land use has the important role of spatially structuring this diversity. This means that mixed land use encompasses the clustering of economic activities but also the allocation of land use claims made by housing, transport, water, recreation and nature. This clustering of differing functions in an urban concentration indicates the spatial role that mixed land use has in creating diversity in economic as well as in social terms (businesses and people). Although the smaller scale level (neighbourhood and single building) seem to have the most benefits there is a downside. The closer differing functions come together the more conflicts emerge between them especially uses which have clashing spatial claims. This means that the 'right' mixture of uses is necessary especially on a smaller scale level. This research will focus on finding out what this right mixture might be and whether the 'standard' combination of apartments, retail, leisure and creative industries is enough to create the diversity that is necessary for social and economic improvement.

Within the contemporary network society this mixed land use seem to be best achieved from within the actors in a certain situation (outside-in) instead of looking at spatial planning from the institutions to the shaping of actors actions (inside-out). It is important to look at the network relations that exist between actors as well as the unique selling points that characterize an area or city. The actors are the ones that use a space and therefore are



closer to the needs of a place. The unique selling points are important because today world cities have to look at what they can offer above other cities or areas in order to compete.

### **2.4.2 Operationalization: concepts and measurements**

A part of the goal of this theoretical overview is to come to variables and measurements which can be used in the empirical research on the role of mixed land use in improving the social and economic structure of a city. Variables – otherwise referred to as concepts – are those notions that stand central in the research and are perceived to form an interrelation that explain causality. The key variables within this research are:

1. *Actor Relational Approach*
2. *Mixed land use: spatial structuring of diversity*
3. *Diversity: economic and social dimension*
4. *Social and economic improvement*

The **causal relations** between these concepts are expected to be as following:

Simply put an Actor Relational Approach to planning mixed land use leads to the creation of the conditions for a variety of actors dealing with economic and social diversity within a city because of the emphasis on including different actors related to different elements of a city. This economic and social diversity seems to play an important role in improving the social and economic structure of the city because of the expansion of the different activities and possibilities of the city. This diversity can be spatially created achieved through mixed land use planning. As mentioned in the literature study the features of mixed lands use (high density, mixture of uses, accessibility and mixture of architecture) are interdependent therefore meaning that mixed land use can only be achieved when all features are present.

#### ***Improving the social and economic structure of cities through diversity***

As the literature points out diversity has a great role in the development of a city in social as well as in economic terms. It is shown that the economic and social aspects of diversity such as Jacobs' externalities and localization economies produce the conditions for social improvement within cities like the creation of sustainable communities which have a good average education and income level, increase population rates or at least limit the exodus of the population and improve the quality of life but also economic improvement such as increasing employment rates, creating higher education and income levels and improving the city's productivity (GDP).

This means that the ultimate effect of social as well as the economic improvement of the city's structure is creating sustainable communities not in the sense of physical or economic sustainability which often looks at being economically or environmentally responsible. Sustainable communities in this sense are those communities that have a strong bases of economic activities to provide jobs and products that sustain live in a place. Sustainable communities also represent those communities which have a high quality of life in physical (environmental) terms as well as in emotional terms (explained earlier in this paragraph). When such strong sustainable communities are created the attractiveness of a place increases in terms of becoming places where people like to live and work. This creates a counter exodus process where the population increases rather than decreases. Also when having several economic activities which produce a broad offer of products and activities this creates better possibilities for having a better quality of life. Employment rates often increase through the creation of a variation of job offers when having varying and innovative kinds of economic activities in one place. Innovative economic activities are often related to the creative industries. With the presence of a diverse population in which the creative class feels tolerated and open the creative industry can blossom which has the effect of increasing the productivity (GDP) of a place. With an open and tolerant environment the creative class has the opportunity to be innovative and are committed to evolving in technological terms.

This innovativeness and openness also has a hand in creating sustainable communities and increasing the attractiveness of a place.

### ***Mixed land use: the spatial structuring of diversity***

This diversity can be spatially structured through mixed land use. The literature shows that mixed land use is: “*the mixing of functions within one space on differing levels of scale at one or several moments in time* “. This means that mixed land use encompasses more than the clustering of economic activities but also the allocation of land use claims made by housing, transport, water, recreation and nature. This combination in its turn creates diversity in social terms of ‘usage’ and activities. So in short mixed land use creates the conditions for economic and social diversity to take place in an area and thereby have the benefits of these types of diversity.

The integration of mixed land uses into communities is a critical component of achieving better places to live. By putting uses in close proximity to one another, alternatives to driving, such as walking or biking, once again become viable. Mixed land use also provides a greater and more diverse population and commercial base for supporting viable public transit. It can enhance the vitality and perceived security of an area by increasing the number and attitude of people on the street. It helps streets; public spaces and pedestrian-oriented retail again become places where people meet, attracting pedestrians back onto the street and helping to revitalize community life. Mixed land use can also generate economic benefits like increasing property values benefits associated with areas able to attract more people, as there is increased economic activity when there are more people in an area to shop. In today's service economy, communities find that by mixing land use, they make their neighborhoods attractive to workers who increasingly balance quality of life criteria with salary to determine where they will settle.

### ***An Actor Relational Approach to planning mixed land use***

The spatial structuring of mixed lands use can be achieved through different kinds of planning approaches. What the literature makes clear is that – in the case of spatially regulating the mixture of uses in contemporary society of emerging networks – the Actor Relational Approach is the most suitable approach for promoting mixed land use. When having different uses next to each other it is obvious that different interests come together which in planning has to be dealt with. When there is already a mixture of uses like in Zaanstad but there is still the quest for the ‘right’ alignment of uses the ARA can function as an approach to coordinate those differing interests and promoting more mixed use areas. Because it has become clear that mixed land use and therefore the presence of diversity is beneficial to improving the social and economic structure of a city many areas such as Zaanstad are interested in maintaining this mixed land use. What is important in the first place is to look at what the interest of the actors within these different uses is and how these interests can be matched within a common space which is essential to the Actor Relational Approach. When these actors and there interest are visualized the second important thing is to look at what makes an area of place unique and productive and therefore what kind of mix works for that certain area or place. When looking at mixed land use fro this point of view it is more likely that the area or place has the ‘right’ sustainable conditions of diversity to produce the benefits that are linked to this diversity.

An **interrelation** is also apparent between **economic and social diversity respectively economic and social improvement**. When creating economic diversity this sets the conditions for creating social diversity e.g. when having different types of businesses with different educational requirements in an area a diverse population can be attracted to that area. The other way around when creating social diversity (meaning a diverse population) the preconditions of attracting a diverse economy are created. This interrelation goes back to the ever going discussion whether people follow money or whether money follows people of



maybe both processes present themselves in different cases. As mentioned the interrelation described here also counts for social and economic improvement in the same manner.

### **Measurements**

An important question that remains is: “*How can these concepts or variables be measured?*” In qualitative research however it is difficult to define clear cut measurements of the variables that stand central to the research especially when dealing with such ambiguous concepts such as diversity and social and economic improvement. Although difficult it seems to be possible.

The *Actor Relational Approach* is measured by its key features which together account for an Actor Relational Approach:

1. Actors stand central to planning and are organized within evolving networks
2. Planning is conducted outside-in instead of inside-out
3. Associative democracy; meaning that there is a kind of democratic self-organization
4. A focus on unique selling points

*Mixed land use* in this research is measured by the key features as defined primarily by Jacobs (1961) but also Ritsma van Eck & Kroomen (2008) and Rowley (1996):

1. High density of activities and people (Jacobs) also named urban concentration (Rowley)
2. Mixture of different uses/functions whether residential, business, recreational of nature.
3. Small scale public space or rather accessibility by foot
4. Mixture of architecture; a combination of old and new buildings

*Diversity in economic terms* is measured by:

1. Different types of business; whether differing in business activities (commercial offices, retail, industry or service sector) or in business scale level (from a one-man local business to a multinational corporation)
2. Creative industry; as a separate condition of diversity because of the presence of an open and tolerant business environment with space for innovation

*Diversity in social terms* is measured through:

1. A diverse population; inferred from age, race, lifestyle, religion, education level, income level
2. Creative class; as a separate group within a diverse population representing the openness and tolerance towards having a distinct group within the society

When looking at *social improvement* this research looks at:

1. The growing or at least the stabilisation of the population rates;
2. The increase of the average education and income levels
3. The improvement of quality of life; meaning that different groups within society experience a level of comfort within an area whether physically or emotionally (this will be measured through interviews with actors who have insight in this perception)

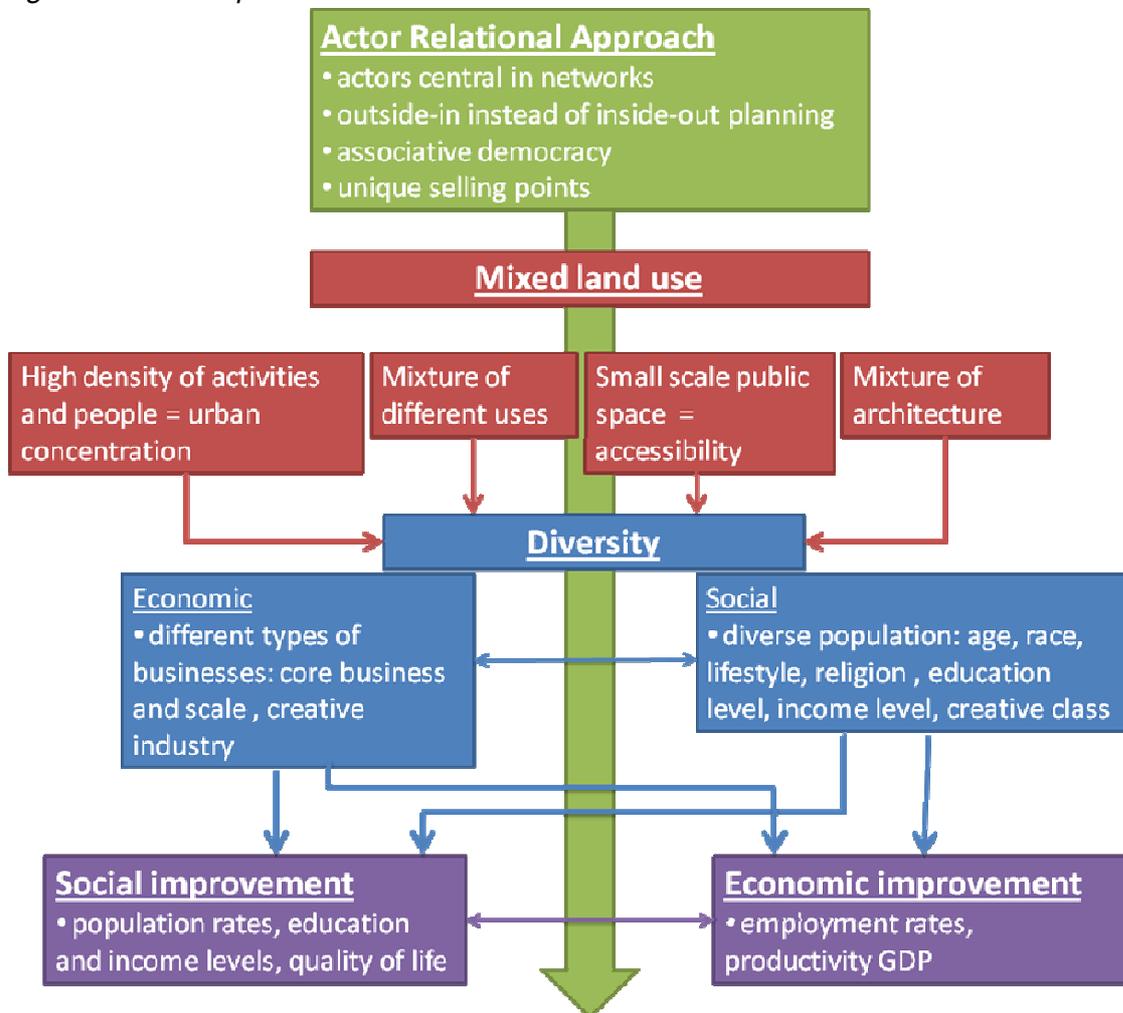
*Economic improvement* is measured through looking at:

1. An increase in employment rates and a decrease of unemployment rates
2. An increase in the productivity of an area (GDP)

### 2.4.3 Conceptual model

On account of the presented literature the expected relationships between the main variables in this research can be illustrated and explained through a conceptual model (figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Conceptual model



# CHAPTER THREE

## AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS ON THE REVITALISATION OF MIXED USE URBAN AREAS IN LIVERPOOL

The empirical research of this masterthesis is divided in two parts. On the one hand the empirical research is focused on the role of mixed use in the development of cities and historical industrial estates and in the improvement of the social and economic structure in several case studies in Liverpool. The emphasis hereby lies on looking at approaches to planning in dealing with these issues and formulating what this can mean for the Netherlands and Zaanstad specifically. On the other hand the empirical research is focused on the applicability of the research results to the case in Zaanstad (chapter four).

### 3.1 Research strategy

The research within this thesis is based on a case study research design. Case study research is concerned with the complexity and characteristics of the case in question which leads to an analysis that provides insights for other cases which express similar complexity and characteristics (Bryman, 2008, p. 52). Some of the quantitative measurements on social and economic improvement as defined in paragraph 2.4.2 Operationalization are not available on the small scale level of the case studies but only on district level of the city centre which the case studies are part of. To bridge the lack of empirical data on the small scale level case studies there will be a comprehensive empirical research of the city centre (contextual level). Also many concepts as defined in the theoretical framework will be measured in qualitative and more abstract terms.

#### 3.1.1 Research methods

In order to gather empirical data about the four central concepts some desk research will be done to find fitting case studies of regeneration projects. Some of these case studies will reflect alternative approaches in which regeneration within Liverpool, UK is viewed. Also essential to the research in Liverpool is finding the actors involved in the regeneration processes who are able to offer in-depth information about the suitable regeneration projects and the planning process that were practiced and what part mixed use played in these regeneration projects. This is because this research is conducted from an Actor Relational point of view in which the first step is to look at the involved actors. Aside from desk research – in order to find out what the theories, motivations and beliefs behind certain (re)developments are – interviews are an important method to gather detailed information because interviews provide the openness for the interviewees to discuss all the important details from their point of view and from their experience. This provides more immersion about a process that numerical data which is more a snapshot at a certain moment in time. Initial interviews will be taken which provide some general information on developments in Liverpool and some regeneration projects which fit the profile. After initial interviews it is important to do some further desk research to find out what kind of actors initiated the projects and which actors were involved. In-depth semi-structured interviews with these key actors will then offer detailed information on these subjects. This qualitative approach to interviewing will allow greater insight in the interviewee's point of view which in this case is that of key actors who were involved of effected by the redevelopments. Also this tentative interviewing tends to be more flexible; responding to the direction in which interviewees take the interview. This can lead to topics that might have been overlooked by the interviewing researcher but it can also lead to a situation where the research stays off from the subject. In order to keep the focus a leading list of key topics is needed which makes sure that the key variables within this research (mixed use, planning approach, and social and economic effects) are examined (Bryman, 2008. pp. 36-38).

### *Reliability, replicability and validity*

The concepts are concepts that can form issues within qualitative research because of the somewhat subjective nature of qualitative research. Qualitative research has less to do with clear measurements than quantitative research which can make “measuring” the validity somewhat difficult.

(1) *External reliability* or *replicability* is difficult to achieve in qualitative research because of the difficulty for researchers to replicate the natural circumstances in which the study is conducted. As for (2) *internal reliability* or *inter-observer consistency* is a criterion that is difficult to meet in qualitative as well as in quantitative research because it's about the research team agreeing on what they saw. Interpretations however can differ strongly amongst different researchers. One criterion which tends to be a strength in qualitative research is (3) *internal validity* which means a good match between the empirical data and theoretical ideas. This criterion is easier to meet because of the often long period of time in which qualitative research is conducted in one place on specific subjects.

One of the biggest concerns in conducting qualitative research (often a case study research) is that of (4) *external validity* or *generalizability*. The main question is: “How can a single case possibly be representative so that it might yield findings that can be applied more generally to other cases? The answer is simply that it is impossible to completely generalize about findings on one case and that is not what case studies are about. Rather they are about learning from examples and looking at what it might mean to other cases (Bryman, 2008, p. 376).

### **3.1.2 Learning from Liverpool City Centre**

The case study which serves as a learning example is Liverpool City Centre, UK. The question that may rise here is: “Why learn from the UK and especially from Liverpool City Centre? Isn't that like comparing apples with pears?” Although differences between the two cities exist and are important to keep in mind, it is still possible to compare them to some extent because there are definitely some similarities in terms of history and social and spatial structure. Liverpool – just like Zaanstad – represents a traditional industrial European city and its experiences should therefore be instructive for other agglomerations in Europe that face the problems of decline and sprawl at the same time and the role of regeneration in dealing with these issues.

#### ***A plausible comparison***

The comparison of Liverpool with Zaanstad is therefore very plausible due to the similar history that these cities have experienced. Both cities have been important industrial port cities in the past but have both lost their status as such during the twentieth century experiencing great decline after a period of major prosperity. The economy of Liverpool and Zaanstad were both strongly based on the port (related) activities. In addition to a massive destruction the 1950s – post-war period – was characterized by containerization and deindustrialization. This development meant that the activities which the city centre built on rapidly disappeared. This left the city centre behind with not much of an economical base and much more abandoned and derelict buildings. Although both cities have gone through a similar economical process Liverpool experienced the economic decline (deindustrialization) over a decade earlier than Zaanstad and in a far more rapid and extreme form. This economical structure in Liverpool as well as in Zaanstad has gone from a strong industrial sector orientated economy towards a more service sector orientated economy.

Also these cities have similarities in terms of social and spatial structure. Related to the industrial history the cities both have a population that has been strongly related to these industrial (manufacturing) activities and therefore both have a population that is fairly low skilled. One major difference in this respect is that the population in Zaanstad hasn't been

declining but is still managing to grow despite the economic decline. Although the population of Zaanstad is still growing it is still far less than that of a major city such as Liverpool in absolute terms. Liverpool in the contrary has seen a massive decline in population.

In physical terms the two cities also have some important similarities. Both cities are located at a river, a river that in both cases has played a central role in the evolution of the city. In both cities the city structure has evolved around the port related industries and warehouses that were (and in most cases are still) located at the waterfront, creating a strong relationship between industrial sites and residential spaces. Nowadays the cities both face the presence of pockets of vacant or derelict land that have previously been industrial sites in the middle of the city structure. The history and spatial structure of each city is sufficiently similar to provide a comparable basis for empirical study, but there are also differences particularly in terms of approaches to spatial planning.

### ***Taking differences into consideration***

What has to be kept in mind throughout this research is the fact that although these cities have a great deal of similarities they do differ in respect to scale and the institutional context that shapes their planning system and possibilities as mentioned before (Liverpool City Council, 2010a). First, Liverpool has a population of 434.900 inhabitants in 2009 compared to a population of 144.043 inhabitants in Zaanstad in 2009. Therefore Zaanstad as a city is of a much smaller scale than the metropolitan city of Liverpool. In comparing the two

Due to the strongly contrasting institutional planning contexts of Liverpool and Zaanstad initiatives to spatial development come from different actors (with differing leading roles respectively private sector and local businesses versus the government). These differences may provide some insights in alternative ways in dealing with sustainable development to enhance the socio-economic development. One important similarity in respect to the policy making and planning concerning regeneration is the fact that both cities are interested in either creating or maintaining certain extends of mixed land use. For the focus of this research this is an essential element.

### ***What makes Liverpool City Centre interesting?***

The question now remains: "What makes Liverpool City Centre interesting to *learn* from?" After years of decline the economy of Liverpool City Centre is experiencing new impulses in regenerating the physical, economical and social structure of the city as well as impulses from the past that are still evolving and exerting influence on the city. These impulses can serve as great cases studies in the context of regeneration of the physical environment in relation to the revitalization of the socio-economic structure in Zaanstad.

One of the focuses in the city centre regeneration is on the role of mixed land use. This area is one of the most mixed areas in the city of Liverpool. Here many regeneration programs have already been set in place with many of these programs focused on creating a more mixed use environment within the city centre. Therefore it is interesting to look at these regeneration initiatives and find out what the benefits are of mixing land uses and what kind of mixed land use is beneficial in improving the socio-economic structure. But most importantly it is interesting how these initiatives of regeneration within mixed areas were or are being organized, what kind of planning approach and strategy has been set in place. These issues that form the focus of this thesis are addressed by means of four specific case studies within the city centre. Key issues in relation to the city's regeneration include the decline in economic activity, investment and employment; difficulties in movement between key areas caused by inadequate infrastructure; the lack of ground floor activity; the poor presentation of the city and a tired and lifeless urban streetscape (Lee, 2009).

Another important argument is that of the different types of organization that are apparent within the city centre. Within the city centre smaller areas are or have been regenerated through different forms of planning (through the public and/or private sector, and through

civic society). This makes up for an interesting comparison of planning approaches and strategies through which regeneration in relation to mixed land use can be achieved. The expectation in this thesis is that the ARA which preserves a central role for civil society is a more productive approach to planning than fairly standard approaches to planning (public-private partnership and small scale private initiatives).

