

New Norms for Multiple Intensive Land-Use

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Abstract

Places of globalisation often turn out to be mono functional places. Airports, shopping malls and business districts seem to evolve towards privatised, controlled and regulated spaces. As a possible counterforce, the normative planning concept of multiple intensive land use is introduced in this paper: planning to create integrated spaces with a mixture of uses. The case study is the Amsterdam Zuidas. This location, at the fringe of Amsterdam around a major transportation hub and close to the international airport, provided excellent conditions for prime office developments in the last years. However, the ambition of the city of Amsterdam is to strive for a mixed-use program at the site, reflected by a combination of uses (offices, housing, culture, retail). This paper presents a theoretical framework to study practices of interaction around the Zuidas project and two other case studies, the Forum 2004 project in Barcelona and the Ørestad project in Copenhagen. It will state that without norms that help converging the action of individual actors into integrated projects, ambitions for multiple intensive land use will fail in practice. Norms and their evolving character are crucial to understand how a promising concept of multiple intensive land use can be embedded in practices. This topic is part of a PhD research project that I am currently conducting at the University of Amsterdam. This study applies an institutional framework to investigate how norms – that structurally influence orientations of actors in practices – hamper or promote the concept of multiple intensive land use. It shows how innovative practices can influence norms to realize a successful application of the concept.

1. Introduction

One of the major difficulties in studying the concept of multiple intensive land use is that it is a concept mainly discussed specifically in the Dutch planning context. Although the concept is linked to more well known foreign concepts as *Nutzungsmischung* and *mixed land use* (Kreukels & van Vliet, 2000), it is different and in a way far more ambitious. In that respect it is no coincidence that multiple intensive land use is heavily debated specifically in the Netherlands, a densely populated country, known for a strong planning tradition of 'orderly development' on both a regional and a local scale (Faludi & van der Valk, 1994). It is this particular tradition and its embeddedness in institutions and practices that is being criticized by the concept as being unable to address the quantitative and qualitative challenges for planning in the upcoming decades. Multiple intensive land use is in many respects a slippery term. According to Lagendijk (2003):

"At the same time, it contains imaginative and interpretative viability, manifested by its capacity to interest and mobilize people and resources around innovative spatial projects. Multiple Land Use presents a concept of action, more than of contents. The precise definition of multiple land use depends on the particular debate or case in which it is used, placed within a wider country/region-specific debate on desired changes in land use patterns." (Lagendijk, 2003, p.83)

In the Dutch context, multiple intensive land use is a label for innovation in existing practices in land use mainly promoted by the national government². International comparative research by Kreukels and van Vliet (2003) made clear that multiple intensive land use as a normative planning goal supported by a single planning subject (the government in most cases), is unproductive. Salet and Faludi (2000) conclude that a problem in planning literature is the dominant attraction of comprehensive planning concepts, at the expense of a thorough understanding of reality. De Klerk (2003) draws the same conclusion when he states that top down persuasion is not sufficient to realize a normative planning goal. Normative planning goals will only be effective when they are embedded in the orientations of the involved actors.

The goal of this research project is not to give a very precise a priori definition of multiple intensive land use and compare theory with reality. We interpret multiple intensive land use as a 'container' with both content and process aspects. Therefore it serves more as a line of thought than as an objectively verifiable concept in this research. The goal is to take a workable definition that underlines the basic rationale of the concept and investigate how practices that strive for this idea collide with existing practices. Thereby, the normative concept of multiple intensive land use as such is not questioned in this research³.

This research project studies multiple intensive land use on places clearly linked with a 'more globalised world': large investment projects around transportation hubs. The projects in this research project have the ambition to create a mixed-use programme and 'urban qualities' in addition to a straightforward accommodation of uses. This study asks how this new ambition is realized and how practices that strive for this ambition are influenced by existing institutional factors. This question links this study to research on institutions and institutional change. The three cases are studied with by using an actor-centred perspective. The analytical emphasis is on the concept of norms as factors that influence the framing actors have of particular situations in certain practices.

This paper presents an overview of a five-year PhD research program. Therefore this paper is more about methods than about results. Section two will start with a short quantitative and qualitative address on the need of implementation of the concept of multiple intensive land use. Section three narrows the research topic down with a focus on multiple intensive land use in large urban investment projects. Section four introduces the three cases studies of this research program. Further, in section five, a brief introduction of the theoretical framework will be given, with the emphasis on norms. The paper will conclude with a short analysis will be presented of the first pilot study on the Amsterdam Zuidas.

