

INURA ADDRESSES

INURA AMSTERDAM

c/o Arie van Wijngaarden
Falckstraat 7
1017 VV AMSTERDAM
The Netherlands
tel +31-20-6228738
fax +31-20-5964300

INURA FLORENCE

c/o Raffaele Paloscia
Dipartimento di Urbanistica
e Pianificazione del Territorio
Universita di Firenze
Via Micheli 2
50121 FIRENZE
Italy
tel +39-55-576984
fax +39-55-587087

INURA LONDON

c/o Michael Edwards
Bartlett School, UCL
22 Gordon Street
LONDON WC1H 0QB
Great Britain
tel +44-71-3877050 #4874
fax +44-71-3807453

INURA LOS ANGELES

c/o Ute Lehrer
Department of Urban Planning
School of Public Policy and Social Research
405 Hilgard Avenue
LOS ANGELES CA 90095
USA
fax +1-310-2065566

INURA ROSTOCK

c/o Karl-Otto Richter
UCEF
Augustenstrasse 48a
18055 ROSTOCK
Germany
tel/fax +49-381-4590748

INURA TORONTO

c/o Roger Keil
Faculty of Environmental Studies
University of York
4700 Keele Street
NORTH YORK
Ontario M3J 1P3
Canada
tel +1-416-7365252
fax +1-416-7365679

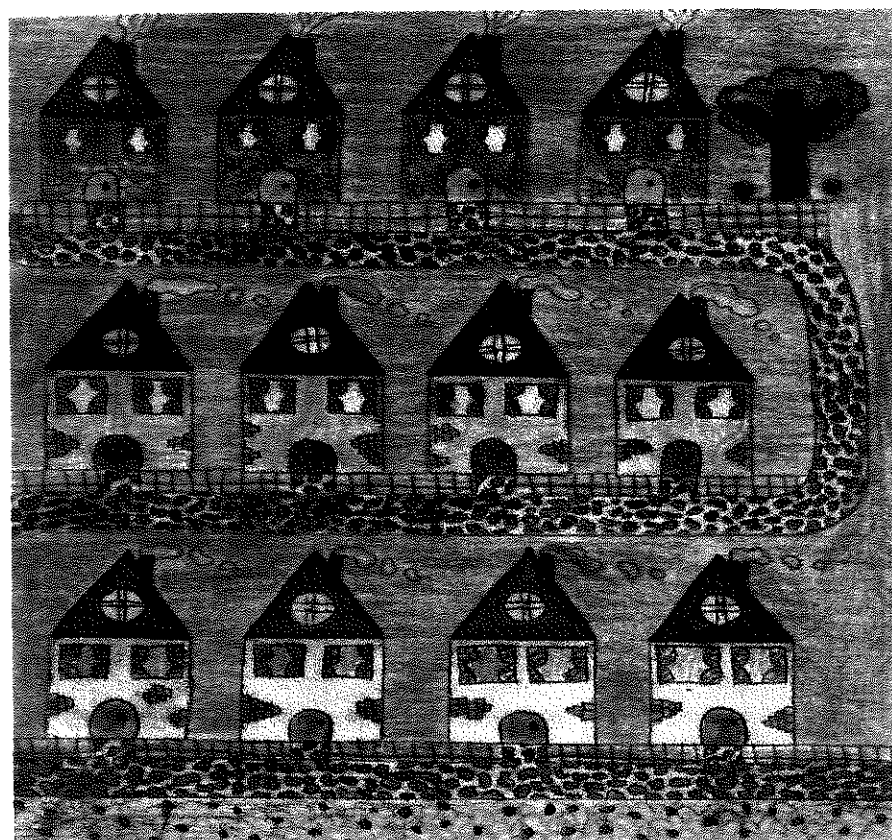
INURA ZURICH

Nordstrasse 151
8037 ZÜRICH
Switzerland
tel +41-1-3820447
fax +41-1-9266472 "Hitz"



Bulletin 10
November 1995

Growth / No-Growth Policies in the Regional State: Scope for Local Action



**Proceedings of the INURA Annual Meeting
1995 - The Netherlands**

Editors and publishers of this bulletin :
Arie van Wijngaarden and Annemarie Dekker
Front cover drawing : Laura van Wijngaarden

PROGRAMME OF THE 1995 CONFERENCE IN THE NETHERLANDS

Sunday, June 4

- a.m. Introductions into Dutch dilemmas related to housing, planning and the lack of land. Field trip to Durgerdam (discussion about proposed IJburg development), the North of Amsterdam, Nieuw-Sloten (housing), the South axis (office centre), the Southeast section of the city (offices, 1960s housing, aircraft memorial)
- p.m. Boat tour along the canals and to the IJ-river for a view on the waterfront, visit to the KNSM-island (new housing area)

Monday, June 5

- a.m. Introductions into the political side, the set-up of districts, city, and, who knows, a future metrogovernment
- p.m. Excursion to the Wilhelmina Gasthuis and the Mercatorplein renewal area

Tuesday, June 6

- a.m. Transfer to Beneden-Leeuwen
- p.m. Workshop on Metrogovernment: Amsterdam, Hamburg, Zürich, Madrid
- evening INURA-update and discussion

Wednesday, June 7

- a.m. Workshop on the redevelopment of railway station areas
- p.m. Various presentations
Video: Quangocrats run the North,
Video: Amsterdam - growth policy
- evening Video and introduction by the Exodus group from Luton, discussion

Thursday, June 8

- a.m. Rainy walk through the polder
Various presentations
- p.m. Discussion about the Inura-Journal, Inura 1996
Various presentations
- evening party

PARTICIPANTS

Luis Alonso (Madrid)	Luca Bertolini (Den Haag)
Matthew Chance (Luton)	Annemarie Dekker (Amsterdam)
Karlheinz Deventer (Hamburg)	Hansruedi Hitz (Stäfa)
Andreas Hofer (Zürich)	Glenn Jenkins (Luton)
Philipp Klaus (Zürich)	Marvi Maggio (Torino)
Giancarlo Paba (Firenze)	Raffaele Paloscia (Firenze)
Karl-Otto Richter (Rostock)	Fred Robinson (Durham)
Marc Saunders (London)	Christian Schmid (Zürich)
Andreas Schneider (Ennetbaden)	Paul Taylor (Luton)
Louanne Tranchell (London)	Jeroen van der Veer (Amsterdam)
Arie van Wijngaarden (Amsterdam)	Richard Wolff (Zürich)

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The Mercatorplein project as it was seen at the construction around 1925



EDITORIAL

Arie van Wijngaarden and Annemarie Dekker

This bulletin is to represent the discussions we have had and the thoughts that have been floating around during our 1995 conference in the Netherlands. For those who could not make it, it should provide a good impression of the kind of forum that INURA aims to offer annually: one to reflect on past and current research and action, and to set out objectives for such future events. Reading through this bulletin, participants hopefully do experience some of the enthusiasm and the inspiration anew. To us, the conference reconfirmed that the exchange within INURA is very special!

