

Not the Chicken, not the Egg, but the Nest! - A New Concept for Urban Planning

I. Introduction

The Nest! Project is as much a simple idea as it is a complex concept. It relates to a wide range of issues and provides the missing link to key debates on urban planning, social exclusion and participation, migration and diversity as well as on the development of the welfare state. By creating an integrative approach between challenges and opportunities, a comprehensive view is developed of the potentials inherent in problems, including suggestions for problems that have not surfaced yet, but are likely to surface in the next years as well as for issues that are already on the political agenda. The basic idea is to create innovation by integrating the temporary into urban planning and urban construction.

The Nest! Project focusses on issues of social cohesion and community building as an integral part of urban planning and the construction of new neighborhoods. It bridges the gap between the social and the physical aspects of construction by introducing the concept of creating a temporary settlement in locations designated for city extension in the time gap when the land is not used anymore for agriculture, but building has not started yet.

By using problems of newly built neighborhoods to create (job-) opportunities, by offering space for innovative projects, for experimentation and expansion and by attracting highly motivated and resourceful pioneers, a focal point for community building is created before and during the time the actual settlement is being built. By creating a local economy system that has the capacity to integrate the talent reserves as well as blocked and hidden potential of socially excluded groups, pressure is taken off of problem neighborhoods, marginalised groups are integrated and new markets are developed.

The series of Sub-studies conducted in the Nest! Project will show ways how the temporary settlement can be economically as well as socially attractive to all target groups including developers and investors as well as being economically sustainable and linking economic development to social cohesion.

The temporary settlement offers ways of counteracting the problem of homogenous "dormitory settlements". It develops ways of creating complete neighborhoods that include all basic functions of settlements and of attracting and linking different forms of capital, social, economic, symbolic, and cultural.

1) Links to Relevant Debates

Urban Planning

"To make a neighborhood you must assure social development before laying bricks" (Arnhem Municipality Councilman)

What is often lacking in urban planning is an understanding of what creates socially and economically vibrant neighborhoods. Much creativity and know-how has been developed in increasing the quality of the physical dimension of urban construction. Often, however, beautifully designed and built new neighborhoods fail to come alive. What is lacking is the social component, communication between the residents, the claiming and participative use of public space in the neighborhood for social interaction. The way physical environments but also timetables are organised in modern societies often stands in the way of the development of a social fabric in neighborhoods and communities. The capacity to make contact and to spend time in the neighborhood is decreasing. The development of social interaction and social cohesion in neighborhoods increasingly requires support structures and facilitation.

What neighborhoods need to develop socially are places and opportunities to meet, to interact and do things together, to exchange their knowledge, talents and information and to develop social interest and responsibility towards each other. Merely designating indoor and outdoor space as community meeting places, as is often part

of urban planning does not seem to do the trick. More often than not also these community meeting places are rather lifeless, green spaces remain anonymous or unpopulated and do not feel safe. What is required for communities to come alive is people who have time and the interest to spend their time in the neighborhood. The Nest! Project provides the following elements for these conditions to be met:

- * A temporary settlement that offers cheap accommodation, room for self-help and experimentation as well as opportunities for disadvantaged groups to build up a more promising future attracts pioneer energy and people with time to Venix locations (migrants, artists, students, starter families). See Temporary Settlement and Pioneer Sub-studies.
- * A local economy creates interfaces for interaction as well as monetary incentives for people to spend their time in the neighborhood. See Sub-study Local Economy.
- * Innovative Projects like a Mother Center, an International Garden and a Grassroots Academy create space for participation and resident involvement in shaping their environment and their community as well as the momentum to keep up the pioneer spirit as the settlement evolves into permanence. See respective Sub-studies on Mother Centers, the International Garden and the Grassroots Academy

Quotes from interviews with residents of the Venix Location Leidse Rijn

“The problem here is that the local government had a plan, they had it all planned out what this neighborhood should look like. They made a building where people should meet. But the people don’t meet there. That building is empty most of the time. People have not time, they are double earners, they have two cars. In this neighborhood you have to come home from work early so that you find a parking space. They want to do everything right, everyone should be happy, no problems, but then they make such mistakes, no shops, not enough parking spaces, no places for young people to meet, no place to go in the evenings, not even yoga classes. There is one supermarket. We miss the little shops.”

