APRI Lab
Action Oriented Research
on Planning, Regulation and Investment Dilemmas
in a Living Lab Experience

Deliverable 1.2

CASES DESCRIPTION
Preliminary exploration
of case selection

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Cases description

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The case studies of APRILab

Introduction

The JPI Urban Europe research project ‘APRILab’ focuses on planning dilemmas for the transformation of city areas in the urban fringe. In this Working Document we describe the case studies selected by the involved partners:

- Aalto University, Finland: T3 in Espoo City
- Aalborg University, Denmark: South Harbour, Copenhagen; Aalborg East, Aalborg
- Amsterdam University, The Netherlands: IJburg and Overamstel, Amsterdam

In this introductory section, we first briefly describe the criteria for selecting the case studies. We finish off by thanking the respective national research councils for giving us the opportunity to pursue this important research agenda.

Selection criteria

The first case study criterion is that the cases selected are to be located in the urban fringe. The urban fringe denotes urban areas between the city core and the countryside. This criterion is based on the argument that it is in the urban fringe that the planning dilemmas are most complex due to the involved number of stakeholders.

The second case study criterion is that each partner is to select two cases in the urban fringe: one brownfield case and one suburban case. This criterion is based on the argument that these types of areas are some of the most recurrent in contemporary urban planning.

The third case study criterion is that a transformation process is already running in the urban fringe. This criterion is based on the argument that there has to be some substantial material available to research in the three years that the APRILab project is running. And second, that the important interaction between researchers and end-users (i.e. the Urban Living Lab) is made possible.

The fourth case study criterion is that the selected cases are supposed to have a history going back to 1980. This criterion is based on the argument that it has to be possible to relate the shifting planning intentions to the present processes of transformation.

The fifth case study criterion is that the selected cases are supposed to have a collaborative dimension. The cases represent the involvement of a number of actors from different societal sectors as one of both enabling and constraining factors in today’s urban planning. Examples of these are private-public-(people) partnerships, collaborative investment structures, involvement of citizen groups and NGO’s in parts of the planning process, multi-level governance and
legislative structures, etc. This criterion is based on the core APRILab hypothesis: that the overall planning dilemma in contemporary urban planning in the urban fringe circles around the tension between self-organization and control. By having cases with a collaborative dimension it is ensured that the challenges of involving numerous stakeholders in urban planning can be thoroughly brought to the fore, described and analysed.

Acknowledgements

Finally, the partners of APRILab would like to thank the JPI Urban Europe as well as the respective national research councils for coordinating and financing this research project. The national research councils are DCSR (The Danish Council for Strategic Research), NWO (The Netherlands), TÜBITAK (Turkey) and Tekes (Finnish national funding agency for Technology and Innovation).
Finland: T3 in Espoo City

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Background of urban development in the T3 district – scales, places and stages in flux

T3 is an urban development project which comprises transcalar urban processes from global and national level to grass root neighbourhoods. Currently, urban development is reaching a completely new level in the Helsinki Metropolitan Region. The demographic change of the metropolitan region has forced municipalities to initiate large scale development processes. They have launched housing projects in several new areas, invested massively in public transportation based on railroad and metro extensions, and competed fiercely on enterprices, often a lot by a lot. The Helsinki Metropolitan Region includes the urban core of Helsinki surrounded by sub-urban municipalities of Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen. In addition to them, there are eight other municipalities, commuter-based and highly dependent on the three largest cities in the region.

The City of Espoo is a former rural and suburban municipality which gained city rights in 1972. In a few decades, it became a successful urban city attracting both affluent dwellers and enterprises of high technology and research and development, but also manufacturing, and commercial services. Espoo is known for urban sprawl, to the stage in which Espoo has been called as a network city. There are several sub-centers in Espoo, all distinguished by their functions and facilities. Motorways separate neighbourhoods from each other and building density is low. Public transportation has been good, but mostly oriented to reach Helsinki city center (Maisala, 2008; Alppi & Ylä-Anttila, 2009).

1 In order to understand the patterns of the T3 case, it is necessary to take a look at the wider economic and demographic change in Finland. The nation has gone through a major structural and regional change in three waves. The first one took off after the II World War, the second in the 1970’s and the third one after the great economic depression in the 1990’s. Currently, we are witnessing the fourth wave. Global economic transformation is slagging down established sectors of economy and initiating new ones (Schulman & Mäenpää, 2011). Also the demographic change is a crucial factor, the absolute numbers of working aged population is diminishing, but especially the regional division is highly unbalanced. Every fifth person in Finland lives in the Helsinki Metropolitan Region, and the number is growing vigorously by any estimation. This regional and demographic change has influenced the development of urban culture in Finland (Mäenpää, 2011; Kortteinen & Vaattovaara, 2007; Kortteinen & al, 1999). The urban living environment is appreciated more than ever, not only in the city center but also in gentrifying old suburbs. The concept of living is changing and local identities are more urban than before. In one word, new kind of urban culture is emerging (Mäenpää, 2011; Kopomaa, 2011).
Figure 1. T3 district. On the top, the T3 case study located in the Helsinki Metropolitan Region. On the bottom map, T3 urban development project comprising a new metro line (the orange line) and more than 10 urban planning initiatives (marked in yellow). The estimated value of investments in the T3 is over 5.8 billion euros. (Sources: Google, City of Espoo)
During past ten years, Espoo has made explicit policies and grand scale investments to change this picture. One of them is the extension of the metro line from Helsinki to Espoo. The metro is estimated to begin to operate in 2015. The metro, together with a new railroad initiative (called Raide-Jokeri) and a new bus system, will bring a backbone to a less car dependent urban fabric. Yet there will be another effect as new transportation system demands densification of the urban structure. Old housing areas will receive infill development, closely targeted to the metro station surroundings. The new housing areas will support much higher building rights and mix-used spaces for work, leisure and services (City Planning Department, 2013).

T3 is only one of the urban development initiatives of Espoo, but a very distinctive one. It is obvious, when looking at the name of the project. T3 is a fluid acronym used widely in the fields of medicine, transportation and technology. Officially in the Espoo, T3 refers to the three Finnish words meaning economy, science and art, corresponding to the existing areas in the district: Keilaniemi is a business park for technology industry. It houses the headquarters of Nokia, Kone and Rovio (the company that created Angry Birds). Otaniemi is known for the Aalto University Campus along with other nationally important technological research and development institutions. Tapiola equals art because it is the main cultural center in Espoo and a landmark of Finnish sub-urban architecture (Figure 2.).
T3 will reflect and simultaneously steer urban change of Espoo. The metro will land there first. It is a place where established city structures and innovation policies will be fortified by merging new transportation solutions and infill buildings with innovation initiatives that seek to attract high end corporations of business and science.

