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The Creative City

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International Network for Urban Research and Action

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Conference Programme

Sunday 13 June: Amsterdam
from 16.00 arrival at Stayokay Vondelpark
19.00 evening meal at Stayokay
20.00 transfer to Plantage Doklaan
20.30 "Where are we?": the state of Amsterdam (presentations)

Monday 14 June: Amsterdam
10.00-16.00 boat trip along the Y-harbour front
Visit of (ex-)squatted buildings, converted industrial buildings
19.00 evening meal at Stayokay Vondelpark
20.00 transfer to Plantage Doklaan
20.30 Public event: The Creative City, Culture or Business
Sharon Zukin (NY), Robert Kloosterman (AMIDs), Jaap Draisma
(De Vrije Ruimte)

Tuesday 15 June: Amsterdam
10.00-16.00 excursions 1, 2 or 3:
1 - Multicultural Amsterdam
2 - Expanding Amsterdam
3 - Eco Amsterdam

Wednesday 16 June: Amsterdam (Egmond)
11.00 departure by train and bus to Stayokay Egmond
Afternoon Inura round-up, Toronto report
Evening Inura common projects

Thursday 17 June: Egmond
Morning presentations
Afternoon Inura common projects
Evening presentations

Friday 18 June: Egmond
Morning Inura common projects
Afternoon guided walk in the dunes and along the beach
Evening Inura general meeting

Saturday 19 June: Egmond
Morning Inura common projects
Afternoon presentations

Sunday 20 June:
10.00 end of the conference
Space and politics: Amsterdam 9 years later

Arie van Wijngaarden

It is fascinating to compare the topics of the 1995 Inura Amsterdam conference to the present day discussions in Amsterdam. The theme of the 1995 conference ‘To Grow Or Not To Grow’ was reflected in two referendums that year.

The first referendum was about the transfer of power from the city to the city region, in which neighbouring municipalities would have the same rights as the districts of the city of Amsterdam. This question is nowadays not a topic anymore. The creation of a metropolitan region was voted down, what has remained is a regional consultation on matters of physical planning, transport and housing. The connected national policy has changed too in the recent period. Around 1995 planners researched the possibilities to add housing areas close to the existing larger cities, in order to preserve the ‘green’ character of the heart of the Randstad area. But with the political shift from the centre to the right the ban on the expansion of the small centres in the countryside was lifted.

The second referendum was on the planning of IJburg, a new district east of Amsterdam, to be built in the IJsselmeer lake. Although many voted against IJburg than in favour, not enough votes were cast to have a valid referendum. So in 1996 the construction started and today about 1000 out of the total of 18.000 dwelling are built. Nature protection organisations that initially campaigned against IJburg later collaborated with the city planners in designing the ‘nature compensation projects’ in the lake and shores around the new district. An example of the Dutch ‘poldermodel’ of the nineties where consensus, for example between trade unions and employers, was considered to be the right way to reach the ultimate goal, i.e. economic growth.

In 1995 we visited some ex-squatted and now renovated buildings like Pavilion 1+2. At that time legalisation and renovation of squatted buildings was very much connected to the need for housing and sometimes for working space. The eviction of buildings in old harbour areas that were occupied to establish a counterculture (Slodam, Kalenderpanden, Ruigoord) still had to come. Until protests convinced the politicians that the existence of cheap fringe buildings serving the need for the work of artists, artisans and designers was essential for the cultural climate and the connected creative industry. A fund was created that should financially support for the creation of broedplaatsen (hatching- or breeding places).

We also visited the Mercatorplein project. This project was an effort to stop the degradation of an area with many immigrants through a joint investment of the city, the city district, housing associations, private property owners and shopkeepers. Upgrading the housing stock, streets, shops and facilities. Nowadays the political discussions follow quite different lines. Integration of immigrants into the Dutch culture is now the key word. Less support for the poor, but showing the success of entrepreneurship of ethnic immigrants.

We also had a boat tour along the IJ-eyes, the harbour waterfront area. It was in the years that a huge public-private partnership between the city and the huge company ING Real Estate had collapsed and the city decided to split up the waterfront in minor projects. In this way it was easier to follow the tides of the investments in real estate like luxury apartments or office space. In the nineties in the southern, more posh part of the city the large banks like ING and ABN Amro joined the Zuidas project. The idea is to create in 20 years a huge central business district with head offices, shops, housing and a new railway station. Redirecting investments from the waterfront area to the Zuidas. Also public investments, because the proposal contains huge tunnels for railways, motorways, trams and metro lines.

1998 a group of residents and users of different squatted buildings that were under threat of being cleared submitted a petition to the municipal council, demanding constructive measures to stop the elimination of those creative space. Shortly after the municipality decided to formulate a special policy to realize affordable working and living spaces for artists and groups of artists and associated creative entrepreneurs. This broedplaatsen policy (literally ‘breeding grounds’) has evoked both positive and negative reactions. During the conference field trips will be made to grassroots legal and still formally illegal creative freezones as well as to the broedplaatsen realised under municipal control.

Creative City

Martijn Arnoldus

At the start of the twenty-first century ‘creativity’ has become the new catchword in debates on urban development. Nowadays, there are growing numbers of self-appointed creative cities concerned with an indistinct mixture of issues ranging from culture and art to technological innovation and creative urban planning. Underlying this focus on creativity in urban space is a concern with wider societal transitions. Ever-larger shares of the working population in western economies are primarily engaged in creative professions, in the production of ideas rather than actual material goods. Artists, designers, university professors, writers, performers, but also researchers, consultants and engineers are all performing creative jobs. They are working on new ideas and concepts rather than along the lines of fully dictated templates.