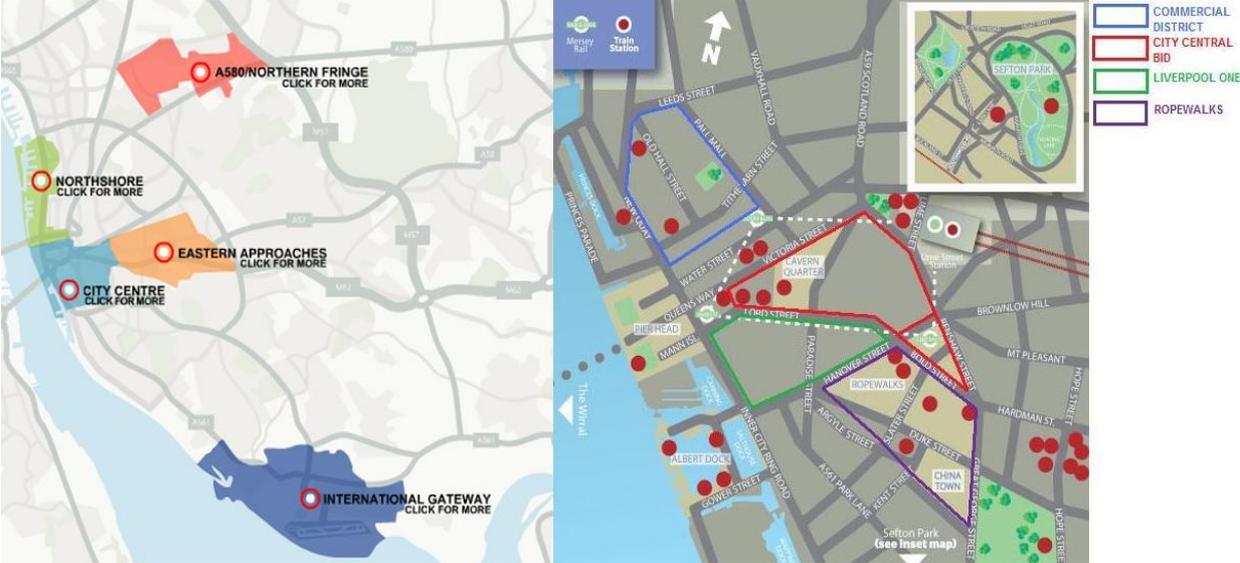
### 3.2 Liverpool City Centre characterized

Before going into the specific cases a short introduction of the city centre as a whole is needed to provide some context to which the case studies can be related. The introduction focuses on the history of the city centre as well as on the status quo in terms of physical, economic and social development.

#### 3.2.1 The physical environment

The city centre exists of several zones. Many of these zones have been or are in the process of being redeveloped. From these inner zones a few are examined in more detail, these are: (1) Liverpool ONE; (2) Ropewalks; (3) the Commercial District and (4) City Central BID (figure 3.1). Why these case studies? These case studies have been engaged in regeneration projects through three different types of approaches (public-private partnership, small private initiatives and civil society led initiatives) of which two are quite innovative approaches. Also in these regeneration project mixed land use has been the central theme for spatial, social and economic regeneration. In other words these case studies are a close reflection of the situation in Zaanstad but approached through different perspectives. Therefore the idea is that these innovative approaches in dealing with mixed land use can provide relevant insights for Zaanstad to learn from. These insights are set forward on the basis of a description of the area, an account of the regeneration 'program' and a SWOT-analysis which results in some conclusions that may work as recommendations for Zaanstad.

Figure 3.1: case studies Liverpool



Source: NWCulture, 2010

#### 3.2.2 The historical context

The history of the city centre is very close knit to the history of Liverpool as a whole of course by being a part of Liverpool but especially because historically the city centre was the core around which the city evolved and where most of the historical highlights took place. A part of the city centre is the waterfront which contains the docklands that have been crucial in the

history of Liverpool. As described before, the economy of Liverpool was strongly based on port activities. At one point the port of Liverpool was one the important gateway – for the whole country and especially the north of England – for the trading of goods as well as for migrants.

Related to this port there were several port related activities and industries that erected near the dockland. These industries included a salt works, sugar refineries, iron foundries, a copper work and many metal workshops. Many industrial buildings and Victorian warehouses erected in the hinterland of the Mersey docks creating an urban structure characterized by enormous brick buildings along the waterfront. These warehouses were and many are still located in the middle of what now is characterized as the city centre.

During the Second World War a great deal of the city structure was destroyed by bombing. Especially the areas surrounding the docklands – along the Merseyside – had suffered heavily under the bombing. Being the heart of the dock activities the city centre suffered severe consequences of the bombing. For the city centre this meant total destruction. Especially the area which is now know as Liverpool ONE had been completely whipped out and left a massive derelict vacant land right at the heart of the city centre (Hörler, 2002). In addition to this massive destruction the 1950s – post-war period – was characterized by containerization and deindustrialization. The implications for the city centre were extremely adverse. This development meant that the activities which the city centre built on rapidly disappeared leaving it behind with not much of an economical base and much more abandoned and derelict buildings. For the population of the city centre – or at least on the outskirts of the city centre – this meant a great loss of employment. Much of the population was active in the low-skilled jobs provided by the industries. After the industries had left the rate of unemployment grew immensely.

Due to this economic recession the population of Liverpool as a whole but especially the population around the city centre saw large numbers of shrinkage. Many people moved to the suburbs as urban sprawl was evolving during the post-war period. Between 1971 and 1991 the population of the city centre had fallen from 3,600 to 2,340. As the industrial sector in the city centre shrunk the service sector and banking and financial sector took it place. Many of the city centre regeneration programs were towards the creation of office space for commercial developments. In the late 1990s Liverpool city centre gained around 70,000 square feet of office space, creating a great part of what is now the Commercial District and giving the city centre a new boost to the economy. With this economic growth the population of Liverpool managed to draw people back into the city centre. This development was stimulated by the fact that the city centre through redevelopment became a place where people could work, live and enjoy themselves within a high quality area. As the Albert Dock got developed so did the rest of the South Docklands. In the 1980s and 1990s these areas started to incorporate apartments which meant a rebirth of waterside living and so the rebirth of city-centre living (Liverpool City Council, 2004).

### **3.2.3 Institutional context**

What is important about the ARA is the fact that although actor-networks are put central to the planning process it also distinguishes an important role for the institutional context. Institutions are seen to be important in shaping planning as well as the interests of actors. The institutions that form the context of the developments in the city centre can be divided into formal and informal institutions. The formal institutions are the official legislations and regulations which shape redevelopments in the city. The informal institutions are those beliefs such as ‘sustainability’, ‘community-building’ and the role of ‘identity’ but also cultural and religious values that have an influence on shaping the redevelopment framework. These institutions function as framework within which developments of all natures within Liverpool take place whether steered by the public, private or civil society.

### **Formal institutions**

In general the planning system in the UK is fairly similar to that of the Netherlands. There are some general policy documents which shape spatial planning in the UK i.e. in Liverpool. Planning in the UK on municipal level is guided by the Local Plan (similar to the *bestemmingsplan* in the Netherlands). This Local Plan functions as a starting-point for all spatial development plans. Next to this Local Plan on municipal level the UK planning has the Structure Plan which forms the outlines of the Local Plan on regional level. These two levels of the planning system have a light legal-administrative function and have a fairly detailed content. At national level UK planning has the Planning Guides which are more thematic and have a less detailed content. This level of policy also lacks the legal-administrative character. This means that the Planning Guidelines are not legally or administratively binding. None the less, the Planning Permission needed for spatial developments to take place is approved through the global content of the Planning Guidelines

Although in general the planning system in the UK seems fairly similar to that of the Netherlands there are some major differences which influence the manner in which planning is conducted. At first, although the Local Plan can be compared to the Dutch '*bestemmingsplan*' there is an important difference. The Local Plan in the UK is binding in regard to the procedures whereas the '*bestemmingsplan*' is legally binding by content. This has the effect that planning applications in the UK are approved through the present societal situation rather than by a fixed plan. Because of this characteristic the UK planning system is much more flexible and society bound than the Dutch one which is characterized as more legal-administrative. This makes the Dutch planning system less open to dynamics and more obstructive. This differing level of flexibility in planning is also created by the difference in the nature of the land market shaping planning. In the UK the land market is more liberal (meaning more open to private ownership). Also this liberal land market for the most part determines planning which provides it with more flexibility because of the better interaction between the public and the private sector. In the Netherlands this is not yet the case which obstructs its flexibility (Spit & Zoete, 2005, pp. 146-153).

This institutional setting perhaps provides planning in the UK with a certain advantage over that in the Netherlands. Private ownership (businesses, residents and property developers) is something that has grown significantly in the UK. This has meant that planning and especially the management of land often runs along the lines of the private sector and the associated civil society. Although the private sector has to apply for a planning application at the local authorities, they have a bigger say in the matter because of their ownership. Also private owners in the UK more often engage and invest in the management of the public realm because of the background role the local authorities fill in managing the public realm (Rice, 2010; Gibbons, 2010). In the Netherlands the management of the public space is first and foremost the role of the city council which leaves a background role for private sector land owners. Despite this general structure the Netherlands are experiencing a movement towards the trend where private sector parties take over a part of the task. Because this trend is quite 'new' in the Netherlands there is still a search for a mechanism which stimulates the rise of greater private sector and especially civil society involvement and investment (KEI, 2010).

What is interesting to note in this respect is not only the difference in source of investment between the UK and the Netherlands (respectively private versus public) but especially the level of investment. In the UK spatial developments are stimulated with great amounts of investment by the government as well as by the private sector because of their enormous business capacity (for instance Peel Holdings).

### ***Informal institutions***

The culture that dominates Liverpool is on the one hand strongly related to its industrial history and the development of the economy and on the other hand to its historical openness towards the creative class such as musicians and poets. There are a lot of the low skilled population stemming from the industrial history. This population group is not as proactive and motivated to find work as would be expected of a workers population. This is mostly due to the fact that life on welfare in the UK is not that bad and also because money comes from criminal activities such as dealing in drugs. Due to the process of deindustrialization most the overall low skilled population of Liverpool became unemployed and has stayed unemployed for many generations. This mentality leads to a less entrepreneurial motivated population (Murdoch, 2010).

Like in many low skilled neighbourhoods in the Netherlands Liverpool city centre has been an incubator space for the rise of creative, cultural people. Many notable artists of the time originated in the city including the Beatles and the Liverpool Poets. Nowadays the economy of Liverpool city centre is dominated by tourism related to this culture. The belief and objectives of Liverpool city centre is that it is and will grow to become world's most cultural city. This was reinforced by the title "Capital of Culture 2008" (Gibbons, 2010).

Many proposals that dominate current developments in the city centre are those of 'sustainability', 'community-building' and the role of 'identity'. Sustainability in this case does not only stand for the environmental sustainability through the careful and confined use of space, but also stands for the economically and socially sustainability. Meaning creating places where people can live and work and be part of a community but also creating places people can relate to through its identity (Rice, 2010). This is the same belief that dominates developments in Zaanstad although they are not sure how to translate this to the planning practice.

## **3.3 Case study one: Liverpool ONE**

The research begins with a case study which shows similarities to current planning processes in the Netherlands and can be characterized as a public-private partnership. This case study is called Liverpool ONE. The goal in presenting this case study is to lay down the characteristics of a known and much adopted planning approach which can function as a comparison base for alternative approaches. As mentioned before this empirical part is viewed from an Actor Relational point of view in order to examine the role of mixed land use in improving the socio-economic structure and finding out if an Actor Relational Approach is indeed beneficial in dealing with the regeneration of mixed use areas where there is a strong presence of businesses. This paragraph starts off with a description of the case study and then presents the research results in relation to the expectation stemming from the literature. The conclusions resulting from the analysis serve as a comparison of approach to other approaches presented in this thesis, namely small scale private initiatives and civil initiatives.

### ***3.3.1 Description of the case study***

#### ***A view of the physical environment***

Liverpool ONE lies at the heart of Liverpool city centre (figure 3.2). What is now known as Liverpool ONE is the redevelopment of the historic industrial centre where the first wet dock had been constructed. This 42 acre site was once – during the 18<sup>th</sup> century in particular – the driving force of the economy of Liverpool and most important port of the UK. After being comprehensively bombed in 1941 the site became nothing more than a derelict, vacant space which formed a disrupting gap in the middle of the city structure. Liverpool ONE is the largest city centre regeneration project in Europe for many years and has cost over £1 billion.



Table 1: Key actors who were involved in the development of Liverpool ONE

Actor	Organisation	Role in the regeneration project	Contractually binding network
<b>Liverpool City Council</b>	Local public sector	Establishing the planning framework and issuing a development brief	Public private partnership in a joint “steering committee” with a legally binding Development Agreement.
<b>Liverpool Vision</b>	The city’s semi-privatized economic development company “quango” <sup>7</sup>	coordinating the cooperation between the public sector and the private sector	---
<b>The Merseyside Partnership (TMP)</b>	Economic regeneration company of the Liverpool City Region	Shaping the future economic vision, attracting new investment and developing tourism for the City Region as institutional frameworks for development	---
<b>North West Development Agency (NWDA)</b>	Public Regional Development Agency of North West England.	Shaping the future economic vision, attracting new investment and developing tourism for the North West region as institutional frameworks for development	---
<b>Grosvenor</b>	Private property development company	Head role in developing the guidelines and vision for the site and major financial investment	Public private partnership in a joint “steering committee” with a legally binding Development Agreement.
<b>Building Design Partnership (BDP)</b>	Private interdisciplinary practice of architects, designers, engineers and urbanists	Part of the masterplan team Key role in developing the masterplan	---
<b>Merseytravel</b>	The public sector transport company of the Merseyside region	Coordinating public transport in Merseyside with the goal of regenerating Merseyside - economically and socially – and enhancing accessibility	---
<b>South Liverpool Housing Group (SLH Group)</b>	A non-charitable company limited by guarantee and a Housing Association	Consulting on housing and property management and concerned with wider economic, social and environmental improvements.	---
<b>Businesses</b>	Remaining existing businesses on site	Consulting on the requirements of the new business locations	---
<b>Homes and Communities Agency</b>	The national housing and regeneration agency for England. A non-departmental public body	Consulting on the formation of an integrated regional strategy for economic and housing growth	---
<b>Architects for individual buildings/sites</b>	Private architecture companies	The design of individual buildings and buildings blocks	---
<b>Liverpool ONE</b>	Management of Liverpool ONE	Keeping up with the current objectives within Liverpool ONE. Also involved in the process of the development.	---

<sup>7</sup> Quango is short for Quasi-autonomous non-governmental organization. This means that a quango is a semi-privatized organization or agency that is financed by a government but that acts independently of it. This organization to some extent has the authority to make planning decisions outside the public sector.

### 3.3.2 The role and effects of mixed land use

As pointed out in the Theoretical Framework diversity is achieved through the integration of mixed land use into areas and communities. In order to look at the effects of mixed land use in the Liverpool ONE are it is crucial to find out if the area meets the preconditions for mixed land use.

#### **Mixture of different uses**

Within the area Grosvenor has developed several different uses with over 130 stores, a 14-screen cinema, more than 20 restaurants, cafes and bars, two hotels, 3000 parking spaces, many commercial office spaces in 5 unique 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings, 580 residential apartments and a 5-acre park (Chavasse Park). Essentially the belief was and is that in having a mixture of uses and being involved in place-making rather than just planning and building. The development would result in the creation of a more vital and sustainable environment. In this case sustainability is seen as creating economies that are profitable over the long term and creating communities that can relate to a certain identity and feel a sense of place and therefore creating more commitment to their environment in the present but also on longer term. Having mixed use areas one creates a 24-hour environment. This 24-hour economy would stand for a much safer environment than an area that is closed off and abandoned at night time.

Mixed land use in Liverpool City Centre is a new concept – due to the fact that it has been a strongly industrialized city where the separation of large industries and housing was preferred – and therefore had been quite mono-functional in the past. The mixture of uses in the Liverpool City Centre has therefore been introduced in a somewhat basic/trial form. Liverpool ONE consists of a standard mixture of retail, offices, leisure and recreation, and residential units, specifically apartments. For the city centre of Liverpool this mixture is quite innovative since the city centre has not experienced much city centre living in the past. This mixture is successful in drawing people to come live, work and enjoy themselves in the city centre which reinforces the idea of having a 24-hour, vibrant city centre (Teage, interview 2010).

#### **High density – urban concentration**

In terms of the high density defined by Jacobs (1960) – which is up to 100 dwellings per net residential acres – Liverpool ONE can generally be considered as being a low density area. Within the 42 acre site of Liverpool ONE there are only 580 residential apartments, which in means 14 units per acre of the total site. What is notable in this case is that the residential units are located in concentrated locations within Liverpool ONE, namely One Park West which houses 326 apartments and the Bridge Street Serviced apartments (figure x). This means that per residential acre – which is not a great part of the site – the population is quite concentrated.

Figure 3.3: Respectively One Park West and Bridge Street apartments in Liverpool ONE



Source: Liverpool ONE, 2010

High density according to Jacobs creates a population base with a great amount of users of the activities and facilities provided in an area. In the case of Liverpool ONE the attracted users of the activities are from outside the area. This catchment population of 4.7 million people spends more per head on fashion and footwear in Liverpool a year than any other UK city (Liverpool ONE, 2010). This is seemed to be caused by the exclusive shopping offer and the combination of shopping with culture and tourism which attracts more people and more spending. This catchment population has meant a growth of visitors for the entire city centre, also visiting tourist sites like the Albert Dock and the old retail area City Central BID (Gibbons, interview 2010).

### ***Small scale public space – accessibility***

One of Liverpool's problems is that unemployment is often related to the fact that most people live outside the city centre and need to travel a great distant to the city centre to work. In many cases at those places the public transport possibilities are limited due to bad regulation of public transport and the lack of money to pay for public transport.

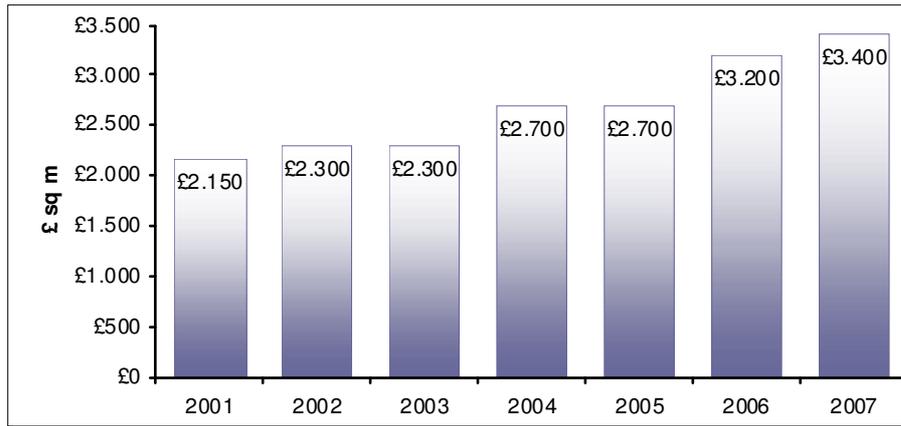
Therefore creating a mixed use environment with a pedestrian-friendly street structure can contribute to the accessibility to jobs and facilities and therefore enhances the quality of life. One of the major objectives of the Liverpool ONE development was connecting all parts of the city centre but also creating an attractive pull factor for the city centre in terms of visitors as well as in terms of potential employees. Accessibility therefore was one of the major issues for this redevelopment. Communities can use existing infrastructure more efficiently, with the same sidewalks, streets, and utility systems serving homes, commercial centers, and civic places. Having these diverse uses in the same neighborhood generates vibrancy from active, pedestrian-friendly streets, sidewalks, and public spaces (Teage, interview 2010).

### ***Mixture of old and new architecture***

Liverpool ONE is an open street, integrated development of new buildings coinciding with other parts of the city centre. The scheme took in consideration the historic street patterns making the development more of an integrated vision rather than the creation of a shopping centre in a segregated area like the ones being built after the model of the USA, for instance Trafford Centre. The main goal within the masterplan therefore was creating a place – a seamless construction with a strong identity that fitted in with the rest of the city and its identity. This meant that the development of a retail centre had to be a part of the city rather than a closed of shopping centre which would become a no-go zone after dark (BDP, 2009, pp. 42 – 59). This last development previously dominated in British cities whereby shopping centres were developed at the outskirts of the city which had the effect of drawing away activities from the city centres and meant the decline of city centres all over the UK. Liverpool made the choice not to follow that same path (Proctor, interview 2010a).

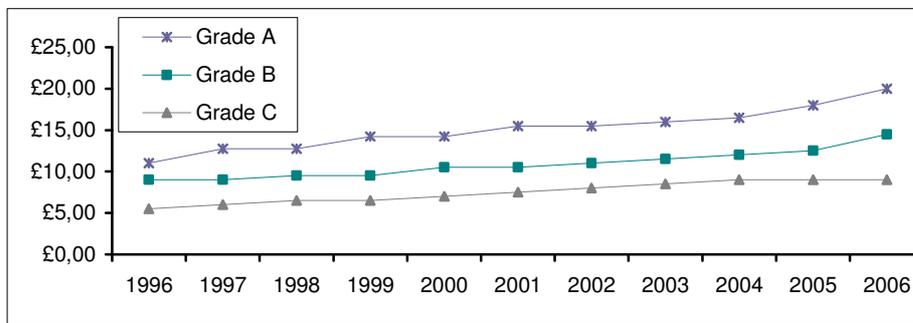
An argument for having a mixture of old and new architecture found in the literature is having different property values so that different types and scales of businesses are able to locate in an area including the creative bohemian sector which often locates in low-priced spaces. In Liverpool ONE although integration in the surrounding architecture was emphasized the inner mixture is not there. The entire site consists of new buildings. Therefore the prices of the property can assumed to be on the same high level. In this area therefore most businesses in the area are large, international chain stores and highly commercial offices rather than the bohemian and creative industries. Figure 3.4 and 3.5 show how much rent prices of business space in the city centre went up since the spatial redevelopment schemes have put into place. These prices limit the mixture needed for robust social and economic development.