“People like to do things themselves, to contribute to their surroundings. In the beginning we were all pioneers. We were helping each other out with setting up our gardens, and furnishing our flats. That lasted for about 2 years. Now everybody focusses on their own lives. People have lost their pioneer feeling. You need new initiatives and projects in the settlement, places where people can come together again and do things.”

“Not being allowed to change anything in the house, even if you have bought it really hampers my sense of identification with where I live.” (Resident of Venix Location Leidsche Rijn)

“You really use your car for most things. To go to the central part, where all the services are located. There is really not much you can do on foot. So you have congestions and people get aggressive and there really is not much relaxed or enjoyable contact.”

“Parasite Paradise was nice to look at, but had no effect whatsoever on the settlement and the community. It is very much an art thing. You don’t see any people walking there. People have other concerns. They don’t go to something they don’t understand, that is not close to their world, that they don’t know what to do with. Maybe they go once to look, but no interaction happens there.”

Citizen Participation

People identify with their neighborhoods to the extent that they can contribute to it. Participation in the shaping of the living environment supports a sense of ownership, pride and belonging. This applies to all groups in settlements, women, men, children, youth, elderly. Development takes place when people are committed to investing themselves and their resources in the effort. The more inhabitants invest in their neighborhood, the richer it becomes, in culture, social cohesion, local knowledge building and problem solving.

The current situation in city development is shaped by a long tradition of welfare state mentality that defines people in regard to their needs and problems creating public services as answers to these needs. As a result residents begin to see themselves as people with needs that can only be met by outsiders. They become consumers of services with little incentive to be producers.

In the Nest! Project we see residents and citizens as a central resource and as co-producers of urban problem-solving and community development. In such an approach public services are redefined in their capacity to respond to and facilitate community initiatives. Public programs need to be reinvented so that they are able to support residents in identifying and mobilising their local assets. In such a process local government is asked how they can assist local citizens in their development efforts rather than how local citizens can participate in government efforts. Reinventing cities with such an approach involves the following:

- * Allowing people to provide for their own needs
- * Providing space and resources for people to invest and expand their talents, “do their own thing”
- * Gaining independence from paternalistic welfare agencies and bureaucracies
- * Making a city shaped by the citizens, not just by developers

Such an approach also involves a gender sensitive approach, as women as the producers of everyday life in communities have great knowledge and expertise on what cities need to look like to be enabling and life supporting environments.

Quotes from the High Tea and Talk in Arnhem Summer 2003 Series¹

“ One of the problems of Vinex locations is that people are away a lot of the time. A temporary settlement can create more presence in a Vinex location. Families with children want safe havens for their children. Supervised playgrounds could be a service offered by the temporary settlers. Anonymous neighborhoods are felt to be much more unsafe than environments where there is social contact and people know and engage with each other.

What the temporary settlement can offer is presence and flexibility. Gaps in the planning and in the delivery of services can be filled in on the spot by the temporary settlement. For such flexible action you need people with other kinds of capital than money. With time, with social capital and networks to communicate needs and locate resources, with creativity and ideas to design unusual solutions, with the ambition and energy to invest in their surrounding. The temporary settlement intends to attract such people.”

“ The Dutch culture is very paternalistic. We take care of you, with the best intentions. It is our Calvinist duty to take care of people with problems, so we do perceive them as having problems. In the present neighborhood approach we do not create real participation. Bottom up energy, people with ideas come from other channels. Holland is ripe for a change. People and policy makers are understanding that the Dutch approach of creating social workers for every social problem has gone a bit too far and that it is time to give responsibility and power back to people and to self-initiative.”

“Neighborhoods change, they don’t stay static. Flexibility and room for temporary solutions is a necessity for physical structures to grow with social development.. When neighborhoods are planned to the brim there hardly is any space to adjust when the neighborhood develops in its own way. One of the problems that make neighborhoods deteriorate is when they stay static, when the structures do not include enough flexibility to adapt to inevitable change and development. Urban planners tend to think in terms of creating finished neighborhoods, when in fact they are never finished, they are living organisms and need space to develop and grow. The Nest! Project could become quite a unique experiment in an all-too-well planned Holland.”

