Towards New Architectural and Urban Models; The Dutch Urban Block, Public Domain and City Economy

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Abstract: This paper will discuss the physical structure of architectural and urban models in relation to the public realm as a locus of (ex)change and economic activity. The research “The transformation of the Dutch urban block in relation to the public realm; Model, rule and ideal” shows that in Dutch planning and design practices this relationship was underestimated during the last 100 years by a one-sided focus upon social, cultural and hygienic aspects of dwelling that banned almost all economic activities from the new neighbourhoods.

Typo-morphological research of paradigmatic Dutch blocks dating from 1600-2000 and the urban models connected, is applied to question the relationship between urban block and public realm. Based on this research I will try to formulate the criteria for the physical structure of future urban and architectural models that facilitate space for the new small-scale urban economy of the creative industries as well for starting businesses of migrants as means of economical emancipation.

Keywords: architectural & urban form, architectural model, urban model, urban economy, typo-morphological research

1 Towards New Architectural and Urban Models; The Dutch Urban Block, Public Domain and City Economy

Why should architects and urban planners discuss the relationship between the urban block, public domain and city economy?

When we analyse the transformation of the Dutch urban block during the last hundred years in its relation to the public domain, it becomes evident that in the Netherlands social cultural ideals dominated the transformation of the urban block’s architectural model. With the exception of stores for daily needs, economic activity and small-scale urban economy in general, were excluded from the new blocks that formed the building block, the basic entity of the new neighbourhoods and areas of city extension. Small-scale urban economy was understood as something that was fundamentally harmful to the living quality of neighbourhoods. (Changing ideals of urban blocks and economic activity, figures 1,2,3,4,5,6)

In order to understand the importance of economic activity, especially small-scale enterprises for the public domain, and the neighbourhood quality of contemporary living quarters, the Hypermarché in Bagnolet near Paris is a good example. Bagnolet is one of those neighbourhoods in the Paris’ banlieue that has been hit by violence during the past few years. The former mayor of the satellite city who had become the managing director of a highway supermarket discovered that there was almost no relationship between ‘his’ supermarket and the inhabitants of the area next to it. In order to change the sometimes hostile relationship he offered the inhabitants the opportunity to organise a mini market on the parking area next to supermarket. Nowadays the inhabitants of Bagnolet sell all manner of products there. At the same time, the stock of the supermarket has changed. Today it contains more products that appeal to the locals. The economic activity of the mini market has changed the character of the whole area. Bagnolet received a centre where people engage in economic activity and which they visit in order to participate in public life. The presence of the

1 Susanne Komossa, De transformatie van het Hollandse bouwblok in relatie tot het publieke domein; Model, regel en ideaal, Dissertatie TU-Delft november 2008, see also: http://www.library.tudelft.nl/ws/search/publications/index.htm author: Komossa
The one-sided focus in the Netherlands on social-cultural aims of dwelling in the past, resulted in the collapse of the public realm in and around urban blocks in areas dating from the nineteen-fifties, -sixties and -seventies. In Dutch neighbourhoods the public realm as the domain of (ex)change of opinions, goods, labour and locus of debate and sometimes potential conflict was abandoned in favour of harmonious collective green spaces directed towards active recreation, always accompanied by decreasing densities of buildings and designed for segregated groups of users that usually shared the same background. Nowadays one has to realise that in fact this exclusive emphasis upon social and cultural aspects and collective space during the past, has caused major problems today. Neighbourhoods, like Rotterdam Pendrecht catch political attention. Euphemistically called ‘magnificent neighbourhoods’, almost all of them are in the process of
restructuring or even undergoing demolition. When re-structuring these areas, municipalities, planners, and architects tend to focus once again upon social and cultural issues and problems. Tackling the lack of a fit physical structure for a well functioning public realm and small-scale urban economy in order to improve public space and neighbourhood quality is not (yet) a central issue.

In order to change current practices, fundamental notions have to be discussed that today form the core, probably more than ever, of any debate about city and neighbourhoods. How do we connect tradition with innovation, the local with the global, ‘top down’ urban planning with ‘bottom up’ initiatives of inhabitants, planned order with daily chaos, the formal with the informal, old and new buildings, and diversity in background and life styles of city inhabitants, with the identity of the ‘Dutch city’, officially recognised culture with popular, migrant and youth culture, poor and rich, one with ‘the other’ and conflict with democracy? The possible answers to these questions also always contain a physical dimension that influences or is expressed by the structural arrangements of the city and neighbourhoods. Activating and facilitating physical structures for the process of (ex)change connected to the public realm and small-scale urban economy could lead to many more potential qualities in these neighbourhoods.