You have come to the Netherlands at a time that many of the issues that we wished to discuss with you were high on the political agenda and very much in the news. The city governments of Amsterdam and Rotterdam had decided to ask their citizens for their opinion about the establishment of a metropolitan government through a local referendum. Referenda have only recently been introduced, within a few cities only, as a new political tool to improve the relation between voters and their representatives. The instrument is not formally binding. The city governments nevertheless, and in contrast to central government, have decided to take the outcome of the referendum seriously.

Metropolitan governments for the metropolitan areas of Amsterdam and Rotterdam and of a few other cities, have on and off been on the agenda of central and local governments for decades. The most recent proposal rested on the idea that metrogovernments could only be established if the 'big brother', the central city, would first be divided into smaller units, comparable in size to neighbouring municipalities. This would imply the abolition of the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam! For the respective city governments this important decision simply had to be selected as a subject for a local referendum. Being fier proponents of metrogovernment, the outcome of the referenda was disappointing to the local politicians. At the time of the conference, the inhabitants of Amsterdam had just said 'no', the voters of Rotterdam were about to say 'no'. In rethinking the whole strategy, central and local governments now pull in different directions. Central government considers to establish metropolitan governments, for the metropolitan areas of Amsterdam and Rotterdam only, without local consent, while the respective city governments are now in doubt whether they need the whole thing. Isn't it time to go back to work?

A second issue, the expansion of Schiphol Airport through the construction of a fifth runway was being discussed. By now, parliament has decided in favour of this expansion expecting more economic growth. It thus is neglecting the other side of the coin: the environment and the living conditions in surrounding areas.

Central government has also voted for the Betuwe goods railway proposal, despite much local opposition. We had planned to take you to Tiel to discuss the local consequences of this major infrastructural project and the local responses to it. However, a central government commission had chosen the very same week to travel along the line to have discussions with various municipalities.

We were happy to show you around in Amsterdam. From the boat we had a nice and sunny view at the waterfront and the redevelopment of the Eastern Harbour Area. Ytze

Tamminga showed us around in the pavilions 1 and 2 of the Wilhelmina Gasthuis area, where spaces for artists and small enterprises and apartments with common facilities are combined together into an ecologically based renovation project. And Arie could introduce the Mercatorplein project, where a sharp rise in crime in the area during the earlier years has been halted by investing in the renovation of flats and shops, bringing the police station into the area itself and improving the quality of the public spaces.

In our farmhouse 'Olpoda' in Beneden-Leeuwen we have had many good presentations. Virtually all of them have been digested in the brief summaries that you will find in this bulletin. Of all discussions we would like to call in mind two in particular. First, the proposal of INURA-Zurich to set up an INURA-Journal (presented in the bulletin 9) has been discussed at length. We realised that this will be a very time-consuming initiative, both to start and to maintain. Moreover, given the enormous amount of journals available 'on the market', continuously extended by newcomers (e.g. Regenerating Cities), the INURA-Journal would have to be principally different. It would have to offer something that others don't. During the conference a group was formed of INURA-members from different countries who have a good overview of the journals in the field. Comparing the formula of existing journals, this group felt that an INURA-Journal would indeed be special. Our journal would not be an academic one; it would clearly provide insight in both research and action. It would not just contain articles. Reports on action would lend themselves in particular for presentations combining graphics and text. As of yet, there is no such journal. The group, now called the 'prep-ed' group, will work out the concept of the journal in more detail. Meanwhile, the first authors have already been approached! More news on the journal will be presented in the next bulletin.

A second important discussion dealt with the width of the audience that INURA should try to address. With hindsight, we are not sure what came first, but in one way or the other the idea of organising an 'open event', to attract a larger group of people involved in research and action perfectly matched with the offer from our guests from Luton to hold next year's conference right on the spot of their action. Through the video these members of the Exodus group have shown us and through the discussions we have had afterwards, we have already got acquainted, somewhat, with their very special initiative. We feel that this form of 'direct regeneration' will provide an excellent starting point for the INURA-conference of 1996. Further details about Exodus and next year's conference are included in this bulletin.

Now it only remains for us to thank all participants once again for their constructive contributions to the conference in the Netherlands. We are looking forward to meeting you, and many others, in Luton 1996!

INTRODUCTION INTO THE THEME OF THE CONFERENCE

Annemarie Dekker

Any traveller to the Netherlands, those interested in urban development in particular, will easily observe that virtually every parcel of land has been put to some use. Derelict, abundant, obsolete sites are a rare occurrence in the Netherlands. Vacant land will always immediately be planned and developed for new uses, whether urban or rural (agriculture, recreation) in nature. Often, planning for new uses will start even before areas fall into disuse. Increasingly, since there is a continuing need for further growth and since demand for land outbids supply of vacant land, development for new uses has to occur at the expense of existing uses.

Herewith, I do not wish to argue that the Netherlands is full or even too full. I aim to say that land-use issues in the Netherlands are very contentious issues. At the time of the conference (and still) a number of controversial issues stand out in particular.

Housing: The official estimate is that another 800,000 houses will need to be constructed within the Randstad within the next 20 years. This is an enormous amount; it is two and a half times the present housing stock of Amsterdam! It is questionable whether this amount is really needed. A further issue then is to find land to build on. After a long period in which people, young families in particular, were directed to growth centres and New Towns, there now is an increasing demand for living in or close to the four Randstad cities. Also, these cities' governments are eager to accommodate growth within their own boundaries as a means to maintain or even enhance the overall spending power as well as the level of city services. These governments, therefore, attempt to increase the amount of land within their boundaries either by reclaiming land from the sea (as is the case with the proposed Nieuw-Oost/IJburg project that we have 'visited' on our Amsterdam tour), or by annexing (parts of) neighbouring municipalities. On our tour we have furthermore observed many examples of conversions of parks, former harbour areas, former railway yards, playing fields, and agricultural land (often with glass houses) into housing areas. Within the Randstad there is quite some pressure on the 'Green Heart'. Housing is being constructed in spite of a formal restrictive policy meant to preserve this area as a green one. The question really is whether the benefits outweigh the burdens (loss of nature, loss of recreational facilities) especially considering the fact that much of the new construction is upmarket and, outside the cities, built in low densities.