In effect, creativity is increasingly ‘mainstreamed’ in the economy. It is increasingly seen as something to be stimulated and management studies show a growing range of guides to improve the creative potential of firms, working environments and employees. Most studies emphasize a need for openness, tolerance, diversity and a positive attitude towards change and deviation from prevailing standards. All these elements are now increasingly projected upon the character of urban environments as well. Creativity will only flourish, and creative people will only flock to urban environments that are open, tolerant, diverse and that welcome change and deviation.

In the 2004 Conference INURA-Amsterdam aims to take up the rise of the creative city as the major theme. In the seventies and eighties squatters, artists and other artistically creative people squatted buildings throughout the city at a fairly large scale. Some of these buildings were eventually legalized by the local government and are still creative hot spots in the city. Other sites were cleared. In the Amsterdam context does raise particular questions about the relation between creativity and urban space. How can creative freezones or broedplaatsen be stimulated or facilitated? Should they be stimulated? Does too much municipal regulation kill the creative potential of those places? What is the relation between local creative initiatives and processes of globalisation? Is creativity now primarily the business of global players who have ‘mainstreamed’ creativity in their organizations, or is there still an important role for small-scale local initiatives? Do freezones and broedplaatsen add to the openness, tolerance and diversity of urban space?

Furthermore, questions can be asked about the relation between creativity and urban space and the role of the city in fostering that creativity. It is not just important to foster creativity, but also to provide the space and opportunities for it to thrive. The city needs to create environments where creative people can flourish and where they are encouraged to take risks and experiment. This involves providing a range of spaces and facilities, from art galleries and museums to co-working spaces and incubators. It also involves creating a supportive and inclusive culture that values and celebrates creativity. The city should also work to ensure that creative spaces are accessible to people of all backgrounds and from diverse communities, rather than being exclusive to those who can afford them.
In the shadow of the creative city
Eric Duivenvoorden

For years no one ever cared about them. They led a nomadic existence, always searching for an own dring in the city. But suddenly the Amsterdam artists, squatters and other creative people whose inspiration comes from outside the mainstream have gained a lot of sympathy. Behind their back the mayor makes good choirs with the typical libertine atmosphere that has traditionally characterised the artistic, political and cultural environment in Amsterdam. Amsterdam has it all, is the official slogan to market the city. Amsterdam has it all, because today Amsterdam is a "creative city". In his 2004 new year's speech mayor Cohen stated that: "Amsterdam Creative City offers space to talent. We must have an eye for an atmosphere that (...) enables new forms of cooperation between government, firms, creative people and knowledge institutions". In 2003, former mayor Patijn set the trend when he argued that "there can be no culture without subculture". Cohen has adopted the same reasoning. However, in order to seriously continue the debate about the future of the creative city, a change of direction seems necessary.

Creativity exposed
Since 2000, the municipality of Amsterdam has spent tens of millions of euros to the acquisition of squatted buildings, to the appropriation of studio space for artists and work space for artisans. By making those so-called broedplaatsen (literally: breeding places) available the public authorities have to call a halt to the creative flight from the city. Rising property prices have caused an exodus of artists and other creative people during the last few years. To once more emphasise the value of creativity to the city, the artists collective W139 - which originates from the squatter movement - has recently received the Amsterdam Award for the Arts. And at an international conference called 'Creativity and the city', which was held in the autumn of 2003, mayor Cohen stressed the importance of creativity to the post-industrial city in front of an international audience of scholars, artists and other experts. Today, the artist is set on a pedestal as a cultural entrepreneur. What is more, the artist has a direct say in the debates about the future of Amsterdam city. However, this sudden attention is not without obligations. According to Cohen it is directly related to the "development of the global knowledge and service economy".

Unexpectedly the libertine artist turns out to possess a certain capital that is indispensable to the future of the city. According to prevailing opinions, economic capital can only flourish in an environment rich of creative capital. The competitiveness of cities in the global economy will increasingly depend on the creative class - the owners and producers of creative capital: artists, designers, entrepreneurs and all the others that are able to catch, interpret and nourish flows of information in an unorthodox manner. The core activity of contemporary creative processes no longer is physical labour, but the creative production of knowledge, ideas, software, concepts, designs and illusions. Consequently, the extent to which a city succeeds in facilitating an inspiring pool of creative talent becomes crucial. This is not because a pleasant residential environment is created. First of all, bringing talent together is supposed to be important because the talent pool is expected to play an increasingly important role in the location decisions of firms.

Consumers' paradise
There is yet another reason why knowledge and creativity play such an important role these days. The consumption society has reached a level of unprecedented circulation of goods and services. The invention of the assembly line first enabled mass production at cheap rates. However, consumers could only choose from a limited range of products. For instance, only one type of car Ford left the factory. Today flexible production systems have enabled an ever more complex diversity of goods and products. Consumer demand can no longer be easily satisfied. The consumer has learned to find his way through the labyrinth of abundance. But on his way he is continuously tempted: take me, get me, buy me. New products cry to be noticed by the consumer who must consume. It is the foundation of our fine state of welfare. Enough is never enough. Slight up-turns in consumer demand make the stock markets leap up: Murray, the consumer feels like it again! To get the consumer to consume more or differently a large amount of inventiveness and creativity are necessary preconditions.

To stress the importance of innovation the Dutch Prime Minister, Balkenende, has been made chair of a National Innovation Platform. Innovation has become a magic word to link universities to the market. Cooperation between universities and firms often runs far from smooth, but is backed up by budgetary measures implemented by the government. The more research is matched with market demand, the higher is the public fund. It is clear that many academic fields suffer from this approach. To name but one example, no one in the world of product innovation and market implementation is eager to obtain results from a research into Chinese drawing structures from the Tang dynasty. Everything must be useful to the market these days.