“By integrating a temporary settlement into the building process and allowing people to privately commission their house and build something up over time more flexibility and adaptability is created. Things also go quicker and are more likely to suit the situation if you let people contribute to the solutions.. They are much more likely to identify with and participate in local decision making, if they have space to experiment and do things themselves.”

“Seniors are decreasingly interested in elder homes or suburban housing. They want to be part of a lively environment with good neighborhood care facilities. A temporary settlement can provide that.”

¹ “High Tea and Talk in Arnhem” are a series of informal gatherings in the Nest! Project facilities in Arnhem to speak about issues of urban planning, about what constitutes good urban settlements and how to make them happen. With these events we are seeking to find intersectoral ways of thinking and intersectoral ways of creating solutions.

“Usually men are doing the planning from a “professional” point of view, sometimes neglecting the practical side. The involvement of people and especially of women can be very important to make planners aware that their plans will be used some day and need to be in tune with everyday necessities. Personal experience then is not necessarily non-professional but becomes a valuable asset.”

“Artists and the avantgarde are attracted by innovative settings and constructions that are new, that other people do not understand or are not able to use. Changing the function of given space or land creates space for pioneers and innovators. The more the function is changed, the more a legend and symbolic capital is created. Creative people want to change things, want to adapt things, want to make things fit their needs and ideas. They seek challenges. Creating space for experimentation, for new functions, is an important part of urban planning and urban management. This includes allowing for spaces with less rules and regulations.”

“Alive neighborhoods are generated by supporting the involvement and investment of inhabitants into their neighborhood. Creating spaces where inhabitants can learn from each other, supporting the establishment of small-scale businesses, supporting local networks, local culture, creativity and self governance are ways to mobilise local capital. We have learned to live our lives buying choices rather than making and finding our own solutions. This is where reinventing neighborhoods needs to start. ”

Local Exchange Systems

Community life happens when there is local exchange of different forms of capital. Bonding social capital links people to family, neighbors, friends, interest groups or close business relations. Social capital, however, seems to be declining in urban areas, due to the socially fragmented nature of urban communities. People are adopting more and more individualistic survival strategies and/or depending on the state.

By linking social , economic and educational activities with a neighborhood focus the Nest! Project intends to both access given assets, capacities and resources of the inhabitants in the settlement as well as to develop and enhance their potential and their capital. The basic assumption is that community development goes together with economic development if the focus is kept local.

In our societies the labor market has become the primary way to access income and the only valid way for inhabitants to apply themselves with work. This market orientation blocks the energy and potential of all those who are excluded from the labor market. In a similar way our qualification system blocks the potential and energy of anyone who did not make it through school, or in the case of many migrants for those whose certificates are not recognised in the host country. When inhabitants cannot contribute their talents and competencies inside these recognised channels of society, their potential is lost for society.

The Nest! Project is looking at ways to unblock these energies and potentials, to create new channels through which the unused energy, talents and resources of people who are outside the formal systems can enter and contribute to society. The local focus of a neighborhood provides good conditions for accessing unused potential by creating a platform for local exchange. The Nest! Project is looking at ways that the different forms of capital, cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital, that inhabitants have to contribute, can be stimulated, brought out and further developed through the creation of local structures of exchange.

For exchange to happen there needs to be places where people can meet and exchange their knowledge and their assets. There needs to be diversity, people having different needs as well as different talents and contributions to offer. There needs to be facilities and methodologies for identifying as well as validating skills and competencies. There needs to be a system that creates visibility, acknowledgement and valorization of different forms of capital, and a system to make these different forms of capital exchangeable, as well as to keep money in form of expenditures and investments in the community.

The temporary settlement thus includes events and meeting places for people to socially interact and exchange their ideas, a grassroots academy to validate knowledge and create reflective space for the neighborhood to be organised as a “learning community” and a local trade and exchange system that both supports the temporary settlement to be economically sustainable as well as adds to the social cohesion of the community.