The urban transformation has begun and will continue until the early 2020’s. It takes place in different stages. The old garden city of Tapiola (left, in the Figure 2.) is already under renewal and it is transforming into a commercial and cultural center with a new scale and new urban design. The city of Espoo runs the development company that is in charge of the planning and development of Tapiola. The local inhabitants and entrepreneurs receive all planning information and negotiation openings through this company. The situation is quite different in Keilaniemi (right). The development takes place on top of the current motorway and some of the privately owned lots by the sea shore. This process is more investor-lead than any other part in T3. The pace of urban development has been slowest in the neighbourhood of Otaniemi, the home of Aalto University and several research institutes and SMEs. The change has started there too with an architecture competition on a new campus building and with several detail plans. However, the master plan of the campus is still under negotiation, even if major decisions such as the transportation profile of the area have been done. There are many reasons for this, especially the vast number of stakeholders and possible investors, but also university bureaucracy and the organizational change that the university has been under for the past years.

In the next chapter, we will take a closer look at the issues of the APRILab assignment. Through them we reflect on the process, participants and practices of urban development in the T3 district.

The planning, regulations and investment dilemma of T3

According to the preliminary state of the art, the T3 district seems to support the qualities of both area categories. It is a post-industrial regeneration area by nature. It is a typical case of urban re-development and restructuring of existent artifacts in urban space. It is characterized by emptiness and demand for novel purpose for motorways and university campus surrounded by green fields and forest. T3 is one of the most industrialized areas in Finland, and under heavy economic transformation, when some companies of global ranking are failing and new ones gaining theirs in a new sector of economy. In addition, there are objectives of preservation of existent structures and plans of multiple land usages.

However, T3 is such vast initiative that is contains also suburban densification, targeted to mix residential and office space. There are planning cases that pursuit this in all areas of T3. Within the pattern of urban change and densification the socio-demographic change will be obvious, at least by numbers.
When analyzing the current planning documents, one can read many complexities in urban development of the T3 district. All the dilemmas are substantial in the case study area (Table 1).

Table 1. Analysis of T3 according to the APRILab themes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regulation dilemma</th>
<th>Planning dilemma</th>
<th>Investment dilemma</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Investor orientated planning culture of the City of Espoo. Even the most important planning initiatives take years to proceed (For example, the metro extension was planned for decades)</td>
<td>- Lack of coordination between investors and project initiatives. The City of Espoo used the metro and Tapiola as incentives, but necessary resourcing for coordination is missing in other T3 areas. This is likely to improve in near future.</td>
<td>- High expectations, total amount of investments (5.8 billion euros), depend on the financial situation which does not look good on a national and global level in near future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Rigid and non-supportive regulation system that might slow down the pace of the urban development, or even lead into failures in planning and investments.</td>
<td>- In Otaniemi, the campus of Aalto University does not have a masterplan that supports T3. Instead, there are several detail plans going on in different stages. This complicates not only participation and decision-making but also strategically sound planning.</td>
<td>- The success of large infrastructure investments steer the overall development of T3. For example the tunnel system to cover the motorway separating Tapiola from Otaniemi is still under negotiation. Also metro stations and their surroundings as well as high rise buildings will have a large effect on urban space and to the future interest to invest in to the area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- There is no place for self-organizing groups in Finnish planning system, no actual governance models to take in use. There are a multitude of participants and other stakeholders with interest and capabilities to make an input into the planning and building of T3. For example, there are residents, employees of the companies, customers of the business and commercial services, researchers and scientists, students, NGOs etc. The current land use agreements, planning reservations and life cycle investment models do not support their involvement.</td>
<td>- The development in Keilaniemi was less open to public. As a business park, the main challenge is to create functioning public spaces between privately owned real estates.</td>
<td>- Lack of planning resources to respond to the high profile vision for the T3 district.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The ambition, transparency and complexity related to the T3 district would require stronger regulation enabled by the Finnish planning law.</td>
<td>- In Tapiola, the totally new urban design might challenge the appreciated urban landscape and cultural heritage.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- A long development procedure will demand its losses. It likely that some parts of T3 remain undeveloped for some time, on the others the transformation takes time and creates aspirations for re-development.</td>
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</table>
However, when taking a look at the planning practices, there are prospects of resolving these dilemmas.

a) How are the selected dilemmas addressed in the practice of urban development in the T3 district?

All the enlisted dilemmas are acknowledged by Espoo City, the main landowners, current developing companies and other stakeholders of the T3 district. The Espoo City Planning Department is an agile provider of planning procedures. They have a close connection to the City Planning Council which is the major vision-maker and networker as well as decision-maker in the T3 district. Within this axis, political and professional endeavors intertwine and make a strong pair to negotiate with land-owners and developing companies. Only the connection to citizens, residents and actual users of the T3 has been loosely connected. This due to the national planning system, and the better practices have been under construction. Participatory planning and co-design have taken long leaps in the past years. The means to inform citizens about the urban planning procedures are better than ever. The city planning web pages give a good example of this. The capabilities of civil servants to meet participants seem remarkably good. They have professional skills to execute participatory processes and lenses to see potential, often dispersed, self-organizing action groups. Also, there seems to be a genuine interest in user-driven urban development – not only among the city officials, but also among land-owners, such as Aalto University and the developing companies.

b) How does the negotiation of each dilemma affect the others

Like Table 1 implies, the dilemma of planning is very much entwined to dilemma of investment and regulation. The role of negotiation is ambivalent in actual problem solving. The genuine interest in participatory planning is not sufficient in the rigid urban planning system. There is very little space for actual participatory processes. The city officials will do their best to favor multiple and strong stakeholders which have been encouraged to take action, but they need to advance case by case, often in a very late stage on a real estate level. These collaborative and somewhat self-organizing groups are found in Aalto Campus area in Otaniemi and in Keilaniemi (University, major corporation headquarters, student unions etc.). Visionary ideas are presented, but the initiative is still left to other stakeholders which have very little capabilities to make official partnerships that would lead into long, professional-led planning procedures. As the regulations give little space, and the investment potential of self-organizing groups varies from dim to nothing, the planning dilemma stays prevailing. All the three dilemmas merge together into a multi-faceted “wicked problem”.

c) In what way and through which settings can daily negotiation practices of the different tensions be scaled-up into learning practices of co-production in planning?

Besides coordination resources, new tools, provided by research, are needed:

1. for grasping conceptually the problem at hand (e.g. ‘institutional ambiguity’, double bind theory?)
2. for mapping conceptually the existing T3 activities, projects and initiatives (e.g. transcalarity?)
3. for enabling the strategic coordination of T3 activities (e.g. strategic incrementalism, co-governance?)
4. for providing conceptual and material coordination platforms for the different actors (e.g. living lab, trading zone, community informatics, ABE lab).

