

Socio-Economic and Spatial Re-Organization of Albert Cuyp Market

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Albert Cuyp Market, Amsterdam's most visited and famous street market, is an important wealth generating structure in the city. Its socio-economic mechanism, spatial organization and temporal dynamics present weaknesses as well as potentials. It is located in the zone designated for development as Amsterdam's Red Carpet, therefore the market and its surroundings are undergoing a process of urban regeneration. While formulating the scenario for this process, city authorities focus mostly on the role the market can play in urban branding and regional image making. This paper investigates an alternative spatial design for Albert Cuyp Market, which suggests inclusive urban regeneration for the market and its surroundings. The investigation brings together questions of spatial quality, rental rates, working hours, flexibility, building materials and income levels. It is expected that as a result of this design intervention, different income groups will co-exist in the same urban space, generating wealth from one single economic structure; opportunities will be created for the low-income groups to climb the income ladder; and the economic investment made in the urban regeneration will benefit all income groups equally.

Marketplaces, Design and Albert Cuyp Market

As a designer, when I observe, analyse or criticize the contemporary city, I tend to link the realities of urban life to space. Thus, when I describe the present characteristics of Albert Cuyp Market, Amsterdam's famous street market, and discuss the importance of design for the future of marketplaces, I will base my discussion on spatial relations, physical qualities, economic value of space and use of space in time. Here, it is important to recognize the causal and dialectic relationship between space and society, because this is the point of departure when focusing on achieving social change through spatial design. Manuel Castells has written that man gives a form, a function and a social

significance to space through the particular relations he forms with the others (Castells, 1977, p. 115). Edward Soja has stated that space is not just an outcome of social and political processes but is also a dynamic force affecting these processes in significant ways (Soja, 2010, p. 2). Society and individuals shape the space according to their values, needs and aspirations. Space, in turn, defines the individuals' everyday spatial practices and perceptions. Thus, space might be deliberately designed to cause a change in society. It is this relationship between space and society that I believe links the disciplines of design and planning to social change, alternative economic development and political activism.

As a part of the debate on how to implement urban development strategies through

marketplaces, I will discuss how to achieve change in Albert Cuyp Market by proposing a new spatial design for the area in order to trigger a social regeneration firstly in the market's immediate surroundings and then in different neighbourhoods of the city. When proposing design intervention for an existing urban place, it is important first to form a complete picture of the present situation. The physical characteristics of the marketplace can be understood through a detailed observation of the market and its vicinity at various times of day; the knowledge of its non-physical characteristics can be acquired by conducting interviews and by gathering information from related institutions and official documents. Combining these techniques results in the development of an understanding of the locational ties, socio-economic structure, spatial organization and the temporal dynamics of Albert Cuyp Market, which I present below.

Albert Cuyp Market owes some of its key qualities to its location in Oude Pijp, a neighbourhood adjacent to the centre of Amsterdam (figure 1). This area is particularly attractive because of its desirable

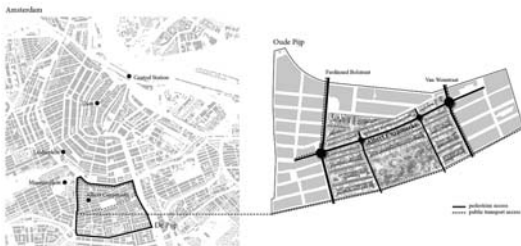


Figure 1. The position of Albert Cuyp Market in the city of Amsterdam and in the neighbourhood of Oude Pijp.

location, easy accessibility, and the density of economic and recreational activities there. But, Albert Cuyp Market itself is a unique urban structure and the most influential feature in the area, hence the economic and temporal dynamics of the neighbourhood are largely organized around it. The market stretches along the entire length of Albert

Cuypstraat; it extends into the perpendicular side streets and adjacent public squares where it generates complementary commercial and recreational activities.

Albert Cuypstraat, together with the two main arteries of the area, Ferdinand Bolstraat and Van Woustraat, form part of the economic backbone of Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam De Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening, 2011, Detailhandel): a network of urban axes along which the economic activities of the city are concentrated and where urban wealth is generated (figure 2). The market is a well-established structure, strongly tied to the

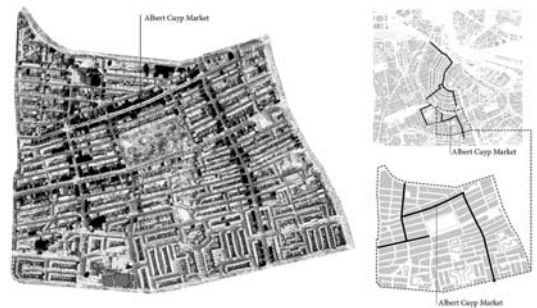


Figure 2. Albert Cuyp Market as a part of the economic backbone of Amsterdam. (Source: Gemeente Amsterdam De Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening, 2011, Detailhandel)

city's economic network and continuously benefiting from its privileged location. Oude Pijp, formerly inhabited by students, recent graduates and mostly immigrant workers, is currently receiving significant investments from the city institutions and thus undergoing a social and spatial change. Land value is increasing, housing is being privatized and the inhabitant profile is shifting towards young, high-skilled professionals with higher-middle incomes.