Figure 3.4: Retail rental values Liverpool city centre 2000-2007 (£ sq m)



Source: Hutchins, 2008

Figure 3.5: Office rents PSF Liverpool city centre 1998-2006



Source: Hutchins, 2008

### 3.3.3 The social and economic effects

As hypothesised in the conceptual model, adapting mixed land use and therefore creating economic and social diversity leads to the improvement of the social and economic structure of an area. The main question here is: does economic and social diversity caused by mixed land use lead to a strong and vital social and economic structure of an area/city? As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter some of the quantitative measurements on social and economic improvement are not available on the detailed case study level but only on the level of the city centre such as the GVA and the population growth and composition. Therefore some abstract information will be presented that

#### **Social and economic improvement**

The Liverpool ONE development had an effect on the economic and social structure of the city centre through the stimulation of the economic and social diversity. The Liverpool ONE development created over 7,700 jobs of which 3,300 were related to the construction of the retail area and 4,400 were permanent jobs (Liverpoolpsda, 2010). This development hereby created the opportunity for a decline in unemployment rates. Retail sales account for approximately 21% of the Gross Domestic Product on a lower scale level this is measured by the Gross Value Added in an area. Liverpool ONE contributes a great deal of this percentage to the GDP of Liverpool. This retail development generates a catchment population of 4.7 million which spends more per head on fashion and footwear than any other UK city. This is likely to be caused by the fact that the retail stores in Liverpool ONE are mostly large and exclusive stores like Nike and Hugo Boss.

The influence of retail on the social structure in Liverpool is roughly around this same level (Littlefield, 2009, p.42). Retail plays a central role in creating 'places and identity' (top five retail destination and fashion centre of the UK) and shaping communities (bringing people together through shopping). Also with this development Liverpool is able to provide a wider range of jobs to different population groups on differing educational levels but also upgrades its identity from a low skilled workers city to a more young urban professionals place to be. This group (the YUP) seems to lead a more lively daily life with a higher income which gives them the opportunity to make use of the leisure activities in the area. This is prosperous for the turnover of the businesses and what that means an impulse for economic development of the city (Gibbons, interview 2010).

In creating residential opportunities within the Liverpool ONE area the population of the city centre expanded. The expectation was that this population would predominantly consist of the young and successful professionals settling in vibrant and edgy city centre. Although this was the case to a certain extent, the greater share of the attracted population was of the retired age. This population group older than 64 being retired was drawn to the city centre mainly because of the accessibility to several uses in close proximity. In general the elderly, retired population is one to spend most of their time visiting leisure activities such as museums and have the necessity to shop close to their homes. This makes a mixed city centre with a pedestrian friendly structure attractive for this population group to settle there. But not only elderly people benefit from this. Students and families with young children would also benefit from proximity and a pedestrian friendly structure but these groups are consciously excluded from the city centre. Nowadays community group Engage is advocating family living in the city centre and thereby the provision of facilities like schools and pharmacies (Proctor, interview 2010a).

### **3.3.4 Conclusions: the effects of the approach**

A large scale public-private partnership such as this proves that there are benefits as well as downsides to approaching spatial planning from a political, government centred point of view. The conclusions of this case partly exhibit whether the causal relationships stated in the theoretical framework of chapter two are of the expected nature.

#### ***Object-driven instead of actor-driven***

The Actor Relational Approach emphasizes a distinctive role for actors. Actors stand central to the planning process instead of institutions or the object of planning. Rather it is about key actors being equipped (financial capacity and political power) to deal with planning.

In this respect Liverpool ONE can be characterized as strongly object- and regulation-driven (Institutional Theory) instead of actor-driven (Actor Network Theory). Institutions and (financial and institutional) power were the driving force of the development rather than the direct needs of potential users of the area (businesses, residents and visitors). These latter parties were consulted on after the formation of the vision and the possible designs but did not actively take part in the development of the masterplan. The entire project was based on and relied on the steering political power and institutional guidelines of the city council and the major private investment power of Grosvenor. The consequences are that especially housing for potential residents does not fit the profile of the attracted residents and that the employment does not match with the residents of the city. The development is merely a successful translation of the goals and wishes of the city council. Also the area lacks many facilities which are used by the attracted elderly residents and young families such as schools and pharmacies. This was because the development did not envision attracting these targets which characterized the need of the citizens but rather was focused on attracting young urban professionals from the outside in order to boost the economy and the identity of the city.

### ***Inside- out instead of outside-in***

The Actor Relational Approach pleads for a more outside-in approach (civic society) instead of an inside-out approach (government). The argument for that is that when working from the outside-in perspective it is important to look at spatial planning from within the actors in a certain situation (outside-in) instead of looking at spatial planning from the institutions as shaping actors actions (inside-out). Also in relation to mixed land use and thereby diversity planning deals with a diverse scope of involved actors because of the different people that the different uses bring together which stand in relation to each other (in networks). These “users” of spaces and places are close to the needs of those spaces and places and therefore can lead to creating development strategies which match those users and their identity and also get commitment and investment from those users.

### ***Unique selling points***

The literature on planning approaches shows that with an Actor Relational Approach it is essential to look at unique selling points which shape a certain identity that plays the role in distinguishing a place and therefore “putting it on the map”. The regeneration project of Liverpool ONE proves that unique selling points were definitely essential in making the regeneration project successful. This was especially clear in the main goals of the Liverpool ONE site set out in the masterplan:

1. Creating an open street, integrated development of new buildings coinciding with the existing urban fabric and preserving historical and archaeological significant structure in the surroundings and buildings thus creating a place – a seamless construction with a strong identity that fitted in with the rest of the city and its identity.
2. Getting Liverpool back on the top five of retail destinations in the UK and therefore practicing a retail-led regeneration

This shows that this project was based on highlighting the unique characteristics of the city and at the same time creating conditions in which the city is able to be “put on the map”. With this emphasis on unique selling points investment and spending were drawn to the city centre.

### ***The causality of mixed land use***

This redevelopment has definitely helped reinforce the social and economic structure of Liverpool City Centre. As for the role of mixed land use in this improvement; the direct causality of mixed land use in improving the social and economic structure is hard to prove quantitatively. The causality proven in this research is of qualitative nature meaning stemming from qualitative data (interviews). This qualitative data is seen to have a subjective nature because of the influence of the perspectives of the interviewed actors. That mixed land use has its own benefits is evident in this case study. It creates a 24-hour environment and accessibility to different uses by foot. This means the creation of a user’s population which spends money and invests in an area or city. What it does not per definition create is a mixed population or a mixed property market. This case study shows that although making use of a mixed land use ‘theme’ for an area it is still possible to make a selection of residents and housing provision making it possible to create a less mixed residential population and property market and therefore excluding certain residents and business like the creative class and industries. This has – in the case of Liverpool ONE – very much to do with the fact that development was started on a clean ‘sheet’ not having to take into account existing occupiers of the site. Mixed land use was in this case artificially created on the terms defined by city council and a private property developer.

The results of this case study are translated into Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (Box one). This SWOT-analysis provides a bridge which makes it possible to look at future development directions.

### *Box one: SWOT-analysis of the Liverpool ONE redevelopment*

#### **Strengths**

- Major private investment
- Compulsory purchase possibility public sector
- No division of plots, less involved land owners during development
- Retail-led regeneration with major employment provision and improvement of the social composition of the population and economic structure
- Mixed use development as a motor for a 24-hour use and vibrancy, safety and attractiveness for all sorts of people and activities
- Open and accessible development which creates connectivity of the city centre areas

#### **Weaknesses**

- Involvement of residents at a late state of the planning process
- Major reliance on 'voluntary' private investment and involvement
- Limited variety in housing not fitting with the needs of attracted residents
- No consultation with the future residents which were to be attracted
- Large scale development project with little left of the original small scale identity
- Concentrated investment which results in areas that stay behind in development

#### **Opportunities**

- Enough open space for complementary facilities such as pharmacies etc.
- Further improvement of the social and economic structure through development of recreational facilities
- Expansion of the variety in housing for broader target of residents such as families
- Improvement of the economic structure through the use of the cultural identity and tourism

#### **Threats**

- Further loss of original social, economical and physical identity through large scale developments and uniform and too massive offer of retail shops
- Composition of the population; low skilled (low investment and spending budget), elderly and non working residents (less use of several modern functions and less employees)
- Large scale investment will increase property prices which misfits the residents and small scale companies which characterize Liverpool

## **3.4 Case study two: The Ropewalks area**

This part focuses on an area of the city centre where small scale private initiatives have activated the regeneration of the area, namely the Ropewalks. What makes this case study worth looking at is the fact that prioritization of the area was generated by a private property developer instead of by the government which is more often the case in the Netherlands. This may be seen as an "alternative" approach to planning of regeneration. The Ropewalks functions as an example of planning through private sector initiative which stands in comparison to planning through public sector initiative (Liverpool ONE) and civic society initiatives (Commercial District & City Central BID).

### **3.4.1 Description of the case study**

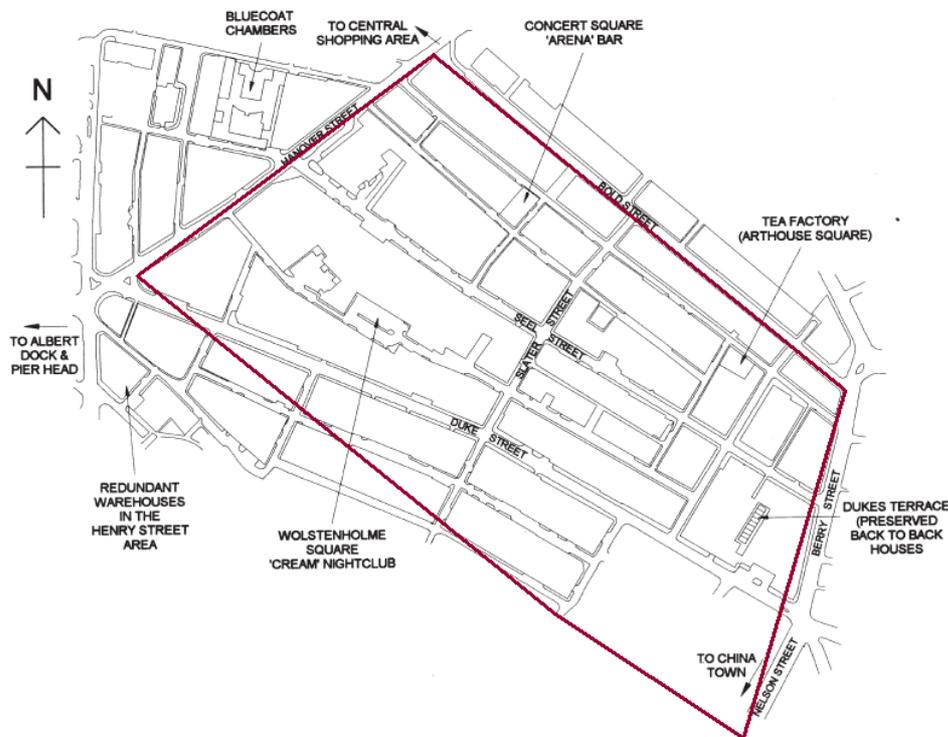
#### ***A view of the physical environment***

The Ropewalks area is an area at the south side of Liverpool City Centre (figure 3.6). The name 'ropewalks' is related to the industrial history of the area. 'Ropewalks' were long stretches of land where ropes were made to serve the maritime industry. This district was laid out in the eighteenth century on a formal Georgian grid which once functioned as merchant's houses and warehouses (Taylor, 2009, p.12). What is striking is that for a long time the Ropewalks wasn't seen as being part of the city centre because it is situated at the outer edge of the city centre. For this very reason the Ropewalks area was excluded from the city centre redevelopment process of the post-war years and the dockland regeneration of more recent times. Nowadays this area has been recognised as an important part of the city centre by the local authorities, Liverpool Vision and property developers such as Grosvenor and Urban Splash. This area is one of the most mixed areas within the city centre with a

great mixture of apartments, restaurants, bars, nightclubs, galleries and theatres (Douglas, 2010).

Figure 3.6: Map of the Ropewalks area

*Urban regeneration and sustainable development in Britain: C Couch and A Dennemann*



Source: Couch, 2000, p. 144

### Organizational form: small scale private initiatives

The interviews taken to examine this case study are with those actors not only involved with but most of all taking a leading role in the redevelopment scheme. These interviews provide insight on what kind of approach was used in this redevelopment and what the effects of this approach have been. Table x shows an overview of all the actors involved in the initial redevelopment schemes. Those actors highlighted in red are those actors that have been interviewed.

Table 2: Key actors who were involved in the development of the Ropewalks

Actor	Organisation	Role in the regeneration project	Contractually binding network
Urban Splash	Private property developer	Head role in redeveloping old warehouses and attracting investment by other property developers	---
Iliad Group	Private property developer	Redeveloping old warehouses and merchant's houses	---
Businesses	Creative mixed use businesses	Consulted on about requirements of the refurbished business locations	---
Engage community group city centre	Voluntary community organisation	Voices the needs and views of city centre residents to Liverpool authorities	---
Liverpool City Council	Local public sector	Establishing the institutional context and authorizing development schemes	---
Liverpool Vision	The city's semi-privatized economic development company "quango"	Acting as a mediator between the public and private sector in relation to regeneration initiatives	---

This redevelopment was initiated by a private sector company. This company converted an old Georgian warehouse on what is now known as Concert Square (figure 3.7) into a mixed use building which signalled the enormous potential of the area. Although there were a number of initiatives during the 1980s by property developers who worked together with the city council, the intensive process of regeneration got off the ground after the redevelopment by Urban Splash. This redevelopment started attracting more and more investment and redevelopment schemes from the private as well as the public sector. In most cases of regeneration this process is the other way around with the private sector being the party that appoints an area to be of importance for investment which then attracts private sector involvement. The Ropewalks area is one on a lower scale level, organic development with individual projects initiated by private sector companies. This controversial process makes the Ropewalks an interesting exception to examine (Douglas, interview 2010). Unfortunately it was not possible to consult Urban Splash on their approach because of their lack of time due to their ongoing business.

*Figure 3.7: Concert square*



*Source: Urban Splash, 2010*

### **Leading actors**

Table 2 shows that there were no contractually binding networks binding the individual developments schemes. The development schemes were conducted from an autonomous business point of view. In such individual planning processes as these the actors leading the development are stakeholders. This means that the leading actors benefit financially from the (re)development because of their businesses perspective. Sometimes there are consultations with local community groups in terms of presenting a development and coming to endorsement for the development (Urban Splash, 2010). Although it is essential that local communities are involved from the start it is also important to look at what kind of communities might be attracted by the (re)development and what the consequences are once they are. Along with the booming night economy that has been created in the Ropewalks came many reports of social disorder of drunken people especially during stag and hen parties. It is also questioned if consultation with communities in a later stage of planning might be outdated. Instead there have been arguments about letting communities initiate developments themselves would be quite more effective and maybe much more sustainable (Douglas, interview 2010).

### **3.4.2 The role and effects of mixed land use**

As mentioned before the Ropewalks area is one of the most mixed areas in Liverpool. Mixed use within this area can for the most part be found on building level as is usual to the UK definition of mixed use. Mixed use is a concept that is fairly new in the UK and has therefore not taken any unique or innovative forms. The mixed use buildings in the Ropewalks are no exception to this phenomenon.

### ***Mixture of different uses***

Both the industrial buildings regenerated by Urban Splash as those regenerated by other property developers such as Iliad group have the almost 'standard' combination of apartments, commercial space (usually offices) and leisure such as hotels, restaurants and cafés (quantitative data on these uses were not available).

Why mixed use is seen as an important element in the regeneration of the buildings and therefore the area is linked to the belief of creating sustainable communities in order to improve the social and economic structure of an area. With mixed use Urban Splash does not solely speak of having several types of functions such as apartments and office space in one building. Mixing has to reach further into the mixing of income, mixed tenure and mixed communities – business as well as residential – in order to create sustainable communities. The presence of residential space within whatever combination of other activities is essential because residential space provides people which can create 24-hour vibrancy through the use of those activities and therefore boost the economic structure of the local area (Urban Splash, 2010).

In parts of the area there was a great lack of pedestrian-attracting facilities during the 1990s. This has been reduced through the creation of many facilities in the ground floors of regenerated buildings but these developments are limited and therefore many vacant plots remain which to this day often function as short-time parking spaces which are abandoned during the night. These derelict spaces within the narrow streets create an unsafe feeling for pedestrians (Couch, 2000, p. 141). Urban Splash has been looking for ways to create a safer feeling through making sure that there is 24 hour access, seven days a week to the office units and that these office units are fitted with digital CCTV (Urban Splash, 2010). But again these solutions are on a building level, on 'scattered' locations and not on a neighbourhood level or area level for the Ropewalks as a whole.

### ***Mixture of old and new architecture***

Because the Ropewalks redevelopment is dominated by reuse of old historical buildings alongside new build projects the area experiences a mix of old and new architecture. In general new buildings have a higher property price than old buildings. With a mixture of property values the possibility is created for incubator spaces to emerge for the creative class. The literature shows that in having the creative class in an area the productivity of an area increases. Urban Splash believes in the strength of the creative industries in stimulating a vibrant economy. Urban Splash therefore creates space specifically for creative businesses related to media, music, design and fashion. The idea is that the creative class is attracted by the open, tolerant and affordable living and business environment whether consciously created or organically developed.

### ***Small scale public space – accessibility***

Another argument for mixed use is that mixed use is the reason why people live in the city centre in the first place because of accessibility to the uses and that having uses in the leisure and retail sector is essential because these uses generate the most jobs. An important quality of the ropewalks area in this respect is the fact that the area has managed to maintain the original small scale street structure which historically characterized the entire city centre, making the area compact and pedestrian-friendly which amplifies the accessibility by foot. This high level of walkability is beneficial in terms of health issues (obesities), environmental issues (less air pollution) and economic prosperity because of local spending (Risely, interview 2010). Residents in the Ropewalks area are not forced to leave the area for daily facilities nor extra leisure activities.

### ***High density – urban concentration***

High density in terms of the definition by Jacobs (1960) – which is up to 100 dwellings per net residential acres – is hard to measure in the Ropewalks area because of the lack of data on such a detailed level of the city centre. What can be observed in the Ropewalks though is

a certain compactness of activities and attracted people. The Ropewalks is considered to be the most mixed area of the city centre. This mixed character is not just because many uses can be distinguished in the total area like apartments, commercial space (usually offices) and leisure such as hotels, restaurants, cafés, clubs, art galleries and film museums, but also because the area is characterized by many mixed use buildings. Also many individual entrepreneurs such as the one which refurbished Parr Street Studios have practiced the mixed use building concept with close relations to the music and poets history of Liverpool City Centre. This single building incorporates lounge and musical entertainment as well as meeting rooms and a hotel on different levels.

### **3.4.3 The social and economic effects**

As hypothesised in the conceptual model, adapting mixed land use and therefore creating economic and social diversity leads to the improvement of the social and economic structure of an area. The main question here is: does economic and social diversity caused by mixed land use lead to a strong and vital social and economic structure of an area/city? As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter some of the quantitative measurements on social and economic improvement are not available on the detailed case study level but only on the level of the city centre such as the GVA and the population growth and composition. Therefore some primarily qualitative information will be presented which has been gathered from interviews.

#### ***Social and economic improvement***

Especially a lot of leisure and nightlife activities were drawn to the area generating a lot of jobs and activities for residents. This was largely due to the development of Concert Square by Urban Splash. The 20,500 square feet development alone created 180 jobs. These jobs are particularly in the leisure and creative sector which generates the largest amount of jobs in the current economical structure of many cities as part of the service sector (Risely, interview 2010). Also on the one hand the jobs in the creative sector are seen to fit with the bohemian population which characterises the Ropewalks. On the other hand the small incubator spaces and the jobs within the leisure sector – restaurants and bars – fit with the large student population of Liverpool (Urban Splash, 2010).

With the provision of residential space for a mixture of income levels and mixed tenure the lower skilled population within Liverpool is able to afford housing within the city centre. This means the objective and therefore the effect of the regeneration of this area differs greatly of that of Liverpool ONE. For Liverpool ONE the objective was to attract young urban professionals which had a high income base to spend in the city centre. This selection of target residents has meant a miss-fit with the existing population of Liverpool. The ropewalks area on the contrary fits in with the existing population and the identity of being a bohemian, small scale structured city whilst still attracting higher skilled people from outside Liverpool City Centre.

Due to the large amount of leisure activities generated through the bar/restaurants, nightclubs and creative businesses such as galleries, the presence hotels, and the strategic location to the Albert Docks and Liverpool ONE, the area also attracts a lot of tourists and party people. This leads to a lot of issues regarding noise, nightlife litter (broken beer bottles etc.) and violence (by drunken people) (Douglas, 2010). Already in the late 1990s the Ropewalks was dealing with high levels of crime especially in relation to car crimes and burglaries which was strongly related to the fact that during the day-time most of pedestrian flows were along Bold Street and Hanover Street which are the main shopping streets at the edges of the area.

### **3.4.4 Conclusions: the effects of the approach**

These examples of small scale private sector initiated spatial (re)developments show that – just like the large scale public initiated projects – there are upsides as well as downsides to this approach to spatial planning. The conclusions of this case partly exhibit whether the causal relationships stated in the theoretical framework of chapter two are of the expected nature.

#### ***Actors without clear networks***

The Actor Relational Approach emphasizes a distinctive role for actors. Actors stand central to the planning process instead of institutions or the object of planning. Rather it is about key actors being equipped (financial capacity and political power) to deal with planning. Key actors are seen as those people who are thus those local actors equipped to act on behalf of themselves.

Although these regeneration schemes are not object- and regulation-driven (Institutional Theory) they are also not actor-driven (Actor Network Theory). Because of the prominent role of individual private developers in the area it seems like the initiatives are more market- and profit-driven on individual company level. Private investment power has been the driving force of the redevelopment schemes but closely fitted in with the needs of potential users of the area (businesses, residents and visitors). These latter parties are in many cases consulted on for the formation of the visions and the possible designs but did not actively take part in the making of the development plan. Thus this approach is not Actor Relational taking in consideration the local interest. The consequences can be that the mixture of certain uses does not fit with the combination of users. What is successfully achieved is a great fit between the historic identity of the area and the future objectives of the area.

A great danger is that the area that is regenerated becomes fragmented and loses the sense of integration. The risk is that the area as a whole does not become attractive enough to people because of the large parts which “fall between the cracks”. Also these private initiatives are mostly focused on the development on building level and often forget about the public space in between the buildings. With poor conditions of the public space the view of an area remains as a derelict, unsafe environment with little room for social improvement but rather an attraction for anti-social behaviour. In the Netherlands this is seen as the responsibility of the government. In the UK though the investment in public space by the public sector is limited which leaves this task something to be considered by the private sector of civil society (Rice, interview 2010). What is also often the case with such private initiatives is that the main focus is about creating high quality buildings which generate profit. In many cases the local communities have little involvement in the redevelopment schemes. What the private sector is good in doing is coming up with creative and innovative ideas to reinforce an area.