Apart from technical renewal firms are in need of creative input in another way. Circulation of products increases and the distance to the target group of consumers gets shorter. Markets are continuously
The mayor completely underestimated the pressure to which he hands over Amsterdam. In his creative city, everything serves competition. Creativity does not add; it is seen as the absolute precondition for heightened production. One of the most important outcomes of the creative city serving the global economy is an enormous dichotomy between the foreign (allochthonous) and autochthonous population. Everyone familiar with contemporary developments in the city knows that in practice the foreigners are pushed into the corners ever more. One can find them in the cheerless garden cities, from where they leave early (if they have a job at all) to perform the supporting roles look down upon by the highly educated 'white' part of the population in its 'creative eco system'.

In the creative city as propagated by the public authorities, knowledge and creativity are no longer valued according to their own merits, but are simply seen as the motor of spatial, social, cultural and economic change and as the most important resource in the twenty-first century. The creative city as depicted by mayor Cohen and companions is not a utopian artists' paradise or an inspiring knowledge universe, but the nerve centre of the post-industrial free market economy, a hub in the world system.

It is clear that an inspiring, creative environment cannot exist in a healthy economic atmosphere in the city. But that is completely different from the intended straightforward extrication of art and culture to the market. The creative milieu should be shaped by everyone who lives and works in it – not just by the agents of the free market. In the current global economic system local cultural communities are seriously threatened in their existence if they obey to the rules of the market. Firms are tied to the wishes and demands of their share holders who have, up to now, never pursued anything else than as high possible returns within the shortest possible time span. Such short term objectives often conflict with the demands of local communities. Don't think that firms that have exploited cheap immigrant labour, care much about those workers when they have been made redundant. Such problems are rolled off the local community. Firms are like soccer players. However much the public may love them, if the opportunity arises to improve their position, they leave without saying goodbye, leaving the fans behind.

On the one hand the creative city is in need of a highly educated 'creative' workforce. But on the other hand there is an equally important demand for a docile pool of supporting personnel like cleaners, canteen personnel, or production assistants. Hence, the much appraised art and culture sector has to meet the wishes and demands of the highly educated. Inspiration, exchange and meeting are the key words that should lead to a blossoming creative milieu. In such a milieu one does not like to stumble over a vacuum cleaner, and the toilet lady is only tolerated in uniform.

One cannot expect, as mayor Cohen appears to believe, that those supporting groups will automatically catch up with the creative city if they try hard and imitate the highly educated. Here, the wish seems to be the father of the thought. Already, restructuring of the Dutch education system has proceeded so far that existing social divisions can only be strengthened. In mayor Cohen's creative city, the major share of the foreign population will be pushed down upon by the highly educated 'white' part of the population in its 'creative eco system'.

The vulnerable city
Those who look only upwards in the construction of a creative city will at some point be confronted with unintended side-effects that can kill creativity. If the division between the 'creative world' and the 'supporting world' persists or deepens, Amsterdam will not only end up a culturally divided but also physically divided city. Using all means, the creative milieu will mask itself from the neighbourhoods where violence and crime cause an aggressive and dejected mood. Social mixing will be limited to as much as possible, and be subject to strict regulation which do not match easily with the idea of free and spontaneous exchange of ideas and information. The creative urban network will go down as a result of fear and suspicion. The reverse is true as well, since what are the possibilities left for creativity in a structurally unsafe environment? Such a scenario must be prevented. As mayor Cohen rightly remarks: "creative talents prefer social structures. If the environment does not allow such structures, they [the talents] will go. This makes cities vulnerable."

Yet, this same vulnerability also comes to the fore when creativity, knowledge, art and culture are proposed as means to support the economy. As soon as the obstinate creative talents realise that they are only wanted because of a fine investment climate, the carefully built creative milieu may collapse within no time.

Localisation
The creative city can be an inspiring vision if the emphasis on the global economy is weakened. Not the firms determine how creativity should flow through the city; decisions in this matter should arise in a bottom-up fashion, from the local community. In the information society creativity evolves in the networks that keep a city together. By including as many as possible people in the creative exchange and cooperation, quality of life in the city will be strengthened, and chances of anything inspiring and renewing are heightened. Therefore, urban networks should be kept widely open, because any blockade is suspicious and can strangle creativity and with that life and dynamics in the city.

In the creative city small-scale entrepreneurship is preferred over the non-transparent and impenetrable nature of multi-national conglomerates; excessive regulations killing all new initiatives at the outset have to be avoided. Public space must be safeguarded and vulnerable non-commercial functions need to be protected from the advancing market. The influence of the government on general, public resources and facilities – water, energy, telecommunications and media, public transport – has to be strengthened. Free access to libraries, archives and databanks needs to be warranted. Housing, education and health care should be available to all. Mono-cultures have to be broken and a mix of housing and working, rich and poor, black and white has to be pursued.

In the long run, the city will only survive if it can be transformed to an undivided creative local community. Thanks to a balanced creative milieu that city will not be a victim of the hands of the global market. As a result such a city can go to meet firms interested in locating in the city in a self-
conscionable manner. The local public authorities should find ways to guarantee the openness of and circulation in urban networks, as a result of which knowledge and creativity can flourish in the city and creative power can be inserted to prevent and oppose the city from being overrun by the global economy.

Space for creativity
The city of Amsterdam wants to create space for creativity. In order to meet the need for studios and home/workplaces, the city council has started up a special project. The municipal project group BroedplaatsAmsterdam is responsible for developing and carrying out this project. The project searches for alternative work locations for:
- individual visual and performing professional artists;
- groups of primarily cultural entrepreneurs (artists, traditional businesses, service providers and technicians). The project group assumes a need for studios and home/work premises for at least 2,000 artists and other cultural entrepreneurs (information derived from research by the Foundation for Economic Research (Stichting voor Economisch Onderzoek)). Based on a survey of the situation, from a spatial point of view (i.e. leaving aside financial feasibility) in the short and medium term, the development of between 1,400 and 2,000 studios or workplaces would appear to be possible.