This transformation is expected to accelerate and become more radical once the *Noord-Zuid Lijn* (north-south metro line) is completed. The long-expected new metro line will introduce fast connections between various important locations on an axis running north-south through the city. It will convert the areas along this axis into areas

of high status in the urban geography, and together they will form *De Rode Loper*, i.e. The Red Carpet, of Amsterdam (figure 3). Albert Cuyp Market is one of the locations on De Rode Loper, halfway between the historic centre of Amsterdam and its new business district. Such changes imply that the market will be one of the key locations in the city's future development plans and urban regeneration scenarios. This makes it, among others in Amsterdam, a good fit example for my discussion of marketplaces, design and alternative urban development.

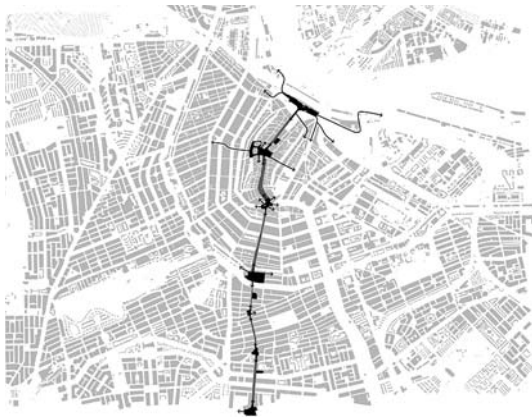


Figure 3. Introduction of the north-south metro line, creation of Amsterdam's 'Red Carpet' stretching from Damrak to Europaplein through Albert Cuyp Market. (Source: Gadet et al., 2009, p. 9, figure 3)

The Important Characteristics of Albert Cuyp Market

Socio-Economic Structure

The analysis of the current socio-economic structure of Albert Cuyp Market reveals the patterns of capital flow inside the market, and identifies the parties involved in its economic and administrative organization. The two major institutions involved are *Centrale Stad* (City Council) and *Stadsdeel Amsterdam Zuid* (Southern District of Amsterdam), which work together with a private foundation, *Stichting Marketing Albert Cuypmarkt* (Albert Cuyp Market Foundation). *Stadsdeel Amster-*

dam Zuid is authorized by *Centrale Stad* to undertake the market management, enforcement, licensing and maintenance. It, in turn, authorizes and subsidizes *Stichting Marketing Albert Cuypmarkt*, which is responsible for the daily preparation of the market, designation of the product range, control of the spatial organization and opening hours (Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsdeel Zuid, 2010a) (figure 4).

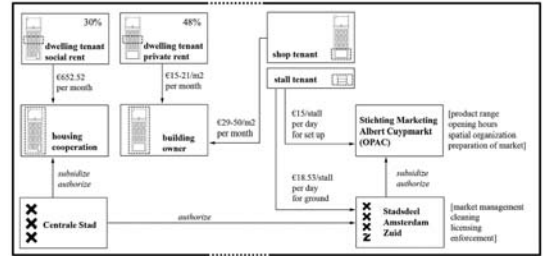


Figure 4. Socio-economic structure of Albert Cuyp Market: Rent prices of various residential and commercial spaces along the Albert Cuyp Market.

For a single stall space, a market vendor pays *Stadsdeel Amsterdam Zuid* €18.53 daily for the use of the street (Albert Cuypmarkt Ondernemers), while those who need the stall provided by the municipality pay *Stichting Marketing Albert Cuypmarkt* an additional amount of €15.00 daily for the set-up and removal of the stall. Thus the daily rent for a stall of 16 m² adds up to €33.53 per day, which makes a stall in the Albert Cuyp Market more expensive than a shop of the same size on the same street, for which the daily rent ranges between €16 and €32 (Gadet et al., 2009, p. 18). The current stall rental is too high for a low-income citizen to become a vendor in the market and generate income for his/her household.

Furthermore, approximately 40 per cent of the market stalls are rented by the tenants who also rent the shops on the same Albert Cuyp Street. The relatively better and more stable economic status of shop tenants means they can easily rent a market stall in order to increase their sales. In addition, existing vendors continue working into retirement

and also stalls are handed down from one generation to the next (Dirkzwager, 2009), resulting in long-term, inflexible tenure in nearly 80 per cent of the market stalls. Thus, the market becomes dominated by economically or socially advantaged groups, which makes it very challenging for either new or low-income vendors to participate.

Proposing an alternative for the roles of the institutions and individuals involved in the operation of the market, formulating a more fair pricing system and outlining a more flexible tenure system are important undertakings which will accompany the actual spatial design of the market.

Temporal Dynamics

Albert Cuyyp Market is open six days a week, from 9 am to 6 pm. This period of primary market activity is preceded and followed by periods of approximately three hours spent for complementary market activities, such as the preparation and dismantling of stalls, delivery of products and street cleaning. Among these, the preparation and dismantling of stalls require the most time and labour, and if the spatial design of the market were different, they could have been substantially avoided.