In order to enable all the activities connected with the urban economy, fit space is needed. Small-scale urban economy especially asks for specific physical conditions. Old and new, big and small, cheap and more expensive buildings, and spaces have to be available. Additionally the physical interrelationship and connection between the different activities, between dwelling and working and the public domain are important. In the public domain economical activity and every day life take place at the same time and side by side with living and working, the exchange of ideas and knowledge, going out, shopping, visiting schools and cultural institutions, watching and being watched. The pre-condition for connection and overlapping of economical activities and everyday life, for production and consumption, is a well functioning public domain inside and around urban blocks, that is characterised by short distances and physical vicinity, high density of buildings and uses, mixture of functions, diversity of users and kinds of activities, tolerance, dynamics and changeability.

2 TYPO-MORPHOLOGICAL RESEARCH

This paper focuses on the transformation of urban blocks in the two great Dutch cities, Rotterdam and Amsterdam, and the development of innovative architectural models in relation to public domain and urban economy. In the large Dutch cities the public domain - and therefore city and neighbourhood quality - gain their physical shape not only through social and cultural activities but also, or even especially, by physical structures that accommodate economic activity as part of the everyday life of inhabitants and visitors.

The research tries to define the physical pre-conditions for ‘adequate’ urban blocks by applying typo-morphological research in combination with cultural, social and economic notions, such as urban division of functions, segregation, and vicinity both physically and perceptually. Morphological research as such concentrates upon the physical form of cities, blocks and buildings by selecting, producing, analysing and interpreting maps and drawings. In this research the question is: how does the public domain and economic activity actually take shape on different scale levels of the urban block, the neighbourhood, and the city? (Women and public domain, figures 7,8,9,10,11,12)
For example: typo-morphological drawings of buildings and urban blocks show the architectural
elements used to design the transition from private to public and to what extend the built structure can house
different kinds of functions. One glance at the city map of Rotterdam is enough to understand where large
factories, industries and harbours are situated. The morphological map of the building structures indicates
from which period a city extensions dates, and how big or small the distance to the centre is. The structural
map of rails and roads clarifies the hierarchy and accessibility of the different areas. A more careful analysis
of the structure of water and green renders, together with the position and form of squares and public
buildings, a good impression of how the position and character of the public realm is considered. (Analytical
maps of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, figures 13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20)
The morphological urban analysis based on typological-morphological research can further be directed to more specific questions. For example: how are vicinity and distance between public domain of the city and the urban block designed in a specific urban model, and which kind of architectural and urban elements are used to establish this relationship? How are public buildings distributed within the city and the neighbourhood, and how are they linked to the public domain? To what extent does the structure of the urban block allow economic activity as an important contributor to livelihood? Does the physical structure allow for different functions to overlap each other within a certain area and does the structure allow functional change?

It is clear that it is not possible to directly deduce from urban or architectural form the actual use of a built structure, they only reflect each other. The research is therefore more focused upon the architectural and urban mediation, how are architectural and urban model related to each other and how do they mediate actual use? Researching the transformation of the Dutch urban block shows that changes of form coincidence with changes in society. It also clarifies that if the form of the block changes so too will the urban model and vice versa. Block and city model are complementary to each other. Every urban model has its own way in which public buildings, squares, the water- and green structure are designed and positioned within the city. Their form and position reflect how society thought during a certain period about public domain and in this case, the quality of urban economy. And similarly, ideals developed on the scale of the urban models are expressed in the urban block.

3 THE TRANSITION FROM PRIVATE TO PUBLIC

In 1961 Jane Jacobs published ‘The Death and life of great American cities’ the book that made her famous all over the world. With this book she drew attention to the social impact of urban elements, the
actual spatial organisation of buildings and neighbourhoods\textsuperscript{4} and the mixture of functions upon the quality and safety of the public space within cities.