Communities that have mobilised their internal assets offer opportunities for partnerships, for investors who are interested in a return on their investment. They can open up new markets and create lucrative development perspectives. For local communities partnerships with public and private investors are an important part of the

process. Whether it is government programs spending taxpayer's money or commercial interests investing in empowered and economically active local communities is an effective use of resources. When public expenditures are invested in local economy, the need for social welfare expenditures will decrease as the economic well-being of local residents is increased.

Quotes from the High Tea and Talk in Arnhem Summer 2003 series

“Neighborhoods depend on residents investing their time, presence, social and creative capital there in order to be safe and lively. Social capital is also invested when small local businesses survive economically by drawing on the support and time investment of family and kin networks. When you offer space to residents and encourage them to activate these resources you are developing an area also economically. Time intensive forms of economic and social activity are needed to create social cohesion in neighborhoods. This can be triggered by people who lack opportunities, recognition and acknowledgement, by people who are seeking more creative forms of self-expression and self-realisation as well as by people who are looking for more rewarding forms of social communication and interaction. Space, recognition and acknowledgement needs to be directed towards pioneers, risk takers and creative people. In order to stimulate local economy you need to connect with the logic of creation.”

“Temporary settlements are a way to create diversity in neighborhoods and to open new channels for people that are handicapped by language, or by failing the school system, whose ideas are not economically marketable, people with creative obsessions and surplus energy, people who are underestimated or discriminated, who lack opportunities, recognition and acknowledgement to contribute their pioneer energy and their potentials. Specifically the fact that the temporary settlers will differ from the population moving to Schuytgraaf could create positive conditions for an exchange of different forms of capital. The Schuytgraaf residents having economic means, but little time, the residents of the temporary settlement being rich in time and social networks, cultural traditions, pioneer energy and creativity.”

“Settlements thrive on social interaction and social cooperation. To be cut off from social interaction is to be cut off from stimulation, from encouragement, validation and support, from a source of energy. Alienation and anonymity in neighborhoods is a loss of resources, a loss of social capital.”

“Our society and our neighborhoods become more and more polarised. You are totally taken care of or you fall totally out of the system. You get into a Vinex location if you are economically well off, have a house to sell or by the grace of social housing. With the widening of the gap between high quality investment or nothing at all we risk that the traditional motor of new neighborhoods, young starter families cannot get in anymore on their own force. That shifts the balance between potential pioneers and potential Vinex people in favour of the pioneers. Creating channels for self-help and self-investment inside the system are a necessary means to bridge the gap.”

Managing Diversity

An element that contributes to neighborhoods being lively and animated is diversity. Neighborhoods tend to be seen as problematic if they are perceived as too uniform and monocultural. On the other hand they are also seen as problematic if they are diverse, but segmented, segregated or polarised. Finding common ground and common interests, creating social interaction and interface between different ethnic groups are important elements of managing diversity in human settlements.

In international debates on migration increasing emphasis is put on talents and resources that migrants bring with them, but that often are not channelled into host societies due to blocking conditions caused by rules and regulations. If allowed more space to build up a future for themselves this is a group that can contribute considerably to developing small businesses, market niches and affordable services that can generate the type of multi functionality needed for settlements to be alive.

If allowed to start building up their lives and their livelihood by usefully investing their time and talents in projects and activities in the framework of a temporary settlement, refugees and migrants can contribute a great deal to the development of vibrant neighborhoods. The Rules Sub-study, the Sub-studies on the Mother Center, the International Garden as well as the Local Economy Sub- include many approaches and in-roads for intercultural mainstreaming and a productive use of migration and cultural diversity.

The Lets Circle in Woudrichem

Several years ago asylum seekers were housed in a boat near Woudrichem. They were very isolated there, since it was hard to get to the city from the boat. Some citizens of Woudrichem came together and asked themselves how they could help to integrate the asylum seekers and support them to be a productive part in the community. They came up with the idea to found a Lets circle (Local Economic Trade System) finding activities where refugees could engage everyday services and get to know the population that way. A small group of people came together to try it out.

It turned out that both groups, the asylum seekers as well as the residents of Woudrichem found more than they had expected.