2. The need for new practices of multiple intensive land use

The need for a change in contemporary practices in planning can be addressed from a quantitative perspective, a qualitative perspective and an institutional perspective. The traditional role of planning is the accommodation of uses on the basis of a comprehensive plan. It is clear from a quantitative perspective that solutions have to be found to accommodate large demands that different spatial uses put on the limited land resources in highly urbanized metropolitan areas in the future. From a qualitative perspective the main challenge for spatial planners seems to turnaround the decline of spatial quality, especially at the outskirts of the traditional cities, that many observe. From an institutional oriented perspective the main challenge is in organising practices that facilitate these two goals.

2.1 Quantitative perspective on multiple intensive land use

The most important quantitative underpinning of the discussions on multiple intensive land use in the Netherlands was a study of the national ministry of spatial planning and the environment that indicated the demand of different spatial uses:

Table 1: Land claims in the Netherlands 2000 – 2030 in hectares

Sector	Land claim (2000 – 2030)	Existing area for this claim (1996)	Land claim as percentage of existing area for that claim (%)
Housing	85.000	224.231	37.9
Working	54.000	95.862	56.3
Infrastructure	60.000	134.048	44.8
Recreation	144.000	82.705	174.1
Nature & landscape	333.000	461.177	72.2
Agriculture	- 475.000	2,350.807	- 20.2
Water	490.000	765.269	64.0
Total	691.000	4,114.099	16.8

Source: Ministerie VROM, 2001 (edited by the author)

These facts lead to the somewhat alarming conclusion that the sum of all land claims in the Netherlands for the period 2000 – 2030 cannot be accommodated on the existing surface. The ministry of Spatial Planning and the Environment concluded that this provides a major argument for practices that either aim to intensify land uses or combine land uses⁴. It is not the goal of this paper to unravel the assumptions of these forecasts, nor to describe in depth the socio-economic processes behind it. We limit ourselves to the observation that most of the increased demand for space is linked with a notion of spatial quality. Although the size of populations in most western metropolitan areas is relatively stable, the demand for space of individuals [e.g. larger houses, more recreational areas] and the quality of the demand is increasing rapidly as a consequence of increased wealth. This notion of quality takes the problem away from the peculiar Dutch context of accommodation of uses in very dense build up areas and it links quantitative and qualitative arguments for multiple space use. Kreukels and van Vliet (2003) concluded earlier in an international comparison of practice of multiple intensive land use, that quantitative arguments are never a decisive reason for aiming to realize these projects. Qualitative arguments play a dominant role in successful international practices. Therefore, we limit the quantitative arguments to a category of underlying arguments for multiple intensive land use as we focus now on some of the qualitative arguments.

2.2 Qualitative perspective on multiple intensive land use

The emphasis in this study is on the edges of traditional cities. They have been highly dynamic in the last part of the Twentieth Century. Edges have always been conceived as areas of overspill of urban uses (Hall, 1988). Although there were differences in pace and local and national conditions, most edge areas of traditional metropolises developed throughout the Twentieth Century towards a mixture of different uses in an mainly undefined web of infrastructure. After the suburbanisation of housing; industry, offices, retail and recreation followed, creating new patterns of space mainly geared towards automobile accessibility. The United States was frontrunner in many respects where these new areas were defined as 'edge cities' at the end of the century: places that were spatially and functionally detached from the traditional urban centres (Garreau, 1992, Kunstler, 1993, Kaplan, 1999).

The result of these developments was a strong fragmentation of space. While a mixture of uses and integration at street level characterised traditional downtown areas – even in the United States – the new outskirts of metropolitan areas show separation of uses and large surface areas. Contemporary scholars use mainly the same arguments to criticize these new spaces as Jacobs (1961) did in the classic manifesto *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, which criticised (mono-functional) urban renewal in American downtowns in the fifties and sixties.

Graham and Marvin (2001) notice a growing fragmentation of space, both physical and visual, as well as more fundamental in a mental way, in the new 'public' spaces of the current era of globalisation. Places like airports, shopping malls and business districts seem to evolve towards privatised, controlled and regulated worlds of their own. Which demands that we must study how these places "may weave themselves into the local fabric to create social interaction and acceptance as opposed to continually reinforcing barriers." (Avedano et al., 1997, 68; cited in Graham & Marvin, 2001, p.414).

This defines the challenge for planning in a more globalised and competitive world as one of creating 'urban qualities' in essentially 'non-urban' places like business districts and transportation nodes (Salet & Bertolini, 2002). This is what we mean in this study with multiple intensive land use: loosely defined, multiple intensive land use is a label that we give to the challenge to create high density and mixed used areas, and thereby create interesting urban qualities in large – predominately real estate oriented – projects that dominate the outskirts of our globalised cities.