Financial space
As regards finance, resources have also been made available. Each year a sum of € 3 million is to be earmarked for the scheme. In 2001 an additional € 16 million has been allocated. This money is to be used to subsidise the costs of financial contributions that make it possible to (re)develop buildings and provide an acceptable rent for the target group. In order to lower the rent to a level of between € 28 and € 46 per m2/year for all new premises being planned, a total investment of at least € 41 million is required from the municipality.

Feasibility
Creating between 1,400 and 2,000 studios and home/workplaces is no mean feat. It would seem feasible, although that will depend on a range of factors. The financial aspect of such a project as this naturally plays an essential role. But in addition there are market developments to take into account. In view of the property shortage, it is vital that potential premises are purchased as soon as they come on the market, in order to pre-empt any price escalation. Also important is the way the urban districts weigh up interests regarding the purpose of a suitable (municipal) property. Finally, the degree to which provisions are incorporated in the renovation or development programmes (as in the Westelijke Tuinsteden, Zuidoost, Noord and Zuid-Oost) (burg) plays a role. Both with new buildings and the renovation of existing ones, space for (individual) artists can be 'incorporated' in the plans. Perhaps the most important condition for the success of the project is therefore collaboration with other parties.

Collaboration with other parties
With the current scarcity in the property market and rocketing property prices, there is virtually no space left in Amsterdam for artists and groups of non-commercial cultural entrepreneurs. That is why it is important for a whole range of parties - urban districts, services, corporations, individuals, developers - to examine what they can do in this area. The project group will support initiatives to develop space for creativity. This facilitating role will be ended as soon as there is an agreement in principle with the urban district or service concerned regarding:
- the building or the location;
- the intentions of the urban district or service on the one hand and the project group on the other hand;
- allocation;
- financial feasibility, cover and operation;
- technical feasibility;
- general planning;
- commissioning for the (re)development of the facility (corporation or a private party);
- future ownership and management.

Agreement on these aspects must lead to an ultimate result: the delivery and occupation of the studio or home/workplace, and with it a new place for creativity in Amsterdam.

Incubator - The squatters’ view

There appears to be general agreement at all levels of political and cultural debate of the urgent need for steps to be taken to reinvigorate the (sub)cultural life of the city. Politicians even admit that mistakes have been made in evicting large squatted buildings such as the Graansilo, Vrieshuis Amerika, OLVG etc. etc. etc. without finding viable alternatives. These "Vrijplaatsen" (free spaces), despite constant financial and legal difficulties, have been a feature of the Amsterdam scene for 20 years or more and provide a fertile environment for creative innovation and experiment. However, despite some fine rhetoric... "no culture without subculture" (Mayor Patijn)... "artists need anarchy" (Trevor Davies), and loads of money, there are serious questions being asked about the reality of the broedplaats policy in action....

Is Amsterdam City Council really serious about preserving and promoting subculture in the city? If so, why was Kalenderpand, probably the most active "vrijplaats" over the last couple of years, evicted, despite massive public support, sympathetic press...
Housing in the creative city

How Amsterdam starts to discover the consequences of its economic ambitions

Martijn Arnoldus

Amsterdam has to become a creative city. Therefore the poor will have to leave to make plenty of space for young, successful creative talents. The social housing stock can be reduced substantially and expensive private property should be built in its place. The creative city advocated by the municipality of Amsterdam is a luxurious elite city and a curse to the lower income groups. That, at least, is how the Amsterdam newspaper Het Parool summed up Amsterdam’s ambitions to be a creative city earlier this year. In March, the newspaper went into the offensive following the publication of a report by the amsterdam Chamber of Commerce. That report called for a new balance in the housing market and special attention to the construction of housing for knowledge workers and highly educated labour migrants. Het Parool also succeeded in getting on a still unpublished memorial of the Amsterdam Creative City. That memorandum made a strong plea for directing policy attention to the so-called creative class. Immediate reactions to the two reports were fierce. In letters addressed to the newspaper the policy intentions were branded as ‘impossible’, ‘unacceptable’ and ‘ridiculous’. Only one or two rated the report as ‘brilliant plans’. The municipality and Chamber of Commerce played with fire, in which its own right calls for some applause. For the first time the Chamber of Commerce and a group of civil servants admitted openly that the city cannot cherish high economic ambitions without facing the consequences for housing policies. It is absurd to sketch wonderful visions of a cultural, creative and high-tech Amsterdam all the time without ever asking the question what kind of population profile comes with those ambitions.

The guts of Amsterdam

The municipality has got a lot of nerve by finally opening its eyes to the fact that big economic ambitions may call for severe interventions in Amsterdam’s residential landscape. Amsterdam needs those guts desperately. Internationally, the city is a champion if it comes to social housing. Social housing still makes up about half of the total housing stock, although that share has started to decline in recent years. Furthermore, the municipality owns most of the ground and possesses strong local planning instruments to influence urban development. Indeed, the municipality has always used its position of power to regulate the housing market. Whereas in other cities the free market has taken care of the demand in the higher segments, in Amsterdam private parties have always been restricted in their freedom to develop luxurious and expensive property. By regulating the housing market the municipality has in fact not only accepted responsibility for housing lower income groups but also for accommodating the high income population. And that the municipality now has to pay for. Because, how could the city officials explain to their residents the intention to build for people who would normally be well able support themselves?