#### ***Outside-in instead of inside- out***

With the private sector at the forefront of the redevelopments this case study shows that successful developments can also be achieved through outside-in planning instead of inside-out planning where the government has a prominent role. Although government set institutions form a legal framework within which developments have to be approved these government institutions and objectives have not shaped all aspects of the redevelopment schemes. What it does lack though is a stronger representation of the users themselves within a planning network.

### ***Unique selling points emphasized***

The urban structure of the Ropewalks area still expresses the historic elements and structure which had evolved during the eighteenth century. This structure was – and is still – characterized by intensified use of land especially due to intensified commercial use and small scale development. Over the last thirty years, the decline of the port and the changing structure of industry have brought decay and dereliction to the area (Couch, 2000, p. 141). But with these redevelopment schemes with a clear focus on culture the area has succeeded to put an emphasis on what makes Liverpool City Centre unique in respect to other parts of Liverpool and other UK cities. The title of being the “creative quarter” of Liverpool with its bohemian character and openness towards alternative types and the student lifestyle is what reinforces the Ropewalks and makes it unique. The small scale redevelopments by Urban Splash reinforce this identity.

### ***The causality of mixed land use***

In this part it is proven that mixed land use is expected to have some effects (such as creating accessibility, promoting sustainable use through walkability etc). It creates a 24-hour environment and accessibility to different uses by foot. This means the creation of a user's population which spends money and invests in an area or city but the relations found in the interviews do not prove that this mixed land use per definition leads to improvement in the social and economic structure as defined in this thesis. This case study shows that mixed land use does not per definition create a mixed population or a mixed property market but that it depends on the openness of the developers towards certain groups within society. Also these redevelopments have taken place in an area where there were already people and activities present and with which the developers had to deal with in creative and innovative manners.

### ***The obvious role of scale***

What this case study does prove is that scale of mixed land use plays an important role in the effects related to mixing land uses. The literature pointed out that scale is an important factor to take in consideration when viewing mixed land use. One of the main conclusions on this subject was that on different levels of scale it is found that there are varying planning issues to be dealt with. On the single building level especially – although this issue is relevant on all scale levels – the concept of mixed use development relates to how property is held and occupied and by whom and who has responsibilities to what part of the building. These issues can create conflicts between users on building level more so than on neighbourhood level. A neighbourhood level provides more separation between uses and users through public space. The mixed use buildings in the Ropewalks have been created with an open and creative mind with acceptance of many different uses and users. Consequences are that these buildings experience conflicts between users.

### *Box two: SWOT-analysis of small scale private initiatives*

#### **Strengths**

- Organic development with strong preservation of the small scale city structure identity
- Small private investments on specific small scale projects
- Great variety in developments of housing, workspace and leisure
- Mixed use development as a motor for a 24-hour use and vibrancy, safety and attractiveness for all sorts of people and activities
- Re-use of old buildings creates opportunities for lower property prices and therefore the attraction of students and creative and cultural industries
- Free from restrictive guidelines and recommendations stated by the government (city council)

#### **Weaknesses**

- Involvement of residents at a later state of the planning process
- Major reliance on 'voluntary' private investment and involvement
- No consultation with the future residents and companies which were to be attracted
- Freedom in mixture of uses which leads to miss-matches and conflicts between uses
- Concentrated investment which results in many plots that stay behind in development
- Scattered development with a splintered and chaotic character
- Little attention for the public space and greenery but concentration on buildings

#### **Opportunities**

- Enough open space for creative and innovative initiatives for further development
- Further improvement of the social and economic structure through development of leisure facilities
- Improvement of the economic structure through the use of the cultural identity in combination with tourism
- Keeping the small scale cultural identity and re-using of warehouses can keep the creative industries which help in improving the social and economic structure
- Large student population due to adjacent student campus which fit in the dynamic character of the area, can afford housing in the area and can offer creative and fresh ideas for development
- Looking at the needs and wishes of the residents and potential companies

#### **Threats**

- Clash of different uses and users of these different uses especially due to the small scale structure which makes every close to each other
- Composition of the population; low skilled (low investment level and spending capacity), elderly and non working residents and families which are attracted to the city centre (more likely to oppose forms of mixed use and nightlife activities which are beneficial for the development of the area)
- Attractiveness of the area can attract large developments of large investors which can threaten the small scale character of the area
- Interference of overarching public sector plans can limit the freedom for creative and innovative initiatives to evolve

## **3.5 Case study three: The Commercial District & City Central BID**

In this part two areas are described within the city centre which both can be seen as a form of civil initiative: the Commercial District and City Central BID (Business Improvement District)<sup>8</sup>. Although these are both civil initiatives there are some striking differences that result in interesting differences in approaching planning.

### **3.5.1 Description of the case study**

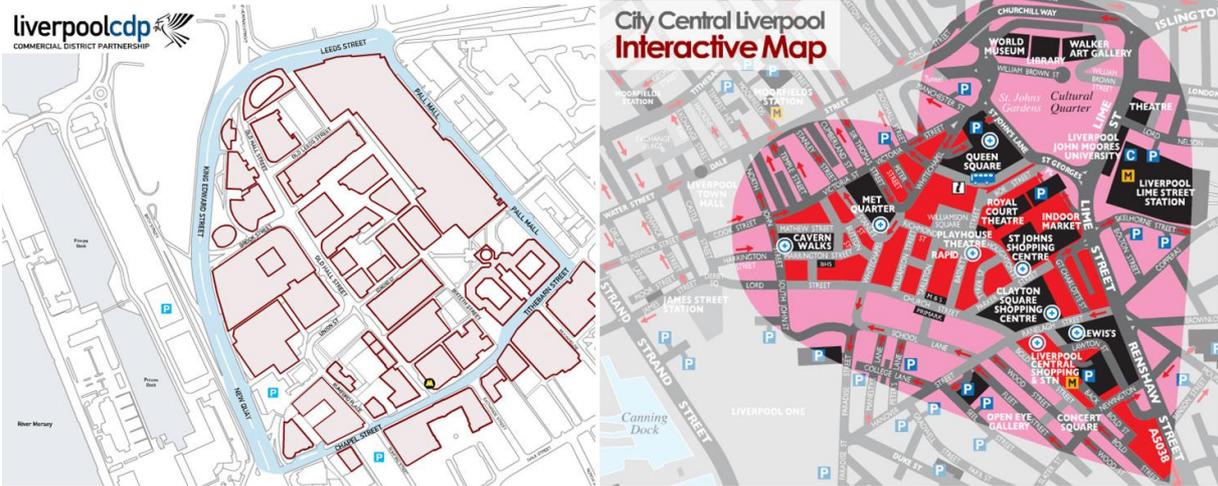
#### ***A view of the physical environment***

The Commercial District in the northwest of Liverpool City Centre is one of the few commercial districts in the UK (figure 3.8). Within the Commercial District there is a partnership called the Commercial District Partnership (CDP) which has taken the

<sup>8</sup> "A Business Improvement District is a precisely defined geographical area within which the businesses have voted to invest collectively in local improvements to enhance their trading environment. BIDs do not affect the level or quality of service provided by the local authority to the area. A BID is initiated, financed and led by the commercial sector, providing additional or improved services as identified and requested by local businesses, to the baseline services provided by the local authority in that area." (Chamber of Commerce, 2010)

responsibility to deal with the day to day developments and invest in developing a long term vision in the regeneration of the area.

Figure 3.8: Map of the Commercial District area and the City Central BID area



At the southeast of the Commercial District lies the City Central BID (figure 3.8). The BID is a private sector led initiative with an independent company established to take it forward, the 'Liverpool BID Company'. The BID represents what most Liverpoolians would call the city centre before Liverpool ONE. What is important to notice about the boundaries of the City Central BID though is that they have changed after the first three year term. The BID area was extended through the incorporation of Bold Street; a bohemian shopping street with lots of classic boutiques which actually lies in the Ropewalks area. The reason this street was added to the BID area was because Bold Street had reached a point that it was isolated from several developing areas - Liverpool ONE and City Central BID (Gibbons, 2010).

**Organizational form: two civil initiatives compared**

The regeneration of the Commercial District is managed by the civil initiatives of the Commercial District Partnership and the regeneration of the BID area is managed by the civil initiatives of the businesses. The partnerships are Limited Companies by guarantee and are therefore primarily led by the community formed by business sector members. Table 3 and 4 shows an overview of all the actors involved in the initial redevelopment schemes. Those actors highlighted in red are those actors that have been interviewed.

Although the Commercial District Partnership and the City Central BID aren't areas that experience major regeneration processes such like Liverpool ONE, they are both areas in which civil communities (business communities) are involved in the spatial (re)development of the areas both to a different extend. Examining these initiatives might lead to interesting insights in developing innovative approaches to spatial planning in mixed use areas. What distinguishes these initiatives from the small private initiatives in the Ropewalks is the fact that the private companies that are involved in the GDP and the BID not only consist of property developers but also of commercial businesses which together for a community through their partnership. In the Ropewalks there was no such thing as a partnership or sense of integration for the area. Therefore the partnerships are seen as the civic society – which can be of a business nature as well as a resident's nature.

Despite the fact that the two examples in this section can be seen as civic society initiatives there are some major differences between them in terms of how their internal organization is shaped and what issues they deal with. The Commercial District Partnership is funded entirely by voluntary contribution of voluntary members which stem from the (private)



business sector. This partnership was initiated by two major companies named Albany Assets (property developer) and Bruntwood (commercial property company) which then resulted in the joining of at least twenty businesses in the commercial district. This is where the CDP differs strongly from the BID. Whereas the CDP was set up by the private sector and then 'run' by the civic business sector, the BID was set up by the city council and then 'run' partly by the civic business sector and for the other part by city council employees. The BID was given some funding from the Northwest Regional Development Agency (NWDA<sup>9</sup>). This striking difference of involvement and influence of the public sector has a lot of consequences for the internal organization of the civic communities in negative as well as in positive sense (Rice, 2010). Another difference between the partnerships is the composition of the partnerships. The BID is predominantly composed of retail (95%). The CDP is composed of professionals, commercial businesses, offices, hotels and property owners. These last two notes on the differences between the two civic communities have an impact on the spatial planning approaches and involvement in spatial development which will be discussed later on (Gibbons, 2010).

*Table 3: Key actors who were involved in the development of the BID*

Actor	Organisation	Role in the regeneration project	Contractually binding network
<b>Businesses</b>	Local retail, leisure businesses and offices	The opportunity to have a direct say in the day to day operation of the area and the longer term strategy.	Membership of City Central BID (statutory BID Levy)
<b>Liverpool City Council</b>	Local public sector	Establishing the institutional context and authorizing development schemes. Initiated the set up of the BID and employer of staff	Membership of City Central BID
<b>Liverpool Vision</b>	Semi-private organization which deals with regeneration projects of Liverpool	Sets out the strategic framework for spatial development and functions as a mediator between the BID and the city council regarding regeneration	Board membership of City Central BID
<b>Property owners</b>	Private sector land owners with local interests	The opportunity to have a direct say in the day to day operation of the area and the longer term strategy.	Board membership of City Central BID (statutory BID Levy)
<b>BID management</b>	Ged Gibbons (BID manager)	Member of the public sector as formal city centre manager	Board member of the BID

### **Leading actors**

Within the BID partnership there are about 650 businesses or organizations working together. The main actors within the BID are Liverpool City Council and partners, Merseyside Police and Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. On the executive board (including the chief executive within the council), there are a lot of property owners and an independent retailer (Rapid). It is very important to have an independent retailer on the board so it doesn't become too public sector driven. Below the executive board there is the operational board which is very much the driver in terms of what the BID does (figure 3.9). The board has a maximum of 20% council members and a percentage of 80% private sector members. All of the staff workers are paid by the local authority which comes with differences in conditions from what you would have if you had the private sector do that. A private sector board is very much proactive, and driven for the short term, but within the local government that isn't the case. They work at a much slower pace. So in order to make the BID successful it is important to get them to move at the same speed, which becomes something like a balancing act and one of the biggest challenges of the BID (Gibbons, interview 2010). Interesting would have been to look at the perspective of the individual businesses (Rapid) but due to a limited research period this was not possible to schedule in on short term notice.

<sup>9</sup> "Regional Development Agencies were set up to help improve the quality of life and economic prosperity in the English regions. They aim to achieve this through driving economic development and regeneration, developing business competitiveness and improving the skills base" (NWDA, 2010).

Figure 3.9: BID organizational structure



Table 4: Key actors who were involved in the development of the CDP

Actor	Organisation	Role in the regeneration project	Binding network
<b>Businesses</b>	Local businesses including commercial offices, retailers and leisure and facility providers	The opportunity to have a direct say in the day to day operation of the area, the longer term strategy for the Commercial District and access to a variety of business opportunities.	Membership of Commercial District Partnership (voluntarily levy)
<b>Land owners/ developers</b>	Private sector developers with local interests	The opportunity to have a direct say in the day to day operation of the area, the longer term strategy for the Commercial District and access to a variety of business opportunities.	Membership of Commercial District Partnership (voluntarily levy)
<b>Liverpool Vision</b>	Semi-private organization which deals with regeneration projects of Liverpool	Sets out the strategic framework for development and functions as a mediator between the CDP and the city council	Board member of Commercial District Partnership (voluntarily levy)
<b>Liverpool City Council</b>	Local public sector	Establishing the institutional context and authorizing development schemes	Membership of Commercial District Partnership (voluntarily levy)
<b>Residents</b>	Local residents		---
<b>CDP management</b>	David Guest (Chairman) and Paul Rice (Chief executive)	Members of the business society who initiated the set up of the partnership	Board members of Commercial District Partnership

### Leading actors

The structure of the actors involved in the Commercial District Partnership is fairly similar to that of the City Central BID. The Partnership is essentially private sector business lead, but seeks to work within the strategic framework set out by Liverpool Vision and complements the existing services provided by the public sector through Liverpool City Council, Merseytravel and Merseyside Police. Therefore these public sector parties sit on the board of the CDP together with the representatives of the businesses in the area. Also land owners and property developers are part of the partnership through membership on voluntary basis. Membership gives the actor a direct say in the day to day operation of the area, the longer term strategy for the Commercial District and provides access to a variety of business



opportunities. Liverpool CDP is working with Liverpool City Council and its Street Scene Services partner, Enterprise-Liverpool, Merseyside Police, the Chamber of Commerce's Business Crime Direct team, Merseytravel and individual private sector stakeholders to implement a series of plans and initiatives (Rice, 2010).

One important note on the involvement of the partnerships in spatial planning is the fact that part of the partnership's members is from the development sector (property developers) and land owners. This makes the partnerships much more involved in the spatial development than would be expected of other business communities which generally focus on production numbers and generating business profit. For instance: the redevelopment of St. Paul's Square which is part of the public realm but is privately owned by a property developer (Rice, 2010). So having the right members (especially land owners) within a civil community is essential to the capacity of the community to be involved in spatial actions (McCarthy, 2010).

### **3.5.2 The role and effects of mixed land use**

Although these civil society case studies are about the old retail centre (BID) and the commercial district (CDP) which represent places where people work, there are other uses within these areas. The CDP and the BID both lie in the city centre (the most mixed part of Liverpool). This means that although these business 'partnerships' or 'communities' consist of the businesses they do have to face other parties and their interests such as property owners, residents and visitors. These actors also use the space and therefore also have interests in how the space is (re)developed. Simply put the CDP and the BID both have to deal with mixed use and mixed interests not just those of the businesses. The question is: How do they deal with it and what kind of role do they appoint to this mixed use in the (re)development of the area?

#### **Mixture of different uses**

The CDP clearly states that mixed use is something they value. They look at creating more ground floor activity in terms of restaurants, bars and cafés. Through mixed use they want to establish a greater identity for the area and make sure people want to come live there because it's a nice, quiet place right in the city centre with many amenities and services. This mixture of uses will preferably create a 16 hour city which is important to create a vibrant and lively commercial district where people want to stay beyond the nine to five workday. In contrast to the other case studies the CDP prefers a 16-hour economy instead of a 24-hour economy because of the hazards related to a 24-hour economy. It is believed that with 24-hour activity the level of safety drops and the level of trouble rises. The advantage of mixed use is that different uses can profit from other. Nowadays companies have meetings in coffee shops (Rice, 2010). It's about having a combination of bars, cafes, more shops, and residential spaces. Mixed use for the CDP is a challenge to deal with but is seen to be beneficial for creating livelihood as well as jobs and sense of identity and commitment to an area (keeping people there). Therefore the CDP is actively involved in creating mixed use so that it can contribute to the improvement of the area, making it a vibrant community in which is attractive to residents as to workers (Rice, 2010).

In this respect the perspective of the BID again differs strongly from the perspective of the CDP. The BID is much more concerned with the clashes that exist between businesses and residents. This is partly due to the internal structure of the BID organization. The members of the BID are solely those businesses that fall within the boundaries of the BID. These members pay a levy to the board which acts as a funding pot for developments in the area. Within these boundaries there are other parties that benefit from these investments – like residents – but who do not pay a levy that contributes to the developments. This means that the BID has served as a mechanism to fight free riding amongst businesses but not amongst different users of the space like residents. In the UK city centre living is somewhat of a new concept and has been focused around young, urban professionals. In continental Europe city



centre living is something that has always been a part of the culture. Young, urban professionals as well as families and students live in the city centre.

### ***High density – urban concentration***

Just like in the case of the Ropewalks, high density in terms of the definition by Jacobs (1960) – which is up to 100 dwellings per net residential acres – is hard to measure in the CDP and the BID areas because of the lack of data on such a detailed level of the city centre. What can be observed here is a certain level of compactness of activities and people.

The Commercial District Partnership for instance actively promotes mixed land use in the Commercial District in order to create a vibrant city centre area. This mixed character is not just promoted through many uses in the total area like apartments, commercial space (usually offices) and leisure such as hotels, restaurants, cafés, clubs, art galleries and film museums, but also on mixed use building level with many ground floor activities. This level of mixed land use in combination with the small scale street structure in which pedestrian flows are encouraged can lead to the conclusion that the Commercial District has a certain level of urban concentration.

This conclusion does not count for the City Central BID because of the fact that mixed use is not as highly present in this area but is more focused on retail which makes high density population difficult in the first place. Also the assumption that activities are concentrated is difficult in this case. What is known is that there is a great amount of different retail activities because of the fact that there are mostly small businesses with small and bohemian shops next to major retail chains which incorporate over 400 shops. So in that sense The BID is highly concentrated.

### ***Small scale public space – accessibility***

The main issue regarding transport and movement for the CDP is about providing accessibility and creating the belief in people that the commercial district is part of the city centre. In line with this objective the partnership is encouraging people to walk instead of using the bus line which connects the commercial district to the rest of the city centre. Also this objective to promote walking rather than public transport and transport by care is related to the general sustainability agenda and to the year of health and wellbeing that is being promoted.

As a retail core the City Central BID relies on footfall. For this very reason it is important for the BID to have a pedestrian- friendly street structure which enhances accessibility. The BID invests a lot of money in the public space to keep it clean and safe and therefore pedestrian-friendly. Because of the small scale character of the shopping space instead of the massive character of Liverpool ONE the BID creates the feeling of being more intimate and easier to walk through in one day.

### ***Mixture of old and new architecture***

Both areas are 'existing' areas with historic city structure. Within the redevelopment schemes there is a mixture of new build projects as well as refurbishment of old buildings. Therefore both areas experience a certain mixture of old and new building. What makes this last notes so noticeable is the fact that this means that property values are assumed to be mixed whereby rent levels differ making the areas accessible to different types of tenures (residential as well as commercial). Here the same processes take place in this context as is the case in the previous case studies. With a mixture of property values the possibility is created for incubator spaces to emerge for the creative class. The literature shows that having the creative class in an area stimulates a vibrant economy through which the productivity of an area increases.

Especially for the City Central BID this is the case. With the incorporation of Bold Street Liverpool City Central BID incorporated the bohemian boutiques which characterize Liverpool. In these spaces entrepreneurs get the opportunity to start up small businesses with a small scale, close to home character.

### **3.5.3 The social and economic effects**

As hypothesised in the conceptual model, adapting mixed land use and therefore creating economic and social diversity leads to the improvement of the social and economic structure of an area. The main question here is: does economic and social diversity caused by mixed land use lead to a strong and vital social and economic structure of an area/city?

#### **Social and economic improvement**

The goals of creating the business communities like the CDP and the BID was to create partnerships and relationships between actors which together can improve the environment. The question is what this has meant for the social and economic structure of those environments.

Since the CDP is in place there has been an upward scale of jobs. Although the area was already growing the CDP managed to save a number of jobs. Also the CDP managed to create an environment where people like to work, live and enjoy themselves which has resulted in an sustainable and a 16 hour lasting vibrancy. Since 2000, more than 17,000 m<sup>2</sup> of office space has been successfully delivered in the commercial district and over 132,000 m<sup>2</sup> of existing space has been refurbished. New schemes and redevelopments such as St. Paul's Square together with investment in the public realm are transforming the look and performance of the area and helping attract new companies to the city. The facilitation of a consistent stream of new high quality space has helped to sustain the city's rapid economic growth, meet rising local demand and compete effectively for inward investment. The CDP also gives access to a skilled and local workforce (Liverpool Vision, 2010).

Due to the strategic interventions the commercial district has also seen an enormous growth in the number of residential units in the area the last few years. By the end of 2006 there were around 550 apartments with a population of around 800. This population is expected to reach over 2,000 by 2011 (CDP, 2010). Interesting in term of demographic and particularly the age of people living in the city centre, there's a lot more empty nesters settled in the city centre than was expected. Whereas everybody thought it was just going to be young, hedonistic professionals but it's a lot of retired elderly people who prefer living in smaller apartments (Rice, interview 2010). It is theorized that this population group is attracted by the mixed use character of the city centre which means high accessibility to especially leisure activities. Elderly people more often attend these leisure activities than other population groups.