2.3 Institutional perspective on multiple intensive land use

Quantitative and qualitative arguments underline the need for different practices and thereby help drawing an agenda of multiple intensive land use. This study takes the aforementioned arguments as a starting point to study practices that strive for the creation of urban qualities in essentially non-urban places: large urban projects. From a policy oriented perspective the biggest problem in reality is not the lack of good ideas or new concepts for practices. The main problem is that:

"A large and complex gap exists between the collective wish for more intensive and mixed use development and the reality of individual decisions of people, private organizations and public authorities that tends towards mono functional developments." (Salet & de Jong, 2000)

This observation places the problem of multiple intensive land use in a long traditional of research in behavioural sciences on collective action (see for example Ostrom 1990 for an account to this from a policy oriented perspective). Salet and de Jong (2000) state that the main problem of bringing the concept of multiple intensive land use more into practice is that the existing institutional setting seems to direct decisions towards mono functional land use. This study will investigate how these existing institutional settings work and how they can change towards situations more receptive to concepts of multiple intensive land use.

3. Innovative practices in large urban investment projects

When used without a reference to a scale level, concepts as mixture and density become meaningless⁵. Therefore, we loosely define the geographical scale of this research project as the scale level of the large urban investment project. We study projects that – from a normative stance – strive for more than the pure ‘functional’ accommodation of uses according to market rationality. Rather, they have the ambition – in different ways – to bring in ‘urban’ qualities (urban uses) to try to overcome the critics of scholars, users and visitors that they are places without sustainable spatial quality.

The focus on large investment projects of multiple intensive land use seems appropriate for three main reasons:

- large urban investment projects are places that are in a way very public but that struggle to create a liveable identity. The hypothesis is that concepts of multiple intensive land use can help creating places with more spatial quality.
- large urban investment projects, especially the ones strategically located at transportation and economic nodes, seem to provide supportive conditions for multiple intensive development (Lagendijk, 2003). We referred earlier to de Klerk (2003) by stating that such conditions are instrumental to evolve multiple intensive land use to develop from a top down government towards a workable concept in practice, supported by the involved actors.
- large urban investment projects bring together different levels of government and different streams of private money in very complex practices of interaction. The hypothesis is that these practices create opportunities for innovation.⁶

After we revealed our choice to take the normative planning goal of multiple intensive land use in large projects, it is time to focus on the theoretical framework used to investigate practices that strive for these goals.

4. Case study research

The conditions for multiple intensive land use are studied in this research project in three comparative case studies. While practice is the best playground for new concepts to show their value, it is our conviction that studying practices and reflecting on them is very valuable. Before briefly introducing the three case studies and the reason for selecting them it is important to reflect briefly on case study research as a data gathering activity. Scharpf criticizes most case-study research in policy analysis to be too introvert:

“Moreover, in their reliance on narrative explanations, they do also tend to overemphasize historically contingent sequences of events at the expense of structural explanations; thus, though they help us understand the past, they do not necessarily improve our ability to anticipate on the future; and, more generally, they do not contribute to the cumulative growth of a body of systematic knowledge about political structures and processes and their effect on the substance of public policy.” (Scharpf, 1997, p.28)

This observation is shared and asks for a theoretical framework to make sense out of individual case studies. The essence of case studies is the collection and interpretation of data at a micro level with a set of quantitative and qualitative methods. A theoretical framework can both help in this stage as well as in creating connections with a macro level of system-understanding (more in section five). It is:

“...a ‘framework’ that organizes our prior (scientific and prescientific) knowledge about what to expect in the province of the world that is of interest to us, that emphasizes the questions that are worthwhile asking, the factors that are likely to have high explanatory potential, and

the type of data that would generally be useful in supporting the invalidating specific explanations.” (Scharpf, 1997, p.29-30)

4.1 Three case studies

This section briefly introduces the three practices that will be studied in this research in the form of case studies. The most important similarity between the three practices is that they represent practices with the ambition to create additional urban qualities in large urban projects. In this respect the projects are innovative. Another similarity between the cases is that they are all three in phase in between planning and realisation. A phase in which their success on fulfilling their ambition for multiple intensive land use is still questionable. A phase also where existing practices can change.

The *Zuidas* project in Amsterdam represents a very ambitious innovative project of multiple intensive land use. The project is located around a transportation hub on the important infrastructure corridor between the city and the airport. Besides the *Zuidas*, as the main practice to be studied in this research project, two additional practices will be studied that can offer as ‘windows of thought’ for the *Zuidas* project.