The officials think they have found the answer in the narrative of the creative city. They appear to be particularly enthusiastic about the bestseller The rise of the creative class published by American professor Richard Florida in 2002. Crowned as ‘city hall’s new guide’ by Het Parool, Florida visited Amsterdam in the autumn of 2003 to deliver a lecture at an international conference organized to celebrate the opening of the Westergasfabriek cultural park. According to Florida creative talents, workers whose principal job task it is to think of original solutions to economic problems, are crucial to the future of any city with only the slightest ambition to be economically successful. The ill-defined concept of the creative class has been warmly welcomed by some municipal officials who are now trying to promote building for the creative class rather than building for the rich. But what is the difference? Judging from the coverage in Het Parool the creative class is seen as essentially consisting of high income, highly educated groups. Even though a careful reading of Florida’s original definitions shows that a lot of creative class people do not have a penny to spend (like the artists that do in fact make up a substantial share of the creative class), in lectures and interviews he regularly emphasizes that creative talents are the big spenders. Consequently, the creative class carries an irresistible aura of economic elitism. The creative class is quickly becoming a vague and therefore soft byword for the most affluent households. That certainly has not been the intention of the public authorities when they first thought about ways to integrate more attention to the accommodation of the labour force important to the city’s economic ambitions with the traditionally strong social housing policies. The notion of the creative class has helped public officials to grow aware of the fact that economic ambitions do as much involve people and the residential environment as they do involve firms, investors and the business climate. It seems that at least some officials are opting for changes in the housing market to meet economic ambitions; Amsterdam needs more high-value, luxurious residential milieus for the higher end of the creative class. It is a daring statement in a left-wing city that has always been proud of its public welfare policies.

There is basically nothing wrong with this brave attitude. A focus on the more affluent part of the population has always more or less lacked in Amsterdam policies. However, the fears that the creative city is only a cover to restructure the city into a collection of millionaires rows is understandable and not without foundation. Many examples exist of cities where lower income residents have been displaced by the advancing higher end of the market. An equally large number of examples can be listed of cities where access to particular parts of the city have been restricted by physical measures (gated communities) or formal and informal regulations (to which, no doubt, Sharon Zukin will refer at the INURA conference). Why would Amsterdam be different if it starts to care more about its affluent inhabitants?
discussed the leaked out memorandum. Perhaps, frightened by the public opinion the mayor and aldermen will put the memorandum aside. However, it would be courageous if they feel ready to accept that current economic ambitions may have significant consequences in the field of housing and the residential landscape. Amsterdam needs to discuss these consequences in a public debate. This debate should not just focus on housing measures that may be needed to meet economic ambitions. More importantly, the debate should be open to adjust economic ambitions to the current population profile and residential landscape. That would convey a really enviable lot of nerve!

Opting for urbnity

Vincent Kompier

Amsterdam has been making physical and spatial plans since early last century, based on a vision for the future city as a whole as a coordinated entity. The first large-scale plan was the world-renowned Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan (AUP, or General Extension Plan) of 1935. The AUP provided a framework for the growth of Amsterdam up to the year 2000, and it served as the guiding principle for spatial and physical development of the city for many years. Since the 1970s, however, various structure plans have been drawn up to address emerging spatial and social phenomena. In April 2003, Amsterdam’s City Council ratified a new structure plan, titled: Kiezen voor Stedelijkheid—Opting for Urbanity. This is the only plan concerning the future of Amsterdam; there’s also the social structure plan (www.ssp.amsterdam.nl). In this plan, developments on social elements like health care, the use of sports facilities and the actual struggle for space in Amsterdam are described.

In the 1980s and into the early 1990s Amsterdam experienced the same economic malaise as affected other European cities. Businesses and residents left the city, heading for the newly constructed satellites in the region or even further away. The construction of attractive housing within the municipal boundaries (the compact city) was intended to bring to a halt the exodus of the city, the sprawling construction in rural areas, and the growing streams of commuters. During the 1990s family businesses and small industries were replaced by tertiary-sector professionals and the service industry that sprang up resulted in the inner city becoming a mélange of pubs, coffee shops, restaurants and hotels. The ethnic makeup of the city changed too, with Surinamese, Moroccans, Turks and Antilleans making up 25% of the population, and an influx of higher-income expats thanks to the city’s success in attracting foreign business. Amsterdam has more than 369,000 dwellings, which on average are occupied by two people—though almost half the Amsterdam housing stock is occupied by people living alone. Almost a tenth of the homes are over-occupied and nearly 30,000 inhabitants are on the ‘urgent’ housing list. The housing density in some parts of the inner city is more than 10,000 per square kilometre.

Economic prosperity

In the mid 1990s, Amsterdam also experienced the dawn of a period of economic prosperity. The population grew again, many new businesses move to the city, and Amsterdam reinforced its function as a meeting-place, a place of encounter. The city and the surrounding ‘ancillary cores’, also known as ‘sub-centres’ evolved into a cohesive regional network; the ‘network city’. Amsterdam also became an increasingly important link in national and international networks. The rapid development of information and communication technologies influenced the ever-closer intermeshing of local, regional and national commerce, matched on the international level as well. The greater part of everyday life is acted out on the scale of the region, in the network city. For many people, it is no longer a matter of course for daily life to revolve around the local community or district. And yet, despite the increased mobility of modern life, house buyers native to Amsterdam still seem to have a remarkable bond with their city of birth. Nevertheless, every residential area continues to be assessed on its own qualities.

Marketing and meeting places

The great diversity of activities and residential and employment areas is an important quality of the network city, which can synergetically amount to more than the sum of its parts when the possibilities particular to each location are fully exploited.

