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I. INTRODUCTION

I.1 • The Emergence of the Regional City

Spatial Configuration and Institutional Dynamics

Sako Musterd and Willem Salet

The Core Theme: From City to Urban Region

During its long history Amsterdam has developed into a city on a human scale, whose dynamism and vitality are due to the various colors of its inhabitants and those passing through. Given the make-up of its population and its cultural diversity it is more accurate to describe Amsterdam as an international center of “subculture” than a center of “distinction.” Remarkably, the historic city center, which with its extensive system of canals is going to be nominated as one of the major inner-city “monuments of cultural heritage” on UNESCO’s world list, has somehow never been turned into a museum. The city center remains the scene where a variety of activities jostle for position, and where a great deal of cultural and economic intercourse takes place alongside a striking amount of residential use. This latter feature in particular (just under 100,000 people live in the historic center, ranging from students and Bohemians to, of course, the affluent and the exclusive occupants of canal-side residences) guarantees the authenticity and innovative drive of the activities in this highly-frequented area. The old city center has avoided being taken over entirely by the people who pass through it, although they do of course leave their mark.

The ratio of jobs to resident workforce in the center is about one to one, a unique phenomenon internationally. Usually far more of the urban core is set aside for businesses, offices and shops, but people actually live in Amsterdam’s center. It goes without saying that these rough figures conceal a good deal of dynamics, but they do underscore the liveability of its center. The foundation for this unusual demographic pattern was in fact laid down during the Golden Age of the seventeenth century, when the commercial elite decided to set up shop in the heart of the city, thus giving the pattern of urban development a mixed residential and commercial character for a long time to come. On the European continent, this preference on the part of the bourgeois elite for living in inner cities was not uncommon – e.g. in thirteenth-century Italy (see Benevolo 1993); later on, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Haussmann’s restructuring of Paris gave a fresh international impetus to making inner cities suitable *inter alia* for bourgeois living – but rarely did one find the ratio of workforce to jobs mentioned above. The contrary, on the other hand, is by no means exceptional internationally. The urban history of Britain and the United States provides striking examples of the historical tendency of the urban elites to turn their backs on the noise of the

city and live in safe residential areas in rural surroundings (Thompson 1982; Fishman 1987). The centers of these cities are entirely dominated by commercial functions; living there has traditionally been a marginal activity. Amsterdam does not fall into this category, and the few modest historical attempts to push it in that direction were all aborted at a fairly early stage. Five centuries after the creation of the canal city, central Amsterdam is still an example par excellence of a counterbalance to the Central Business District.

In recent decades the long-term evolution of the major centers, in which the urban core was taken for granted as the focal point for international contacts and day-to-day activities in the region, has taken on a brand new dimension. There is a lot of new urban development on the edge of the traditional city, and the original city is no longer the exclusive focus of urban activity. On a smaller scale, there has long been a trend towards urban development outside the central city, but in the last two decades the process has accelerated enormously. The question is, what new identities will develop in such changing historical conditions of space and place (Gunn and Morris 2002). In international terms, Amsterdam is not alone here: like most other traditional major centers in Europe it is struggling with the question of how the present-day disjointed city can develop fresh cohesion and identity (Ascher 1995; Marcuse and Van Kempen 2000). This question is the central theme of this book. What does the transition from a major historical center to a new urban formation at a regional or metropolitan level involve? The rise of the regional city is a complex process, in which multifarious aspects of content, urban form, and function play major roles. It is not so much an enlargement of an old photograph as the formation of a substantially different urban constellation in which new relationships have to grow between diverse and highly changeable functional networks of land use and the new territorial concentration of the regional city. Many spatial innovations are appearing, both in the nature of urban expansion and in the changes of the functional relationships between urban activities.