The *Forum 2004* project in Barcelona tries to break through the political controversies between city and region and between region and state by adding an important cultural dimension to the investment project near the Barcelona harbour.

The *Ørestad* project in Copenhagen is interesting because support for this project was mobilized on a European level. It is interesting to see how this connection hampers or promotes practices to create a large project of multiple intensive land use. The next section briefly introduces the theoretical part of this research project on the level of the individual large investment project. Section six gives a brief description of the pilot-study on the *Zuidas* project.

5. Theoretical framework

5.1 Introduction

This section will outline the basis of the theoretical framework of this research project. It will introduce this study as being a connector between micro-level data gathering, which focuses on the actors involved in the projects studied, and macro-level conclusions on institutions and norms. Section 5.2 will describe the micro-level framework that builds on an actor-centred approach. This perspective is enriched in section 5.3 with a brief outline of the importance of norms as elements that affect the practices of interaction. Section 5.4 will define the research question for the case study research.

According to Scharpf (1997) an institutionalist framework is able to bridge the gap between pure descriptive case studies on the micro level and abstract assumptions about behaviour of actors that are made on a macro level of research:

“An institutionalist framework, in other words, provides a halfway position between a theoretical system that, like neoclassical economics, substitutes universal and standardized assumptions for empirical information on the one hand and purely descriptive studies of individual cases on the other.” (Scharpf, 1997, p. 41)

The structural problem of complexity in decision-making processes around large urban investment projects is described broadly in literature. This complexity is studied from an actor-centred institutional perspective. The essence of every institutional approach is the embeddedness of behaviour in the broadest sense of the word. Focusing on planning issues, institutional approaches are trying to find different sorts of explanations for the behaviour of actors in practices of interaction by understanding their environment. This environment both constrains and enhances particular acting and is thereby largely determining the outcomes of decision-making processes in a more structural way.

The ambition of this research project is to gather in-depth data on the three case studies (micro-level) and to generalise findings towards a higher (macro-level). The concept

of norms will be used in this project as a crucial connector between these two levels, as we will see later.

According to Coleman (1990), understanding of social 'systems' has to be at the forefront of social sciences. It is important to remember that most 'data' that social scientist collect about reality is found on the most visible level, the so-called *micro-level*. This is the level that is the most easy to access and will give, in the case of scholars of public policy, empirical data about actors, interactions and procedures for instance. Complex spatial investment projects consist of numerous practices of interaction – amongst many other things – that means that studying these projects at a micro-level will overwhelm the observer with data. On top of that it will be extremely difficult to generalize the findings of all these micro level data to realize a broader understanding of the social 'system'. Because the task of social science is to find explanations above the micro-level, the link between *micro-level data* and *macro-level explanations* becomes crucial. In this study using the concept of institutions, and to be more precise, norms makes this link. The argument is that norms have an important explanatory value in understanding how actors consider and evaluate different possible actions. For understanding factors that positively influence or hamper investment-decisions in the direction of multiple intensive land use it is therefore important to study the norms that influence the actors in making those decisions.

The theoretical framework of this study will be outlined briefly. First the micro-level framework will be introduced to study practices of interaction in these projects. Then the notion of norms will be described more deeply: what different sorts of norms can be distinguished? How do they influence the practices of interaction? And why are norms needed for effective decision-making? In the next part a brief outline will be given on the data-gathering and interpretation framework that underlies the three case studies in this research project.

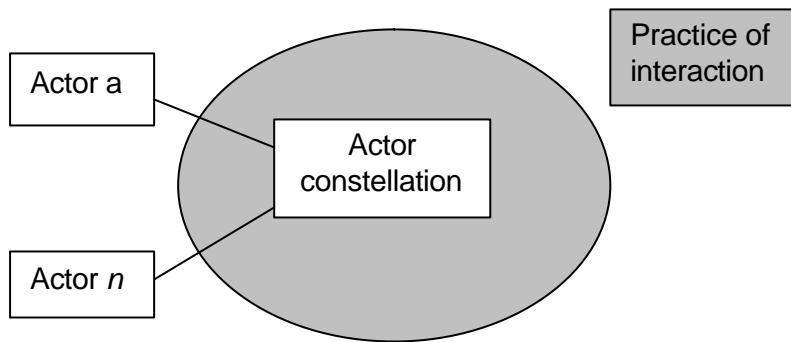
5.2 Micro-level: an actor centred institutional approach

While the theoretical emphasis in this research project is on norms as a connector between micro level data and macro level conclusions, there will be only limited attention to data gathering methods as such on a micro level. Data on the micro level will be studied with a framework of actor-centred institutionalism. We follow Scharpf's (1997) distinction between actors and actor constellations to organize our findings first. With actors as centrepieces in actor-centred research, the question can be raised: what are actors? From a sociological perspective the notion of an actor suggest a level of intentional action above the level of the individual. Because most organisations that are involved in the projects we study are collections of large numbers of individuals, internal interactions are needed to create intentional action. Within actors socially constructed rules are necessary to map the environment and orient their actions (Scharpf, 1997, p.39).