Infrastructure: Much criticism has been expressed in response to the proposals for the expansion of Schiphol airport, addressing issues as noise, danger for the surrounding densely built-up area (as the crash in Amsterdam Zuidoost showed), and damage to the environment in general. Proponents of the development of Schiphol airport into a so-called mainport pertain that this development is crucial to sustain economic growth within the Netherlands, the economy of which has always been based on distribution. Also, it will be conducive to the promotion of Amsterdam as a world city. The Betuwelijn, the goods railway linking-Rotterdam to Germany, has been launched with reference to similar economic growth arguments. This new infrastructure will also be a big burden, a financial one to central government, and a burden in terms of noise, demolition

of homes, and loss of areas of particular environmental value for cities and villages along the projected line. Again, do virtues outbid the burdens?

During previous INURA-conferences we have also been critical of perceived growth needs such as in the docklands and in the development of global cities. In doing so, we aim to not just say no to the plans in question, but to try to come up with alternatives that relate to the idea of sustainable cities, sustainable development. Alternatives to accommodate economic growth while at the same time being responsive to social and environmental needs.

Action in Amsterdam

I feel that the action-side not only is underrepresented within INURA-Amsterdam, but in the Netherlands generally, especially in comparison to the US or Britain. It is not absent, but smaller in size and less outspoken as far as alternatives are concerned. I have given a few tentative explanations for this:

- decision-making tends to be highly technocratic, therefore it is difficult to assess the goods and bads of proposed developments, let alone find the language to fight them;
- people tend to be highly dualistic: we do want growth so that we can have a job and a home and travel so now and then (even on a plane), but object to growth once burdens begin to spill into our own backyards. It is easy to fall into NIMBYism, while it is difficult to think about growth/no-growth on a wider, supra-local level;
- in the Netherlands there is a strong tradition of consensual politics, since governments typically are coalition governments. This means that there are no clear-cut political divisions. Politicians always seek compromises; they try to accommodate growth and be environmentally friendly, for instance. In the compromise your voice will always be represented. If you decide to fight, it is hard to decide who to fight against. You are not fighting a political extreme, such as Thatcherism or Reaganomics;
- defining the alternative: sometimes you have to choose between various bads. As we have seen on our trip through Amsterdam: opposing the Nieuw-Oost/IJ-burg development may mean that the Waterland area will have to be sacrificed, or another area of environmental, recreational and historic value. If not there than where?

I am well aware, with hindsight, that the choice of the growth/no-growth theme was very much tuned to cities and countries that actually 'grow' or, at least, have the perspective of doing so. Participants of cities in decline sometimes felt uneasy with the overall umbrella. I nevertheless feel that a general theme should clearly relate to processes typically found in the host country as well as to issues discussed during earlier conferences. And: as before, a general theme does not dictate what people should or should not present. INURA-conferences always provide a free scope!

GROWTH/NO GROWTH IN THE AMSTERDAM REGION

Joop de Haan

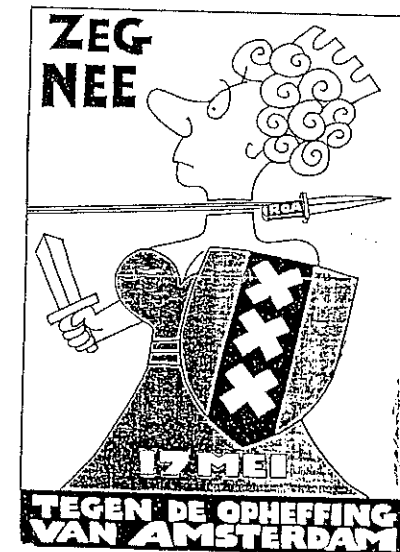
Amsterdam and its region have an important housing problem. Smaller households, an increasing number of elderly people living independently and a continuing immigration are factors that indicate the need for new dwellings.

In the building programme for the years 1995-2005, about 85.000-100.000 dwellings must be erected in the greater Amsterdam area, of which 40.000 in the area of the municipality of Amsterdam itself. Amsterdam plans to build 25.000 of these in the existing built-up area of the city, 12.000 in the new developments in the former eastern harbour area and 3.000 in the remaining open area west of the city.

The problem is, should we accept the housing task in the form of growth and expansion, or are there other ways to respond to the growing need for housing?

Some effort is done to arrive at a better match between households and dwellings. Older smaller families in large houses get incentives to move to smaller apartments. Also buildings, which in earlier times were not used for housing purposes can be split up into apartments.

Amsterdam tries to continue with the concept of the "compact city", planning new development areas as close to the centre as possible. Because of the high cost this requires additional financial support from the central government.



"Say No to the abolition of Amsterdam"
(poster for the referendum of May 17, 1995)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Jaap Draaisma

Since the 1920s, the city of Amsterdam has been controlled by a majority of social democrats. It was not until the 1970s that formal public participation was established. In the 1970s the classic urban renewal of demolition and new construction was being replaced by a more sensitive form of urban renewal, the renovation of existing structures. In the process of renovation, participation by the local people was officially institutionalised ('inspraak'). This followed the wave of democratization of the 1960s.

In 1981, public participation was taken one step further, again by social democrats who established the system of city districts. Two experimental districts were established, one in Amsterdam Noord (north of the IJ river) and one in Osdorp (one of the garden cities in the west of Amsterdam). The aim was to make a closer link between the voters and the politicians. Eventually, the whole city was to be split up in city districts, with the exception of the inner city, though only after the first two experiments would have been evaluated and would have been considered as improvements. The City Government, however, did not want to wait for an evaluation and installed the other districts. By 1990, the city was divided in 16 districts.

During the 1980s there has been less action compared to the earlier actions, such as the squatting movement, opposition to the construction of the metro, and to the forming of an office city. In the 1980s the issues were public safety, and how to keep the neighbourhoods clean, neighbourhood management, etc.

Since the late 1980s the social democrats have lost many votes. This can be seen as a different form of protest. Meanwhile a different reform of government was proposed by central government, but was also very much supported by the local government: the establishment of a regional government. For this new level, the existence of 16 City Districts turned out to be convenient. The City of Amsterdam could now, in order to limit the threat for neighbouring municipalities, offer to become 13 individual municipalities, rather than being the one big brother. In the recent referendum the inhabitants of Amsterdam however expressed that they do not want the city to be split up, they do not want Amsterdam to be abolished. This outcome of the referendum shows that, in spite of the establishment of city districts, there still is a wide gap between voters and politicians.

METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT IN THE AMSTERDAM REGION: CONFLICTING INTERESTS

Jeroen van der Veer

On the 17th of May a referendum was held in the city of Amsterdam on the issue of metropolitan government. A large majority of the voters - 90%!, voted against the plans for a city-province.