The transitions are usually not smooth, however. This undoubtedly has something to do with the institutionalization of social and cultural values in the past, which can produce inertia in an era of change, as well as physical limitations. The question, then, is not only how the physical patterns of urbanism change (infrastructure, the siting of new residential and working areas, etc.) but also how ideas on the significance of “urban space” evolve. There can be inertia factors here, not only social and cultural but also economic or administrative, and the fascinating question is how such institutional conditions can change (Salet 2002). Currently, many new cities are functioning far from optimally in their new regional constellation, and this is certainly true of Amsterdam as well. Although the urban laboratory is moving on all sides, people seem to have difficulty adjusting communications and networks to the new situation. The general public and the politicians are not sufficiently aware of the fresh opportunities and challenges at the various geographical levels of scale. It is also evidently a complicated business getting to know the new opportunities of local positions and interpreting them in today’s global society. What existing qualities can we use and strengthen in the competitive area to tie new economic activity to the region, and how can we link

these goals with other regional needs? Whereas people used to identify strongly with their cities and other local communities, the question now is, are there new regional identities developing, and if so, what are they? What new socio-geographical patterns are forming at the regional level; who are the winners and who are the losers? Is it even possible to develop new regional visions that can serve as a common framework for plans and other public and private initiatives, or is the institutional fragmentation of value systems and interests too great? What specifically ties people and organizations to their regions if the considerations that motivate them are increasingly less purely territorial?

This book focuses on these themes and questions, based on an examination of the development of Amsterdam into a regional city. We would stress that, although the book is a case study of Amsterdam and thus talks a lot about that city, the context is an international one. The reflections on urban trends in practice are illustrated by examples from the knowledge acquired in the international research programmes of the Amsterdam study centre for the Metropolitan Environment (AME). The book can thus also be seen as a discussion of a number of relevant themes at the heart of the present-day literature on urban dynamics, e.g. the development of new urban forms and functions; the significance of structures that have grown historically to the current urban development; the conditions for attracting new urban economies; the new manifestations of socio-geographical inequality; and the changing political and administrative territorial landscapes, and the opportunities afforded by metropolitan governance.

The discussions of these themes are organized from two perspectives. The first is the temporal angle. The city is first examined retrospectively; the second part of the book considers a number of contemporary issues affecting the city; the last part looks at the urbanism of the future. The second angle is intertwined with the first, it accentuates certain themes: economy, infrastructure and environment; social issues in a geographical setting; and political and institutional dilemmas regarding the regional transformation of spatial patterns mentioned above. Taken together, the essays provide an understanding of how the functioning of Amsterdam as a regional city is developing and of the main urban development processes. The book concludes in an exploratory mood, with some possible scenarios for the future of regional Amsterdam and an epilogue that sums up the main dilemmas of regional Amsterdam.

Below, we briefly describe the main themes of the book, followed by a brief impression of the content of each essay.

From City to Urban Region

The present-day city by no means has the same territorially confined form that it had a hundred years ago. Few will dispute that the focus of urban activities nowadays needs to be defined at a regional level. It is here that we see the contours of the urban region, strongly influenced, of course, by its past. The quality of the city depends partly on what has been developed there in the past. The present transition from city to regional city does not usually take place in a controlled manner, according to a predetermined

plan; rather the emergent region is the geographical expression of more or less self-contained social and economic processes, such as those taking place in housing, labor, transport and various other markets. It is no easy matter marking out the territorial boundaries of the new urban region. What we have, in effect, is a variety of functional spatial networks working at different scale levels, giving rise to new agglomerations or concentrations. Despite the capricious nature of this geographical restructuring and the international content of geographical relationships in various markets, the transition to new regional forms is unmistakable. This is not only a transition in terms of form (an expanding urban area with the associated communications); effectively what we have is, above all, a genuinely expanded functional cohesion in the larger territories. Housing markets are actually operating at the level of the city region, as are the labor markets. Also, "urban facilities such as health care, education, and culture" and "recreational markets" have seen their reach increasing.

Nevertheless, behind all these tendencies towards increasing scale there lurks a multiplicity of geographical selections. Amsterdam has seen a regionalization of its housing market, for instance, but the results at present in the subsidized rented sector are completely different from those in the owner-occupied sector. The geography of the rented sector is still largely concentrated in the city of Amsterdam, whereas the owner-occupied sector is spread throughout the region. Similarly, the labor market has become entirely regionalized, with the result that people changing jobs within the region do not generally see this as a reason to move, as the demand for accessibility has also become regionalized. The geographical distribution of types of employment and levels of education within the region, however, is again very uneven. The process of regionalization entails a large number of geographical selections, sometimes promoted in a considered, deliberate manner, but in most cases based on unintentional and more or less coincidental results of the play of forces within the geographical domain in question. Without fostering the illusion that regional development should take place according to a predetermined plan, or even subscribing to the desirability of this, the current form regionalization is taking raises a host of questions that require a better balance between developments.