For Amsterdam that means opting for urbanity. The subject of ‘urbanity’ was studied in greater depth in collaboration with the university of Amsterdam. Economic as well as social factors play a part in the urban fabric, coming together in concepts of ‘market place’ and ‘meeting place’. Amsterdam’s city centre and the adjacent expansion areas within the ring road already satisfy the characteristics of urbanity. New ‘market and meeting places’ develop around public transport intersections. Centres like Teleport in Sloterdijk, the Centre District in Zuidas, Science Park Amsterdam and the Zuidas (South axis), primarily accommodate functions that no longer fit within the historic city centre because of their scale or traffic generating effect. These centres should specialize more, in order to underscore their specific identity. In obsolete industrial areas, such as the northern banks of the IJ and the Overamstel zone, this demands new combinations of new business activity - often knowledge-intensive- with cultural ‘incubators’, recreational amenities and housing. To this end, it is usually necessary to relocate the modern-day pollution-producing industry.

Unusual urbanity

Unusual forms of urbanity arise in the region around Amsterdam at peripheral sites were land is cheap or rents are low. One example is ‘showbizcity’ television studio centre in Aalsmeer, which has been established in former auction halls for this market-gardening area. Another example is the ‘Zwarte Markt’ (ethnic market) in Beverwijk, where the warehouses of an obsolete logistics business site now provide space for large-scale trade in second-hand goods, clothing and exotic foods. The urbanization parameters for Amsterdam and neighbouring municipalities have already been set out for the period up until 2010. Between 2010 and 2030, for instance, an additional 150,000 dwellings must be built in the region. The vision for the region held by the city of Amsterdam entails a concentration of urbanization in the Amsterdam region.

In the Bijlmer district, 3,000 high-rise flat complexes which have reached the end of their useful life are being replaced on a large scale by low-rise housing surrounded by lots of green space. Another 8,000 are being renovated, while others will be given a ‘facelift’. Over the coming decades, development in Amsterdam will be focused primarily on the Zuidas Area (Southern Axis). The area covered by the project is located close to the centre of Amsterdam and is well-placed for Amsterdam Airport Schiphol. Central government has joined forces with the city of Amsterdam to study various alternatives for moving the transport infrastructure (including the A10 ring road as well as mainline rail and...
Inura Meeting in Toronto
March 2004

Virginie Mamadouh

Inura Toronto hosted a workshop on urbanisation and privatisation at York University on 19-22 March 2004. It brought together 30 Inurians from Zürich, Porto Alegre, Mexico, Los Angeles, Florence, Dortmund, Brussels, Berlin, Amsterdam and Toronto. During the meeting the book The contested metropolis, edited by Inura Florence was launched at a public event on March 21. The launch consisted of a panel with Ute Lehrer for Berlin, Stefanie de Corte for Brussels, Raphaela Palosca for Florence, Kanishka Goonewardena for Toronto and Christian Schmid for Zurich and two documentaries: one from Los Angeles by Ernest Savage and one from Brussels by Mark Saunders/Spectacle.

The largest housing project is currently being carried out in the IJmeer lake, where 18,000 dwellings will be built on seven artificial islands. In competitive environment which is the Amsterdam housing market, IJburg is at a disadvantage if you compare its location in the market with the 'old' city of Amsterdam and the 'new' city of Almere. Amsterdam is expensive but metropolis; Almere is suburban but cheap. Yet, with its unique location on the water and its close proximity to the city centre, IJburg offers an attractive living environment. This, and its varied programme for housing and other amenities, enhances the value of IJburg compared with other new locations. Amsterdam-Nord and Amsterdam-West are regarded by the city administrators as the boroughs which offer the best opportunities for housing development and urban regeneration. Under plans put forward by Bureau Parkstad - a body representing the four boroughs - a proportion of the older housing stock in Amsterdam-West will be demolished to prevent the threatened decay and impoverishment of certain neighbourhoods. A total of 16,000 new homes will be built in the 'Nieuw-West' district over the next 15 years. A large number of old homes will also be demolished in Amsterdam-Nord; these 'medium-rise' buildings will be replaced by single-family dwellings and flats.

The goal of the Toronto workshop was to develop a conceptual framework for a transnational research project with teaching and activist repercussions. The programme consisted of three steps:

- Agreeing on a common conceptual framework,
- Developing common research questions,
- Selecting common research methodologies.

The research programme should sequel the collaborative projects that have been done so far with the two Inura books: Possible Urban Worlds (1997) and The Contested Metropolis (2002).

The starters of the discussion were three presentations on proposed research themes:

- Privatisation/neoliberalism (by Sebastian Müller, Dortmund and Ellen Reese, Los Angeles)
- Commodification (by Julie-Anne Boudreau, Kanishka Goonewardena and Ute Lehrer, Toronto), and
- The right to the city and bourgeois urbanism (by Stefan Kipfer, Toronto and Christian Schmid, Zürich).

Arie van Wijngaarden (Amsterdam) and Stefan de Corte (Brussels) had the difficult task to moderate and chair the plenary discussions. The discussion on the first day revolved around the position of these three conceptual tools. Should one of them be chosen as central framework for the Inura research programme? Or was it wiser to clarify the articulations between the three as they also greatly overlap. The place to be given to the theory of Henri Lefebvre was the cause of a heated debate, as some saw Lefebvre's work as the natural theoretical umbrella of Inura, while others wanted no such closure. The discussions brought to the fore a whole series of principles, dimensions, issues, aspects and criteria that should be incorporated into the research programme. It included four sets of goals for Inura research, such as the focus on the urban, a north-south global perspective, critical practices of everyday life and the utopian moment (to give hope to change).