The asylum seekers went to work in the gardens or in the homes of Woudrichem residents and were remunerated by a local currency called Druples that they could exchange against services from the citizens like language lessons, translations of formal letters and documents etc. Over time the whole project included 350 people.

For the refugees the project proved an enormous step forward in learning about the new culture and a support for their process of integration in the host society. Slowly a friendship atmosphere was built up. People that at first had said: "We don't want these foreigners here"! became less hostile and more accepting.

In the beginning they organised a market for the population and the refugees to trade druples, but they soon realised that the direct barter system did not work very well. The local population did not invest enough time to earn enough druples to trade for the amount of services they requested. And the refugee population wanted other rewards for the work they had put in than the kind of services the local population was offering. At this point a shop was integrated into the system that served as a basis for indirect barter. The Dutch population could choose to pay for the services with money with a surcharge of 20% to an intermediary organisation who used the surcharge to run a shop in which the refugees could exchange their druples for goods like telephone cards and groceries.

Although the boat has closed down meanwhile the project is seen as a big success. It is being transferred to other communities. In Woudrichem the local Dutch population had gotten used to interacting with other cultures. When the boat closed down they did not want that taken away from them, so they opened a Weltwinkel shop (world trade shop), where they sell handicrafts and things from different cultures in a fair trade manner, and are frequented by locals and by tourists.

What the Woudrichem example shows is that the mentality and attitude of people around issues of migration and diversity can change over time, if productive interaction is created.

2) Implementation

Accessible Accommodation

On the Dutch construction market houses seem to be built with very high quality or not at all. Finding permanence and quality is extremely expensive, extremely difficult or even both. Both on the rental as well as on the buying market, there is a need to create smaller steps at the beginning of the ladder. (See Structure Sub-study) In the current situation, because there is no in-between option many potential pioneers remain with an undesirable option, staying with mom and dad, staying in the asylum seekers center or paying rent that would rather be invested in obtaining an own house. A "shorter than forever" time horizon seems not to exist in the Netherlands in the current housing situation, but from the perspective of potential pioneers a time horizon of five to ten years can be an attractive in-between alternative and an improvement from undesirable housing situations.

The temporary settlement will offer simple but cheap accommodation for starters on the rental market, who otherwise have the perspective of being stuck for years on waiting lists, before they are entitled to any housing given out by the housing corporations. The different options of temporary mobile houses that offer a good cost-quality ration and fit the needs of the different target groups are described in the Temporary Settlement Sub-study, as well as the different technical options and costs of putting into place the necessary infrastructure (roads, electricity, water, sewage, garbage removal, telephone and TV cables etc).

The project idea "Growing Houses" (see box) offers a gradual process to starter families interested in buying and owning a house in a Vinex location like Schuytgraaf, but at the given time in their life cycle do not have the

means to put down upfront what is necessary to purchase a unit there. Through a step by step process described in the Sub-study on the Local Economy such families could realise their intentions by getting involved in a “Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap Scheme” (private commissioning of house construction) in the temporary settlement.

Another interesting idea² for developing the temporary settlement into permanence is to develop only every other plot in a Vinex neighborhood, so that everybody has a big plot that could be kept, sold or privately developed. Contracts would then have to be made in such a way that the profits later in time do not go to the individual who has the plot, but flow back to the municipal ground bank. With such a scheme the Vinex neighborhood could develop over time in a diverse way and would spread the temporary settlement idea throughout the neighborhood.

“Growing Houses” – an innovation in the construction industry

On the current market the gap between rental and ownership housing is enlarging. The “Growing Houses” project is a proposal for developing an in-between market by taking advantage of the possibilities that the law on particulier opdrachtgeverschap (private commissioning) offers. The project consists of developing a core house, built by commercial developers, which is rented or bought, however is finished privately by the customers or users themselves over time, thus building up capital to allow for a mortgage loan for buying the core or to invest in the finishing work. In the intermediary period the structure does not comply to the building codes, but is inhabited on the standard and level of canping constructions.