The criticism was not against the city-province as such, but against splitting up the city in 13 separate municipalities, and abolishing the municipality of Amsterdam, which was part of the deal.

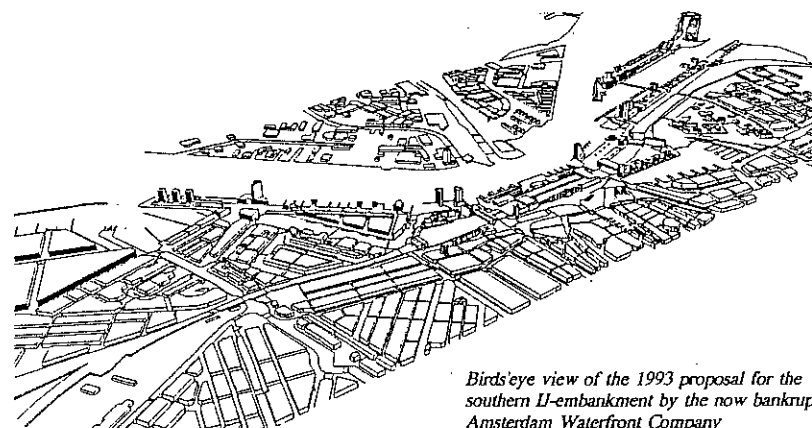
The Amsterdam City Council will respect the outcome of the referendum. Thus, Amsterdam will not be divided into 13 municipalities and the plans for a city-province will

be put in the refrigerator for a little while.

The Amsterdam voters have disturbed the so-called bottom-up process of reaching consensus with all the partners in the region (central city, suburban municipalities, province, lobby-groups etc.) on the way to a special law for the city-province. Creating consensus among the actors in the region is already difficult enough, because every actor has different interests. But the politicians do not show all the cards in the negotiating process. No wonder the voters do not understand what is going on.

Establishing metrogovernment is not just a technocratic 'solution' to all the problems in the city (unemployment, housing shortage, traffic jams), but a *political decision*. One advantage of the referendum is that the politicians finally show their real agendas. It took them at least ten years to do that. In the meantime the regional co-operation tends to fall apart. The bottom-up process does not seem that successful. There are too many conflicting interests.

(Jeroen van der Veer is a political geographer doing PhD-research on plans for annexations and metropolitan governments in the Amsterdam and Eindhoven metropolitan regions. The dissertation will be finished at the beginning of 1996. He can be contacted at : Amsterdam Study Centre for the Metropolitan Environment, Department of Human Geography, University of Amsterdam, Nieuwe Prinsengracht 130, 1018 VZ Amsterdam)



Bird's eye view of the 1993 proposal for the southern IJ-embankment by the now bankrupt Amsterdam Waterfront Company

OPTIMAL MIXTURE AND URBAN FEDERALISM - A REAL-UTOPIAN CONCEPT FOR THE RE-ORGANISATION OF THE (ZURICH) URBAN AREA

Richard Wolff and Christian Schmid

Commissioned by the City Council of Zurich, the architect Giorgio Crespo, and the two urban geographers Christian Schmid and Richard Wolff, all from Zurich, developed the concept "Optimal Mixture and Urban Federalism". It aims at solving some of Zurich's most pressing problems.

The authors have identified three main *problem fields*: (a) *socio-political*: the territorial fragmentation of the urban area fosters anonymity and selfishness while it inhibits public participation and collective identification; (b) *environmental*: functional segmentation in the urban area entails a large demand for transport, which in turn entails infrastructural and environmental problems; (c) *financial*: as a consequence of the spatial concentration of specific functions the City of Zurich has to deliver services and infrastructure to the larger urban area without being properly remunerated.

(1) The authors have defined three *means* to respond to the problems identified above: Optimal Mixture 1 aims at the better mixture of workplaces and inhabitants in order to reduce commuter transport. Optimal Mixture 2 aims at the creation of more lively neighbourhoods and municipalities, in order to reduce shopping, entertainment, and other reproduction-related transports. Optimal Mixture 3 aims at the creation of integrated full-value regional centres to divert attraction from the main centre.

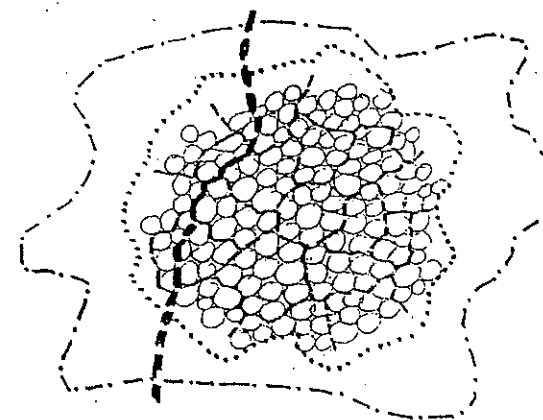
(2) In order to realise these aims, a strategic re-organisation of the urban area as a whole has to be undertaken. This *strategy* is called Urban Federalism. The underlying principle of Urban Federalism is that it is built from below, by the will of the people, as a result of discussions, consciousness raising, campaigns, education and information. Urban Federalism comprises the restructuring of the urban area and the re-shuffling of powers and duties between the various levels. The status of city quarters shall be revaluated to give them more powers and duties in matters of their concern. Urban regions are introduced as a new level of territorial-political entity between municipalities and the urban area as a whole. Each region shall have a regional centre. The city of Zurich is one of these urban regions. Urban regions define themselves, that is the municipalities choose to form and belong to specific urban regions. To keep the entire urban area together and to discuss and solve problems of the entire area, an urban association is constituted, consisting of representatives of all city quarters, municipalities of the urban area and the urban regions.

(3) Various *instruments* can be applied to promote the above strategy, such as public relation campaigns, democratization and decentralization of planning, decentralization of supplies and resources inside the urban area, ecologization of transport.

Conclusion: To optimise the city means to maximise its opportunities and to minimise its problems. This can only be done successfully with the people, because the people know their needs best. If the people are to think, contribute and participate, if they are to take responsibility in the solution of urban problems, they have to be involved. They can only be involved if the socio-political environment is adequate. To create this environment is the

aim of the concept Optimal Mixture and Urban Federalism.

Discussion: The concept was criticized as being too technocratic. In reply, the authors underlined their basis-democratic approach. All action must result out of discussions and desires coming from below. All this concept wants is to show a possible itinerary of change. However, the initial spark must be given by communication, information, and public relation.