In most economic markets the geographical effect of decisions can sometimes be difficult to trace and influence at a regional level. Economic decisions on the geographical behavior of businesses (decisions on the location of new offices, or decisions to expand or merge) are not taken within the framework of regional area policy but in industry within the margins of conditions in international markets. Nor are these companies or chains of companies indifferent to differences in regional characteristics and regional institutions: these are important frameworks of orientation for international companies. It is here, at the interface of territorial qualities and functional spatial networks, that the main challenges and opportunities for the development of new regional cities lie. Are the new city regions in a position to take advantage of the meeting points of territorial and functional land use as catalysts for innovation, or do retarding factors that currently hamper such synergies have the upper hand?

It is very important to the functioning of urban regions, and to those involved in this, to realize that the rise of the urban region does not simply imply the enlargement of the old city or urban district. It is no longer a question of further expansion of the monocentric city or the monocentric urban district, in which the hierarchy of places is strictly indicated, the largest core also being the entity with the most urban functions and having the highest level of each function. This pattern fits in with classic hierarchical urban models which, in effect, date from the time when agriculture was still the dominant economic sector. Today's regional city is much more of a polycentric whole. The cores are less hierarchically related to one another than they used to be. The patterns of interaction in the two models differ considerably: whereas the monocentric city had a mainly radial pattern of interaction, with the main and densest flows to and from the core city, in the non-hierarchical polycentric model we find far more criss-cross movements between the local centers of the urban region. Even in Amsterdam, with its radial history par excellence, the dominance of the central core is currently diminishing rapidly, if indeed there is now any such dominance (see e.g. Bontje 2001).

The new urban region has thus far not grown into an enormous "urban field" of scattered "individual points" as Friedmann and Miller noted in the spirit of Frank Lloyd Wright in the middle of the suburbanizing sixties in the United States (Wright 1958; Friedmann and Miller 1965). The majority of interactions between parts of urban areas still takes place within relatively compact urban regions. As regards the relationships between urban activities, e.g. movement from residential to working areas, the scale level of the "Randstad" (the western conurbation that includes Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam, and The Hague), or more recently the "Delta Metropolis", these are at present more fiction than reality, whatever such metaphors may suggest. We are seeing more criss-cross relationships springing up within the urban regions, however, and the boundaries of the region are not "cast in stone" but, on the contrary, are permeable: what seems to be developing are overlapping functional regions that are at present relatively compact, with permeable boundaries.

Infrastructure

It goes without saying that the change in urban structure and functional relationships calls for a modified transport infrastructure, but this is easier said than done. A proper response in the area of communications in fact requires a full understanding of, and consensus on, the nature of the urban dynamic, and above all a realistic estimation of the opportunities for development in the years to come. Transport infrastructure does not merely accommodate the growth that has already taken place but also provides an important jumping-off point for the possible planning of future geographical developments. Particularly important is the question of how the developing pattern of multi-centered urban nodes relates to the planning of the infrastructure. The strategic planning dilemmas relate to whether new multi-centered hierarchies of urban nodes will evolve in the current competition between developing sub-centers, or whether planning will tend, American-style, towards a continuing spread without many new

urban concentrations. In these strategic considerations, infrastructure is not just a tool, it can also play a guiding role in conjunction with places that are undergoing rapid development. Public transport in particular, through its network of international, national, and supraregional communications, creates new hierarchical transport positions which in theory could correspond to the new evolving pattern of urban nodes. In practice, however, this relationship is not yet particularly well developed.

Also, regarding the dominance, indeed over-dominance, of road traffic in intraregional movements, there are opportunities in theory for the hierarchization of traffic movements through the construction of new parkways, toll roads, and motorways, thus providing fresh opportunities for regional planning. The present structure of the road network, however, is already so intricate and fragmented that it is much more difficult to organize a new spatial structure and combat the tendency towards further geographical spread in this way (Le Clercq 1996). Nonetheless here too we see fascinating challenges. For regional Amsterdam the question is whether such strategic questions of planning and infrastructure can be studied as they relate to one another: this is not the case at present. The reality would even seem to be lagging behind the spatial dynamics that have already taken effect at a regional level. It sometimes seems as if the regional planners and the transport operators are not making enough effort to find out about the changes taking place in urban areas; this impression may, however, also be due to the fact that many links are very difficult to change by their very nature. The dominant public transport system is in any event still mainly radial, whereas the new jobs tend to be concentrated in office developments on the urban periphery.