Although open daily, the market is made up entirely of temporary stalls, erected each morning and dismantled at closing time. This has repercussions for the physical environment of the market and its logistics, for the quality of the public space around it, different during the day from the night, and for the inhabitant profile of the street. Albert Cuyyp Street, a bustling street of shopping, eating and gathering during the day, in the evening – and especially in winter – transforms into a dark and deserted alley unable to sustain any public or commercial activity except a few restaurants and take-away shops (figure 5). The noise generated by the preparation of the market in the early morning, the dense commercial activity during the day, and the decline in the safety

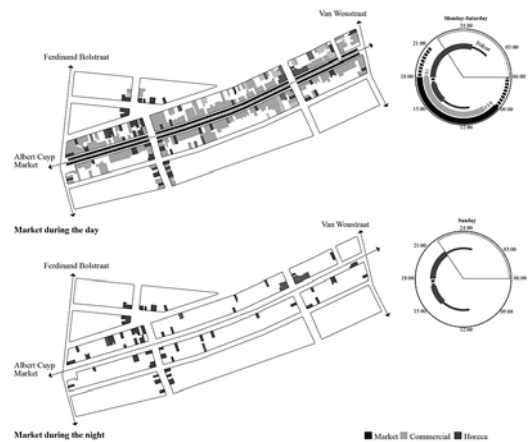


Figure 5. Temporal dynamics of Albert Cuyyp Market.

and quality of the market area at night naturally determines the profile of the people who live in the apartments on Albert Cuyyp Street, who are mostly lower-middle income.

On the other hand, as more and more high-skilled young people live in the rest of the neighbourhood, the daily rhythms of the area are slowly changing. When the present economic crisis, the changing labour conditions, the working hours of young professionals, as well as the new perception of leisure and definition of free time are considered, it is clear that the daily dynamics of commercial activity of these young Amsterdammers no longer fit with either conventional shop opening hours – 9 am to 6 pm – or those of Albert Cuyyp Market. Instead, the new rhythms include doing daily grocery shopping after 6 pm, recreational shopping on Sundays, purchasing daily needed products before the start of the working day, and visiting night shops for unexpected necessities (Dirkzwager, 2009, p. 12).

Formulating an alternative division and use of time for the operation of the market, along with the transformation of its stall types and overall structure could give identity to the public space during the night, increase the economic turnover of the area and give new opportunities of work to a group of excluded vendors.

Spatial Organization

The socio-economic structure and the temporal dynamics of Albert Cuyp Market have influenced its spatial layout, circulation network, and functional distribution. Naturally, the current spatial organization sustains this system that created it in the first place. Therefore, it is important to understand the market space as a part of the dialectics between the spatial and non-spatial characteristics of Albert Cuyp Market.

There are two types of commercial space on Albert Cuyp Street: the market stalls located on the street and the shops occupying the ground floors of the housing blocks. The street is wider than others in the neighbourhood and the stalls are organized on both sides with a central pedestrian axis. This central axis is the primary axis of the market and therefore carries the greatest number of customers. Behind the rows of stalls, parallel to the primary axis, run two secondary axes that bring the customers to the shops on the ground floors. These alleys between the stalls and the shops carry approximately a quarter of the flow carried by the primary axis. This is because the secondary axes and the shops are hidden behind the stalls and therefore are invisible to the visitors walking along the central axis. There are also numerous tertiary axes – narrow passageways formed, mostly spontaneously, between the stalls, in order to connect the primary and the secondary axes (figure 6).

The circulation network of the market connects with that of the neighbourhood where streets perpendicular to Albert Cuyp Street intersect with it, and at these points the pedestrian flow of the area joins the customer flow of the market. The position of a stall or a shop in this double-layered circulation network and its visibility from various points along the street determine the number of customers it will receive and thus the potential profit of the vendor. Since being visible and accessible from the primary

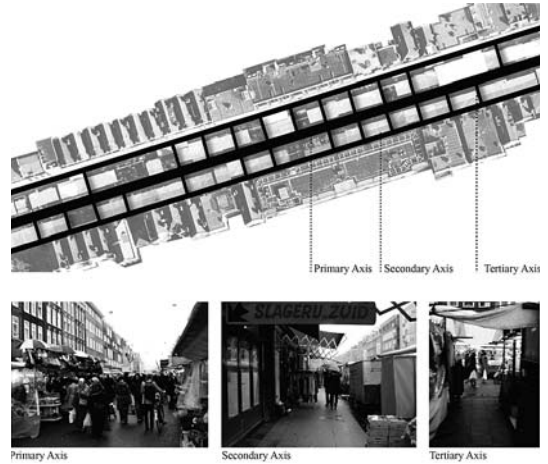


Figure 6. Spatial organization of Albert Cuyp Market: circulation.

axis is very important for sales, tenants of the shops, which because of the current layout of the market cannot be seen, are obliged to rent the stall in front of their shop in order to guarantee visibility and therefore better sales (figure 7). Thus these stalls are not available to new vendors and the type of product offered by them is fixed. Besides, these shop tenants have unnecessary additional expense and the market suffers from an inefficient use of the limited commercial space. The presence of shops along the length of the market is, in fact, one of the advantages of Albert Cuyp, since the economic activity in the stalls and shops is mutually beneficial. In addition, the street is visited both by target-oriented visitors to the shops and the

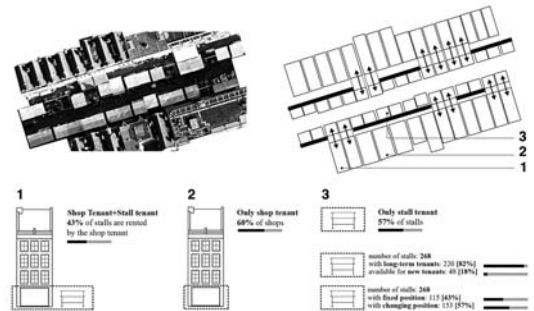


Figure 7. Spatial organization of Albert Cuyp Market: layout.

impulse-driven visitors to the stalls; if these two flows were correctly combined, the movement of customers through the market could be increased. Another advantage of Albert Cuyp is the existence of remarkable recreational facilities along the market: bars, restaurants and entertainment venues are embedded into the main commercial activity of the street. Such places complement the market activity, for example by offering the opportunity to take a break from shopping to eat in one of the restaurants, and they attract visitors to the street some of whom may become market customers.