A new urban association consisting of city quarters, municipalities and urban regions helps to overcome socio-political fragmentation

RECENT GROWTH CHANGES AND STRATEGIES IN THE MADRID REGION

Luis Felipe Alonso

Madrid is a metropolitan region of about 5 million people. A long tradition of concentrated urban growth, associated with high density development and compact city forms, begun to break up dramatically during the eighties. Now, decentralisation and sprawl seem to have laid pervasive roots for the change in the metropolitan growth model well beyond the ups and downs of the economic cycle.

The last fifteen years, following the restoration of democracy, gave new grounds for impressive social and cultural restructuring. The socialists, who have been in the regional government until June '95, concentrated on policies of social re-equilibrium and urban reconstruction, very much in the orthodox, postwar, democratic spirit: strong lines of public land policy, urban upgrading projects and socio-economic regeneration programs for the traditional working-class regional towns and districts, etc. This is quite a contrast with the overliberal policies of the same party within Central Government.

However, very little or no attention at all has been paid to the new environmental consequences of the emerging mode of metropolitan growth and its spatial forms, which have been largely ignored. This lack of sensitivity has been reflected in the choice of the strategical objectives for the region but, more clearly, in the nature of the implemented actions.

Large amounts of land were acquired for metropolitan expansion. However, some of the most important public-led social programs and economic regeneration projects have been uncritically modelled after the territorial implications of huge investments on motorway and road transport infrastructure. Expansionist policies have often pervaded over more refined objectives of growth control and spatial containment, and social-environmental ideas have remained largely absent of the decisive courses of action affecting the actual growth model. In this context it will not be an easy task for the next years to build any credible creative set of proposals to confront the new conservative regional power.

THE REDEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAY STATION DISTRICTS: WHAT IS THE SCOPE FOR LOCAL ACTION?

Luca Bertolini, Stefan De Corte and Richard Wolff

A number of factors is putting enormous redevelopment pressure on railway stations and their surroundings.

Among them are:

- Redéveloppement in transport: integration of transport modes, revival of public transport, innovations in rail transport (e.g. high speed, but not only). As a consequence, stations (may) become transport interchanges.

- Economic and political developments : privatiz(ed)ing railway companies see railway

stations as (potential) profit generators, entrepreneurial local governments see big urban projects as boosters to the urban economy.

All these pressures notwithstanding, the redevelopment of railway stations and their surroundings is in practice extremely controversial. Stations are at one time nodes (of networks) and places (in the city). On and around them far-away worlds clash on each other and local and global dynamics intertwine. This complexity translates in the interplay of a plurality of interests. In our case studies (Brussels South, Euralille, King's Cross, Utrecht City Project) conflicts exist both between and within actors (e.g. property developers vs. local businesses and residents, but also railway company as operator vs. railway company as developer, local government as defender of the public interest vs. local government as entrepreneur).

Interests could be subdivided into four groups:

- Railway companies and local transportation companies,
- Central, regional and local governments,
- Developers, builders, investors and land owners,
- Local residents and small businesses, and citizens in general, as users.

Roles are not fixed, alliances are formed and broken in the process. Public-private partnerships are often set up to co-ordinate the action, but rarely are local interests involved.

Today we would like to concentrate on the following questions. Is it important that local interests and the citizens in general are involved in the redevelopment of railway stations and their surroundings. And if this is true, why? Which are the conditions and the limits of such involvement? How can these groups make themselves heard? Is there scope for a participated, interactive approach to planning and design?

From the point of view of the local interests, not all the case studies give the same answers. We go from open confrontation at King's Cross and (with less success) in Zürich, to formal but not substantial consultation in Utrecht, to co-optation in Lille, to marginalization in Brussels. In all five examples the local and other excluded interests appear to be bearers of crucial, mostly unanswered demands. The degree of their active interaction in the process seems an important condition for the quality of the outcome. All stories provide clues to possible ways of realizing this interaction, but none provides a wholly satisfying solution. Should our role, as analysts/planners/activists, be that of increasing the chances and provide the tools for that to happen?

PLANNING FOR REAL - AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO LARGE-SCALE URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF FOR EXAMPLE RAILWAY STATIONS

Richard Wolff

Urban restructuring

Who is to have a say in urban restructuring? Whose ideas shall prevail and be realised? What is the role of scientists, planners, experts? Which vision of urban development do they support? What are the motives behind specific planning and development approaches? What are the pros and cons of different approaches?

Large-scale projects

Large scale projects unite all the main players of urban development driven by a variety of motives: economic, ideological, political, etc. Large-scale projects have a wide range of impacts: social and economical on the neighbourhood, on the entire city, environmental, concerning traffic flows, etc.

What are the chances and limits of Planning for Real, a participative planning approach applied quite successfully in England?

The case of King's Cross in London is an example of the application of participative planning in urban regeneration. Not only is this alternative planning method applicable in small projects or in rather undisputed localities, but even in central, highly contested areas.

King's Cross is one of London's big railway stations. King's Cross is also the busiest underground station in London. It is located very attractively at the Northern fringe of the inner city. The railway lands open for redevelopment comprise an area of 135 acres (about 60 hectares).

British Rail's plans for the redevelopment of King's Cross railway lands were tightly linked to the construction of an underground terminal for the EuroStar Channel tunnel railway Paris - London. Immediately after these plans had been announced, a group of opponents got together to form the King's Cross Railway Lands Group (KXRLG). In addition to a well-coordinated campaign against the scheme, the KXRLG decided to participate in the planning process by designing and proposing an alternative project. As an alternative method of planning they chose Planning for Real. Planning for Real had been applied before, but only in considerably smaller and less disputed projects.

Planning for Real comprises two strategies to involve the people. One is the actual Planning for Real events. In the King's Cross case 5 well-advertised public events were staged in schools in the vicinity of King's Cross. Several hundred people participated. Each event lasted for about four hours. After an introduction, participants were asked to place option cards on a model of the area to be redeveloped. The model measured about 6 by 10 metres and each participant placed 10, 20 or 50 option cards, expressing what he or she would like to see on the site in question. Option cards were then recorded and evaluated. The second part of the Planning for Real method is the Outreach activity where a wide range of groups, organizations, institutions were being approached and asked about their

opinions. This is a way of getting groups involved which would normally not participate in public meetings.

The overall evaluation and independent expert advice eventually led to the design of two alternative proposals for the development of King's Cross. Both alternatives basically propose less office space, more (social) housing, and more community services. Both plans are ready to be submitted for planning permission. Both plans are economically viable. Both plans are supported by the communities in and around the King's Cross area. Whether or not they will actually be realised depends on the planning legislation, the economic environment, and the political priorities/majorities of Borough and State, the role of environmental impact assessments and the like.