Typo-morphological research allows us to study the form of architectural and urban elements like stoops, facades, canopies, access systems, corners and blocks in a more detailed way. (Corners as indicators, figures 21,22,23,24,25). Specific case studies enable us to connect their form to more general socio-cultural or economical notions. Stoops are for example the locus of potential contact between very different people\textsuperscript{5}. It’s a form of contact that doesn’t interfere with the anonymity and privacy of people, but notwithstanding it causes trust and increases the liveability, diversity and variety in neighbourhoods. In terms of Sennett who poses ‘The city is where strangers meet’\textsuperscript{12} one could say this kind of contact takes away the fear of strangers and ‘the other’. Besides the presence of stoops and a mixture of functions, there are other physically important conditions for a well functioning public realm: urban blocks that furnish a great number of corners\textsuperscript{13} and a diversity of routes the passer-by can choose from, density and mixture of old and new, low-cost and expensive spaces, in a way that even marginal activities have a chance to flourish. ‘He the passenger would have alterative routes to choose from, the neighbourhood would literally open up for him’. And in the relation to urban economy: ‘The supply of feasible spots for commercial activity would increase considerably’\textsuperscript{14}.

\textbf{Figure 21} Unitng different worlds: streets leading to the centre lined by (work)shops and former trading houses of the merchants lining the Amsterdam ring canals.

\textbf{Figure 22} The mixed block of the nineteenth century. Every street side of the block has its own social-economical mixture. The corner connects the different kinds of public life often helped by a pub open to all people of the neighbourhood.

\textbf{Figure 23} In the beginning of the twentieth century the corner looses its public function in the projects for workers, urban block Michael de Klerk, Spaarndammerbuurt Amsterdam.

\textbf{Figure 24} The bourgeoisie city of Berlage’s Amsterdam integrates dwelling and economic activity by using new types of urban forms, like spatial sequences of streets, boulevards and squares.

\textbf{Figure 25} Corner lost in translation in the 1950-ties collective spaces of Rotterdam Pendrecht.

The transition from private to public in the houses of the Amsterdam ring-canals provides a clear
example of the importance of stoops and the overlap of functions during the past and even today. In the organisation of the Dutch house in the Amsterdam ring canals dating from the seventeenth century, where production and consumption were not yet separated, one can see how private space and public domain literally overlap each other. In the private "comptoir", for example the front room was used as trading office, and the broad part of hallway next to it forms part of the public domain as of the private realm of the house. The organisation of stoop and outdoor stairs is complex: the stairs access the house and trading office. Stoop and hatchway give way to the basement in the front house that was usually hired out as storage and a selling room for items of urban bulk, like wine and beer. Today this spatial arrangement is still very much appreciated if we take into account the amount of small-scaled, often creative businesses that are housed in this area. One can find the former comptoir in the so-called living-working dwellings, as transition between private and public. A recent example can be found in the housing designed by Frits van Dongen (Architectencie, 1998) for the Landtong project in Rotterdam. (Transitions from private to public, figures 26,27,28,29,30,31)

Figure 26
The complex composition of stairs and hatchway giving access to trading office, dwelling and rented out basement space.

Figure 27
Overlap of the public and the private realm in the houses of the ring canals.

Figure 28 The integration of dwelling and working, of consumption and production in the merchant houses in the Amsterdam ring canals during the seventeenth century.

Figure 29 Stacking of functions within the merchant house: attics were usually used as storage room for trading goods.

Figure 30 Dwellings combining living and working on the Landtong in Rotterdam.
Jane Jacobs was also one of the first authors who discussed the relationship between the physical structure of the city, and urban economy. In 1969 she wrote the book ‘The economy of cities’ in which she describes the city as origin, place and motor of any economical innovation. ‘Cities (opposite to villages, towns and farms) are the primary necessity for economic development and expansion, including rural development.’ About the way in which the city should be organised she says: ‘I do not mean that cities are economically valuable in spite of their inefficiencies and impracticalities, but rather because they are inefficient and impractical.’