Actors can be characterized by specific capabilities, specific perceptions and specific preferences. In this research these actor-features are not described a priori, but are a result of a backward analysis of their interactions in practices around the specific project. Perceptions and preferences can change over time. Each actor has "...its own understanding of the nature of the problem and the feasibility of particular solutions, ...its own individual and institutional self-interest and its own normative preferences, and ...its own capabilities or action resources that may be employed to affect the outcome" (Scharpf, 1997, p.11). Ultimately they will all lead to individual courses of preferences regarding the available courses of action. Actors are involved in practices of interaction around the large investment projects. The actor constellation will describe: "...what we know of the set of actors that are actually involved in particular policy interactions [practices] – their capabilities (translated into potential 'strategies'), their perceptions and evaluations of the outcomes obtainable (translated into 'payoffs'), and the degree to which their payoff aspirations are compatible or incompatible with one another" (Scharpf, 1997, p.72).

This leads to the first very basic part of the conceptual framework of this study (figure 1). After an inventory of the most important actors, the actor constellations will be described.

Figure 1: conceptual framework on a micro level



Practices of interaction are the interactions between actors that take place in a specific project. At the same time, there can be different co-existing practices of interaction on the same project, concerning different sub-topics, sometimes concerning different players, sometimes concerning the same players but with a different role.

It is not clear in this conceptual framework how the actor constellation works and how it influences the preferences on courses of action of the actors in a practice of interaction. Another problem is that this framework is in many ways 'freezing' and simplifying reality. One of the most challenging aspects of studying complex processes of decision making is understanding the behaviour of actors in multi-actor situations that are the reality in practices of large investment projects. This situation leads to dependencies between actors and mutual expectations between them about their preferences and actions. The next paragraph will introduce the concept of norms as an important factor determining the preferences on courses of action of both individual actors as groups of actors.

5.3 Institutions and norms

The main concern of this theoretical framework is to establish a connection between micro-level 'data' that will be gathered during case study research and macro level conclusions. The argument was made before that the connection between both levels will be made in this research using the concept of institutions, and more precise norms. In this section, the relatively broad and vague notions of institutions and norms will be operationalised, to act as useful tools for analysing case studies of large investment projects. Scharpf (1997) defines institutions as:

"...systems of rules that structure the courses of actions that a set of actors may choose. In this definition we would, however, include not only formal legal rules that are sanctioned by the court system and the machinery of the state, but also social norms that actors will generally respect and whose violation will be sanctioned by loss of reputation, social disapproval, withdrawal of cooperation and rewards, or even ostracism." (p. 38)

Although this definition seems to be instrumental for case study research, we prefer to dig a little deeper in social theory to unravel the deeper meaning of institutions. While Scharpf works with a distinction between the actors and the rules, Coleman is more subtle in his analysis. He emphasizes that although norms can be used to analyse behaviour of individual actors, the essence is that a norm is a property of a social system (Coleman, 1990, p. 241). Norms are neither the possession of individuals, nor are they the possession of a 'system'. According to Coleman norms are created in interplay between individual and system wherein individuals incorporate norms in their deliberation of what is regarded as acceptable behaviour:

"They specify what actions are regarded by a set of persons as proper or correct, or improper or incorrect... Persons whose actions are subject to norms (who themselves may or may not hold the norm) take into account the norms, and the accompanying potential rewards or

punishments, not as absolute determinants of their action, but as elements which affect their decisions about what actions it will be in their interests to carry out.” (Coleman, 1990, p.242-243)

Scharpf underlines the fact that the interesting concept of norms is that they do not absolutely determine courses of action of actors, but are influencing dynamically the repertoire of available options actors have:

“Institutions will... rarely prescribe one and only one course of action. Instead, by proscribing some and permitting other actions, they will define repertoires of more or less acceptable courses of action that will leave considerable scope for the strategic and tactical choices of purposeful actors.” (Scharpf, 1997, p.42)