The second day the debate went on in smaller brainstorming groups. The first group came up with a research on particular places/scales and tensions that make places change, suggesting a focus on, for example, peripheries. The second group suggested to focus on barriers to the right to the city and resistance to that. The third group proposed to study how to characterize urbanisation in the contemporary city and the fourth group to scrutinize the privatizing in different fields. During the plenary session the debates were carried further.

Inspired by theory and practice, by the works of Lefebvre, by the Inura declaration or both, two clusters of concrete research questions emerged. The first about barriers and access (right to the city) with privatization as the main global force to be explored in different fields. The second about centrality and periphery. The first is more political, the second more spatial. A possible umbrella for research (and action!) would be a focus on the conditions in which particular groups engage in a struggle and how these become part of a broader process and get transformed in that process.

Methodologies were less controversial, there was a broad agreement for a combination of quantitative methods (parameters to be used in different cities) and qualitative ones (narratives). Nevertheless a choice remains to be made between research designs: between a comparison between variables and an approach underlining links between cities, or in other words between a geographical/spatial approach (comparing cities) and a sectoral/thematic approach (comparing fields).

In Toronto Inurians agreed to that it is very hard to take a single theory or fixed conceptual framework as an ideal starting point. The common research programme can better be based on common research questions than on an improbable conceptual unity.
Toronto: the sequel

Next step Nr 1: Amsterdam, June 2004
The Toronto team will write a coherent report of the debates and the results of the Toronto Workshop in the coming weeks and circulate them around. Local Inura groups are expected to prepare concrete proposals for local projects as part of a global one to circulate before Amsterdam and to be discussed at the retreat in Egmond.

Next step Nr 2: Porto Alegre, January 2005
There is a strong sense of urgency among Inurans to engage more with likeminded researchers/activists in the South. Meeting in the South would be a strategy to shift the burden of long travels to the Northern participants.
Porto Alegre is an attractive location for an Inura meeting in the south. The most interesting moment seems to be the January starting with a meeting a couple of days before the World Social Forum (which is back in Porto Alegre in 2005) and then hold some sessions at the WSP and mingle into the Forum. Claudia Dalgona will come with a proposal. Inura members should already think about it, whether they are able to attend the meeting in Porto Alegre in January 2005. Considering both the costs and the time of the year (conflicting with many teaching schedules) and the number of potential participants, a decision will be made in June. The Porto Alegre gathering should probably be seen as an additional meeting, comparable to the Toronto workshop, and without interference for the organization of an annual conference in June.

AAG Centennial meeting
Philadelphia
14-19 March 2004
Inura co-sponsored a session at the 100th Annual Conference of the American Association of Geographers (AAG) in Philadelphia with the AAG Urban Geography Specialty Group.
The session on March 18 was entitled ‘Absent author meets live critics: Henri Lefebvre and the spirit of The Urban Revolution’. It was organised by Kanishka, Ute and Steven from Inura Toronto and chaired by Ute.
Five panels gave their views on Lefebvre’s book La révolution urbaine (1970, Gallimard) that has been translated into English – better late than never – as The urban revolution (2003, University of Minnesota Press):
- Ute Lehrer - Brock University, St Catharines
- Christian Schmid - Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zürich
- Stefan Kipfer - York University, Toronto
- Kanishka Goonewardena - University of Toronto
- Neil Smith - City University of New York

INURA Annual General Meeting 2004
Egmond NL / June 18
- Report from INURA offices
- Report from INURA common office homepage, members, electronic payment
- INURA account and budget
- Future activities and projects
- INURA Conference 2005

Special session:
- The future of the INURA common office
- Tasks, money, persons, location
- Member policy in the future

manditory inburgeringscursus: literally settle-down course) and locally (like the abolition of the social council for the different ethnic minorities that were advising the municipality)

Field trip #1
Multicultural Amsterdam
Virginie Mamadouh, Valentina Mazzucato

Today Amsterdam as any large city is a main recipient of immigrants. In 2002, 48% of the inhabitants of the municipality had a non-Dutch ethnic background, meaning either they or their parents were born abroad. Figures by nationality are considerably lower: 12% foreigners.
Forecasts predict that the non-Dutch inhabitants of Amsterdam will increase to 62% of the population by 2030. The largest single group are the Surinamese (72,000) followed by the Moroccans (61,000), the Turks (37,000) Ghanais (17,000) and 12,000 Antilleans.

The fieldtrip multicultural Amsterdam is scheduled in two different neighbourhoods: in Amsterdam-West (an extension of the older city) where the attention will be drawn on Moroccan and Ghanaian immigration (guest workers and family reunification and family formation) and Amsterdam-Zuidoost (a typical modernist extension in a territory incorporated in the 1960s to the municipality of Amsterdam) where the attention will be drawn on Surinamese and Ghanaian immigration (decolonisation and postcolonial migration in the first case, labour migrants with a large group of “illegals” in the second case). Local religious and socio-cultural organisations will be visited as well as a guided walk through the neighbourhoods to see the creative ways in which migrants make a living within the hostile political climate of the Netherlands today.

Field trip #2
Expanding Amsterdam
Vincent Kompier, Arle van Wijngaarden

This tour concentrates on the new expansion of Amsterdam to the eastern, south-eastern, and southern direction. We start at Jillburg, a new housing district east of the present city. The 18000 dwellings will be built on seven artificial islands in the IJsselmeer lake. There will be
Field trip #3
Eco-Amsterdam
Luca Bertolini, Patrice Riemens

This tour offers two highlights and much biking in-between! We shall begin at the GWL-terrein, in Amsterdam also known as Eco-wijk ('Ecological Neighbourhood'). This is a recently developed neighbourhood of about 600 apartments, several commercial spaces and a community centre. A car free zone with only 1 parking place for every 4 households. There is co-generation of power and heat, the use of several water saving devices and environmentally sound building materials.