On one hand she criticises with this statement general urban planning ideas that were still current during the nineteen sixties and which advocated the efficient functional division of dwelling, working, traffic and recreation in order to realise clear goal orientated and easily executable policies. During the last hundred years the municipal policies of the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam were mainly pointed at the social, cultural and hygienic aspects of dwelling. Economical activity was – as stated earlier – foremost considered on a large scale concentrated in the city centre or in harbour and industrial areas, and as something that is relatively independent from dwelling. The physical policies of the cities were from halfway the thirties which were dominated by thinking on a big scale, and at the same time reinforced by CIAM ideas and ideals. Slowly but surely CIAM ideas entered architecture and urban planning and formalised the urban division of functions by supplying the architectural and urban models. In the practice of urban extensions during the years before the Second World War and from the fifties to the seventies this meant that the city was divided into areas for dwelling, working, recreation and infrastructure. Every category had its own policies. This led to a situation that the city - also in a physical sense - was divided into parts where one function dominated. The division of neighbourhoods and functions literally took shape by the introduction of an extensive structure of green that did not connect but divide. At the same time the division of functions meant a thinning down and the reduction of density, especially in the dwelling areas. The mutual distance between dwellings and the individual dwelling and public domain of the city was increased exponentially. During the last decades the quality of public space in these neighbourhoods decreased because the collective green spaces were not understood by the new inhabitants and left unused. The neighbourhoods were not able to transform and to provide a public domain and spaces for small-scale economic activity to inhabitants with a variety of backgrounds.

On the scale of the urban block one can distinguish during this period a comparable increase of the separation of functions. Economic activity that formed a self-evident element of any urban block in the seventeenth to nineteenth century city extensions gradually vanished. The one-sided emphasis upon social, cultural and hygienic aspects of dwelling led to a considerable transformation of the urban block, not only in relation to its programmatic and functional aspects but also in its spatial arrangements. The new neighbourhoods and urban blocks built by the housing corporations after the Dutch Housing Act in 1901 were mainly meant to be lived in by groups of inhabitants that share the same background. (Rotterdam Pendrecht: Collective green replaces public realm, figures 32,33,34,35)

Figure 31 The division/connection of private and public

4 PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF URBAN BLOCKS
5 THE IMPORTANCE OF PHYSICAL CONNECTIONS FOR SMALL-SCALE URBAN ECONOMY

Today the attention paid to employment, dwelling, recreation, and traffic and transportation as large separate spatial entities, shifts to the mutual connection of these urban functions. There is a growing interest in those parts of urban economy that are characterised by the integration of dwelling and working, or put into other terms, of production and consumption. Especially for the so-called creative industries, policy makers start to understand the meaning of the city as place and motor of economical innovation. That cities and neighbourhoods are also the places of socio-economical emancipation of migrants is less clear.

The integrated industries, in which dwelling, working and everyday life are closely interconnected are by definition small-scale economies. Once companies, especially manufacturing businesses, grow bigger they have to search for other locations.

The small-scale urban economy is expected to be the incubator for the development of new ideas, products and services, the so-called ‘knowledge and creative industries’. One assumes that they will generate in the short run impulses for the over-all western knowledge industry so that it will be able to meet the challenges and compete by specialisation, knowledge and creativity with the upcoming Asiatic economies that are focused on mass production and ‘distant-service’. Western cities and regions, like Amsterdam and Rotterdam, state that through the development and specialisation of the knowledge and creative industries with their spin-off of new companies, today’s level of welfare of city inhabitants can also be maintained in
the future.

The small-scale urban economy can also be understood as a means for integration and emancipation of Dutch citizens that have a non-western background. The possibility to start one’s own businesses, and as a consequence attain economic independence, offers the means to achieve an equal position in Dutch society	extsuperscript{xxi}. Already today the majority of start up entrepreneurs in Rotterdam and Amsterdam are of non-western background. But if we look at recent projects in neighbourhoods with a great number of inhabitants with a non-western background, for example the restructuring of Rotterdam Tussendijken or Transvaal in The Hague, this notion often seems to be lacking in the new block models designed for these areas. (Urban enclaves: double rings in closed composition, figures 36,37,38,39)

Figure 36 Developed as urban form for the worker’s enclaves in the beginning of the twentieth century: double ring forming a secluded inner court, Patrimonium’s Hof Rotterdam 1916.

Figure 37 Inner court today, Patrimonium’s Hof Rotterdam 1916.

Figure 38 Retaking the model of the urban enclave by using a double ring in closed composition, urban renewal project ‘Le Midi’ in Rotterdam Tussendijken by Geurst & Schulz architects, 2008.