Two themes emphatically require more discussion. Firstly, the current strategic policy debate on prioritizing investments in road infrastructure and public transport is not backed up by a sufficient understanding of actual movement patterns. There is a tendency to assign the highest priority to interregional links, whereas the main demand is within these regions. Given the regional nature of the current urbanization processes, the main demand is at the intraregional level of the North Wing of the Randstad, and at the level of the South Wing, but the strategic planning debate in the Netherlands seems to be neglecting this level, apparently preferring to optimize the transport infrastructure at the level of the Randstad as a whole. As already indicated, this scale level is oversized as regards the movements of day-to-day commuter traffic (the majority of movements). The occupation patterns of urbanization and the associated movements that take place over relatively short distances in threaded chains of urbanization. The majority of commuter movements still take place over relatively short distances. The tailbacks on the trunk roads are thus caused not by the flow of traffic from one urban region to another but in reality consist of short, threaded flows between cores in the polycentric urban region. An investment strategy geared to an intricate system of public transport within the urban region is therefore probably a better option.

The same regional reality is also the input to a debate on the business philosophy of public transport operators. This too needs to be oriented much more towards the urban regions. The National Railways give absolute priority to intercity services, neglect-

ing urban regional transport, while 85% of commuter movements take place within the regional city. Urban regional services could have a far higher frequency and occupancy if they were geared toward actual needs. Where reliable (because frequent) public transport is available, far more people use it, as is now being realized within the boundaries of the City of Amsterdam. An important question is whether a much more efficient organization of public transport at the urban regional level should not be put in place, as has been done in other countries. In effect, both themes (road traffic and public transport) imply that a stricter separation will be needed between (a) infrastructure to accommodate through traffic efficiently (with few stops/stations) and (b) a frequent, fine mazed infrastructure to meet the intraregional needs. Strategic dilemmas of this kind in the transport sector suggest the possible reintroduction of hierarchy in the transport sector. It goes without saying that, as already indicated, the strategic planning questions (the development of new urban nodes, housing, and office developments and the creation of green nature and recreation areas) are inextricably linked with this.

The Economic Conditions for the Regional City

The literature on planning economics over the past fifteen years has devoted a good deal of attention to the significance of the concept of economic functional space. Economic behavior cannot be properly understood as manifestations of urban or regional activity but need to be understood primarily as a “space of flows,” as an expression of functional networks (Castells 1996). In an era of internationalization, globalization, and telecommunication the flows between businesses and cities (especially information flows) are far more important, it is said, than the geographical decisions made within territorial regions. The attention to economic flows and functional networks has certainly produced a lot of relevant insights: particularly striking is the understanding of the creation of new hierarchical relationships in the various international networks. Interestingly, the restructuring of the global economy would seem to be placing some regions in a very favorable position, while others are falling outside the new hierarchical networks. Within the regions as well, the restructuring of the international economy is leaving selective traces of development (see e.g. “splintering urbanism” Graham and Marvin 2001; and Swyngedouw and Baeten 2001). Particularly crucial for regional Amsterdam is its relatively favorable position at the international sub-top level of the financial and business network economy, its international role in aviation and the striking position of its subculture in the international networks of the “creative economy.” The importance of being sited in economic networks of this kind is grossly exaggerated, however, if this would be to suggest that businesses no longer should have any regional ties, that they should have become footloose enterprises, indifferent to specific regional qualities. The qualities of the regional city have considerable significance for the development of residents and companies. The reevaluation of the importance of regional qualities is amply confirmed in the recent literature on institutional economics (Storper 1997). In reality the importance of place in

the development of companies and individual households is becoming more important, not less important. If some qualities, such as ICT infrastructure, are available in virtually all of the urban regions, other qualities take on more distinguishing power (the availability of specially trained skilled workers, refined supply and delivery networks, and traditional economic experience in certain areas).