As stated above, Albert Cuyp Market is made up entirely of temporary stalls. The stall typology is that found in almost all street markets around the Netherlands, regardless of product range, urban location or frequency of the market, and has not changed for some time. These stalls are only suitable for the sale of a narrow range of products in certain climatic conditions. Many vendors need stall space different from that provided by the city authorities, their needs varying according to the product they sell, their income level and the frequency of their presence in the market. Some vendors attempt to personalize their stall space and to protect themselves from unfavourable climatic conditions by the cheapest and most temporary means possible. Others, who prefer to be more time-efficient and mobile, bring in handcarts for the sale of their products. Thus the single stall type, which could be an element of spatial harmony in a market, because it fails to meet the needs of the diverse vendors disrupts the cohesion and unity of the market, and decreases the quality of both public and commercial space.

The regeneration of the entire market could be possible by reorganizing the circulation network to increase, diversify and better distribute the customer flow; by altering the inter-dependency of tenure between the shops and the stalls to create more space in the existing market place for new products and for new vendors to generate income;

and by reconsidering the stall typology and introducing necessary new typologies.

Present Development Strategies Involving Albert Cuyp Market

Along with the other areas included in the zone designated as Amsterdam's Red Carpet, Albert Cuyp Market and its surroundings are undergoing urban renewal as a part of this new urban branding strategy for the city. The city authorities recognize the weaknesses of Albert Cuyp Market, but in formulating a development strategy they focus more on the role that Albert Cuyp Market could play in city marketing and regional image making. In recent decades, as Edward Soja has noted, welfare-oriented urban planning has declined, more entrepreneurial approaches have taken over planning processes, and urban planning has been dominated by the intense pressure for cities and regions to compete for a place in the global economy (Soja, 2010, p. 63). An outcome of this competition to attract investment and the attention of global tourism is that strategies for urban image making and city marketing have taken precedence over those dealing with poverty reduction and urban equality.

In a capitalist urban system, especially when driven by such strategies, money flows to the most profitable and attractive locations of the city, thus disadvantaged or underdeveloped areas are deprived of investment. Urban planning organizes employment opportunities, housing provision, public functions, and private investments in space. Therefore the decisions made by planners, developers and investors about the distribution of resources, functions or investments, when they are guided by entrepreneurial approaches result in an unequal distribution of wealth and resources over the urban territory. Examples of the consequences of entrepreneurial urban planning in some parts of the world are that the poor pay more to access or to be close to basic goods and services; disinvestments as well as the

location of noxious functions occur in areas of low income and high criminality, while attractive public and private investments bring greater spatial advantages to the rich (*Ibid.*, p. 86); processes of gentrification are realized in the name of urban renewal so altering ownership and removing the poor for more profitable land uses (*Ibid.*, p. 90). Such distributional inequalities result in uneven development and failure in the correspondence between the actual needs of the society and the allocation of resources.

The urban regeneration strategy developed for the Red Carpet zone is in line with the global pattern of urban planning guided by entrepreneurial approaches and Albert Cuyp Market could play a leading role in that regeneration. The local authorities have prepared a document, which includes analysis of present conditions in Albert Cuyp and the vision they have for its future development. *OPAC 2009: Het Ontwikkelingsplan voor de Albert Cuyp* (The Development Plan for Albert Cuyp) refers to various issues including product variety, visitor profile, opening hours, stall characteristics, market management, safety and maintenance. Albert Cuyp Market is considered to have high economic, urban and public value, due to the quality of its products, its friendly atmosphere, well-known name, and strategic location. The document also points out the market's drawbacks, especially concentrating on those that have caused a decrease in the number of visitors, in its economic efficiency and its public image.

Although the document includes insights on how to increase the economic vitality of the market and improve its image to attract more visitors, it is quite limited when it comes to the understanding of the needs and problems of current vendors, improvement in their working conditions, and the development of ways to bring more vendors into the market. It does not pay sufficient attention to improvement of the public space quality of the street before and after market hours, and does not propose a more

efficient organization for handling the market preparation and maintenance. This is because it aims to develop Albert Cuyp Market with a more customer-oriented approach and with the intention of improving its image in order to use it as a part of branding and urban regeneration of the area. The current strategies involving the market are an example of urbanization processes dominated by entrepreneurial approaches and dictated by powerful and advantaged groups. However, the question that follows is whether it would be possible to realize a different development plan for Albert Cuyp, which would exceed the ambitions of urban branding and image making and offer the disadvantaged an opportunity to be included in an important public and economic structure of the city.

Castells wrote that spatial forms express, and perform in the interests of, the dominant class according to a given mode of production and to a specific mode of development; at the same time, spatial forms are earmarked by the resistance from exploited classes (Castells, 1983, p. 4 in Soja, 2000, p. 95). The contemporary urban geography has been shaped by and mostly served the interests of the dominant classes. Recently, however, for the most part due to the current economic crisis, the urban system is challenged by the opposition of disadvantaged populations as well as by the new-generation policy-makers, designers and planners who seek alternative ways of development.