Unfortunately the BID has not produced any documents on social and economic improvement in the BID area. Some information that is available is strictly viewed from the BID managers' perspective, who was interviewed for this research. Footfall has increased (by how much is not clear). There is also an annual increase in both customer and business perceptions of safety for both daytime and evening times. As a result of the work done by the BID in 2007 and 2008 Liverpool is seen as one of the safest city centres in the country with an overall reduction in city centre crime of 25%. Britain as a whole has seen crime levels fall by 5% between 2007/08 and 2008/09 (Ministry of Justice, 2010).

### **3.5.4 Conclusions: the effects of the approach**

The conclusions of this case are especially focused on the approach (summarized in Box three and four).



### ***Actors within binding networks***

Essential to the CDP is creating a partnership that by working collectively could address some of the issues that the area faced in terms of existing properties (regeneration), but also properties that were looking to be newly developed. The main goal is to address some of the fundamental issues that sometimes fall between organizations such as the city council and the town centre management company. Therefore the focus of (re)development is not solely on buildings but also the space in between the buildings. This public space is crucial in upgrading the value of for example an office block and creating a sense of place. The idea is that in order to achieve spatial and non-spatial improvements in the area there needs to be a sense of community between the businesses. The strategic measures in (re)developing the commercial district are dependent of voluntary contribution of voluntary members. This makes developments harder to be implemented especially in times of economic recession. Private investors and businesses as well as the public sector are less able to contribute to developments proposed by the CDP. Also a lack of contribution means a danger to the sustainability of the partnership. In order to create a greater sustainability the partnership is considering becoming a Business Improvement District (BID) which due to its internal organization functions as a stable funding mechanism. Once a BID proposal for an area is approved through a majority of votes the businesses within that area become compulsory members and members of that BID are required to pay a levy which can be used as investment in strategic issues within the area (Rice, 2010).

The City Central BID does have the privilege of being sustainable but on the other hand has less autonomy than the CDP. Essential in creating the City Central BID was creating a way for positive engagement between the local authorities and the private sector, particularly retail, because traditional city centre management in Liverpool doesn't really do that. The BID was set up to create relations between key stakeholders in terms of retail, private sector, developers, shopping centres and department stores. The businesses see the City Central BID as a bridge for communication with the city council. This communication is closely knit because most of the employees are employed by the city council which gives even more emphasis on the dominant role of the local authorities within this network.

### ***Strongly outside-in instead of inside-out***

The original business plan that had been set up for the commercial district by the CDP in 2006 included a strategic, long term development vision for the area. Now – after Liverpool Vision got involved in creating a regeneration strategy for the area – the CDP no longer produces a development strategy in their business plan but simply refer to those strategic plans formulated by Liverpool Vision. Although the strategic plans are produced by Liverpool Vision – which is part of the board of the CDP – it doesn't mean that the partnership no longer deals with issues of development. On the one hand the partnership still strongly comments on proposed developments and encourage best practice. On the other hand the partnership also approaches the city council or Liverpool Vision with planning bids for improving the environment. In some cases the partnership also invests small amounts in these developments through the voluntary investment of members. With these relatively small amounts the partnership looks to leverage-in moneys from elsewhere.

It is clear that although the idea of these communities (the CDP and the BID) is thought to be the same they have different objectives and strategies for dealing with these objectives. In short these differences come down to the fact that the CDP deals more progressively with longer term development issues (spatial, social and economical) in combination with short term interventions. It does not exist to simply be another lobbying or networking organization. Instead it delivers the aims and aspirations of its stakeholders within the strategic context of regeneration of the city centre. In contrast the BID seems to deal with short term issues strongly concentrated on the themes 'clean, green, safe and animated' which doesn't incorporate developments in the context of spatial planning but rather those issues that have



to do with social and economical development and keeping the environment presentable (clean and green) (Willison, 2010).

### ***Using unique selling points***

The CDP emphasizes the fact that Liverpool has a commercial district. With this unique selling point Liverpool City Centre is able to create a unique, historical identity to which residents can relate. Literature has shown that identity reinforces the social cohesion in cities and that historical heritage plays a major part in creating that identity (Anico & Peralta, 2009). For much of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Liverpool was one of the world's great commercial centres. The initiatives by the partnership aim to ensure the revival of the commercial economy and once again creating a thriving commercial centre with preservation of much of the historical buildings.

The three themes 'clean, green and safe' that dominate within the BID are themes that are crucial ones in most BIDs (Benders, Dietz & De Bruin, research journey 2010). They are simply about keeping the public realm free of litter and making sure the public realm has a high quality, about maintaining the greenery of plants and parks, and about providing things like CCTV and security people on the streets. What makes the City Central BID interesting is the theme 'animated'. Animated could be street entertainment or music festivals. The BID has an event manager who works with businesses to create events. For example the fashions shows. Liverpool is known throughout the UK for having young people which stand out for being very sharp and edgy in their fashion style. Therefore the city is promoting this cutting edge fashion style as their trademark in worldwide perspective also because their economy is partly refocused on retail instead of a worldwide port city.

### ***Causality of mixed land use***

Mixed land use is expected to have some effects on the social and economic diversity which in its turn has some economic and social effects. Mixed land use creates a 16-hour environment (and accessibility to different uses by foot. This means the creation of a user's population which spends money and invests in an area or city but with the data at hand it is not proven that this per definition leads to improvement in the social and economic structure as defined in this thesis (chapter two). This case study shows that mixed land use does not per definition create a mixed population or a mixed property market. This diversity depends on the openness of the developers towards certain groups within society e.g. the willingness of developers to plan housing for young urban professionals as well as for families and elderly people of a wide price range. In this research there has been a clear case of exclusion of certain groups within population (low income households, students and families) by the plan developers in the city centre. The explanation presented by actors within this research is the fact that families living in the city centre are a more continental European tradition. In countries like the Netherlands and France city centre living has grown to become a custom. In the UK this has been less the case (Douglas, interview 2010; Proctor, interview 2010; Rice, interview 2010). Reports on city centre living in the UK has pointed out that indeed city planners plan focus on attracting young, single people to the city centre (Centre for Cities, 2010). In the ropewalks students are a group within population which does get more accepted and has more location possibilities. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter the Ropewalks area was for a long time not seen as part of the city centre. This might account for its exceptional characterization of its population. Also an important factor might be the fact that the Ropewalks are has a mixture of old and new buildings with thereby a mixture of housing prices in which low rent housing is available for students.

*Box three: SWOT-analysis of civic business society initiatives (CDP)*

**Strengths**

- Long term vision achieved through a series of short term interventions
- Small private investments on specific small scale projects within an integrated vision
- Great variety in developments of housing, workspace and leisure and design
- Mixed use development as a motor for a 16-hour use and vibrancy, safety and attractiveness for all sorts of people and activities
- Free from restrictive guidelines and recommendations stated by the government (city council)
- Great attention for the public realm
- Mixture of old and new buildings through the redevelopment schemes as well as addition of new developments
- Strategic development department which acts through the proposals of the business society (insight from people who actually work there)

**Weaknesses**

- Major reliance on voluntary member investment and involvement
- No cooperation with the local residents community
- Freedom for freeloaders to profit from investments

**Opportunities**

- Partnership with the residents community in the area
- Open to listen to residents input and interests
- Creating sustainability through adopting a BID-like organizational structure

**Threats**

- No sustainable investment and therefore the risk for being disintegrated due to reliance on voluntary membership and contribution
- Dependency on public sector involvement and investment on longer term and in order to create sustainability

*Box four: SWOT-analysis of civic business society initiatives (City Central BID)*

**Strengths**

- Small private investments on specific small scale projects within an integrated vision
- Combination of retail and leisure as a motor for a 24-hour use and vibrancy, safety and attractiveness for all sorts of people and activities
- Great attention for the public realm quality
- Mixture of businesses and therefore the retail and leisure supply; large retail companies as well as bohemian shops
- Preservation of original and authentic entrepreneurs climate
- Fairly strong and stable investment base through the payment of levy
- Tackling of freeloaders within the area

**Weaknesses**

- Restrictive guidelines and recommendations stated by the government (city council) because of dependency on public sector funding in establishing the BID and paying the staff
- Predominantly short term vision with short term interventions
- No cooperation with the local residents community and no attention for the residential developments and interests
- Limited interventions in the area and little initiative in terms of spatial planning

**Opportunities**

- Partnership with the residents community in the area
- Structure applicable to other private sector led partnerships

**Threats**

- Dependency on public sector involvement and investment on longer term and in order to create sustainability
- Possibility for the majority that voted against the BID to create resistance in development proposals
- The sense of being imposed on businesses could create a lesser degree of involvement whereas voluntary members are more likely to be involved actively in the environment

### 3.6 Conclusions

The regeneration of different city centre mixed use areas has been conducted through three different initiatives which have been presented above: (1) the large scale public initiative, (2) the small scale private initiatives and (3) the civic society initiatives. All these initiatives have been analyzed in the context of two themes: (1) the role of mixed use and (2) the planning approach. This research had the focus of researching the following expectation:

An **Actor Relational Approach** to planning mixed land use leads to the **creation of the conditions** for dealing with **economic and social diversity** within a city because of the emphasis on including different actors related to different elements of a city. This economic and social diversity seems to play an important role in **improving the social and economic structure** of the city because of the expansion of the different activities and possibilities of the city. This diversity can be spatially created achieved through mixed land use planning. As mentioned in the literature study the **features of mixed lands use** (high density, mixture of uses, accessibility and mixture of architecture) are **interdependent** therefore meaning that mixed land use can only be achieved when all features are present.

This research has been carried out through case study examination in which three types of approaches (organizational forms) in Liverpool have been compared. This comparison can be found in a schematic overview in table 5.

The following conclusions on the effects of using an ARA and the role of mixed land use are therefore more preliminary and of qualitative nature. This is also partly caused by the fact that this research is for a great part build on the information provided in interviews with involved actors which in a sense provide subjective information on their perspective on things especially regarding antisocial behaviour.

*Table 5: The research results of the case studies*

	<b>Liverpool ONE</b>	<b>The Ropewalks</b>	<b>CDP</b>	<b>BID</b>
<b>Organizational form</b>	Public-private partnership/ public initiated	Small scale private initiatives	Civil society management / civil initiated	Civil society management/ public initiated
<b>Leading actors</b>	Public sector (city council)	Private sector (property development companies)	Civil society (local businesses and land owners)	Public sector and civil society (city council and local businesses)
<b>Social improvement</b>	Creating 'places and identity' and shaping communities with a population of differing educational and income levels, high quality of life, population expanded	Mixture of income levels and mixed tenure fitting in with the existing population and the identity of being a bohemian, small scale structured city	Growth in the number of residential units and therefore the population and more empty nesters which spend more time and money in leisure activities	Increase in the perception of a safe and clean environment in the BID area and increase in quality of life
<b>Economic improvement</b>	Created over 4,400 jobs, decreased unemployment rates, contributes a great deal of this percentage to the GDP of Liverpool and provides a wider range of jobs	activities were draw to the area generating a lot of jobs and activities for residents, created 580 jobs. jobs in the creative sector and small leisure spaces	Increased the number of jobs, attract new companies, sustain the city's rapid economic growth, meet rising local demand and compete effectively for inward investment	Increased numbers of footfall
<b>Role of mixed land use</b>	Creating a 24-hour working and living environment, safety and	Creating a 24-hour living and working environment,	Creating community feeling of living, working and	Creating a 24-hour economy but presenting

		livelihood and culture, increasing employment opportunities	enjoying together in a 16-hour living environment, safety and	inconvenient conflicts between residents and businesses, unsafe feeling and free riding of residents
<b>Effects of the approach</b>	Underrepresentation of local interests (civil society/ users) but strong financial stability and legislative backup	Creative and innovative projects that stand close to the local needs and culture but lack of integration in the area	Representation of local business interests with far stretching operational actions (longs term development) but lack of network sustainability (voluntary membership and contribution)	Stable network (statutory membership and levy) with a representation of local business interest but strong influence of restrictive public sector and limited operational actions (short term)

The research results presented in table 5 show that ultimately the favoured approach to regeneration in general is that of the CDP in combination with the structure of the BID. The civil initiatives may have produced less spectacular quantitative social and economic improvement than the public-private partnership and the private developers' initiatives but they have produced the more sustainable, qualitative social and economic improvements. In regenerating the social, economic and physical structure of a city, planners should focus on producing more sustainable, long term results such as community building, creating commitment and a strong diverse economic base. The civil initiatives seem to have this focus because of the drive to form networks of local actors.

### **3.7.1 Comparing planning approaches to mixed land use regeneration**

Of course there is no such thing as the perfect planning approach. As seen in empirical research each planning approach has its strengths and weaknesses and every planning approach poses its threats and opportunities in dealing with mixed land use regeneration. For this very reason the intention here isn't to choose the approach that is flawless rather the goal is to find an approach from which the most benefits succeed in the context of dealing with mixed use in regenerating the city. When looking at the case studies it is clear that the appropriate approach depends on what the goal of regeneration is, in what kind of area the regeneration takes place and what kind of actors are present and prepared to be involved.

#### **Using an Actor Relational Approach**

What this research has shown is that the two civil initiatives fill a lot of the gaps that are mentioned in the other two approaches, such as the lack of attention for the public space, the integrated view and the eye for the relation to the identity of the city. One gap that it fails to fill is that of the involvement of residential communities. These initiatives come close to the ARA because of its outside-in character (not government centred) and the ability to bind leading actors in networks. But they do not meet all the preconditions of an ARA because of their limiting range of leading actors. Hereby the initiatives by the CDP and the BID seem to be most beneficial for regeneration in general but fail to deal with mixed land use optimally. Both being initiatives in mixed use areas it is important to involve actors from all these uses not just the business and leisure part but also the residential part. This last note is difficult because residential communities often have little investment opportunities which results in the conflict between the business communities and the residential communities about investment and free riding. Although a partnership such as the CDP is stronger (because it's more of a community initiative) it stands quite weak because of the voluntary membership and contribution. With a BID structure which provides sustainable contribution through the payment of levy the community initiative would stand stronger. This relates to the ARA which states that creating a stable network is important in order to "get things done". This is called

the associative democracy part of the ARA which in this case can be translated into a mechanism such as the BID in order to give the network a legal dimension. The question is: "Why would the legal dimension be necessary for a civil society network?" The answer lies in the fact that spatial planning in itself is a complex process in which many interests are involved. In order to make the "boundaries" clear to all parties and make sure that people are committed to their actions a legal framework is needed.

What is an additional merit about the Actor Relational Approach is the fact that it recognises the importance of the focus on the heterogeneous actors but does not neglect the fact that in the end it is about the place and its unique selling points. As seen in the empirical research all cases have been focused on either creating or emphasising unique selling points which can act as the carriers of identity and mixed use as creator of safety. This has been concluded in surveys amongst residents about safety and feeling of belonging done by the differing leading actors in these case studies. In the cases where the actors did not stand central to the redevelopment but rather the object it is clear that a miss match is bound to be created and a loss of inner-city identity can be lost. In the case of Liverpool ONE this might have been the consequence of a certain amount of megalomania, the sense of being or becoming bigger than might be possible.

### ***Causality of mixed land use revised***

In all the city centre cases mixed land use played an essential role in the regeneration of the areas. This role of mixed use is simply that of creating a 24 hour or at least 16 hour vibrancy in the city which provides improvement in terms of safety, sense of identity and community and place-making. Mixed use acts as a pull factor for different kinds of people to come live, work and enjoy themselves in an area. This can be good for the social structure of an area and city because this leads to a socio-economic and socio-cultural form of diversity. This promotes related variety and therefore sustainable communities which have a balance of income groups, religions and educational levels. Mixed business and residents' communities are expected to be more sustainable because of the fact that they (1) have a wide range of economic activities to rely on, (2) have a wide range of population i.e. a wide range of employees and (3) a wide range of users of facilities to invest (spend) locally instead of in other areas. Mixed use areas also acts as a pull factor for businesses because of the attractiveness to locate where there are other functions which complement the business. For the most part where there are all kinds of people there are all kinds of workers, where there is accessibility to leisure and retail there is the attraction of people. So in fact uses can feed off each other.

Then the question remains: what kind of mixture would create these benefits? Mixed use in Liverpool is somewhat of a new concept and is therefore confined to the mixture of offices, apartments, commercial space, retail and leisure. Important is that in Liverpool the mixture of uses is on buildings level but through variation these mixed use buildings create mixed areas. This variation is quite important because it then provides an area with a great offer of uses and activities which enhances the attractiveness of the area. Also the scale of mixed land use has an effect on urban concentration which in its turn has effects on the issues that need to be dealt with in spatial planning. Other agendas emerge with different uses incorporated on single building level. In addition to that the case studies have shown that incubator and creative industries should be added to the equation because these bohemian, creative industries play a big part in enhancing the productivity of small scale structured cities or areas of the city. A precondition is that the bohemian character and the strong link to cultural fit in with the identity of the city or area.

What this research lacks to prove is the quantitative causal relation of these effects of mixed land use on the social and economic structure of the city. Although the redevelopments have had some influence in reinforcing the social and economic structure of Liverpool City Centre, the causal role of mixed land use here is purely of qualitative nature (stemming from

interviews). This qualitative data is seen to have a subjective nature because of the influence of the perspectives of the interviewed actors.

### **3.7.2 What it can mean for the Netherlands – Zaanstad**

The most important question within this research is: “What lessons can be learned from the research in Liverpool?” especially in dealing with the issues such as in Zaanstad.

#### ***All elements are present***

Mixture of uses, high density, small scale public space and a mixture of old and new buildings are the elements needed to make mixed land use work. These are elements which already characterize Zaanstad but in their current state produce social and economic problems. The issue is therefore to restructure the elements in a manner which will help improve the social and economic structure of the city. The research results show that the mixture of uses should stand close to the local needs (educational levels, household needs etc.) and cannot be enforced on people. The mixture of uses should be something the local population (business and residential) is comfortable with which means that an ideal mixture does not exist but is strongly context bound. This context dependency cannot be viewed on inner zone level such as the case studies but on agglomeration level of the city. This is because issues such as providing jobs and reducing unemployment do not seem to work on neighbourhood level. Local businesses often employ people from outside the area and therefore mismatch can often take place just like in the case studies of Liverpool City Centre.

#### ***An innovative mechanism is needed***

As concluded before in dealing with mixed use regeneration the most effective approach is that of a binding network (preferably financially bound by contract) between business and residential communities, private property developers and the public sector. To ensure sustainability of the network a BID structure is helpful. A BID in itself though poses problems for mixed use areas because the focus is on improving businesses and not communities as a whole. A proposal could be to create Community Improvement Districts (CIDs) for mixed use areas which focus on improving the environment for business and residential communities.

For Zaanstad this means that in order to regenerate its urban environment which is a productive mixed use environment it could go for the possibilities of creating such Community Improvement Districts (CIDs) which expands the range of the BID to improving conditions for the entire community (residential as well as business) rather than looking to generate Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) which are limited to improving conditions for businesses. I will come back to that later because it is important to set up such network in a structure comparable to those in the UK. In the UK planning authority is much more divided amongst several parties and the partnership is set up from day one before setting up planning directions. This makes the synchronization of interests slightly different and maybe slightly less difficult. What precisely defines a CID and how this can be applied to Zaanstad will be laid out in the next chapter.



# CHAPTER FOUR

## THE APPLICABILITY TO ZAA NSTAD ANALYSED

This chapter deals with the applicability of the CID to the situation in Zaanstad where the city is looking for new and innovative approaches in dealing with the revitalization of inner-city areas. The main questions are: *“Is the CID mechanism something that can be applied to deal with the problems in Zaanstad?”* If so, *“How can this be achieved?”* These questions will be answered through a case study research of an industrial estate/ neighbourhood in Zaanstad with a typical mixed use nature which characterizes Zaanstad. This means that this chapter is focused on looking at whether local actors in that case study are organized or are prepared to organize themselves in financially binding networks on the basis of a contract fixed within the local legislation, if there is a readiness to engage in outside-in planning and whether there are unique selling points which enhance the attractiveness of the area. Also the question is whether there is the type of economic and social diversity which leads to the improvement of the social and economic structure or whether diversity can be created through a certain type of mixed land use. Especially important is whether the institutional context of Zaanstad permits applying the CID in such an area as the case study. But first it is essential to look at what defines a CID and how this can be established in general.

### 4.1 What defines a CID?

The conclusion of chapter three suggests that for the regeneration of the industrial estates with a mixed land use character in Zaanstad a binding mechanism is needed especially financially whereby the local users are committed to investing in the regeneration of the area where they work and live. This mechanism should be one that fits within the existing institutional context. In this respect the best mechanism seems to be a binding network on the basis of a contract between business and residential communities, private property developers and the public sector fixed within the local legislation. To ensure sustainability of the network a BID structure seems helpful. But in the case of mixed land use it is important to broaden the reach of a BID where in terms of the members of the network but also in terms of the core activities the network deals with. This would lead to a Community Improvement District (CID). To clarify what exactly defines a CID the next subparagraph sets out the structure of a CID.

#### 4.1.1 The structure of a CID

In the basis a CID structure consists of the same structure of a BID. What distinguishes a CID from a BID is the fact that its reach is broadened in terms of the members of the network but also in terms of the core activities the network deals with. So the question here is: *“What does the design of a BID look like and what should be adjusted in order to make it useful for mixed use areas?”* In this context it is especially important to look at what the participation of members accounts for and how this can be organized contractually as well as financially.

#### ***Looking at the design of a BID***

The business improvement district (BID) is an international model for urban revitalization. A BID in the UK is – in most cases – set up through the initiative of businesses that express the need for a binding network in which they can have a say in what local improvements are wanted and needed.