**Implementation of APRILab in T3**

Aalto University has begun the action research in May by making enquiries during the gathering of planning documents. These negotiations revealed that there are several participating groups suitable for APRILab experimentation, especially in Otaniemi and Keilaniemi. These groups are:

- Stakeholders of land use planning at Aalto Campus
- Investors and developers of Hagalund motorway tunnel
- Student –led initiatives of co-produced and shared public outdoor environment at metro stations in Keilaniemi and Otaniemi
- Multistakeholder initiative of real estate development at Urban Mill
- Multistakeholder initiative of real estate development Tietomiehenkortteli
- School and department-led initiative for research environment ABE
- School and department-led initiative for Library of AALTO ARTS

This is a tentative list. New planning initiatives and participants are welcome to join APRILab until the end of 2013.

**Main sources**


Denmark: South Harbour in Copenhagen, Aalborg East in Aalborg

By Jesper Rohr Hansen
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Introduction: The Danish Cases

In this section follows a description of the two cases from Denmark. First a brown field case in The City of Copenhagen – the South Harbour neighbourhood. Second a suburban case from the City of Aalborg – the Aalborg East District. The description of the cases is structured as follows: first a general description of the background for the urban development. Next, a general description of the case, and thirdly a preliminary description concerning what the planning dilemmas are in each case.

South Harbour: Description of the metropolitan region

The City of Copenhagen is the capital in Denmark, with a population of 562,379 in habitants in 2013. The city is the center of a larger metropolitan region, consisting of 28 municipalities, which has a population of 1,950,522 (1 January 2013). This description of the metropolitan region follows the strategic development of the so called ‘Finger Plan’, in which the most intense scarlet areas symbolises the ‘palm’ of the metropolitan hand, i.e. the most intense urban area of the region, whereas the fingers denotes the outer areas of the metropolitan region:

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Short description of the City, its challenges and its overall strategies

The City of Copenhagen has as its overall strategy levels the Municipal Plan, which is typically redefined every fourth year. The present municipal plan is from 2011, the title being ‘Green Growth and the Quality of Life.’ The main aim of the municipal plan is to manage a population increase which is estimated as 637,000 by 2025, requiring the making of 45,000 new homes. Another main aim is to create economic growth in the transnational ‘Øresund Region’, with Copenhagen Municipality on the Danish side and The City of Malmö on the Swedish side of the border. Other keywords are to:

- Increase the quality of urban life for citizens
- To increase the employment in Copenhagen by creating 20,000 new jobs, which requires an annual growth of 5%
- To create growth based on sustainable solutions, having the ambition that the City is supposed to be CO2-neutral in 2025
- Optimization of infrastructure in the city and in the region, by investing in a Metro and a Harbour Tunnel, the aim being that more people are to use public transportation and move by bike
- Finally, to administratively create a focus in the city development by selecting eight city areas in which plans are made for

Much of the ambition behind the municipal plan is drawn from the Copenhagen Tale³, approved of in the city council of Copenhagen. Here the

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³https://subsite.kk.dk/sitecore/content/Subsites/CityOfCopenhagen/SubsiteFrontpage/Business/Growth_and_partnerships/Strategy/municipal_plan.aspx
²http://subsite.kk.dk/sitecore/content/Subsites/KP11/SubsiteFrontpage/GroenVaekstOgLivskvalitet.aspx
two main strategic challenges are first of all how to maintain and develop Copenhagen’s position as one of the best cities to live in. And second, how to create increased growth in terms of knowledge, innovation and employment. The existing Lord Mayor has as one of his main political goals to create growth. In an article, the Lord Mayor states that Denmark is hit by a growth crisis, and that there is a need for the Danish municipalities to create this growth. As such, there is a paradox for Copenhagen City in that the city is a champion when it comes to life quality, but is performing unsatisfactory when it comes to create growth.6

As a consequence of the above vision and strategy for Copenhagen City, the main implementation tool is the Development Plans, in which areas for development are selected on a running basis. The map below shows some of the existing Development Plans. One of these is the area D, the district of South Harbour.

**Figure 4. Existing Development Plans in Copenhagen.**

The Brownfield Case: The South Harbour Neighbourhood

The South Harbour can be regarded as being part of a heterogeneous city district that consists of two other neighbourhoods, Kgs.-Enghave and Vesterbro. Geographically and historically, South Harbour is mostly connected to the old blue-collar neighbourhood of Kgs. Engave. These two neighbourhoods are very different: South Harbour is a growth area on the east side, having the current attention of developers and municipal plans. In contrast, Kgs. Enghave is an area characterised by non-growth and social

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problems on the west side. Physically, the two neighbourhoods are divided by a large road which provides access from the city to the highway. South Harbour is a former brownfield with a past of shipyard industry with access to a harbour environment. As such, the neighbourhood of Kgs. Enghave was the place where the workers employed in the harbour industries lived. This harbour area is increasingly being developed and made attractive by private landowners, developers and the municipality. Many new attractive dwellings have been built close to the water, and development plans have been approved off to further develop parts of this brownfield area. Kgs. Enghave is an area marked by a rich history of being a district for the working class. However, the area is also characterised by social problems and is by The City of Copenhagen identified as one out of six disadvantaged areas. In the past, the municipality has tried to develop this part of the city district by large scale area based programs, but with no enduring success. Many stakeholders in the Kgs. Enhave have in the past, since the development of the eastern part of South Harbour in 2002, been giving voice to their frustration concerning the fact that massive investments are being launched on the east side of the road, whereas the inhabitants on the west are being forgotten. As such, the South Harbour is a neighbourhood in a city district with many political conflict lines concerning identity, physical diversion and fragmentation, and political and investment attention.

Both areas in the city district of Kgs. Enghave/Vesterbro thus have their own separate problems. The overall challenge for the municipality and local stakeholders in the entire city district in the long perspective is to develop one overall strategic response which is able to deal with these separate, but interrelated problems. To date, this strategy has not been developed, but municipality and private landowners and developers provide important elements for such a strategy by focusing on developing South Harbour.

The challenges for South Harbour thus are:

1. To finish the development in the neighbourhood. This development was severely paused as a consequence of the recession.
2. To develop a neighbourhood which internally is better integrated in relation to infrastructure and use of public facilities and services
3. To develop a neighbourhood which externally is better connected to the surrounding city, especially to the other areas in the city district

These are challenges that are recognized and dealt with by major stakeholders: the municipality and private landowners and developers.