Figure 39 Inner court ‘Le Midi’ 2008.

6 SUSTAINABILITY

Small-scale economical activities and the dynamics of old and new, cheap and expensive, can also
contribute to what one would call a sustainable group of inhabitants and users that want and can dwell and work over a longer period in the neighbourhood. ‘The key link in a perpetual slum is that too many people move out of it too fast – and in the meantime dream of getting out’ xxii. For the Dutch problem-neighbourhoods, a second item, the absence of (possibilities for) active involvement applies, which may also explain the ‘devastation’ of public space. Many people do not live voluntarily in these so-called ‘magnificent neighbourhoods’ but are forced to due to poverty and the lack of other prospects. In that case they ask themselves why should one pay a lot of attention to their area? Above that the chances to start a business in a neighbourhood like Pendrecht in Rotterdam are minimal with little potential, for example, to find a fit spot with enough people passing by in order to start a viable shop or workplace.

Sustainability of quarters and neighbourhoods also means that one has to accept that areas and neighbourhoods know periods of decline. The Amsterdam ring canals and Amsterdam South have known these periods of relative decline, impoverishment and low house and apartment prices. The same happened before in De Pijp in Amsterdam. So it is not enough to examine a neighbourhood’s wellbeing or not at a certain moment, but one has to also analyse the transformative potential of its physical structure over the course of time.

7 PUBLIC DOMAIN AS SPACE OF KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE

Jos Gadetxxiii who works as a social geographer at the Physical Planning Department of the municipality of Amsterdam (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening) points to a necessity for the knowledge and creative industries that is usually not specifically recognised: the need for knowledge exchange and vicinity. Gadet distinguishes knowledge that is generally available in libraries, the Internet, etc and specific knowledge bound to individuals. In his eyes only people talking to each other, i.e. in a situation of physical proximity, transfer certain specific knowledge. This explains why certain enterprises search for each other’s physical proximity, and public spaces like cafes, in order to exchange thoughts and ideas. Physical vicinity also seems to be important in a psychological sense. By seeing and talking to each other it is easier to trust one another. Vicinity, and concentration of different disciplines, also facilitates dropping in to each other’s office spaces and (work)shops in order to gather fast (and cheap) ‘expertise’ and services from other disciplinesxxiv. This applies in fact to all starting and small-scale businesses.

Already in 1969 Jane Jacobs discussed the nature of the physical structure of the city where economical innovation and new businesses emerge. ‘Consider too the physical arrangements that promotes the greatest profusion of duplicate and diverse enterprises serving the population of the city, and lead therefore to the greatest opportunities for plentiful division of labour on which new work can potentially arise…xxv. Summarised in short the ‘physical arrangements’ are vicinity and connectivity, the mixture of small functions, where some functions like cafés and shops are used by everybody. High density of users and visitors, ‘short’ routes and a mixture of living and working spaces, different types of buildings, like old and new, cheap and expensive, big and small, form other important preconditions.

In the Netherlands we can ask ourselves whether and how these kinds of ideas are echoed in projects like the restructuring of the Oude Westen in Rotterdam during the seventies, the GWL terrain in Amsterdam during the nineties and more recently the development of the Wilhelmina Pier in Rotterdam? Do the new plans incorporate changing insights and thoughts related to the mixture of functions and healthy chaos in their architectural model? And if yes, how do they do it? What are the forms, organisations and meanings of the Dutch urban block in the new plans?

8 SMALL-SCALE URBAN ECONOMY AND THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE URBAN BLOCK

Now at the beginning of the twenty first century the Dutch urban block needs once again a transformation if one considers global economical changes and worldwide migration. The contemporary Dutch urban block should – as in the seventeenth and at the end of the nineteenth century – be able to offer a public domain to city inhabitants, visitors and migrants that are characterised by very different backgrounds. For the future of the western European city, the development of the service, knowledge and creative industries is of fundamental importance. These industries – especially when starting – depend for their
development, knowledge exchange and risk spreading in a well functioning public domain and small business spaces that are not too highly priced. These are also important for migrants that initiate their own businesses. In fact the urban block, the city, and the public domain form for both groups the ‘natural environment.’

In order to understand the relation between economical dynamics and the transformation of urban models, the careful analysis of the architectural models of the urban block is essential. Not only does the urban block transform under the influence of changes in the socio-cultural and economic context, but also the relation between the private space of dwellings and the public domain of the city is highly relevant.