A BID in short can be defined as following: *“The BID model represents a flexible form of governance that allows participants to craft solutions in a way that is sensitive to the local context and where state and local funding is limited; provides an opportunity for multiple stakeholders to organize, operate with autonomy, and manage programs to improve the*

*physical, economic and social conditions within their geographical jurisdiction and allows commercial interests to aggressively promote downtown areas.” (Hoyt, 2003, p. 3).*

Through a local ballot businesses are able to vote whether they want their area to become a BID. BID organizations are territorial in nature which means that they are established within clearly defined boundaries. For the BID to be approved 30% of the businesses within the boundaries have to engage in the voting of which a minimum of 50% has to vote ‘yes’. The BID then operates for a period of five years. Solely looking at these percentages a BID can be established for an area through just 15% of the local businesses. The remaining 85% is then bound in a legal framework whether they want to or not. For this very reason and related to its territorial nature many debaters about BIDs suggest that BIDs are a threat to democratic accountability, create wealth-based inequalities between areas, and negatively impact adjacent residential neighbourhoods because of their exclusion. On the other side of the debate the BID is seen to have many positive effects. The most important one is the fact that businesses have the opportunity to agree on the projects for which they are contributing and to vote in a ballot on the amount of money they are prepared to invest, enabling them to become involved in the administration of the schemes themselves (UKBIDs, 2010). BIDs are established under the Local Government Finance Act (2003) and are financed by a levy, collected through the business rate ranging from one to two percent. Businesses with a rateable value below £10,000 are generally excluded (Liverpool City Central BID, 2008). The amount of levy collected is decided through voting. Once voted for, the levy becomes mandatory on all defined ratepayers and is treated as a statutory debt. The levy is seen to be a useful mechanism for consistently raising the required funding to improve the environment within the district. Simply put the BID is a ‘reliable’ funding mechanism for development and revitalization. Commercial areas without a BID structure rely on municipal government investment and voluntary investment from charity organizations (Hoyt, 2005).

Although BIDs are still evolving in general the funding of a BID is spent on three main objectives: clean, green and safe (Benders, Dietz & De Bruin, research journey 2010). This means investing funds to improve the pedestrian experience on the street and creating business locations which compete more effectively with suburban business locations; enhancing the attractiveness of the district. In few cases the BID initiates interventions in the environment with a spatial planning nature. For the most part businesses within a BID actively engage in management rather than in spatial planning and design (Hoyt, 2005). As may have become clear by now a Business Improvement District generally consists of a network of businesses. In many cases land owners and public sector representatives are also part of the board of a BID in which case they also contribute to the BID to some extent whether through the payment of employees or through costs savings provided by property owners like in the case of Liverpool City Central BID (Liverpool City Central BID, 2008). In general local authorities play an important facilitating role which means that they have legal responsibilities, including the provision of the ratings data to calculate the BID levy, the collection and enforcement of the BID levy, the organisation of the formal BID ballot, and the preparation and commitment to the baseline service agreements (UKBIDs, 2010).

### ***Stretching the nature of the BID concept***

One highly important thing stands out about the structure of a BID: the activities and the members are often of limited nature. The hypothesis in this thesis therefore is: *In order to broaden the possibilities of a BID the structure should be stretched to a greater extent in terms of the members of the network as well as in terms of the activities the network deals with.* The stretching of the BID concept is meant to look beyond the needs of business and look at what entire communities in an area need since the main theme of this thesis is about mixed land use and its role in revitalization. Therefore the idea emerged to create *Community Improvement Districts* where the mixed interests of different users within a community are represented rather than just *Business Improvement Districts* where the interests of businesses stand central.

In terms of involved members this means that – especially for the case of Zaanstad – an original UK BID is insufficient to deal with the revitalization of the businesses/ industrial estates (which have a mixed use character) because they only involve those who work there. In order to make the legal network a representation of all users (actors) of an area the network should incorporate all those (leading) actors located there. One of the objectives for establishing a binding network such as a BID is to prevent free riding meaning prevention of non-investors to profit from investments made by others. With the BID free riding amongst businesses is controlled. The research in Liverpool has shown though that businesses are willing to invest in their environment through a BID organization because it produces benefits for their business environment like higher levels of footfall and spend money but regularly express a discontent of the fact that residents profit from their efforts in terms of the living environment becoming of a higher quality and property values going up while at the same time often undoing all the good work done by the businesses in disordering the public space (Gibbons, 2010). To resolve this type of free riding the obvious solution is to include residents in the network and finding a way for them to invest their share in the environment they also profit from in their own way. Investment by residents should in the first place be financially but also in regard to activities.

Part of creating such networks as the BIDs is to create close communities with large commitment to their environment. In order to create the community feeling active involvement is required by all parties. This could range from actual voluntary work to sitting in on meetings. Profits for residents can be expressed in the fact that the quality of their living environment increases which means an increase in their housing property, greater social cohesion and higher social control. Example of such an initiatives by residents can be found in Leusden and Utrecht in the Netherland. In Utrecht a project is launched in which up to now 600 residents participate in the self management of the public realm. The residents sign a maintenance contract which provides them with the right to present proposals regarding the design of the public space. the management is financed by public sector funding (KEI, 2010). In Leusden a similar project has been launched called 'sustainable initiatives' but takes the financial side a bit further. Here residents get the opportunity to upgrade their public space themselves through self management of government funding reserved for greenery. The opportunity is presented by the city council for residents to start a non-profit partnership such as a foundation or association with a minimum membership of 10 residents. This partnership can then apply for a grant of € 250 to € 500 to fund activities based on sustainable development of greenery and the public space environment. In addition to the initial grant the residents pay a fixed amount of contribution which is reinvested in the public space of their neighbourhood. This project is directed towards creating awareness and commitment amongst residents to their physical environment. It has been proven that such initiatives from residents are more sustainable in terms of keeping the environment clean but also in terms of social commitment and economic development (increase in property values) (Leusden City Council, 2010).

Of course not all residents produce rateable value with their homes which is due to the fact that not all residents are the owners of their property. What is important to keep in mind is the fact that residents can be divided into owners and tenants and that the investment capacity of these groups differs. A large percentage of rental housing is social housing which means that those residents have a lower investment budget. The idea is that those tenants are represented by the housing corporations whom invest a percentage of collective tenant money on behalf of their tenants. For this to be feasible for housing corporations an idea might be to slightly increase rent levels but not to the level that living there become impossible for groups within society who have a lower income level. This not only solves the issue of investment capacity but also creates a balance between businesses and residents seeing as in most areas there are more households than there are businesses. Also important to keep in mind is the fact that property values of housing and for instance offices is not always of the same level. This would mean that their percentage of contribution should

be carefully aligned. Opposition against paying a percentage of rateable value can be ascribed to the fact that neither businesses nor residents are prepared to pay more tax than they are already paying the government. A solution may be to use the tax paid (or maybe a percentage of it) to the local authorities to contribute to work done by the CID network just like in the case of Leusden where tax money is returned through grants, therefore giving the CID more power to deal with issues themselves.

With this investment capacity is mainly viewed as financial capacity but can also be viewed from a non-financial perspective. Some residents may have the financial capacity to invest but thereby lack the time or experience to engage in actual regeneration in practice. In terms of activities, research in the UK about BIDs has also shown that most BIDs are concerned with only the three objectives mentioned earlier: clean, green and safe. In other words, it is solely about the management of the environment which is quite important. But this thesis is looking for a mechanism which can serve as a spatial planning instrument from the perspective of the civil (business and residential) society. The innovative concept of a CID may serve as such a mechanism instead of solely dealing with management. A suggestion therefore is to extend the activities of a CID beyond those of a BID and incorporate spatial planning activities. An example is the work done by the Commercial District Partnership (CDP). This partnership has a development department which in cooperation with the regeneration company of Liverpool develops schemes which can enhance the quality of the spatial environment not only through safety measures and greenery but also through enhancement of accessibility, making areas pedestrian-friendly and making sure there are enough facilities etc. This is done through conscious promotion of mixed land use in the area. What was clear in the case of the Commercial District, the partnership better understood what the needs of the people using the area was than the city council was able to grasp and that seemed to be accessibility to a more diverse range of activities (Rice, 2010).

#### **4.1.2 How to establish a CID**

The actual establishment of a BID is through the votes of businesses but not in all cases the proposal for the BID comes from those businesses themselves. Like in the case of Liverpool City Central BID the establishment of a BID was proposed by the city council. In line with this the involvement of the city council during the formation of the BID and even after being established was enormous. As discussed the employees of the BID are even employed by the city council. This has an impact on the liberty of the BID in their interventions (Rice, 2010). The question is: *“Is that the way to go with the establishment of CIDs?”*

##### ***Initiated by civil society?***

The debate about who should initiate a network such as a CID is slightly subjective. The CDP argues that a binding network benefits if it is initiated by the community itself instead of by the local authorities because of the fact that government involvement soon means an ongoing involvement of the local authorities and less autonomy for the partners in the network which for the greater part consists of civil society (Rice, 2010). Liverpool City Central BID argues that the involvement of the city council is not as bad as it seems. Through their involvement they invest a great deal of money and effort into an area making the management of the area easier to deal with for businesses. Also seeing that the city council takes part in the management seems to motivate businesses to be more active because they feel supported and heard by the local authorities. In the end 80% of the board consists of businesses representatives and gives the businesses leading power (Gibbons, 2010).

The question is if local authorities should want to have a great deal of involvement in a CID. In creating the possibility for a CID to emerge the government states that it is willing to hand over some of its controlling power and responsibilities to society. This is done in the context that the unfortunate economy of today poses that local authorities have to look for alternative sources to invest in the public space (financially as well as in activities). When inquiring this



investment from civil society itself it is only fair that they get a say in the matter. With this in mind it is probably more tenable for the initiative to come from society itself because of the greater possibility to create commitment. Having a greater voice leads to greater commitment and therefore a more stable network. For a network like a CID to exist therefore a sense of urgency is required amongst civil society. Now this is an idealistic way to establish a CID. In the end it is perhaps more important to look at who are the leading actors once the CID is established. If 80% of the CID board consists of businesses, residents and land owners and 20% by local authorities it still gives society the power to overrule the public sector. A small role for the public sector might even be beneficial for making sure the CID serves the general interest.

### ***Higher level of democracy***

An important issue about establishing CIDs is the level of democracy. In debates about the BID an argument against the concept is often that it is a threat to democratic accountability because of the amount of votes needed (Hoyt, 2005). When only 30% of businesses has to attend the ballot of which only 50% has to vote 'yes' it leaves a great percentage of unheard voices. A district is hereby forced into a binding network of which just 15% agreed to be in. In countries – such as the Netherlands – where democracy highly valued this may bring up some issues. This has been proven by a case in Birmingham where a BID was established in which case the minimum percentage of voters actually voted. This BID has become a district in which a great deal of resistance against the BID has risen (Benders, 2010). To avoid such hazards it might be sensible to start off a CID with a higher level of democracy created by slightly increasing the demands for the ballot without compromising the possibilities for a CID to be established. It seems only fair that at least 50% of target members (residents, businesses and land owners) within the boundaries of the CID to attend the ballot of which at least 50% has to vote 'yes'. This would mean that in the end at least 25% of targeted members would be a supporter of the CID instead of a mere 15% creating greater commitment and less resistance. In increasing the level of democracy caution is required that the desire for democracy does not stand in the way of establishing a potentially successful CID. The Dutch BID legislation for instance proposes an attendance of 75% of businesses and therefore enhances the danger that many BID proposals get rejected. A 50-50 chance is a general measurement of reasonable probability all over the world and would seem a general applicable measurement for fair voting.

Although the subject of democracy is an important one, ultimately establishing a CID is about organizing leading actors in a binding, stable network i.e. an associative democracy (Hirst, 2000). The leading actors within a CID are those actors that use the area within the boundaries and those who have the capacity to invest in the development and maintenance of that area. A CID is an Actor Relational concept which is adjusted in such a manner that it fits the needs and profile of a mixed use environment representing different actors of different uses. The next paragraph shows a research on a case study in Zaanstad, the Netherlands, namely the "Slachthuisbuurt". Within this case study the applicability of the CID is 'tested'.

## **4.2 Case study Zaanstad: Slachthuisbuurt**

In this case study the research looks at what kind of approach is used in order to revitalize the area, what went wrong with that attempt of regeneration and whether a mechanism such as the CID would mean a better approach to the regeneration scheme. Therefore research is focused on the question whether the area meets the conditions needed to set up a CID such as the sense of urgency amongst the community in the area and the institutional possibility provided by the local authorities.

## 4.2.1 Description of the case study

### A view of the physical environment

The Slachthuisbuurt is an area at the east side of the river the Zaan which runs through the heart of Zaanstad (figure 4.1). This area is primarily known as an inner-city industrial estate but has a mixed use structure where industries and residents lie close to each other. As discussed in the introduction this type of area is characteristic to Zaanstad. The name 'Slachthuisbuurt' is related to the industrial history of the area. Translated, 'Slachthuis' means the 'slaughter house' which was an industry at the centre of the area that dealt with the massive slaughtering of cattle (Boogaard, 2010).

Figure 4.1: map of the Slachthuisbuurt



Source: Consortium Slachthuisbuurt, 2008

The Slachthuisbuurt is one of the industrial estates in the Zaanstad that are in dire need of revitalization. Like presented in the introduction of this thesis, Zaanstad deals with disordering of the public space and the decay of a lot of buildings. The same issues are apparent in the Slachthuisbuurt. Many businesses/industries have left the area leaving it behind with a great deal of aged and decayed buildings as well as public space. An initiative to regenerate the area has been taken by a consortium of two local housing associations, two property development companies and two construction companies. In cooperation with the municipality of Zaanstad, entrepreneurs and residents of the neighbourhood the consortium developed a masterplan which focused on the renewal of the Slachthuisbuurt. This masterplan was an attempt to translate the needs and wishes of all parties present in the neighbourhood (Consortium Slachthuisbuurt, 2008).

Although the attempt was received positively by all parties the plan was not carried out due to two major issues (Box six; appendix three). First of all, the plan was financially not feasible due to a high risk profile of the industries in relation to environmental issues and the economic crisis which stagnated the housing market. Second of all, the plan did not seem to be integrated enough because of the main focus on developing housing and thereby shortcoming businesses. According to the research team from the Technical University of Delft this misrepresentation of interests was partly due to the fact that the municipality of Zaanstad did not take enough responsibility in the development of the masterplan and filled a much too passive role in coordinating the cooperation between the involved parties. They state that the Zaanstad City Council was responsible for evenly dividing space for different

types of uses and making hard decisions. Instead the city council left this decision making up to the private parties which were biased towards developing housing for their own profit (TU Delft & Inbo, 2010).

### **Organizational form: small scale joint private initiative**

The regeneration scheme was entirely initiated by two major housing associations Rochdale and ZVH (Zaandamse Volkshuisvesting). This is a representation of a limited set of actors. Both of the housing associations had an external department of property development dealt with by private property development companies named Delta Forte and Kristal. The housing associations started a consortium with the property developers and the construction companies BAM and Kakes. These parties took the leading role of developing the masterplan. Although the consortium entirely exists of the private sector other parties are involved through consultation. Those actors consist of the residents represented by a resident's community board and businesses in the area also represented by a board of businesses. The Chamber of Commerce and Zaanstad City Council were consulted on during the formation of the masterplan. Table 6 shows an overview of all the actors involved in the initial redevelopment schemes. Those actors highlighted in red are those actors that have been interviewed.

*Table 6: Key actors who were involved in the redevelopment of the Slachthuisbuurt*

<b>Actor</b>	<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Role in the regeneration project</b>	<b>Binding network</b>
<b>Consortium</b>	Private property developers	Initiator of the regeneration scheme Leading partnership and property owners	Agreement bound in the consortium
<b>Zaanstad City Council</b>	Local public sector	Coordinator of the cooperation, setting of institutional framework and evaluator of licenses etc.	---
<b>Residents community board</b>	Voluntary community organisation	Consulting on proposed developments and representation of residents' interests	---
<b>Businesses</b>	Local crafts businesses	Consulting on proposed developments and representation of business' interests	---
<b>Chamber of Commerce</b>	Board of businesses within a region	Consulting on proposed developments and representation of business' interests	----

The regeneration scheme set out for the Slachthuisbuurt has been a small scale joint private initiative. Through the formation of a consortium the initiative was to a certain extent fixed in a contract indicating the attempt to create a stable network with an integrated view. What the consortium seems to lack is the membership of a broader range of actors. Although the consortium consults with businesses and residents it does not incorporate those actors in their stable network. As pleaded for by the Actor Relational Approach a stable network should consist of all actors in the area which has a certain extent of involvement and are influenced by measures taken (see above). Especially the ascription of a primary role to civil society in engaging in (re)development is important within the ARA which in this thesis is proven to be more sustainable. The reason for that is the fact that an ARA and thereby the view of civil society stands closer to what an area actually needs and what the area actually has to offer. In addition to that an ARA approach translated to a stable network such as the CID may function as a alternative funding mechanism in a time where government spending as well as private sector investment (defined here as property developers) is limited.

### **4.2.2 The CID as an alternative strategy**

The small scale joint initiative has had its advantages and disadvantages but in the end it failed to stand strong in reaching the phase of execution. An alternative strategy is looked at which is expected to fill up the gaps that made the initiative fail. The alternative strategy or



better said alternative mechanism that is tested here is the Community Improvement District (CID). It is hypothesised in paragraph 4.1 that the CID is a solution. The main questions are: *“Is the CID mechanism something that can be applied to deal with the problems in the Slachthuisbuurt?”* If so, *“Does the Slachthuisbuurt meet the requirements that are needed to implement the CID as an instrument to revitalize the inner-city mixed areas?”*

### ***A funding mechanism and community builder***

One of the major weaknesses of the masterplan developed by the consortium in the Slachthuisbuurt was the financial feasibility. The content of the plan itself had the support of the majority of actors involved. The resident’s community board and a great deal of the businesses in the area were positive about the developments proposed by the consortium. The problem was that the plan was primarily based on the development and financially relied on the sale of housing which would pay for the development costs. But due to a high risk profile of the industries in relation to environmental issues and the economic crisis which stagnated the housing market this financing plan was too unreliable to build on. Clearly for the plans of the consortium to be carried through a different funding mechanism is needed which expands the investment base for the area.

Such an alternative might be the creation of a CID. As established in paragraph 4.1 a CID consists of a partnership with a broader definition than usual. A CID aims at incorporating the cooperation between residents, businesses, land owners and the public and private sector (respectively city council and property developers) in a contractually bound agreement in which all parties invest in the redevelopment of the mixed use environment. In the case of the Slachthuisbuurt this would mean a contractually binding cooperation between more than just the housing associations, their development companies and building companies. Therefore a greater financial and communal base would be created than of just the associations’ investment which diminishes the risk profile for the housing associations and a broader community commitment. The CID would simply mean a spreading of financial risk amongst all parties involved and benefited by redevelopment. Also the sense of responsibility is spread amongst a greater community consisting of different actors. Developments than can rely on the CID levy existing of the contribution of residents, local businesses, land owners and private sector developers. The participation of the city council within the CID would mean a strong facilitating role which aims at coordinating the cooperation between the different actors making sure that the plans serve the common good and money is invested equally in separate sectors. What should be kept in mind though is the fact that interests also differ amongst different types businesses and different residential groupings. This makes the management of those interests quite a difficult task especially with uses and therefore interests which clash.

### ***Preconditions to consider***

In interviews with the leading actor which were involved in developing the initial masterplan, the proposal of a CID as a funding mechanism for the developments in the Slachthuisbuurt was received different by different actors. The representative of Zaanstad City Council was fairly enthusiastic about the CID concept. In their vision the redevelopment of the Slachthuisbuurt should be lead by the local actors as much as possible with a limited role of the city council (financially as well as organizationally). Although it is interesting to look at the CID as a solution it would be a very difficult task to establish such a stable network within an area that is filled with different existing interests according to the city council. What should be taken into account when looking at such a concept as the CID is the fact that a common goal is served by the partnership. A sense of urgency amongst residents and local businesses is needed to get such a concept off the ground. To get residents and businesses motivated to work at redevelopment themselves it should also be clear what the benefits are to those involve: *“What’s in it for them?”* In the Dutch legislative system it is common for residents and businesses to point at the local city council to maintain and upgrade the quality of the public space because for many decades the local government had that sole legal responsibility.

This state of mind should be altered in order for self-management and self-organization to occur (Boogaard, 2010). In the Slachthuisbuurt this state of mind is already there to a certain extent. Local residents and businesses are organized in separate boards that are actively involved in the redevelopments in the Slachthuisbuurt. This involvement is strictly based on consultation and participation to initiatives taken by either the public sector or the private sector and excludes financial contribution. Financial contribution by residents is seen to be problematic by the business society because in most areas where revitalization is needed residents are for the most part of low income levels meaning that they lack the investment capacity (M. Jonker, 2010). Also the chairman of the residents' board states that the local residents themselves cannot and are not prepared to pay additional financial expenses next to the taxes they pay. They are on the other hand willing to invest time and commitment to certain projects (Onrust, 2010). Although investment other than financial is important for a CID to succeed financing is the most important drive to actually get things done. A solution to this – as suggested in paragraph 4.1 – would be for city council to reinvest tax paid by property owners into the CID Company in the form of a grant and therefore give the residents more investment capacity. Additional taxes would raise opposition to the creation of a CID because that would become financially unfeasible for residents as well as for small companies. Many businesses on the other hand are characterized as being willing to invest money in their environment as long as they can profit from it in one way or another.

An important precondition for the CID to work as an alternative funding mechanism is making sure it is clear what the added value would be of a CID. A clear definition of the benefits is needed to convince businesses as well as residents to invest money, time and expertise in the CID Company. What these benefits are depends on the context in which the CID is established. In the case of the Slachthuisbuurt benefits that function motivating are: increase in property value, increase in the quality of living environment, more commitment and a greater voice for different actor, binding stability in the network (M. Jonker, 2010; Onrust, 2010).