The first challenge for the development of South Harbour is to finish what was started before the recession. The development along the harbour front put an end to the construction of new dwelling and basic service and shopping infrastructure, such as a local school for the new inhabitants, day care institutions and groceries. The second challenge in this strategy is to develop a city district which is better integrated. As can be seen for the action plans for the South Harbour, the main challenge is to enable mobility across the roads with heavy traffic. This would enable stakeholders from both Kgs. Enghave and South Harbour to exploit the possibilities that the growth area generates.
for the entire district. First of all, to create a more thriving shopping environment on the east side that is able to provide basic services for the new industries and the new inhabitants, such as students. Second, to enable better access from the west side to the east side in order to exploit the recreational facilities along the harbour.

The third challenge is to develop a city district which externally is better connected to the surrounding city. Being a former industrial area characterised by heavy trafficked roads, the new inhabitants are in need of paths, bridges and public transportation that connects the district to other attractive parts of the city, such as green recreation facilities on the other side of the harbour, as well as access to a mall as well as to more urbanized neighbourhoods.

An additional strategic challenge is how to deal with the social problems in the non-growth part of the district. This is another type of challenge than the former three. The former three challenges have been responded to by means of the Focused City Development approach, as described in the introduction above. The fourth challenge has not yet been responded to by means of budgets. However, an ambitious ‘Policy for Disadvantaged Areas’ has been approved of. For each disadvantaged area, Development Plans are developed with the aim that in 2020 the areas will be on the same level concerning education, health, leisure satisfaction etc. as in the rest of the city.

In the future, windows of opportunity may thus emerge that can energize a process that may lead to an overall strategic response to the joint problems of the city district of Kgs. Enghave and South Harbour. First of all, Aalborg University and small companies have recently been moving in on the eastside, giving a daily flow of around 3,000 students and employees. This may generate a push towards a more urbanized environment. Second, the state and municipality are in mid-2013 engaged in negotiations concerning whether the on-going Metro-construction should be extended to the South Harbour. This would likewise make the area more attractive due to the easy and fast access to the surrounding city.

**General data of South Harbour Neighbourhood**

In 1998 the work with developing a plan for South Harbour was initiated. This was done in cooperation between municipality and the major landowners in the area: NCC Danmark, MTHøjgaard, PFA-Ejendomme, C.W.Obel and Københavns Havn. The Local Plan 310, called ‘Teglværkshavnen’, in English ‘Brick Work Harbour’ was approved in 1999. The intention with the local plan is to create a zoning from the industrial area around a power plant (H.C. Ørsted Værket), the heavily trafficked roads, to areas with mixed business to the integrated dwelling and service areas in the southern part of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the local plan describes the necessity of infrastructure to integrate the area in terms of roads and a bridge connection across the docks, as well as the establishment of green areas and boardwalks. Further, an ambition is to reduce congestion problems and to secure a connection to the dwellings in the neighbourhood of Kgs. Enghave (Lokalplan 310 1&2, 2004).

In 2001 the South Harbour is in the municipal plan selected as a focus area for dwellings and exploitation of recreational potential near the harbour. As such,
the South Harbour was part of implementing the Housing Political Strategy Plan’ being part of the municipal plan, in which it was the ambition that a huge part of the old business- and harbour areas in South Harbour was selected as focus area. The Dutch architect firm Soeters Van Eldonck Ponec Architecten developed a comprehensive plan in June 2000, that draws on inspirations from the ‘Java Island’ and the ‘Borneo Island’ in Amsterdam.

In 2002/2003 the municipal committees initiated the work for developing a local plan for first phase of the development of South Harbour, which is the northern part of one of the southern areas, ‘Sluseholmen’. In this new area, the distribution between dwelling- and business construction is 70/30, in which there is a focus on creating a family friendly dwelling environment, with the purpose that cultural, public and audience-oriented functions are an integral part of the area. As such, the ambition with the comprehensive plan is to transform an earlier industrial area into a neighbourhood with mixed housing and business. As such, there is much attention on reducing noise from industry in the area as well as industrial pollution.

In the comprehensive plan from 2001 for the entire South Harbour, the purpose is to use the neighbourhood as an important part of Copenhagen City’s housing policy. In overall, the potential for the area is 500,000 m2 dwellings, as well as business and municipal facilities for jointly 190,000 m2, as well as parking basements on 95,000 m2.

The main challenge at this point in time was that the South Harbour was a low status area, in which no one wanted to live. As such, the purpose of the first phase, the development of Sluseholmen, was to kick start the transformation of South Harbour.

In order to ensure that developers wanted to contribute, The City of Copenhagen together with the company Copenhagen Harbour A/S formed a land development company. These two stakeholders thus shared the risk. It also sent a signal to developers, that the comprehensive plan would provide the foundation for future development. This was an important signal for developers, who otherwise would have no incentive to build unless the entire development plan was to be implemented. 150 social housing dwellings were used as an ice breaker to initiate the construction of privately owned dwellings. Furthermore, the municipality guaranteed for investors to establish an infrastructure of public services in terms of a day care institution, a school, and a harbour bath. The day care institution was initiated to begin with, whereas the school is supposed to be finished in 2013 and the harbour bath in 2011.

During the economic boom investors were interested in joining the project, and there was a demand for places to invest in, in places where it could happen fast, such as in Sluseholmen. As a consequence of the emerging recession, the construction of buildings dampened after 2007, which blocked for the construction of the school. As such, the development of the entire area was stopped as a consequence of the recession. And there have been concerns of whether the public service level was adequate in the area (institutions, schooling, culture-and leisure facilities, roads etc.).
In 2013, the City of Copenhagen estimates that there is living about 5,000 people in South Harbour, and that this number will increase in 2025 to about 15,000. 1/3 of the area is developed. The area boosts around 14,625 jobs, mainly in the IT- and telecommunication-business. Furthermore, Aalborg University has placed many of its Copenhagen-activities in a campus-area as well. It is estimated that there is investment opportunities for about 650,000 m² dwellings, and 400,000 m² business.

Challenges in relation to APRILab dilemmas

**Intervention dilemma**

**Risk taking and driving the process:** In this project the municipality and Copenhagen Harbour A/S had to share the risk and invest much political capital in order to create the recognizable signal for developers – that the municipality was adamant on implementing the entire comprehensive plan. This combination necessarily makes the planning process rigid at the cost of flexibility.

**Service provision and public facilities:** In transforming the area into a mixed neighbourhood suitable for families, the municipality had to guarantee the provision of services and basic infrastructure in the area. However, this guarantee only made sense on the basis of the predicted foresight concerning population increase and construction rate. As a consequence of the recession, the provision of basic services in the area has been lacking. Furthermore, this uncertainty concerning the future development of the neighbourhood also impedes the making of public facilities, such as places to meet in the neighbourhood.