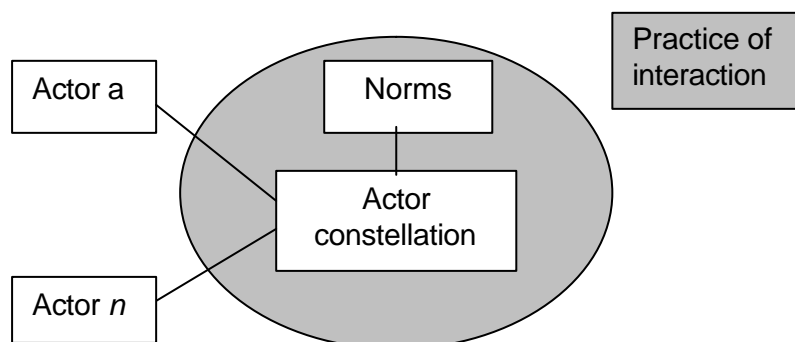
This results in two main observations on norms: (1) a distinction has to be made between two layers of norms, a formal (hard) level of the institutional setting (laws, rules, political/bureaucratic regimes, economic regimes etc.) and a more informal level (historically embedded practices, belief systems etc.) (2) It is important to state that norms do not influence choices that actors make in a deterministic way. They influence the decisions actors make but do not substitute their own preferences.

Essentially, a norm is a form of consensus in a social system that the right to control action is influenced by others, rather than it is a pure result of a self-maximizing strategy of an individual actor. According to Coleman (1990):

“...this means that others have the authority over the action, authority that is not voluntarily vested in them, either unilaterally or as part of an exchange, but is created by the social consensus that placed the right in their hands. The right that is relevant to the definition of a norm is not a legally defined right or a right based on a formal rule imposed by an actor having authority. It is, rather, an informal or socially defined right. It may exist in the absence of a legally defined right or in opposition to a legally defined right, as is the case when a norm is in conflict with a law.” (p. 243)

Norms help us predict outcomes and are thereby instrumental to make a connection between rich case study descriptions that lack comparability and general macro-level understandings of systems that lack the depth of case studies. Although it is not clear in this stage how we can find norms, and for which norms we are actually looking and how they can evolve over time, it is clear that norms influence the possibilities that actors consider. Therefore the basis conceptual scheme of figure 1 can be expanded in figure 2:

Figure 2: Norms as influencing actor constellations in practices or interaction



5.4 Towards a redefined research question and sub questions

Understanding the behaviour of actors in practices of multiple intensive land use is the goal of this research project. Realisation of these projects requires a form of collective action. Norms are introduced as instrumental for understanding the preferences actors have of different alternative courses of action in practices of interaction. From a normative standpoint it can be maintained that norms are actually needed in complex situations to channel diverging expectations of actors. Norms are both constant and evolving by nature. Therefore the question arises how existing norms influences practices and how practices can influence existing norms. This is necessary to get a deeper understanding of the possibilities to create projects of multiple intensive land use. The three cases represent three different practices, which results in a question if these new practices are successful in establishing norms that channel the diverging expectations of the involved actors towards a form of collective action of multiple intensive land use.

This leads to the following main research question on the level of the individual investment project with ambitions for multiple intensive land use:

In what respect are norms, in the practices of interaction around Amsterdam – Zuidas, Barcelona – Forum 2004 and Copenhagen – Ørestad, successful in channelling the diverging expectations of the involved actors and to create collective action in the form of a project of multiple intensive land use?

6. Pilot study Zuidas

The Amsterdam Zuidas project – as the main case study of this research project – is an example of a practice that tries to create a form of multiple intensive land use. This section shortly describes this project and its two main practices of interaction, using the framework that was lined out in the preceding sections. In the context of this paper, and the early stage of research, it is impossible to go into detail on this case. This description is used as an example how to get grip on reality with this framework and to formulate a hypothesis that can be useful in the rest of the research project.

6.1 Zuidas history

Situated around the southern ring road of Amsterdam, in the strategic transport corridor between the inner city and Schiphol airport, the area that is now defined as Zuidas (or South Axis) has shown a constant transformation in the last decade. While initial developments occurred in the beginning of the nineties without a general development scheme, since the mid-nineties the city of Amsterdam took the lead to develop the area as an international competitive location for the region and the Netherlands. Because of market interests, the area is seen as the prime high-end office location of the country, plans for the development area grew to 2,3 million square meters for a development period till 2030. About 1 million square meters is already built in the last years or in a development phase. The direction of the plans for the area shifted throughout the years from an orientation on a high-end office district in the first masterplan of 1996 towards a mixed use location with a 45/45/10



Figure 3: Zuidas master plan 2001: the bundle of infrastructure is covered, creating the conditions for a new area of multiple intensive land use

program of offices, housing and facilities in the most recent plans. This program is formulated by the city government with the conviction of its value for realizing the ambitions as a high quality environment.