As a designer who investigates how to challenge this system by urban and architectural intervention, I would like to propose an alternative development plan and new design for Albert Cuyp Market in order to integrate the low-income groups into this substantial wealth generating part of the city, and to demonstrate how an investment made in a privileged urban location can turn into an intervention which also triggers a positive change for less advantaged people and in less advantaged locations. While formulating the design criteria for new Albert Cuyp Market,

I paid particular attention to the work of two scholars, Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey, especially on the processes of urbanization, rights of urban dwellers and the formation of cities under the capitalist economic system.

Henri Lefebvre's *Right to the City* forms a theoretical base to set the ambition of the intervention and to generate the underlying criterion that will guide the design: enabling the low-income groups to claim back their right to the city. For Lefebvre, to claim the right to the city is to claim a collective power over the processes of urbanization, 'greater democratic control over the production and use of surplus', (Harvey, 2008, p. 13) and 'greater access to social power and valued resources by those most disadvantaged' (Soja, 2010, p. 96). The right to the city includes participating justly in the processes of production of space, having access to the privileged urban locations, especially the centre, where economic and social advantages are concentrated, having democratic control over the distribution of resources and services, and avoiding all forms of spatial segregation. Since the advantaged groups of the society, in other words the economically and socially powerful, hold the right to the city, urban, economic or social intervention projects must aim to reclaim power from those who have been using it to maintain their advantaged position (Soja, 2010, p. 96).

Today, the right to the city, as defined by Lefebvre, appears as utopian, since its realization would require a great increase in social wealth and profound alterations in the persistent social relations of production (Lefebvre, 1996c, p. 195). However, an intervention realized at a local scale, if it succeeds in claiming the right to the city and making a difference in one urban location, presents an alternative and more just way of urbanization, which may cause positive multiplier effects in other urban areas, or may be applied in other areas housing different social groups or in other cases involving different types of problem. Therefore, the task of claiming

the right to the city could be pursued by successive, small-scale interventions.

David Harvey's 'territorial distributive justice' sets certain criteria to evaluate whether the distribution of resources over the urban geography is just. Since an urban intervention is the investment of capital and resources in an urban location, the same criteria may be used to realize such an intervention in Albert Cuyp so that its positive effects, both social and economic, are distributed as justly as possible among various locations of the city and various groups of society. Harvey claims that the difference between the needs and the actual allocations of the resources provides us with the evaluation of the degree of justice of a territorial distribution (Harvey, 1973, p. 107). He establishes three main criteria for the measurement and evaluation of the distribution: *need*, *contribution to common good*, and *merit*. Departing from the principal criterion, need, he states that '[t]he spatial organization and the pattern of regional investment should be as such to fulfill the needs of the population' (Harvey, 1973, p. 107), not only of the advantaged groups but of all urban dwellers.

Similarly, when an intervention is envisioned, the proposed design and development plan should ensure that the different needs of different social groups are met. The second criterion, contribution to common good, suggests that a distribution which fulfils the needs of various social groups is considered more just when there are positive (socially beneficial) spillover or multiplier effects generated from the distribution patterns of urban resources, and public and private investments (Soja, 2010, p. 85). The positive effects emanating from the urban economy (*Ibid.*, p. 86) at one location should be redistributed in a way that they reach disadvantaged locations. The final criterion of merit proposes that special consideration should be given to areas with natural or social environmental difficulties; this would imply that there should be made an intervention in

the distribution pattern so that development inhibited by the difficulties of a certain area could be overcome by the allocation of extra resources or investments in that area. This would similarly suggest that low-income groups, due to their disadvantages compared to the rest of the society, could be given extra opportunities through tailor-made design, which enabled them to integrate more into the society and to increase their access to resources.

According to Harvey and Lefebvre, strategies which seek to alter the territorial distribution without altering the capitalist market structure and its urban system are doomed to failure (Harvey, 1973, p. 110), since attempts to alter patterns of wealth and resources distribution are counteracted by the forces of the capitalist system, resulting in the failure of such interventions. However, another approach involves improving existing resource allocation, strengthening the positive spread effects, and reduction of the suppressive effects present in the existing geography. The new design of Albert Cuyp Market is carried out by following the second approach, trying to detect case-specific weaknesses and strengths, problems and potentials, and aiming to generate solutions, improvement strategies and repair methods, which primarily work for the specific urban area but simultaneously enable development in other areas.

A New Design for Albert Cuyp Market

Differentiation of Stall Typologies

Since stalls are the building blocks of a market their design determines its overall commercial and public space quality. Further, they influence the rents and the daily patterns of use of the market. As described above, the Albert Cuyp Market has only one stall type, which comprises a simple metal structure covered with a waterproof textile roof. The type of commercial space vendors need varies according to the products they sell, the income they have, and how often they

open a stall in the market. The purpose of the intervention is to enable vendors from very different social and economic backgrounds to have a stall in the market. Therefore, the more suitable spatial solution would be, to provide not just one type of stall, but a variety thus giving vendors the opportunity to have a stall that better fits their needs and their purchasing powers. Consequently, the design strategy of the intervention is based on the creation of several stall typologies differing in form, rental rates, working hours and degree of temporality.

The new Albert Cuyp Market will comprise four different stall typologies, namely permanent, mobile, temporary, and early morning-late night stalls. The stalls mainly intended for vendors with relatively higher incomes, and which will be spatially most well defined, will be the permanent stalls. Their characteristics will resemble those of a typical shop: they will be fully climate-proof; rented by a fixed tenant for a period of time; the structure will be permanent and made of durable materials; when closed at night they will become the storage space for the products (figure 8). These stalls will be open during the current working hours of the market. Since the structure and envelope of these stalls will be permanent, vendors will not have to pay an extra daily fee for 'setting-up', but because their construction requires additional initial investment, this will be reflected in the rents.