**Housing policy:** The area is supposed to be one of the main sites for housing construction in order to satisfy the housing policy ambitions in The City of Copenhagen. As a consequence of the recession, this is not possible.

**Connectivity and identity:** Some parts of the area are attractive with high design standards. However, the area both internally and externally has a challenge of connectivity. In this respect there is a challenge of to which degree the South Harbour should be integrated with the surrounding city, especially to the rest of the district, such as Kgs. Enghave. And to what extent the neighbourhood is supposed to be self-sufficient with services, culture-and leisure facilities etc.

**Regulation dilemma**

**Design regulations:** Much of the design regulations originate from the comprehensive plan developed around 2000, in which there are strict demands concerning use of materials and the high quality of buildings. In the long run, the strict design regulations could result in an image frozen in time. As such the neighbourhood may have challenges concerning sustainability in terms of attractiveness, enforced by the fact that the area to date is somewhat of an isolated neighbourhood, mainly accessible by car.
**Business zoning:** In the plans for the area there are several constrains concerning the size of businesses in the area. This could be a problem concerning the trade-off between residential and business-area.

**Noise regulation:** In the past, noise has been a trouble from surrounding industries. This generates problems concerning how to handle this interface between residential area and industry. Furthermore, to a minor extent, this issue is also related to the surrounding areas of dense traffic infrastructure that surrounds the area. As the population increases, problems with congestion and pollution could turn into a political issue.

**Investment dilemma**

**Income rate:** The municipal has large investments in the area concerning institutions, schooling and infrastructure. The economic balance of the project hinges on whether the forecasts of new inhabitants and further constructions are satisfied. Issues of who to finance the costly bridges to make connections to the other parts of the city district is likewise an issue, in that the municipality cannot finance this by itself.

**Large-scale development:** most plots are owned by few and large landowners, making the creative use of the existing facilities and former industrial buildings difficult, in that the development of these plots are put on hold until the housing market is booming again. As such, the area due to this investment and land owner structure may suffer from problems of rigidity concerning the temporary use of empty facilities.

**Aalborg East: Description of the metropolitan region**

Aalborg East is part of Aalborg Municipality. The city of Aalborg has around 200,000 inhabitants. It plays a key role as the main city for the northern region in Denmark, being the most powerful growth centre in a part of Denmark in which the outskirts are having many financial and demographic challenges as a part of a new wave of urbanization. The City of Aalborg has since the mid-80’s been mainly known for its industry, its port operations, its cement factoring, and Aalborg University. Aalborg is transforming into a knowledge city. The last 10-15 years much building activity has been going on in Aalborg. Industries have moved out, giving room for a number of major restructuring projects, especially concerning the urban waterfronts and other transformations of industrial sites.

**Short description of the City, its challenges and its overall strategies**

The City of Aalborg in 2011 approved of a planning strategy which focuses on collaboration across public and private interests and investments. These collaborations are intended to enhance the city’s growth axe, its infrastructure, developing a certain attractiveness inspired by landscape and nature, and to offer a variety of attractive neighbourhood areas. One of the main challenges is the large suburban area located in the east-southeast part of the city, called Aalborg East (Aalborg Øst). In order to inspire the strategic plan for the entire AAU East, the City participated in a national campaign launched by a large fund (Realdania) – ‘Suburbs of the Future’. This campaign ended out with
Aalborg East being one out of seven cases that is supposed to be a part of the second, new campaign, ‘Kick starting the Suburb - version 2.0’. Here, the seven winner proposals (two for Aalborg East) are supposed to be further qualified by the relevant municipalities and stakeholders in order to initiate a change in the specific suburb. Another reason for the increased focus on suburbs is a national agenda, in which the national Nature Agency, The Ministry of Environment and the fund Realdania have made a ‘Think Tank of Suburbs’.

The suburban case of Aalborg East: Massive investments, fragmented functions

Aalborg East is a truly large and heterogeneous neighbourhood. The area has 21,000 inhabitants, 14,000 jobs and 11,000 students. The area has an international vein due to the presence of Aalborg University, many ethnic citizens and businesses. The area has a mix of educational facilities, industry, business, jobs in the knowledge economy, public service functions and large residential areas.

Figure 5: From the Competition Program, ‘City in Between’

The area shares the modernistic characteristic of many suburbs, with its large, monofunctional areas, green wasteland and social segregation, as well as great distances between the functions in the area, as displayed in the figure above.

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7 http://www.naturstyrelsen.dk/Planlaegning/Projekter/Fostaedernes_talenketank/
http://www.forstaden.dk/kickstart/Pages/default.aspx
8 City in between – competition program:
The image demonstrates that there is built up structure in 3, 3 out of 36, 3 square kilometres. The area is characterised by being built in the 1970s when the modernistic planning style was influent. The area is located 5-7 km from the city core.

The area consists of four sections in which there is small interaction and mobility between: A large residential area, with much social housing, single-family dwellings, small business and institutions, a business area, the university area including the coming University Hospital and surrounding small towns located towards the east. The area has also drawn the attention of large-scale area based programs, such as 'Kvarterloeft’ in the late 90’s (Neighbourhood Lift) and at the presence a comprehensive plan for the social housing departments in the area. The purpose of these programs has been to deal with problems of parts of Aalborg East as a vulnerable and disadvantaged district, due to its overrepresentation of unemployed, of children and youngsters, many people on welfare programs, and with averagely lower income and level of education than in the rest of Aalborg Municipality.

In the international contest for Aalborg East, the title is "city in between - eastern Aalborg, strategy for an international & sustainable suburb”. As such the title deals with the ambivalence of the city typology of a suburb. In the contest, the focus is to get ideas for cohesion, especially for a future in which massive investments (10 billion DKK) will be launched in the area. It is in the competition stated what the challenge of Aalborg East is, viewed from a municipal perspective:

“The overall focus is to obtain qualified proposals describing how to promote cohesion within and among the areas of the suburb - physical, social, societal and organizational. The challenge is also to create synergy among the future investments. In the next 20 years, investments for more than DKK 10 billion have been planned in the competition area. Large investments includes extension of Aalborg University and the sports and leisure centre Gigantium, a new University Hospital, redevelopment of the Kildeparken residential area, as well as 400 new youth apartments near Aalborg University. Parallel to these investments, it has been decided to establish a high-class public transport link connecting the competition area, Eastern Aalborg, with the city centre, and to launch initiatives to promote bicycle traffic.”