A public transport node that will be upgraded in the future to a High Speed Train stop forms the core of the area. The current masterplan has the ambition to cover the central bundle of infrastructure (station, road, heavy rail and light rail) over a length of more than one kilometre to create air-right developments. Although a reasonable part of the project is in development the core area around the bundle of infrastructure is currently under heavy debate. The solution for this area will reveal if the project can realize its ambitions to create an area of multiple intensive land use.



Figure 4: Zuidas street level impression, an ideal of an integrated area with a mixture of uses

6.2 Zuidas practices of interaction

The innovations in proposed land use – from a single use prime office location to a mixed use ‘urban area’ – are matched in the Zuidas with innovative development ideas for the Dutch planning context. While planning is strongly government-led in the Netherlands, the Zuidas shows a practice with an early an active participation of important market actors. In the formal institutional setting some innovative interventions were set up, especially between the city government and private

parties. The project is managed by a small project-office at the development location that works directly under supervision of the college of mayor and alderman of the city. This innovation was set up to bring the project to a higher level of importance within the city apparatus and to conquer possible inter-governmental controversies between different city departments. A second formal institutional innovation was the creation of a coalition in an early stage of the project that brought together the most important stakeholders and owners in the area. Although the project is extremely complex and exists of numerous, partly overlapping practices of interaction, we prefer to investigate the most important ones in our analysis.

These are:

- The practice of interaction on infrastructure development in the area, as a necessary precondition for multiple intensive land use in the area;
- The practice of interaction on multiple intensive land use in the area.

6.3 Practice of interaction on infrastructure

The city of Amsterdam has a very strong preference on bringing the entire infrastructure in a tunnel. It is seen as a necessary precondition for the development of the area. According to the city a mixed-use program is impossible without a tunnel because it takes away the noise constraints. Besides that, a tunnel makes air-right development possible which extends the possible program in the area from 1,3 million square meters to 2,3 million square meters and creates the necessary quality public space that is foreseen for an international competitive top location.

The national ministry of transportation wants to expand the infrastructure of national importance in the area and to facilitate the arrival of the High Speed Train at the Zuidas train station. The ministry judges investments in infrastructure within a national context and is –

from an infrastructure perspective – not convinced a priori of the benefits of an expensive tunnel solution and keeps other solutions open.

6.4 Practice of interaction on multiple intensive land use in the area

This practice of interaction is dominated by the city of Amsterdam, as the main initiator of the project and a consortium of three large private investors. The consortium of private investors favours the Zuidas project as a prime development location and underlines the need for a tunnel too, but is not involved in the discussions on this issue. While the initial goal of the private investors was to develop a high-end office location, they incorporated goals on mixed-use development. The norm of multiple intensive land use seems to be effective, also because it does not seem to hamper the goals of investors too much. The Key Projects policy of the national government is effective on the background as a source of subsidy for mixed use development.

6.5 Zuidas norms

Although it is difficult to dig deep in this subject, as being the main theoretical focus of this case study that still has to be completed, it is possible now to briefly reflect on norms in this case and how they influence the channelling of expectations of actors. Practices of interaction at the Zuidas project were in different aspects very successful to produce forms of multiple intensive land use. Within the city government the special project office outside traditional government sectors and under direct supervision of the college of mayor and alderman proved to be an effective self-binder. It did not only function in bringing together the possibly divergent expectations that several city departments could have of this project, it also represented a clear 'face' of the project, as a communicator towards private investors and other layers of government. This can be proved by the changing courses of action that the most important investors considered on the project. At the beginning of the project, large real estate investors saw the location as a pure business location; over time they embedded the idea of a mixed-use development in high density. Because of the land prices, intensive land use was the norm of the market. During the process effective norms to channel decisions towards mixed land use were established. Although the norm of multiple intensive land use seems to be effectively channelling the expectations of main actors in this practice, the question is how strong this force will be in a period of economic stagnation for example. A problematic fact is that the practice of interaction seems to be very introvert related towards large real estate developers. The practice is not enriched with actors representing users, cultural and citizens groups for example.



Figure 5: Zuidas birds eye impression.