Discussion: The question whether public participation should be supported under any (political/social) circumstances remained open. Public participation and public demands were identified as conflicting with a project's profitability, thus making public participation a political question. It was argued, however, that the calculation of profitability depends on the size of the area chosen as basis for a cost/benefit analysis. A high profitability on a small plot with dense uses may be the cause for high (social) costs in the surrounding area.



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*The Kings Cross Railway Lands Group applied
alternative planning methods*

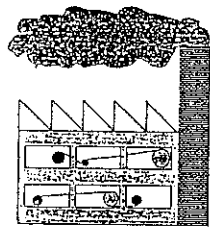
ABANDONED INDUSTRIAL AREAS: WHAT CHANCES FOR GROWTH OR NO-GROWTH?

Philipp Klaus

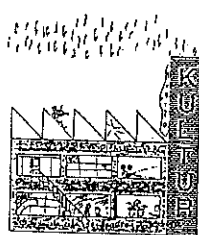
In Switzerland law prescribes a careful treatment of land since 1980. Nevertheless land is used for further construction in metropolitan areas as well as in former rural areas. Many concepts are discussed about back-zoning of reserves and construction zones or about inner development, but with little effect. The first is fought by local governments because every community waits a further development and prosperity in the future depending on construction and growth. The second, so-called inner development is a problem of property and attitude. The aim of this concept is to create a higher density at the existing settlements.

And then there is a discussion on development and growth depending on claiming land, but there is a lot of space not being used at all. There is a large amount of empty office space, in Zürich 500.000 square meters. On the other hand there are abandoned industrial areas. The surface of these areas is enormous. In Switzerland in many larger towns certain branches of industrial production have given up only within the last five years. Some of these huge areas are situated amidst the town centres near the main railway stations. Two major problems concern the development of these areas: building laws and economic trends. The question is whether there will be economic growth and investment in these areas. And if so, will it be related to a claim for land? Nowadays, growth does not automatically mean more work places and more space for offices.

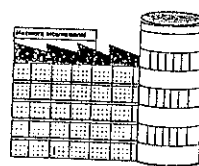
We can state that there is enough space for further development, but we can also hope that there is a possibility for local projects entering the areas. Many former industrial sites are used as schools, museums, cultural centres, dwellings or places for techno parties. An amazing amount of factories are used for leisure activities. The type of management of these places ranges from business and profit-oriented leisure machines to collectively self-governed self-help projects.



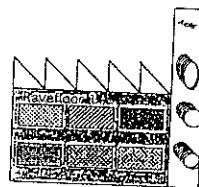
Industrial Production



Culture Centre



Offices



Techno-Parties

Uses of industrial sites

GOVERNMENT BY APPOINTMENT: THE 'QUANGO' STATE IN THE U.K.

Fred Robinson

In the United Kingdom, democracy is being undermined as unelected 'quangos' are put in charge of public services. These 'quangos' - *quasi autonomous non-governmental organisations* - are run by boards of people who are appointed by central government. They are not accountable to local people yet they spend taxpayers' money and have a great deal of power. Quangos now run hospitals, colleges, the training system and oversee urban regeneration but, however incompetent they are, we cannot vote to get rid of them.

The presentation looked at evidence recently collected for a report on 'Who Runs the North?', a regionally-based analysis of quangos which was commissioned by the trade union UNISON. Quangos are evidently an attempt by Tory central government to control the local level and reduce the potential for opposition. Many of those appointed to quango boards are Tory sympathisers and many are business people who are supposed to make public services more 'business-like'. Quangos are secretive and citizens have no rights enabling them to find out what quangos are up to. Most people do not even know who sits on these quango boards - so the UNISON report published, for the first time, a comprehensive list of 'quangocrats' in the North of England.

After discussing what quangos are and why the growth of the quango state matters, we saw a television film, 'The Quangocrats'. This was made at the end of last year to publicise the findings from the UNISON report. It focuses on quangos in the health service in the North and vividly demonstrates how incompetent and insensitive quangocrats are taking decisions to close hospitals - decisions which are bitterly opposed by local people.

In the subsequent discussion someone said that control of public services is a constitutional issue. That is right - and that is where reform is needed, to introduce democracy and make sure that people affected by decisions have power. Simply getting rid of Tory quangocrats and replacing them with Labour supporters after the next election is not going to be enough!

The Report, 'Who Runs the North?', is by Fred Robinson and Keith Shaw. Contact Fred at Durham if you would like a copy.

THE EXODUS INITIATIVE IN LUTON U.K.

Arie van Wijngaarden

The Exodus movement started with the organisation of raves: non-commercial dancing parties in derelict open areas or abandoned warehouses. Dancing all night in the middle of nowhere.

It was, and is, an action against the exploitation at the commercial festivals and dance parties. So admission is free instead of charging a high entrance fee. And there is plenty of fresh water for the thirsty instead of cold taps that are turned off and expensive drinks that characterize the commercial sector.

The Exodus raves are run by volunteers. Self-help is the device. So party-goers are asked to give a voluntary financial contribution. After some 20 raves Exodus had enough money to buy its own sound system. At the raves or free festivals space is given to stalls for people who want to sell food or other stuff they produced themselves.

At a given moment the movement spread out to other fields. An abandoned farm along the (roaring) M1 motorway was occupied, a derelict hotel was squatted. Money was put into repairs.

The raves and the squatting led to fierce actions by the police. Exodus' initiatives were criminalized, although the raves were well-organised and safe and attendance was massive, but not aggressive. Still the police actions were persistent. People were arrested, but had to be released, because the accusations could not be proved. The local council has asked for an official enquiry into the police methods.

The initiatives of Exodus continue. Recently it applied for planning permission to convert a derelict warehouse into a space for dancing and for small traders' stalls.

THE INTERNAL CITY -

ENCOURAGING THE GROWTH OF SOCIAL SKILLS AND STRATEGIES

Louanne Tranchell

All cities are multi-layered, with severe contrasts in the distribution of resources, as well as problems arising from 'growth'. Both the boom cities of Asia with rapid growth and the slowly evolving, and in many places decaying, cities of Europe, must address the internal well-being and personal development of the many individuals who make up the city. This 'internal city' can cope with 'large-scale growth' and still be totally beneficial; this is an unusual aspect of growth.