The key question is how this functional position and these territorial qualities can strengthen one another and bring about synergy in the new regional city. What typifies the position of regional Amsterdam is the fact that the characteristics of the “hard” economy and the “soft” cultural aspects are producing an interesting cross-fertilization: a climate that is attractive to creative knowledge workers (youthful talent) is probably the decisive factor in the development of ICT, for instance. If international companies are to locate their headquarters in a particular place it is important that financial and marketing expertise are available as well as cultural economies. This draws the hard economy closer to the soft social and cultural sectors: suddenly stock exchanges begin having more to do with breeding grounds than we might have thought. So if the regional economy is to develop well it is not enough to develop a good physical infrastructure and accommodate new office developments in a well-considered manner; it is also important that the creative economy is able to flourish in an urban climate. What seems to be particularly important in the current economic and cultural era is for cities to be able to show identities that attract youthful and creative talent. Factors such as culture and social climate, tolerance, diversity and “urban climate” are thus becoming increasingly important.

International research shows that urban areas that have an international climate and provide space for creativity, that are tolerant and ethnically and socially diverse, are among the fastest-growing cities in economic terms. They are the ones able to attract a lot of talent by virtue of these very qualities. Indicative of these cities is the large proportion of homosexuals, a large Bohemian population (artists, writers, directors, painters, etc.), a large proportion of immigrants and general “diversity.” In the US and Canada, cities like San Francisco, Boston, New York, and Toronto have profiles of this kind, and they enjoy sharp growth in their cultural economies. While in Europe, Amsterdam, Barcelona, Copenhagen, Prague, and Rome are among the creative cities. It is there that we find ethnic and social diversity, large numbers of Bohemians and many higher education courses. This type of urban environment contains ideal places for the economic laboratory and for knowledge-intensive companies such as Shell Laboratories, Philips, and Cisco, (see also Zukin 1995; Florida and Gates 2001; and Stedenbouw en Ruimtelijke Ordening 2002). A strong creative economy creates not only favorable conditions for other economic sectors, it also has a growing economic importance of its own. Many products and services are “constructs” or even “imagination,” but a shared “imagination” can become a reality for those who respond to them. Here we should consider not only such things as fashion, media (cinema, music, games), or culture in the narrow sense but as entire constructed lifestyles (Bridget Jones, Sex and the City or Friends). These lifestyles, which touch all areas of life and production, are to a large extent brought to life by art, culture, and the media. Regional cities that have the best cre-

dentials in this sector again are the “creative cities,” with their populations who are able to generate creative ventures and have the organizations that are able to pick up on the creative vehicles, develop them, and market them worldwide.

Until recently the desirable qualities of urbanism and population diversity (many tolerant, innovation-minded inhabitants, who are considered creative and come from a wide variety of backgrounds were mostly found in the core city of the urban region. Nowadays, we have to look at the regional city as a whole. In the case of Amsterdam, for instance, the city center and the nineteenth-century belt around it are rapidly losing their breeding-ground character. The pressure on the central city is so great that “marginal activities” are being pushed out, with the result that a lot of breeding grounds and alternative start-up areas are moving to other cities (for instance The Hague and Rotterdam). One of the key points in regional economic policy, then, is to allow new breeding grounds to develop, scattered throughout the urban region: there are still a few antiquated industrial areas that lend themselves to this kind of development, as well as some outdated office terrains and new “residual areas.” The question is whether new urban nodes such as those developing at new hierarchical public transport and road network interfaces can respond fully to the requirements of the creative economy; so far the new urban nodes have largely experienced monofunctional development, and there is a considerable scope for the quality of varied urbanism to become more significant at these nodes.

Contrasting Identities and the Issue of Regional Governance

The rise of the polycentric urban region is producing a situation where not all of the relevant interaction takes place within the biggest city; other cores in the region can develop their own strong positions. We are also seeing old traditional central cores that no longer consist of a single entity with one predominant center. Here specialization and differentiation have occurred within the old cores. Many old core cities have developed various important economic and cultural centers, and they are no longer socially homogeneous. New development which can be described as urban is now taking place under its own steam outside the cities, and this tendency has been very pronounced in the Amsterdam region. Various new internationally-oriented economic focal points are developing around the economic magnet of Schiphol Airport. Flower exports are concentrated around the international auctions in Aalsmeer; the media industry is no longer confined to its traditional home in Hilversum but has recently spread to Almere and the center of Amsterdam. The financial sector has regrouped along Amsterdam’s South Axis. The various urban residential areas too are now highly scattered throughout the region, the largest and most striking example being the new town of Almere, which is set to grow into a town with a population of 400,000 over the next thirty years.