As architects and urban planners we have to understand the relationship between socio-cultural and economic changes, and the transformation of architectural and urban models. In order to develop adequate new architectural models for the Dutch urban block we have to consider urban economy and the public domain as categories that constitute the city.

There are some encouraging initiatives and designs, like Amsterdam IJburg and the Solids that show the physical dimensions that architects and urban planners have to reflect upon and design. (Promising architectural models IJburg & Solids, figures 40,41,42,43,44,45)

**Figure 40** Model of the city extension Amsterdam IJburg showing the position of the urban solids within the fabric of urban blocks.

**Figure 41** Stacking of functions for rendering a covered public space.

**Figure 42** Corners in IJburg.

**Figure 43** Stacking of functions in Amsterdam: the ground floor level is generally higher than the upper floors.
Notes:


ii Neighbourhoods in the Netherlands dating from the nineteen-fifties, -sixties and -seventies that suffer from severe social and economical problems and are often characterised by a relative poor and segregated group of inhabitants.


iv number of dwellings/hectare in relation to the average dwelling size, see also: (19 paradigmatically ) projects, Komossa, S., Meyer, H. e.a.(2005); Atlas of the Dutch urban block, (Bussum, Thoth).


vi In order to research the relationship between economic activities, daily life and urban blocks - that in fact constitute almost 80% of the cities built volume - one can follow two approaches. Economical-geographic research that maps ‘where’ companies are and ‘why’. Morphological and typo-morphological research addresses the ‘how’ by investigating the architectural and urban models focussing also upon the physical structure of blocks, buildings and city extensions.


viii Mediation: ‘...that the development of form is not directly related to the translation of a social aim, but that form during the development of the design uses mediations that are specific for architecture...’. Dutch: ‘...dat de uitwerking van de vorm niet terug is te brengen tot de directe vertaling van de sociale opdracht, dat zij
tijdens het totstandkomen van het ontwerp gebruik maakt van voor de architectuur specifieke bemiddelingen.


 Jacobs, J. (1961) The death and life of great American cities (New York, Random House). Plans to demolish Greenwich Village, New York, in 1960 caused Jacobs to analyse this neighbourhood where she lived more closely. According to her, Greenwich Village was not the problem that had to be sanitised by demolition but the modernistic neighbourhoods elsewhere in Manhattan: they had become ghetto’s that were one-sidedly orientated around dwelling and they criminality and un-safety formed a daily routine. Compared to these areas ‘The Village’ was a safe area because of the intensive, sometime chaotic mixture of functions with shops and businesses on the ground floor and dwellings above.


 According to Jacobs (1961) every participant of everyday daily life on the stoops plays an important role. And even the idler, the ‘good-for-nothing’ has in Jacobs (1961) an important task. Because he doesn’t do anything all day, he’s especially able to watch continuously what’s happening in the street and by doing so he contributes to the prevention of small criminality.


 ‘Street corners express the nature of the city as meeting place, a place of superposition and conflict.’


 in the perception of architects and urban planners.

 The English word ‘physical’ is here used a synonym for the Dutch word ‘ruimtelijk’ (spatial).


 Jacobs (1972), pp. 85.

 Jacobs (1972), pp. 50.

 Saska Sassen and Richard Sennett (21 January 2008) talk about ‘The city as space of the not-haves to bring forward change’. On one hand they refer here to parades and events where the ‘not-haves of power’ can manifest themselves socio-culturally and politically. On the other hand Sennett/Sassen point to ‘the (physical) places of potential, like edges, periphery, pockets, forgotten spaces’ as ‘cheap spaces for growth’. During: ‘I have a dream…de rol van de stad’; Lectures and debate (Amsterdam, Felix Meritis).


 DRO Amsterdam distinguishes as parts of the creative industry: performing arts, service for arts, museums & galleries, publishing houses, journalism, photography, film industry, radio & television, advertisement companies, interior & fashion design, architectural & urban design. Each sector has its own pattern of settling. They all share a preference for the historical inner city of Amsterdam. Source: Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening Amsterdam, Koos van Zaanen e.a., Productiemilieus van de creatieve industrie in Amsterdam, DRO Amsterdam Januari 2006.