I introduced three different initiatives, with which I have been involved in the past year, which all made some contribution towards the personal growth of the local residents :

1. Capacity building,
2. Improving management skills,
3. Increasing understanding.

1. **Capacity building** is a small 'patch', on the Teviot Estate, in the district of Poplar, in the borough of Tower Hamlets (LBTH) in East London. The Housing Department are concerned that this estate of around 1000 dwellings has twice lost out on the current UK Government grants which are now awarded through competition. There are also problems of racism, and the only successful fascist councillor in the UK was elected by a neighbouring ward (a result that was speedily reversed, but a source of anxiety for LBTH). The main 'tools' of this exercise included: mapping; opening an information shop; a door-to-door skill survey done by the residents themselves; 'Planning for Real'. These helped groups and individuals to identify small projects that they could bid for with more authority.

2. **Improving management skills** is one of the priorities of the Hammersmith Centre

Working Party which has been drawing up a strategy for this town centre in West London. representatives of local groups have been invited to contribute ideas on the future of the Town Centre, along with many other stake-holders from local firms, services, and schools. The 'evidence' will be published as a prospectus that will aim to assist in the appointment of a Town Centre Manager and inform a programme of initiatives and events. This will be a slim document in contrast to the numerous weighty 'plans' that have been issued recently by national and local London government: Strategic Advice, Strategic Guidance, Unitary Development Plans, and more.

3. **Increasing understanding** includes work with Equal Opportunity Policies, Anti-Racism Strategies, Environmental Awareness, Local Agenda 21, Socially Responsible Development (SRD), and Socially Responsible Investment (SRI). All of these programmes extend networks and increase understanding and gradually improve our chances of living together in better urban conditions - in our cities of the future.

ECOLOGICAL PLANNING IN TESSAOUA (NIGER)

Giancarlo Paba and Raffaele Paloscia

The Laboratory of Ecological Design of Settlements of the University of Florence is working at the moment to develop some ideas for the transformation of Tessaoua, the center of an district in southeastern Niger, on request of an NGO, the COSPE, which is doing considerable work in rural development and environmental protection in this area. The work, carried out by G. Paba, R. Paloscia (co-ordinator), I. Zetti and some consultants, is a voluntary job financed with a small budget for travelling and other expenses.

Tessaoua is a city which feels the effects of all the usual problems common to most parts of the Sahel area, that is the process of desertification, water and wind erosion, competition between agricultural use and cattle farming, reduction of water reserves and loss of vegetation. All this occurs in the presence of a demographic pressure which is growing strongly, because of natural increment and the process of urbanisation.

The objectives of the work have been determined on the basis of a number of elements :

- the coherence with the theoretical and methodological approach used by our group (see previous INURA bulletins),
- the twofold nature of the work: the experimental research for new methods of intervention during a long period of transformation and the operational project because of the urgency of giving minimal but immediately useful results,
- the ties imposed by very limited resources on hand in terms of budget.

These objectives can be summarized as follows:

1. defining a global analytical explanatory picture of the city, identifying the main problems connected with growth,
2. defining, with the direct participation of the population, a preliminary project of transformation and improvement of the city with some guidelines concerning urban and environmental issues,
3. singling out the planning priorities in a new framework for financing the co-operation,

4. singling out immediately operative propositions to satisfy the basic needs and to rectify emergency situations.

All these objectives are finalised not to prefigure an ideal state of the city subsequent to the intervention proposals (something that would immediately show to be short lived), but to indicate through those procedures, managed by the local community, a transformation that can be directed towards that ideal state.

The work is in the pipeline. Anyway some steps forward have been taken concerning the two reference ambits: the experimental and the operative ones.

Referring to the first one, two initiatives revealed very appropriate and profitable for the co-involving of the population: a video which illustrates the more urgent and visible problems of the city, a questionnaire submitted to a range of people containing questions relative to the urban reality.

The results have been :

- an active participation of the inhabitants who expressed their vision of the city, showing in particular which places and areas they consider of symbolic relevance and should be conserved in order to reinforce the urban identity,

- a collective intervention helped by a wide number of volunteers, consisting in a day dedicated to the cleaning-up of the city from the garbage which had accumulated for a long time.

Referring to the operative ambit two urgent problems have been singled out: the water system, in particular the "mares" (ponds), and the road network.

On the base of careful surveys, plottings and tests carried out thanks also to a specific consultation of a geologist, we are elaborating a series of articulated proposals for reclaiming and regenerating the "mares" and the re-settling of the road network. Other operative proposals for urgent intervention of a hygienic-sanitary character are in the pipeline to give services to the markets, restore the slaughterhouse, protect the city wells, create garbage-dumps and organise the systematic collection of garbage and so on.

It is premature to make out a balance of this experience. It will be put-off to the next INURA conference. What we can say, however, is that the approach used, having dug into the roots of the history and local culture, having been in a position to listen closely to the community living there, all this has allowed to overcome the usual diffidence that people of developing countries have towards Westerners, the carriers of truth and winning ideas, who after their departure leave all the problems unresolved, if not worsened.

The prospective is for us to put our knowledge to their disposition, to twist it together into the local wisdom, which has often been suffocated by homologous technology, to start up the process of self-determinating transformation managed by the local community.

Even through thousands of difficulties and doubts we have the feeling, maybe the illusion, of being on the right road.

DEBATING THE CONCEPT OF GLOBALISATION: THE CASE OF URBAN WATERFRONT REDEVELOPMENT

Annemarie Dekker

Urban development is often being discussed as being highly uniform worldwide. Big projects, be it around railway stations, on former industrial estates, or in waterfront areas, are particularly thought of as forms of urban development that, cross-nationally, have many characteristics in common. These similarities can be subdivided in two categories: plan and strategy. Plan relates to all the physical, functional, and visual qualities of the development (densities, uses, design), while strategy refers to the organisation of it (the ways in which various levels of government, private parties, and local groups are involved).

In this research urban waterfront redevelopment projects have been selected as research subjects. These projects have proliferated over the world (as I have shown you on a world map; new additions are still welcome!). They have furthermore gained much attention in literature on urban development, in which the similarity-thesis has been well-developed. From this literature I have distilled the characteristics of what we may call the stereotypical or hegemonic urban waterfront development. Plans typically comprise a mix of land uses, such as offices (post-industrial, high-tech, service-oriented), housing (luxurious, for the better-off), and retail/leisure (festival market, water-related, reference to history), are large scale, have high densities, post-modern architecture, while they combine new construction and re-use of existing structures ('look-alike thesis'). Strategies entail entrepreneurialism, partnerships, growth coalitions, urban governance, rather than government, market-led planning, and special area-based regimes ('do-it-alike thesis').