Some of the central themes in the competition is new type of housing in the suburb, mobility, sustainable transport and accessibility in the broad sense, multifunctional meeting places, such as daily life, identity and catalysts, and finally, local resources, such as physical spaces and new partnerships.
Aalborg East thus faces several challenges. First of all, there is the strategic challenge of how to exploit the increased interest in sustainable suburbs. And in relation to this, how to exploit the opportunity that arises from the fact that the social housing dwellings in the area are to be renovated by 5 billion DKK the forthcoming years; that there is a regional plan for the construction of a new super-university hospital in the area with about 5,000 jobs, and a new ambitious public transportation initiative, such as a light rail connection as a likely solution for integrating the city district of Aalborg East with the city core of Aalborg. All in all there is an approximate investment portfolio of 10 billion.
DKK until 2020 in the area. And further, how to enhance the City of Aalborg’s ambition that the area might well be the no. 1 growth area in the northern part of Denmark, as the image below demonstrates. In the image we see how The City of Aalborg perceives of the main ‘growth axe’ (the grey area) in the city region, an axis which is a central part of the development area.

Thus the case of Aalborg East is an extreme case in that it contains many of the challenges concerning suburbs, in that the area both contains suburban city districts and independent suburbs (Klarum and Storvorde to the south east). The case is also extreme in that it contains both private businesses and industry, including farming, as well as public interests in terms of a university and a future university hospital. And finally, the area is huge (above 30 square kilometres), perhaps making the challenge of integrating the functions even bigger. Figure 3 demonstrates how the four parts of the area are located in relation to each other. As such, the case contains some interesting dilemmas.

**Intervention dilemma**

**Driving the process:** Many actors can see a perspective in the area: businesses, university, large social housing organizations, and the municipality. There is here a dilemma between first of all:

- how the organization of all the activities should look like
- who should be responsible for such an organization
- Is it indeed possible and preferable to have an overall strategic master plan for such a fragmented and huge area? Or should stakeholders go for a more pragmatic approach that limits itself to qualify the existing city functions based on a set of values.

Thus there are open questions concerning organization, self-organization and governance. There is at the same time the requirement that the development of the area has to be strategically in alignment with the intertwined municipal and regional interests in the area.

**Defining the development exercise:** elements of an overall strategy are emerging, in terms of a rhetoric of sustainability, a necessary transformation of suburbs, a regional growth sector, an internationalisation of the area. Related to these strategic building blocks, there is a dilemma of how to define the purpose of this development exercise in order to create synergy of the massive future investments in the area.

**Regulation dilemma**

Concerning the regulations dilemma, tensions concerning zoning for undeveloped land might surface: For what type of growth or usage? Here, tensions between industrial, (for instance farming), interests, and suburban/urban interests, and sustainability/nature interests are likely to come to the fore.
**Investment dilemma**

**Sector vs. spatial investments:** Despite the many investments, these investments are anchored at sector-specific stakeholders. As such, the challenge is whether these already planned investments can be made more flexible in order to create synergy in the area? How to initiate and maintain a strategic dialogue that all stakeholders in the area perceive of as financially beneficial? Every actor in the area optimizes in own ranks. So, how to create seed money in Aalborg East in order to create a catalyst function for further investments in the area? How to create collaborative incentive structures that ensures that public investment money generates spin-off investments for private sector stakeholders and vice versa? How to create most synergy out of private and public investments?

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The Netherlands: IJburg and Overamstel, Amsterdam

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IJBURG: Eastern Post-Suburban Development

Figure 8. IJburg 1 and 2

General description of the development

The project called ‘IJburg’ is composed of 9 sub-projects, or islands. The 9 islands are located Eastward from Amsterdam central station, and are composed of new produced land in the larger water area IJmeer. The project is divided in two parts, IJburg 1 and IJburg 2, the island of Zeeburg was instead land produced already at the beginning of the 20th Century and used to place facilities out of the urban fabric (military, water treatment etc.), but it became slowly incorporated in the Amsterdam city area. At the moment of writing the municipality of Amsterdam is taking a decision over the prosecution of IJburg
2, and in particular over a 8.9 mln investment for the Centrumeiland sector. In the meanwhile the realization of IJburg 1 is continuing, especially for the facilities and non-residential spaces. Problems in the already realized projects are related to the economic and urban character of the area, as well as the readjusting of local facilities for education, family assistance and free time activities. Current interventions regards urban enrichment, promotion of local business activities, improvement of specific urban plots, social projects and the connection to A1 and A9 highways. The urban structure is composed of a linear strip of land, formed out of three main connected islands (Zeeburgereiland, Steigereiland and Haveneiland west) connected by a major infrastructural project (a tramway departing from central station, 20 minutes fast ride, IJtram) and a two sided street connection (westward to central Amsterdam) and Southeastward to Eastern suburbs. The area can be classified as a ‘suburban’ area, at the inner periphery of the city, being easily accessible from highway (from both north, south and east sides) but also at close distance with the most central neighborhoods of Amsterdam (Indischebuurt and Eastereilands). Planners goal was to combine the ‘best’ of urban and suburban features. So it is outside the city, but indeed a high density (for a fringe) and quite mixed composition of housing types and facilities. Yet the area presents the typical features of post-modern suburban environments, with relatively higher housing densities, approximately an average of 130-71 houses per hectare (almost double of 90s Dutch suburban extensions), a relatively homogenous demographic composition, a large amount of households with children. The area is particularly relevant at the metropolitan level, as its constitutes one of the Eastern barycenter within the Amsterdam-Almere (new town) axes. It is a strategic project with strong historical involvement from the National government (first sketches and concepts in 1988 with 4th national report on spatial planning) and today with the most recent investigation on the RAAM visie and Rescaling of Eastern new towns (Schaalsprong). Ultimately, the project has a strong environmental component, being conceived as an effort of water-land planning, and bearing significant environmental impacts on the protected ecosystem of the IJmeer.
General data on the project

The original planning vision for the area, in 1996, forecasted a total amount of 18,000 houses, a total inflow of 45,000 new residents and approximately 12,000 jobs. The current realized project (IJburg 1) hosts 15,500 inhabitants. The planned second phase was supposed to host a remaining 9,200 inhabitants), with lower densities and higher revenues. Composition of housing: 30% social housing, 40% middle range houses, 30% free sector houses. Houses are comparably of larger size than in Amsterdam urban pattern (average 118m² against 71m²). The density, urban structure, architecture and public space composition changes in each island. For example, Haveneiland has 7000 houses with large facilities, a harbor and large retail sector, against a less dense Steigereiland, composed of inward looking neighborhoods, experiments of self-built houses (exact number to be defined). The project has recently shown few examples of innovative urban planning and design. Among which temporary usages of the waterfront (Blijburgstrand) and temporary education facilities (Blok49B), a 75 self-build and designed houses in Zeeburgereiland, 180 self-managed ‘water-plots’, 48 self-built plots in Steigereiland), a couple of cases of collective and self-managed housing (e.g. Nautilus in in Zeeburgereiland).
**Brief view on the Process**