On closer inspection of these many cores in the new urban region we find that individual identities are being developed to some extent, but this process is only happening in dribs and drabs. There is as yet no truly regional philosophy or complementarity

developing, by which the collection of cores could together form a strong region. Instead we find competition for the same functions, and most cores with an ambition to grow are displaying mainly copycat behavior. In the field of economics, there is very little specialization and only in some areas, plus there have only been a few attempts to embed them culturally, socially, and physically. The capital's cosmopolitan cultural elite is internationally oriented but not that closely involved within the region. Cultural development in the region is still remarkably monocentric, while the city's social and physical tissue has also changed. At this stage of urban transformation there is no tangible evidence that an urban regional identity is evolving.

If we are to develop a coherent vision of the future of the regional city, however, we need to know what identities we want to develop and where. This calls for a good understanding of our territorial strengths and a willingness to take advantage of them. It also requires patience. The stratification that has developed historically, that has made cities and in the long run the new regions so interesting, simply takes time to grow, it cannot be forced. Young cores in the urban region are lagging behind the old cores in this respect, though they can make up for this with other qualities, such as more space and new facilities, or the ability unhampered by history to develop entirely new development concepts. Is there then, perhaps, the scope here for brand new cultural landscapes? Or should we just continue to look for these mainly in the old, familiar centers of the old core cities?

It is important to note that the institutional normative structure if anything displays even more inertia than the physical structure. Established norms of urbanism and positions that have been won are not easily relinquished, partly because of identities that have evolved but also because of political and administrative relationships that have developed here. There is no administrative structure to respond actively to the new metropolitan dynamics, so new urban realities may have to deal with outdated administrative structures and local bodies for some time to come. But here too it is essential to pursue dynamic change. This does not necessarily mean that the traditional administrative territories have to be enlarged through administrative reform, or that all the administrative entities need to be turned upside down. We do, however, need to create the right conditions, through "metropolitan governance," for a new urban-region development vision to develop. The initiative need not necessarily come from the municipal or provincial authorities; the main thing, it would seem, is for regional attention to be consolidated in such a way that individual communities are no longer able to define their positions in terms of purely local interests.

Amsterdam Human Capital: Contents

We return to the themes outlined here in the ensuing chapters. After this introductory section, the book is comprised of the following three sections:

1. Amsterdam in Retrospect;
2. The Current State: Dilemmas and Perspectives;
3. Prospects of Urbanity: New Cultural Identities.

Finally, an epilogue by the editors will conclude the book. The sections are described below.

Amsterdam in Retrospect

The next section describes the historical high points and major changes in urban life that give depth to Amsterdam's current existence. *Geert Mak* discusses five historic episodes illustrating the most ambitious utopias of the ambitious bourgeoisie in the struggle with water, mud, and social decay. The dikes in the fourteenth century marked the first victory over water, providing the conditions the city needed to become a trading center. The second episode, in the seventeenth century, produced the entire ring of canals. In the next stage, urban expansion was expressed in terms of grand residences, demarcating the canals and the surrounding districts. The city exploded at the end of the nineteenth century: on the one hand the bourgeois ideal was extended into grand suburbs (for the happy few), on the other, the housing shortage gave rise to such "revolutionary districts" as the Pijp and the Kinkerbuurt. The expansion plan in the early 1930s then laid the foundation for Berlage's Amsterdam South, a successful district for the middle and upper classes. The final sizeable intervention Mak discusses is the 1960s modern high-rise district, the Bijlmermeer, and the ideals behind its development. In the next essay, *Michiel Wagenaar* concentrates on the social changes that occurred around 1919 when the liberal period finally ended and gave way to a period of public housing that was to last until well after the Second World War. The liberal period was at its height between 1880 and 1920. Private enterprise was dominant and many prestigious edifices were completed: the big hotels, the theatres and museums, Central Station, the stock exchange and some grand residential districts such as the one around the Plantage. After that, the role of government increased considerably and a good deal of attention was devoted to the shortage of public housing. This was the period when the municipal housing authority, joined gradually by the housing corporations, left an increasingly strong mark on urban Amsterdam, with striking, but sometimes onesidedly residential districts. The historic change that occurred around 1920 marked an important political and cultural dilemma that currently has the city in its grasp again, as Rob van Engelsdorp Gastelaars argues towards the end of the book. *Henk Schmal* continues the historical analysis with a study of the first developments of suburbanization in the area around Amsterdam in 1850. At that time, and until well into the twentieth century, suburban living was restricted to the happy few. And yet, it was in this period that highly characteristic areas on the edge of and outside the city were built, in particular in the Gooi and the dunes, which have their own special significance as striking urban landscapes in today's metropolitan environment. Schmal also considers the part played by public transport in the early period of suburban development. *Pieter Terhorst* and *Jacques van de Ven*, meanwhile, look at the restructuring of the economy of central Amsterdam in two post-war phases from the point of view of a "regime analysis." The first phase was the development of a typical Central Business District: interestingly, in Amsterdam this trend took shape within