Various theoretical explanations underlie the similarity thesis, relating to the concept of urban life cycles, the rent-gap theory, changing discourse ('the temptation of water'), economic cycles, policy cycles, diffusion theory, and 'glocalisation'. This research aims to debate the concept of glocalisation in particular. Glocalisation refers to various processes that are considered to be simultaneously at work. Being positioned in a highly competitive global marketplace, where capital is footloose, local governments are thought to be forced to provide similar conditions to 'the market', while they, as a result of international exchanges of 'fashions' seems to find it desirable to do so. The nation-state is considered to have largely lost their role as mediator between the global and the local; the link between the global and the local is direct, hence the concept of glocalisation.

There are important counterarguments. First, there are differences over time. What is now regarded a stereotypical project has in fact developed incrementally. It thus reflects different economic and political conditions, and different fashions that have prevailed over time. Second, differences may be expected between spaces due to varying conditions related to the nation-specific nature of state-city relations, the economy, and specific local circumstances.

By studying the initiatives for urban waterfront redevelopment in historic perspective I hope to be able to decipher the relative importance of global factors compared to national and local factors. In the cases under study there has never been a concomitant implementation of both a stereotypical plan and a stereotypical strategy. In London and Liverpool stereotypical plans have emerged before Thatcher installed the Urban Development Corporations, but they could not be realised because of political changes and economic downturns. The UDC's represent a stereotypical strategy, a special waterfront

regime, be it established by central government. The state did however have no clear plans for the areas. Plans have been highly influenced by 'the market', international fashions, and by a government who has over time increased rather than decreased their involvement in the project. In Amsterdam and Rotterdam, initial initiatives do not meet the stereotype. The emphasis is on social housing, made possible by central government funding. From the mid-1980s international fashions start to influence plans, which become more stereotypical. There is a search for new strategies.

In short: global factors have come to the fore, but they have been mediated by political and economic factors typical for the states and cities in question.



Amsterdam : the old merchant city with the canals in the centre, industrial estates and workers' housing in the North. The proposed development is along the southern embankment of the IJ-estuary

INURA TRACK RECORD 1994-95 AND OUTLOOK INURA Zurich

INURA organization

After the successful Italian era, with Raffaele Paloscia, Giancarlo Paba, and Daniela Poli from Florence as main protagonists, activists and workers, the INURA tradition of annually rotating head offices continued. The sceptre of temporary primacy passed to INURA Amsterdam. We are most grateful to Annemarie Dekker and Arie van Wijngaarden for the great job they did publishing Bulletins 9 and 10 and for the wonderful and most interesting time they organized for us in Amsterdam and Beneden-Leeuwen, in the Dutch countryside. We are afraid that the proceedings, included in this Bulletin, can only partly reflect the spirit of comradeship and the contents of the conference.

INURA members

Whereas the number of INURA memberships is more or less stagnating around 120, we established/reinforced links with regions not so well represented in our network. Luis Alonso, from Spain, working as a planner and consultant, joined our conference in Holland. Dr. Morshidi Sirat, Deputy Dean of the University of Penang, Malaysia, working on the globalization process in Malaysia, and Gábor Soóki-Tóth, assistant professor at the Institute for Urban Studies in Budapest, Hungary, let us know that they are interested in co-operating with INURA, e.g. by offering contacts in their regions.

Exodus, Luton UK

It was possible to establish relations with the Exodus Collective of Luton, England. Exodus is practicing rather than theorizing urban action by organizing raves, collecting funds, creating jobs, re-possessing and refurbishing housing. Biggs, Glen and Matthew of Exodus came to our meeting in Holland to present their project and - quite unexpectedly - offered themselves as hosts for next year's meeting. For organizational matters and Bulletins 11 and 12, INURA London (Louanne Tranchell, Mark Saunders, Fred Robinson, Bob Colenutt, and Michael Edwards) have offered assistance. Thank you all very much for this! The Luton meeting will definitely leave the beaten track so far followed by INURA as it will happen in close collaboration with and on the site of one of the most extraordinary projects of urban practice. Don't miss this unique opportunity! Also invite your practitioner colleagues to join in! More information on dates, programme, accommodation, and fees will be published in Bulletin 11, expected to be published early 1996. A preliminary programme is part of this Bulletin.

Journal / General ideas for future activities:

The idea for the creation of a new Journal promoted in Bulletin 9/95 was well received and sparked a broader discussion on INURA activities. The opportunity an INURA journal would offer for the diffusion of our ideas was clearly seen by most. While some would prefer to continue INURA on the same basis we have developed in the past 5 years, the discussion also showed that there was some unease about the unchanged continuation of our annual meetings. It was proposed to extend the scope of our meetings, e.g. by including local/community groups and by offering them our resources and assistance. Another idea was to edit a booklet with contacts, know-how, topics, and yellow pages concerning urban

issues (similar to the existing network of local economy, Karlheinz Deventer mentioned). Both journal and booklet would certainly meet the desire expressed by many members to communicate our experience to the outside. However, this goal could also be achieved by using space in other/existing journals.

Conclusion: A preparatory editorial group, consisting of Raffaele Paloscia, Florence, Fred Robinson, Durham, and Christian Schmid, Zürich, was set up. They will get together and try to work out a project for a Journal to be presented in Luton '96.

Zurich '97

As INURA Zürich had already considered the idea of staging the '96 meeting, when our English friends jumped into the gap, INURA Zürich is now in the very fortunate position to begin the preparations for the '97 meeting. So far, the idea is to have the meeting in two parts, with a traditional introductory city tour (certainly different from the one of '91). One or two days will see a combination of open conference and cultural events, staged at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) and the Cultural Centre Rote Fabrik, in Zürich. We will then take off to catch some fresh air, discuss and develop future activities in an Alpine resort.

e-mail

Please send us your e-mail address, to add it to the INURA address list.

Other INURA news

The book 'Capitales Fatales - Urbanisierung und Politik in den Finanzmetropolen Frankfurt und Zürich', started in Prerow as an INURA project, is now finished and in print. It will be published by Rotpunkt Verlag, Zürich.

Good luck to our English friends and see you all in Luton '96!

INURA 1996 - LUTON U.K.

"DIRECT REGENERATION" - SORTING THE WASTELANDS

Action - Self Help - Local Economy

PROVISIONAL PROGRAMME JUNE 8-14th 1996

Saturday June 8

Arrival in Luton, Exodus party

Sunday June 9

Open event (The Farm / The Manor)

Monday June 10

Luton presentation / Open discussion / Luton University

Tuesday June 11

Trips to Milton Keynes ("new town"), Welwyn Gardens and Letchworth (garden cities)

Evening: brainstorming

Wednesday June 12

Inura brief, shared work

Thursday June 13

Inura presentations, discussion / Inura 1997 / Slides, video

Friday June 14

Leave