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The practice on infrastructure development is the biggest hampering fact for the realisation of multiple intensive land use at the Zuidas at this moment. On this moment, there is no norm that is capable of channelling the divergent expectations in the practices of interaction. The ministry of transportation is not 'attached' to the ambitions of the other actors for developments on the Zuidas. They still follow their own (sector) agenda, which is in many respects incommensurable with the agendas of the other parties. Innovative proposals of the city to set up risk-and-benefit sharing constructions for air-right development have failed till now. As long as the national government is not attached, there seems to be no 'collective' norm to converge its opinion towards those of other parties the realization of the ambitions for multiple intensive land use at the Zuidas project. Because the tunnel for the infrastructure is a necessary precondition for multiple intensive land use in the rest of the area,

disappointments in this practice of interaction will have serious effects on the practice on multiple intensive land use.

6.6 Zuidas conclusion and hypothesis

In the case of the Zuidas the concept of multiple intensive land use initially was a top down (governmental) concept. During the recent years it has developed as an effective norm to channel the expectations of main private investors regarding the area. However, it has been unsuccessful so far in creating a form of collective action with the national government on infrastructure. This controversy is dominating practices on the project in the last period. The hypothesis is that because of the relative introvert character of the project – because of its weak connection to different spheres of action (section four) – there is a limited chance for creating a form of collective action. This hypothesis is the basis for the need to study other practices which are embedded in a different manner in spheres of action. In the case of Barcelona the use of a cultural event and in the case of Copenhagen the involvement of higher (even European) levels of government. These two – on first sight – very different approaches seems to be instrumental in helping establishing an outside norm to converge the practices of interactions around the projects into the direction of multiple intensive land use.

7. Conclusion

This paper presented a brief outline of the theoretical framework for a PhD-research project. The policy idea of multiple intensive land use is strongly promoted in the Netherlands from a top down perspective. Arguments in favour of the concept are both quantitative and qualitative. However, the biggest problem seems that the concept is ineffective because it is not institutionalised in practices. Large urban investment projects around infrastructure nodes seem to provide effective conditions to test the concept in practice. Three of these practices are studied in this project.

The theoretical notion of norms is introduced as being an important factor (macro-level) that influences the (micro-level) framing actors have of their preferences in practices of interaction. Although the norm of multiple intensive land use is introduced by the traditional dominant actor in Dutch planning (the city government) the pilot study shows that it does not help to converge the goals into the two crucial practices of interaction until now.

While this paper is only the beginning of a research trajectory, it will study the processes at the Zuidas more in depth in the future applying the theoretical framework introduced in this paper. There will be special emphasis in the temporal aspect: how – over time – did preferences of actors converge or diverge and what norms did influence this process? This touches on a mainly underdeveloped part of this paper, the aspect of institutional change. How can norms change over time, and what possibilities does that give for the successful implementation of the normative planning goal of multiple intensive land use? The hypothesis is that the embeddedness in different spheres of metropolitan action, and the connection between these different spheres (private and public metropolitan spheres, European, and cultural spheres) can help creating these effective norms.

Therefore two other cases will be studied (Forum 2004 in Barcelona and Ørestad in Copenhagen) that are embedded in different spheres of action and represent practices of interaction that have resulted in multiple intensive development projects. These practices can serve as possible windows of thought for the Zuidas project.

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¹ Junior-researcher and PhD candidate. This PhD project is partly funded by *Habiforum*, the Dutch Expert Network on Multiple Intensive Land Use.

² An important incentive to promote multiple intensive land use is the government funding for *Habiforum*, an 'expert network' on multiple intensive land use. In *Habiforum*, public, private and scientific partners come together to share knowledge and work on a research agenda. *Habiforum* organises seminars, conferences, study-trips etc. More on www.habiforum.nl

³ It is important to emphasize that a situation cannot be defined as either being multiple intensive land use or its opposite. It is better to define it as a non-binary concept, by using a degree of multifunctionality (Rodenburg et. al, 2003).

⁴ Foreign observers could bring in the argument of the Dutch tradition of land reclamation. Although still practiced on a relative small scale (for example a new 18.000 housing quarter to be built on reclaimed land close to Amsterdam) the period of large scale land reclamations seems over in the Netherlands, because of the lack of political support.

⁵ If you take the scale level of a metropolitan region for example you will probably find a mixture of uses, but that can be a result of a collection of highly fragmented single use areas.

⁶ An interesting aspect in this regard is for example that private developers and owners seem to get more aware of the structural higher returns on investment on multiple intensive land use projects. This is a promising aspect of the normative planning goal of multiple intensive land use that can help its

implementation in practices from an actor-perspective, rather than as a top-down communicated planning goal.