This approach questions the all or nothing practice in current construction. Unlike industrial products, that have to be made in one go and engineered into details beforehand, a house is largely an artisanal product that has the possibility to organically grow to fit the needs and possibilities of the family that lives there. This potential currently is not being used in the construction business, neither in the way of financing and owning nor in the way of building. Both private and public players in urban development can profit from the realisation that the way out of a stagnated building production is not only in building for the top segment of the market, but also in giving space at the lower end of the market.

Projects and Activities

The temporary settlement will include a wide range of both social and economic activities. Social meeting places, businesses and services will be developed in the central part of the settlement, (marked red on the map). We propose using 10% of the red fields for this, making use of some of the farm buildings that are designated to stay in the area, as it is cheaper to change their use than to tear them down. This part of the settlement contains the projects that will link the temporary settlers, the Schuytgraaf settlers as well as the future settlers of Schuytgraaf on common ground and in common activities. It could be linked and extended to city owned strips of land on the other side of the railroad. The housing here would be developed in stages with the option to develop into permanence. This part of the settlement will be the more “rooting down” part.

Services developed will include a range of close to home services (like childcare and babysitting, eldercare, housesitting and dog walking, repair and janitor services, grocery services, mending and ironing services etc) for the double earners and task combiners moving to Schuytgraaf as well as for families in the surrounding neighborhoods. The Sub-study on the neighboring communities sketches out the needs of these neighboring communities as well as the interests and resources they have to contribute.

Businesses developed will focus largely around the housing cooperative described in the Sub-study on the Local Economy, artisanal businesses related to building and construction as well as on niche markets like a biological food coop or a fashion atelier, for instance combining the talents of Arnhem fashion students with migrant tailors.

Events like exhibitions, graduation presentations, theater, dance and music events can be organised a bit further away from the central settlement on plots of land precluding the first preparatory building activities. Such activities can be art related like the “Parade, Schuytgraaf related, like a collective tree planting action, location related like an event on the anniversary of the battle of Arnhem, or an exhibition of local handicrafts, or nature

² This idea has been developed by Drs. Jaap J. Modder, Chairman of the Board, City Region Arnhem-Nijmegen

related like nature walks looking at local plants and the biotope in the area. They will also be youth related like summer camps, cross country cycling or sack board competitions. These events will either be open air events or organised in tents. All such events will be temporary things that do not change the space. These events will be attractive both to the temporary as well as the Schuytgraaf settlers and will attract other participants from Arnhem and other municipalities as well, contributing to the overall image of Arnhem as a place where things happen.

The International Garden and Herb Garden Project (see Substudy International Garden) is proposed to be set up at the De Laar farm connected to the handicapped project that is planned there. There would be an international garden with individual plots on one side of the farm and on the other side a herb garden and a park space, where people could have their picnics and barbecues, open to the general public, where anybody can come and cut herbs to take home or to have an outdoor picnic. The International Garden Project has very strong integrative qualities. It is a very good way to integrate Schuytgraaf and its environment and is also a very good means to bridge diversity. Gardening is a "green language" understood by all, migrants, Schuytgraaf settlers as well as the general public.

The Mother or Family Center (See Sub-study Mother Center) will be the social center of the settlement, where the three worlds, the old, the new and the temporary residents can meet on an on-going basis. Activities like art and craft groups or choirs can strengthen the social life in the community and give opportunity for expressing creativity and talents. Family celebrations like birthdays, holiday and seasonal celebrations can contribute to the social bonding and social cohesion in the neighborhood. Nursing groups, debates on parenting or on child and family friendly neighborhoods and a platform on family friendly community time schedules will address the concerns of families and a Second Hand shop, a toy library or midday meals can help to alleviate the family budget. The mother center will also ensure equal participation of women in the planning and decision making processes of the settlement.

The Grassroots Academy also constitutes space for social interaction and an exchange of experience and information. The main focus of the Academy, however, is knowledge building as well as the organisation of the settlement as a learning organisation, a "learning community".