There was much involvement of the inhabitants in the planning. During the tour we will discuss the bright and less bright sides of the experience with inhabitants (including your guide) and local government representatives.

We shall bike on along a nature trail to the 'artist village' Ruigoord. The village has been squatted 30 years ago, when a group from the Amsterdam anarcho-artistic scene took over the freshly vacated place poised for demolition for an harbour extension plan. They established themselves as a sort of large commune and undertook all kinds of initiatives like festivals, parties and exhibitions in a shrewd mix of New Age atmosphere. It earned them a solid status as alternative establishment and made them able to withstand repeated attempts by the Amsterdam Port Trust to have them evicted. Until a few years ago when the renewed plans to extend the harbour materialized. The harbour basin was dug (still idle two years after completion), but the village itself preserved and turned into an "artistic greenhouse" ('broedplaats' - see elsewhere in the programme). Officially, nobody is allowed to reside in the village. Weather and time permitting, we could bike through the Spaarnwoude nature and recreation area till Velsen and take the hydrofoil back to Amsterdam.

The Egmond walk
back to nature
Annemarie Dekker,
geographer and nature guide

Since many urbanites are living with their backs turned to nature, there is a great need to entice people to come to visit areas of natural value. It is important to revive their ability to experience nature. After all, those who experience nature will appreciate nature and will be willing to help to protect nature. And that is essential, since spatial claims for housing, industrial sites, office parks, and infrastructure tend to override the interests of nature. Birds, mammals, plants can't vote. We have to vote for them, if we want to preserve the small proportion of nature that is left.

Over the last years I have worked with many groups, on trips all over Europe as well as during excursions and courses in the Netherlands. My aim is to learn them to use all their senses to experience nature. Nature is full of life for those who are capable of seeing, hearing, smelling, and sensing.

At the INURA-conference in Egmond I will take you through the dunes for a walk, as I would do with one of my groups. Hopefully, this walk will give you a good impression of how many guides like me wish to protect nature through nature education. Some people prefer to say: 'edutainment', because they feel that nature guides should be neither too serious, nor disappointing. And I think they are right.

Of course, we do disapprove of many current decision-making that concerns nature and environment in the Netherlands and beyond. But we choose to try to reverse things through positive action, by telling the good news that so many people (ordinary people as well as decision-makers) are unaware of.

I am looking forward to meeting you all again. And please, do not hesitate to pop in on this subject and to give me any advice that can be helpful.

Accommodation
Amsterdam

Stayokay Hostel Vondelpark
Zandpad 5, 1054 GA Amsterdam
Tel +31-(0)20-589 89 95
Fax +31-(0)20-589 89 55

The Stayokay Vondelpark hostel is situated near the Vondelpark at crawling distance from the Leidseplein in the very centre of the city. It is partly located in a monumental chalet building from which you have a view over the park. Facilities include 536 beds divided over 2, 4, 6 bedded rooms and some large dormitories. All rooms have shower, toilet and washbasin. Electronic door locks, lockers and safes, no curfew. Sheets and blankets are provided by the hostel.

The hostel can be reached from Central Station by taking tram number 1, 2 or 5. You get off at Leidseplein. From Leidseplein you walk towards the Marriott Hotel. In front of the Marriott Hotel you turn left. Zandpad is the 2nd street to the right (small street just before the park entrance). There are no (affordable) parking places in the surroundings. Look at www.naaramsterdam.nl for parking garages.

Some people will be sleeping on the boat Vertrouwen ('Trust') at the Javakade. Please take your own sleeping bag if you sleep on the boat. We do not have the hostel exclusively for our own use. Meetings are in the just renovated 'broedplaats' at Plantage Doklaan, some 20 minutes on foot to the east.
Registration and payment

As the number of places is limited, please register as soon as possible. You can download the inscription form at www.inura.org/amsterdam as a Word document. Please fill in the inscription form and send it as an attachment to an e-mail to inura@xs4all.nl. You may also fax the printed form to +31 20 5214204 or send it by post to Arie van Wijngaarden, Falckstraat 7, 1017 VV Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

You will receive an e-mail reply to confirm that you have been accepted. Please do not pay until you have received the confirmation of your booking.

Please pay within two weeks after you receive the confirmation. If you have not paid within two weeks, we have the right to cancel your registration and give your place to someone else.

The registration covers:
- lodging from 13 June until 20 June in dormitories at a youth hostel or (in Amsterdam) on a boat
- breakfast from 14 June to 21 June inclusive
- lunch from 15 June to 20 June
- dinner from 13 June to 20 June
- public event 14 June
- excursion on 15 June
- transfer from Amsterdam to Egmond on 16 June

For a limited number of persons it is possible to book only the Amsterdam part from 13-16 June.

Payment

The registration fee for the full programme is:
- Institutional fee EUR 400 (= CHF 620)
- Reduced fee for individuals EUR 300 (= CHF 470)
- Special fee for students and participants from low income countries EUR 250 (= CHF 390)*

The registration fee for only the Amsterdam part is:
- Institutional fee EUR 250 (= CHF 390)
- Reduced fee for individuals EUR 200 (= CHF 310)
- Special fee for students and participants from low income countries EUR 175 (= CHF 270)*

*please contact us in advance to check if you apply for that tariff

Payment of the amount in euro by bank transfer to bank account number 2507897 at Postbank (Amsterdam), Arie van Wijngaarden, Falckstraat 7, 1017 VV Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

The IBAN number of the account is NL63PSTB0002507897. The BIC/SWIFT number of the Postbank is PSTBNL21 (Please mention "OUR COST"). OR:

Payment by credit card in Swiss Francs (CHF) at www.inura.org through the secure Inura web server.