The process of the project easily reveals the critical steps that have characterized Dutch modernist technocratic planning in the last two decades. IJburg is an emblem of the Dutch planning tradition, being conceived just at the apex of the consolidated top-down suburban expansions (end of 80s) and at the beginning of the booming real-estate industry and land development markets (90s). IJ-burg was formally conceived within the VINEX suburbanization program of the mid 90s, based on national-municipal contracts on certain housing development programs. Yet, the area is the last to be realized (in 2005 only 5% of the total program was realized). The project fundamentally expresses the change and crisis of a system tailored on the optimistic projections of growth, large scale projects and important public and private investments of the late 90s. Its financial arrangements is therefore suited over the large assets based system of city development of the 90s, optimistically leveraging on exponential office growth to pay for housing. On the other hand, the project is today witnessing serious rethinking of its bases, being in need to address issues of decreasing investments, changed living preferences of households, post-modern definitions of urbanity, and more stringent environmental regulations from all levels. Because of its economic, spatial and demographic relevance the project is one of the main political items on the municipal agendas, often characterized by an emerging urban green-left fostering compact-city development, less interventionist perspectives and parties claiming for more inner urban renewal.

- **1997**: first spatial design investigation approved, which will set the bases for the whole project (phase one and two).
- **1997**: Starting opposition concerning the large investment and the considered dangerous impacts on the environment of the new islands (referendums)
- **2001**: first houses built on IJburg 1
- **2003**: opening of temporary seaside facilities in Blijburgstrand (Beach)
- **2004**: refusal of the Council of State of the land use plan IJburg phase 2
- **2009**: 5,200 houses and 12,800 inhabitants
- **2013**: decision to still continue with first part of IJburg, although the financial crisis and city deficits.

**Challenges in relation to APRILab dilemmas**

**Intervention Dilemma**

- **Regional scale**: The area is the most relevant housing endeavor for the whole Amsterdam Metropolitan area, and major component of the whole waterfront regeneration, East-West). The 18,000 planned houses are a major share of the planned threshold of 75,000 houses to be built within the Amsterdam borders within 2040. Yet, the slow pace of the project due to crisis and the weak real-estate market in the areas questions the framing conditions of the project within these expectations.
- **Metropolitan scale**: IJburg is strongly connected with Metropolitan reflections with the connection to Almere areas, other housing development locations of
the Metropolitan area. Almere and IJburg share similar approaches to planning (self-built initiatives within suburban environments). Moreover, at the project level, the different components of the projects are strongly intertwined, with complementary and inter-dependent plans. Issues of contingency planning in case one of the major components presents different outputs than planned (e.g. the lower densities and larger public facilities planned in IJburg 2 had to compensate from the mostly residential environments of IJburg 1)

- **Planning models**: Intervention issues stems from the difficult adaptability of the original IJburg plan, the strong path dependency from rigid and detailed design and choices taken in the past, as well as the need to manage the un-flexible concessions with large housing consortia realizing the island. Spaces of participation in the island are being constructed. This is also related to the difficulty of the concept of ‘island development’. It requires huge (public) investments to make the land and can generally only be done in one time. It takes a while for the sand to settle down before you can start building, creating a traditional problem of timing of real-estate investments. This create boundaries, forcing you into more rational planning at the expense of adaptivity.

- **Place making issues**: related to urbanity, conceptions of spatial qualities and problems of pervasive public design on detailed components of living areas (e.g. Puccini Methode in urban spaces, with specifically designed 80% intervention and 20% of investments on urban design more flexible). Issues of spatial planning and time planning ultimately raises questions on how to manage the spatial components of design, the limits of established directives on aesthetics and the time expectations of consolidation of the urban environment. The area has been rapidly developed and at once, without leaving much space to the self-generated feelings of organic development.

**Regulation Dilemma**

Main regulatory issues to be addressed are: (regarding urban design, combination of blue-print planning, management of realization of houses)

- **Urban design regulations**: issues of zoning and architectural directives linked to dynamics of perceived space quality, personalization of urban space, general feelings of place attachments and urbanity. IJburg presents stringent rules for urban design.

- **Environmental zoning**: related mostly to combination of water and urban land. Coexistence of large scale land development projects with different regulative frameworks from the European Union (Birds and water protected areas) and National regulations (Ecologic national main structure of Vechtstreek and Waterland). Yet, there are arguments of improvement of ecological situations (to be discussed)

- **Compensatory measures** of environmental impact and conducted environmental impact assessments. Three main projects constitute compensatory measures: Hoeckelingsdam (2005), Diemer Vijfhoek (2007) and Zuidelijke IJmeerjust (not yet realized, part of IJburg 2nd phase).

- **Process norms**: strong control of implementation process, both long term and short term, tailored on traditional models of planning in Amsterdam (Plaberum). Issues of addressing variance and flexibility within the concession
systems with building consortia (IJburgmaatschappij, Waterstad, and IJdelta) and with planned contracts for land generation.

**Investment dilemma**

- **Project-city income rate:** the project is one of the most costly projects of the metropolitan area. Its financial structure is based on an optimistic expectation of real-estate transactions to cover the significant costs related to land preparation, development and infrastructure. Moreover, the overall business case was conceived with the financial complementarity between IJburg 1 and IJburg 2, with the second to be positive and to compensate for the losses of the first. Large investments have been parachuted to IJburg from other city areas. As example, the already invested 8.2 mln of euros for the preparation of 5 hectares of land of IJburg 2 (middeneiland) (including environmental compensatory projects) are not covered due to the freezing of the project.

- **Micro-scale investments issues:** financial arrangements for self-building initiatives (approximately 150 plots). Financial rearrangements of housing corporations within the building consortia, in light of recent restructuring of Amsterdam housing market (and national housing policies). Issues of generating local investment initiatives, especially related to local business environment. Important questions of framing small-scale investments within large scale and long term business plans of the island.