The Grassroots Academy (See Sub-study Grassroots Academy) will monitor the learning, reflection and documentation process of the temporary settlement. Workshops to facilitate group dynamics and diversity management as well as debates to learn from the experiences in the settlement will be conducted there. Skills audit programs as well as targeted training programs will help validate and coordinate both the existing knowledge and capacities of the residents as well as offer them business skills and further training to update their qualification and build up their future. The Academy will also be the central place for information to be put together and disseminated as well as for questions, complaints and ideas to be gathered and dealt with. The Mother Center and the Grassroots Academy will be housed in the Schuytgraaf farm

Organisation and Coordination

The temporary settlement will be coordinated in several organisational units. The start-up process and on-going consultation will be coordinated by Mine Nederland, the Grassroots Academy, the International Garden and the Mother Center will be run by the Nest! Stichting, the Housing Coop, Job and Service Agency as well as the Local Currency and the Business, Credit and Investment programs will be managed by Stichting Andergeld in cooperation with the Community Development Organisation Schuytgraaf, yet to be founded by the temporary settlement pioneers.

The start up process will mainly focus on getting permission for land use, on setting up the mobile housing structures for the temporary settlement, on recruiting the pioneers as well as on finding subsidies and investors for the various projects.

Regular consultation will be offered on areas like legal advice, business advice, cultural orientation, conflict mediation, participation, governance and decision making, process and communication facilitation, capacity building, leadership support, self-help and self-organisation.

Benefits for Schuytgraaf and Arnhem

The Venix location Schuytgraaf has received a considerable amount of negative publicity. Many people are sceptical. They fear the prices to be unaffordable, they resent the loss of the beautiful farming area along the river, they have experienced how things can go wrong in newly developed neighborhoods where it takes forever for infrastructural services like transportation and shopping facilities to be in place. The South of Arnhem generally has a more unpopular image than the neighborhoods on the north side of the river. And last but not least Schuytgraaf is in competition with the Venix location Westeraam in Elst in close proximity.

Urban economy has moved from the production of commodities to the production of services and now to the production of images. Hereby culture is the main tool. Besides an image, culture can create an economic base in a city or neighborhood. "Culture used to be a byproduct of prosperity. Nowadays it generates prosperity, writes the American sociologist Sharon Zukin in her recent book *The Cultures of Cities*. "Culture not only attracts visitors and generates income, it also creates competitive advantage with regard to other cities and neighborhoods. Culture creates the suggestion of coherence and cohesion.

City marketing often is directed towards the external market. It should be internal as well, a mental map that people have of their place, something they can be proud of, that has the potential of creating identification and internal cohesion.

A temporary settlement as sketched out by the Nest! Project has the potential of providing Schuytgraaf with a positive innovative image and a source of identification. (See Structure Sub-study) The pioneer energy, the cultural elements of the temporary settlement as well as the services provided towards a better reconciliation of work and family life can greatly enhance the attractiveness of Schuytgraaf. It can become known as special and different from other Vinex locations, as **the** place to live. This could change the whole image of Arnhem South.

Schuytgraaf is competing with other development areas. It needs a strong image and identity. It is a make or break situation.

Interview with a family that chose for Westeraam

Family C. live with their one year old son in Rijkerswoerd since 3,5 years. They would like to have a bigger house with a bigger garden than they currently have. They prefer a newly built house, so staying in Rijkerswoerd is not an option because there is no longer building activity there. That is the reason why they want to move.

Why a house Westeraam in Elst, rather than a house in Schuytgraaf?

The main reason is the location of Schuytgraaf, which in their view gives less infrastructural advantages. Schuytgraaf lies 6 km from the center of Arnhem and in their view it is not at all certain that the level of supplies and shopping facilities will be as good as promised. Westeraam in contrast is situated next to the center of Elst, so it is easy to use the shops there.

Westeraam is also situated close to a railway station, where they can travel not only by train, but also by inliner, to go to Arnhem or Nijmegen. There are plans to build a railway station in Schuytgraaf as well, but they do not know how long that will take.

In their opinion Westeraam is better to be reached than Schuytgraaf. Within 5 to 10 minutes you have reached the n 325, the highway to Arnhem or Nijmegen. The distance to their jobs in Arnhem from Schuytgraaf (6km) is a little bit less than from Westeraam (9 km), but with the n 325 close by, that is not seen as a problem.

In springtime 2004, they know they can move to their new house in Westeraam, and it is not likely that it will go that quickly in Schuytgraaf.