### ***Building a bridge between separate interests***

Another issue with the initial masterplan for the Slachthuisbuurt was the fact that the plan did not seem to be integrated enough because of the main focus on developing housing and thereby shortcoming businesses. This division is largely due to the fact that the masterplan is initiated by housing association whose interests are primarily focused on redeveloping and expanding their housing property therefore strongly representing a private sector interest. In establishing a CID an expansion of interests represented is needed. This would function as a bridge between separate interests of civil society (residents and businesses) and the private sector developers. This is extremely important in this case because the redevelopment area is a mixed use area which relates its identity to the presence of mixed use. It promotes the fact that different functions complement each other (business, residents and educational facilities). In the current setting businesses had the opportunity to comment on the content of the masterplan. The consortium took these comments in consideration to a certain extent in order to create support but had no further binding responsibility to incorporate ideas and needs presented by the businesses. In this case civil society and especially the interests of business society was underrepresented in the partnership therefore limiting their influence on the redevelopment direction. With a mechanism such as the CID which expands the representation of interests and the investment base plans to redevelop a mixed land use area would have a higher potential in succeeding. Plans only get pushed through when a majority of votes confirms the desirability of the plan.

Another dimension to the management of interests in the Slachthuisbuurt has been the belief that the city council had to play a more active role in managing the interests of all parties (actors) (TU Delft & Inbo, 2010; B. Jonker, 2010; M. Jonker, 2010). In the CID concept a clear role is set out for the city council which incorporates the management of interests through the coordination of the cooperation between the actors. With the sole goal of serving

the public good the city council can resolve the issue of underrepresentation while still creating the freedom for redevelopment led by civil society to take place. No planning proposal would have 100% support but in the setting of the CID (50% yes vote) at least the vote of the majority can make sure that a development has a fair chance in being accepted and at the same time equally representing the different local interests.

### ***The problem with boundaries and adjacent areas***

Just like the BID the CID is territorial in nature meaning that the CID is established within clear set boundaries. In the case of the Slachthuisbuurt the boundaries would be along the lines which confine the neighbourhood. This district is part of a greater district level, Kogerveld. The question therefore is whether a CID should be established on the smaller neighbourhood level (Slachthuisbuurt) or on the greater district level (Kogerveld). This has on the one hand to do with the fact that areas can compete against each other and therefore can mean the 'death of adjacent centres'. With the spatially limited investment on a small scale level as a neighbourhood it would mean a strongly localized investment and that the wider district would stay behind on investment and development. In addition the risk is that this could lead to a distraction of activities in adjacent neighbourhoods (B. Jonker, 2010).

This is something to think about because a larger scale level means a greater range of interest to be aligned and much more complication in making planning decisions. The scale of the CID should be manageable and effective for improvements. A suggestion could be to start off with a smaller district in the first period and then expand the district when needed.

### ***4.2.3 Mixed land use as an asset to the Slachthuisbuurt?***

For the whole of Zaanstad the mixture of uses is seen as an asset in the regeneration schemes. Promoting mixed land use is assumed to have a positive effect on the social and especially the economic development of Zaanstad. In the masterplan for the Slachthuisbuurt creating a profitable mixture of uses was one of the main objectives. Mixed land use is expected by the consortium to create livelihood in a neighbourhood which is beneficial for the safety and attractiveness of the area. Also having uses next to each other makes it possible for those uses to "feed off each other" as Rice (2010) states. At the moment in the Slachthuisbuurt the mixture of uses is not producing such benefits. There is a great lack of livelihood and attractiveness and the uses do not profit from each other because of their mismatch. They do not serve the same - local - public.

### ***Looking at refocusing the economy***

What makes the situation of the Slachthuisbuurt - and almost every other area in Zaanstad - extra complicated in this respect is the fact that the mixed areas are partly occupied by large industrial businesses which ask for additional consideration about mixed use. In Liverpool there was a mass exodus of the industry so there isn't almost any industry left in the city centre. Second this meant the emergence of large parts of open, derelict spaces in the city which provides large amounts of open space available for (re)development. In Zaanstad the opposite is the case; there is a large scarcity of open space which invokes more complex (re)development projects. Also the industries present in the centre of neighbourhoods emit a great amount of environmental hazards while at the same time they provide the largest amount of jobs for local residents. A solution for this mismatch of interests and difficult mixture of uses might be to look at alternatives of employment and therefore a refocusing of the economy to economic activities that are easier to mix with residential space.

In Liverpool the solution for the upgrade of their economy was: creating a world famous retail centre, reinforcing the cultural identity and refocusing the economy on tourism and the services linked to tourism. Zaanstad should find an alternative which stands close to its identity and emphasises its unique selling points while at the same time innovating its economical base. One of the attempts to do so is introducing the creative sector and



reinforcing their tourist based economy. The creative sector (media & communications, visual artists, musicians etc.) is believed to increase the productivity of areas (Florida, 2005). In Liverpool it is clear that the creative sector contributes a great deal to the economic and social structure in the Ropewalks area. The strength of the ropewalks area though was the fact that the creative industry was something that lies close to the historical culture of Liverpool (musicians and poets) and was not something which was forced on to the identity. This should also be the case for the Slachthuisbuurt and the rest of Zaanstad. Also the creative industry in Zaanstad has to be of the sort that can compete against the existing creative sector in Amsterdam (which is spatially connected to Zaanstad and more popular for its cultural expression).

#### ***Mixed types of residential space with unique businesses***

The consortium focused on a mixture in the Slachthuisbuurt that emphasised the current mixed characteristics of the neighbourhood but at the same time slightly refocusing the economy to activities which are better to match with living and educational functions. Just like in the rest of Zaanstad the creative sector is seen as an economic solution. In the Slachthuisbuurt an attempt is made to fit this creative sector in with the current business and employees' profile of the Slachthuisbuurt: small, local creative crafts businesses. Examples of such business could be visual artists, wood craftsmen, eccentric painters etc. The Slachthuisbuurt can hereby profit from the benefits on economic productivity which come from the creative sector and at the same time competes with nearby creative industries. Zaanstad then attracts the doers (small craftsmen) versus the thinkers in Amsterdam (the creative service sector, media and entertainment etc.). Also these types of businesses are easier to integrate in a living environment of lesser environmental hazard, smaller at home business space and the ability to employ local residents (B. Jonker, 2010).

The objective in regard to residential space is to expand the variety of the housing offer. Making it possible for residents to migrate within the neighbourhood and keeping their relationship with the area and making investment in the area more attractive. The function of education is emphasised through the upgrading of the local school by adding the possibility for students to engage in actual work related to their studies. This addition to the local school is expected to be realised by working together with local businesses which provide the opportunity for students to experience the actual affairs related to certain crafts (Consortium Slachthuisbuurt, 2008).

The objective of this matching mix of uses (type of living, schools and businesses) is to create networks between different users in the area where they can meet and engage in activities together and therefore "feed off each other". The advantage of the Slachthuisbuurt is that this match is already there only an upgrade is needed. The content of the masterplan was for the most part agreed on by the actors in the consulting network. A high potential was expected in creating such mix. The problem was that the funding network was too limited. Therefore the CID is introduced here as an alternative.

#### **4.2.4 Conclusions**

In the first place this paragraph was aimed at finding out whether the Slachthuisbuurt meets the conditions needed to trigger the establishment of a CID. The main questions are: "*Is the CID mechanism something that can be applied to deal with the problems in the Slachthuisbuurt?*" If so, "*Does the Slachthuisbuurt meet the requirements that are needed to implement the CID as an instrument to revitalize the inner-city mixed areas?*" and therefore the question is: "*Is the Slachthuisbuurt ready to engage in an Actor Relational planning approach?*"

The answers to these questions are not so straightforward. At some levels the conditions for a CID are present in the Slachthuisbuurt, like the readiness to organise themselves in clear

networks. Yet at other levels establishing a CID in the Slachthuisbuurt requires some adjustments to for instance the state of mind towards the role of the local authorities and the restrictive institutional context.

### ***Actors from voluntary, unstable networks to one binding, stable network***

The readiness to form a network is already present in the Slachthuisbuurt. Local residents and businesses have formed boards which are committed to making sure the city council takes in account the needs of the businesses and residents. These boards have a voluntary structure; participation is not legally required but builds on the participation of volunteers. Voluntary networks such as these which do not contractually bind the actors in the local legislation for a set period of time is sensitive to destabilization and is easier to dissolve. Also the nature of the networks limits the actors within those networks in their actions regarding regeneration and spatial planning to just consulting because they have neither instruments nor investment capacity to do so. In creating a CID several separate networks can converge to one stable network where actors are contractually bound. This creates the investment capacity to engage in spatial planning from the local actors (the users of the space) point of view.

### ***Outside-in instead of inside-out***

The state of mind of the local actors is not yet ready to take a larger step and take on the responsibility of spatial planning and dealing with public space instead of leaving it up to the local authorities. In the Netherlands the role of the city council is to make sure the public good is served. One of the tasks related to that is to make sure the public space is up to date and of high quality. Now most residents and businesses in the Netherlands have the strong state of mind that the task should be executed by local authorities because they get tax money to do so and the state is there to provide service to society. To generate a more outside-in planning approach where society itself takes responsibility for the space around them this way of thinking should be altered. Stimulation should be given to society for them to engage in self-planning. An example of such stimulation is to – on the basis of a CID – give society the possibility to manage their own money (tax) and stand up for their own needs. For such stimulation to work it should be very clear to local society what the benefits can be to invest time and money in their environment (quality of life, increase in property prices etc.).

### ***The hazard of the institutional context***

The local residents and businesses are discouraged in advance by the legislative setting around spatial planning. As mentioned several times in chapter three a restrictive institutional setting in the Netherlands is the 'bestemmingsplan' which assigns a specific function to a specific piece of land. This makes the planning system not flexible enough to respond to local changes. This means that innovative plans on mixing and changing uses that are seen as complementing to the existing structure is difficult to realize. There are many procedures to be taken before a specification can be altered which leads to a long process in which civil society is often not prepared to engage in and which discourages them to engage in spatial planning. This obstacle needs to be overcome in order for civil society to be prepared to take on the responsibility of spatial planning. For local authorities it means losing the legislative system in order to give civil society more freedom in which they feel comfortable to take over some of the roles now assigned to local authorities (city council). The CID would provide a more flexible legislative mechanism to deal with flexible developments. A more liberal land market is therefore also needed.

One of the conclusions in the context of planning approaches is that on the big influence of the institutional settings. The emergence of the initiatives from the private sector and the civil society in Liverpool City Centre can be related to the fact that Liverpool – and the UK in general – has a different more flexible institutional context than in the Netherlands where most initiatives come from the government. In the Netherlands the 'bestemmingsplan' can



create strong restrictive lines for the content of the (re)development. In the UK this is a less prominent issue<sup>10</sup>. The case studies prove that the institutional context sketched in paragraph 3.3 do not always function as a restrictive framework but rather as enabling flexibility and interaction between the private and the public sector (Spit & Zoete, 2005). The institutional context of Liverpool leaves more room for private as well as civil initiatives to take place. As seen in the case studies different planning approaches (initiatives) developed in the city centre (public-private partnership, small scale private initiatives and civil initiatives). The private initiatives are freer to take place in the UK because of the less restrictive legislation on land ownership and the absence of strict policy on content but more directed towards the process. Private developers are more willing to invest in their own land. The civil initiatives are also more willing to invest in their environment also partly due to their state of mind about the task of the city council and the limited role of the city council in public space. As noted earlier there is no such thing as 'the best approach'. What can be said here is that in dealing with mixed use there are a lot of interest and networks between these interests that can exist. In order to deal with all these differing interests mixed land use planning would be benefitted from an ARA (civil initiative). Within the mixed use context there are a lot of differing interests in one place. The ARA first focuses on aligning these local interests and maintaining them in a stable network. Therefore a less complicated, government centred institutional setting is needed where civil society is allowed more freedom and possibilities to engage in planning. A complicated and legally binding institutional planning context is less inviting for civil society to engage in planning. Especially in the context of mixed land use a less binding policy on the content of a plan is needed. This leaves more flexibility for different uses to be developed in a certain area.

### ***Sustaining unique selling points***

The plans on which a majority of actors agreed on was focused on emphasising the characterizing and unique elements of the Slachthuisbuurt. This meant sustaining the historical mixture of uses: residential, business and education. This proves the belief in the positive effects that mixed land use can have on the social and economic structure within regeneration plans. Because the plans were never executed it is not possible to measure the effects this type of mix of uses has on the social and economic structure of the Slachthuisbuurt.

With a strong mixed land use structure the Slachthuisbuurt incorporates a lot of mixed interests which have to be aligned in order for an integrated but flexible planning process for regeneration to be developed. The need for alignment of interest is a condition which supports the introduction of the CID concept to local society. Within the (institutional/binding) setting of a CID it is possible to overcome some of the antinomies inherent to spatial planning (Spit & Zoete, 2005). The CID provides flexibility as well as legal certainty and it provides effectiveness as well as a voice to varying actors. In most planning approaches these dichotomies are difficult to deal with.

The results of this case study are translated into Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (Box five). This SWOT-analysis provides a bridge which makes it possible to look at future development directions.

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<sup>10</sup> David Shaw has spend a great amount of time researching the Dutch planning system and comparing it with the UK planning system and found that the 'bestemmingsplan' is the main difference which poses the restrictiveness in the Netherlands which is less present in the UK (Shaw, 2010)



*Box five: SWOT-analysis of the Slachthuisbuurt redevelopment through a CID*

**Strengths**

- High level of involvement and leading role of civil society; the actual users
- Takes in consideration different interests of actors in different sectors of life
- Fairly strong and stable investment base through the payment of levy
- Tackling of freeloaders within the area
- Different interests fairly represented for integrated vision
- Spread of financial risk

**Weaknesses**

- Territorial nature; restricted boundaries which can lead to inequality between neighbourhoods
- Establishment depends on the starters funding from the city council

**Opportunities**

- Limited role of the city council
- Creating sustainability through adopting a BID-like organizational structure
- Free from restrictive guidelines and recommendations stated by the government (city council)
- Clear coordinating and facilitating role of the city council

**Threats**

- Institutional context: restrictive institutional setting of the 'bestemmingsplan'
- Environmental issues with mixing land uses
- Organization of different interests when incorporating a district larger than a neighbourhood
- State of mind of the Dutch society; relying on the efforts of local authorities
- Economic recession; businesses as well as residents are cutting back on costs

# CHAPTER FIVE

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.1 Introduction

In this masterthesis research is done on social and economic diversity within cities and the need for this diversity in order to create vibrant cities with strong economic and social structure. In relation to this, the role of mixed land use in creating this diversity and therefore improving the social and economic structure (revitalization) is examined. An important aspect to this research is the focus on finding a planning approach which is useful in dealing with mixed land use regeneration. The ultimate goal of this research is to find out whether creating or reinforcing mixed land use – and therefore enhancing social and economic diversity – is beneficial to the regeneration of the old and disordered mixed use industrial estates of Zaanstad. And how can Zaanstad come to a mix which helps improve its social and economic structure.

#### **Research questions**

*“What does mixed land use contribute to the social and economic structure of the city and what type of mixed land use will help achieve that?”, “Through what kind of planning approach (public-private partnership, private initiative of civil initiative) can a beneficial type of mixed land use be achieved best and what are the possible merits of implementing this type of planning approaches for the social and economic revitalization of inner-city Zaanstad?” and “How can the above mentioned planning approach be implemented so that it produces the aforementioned merits?”*

In order to answer these questions a cases study research is done where mixed use regeneration cases in Liverpool were examined. The case studies have served as test cases to find out whether the theoretical expectations about diversity, mixed land use and planning approaches are valid in practice. Also the case studies functioned as comparison to look at what the Netherlands and specifically what Zaanstad can learn from Liverpool. Three planning approaches were compared: public-private partnership, small scale private initiatives and civil society initiatives.

### 5.2 Findings and conclusions

#### **The role and effects of mixed land use**

*“What does mixed land use contribute to the social and economic structure of the city and what type of mixed land use will help achieve that?”*

Research results have shown that diversity is beneficial for the social and economic structure of an area/city. Within all the regeneration schemes leading actors have focused on creating a diverse offer of activities. This shows that they value diversity in the broader sense; a combination of social diversity (population mix, safety etc.) and economic diversity (mix of different economic sectors). The most important argument for creating such diversity is creating a lively area with 24-hour activities which is perceived to increase the feeling of safety, enhance the attractiveness of that area and produce a greater amount of jobs for residents. Also with a greater diversity of people and activities within one area the economy and the social life is believed to be benefited because of the fact that these can ‘profit from other’ and therefore creating more sustainable communities. In this research this connection between diversity and social and economic improvement is based on qualitative (and therefore slightly subjective) data provided by leading actors within the areas. The direct causal relation between diversity and improvement is difficult to prove quantitatively because

of the lack of quantitative data at the case study level. Did diversity trigger the improvements or is the opposite? The effects of diversity on the social and economic structure are also difficult to measure on a neighbourhood level. Improvement of social life and economic progress such as the GDP are not measurable on such a small scale level because of the lack of data on that level and therefore the lack of measurable relationships.

Social and economic diversity is expected to be spatially created through the implementation of mixed land use. This mixed land use has the role of improving the social and the economic structure through the creation of diversity. Does mixed land use create the social and economic diversity needed for social and economic improvement? It is proven that mixed land use planning leads to the creating of areas with a certain amount of social diversity and economic diversity. This diversity can be very selective depending on the wanted level of diversity within the schemes. In all the case studies in Liverpool the mixture of population for instance has been conducted within preconceived boundaries which lead to exclusion of low skilled, low income family households. This is very much steered by the fact that those planning initiatives are all from a particular perspective (whether business, private sector or public sector) and never from a combination of perspectives. This limited representation of interests has meant a limitation on accepted uses and users. Each district or area has a certain 'theme' within which the type of mixture is fitted, meaning that the specific type of mixed use that works is context dependent. What is an important conclusion though is the fact that when an area incorporates residential space within its mixture of uses the necessity is created for day to day facilities such as supermarkets, pharmacies, schools etc. Also striking is the value that is being linked to the presence of leisure activities on small neighbourhood levels. Leisure is perceived to contribute to the social cohesion, provision of great numbers of jobs and 24-hour economy and livelihood. In addition to the leisure activities such as bars and restaurants the creative industry is also perceived as a great stimulator of improvement. In Liverpool mixed land use is created on building level because of the fact that different users then use the same spaces and therefore have more contact with each other which stimulates the creation of tight communities. Also on building level different users are forced to work together and come to agreements on issues such as maintenance. With having such an economic mixture the conditions for social diversity is created. With such a social mix comes a mixture of actors with differing interests. Therefore in dealing with mixed land use one not only has to deal with differing functions (spatially) but also with aligning differing interests.

The ultimate effect of mixed land use is thus creating social and economic diversity which in its turn leads to: the creation of sustainable communities with a mixed employment base and mixed offer of employees; enhancing accessibility to different functions; stimulating walkability instead of the usage of cars which is better for the physical environment; creating a 16- to 24-hour livelihood which can lead to social control and the increased feeling of safety and ultimately it is expected when uses are present of all kinds then users of all kind invest in the local area economically (jobs, spendings etc.) as well as socially (communities, social cohesion etc.).

### ***An Actor Relational Approach to planning mixed land use***

*“Through what kind of planning approach (public-private partnership, private initiative or civil initiative) can a beneficial type of mixed land use be achieved best?” and “What are the possible merits of implementing mixed land use through the mentioned planning approaches for the social and economic revitalization of inner-city Zaanstad?”*

In this thesis three planning approaches have been examined and compared to each other: *public-private partnership, private initiative or civil initiative*. The research has shown that both the public-private partnership and the private developers' initiatives are rigid in nature. The public-private partnership is bound by financial capacity and political power. Therefore

projects from this approach are object- and regulation-driven instead of actor-driven. The small scale private developers' initiatives (in Liverpool as well in Zaanstad) are market- and profit-driven on individual company level. Therefore these approaches have a limited ability to deal with mixed land use because of their limited representation of interest. The important thing about mixed land use has to deal with different interests from different users (residents, businesses etc.).

When dealing with mixed land use one deals with several different interests of different actors (users). In order to manage these differing interests an Actor Relational Approach is best fit because from the perspective of this approach actors stand central to planning. Therefore the managing of their interests is a dominant principle. Also the ARA is directed towards creating a regime which incorporates a stable network of actors who are able to get things done (through power and finance). In current day society where differing networks emerge because of the new telecommunication options. It is important though for spatial planning which is local and space bound to create stable networks which can engage in planning. In these networks the civil society is expected to take the leading role because of the fact that planning is about those people in those spaces (the society) and therefore makes them key actors in expressing what an area needs.

The civil initiatives of the CDP and the BID stand close to the principles of this ARA. These initiatives are more actor-network-driven meaning that these initiatives look at local interest and finding networks between those interests that can make a difference. What these initiatives lack though is the ability to truly deal with mixed land use because of their underrepresentation of *all* interests in a mixed use area (businesses, property owners *and* residents). A further expansion of their partnership is therefore needed.

### ***An instrument for implementing an ARA to mixed land use***

*“How can the above mentioned planning approach be implemented so that it produces the aforementioned merits?”*

As an instrument to create such stable networks of differing actors the CID has proven to be a difficult one to implement but a very much advocated one amongst professionals in the planning world (property developers, governmental planners etc.). The Dutch civil society (residents and businesses) itself is less enthusiastic about the CID concept, especially about the financing of this concept. There is also a lack of interest to invest the effort and time to be involved in planning. This can be ascribed to the fact that in Dutch society the state of mind is that managing public space is a task of the public sector (local authorities). The perception is that to engage in planning civil society has to go through much too difficult and long processes. Therefore they do not feel free enough to engage in planning but more so civil society is not prepared to invest more money or time in property which is not theirs.

## **5.3 Recommendations to Zaanstad City Council**

The research results point out that policy is best to be directed towards the promotion of self-management of public space by local civil society in cooperation with the private and the public sector. This should lead to the creation of self-managing binding network.