Mobile stalls, dynamic and adaptable in character, will operate in pairs of one fixed and one mobile component. The configuration of these pairs will change outside the hours of primary market activity. The fixed component will be made from light weight timber panels, similar to those of the permanent stalls; the mobile component will be a slender steel structure around which the waterproof textile cover is fixed, which will create a stall that is light enough to move on wheels with the help of an electric motor. At the end of the opening hours, both components will be closed to form storage space half the size of the stall

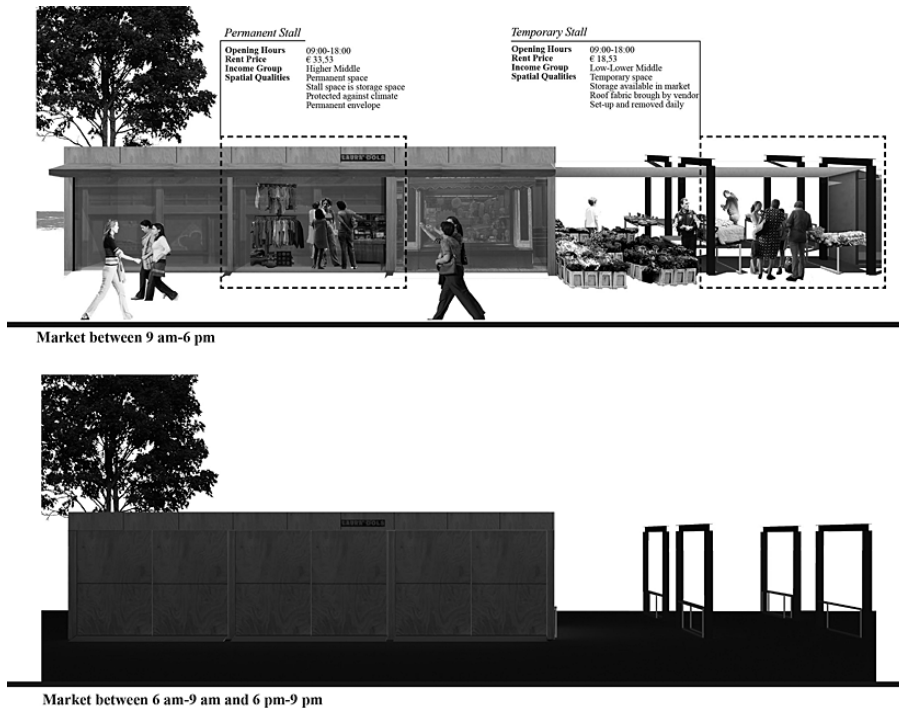


Figure 8. New design for Albert Cuyp Market: a fragment of the market during day and night, showing permanent and temporary stalls.

space; the mobile component will be moved inside the fixed one, which due to its durable envelope will safely store the products over night (figure 9). Since the mobile stalls will be working in pairs, the vendors who will rent them will be in a relationship of mutual benefit and trust. The mobile stalls will be only partially climate-protected; they will be covered structures protected from rain but they will not be heated or insulated. Their rental will be lower than the permanent stalls and therefore they will be accessible to those who have an average income among vendors of the market.

A third group of stalls will be the temporary and will resemble the present ones of Albert Cuyp Market the most. They will comprise a permanent steel structure of the market and roof fabric to be brought in by the vendor. The preparation of this stalls will be handled by the vendors who rent them; they will bring in the necessary materials and

set their own stall space up, but the design of the structure will permit easy and rapid assembly of the roof fabric, display tables and other essential elements. Naturally, these stalls will have to be completely removed at closing time, and therefore they not provide any over-night storage space (see figure 8). As it will be unnecessary for a third party to provide labour or materials for the preparation of these stalls, their rents are lowered considerably. The current stall typology will only be slightly transformed to offer similar spatial qualities as in the current market, but for almost half the rent. This makes it possible for vendors with lower incomes to rent a stall in new Albert Cuyp Market.

In order to implement the new organization of the market, the day is divided into two periods of primary market activity and secondary market activity. The primary market hours are between 9 am and 6 pm, and the secondary market hours are between