the framework of the historic buildings. In the second phase, starting at the end of the sixties, the economic function of the old city center was increasingly geared to the cultural economy: tourism, shopping, leisure, and specific services. In conjunction with the increased construction of housing, this has set the city center of Amsterdam on a completely new course.

The Current State: Dilemmas and Perspectives

The following section gives an integrated diagnosis of the current transformation process, from traditional territorial city to burgeoning metropolitan urbanism. The first group of authors discuss the dilemmas in the economic, infrastructural, and environmental development of the metropolis; while the second group consider the social aspects of segregation, migration and residential areas, including the position of the homeless. This section concludes with a discussion of the political (electoral) and institutional developments and options.

A. Economy, Infrastructure and Environment

The metropolitan economy is now so intertwined with the region as a whole that municipal boundaries have completely lost their significance in this context, notes *Pieter Tordoir* at the beginning of his discussion of the development of the city economy. *Tordoir* regards the metropolitan economy as a highly diversified complex of specialized activity clusters whereby the combined influence of external scale, scope, and network economies enables a spatial-economic equilibrium at a high level of local resource costs. In its rich historical period, Amsterdam rose high up on the ladder of the world's metropolitan economies, but nowadays an urban economy at the scale of the Randstad can only reach the sub-top level in the international arena. The most important and internationally most substantial complex is the distribution complex, with the Randstad's main ports of Schiphol Airport and Rotterdam Seaport. The managerial complex, with its international headquarters in the service economy, is relatively highly developed in the Amsterdam region, and this also applies to the third complex, the consumption-oriented cultural economy. The main challenge for the metropolitan economy is to optimize the subtle interrelationships. *Luca Bertolini*, *Loek Kapoen* and *Frank le Clercq*, meanwhile, deal with the spatial concepts of transport and land use, again at a regional level. The focuses of mobility have moved from the city, with its traditional radial transport patterns, to a regional network in which new tangential links are planned. The main challenge is to develop transport concepts capable of linking the concentrated residential and working areas throughout the region efficiently. This is not just a question of mobility but also of the new spatial structuring of regional settlements in a multi-centred constellation. *Maarten Wolsink* analyses the current developments in some urban economic facilities in the light of recent trends towards the liberalization and privatization of public utilities. As examples of strategic spatial and environmental infrastructures, he discusses the liberalization of the waste management and electricity sectors. There is now very little public control over the elec-

tricity supply, and recently the authorities have lost their familiar tools for influencing economic conditions and environmental policy. When it comes to waste management, however, local authorities could gain possible new means of control via the demand side of the market. As a counterbalance to the economic processes, *Marijke van Schendelen* discusses the development of green areas in the Amsterdam region, while also looking at how policies concerning water, green areas and recreation are institutionally embedded. Interestingly, the Municipality of Amsterdam and the Province of North Holland have entered into numerous contractual arrangements with other administrative bodies and the private sector.