### ***5.3.1 Introducing the CID***

A recommendation for an instrument to implement such networks is the Community Improvement District (CID). The CID is a funding mechanism which contractually requires actors to financially and communally contribute to the (re)development of a spatially defined area/ community. Why contractually bind the actors? A binding network with clear defined conditions provides stability and security for actors within that area. Within such mechanism



it is easier to define what the benefits are for everyone and what is expected from everyone involved. Also such mechanism spreads out the financial risks of (re)developments amongst all involved actors of the local society and creates a higher level of local commitment and support. Hereby different interests can be managed while still keeping a certain amount of feasibility on short term. This is due to the high democratic and yet decisive structure of the CID through the voting system of a minimum of 50% yes vote requirement.

### ***Leading actors***

Important within this partnership is that the members of the civil society act as the leading actors. This partnership is benefited to have a contractually binding structure which legally requires members to contribute financially. In order to promote such partnership amongst civil society Zaanstad City Council is required to take on a more facilitating role and be prepared to hand over some of its planning power to civil society. Therefore it is most important that in promoting a binding network the city council keeps in mind that such a network does not work when it is imposed on society. Civil society in general has a negative perception of local authorities and therefore creates a difficult bound between them. This does not mean that the initiative has to come solely from civil society itself. The city council can propose such a network solution but must not obligate it. Important is that the city council sets out clearly to all parties what the actual benefits are of engaging in such a self managing binding network.

### ***Organizational agreements***

A key word in these recommendations is 'local'. But what is local? A very important element for Zaanstad City Council to consider is the scale level on which it is looking to promote such mixed use CID mechanism. Scale has proven to be important when considering mixed lands use and a territorial defined mechanism such as the CID. Although the mixing on street and building level enhances the accessibility within a neighbourhood it also creates competition between those neighbourhoods that are located within a wider district. Neighbourhoods cannot all provide the same facilities and retail options because they have to consider the level of demand. Also when implementing a territorially defined CID in order to reinforce regeneration/revitalization of a restricted area it can lead to unequal provision of regeneration options which enhances they inequality between neighbourhoods. Also the upgraded neighbourhoods can draw away the spending and investment from other places. Zaanstad should consider regenerating on a larger scale level than that of the neighbourhood or single industrial estate in order to produce more effective results in liveability. A CID should therefore also be promoted on a larger district level.

### ***Institutional settings***

These recommendations are based on the experience of cases within a different institutional context. When considering the institutional context it soon becomes clear that the Dutch institutional setting can act as an obstacle/ threat for the implementation of the CID mechanism. Especially the 'bestemmingsplan' constrains the planning possibilities because of its rigid nature (limited room for flexibility). Thereby it creates a barrier for society to want to engage in spatial planning. A possible solution to this situation would be to change the highly restrictive institutional setting and especially the restrictive setting of the 'bestemmingsplan'. Of course a change of the institutional setting is a quite controversial proposal. The institutional setting is nationally defined which means a reconsideration of the entire national legislative system. A possibility would be to use the Slachthuisbuurt as an experimental case where the rigid representative democracy is placed on the background and associative democracy is given more space. For civil society to engage in spatial planning it would be strongly advised that the city council tries to dismantle the perception that spatial planning is too complicated or too time consuming. Another solution would be for local authorities to promote the emergence of semi-private organizations – like Liverpool Vision – which fill up the perceived barrier between local authorities and civil society. Such organization can then manage the planning development department within the CID.

### **5.3.2 Mixed land use policy**

For Zaanstad the mixture of uses is important to their identity and uniqueness. Also the fact that residential space and employment are two objectives with high priority in Zaanstad makes it necessary to find a way to combine those two within the existing small scale space of the city structure. In order to make such mixture of different uses work it is important to combine those uses that are less conflicting or at least creating buffers between those uses that are highly conflicting. For Zaanstad this means considering partly refocusing their economy to businesses that still stand close to their original industrial heritage but move towards current developments in employment sectors. The recommendation to Zaanstad therefore is to promote the start of creative crafts businesses. The creative industry is perceived to increase a city's productivity and also entails businesses which are easy to incorporate in residential neighbourhoods. Because of the fact that most cities now attract the creative sector for this very same reason it is important that Zaanstad looks at using its unique selling points to be able to compete with especially Amsterdam which is also promoting the creative industry. The unique selling point of Zaanstad is their doers' mentality; their hands on population which is willing to work hard. For Zaanstad to distinguish itself from Amsterdam (media and entertainment and creative service sector) they should look at attracting the creative doers; visual artist, wood craftsmen, eccentric painters etc. instead of the creative thinkers. This would make the creative sector in the Zaanstad able to compete with Amsterdam and therefore provide more sustainability.

For the attraction of this business sector a crucial condition is that Zaanstad promotes the mixture of housing stock (old and new) and the mixture of population (income level, educational level, ethnicity etc.). A mixed housing stock provides the opportunity for small crafts creative businesses to locate in spaces with lower rent or of lower purchase value. Often this sector consists of artists with an unstable income and starters within the business. Incubator locations are therefore crucial to have within the mix of location offer. As regards the mixture of population; the creative sector is believed to locate in areas with high level of tolerance and openness towards people who are 'different'. In areas where policy is open to the mixture of different population types the level of tolerance has been experience to be higher. Important in promoting mixed land use to improve the social and economic structure is the presence of additional uses such as retail, leisure, education and day to day facilities. These functions fill in the gaps to reach a 24-hour lively area which increases the feeling of safety and local accessibility. The local population then invests its spending in the local economy and the local social well being.

## **5.4 Recommendations for further research**

### ***The role of land use politics***

During the research in Liverpool and Zaanstad it has become clear that an important element in mixed land use and regeneration is that of land use politics. With land politics is meant the fact that different designation of land to different certain uses has its differing level of return. This is called the residual value. In general the return of housing is higher than that of office space. Therefore much regeneration policy is directed towards converting business space (industrial or commercial) to residential space. In many cases therefore the mixture of land use disappears and makes place for separate, uniform spaces. The level of mix is also determined by this land politics. Further research should therefore examine the role of land use politics in mixed land use regeneration and find out what kind of intervening factor land politics exactly is. Also further research should look at the CID as a solution to such obstructive issue as residual value. The CID zone might become a 'residual value free zone'. An experiment could be conducted to look at the possibilities of such a concept.

### ***Looking at investment in broader terms***

In this research the CID concept has been a stretching out of the BID concept. In general both these concepts therefore have two essential roles: (1) providing a stable funding mechanism and (2) promoting community building. In respect to community building further research could focus on looking at the possibility of alternative ways of investment by civil society. Examples could be such things as time and effort in managing and maintaining their environment. Pilots or experiments such as those in the municipality of Leusden and Utrecht could function as trial research.

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# APPENDIX ONE

## INTERVIEWS TAKEN ON MIXED USE IN THE CITY CENTRE OF LIVERPOOL

### Interview 1

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Name: Jenny Douglas  
Organisation: Liverpool Vision  
Profile: Planning Director for the city centre within the regeneration company  
Date: Friday 5<sup>th</sup> of March  
Case: City Centre areas

This interview was an introductory interview on city centre developments and regeneration projects in general. The main conclusions of this interview are that regeneration in the city centre has been initiated by different actors in different part of the city centre. In addition, in these (re)development project mixed use is central to the strategy applied. In this respect Douglas emphasizes that mixed use in the UK is generally defined as having several uses on building level whereby the ground level is occupied by commercial use and the upper levels are occupied by residential use. Another important note is that both mixed use and city centre living are new concepts to city centre development.

### Interview 2

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Name: Gerry Proctor  
Organisation: Engage  
Profile: Chairman of the community group Engage  
Date: Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> of March,  
Case: City Centre areas

Gerry Proctor is the chairman of the community group called Engaged which represents residents of all part of the city centre. This community group essentially put forward the needs and interests of the residents in regard to the development of the city centre and makes sure that residents have a say in what happens in the area that they live. This is not only on building level in terms of service but also on area level in terms of public realm etc. The most striking conclusion of this interview is that in mot redevelopment projects the residents do not have a voice in the matter although the several initiators claim the opposite. Especially in developing city centre living and providing a mixture of uses there haven't been enough consultation and careful assessment on what is needed for (target) residents. His is largely due to the fact that the plans did not take in account the fact that residents other than young urban professionals would be attracted to the city centre. Therefore the mixture of uses is too limited not incorporating facilities such as schools, pharmacies etc. Also the apartments generally do not fit the needs of families because they are mostly one or two bedroom apartments meaning they are too small for families. Also the provision of recreational activities outdoors is very limited which limits the attractiveness of the city centre.

### Interview 3

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Name: Mark Willison  
Organisation: Engage & Reddbridge Media  
Profile: Entrepreneur and resident in the City Centre which does the webpage design for Engage  
Date: Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> of March  
Case: City Centre areas

Reddbridge Media is a company settled in the city centre which is run by Mark Willison and his partner. Being a resident and entrepreneur in the city centre, Willison talked about his experience of city centre living and working. In his experience up to the time that the community group Engage was set up there wasn't any opportunity for residents and independent businesses to have an input on the (re)development projects. His company isn't part of the BID but he isn't that sorry about that because the City Central BID in general doesn't deal with enough in-depth issues but just the basic things like CCTV and keeping the public space clean. To Willison a community group – whether residential or business led – should be about more than just such objectives adopted by the BID. Community groups

should be set up to make sure that residential and business groups can exert influence on developments in the city.

#### Interview 4

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Name: David Shaw  
Organisation: Liverpool University  
Profile: Head of the Department of Civic Design at Liverpool University.  
Date: Friday 12<sup>th</sup> of March  
Case: City Centre areas & BIDs

The interview with David Shaw was interesting because Shaw had different ideas about the issues of planning approaches. In the first place Shaw is not convinced that the failure of some spatial planning projects lies in the flaws of the planning system but rather in the fact that most people do not understand the planning system and know how to use it. Therefore the problem doesn't lie with the planning system but rather with the people who engage in planning. Another important statement is the dispute of the fact that civil society solely consists of residential communities. To Shaw business communities account for civil society just as well. It is about the people who use the space that counts, the people who work, live and play in the area that are need to seen as the civil society.

What was interesting to find out about the planning system of the UK is that there isn't such thing as the Dutch 'bestemmingsplan' in the UK. There are no such detailed and binding planning document that sets out what kind of function is allowed on a site, which combinations are permitted and where on site these developments are to take place. Planning documents produced by the government often function as guidelines and frameworks which can be interpreted in different ways by different parties.

#### Interview 5

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Name: Cindy Downing  
Organisation: Liverpool ONE  
Profile: Retail Liaison Manager of Liverpool ONE  
Date: Wednesday 17<sup>th</sup> of March  
Case: Liverpool ONE

Liverpool ONE is a major redevelopment project initiated by the public sector and implemented by the private sector. Essential to this redevelopment was the idea of creating a unique retail centre with input from several well renowned designers and architects. The project was about creating a quality that couldn't be found elsewhere. That is partly why the project is called Liverpool ONE; the project had to be unique, the only one and number one. The design of Liverpool ONE as a whole was aimed at creating a retail centre which was open and seamless connecting the surrounding parts of the city centre to each other. Liverpool ONE had to become a brand which could put Liverpool back in the running with other retail destinations. It managed to attain a spot in the top five retail destination and with that created around 5,000 jobs for local residents.

#### Interview 6

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Name: Andrew Teage  
Organisation: BDP  
Profile: Planning Director, head of Liverpool studio  
Date: Friday 19<sup>th</sup> of March  
Case: Liverpool ONE

As the key actor in developing the masterplan for the Liverpool ONE site BDP was an essential actor to speak to. Andrew Teage was able to provide a lot of insight into the strategies and visions which shaped the masterplan. Just like Downing Teage emphasizes that one of the key objective of the development was creating a connection between the city centre areas. This connection generated an upwards trend in the socio-economic structure of the city centre because it provided the accessibility needed for workers and residents to jobs and social activities. The masterplan was developed along the triple bottom-line which stands for social, economic and environmental sustainability. This meant that the strategy was not only focused on reinforcing the physical but also the social and the economic structure of the city centre. these objectives derived from the Urban Task Force report on the Urban

Renaissance which stated recommendations of sustainability conditions to which regeneration ought to be measured. One of the most important conditions was providing the redevelopment with Vistas (historical recognition points) of the 'old' city so that people could always remember that they are in Liverpool and not some new development that could be anywhere else in the world. So the heart of this redevelopment scheme was about creating a place where people feel at home and feel a sense of identity.

#### Interview 7

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Name: Christopher Lee  
Organisation: Grosvenor  
Profile: Planning Director at Grosvenor  
Date: Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> of March  
Case: Liverpool ONE

As the major property developer that invested a great deal of money in the regeneration of the Liverpool ONE site Grosvenor had the most influence on how the site was to become. Through compulsory purchase exerted by the city council Grosvenor was able to acquire the whole of the site and redevelop the site as an integrated, large scale development. In acquiring the plots on the Liverpool ONE site Liverpool City Council invoked on the 2004 Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act. This act gave Liverpool City Council the opportunity to acquire all the plots that were needed to complete this redevelopment (Downing, 2010).

In partnership with the city council and private investors such as designer companies and architects Grosvenor was able to produce the world largest regeneration project which had the success of becoming a world renowned place of regeneration. Although Grosvenor was the key actor in redeveloping the site the initiative came from the public sector which put out a tender on which private development companies could do a bit on. The reason why Grosvenor won the tender is because it had designed a plan which was seamless and different from the closed off retail centres at the outskirts of the city which were popular over the past few years. Instead this seamless development created a heart for Liverpool city centre which connects the areas of the city centre to each other.

#### Interview 8

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Name: Julie Risely  
Organisation: Iliad Group  
Profile: PR employee at the property development company Iliad Group  
Date: Wednesday 7<sup>th</sup> of April  
Case: Ropewalks

After the initiatives of Urban Splash in the Ropewalks area, the area became very popular for investment. The attention for regeneration of the City Council was directed towards this area and resulted in the formulation of a masterplan for the area. With this masterplan the area got the prospect of becoming a strategic area in the future development of the city centre. Therefore Iliad Group got involved in regeneration projects in the Ropewalks which were mainly focused on creating mixed use buildings in restored Georgian warehouses. Mixed use is important because that is the reason why people live in the city centre in the first place. It means having uses right next to each other which makes an area attractive to locate for businesses as well as residents.

#### Interview 9

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Name: Paul Rice  
Organisation: CDP  
Profile: Chief Executive of the Commercial District Partnership  
Date: Wednesday 24<sup>th</sup> of March  
Case: Commercial District

The CDP is a private initiated limited company by guarantee which has four themes which it deals with in the Commercial District area: (1) environment & security, (2) transport & movement, (3) development and (4) marketing & communications. Within these themes the emphasis is on place-making and creating a sense of community for businesses as well as for residents. In creating such

communities mixed use plays an essential role. Mixed use creates a 16 hour vibrancy which improves a district in terms of safety, attractiveness and identity. The fact that the partnership is a private initiative which is able to reach the city council with proposals provides the communities with trust that they have a voice in the place they live, work or play in. Without the involvement of Liverpool Vision as a bridge to the city council much of the strategic developments were not able to be implemented as well as they have been so far. Unfortunately a private partnership such as this is dependent on voluntary contribution which endangers its sustainability in the future. Therefore the partnership has to hand in some of its autonomy to the city council so that it can become a BID which through levy payments provides more sustainability and prevents free riding. Also the general belief is that community partnership which start off as a BID in the first place does not reach further than dealing with cleaning up the public realm and making sure the streets are safe.

#### Interview 10

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Name: Ged Gibbons  
Organisation: City Central BID  
Profile: BID manager  
Date: Wednesday 24<sup>th</sup> of March  
Case: City Central BID

Although the BID is considered here as a civil initiative because of the creation of a business community which work together to improve their area, a BID – and this one in particular – is not per definition an initiative of the civil society. The City Central BID is set up through the initiative of the local authorities and is to this day on funded by public sector money. This gives the local authority a lot of power over what the BID does. Essentially the BID is about four key themes: clean, green, safe and animated. It's about making sure the public realm is of high quality, the streets are safe and people are attracted to come work or visit the area.

# APPENDIX TWO

## INTERVIEWS TAKEN ON THE APPLICABILITY OF A CID IN THE SLACHTHUISBUURT ZAAANSTAD

### Interview 11

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Name: Erik Boogaard  
Organisation: Municipality of Zaanstad  
Profile: Project leader of the neighbourhood management team  
Date: Thursday 8<sup>h</sup> of July  
Case: Slachthuisbuurt Zaanstad

In the case of the revitalization plans for the Slachthuisbuurt Zaanstad City Council has taken an exceptional role of “management from a distance”. This meant that the city council did not engage in the revitalization scheme at first hand but merely functioned as a coordinator between actors and filled a facilitating role rather than a leading role. The initiative for the plans came from property owners (in this case housing associations) because the Slachthuisbuurt wasn't a priority area for the city council. The biggest role of the city council was to set the preconditions which the plan had to meet like taking into account the environmental issues, providing enough facilities and uses in which the main objective is to maintain the original sense of mixed use (housing, businesses and education). Eventually the plan failed to be executed because of lack of financial investment and the irresolvable conflict between the plans and the environmental issues raised by local industries. The network in itself was well organized involving the needs of residents as well as businesses. A CID could mean a solution to these issues but its success relies on: the sense of necessity amongst local residents and businesses, initiative from residents and businesses and a background role for the city council, interest have to set out clear and aligned with each other and most importantly the investment structure has to be very clear for every member.

### Interview 12

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Name: Barend Jonker  
Organisation: Kristal Development Company  
Profile: Development manager  
Date: Thursday 15<sup>h</sup> of July  
Case: Slachthuisbuurt Zaanstad

The development company works as a separate external department of the housing association ZVH and organises the spatial development strategies for the housing association. The masterplan was set up in cooperation between housing associations and commercial developers which functioned as an independent partnership with a long term vision with a broad perspective for development. The consortium functioned as an intermediary between at the one side the businesses, residents and private developers and at the other side the city council. According to Kristal Development Company the failure of the execution of the masterplan was mainly due to the conflict between the industries which produced environmental hazards and plans of the consortium. This in its turn meant a great financial investment risk which in addition to the economic crisis led to a lack of investment capacity. The consortium believes that this conflict had to be resolved by the city council but instead the city council played a passive role. A CID is a possibility to improve the success of the plans in terms of creating greater commitment and support. But in terms of an investment mechanism to resolve the lack of investment a CID would be difficult to implement because of the complicated financing structure it would entail. Important in the vision of the consortium was the role of mixed land use to reinforce the local identity.

## Interview 13

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Name: F. Onrust  
Organisation: Community Group Slachthuisbuurt  
Profile: Chairman of the community group  
Date: Tuesday 20<sup>h</sup> of July  
Case: Slachthuisbuurt Zaanstad

Residents within the Slachthuisbuurt have always been actively involved with spatial developments within the area. To make the representation of residents more stable they created a network within a board which represented and clearly voiced the needs of the residents. The board functions as a successful intermediary between residents and the city council. The residents feel that the cooperation with the city council is often quite difficult because of the obstructive nature of the institutional framework and the long procedures which shape all developments within the Netherlands. For this very reason it would be difficult to implement a CID because residents and businesses do not have the time or patience to go through all the procedures and 'bestemmingsplannen'. In addition most residents believe that the city council is responsible to invest in public space through taxes that residents pay. An additional investment amongst residents would be considered ridiculous. Also in order to make a CID work the structure should be well laid out for every involved actor. For residents this would soon become a too complicated structure to deal with next to their daily activities. Also up to now the city council and the consortium has been very open to suggestions presented by the residents' board in relation to the revitalization scheme. A more binding cooperation would therefore seem unnecessary.

## Interview 14

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Name: Martijn Jonker  
Organisation: Chamber of Commerce Amsterdam region  
Profile: Senior Advisor  
Date: Tuesday 20<sup>h</sup> of July  
Case: Slachthuisbuurt Zaanstad

According to the Chamber of Commerce – which actively represented needs of the local businesses – businesses were the underdog within the masterplan. The masterplan was not seen as an integrated plan which considered the development of housing and businesses equally. The responsibility to make the plans more integrated is seen to lay at the city council. The city council was expected to play a more active role in coordinating the needs of all parties. Much scepticism is put against the implementation of a CID because of several issues. First of all businesses are already willing to invest in their surrounding environment without an obligatory setting such as a CID. Secondly, the interests and investment capacity of businesses and residents are much too diverse to incorporate within such a mechanism. And last but most importantly, the institutional framework in the Netherlands is much too complicated and obstructive in nature for businesses to be willing to engage proactively in spatial development. These points of scepticism also reflect the disbelief in the success of the masterplan. Most of the property is owned by the housing associations which limits the willingness for businesses to invest in the environment. Also the plans were focused on increasing the volume of mixed land use in the area through spatially mixing of uses on street level as well as on building level. The chamber of commerce strongly doubts the success of mixing land uses because of the diverging needs of different uses. They believe that each use should have its own space to grow.

# APPENDIX THREE

## SWOT-ANALYSES OF THE CASE STUDY IN ZAAINSTAD

*Box six: SWOT-analysis of the Slachthuisbuurt redevelopment by the consortium*

### **Strengths**

- High level of active involvement of civil society (residents and businesses)
- Free from restrictive guidelines and recommendations stated by the government (city council)
- Attempt to contribute to the employment rates as well as the housing demand of Zaanstad
- Close to the identity of Zaanstad (mix of living and working)
- Great attention for the public realm
- Long term vision

### **Weaknesses**

- No clear roles defined for partners, city council and civil society
- No major private investment possibilities; high financial risk profile
- Freedom for freeloaders to profit from investments
- Major reliance on voluntary member investment and involvement
- Restrictive institutional setting ('bestemmingsplan')
- No feeling of an integrated vision for housing and business; a strong housing point of view

### **Opportunities**

- Limited role of the city council
- Expansion of a contractual partnership with the residents community and businesses
- Creating sustainability through adopting a CID structure
- Small scale economic activities (creative crafts industries; doers instead of the thinkers)
- High level of local support
- Mixture of uses, great level of diversity
- Relatively cheap property near the capital city Amsterdam
- Better defined coordinating and facilitating role for the city council

### **Threats**

- Environmental issues with mixing land uses
- High financial risk profile
- Organization of different interests