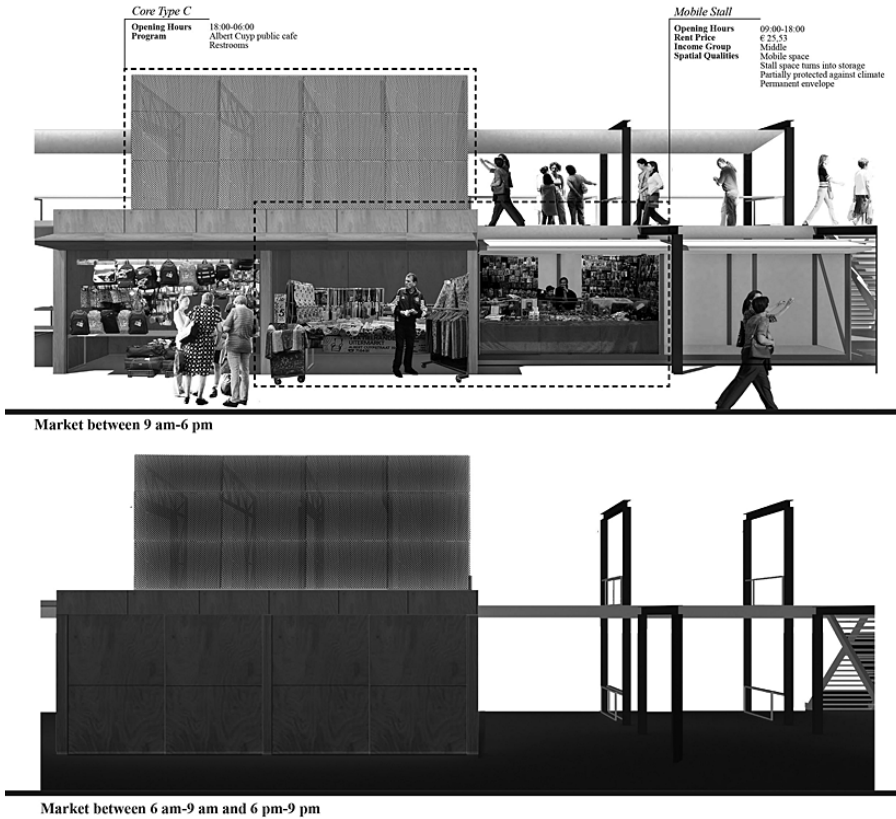


Figure 9. New design for Albert Cuyp Market: a fragment of the market during day and night, showing mobile stalls and special buildings (cores).

6 am and 9 am in the morning, and between 6 pm and 9 pm in the evening. The latter are the times which, in current Albert Cuyp Market, are used for the preparation of the market space before and after opening hours. Since the new Albert Cuyp Market will have to be completely assembled and dismantled each day, these three-hour periods can be used for alternative market activities.

The final stall typology proposed for new Albert Cuyp Market is the early morning-late night stall, which will operate only during the secondary market hours, that is for three hours before and after the primary market activity. This stall typology aims to create an opportunity in the current working mechanism of the market by manipulating its temporal dynamics so that vendors with a very low-income or new vendors can sell

their products in Albert Cuyp Market. The steel structure and fixed components of the market will be permanently positioned on the street. Thus, there will always be a part of the fixed structure, which can shelter the vendors who do not have the basic materials to set up a stall (figure 10). Such vendors might be those with low income who would like a spot in a busy Amsterdam market but cannot afford it; young people who occasionally want to sell goods or belongings to raise money; women from low-income households who need an opportunity or a trial period to start the sale of their handmade products; or vendors who would like to introduce a new product to the market. During secondary market hours, they will use the spaces occupied by the temporary stall vendors during primary market hours.

The rent for the early morning-late night stalls will correspond to the short-term use of the market structure and the ground and will be lowest of all.

The new Albert Cuyyp Market will allow flexibility in time and adaptability to the varying needs of different vendors. The essential principles are simplicity, modularity, mass production, and re-use, thus the materials will be light-weight and unit-sized that can be assembled *in situ* (figure 11). Such a system will allow alternative configurations, including changes in stall size, percentage share of different stall typologies, and flexibility in distribution and overall size of the market. In this way, the new Albert Cuyyp Market will be sustainable during its construction and its use, and even if one

day it ceases to be a market, it will continue to sustainable by being transformed into another urban structure.

Introduction of Complementary Facilities, Hybridization of Programme

Naturally, stalls form the major portion of the market space and commerce is the predominant activity of Albert Cuyyp Street. On the other hand, the commercial spaces would operate more effectively if the commercial functions were supported and enabled by complementary functions, such as storage, service or recreation facilities. The current spatial organization of Albert Cuyyp Market does not include such facilities, therefore the new design proposes the creation of