B. Segregation, Social Mobility and the Social Profile of Amsterdam and the Region

The second group of authors consider the social development of Amsterdam and its suburban environs. *Sako Musterd* and *Wim Ostendorf* probe the degree of segregation, both at the level of the districts within the city of Amsterdam and by comparing Amsterdam with the surrounding region. Based on a brief international comparison, there is relatively little income-based segregation at either of these levels. In this respect the social structure of Amsterdam and its environs is more balanced than that of the urban areas of many other countries, mainly because of the levelling tendency of the Dutch welfare state. There is more segregation based on ethnic background, however, and this has slightly increased during the past ten years (unlike income-based segregation, which has decreased). Segregation is then examined in terms of various demographic parameters. *Cees Cortie* looks at the social mobility of various groups of immigrants in Amsterdam and environs. People from Surinam and the Antilles display their process of migration to the city and how they climb the housing ladder to the public sections of the suburbs. People from Morocco and Turkey, who come from less skilled backgrounds, do not yet have this mobility in the housing market. Among immigrant sections of the population there is both a tendency towards suburbanization and a tendency towards gentrification in districts of the city. *Lia Karsten* examines the specific qualities of public areas for a category of city dwellers who are under-represented in terms of research and municipal policy, the city's over 100,000 children. She finds that children live scattered selectively throughout the city and region. Public areas and recreational facilities in the day-to-day environment are such that urban children remain dependent on guidance in many respects for longer than children elsewhere (the "back seat generation"). *Leon Deben*, closes this section by charting the developments relating to a specific group at the bottom of the housing market, the homeless population. He carried out a number of systematic censuses and also looked at the use of public areas. Homelessness is currently concentrated in the city center, although recently some forms of homelessness have arisen in the young urban centers of Bijlmermeer and even Schiphol and Almere.

C. Political and Electoral Developments and Institutional Dilemmas

Rinus Deurloo, *Sjoerd de Vos* and *Herman van der Wusten* begin this section by examining political participation by the Amsterdam region electorate by comparing voting patterns

in Amsterdam with those in Almere. We are struck by the fact that the division between the urban left and the more moderate and right-wing votes in the suburbs, often noted in American geographical research, is now beginning to manifest itself in Dutch urban areas. The researchers also show the trends in voting patterns in communities where large numbers of immigrants live. *Willem Salet* and *Martin de Jong* explore possible paths that strategic regional planning could take by using methods of regional governance, following the administrative failure to create city provinces. They first analyse the tendencies towards geographical disengagement and the mismatches between administrative boundaries and the scale on which the dynamics of spatial development take place. According to the authors there is no point in trying to match social dynamics through administrative reform. They explore various options for forming flexible coalitions based on strengthening the pillars of domestic administration (the municipalities and provinces), discussing the opportunities afforded here by regional governance.

Prospects of Urbanity: New Cultural Identities

The next section opens with an essay by *Rob van Engelsdorp Gastelaars* that was mentioned earlier. He explores the possible “landscapes of power” in the political and cultural climate of the capital and its environs. He notes that the architecture of those in power has to a large extent moved away from Amsterdam during the past century. Taking historical analyses as a starting point, much prestigious architecture was developed by private enterprise in Amsterdam’s inner city during the liberal period from 1880 to 1920; after this the emphasis was on public housing and compact developments. From the beginning of the last century the better-off sections of the population, or some of them, gradually moved to the suburbs. Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars explores possible scenarios for the future on the scale of a regional Amsterdam inspired again by a liberal culture. *Robert Kloosterman* explores the position of immigrants in Amsterdam’s multicultural society. Particularly striking are the increased business opportunities for immigrants. Whereas immigrants traditionally directed their entrepreneurship toward catering and retailing sectors, which have been stagnant since 1994, the sharpest increase is now in the post-industrial sectors of production and personnel services. The general change in the economy and position of Amsterdam provides a brand new opportunity structure for immigrant entrepreneurship. *Gertjan Dijkink* and *Virginie Mamadouh* explore the legitimacy of government that is faced with increasing indifference and disinterest on the part of the populace. The attempts at government reorganization are far removed from ordinary people, and referendums in particular reveal the populace’s discontent. On the other hand, there are new movements that seem to support the identification of the population with their place of residence. *Dijkink* and *Mamadouh* explore the possible influences of the digital city, urban planning focus groups, the regional media, and campaign groups on the development of regional identity.

The book concludes with an epilogue by the editors which touches upon a number of major dilemmas and contentious issues regarding the development of regional Amsterdam. They also indicate what kind of contribution the essays make to the current debate.

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