- **Land development and land adjustment techniques:** the case seriously questions Dutch tradition of active land policy, with strong public investment and collective risk of urban development for urban policies. The role of large banks and creditors can be also investigated in supporting such investment plans and real-estate transactions in the area.
OVERAMSTEL: Interface between center and periphery

Figure 10. Overamstel

General description of the development

Overamstel is the name given to the large project area at the South East border of Amsterdam municipality. The project area is composed of different intervention sub-sectors, among which Amstelkwartier (phase 1 and 2), Weespertrekvaart Noord and Zuid, Nuon terrain. The area can be identified as a project of ‘urbanization of a brownfield industrial zone’. Located at the border of the city since the 60s, the land started to host major industrial facilities for the city, the South Gas Factory, the Rioolwaterzuiveringinrichting-Zuid (the sewage filtering and water treatment facility of the South) and the municipal electricity company, nowadays privatized and renamed NUON. The large ‘Bijlmerbajes’ prison was opened in 1978. The headquarters of the Hells Angels moterclub opened nearby. It gave parts of the area a spooky image. The area became a project target for the municipality at the beginning of 2000, and in 2003 the municipal structural plan identified it as a possible space of urban intensification (within Amsterdam borders) and business improvement. This is justified by the strategic location of the area, which is easily accessible by highway, metro and train, and very close to the city center, yet divided by the river and the same infrastructure. The area is right in the middle of the cross between the southern Amsterdam ‘lob’ (from Zuidas to Bijlmermeer and Amstel-Arena district, the most economic vibrant zone of the city) and the Eastern residential lob, towards Watergraafsmeer and Zeeburg area. In the current structural vision (Amsterdam 2040) the area is identified as location for the ‘out-rolling’ of the
city center, towards the ring. The urbanization pressure is therefore high, but still the major challenge of the project is to open up and to integrate the location within the urban structure of the city. Major challenges related to the projects regards the fragmented composition of the ownership, the combination of different land uses (in particular production and living) and the addressing of the land change from the old structure (with elements of industrial heritage). In the area it is forecasted a final scenario of between 4.250 and 7.950 houses, with a maximum of 110.000-170.000 sqm facilities, company and office spaces realized. Original plans emphasized mostly a business-oriented redevelopment within the frame of ‘Amstel business-park’, which includes also the area of Amstel II. This is also relevant for the project in relationship with the connection with the already existing Amstel-station area and the planning changes of the Amstel-II and Amstel III neighborhoods. Overamstel is thus framed in continuity with these projects. Moreover, the whole Amstelkwartier-II-III development can be also framed in relationship with the business development axes Amsterdam-Utrecht.

**General data on the project**

Overamstel is composed of a series of sub-sectors, of which the closer to the center are Amstelkwartier (Amstel neighborhood) is the residential core of the project and is composed of two phases. The Amstel neighborhood has a programmed development of approximately 165.000 sqm, of which mostly houses, high density comparable to those of Easter Harbor areas or Rivierenbuurt (136.000 sqm approximately 1100 houses, 30% social, 70% free sector). Also including a school, a climate-neutral hotel and a park. In the Overamstel area in general there are expected only 15 self-built blocks. The second phase is constituted by the land currently occupied and used by Alliander and NUON energy companies (15. Hectares). The project includes other areas of mixity in the south, where also broedplaatsen (‘breeding places’ for creative industry) are found (Kauwgomballenfabriek).

**Brief view on the Process**

- **2002**: Visie Overamstel, vision on the industrial and business location of Amstel Business park conversion into urban area
- **2003**: the Amsterdam structural plan identifies Overamstel as an area of urban intensification with at least 2.500 houses to be built within 2010. Speed up housing production and generate value out of the moving of the Water corporation industrial facilities.
- **2004**: decision to define a different timeline for the project, to address the complexity of the project and to adjust the priorities in the spatial sector in Amsterdam
- **2010**: start of works in the Northern Sector (including Amstelkwartier first phase and the Weespertrekvaart)
Challenges in relation to APRILab dilemmas

**Intervention dilemma:**

- **Zoning of land use mixity:** The project is originally based on a clear cut definition of Northern residential zones, southern industrial zones (towards Amstel II areas) and a vaguely defined area of intersection-mixity of functions (Overgangzone). In this zone the major challenges are related to the definition of mixity rules, including architectural and urban design guidelines. Intervention mixity is a priori defined, for example in the Daniel Goedkopstraat with 70.000m² of business space distributed in each plot with a fix percentages of 50%. In the Amstelkwartier there is a clear definition of ‘milieu-types’.

- **De-programming and flexibility of office space production:** The Overamstel project goes at the core of the office space problem in Amsterdam metropolitan area. Originally planned as a top business location Overamstel is today rethinking the programming for office space, attempting to implement projects of industrial space reuse and flexible adaptation of industrial heritage. The PLABEKA strategy of office and industrial development designed at regional level is forecasting a slight reduction of the programmed office space (- 60.000 offices in NUON-Maple Leaf area, and -8300 office space in Weespertrekvaart Zuid).

- **Reuse and creative spaces:** in the area there are few examples of flexible reuse, one of the main is the (Kauwgomballenfabriek) a broedplatsen project for artistic small companies.

**Regulation dilemma**

- **Noise environmental zoning:** there are two major companies producing noise beyond living limits located in the area of mixity (Beton and Mortel). This raises issues of adaptation of the noise borders and changes in land use plans in both Amsterdam and municipality of Over-Amstel municipality. To a minor extent the noise issue is also related to the high dens infrastructure surrounding the site, of highways and train tracks.

- **Ownership management and land-readjustment:** The area presents a fragmented ownership structure. Areas are under: Municipal property and use, land lease (erfpacht), particular ownerships, area rented to specific usages (see Overamstel visie bijlage). Regulatory issues might be related to the particular situation in comparison to other areas in Amsterdam.

- **Transformation of industrial spaces, reuse of heritage buildings:** The area present several examples of protected sites and buildings, with restrictive regulatory uses (state monuments).

**Investment dilemma**

- **Soil remediation and cost-benefits** of brownfield regeneration in time of weak investment. Particular agreements could be investigated in areas of soil remediation. The South Gas factory and specific contractual agreements with current users (NUON terrain). Investment issues are also related to the de-programming of the office space and to the large costs of infrastructure to improve the attractiveness of the area.
- **Municipal income**: these are related to the increased lease costs of the conversion from industrial to residential usages and to the expected increment of the property taxes in the area. Secondly, they are related to the new method used to manage costs-returns of the land servicing (exploitative). The project is experimenting a new land adjustment model called TREX (Transformatiexploitatie). This model is based on a circular reuse of the revenues from the increased land lease generated from the land use change. More particularly the revenues generated are directly reinvested in area projects and are not directed to municipal investment capital (which is partly redistributed into other areas). This is expected to generate a virtuous circle of incoming investments. For the municipality of Amsterdam this is an area of experimentation, in which it aims to realize spatial ambitions without strong financial and legal instruments to directly influence situations or make own investments.

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