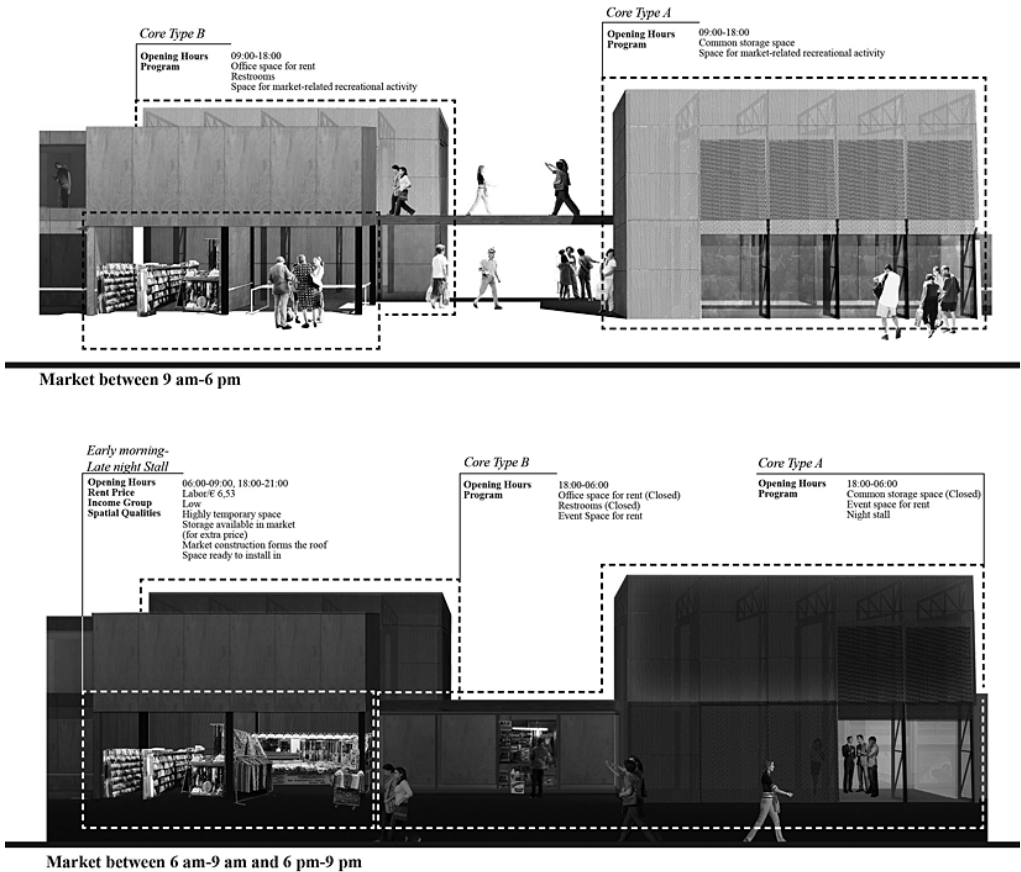


Figure 10. New design for Albert Cuyyp Market: a fragment of the market during day and night, showing early morning-late night stalls and special buildings (cores).

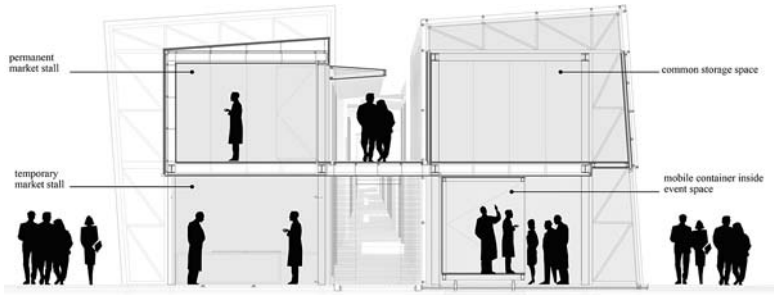


Figure 11. Cross section of the proposed Albert Cuyp Market.

several points with complementary functions along the length of the market, where these additional facilities will be grouped together inside special architectural structures.

Each of these buildings will firstly function as a service point for both visitors and vendors, so they will all include public toilets, elevators and a corner for beverages. Secondly, some of them will contain common storage spaces available for the vendors to rent if they need an on-site storage space on certain days of the week, while some other buildings will contain office and event spaces that can be rented out during or after the working hours of the market (figure 10). The rent price and availability of the storage spaces will be monitored so that they will be accessible for the market's lower income vendors who will not have a storage space included in their stalls. There will be a variety of office and event spaces with different rents so that these spaces can be rented out both for modest and high-end events, for public and private occasions, to recent graduates and experienced professionals. In this way, these special centres will bring additional capital into the market by offering spaces for the use of middle and high-income groups. This additional capital will be collected in a market fund to be used for the common benefit of the vendors and to increase public and commercial space quality of the market. Moreover, different income groups will be encouraged to come together in the same urban location, and visitors with a wider range of profiles and interests will be attracted to the market. Finally, the introduction of these complementary facilities and additional functions

will bring dynamism to the market, establish a hybrid programme, and increase the vitality of public space both during and after the opening hours of the market.

Reconfiguration of the Spatial Layout and Public Space

The spatial layout of the market and the organization of its public space have a strong influence on how well it works. The current patterns of use of space in Albert Cuyp Market tend to reduce the efficiency of the operation of the market, inhibit good distribution of visitor flow, and decrease the quality of public space. The new spatial organization of the market suggests that it will be physically transformed at different periods of the day, and will include nodes of recreational facilities along the length of the street around which the public space is organized.

The new configuration will involve the arrangement of stalls along the central line of the street, positioned back to back, and will therefore create two primary circulation axes running between a row of stalls and a row of ground floor shops. In this way, the flow of market customers will be combined with the flow of shop customers, and the shops will gain visibility by being located on the main circulation lines. A set of secondary axes will connect the two primary ones, allowing a free, impulse-oriented visit of the market. Other points of connection between the primary axes will be where the new public squares of the market are located. The special buildings that contain facilities, offices and event spaces will be positioned around these squares, and

the squares will be located across the existing cafes and restaurants on the street. Thus, these nodes of centralized public activity will be points where the market integrates with its surroundings to form vital micro-centres, and where different visitor flows and spatial practices will overlap.

According to the new design, instead of being set-up in the morning and dismantled in the evening, Albert Cuyp Market will undergo a daily spatial transformation, expanding during primary market hours to occupy the full length of the street, and shrinking during secondary market hours to concentrate activities around the public squares, namely micro-centres of the market (figure 12). To realize this physical transformation, the temporary stalls are vacated after the market hours and the mobile stalls are closed so as to occupy less space. Permanent stalls

ing of the market cannot be easily realized in a short period of time. Given this, the process of the implementation should be divided into various phases, so that during this period the market can continue to operate without significant disruptions. The intervention is planned to start with the reorganization of market stalls along the central line of the street, followed by the construction of special buildings into the row of existing stalls. The process will be completed with the longest phase of the intervention involving the construction of market stalls and this will be carried out by gradually transforming one portion of the street after another. During the implementation, the new market will grow into and, for a certain period of time, co-exist with the existing market, so that the new and old Albert Cuyp Market operate together.

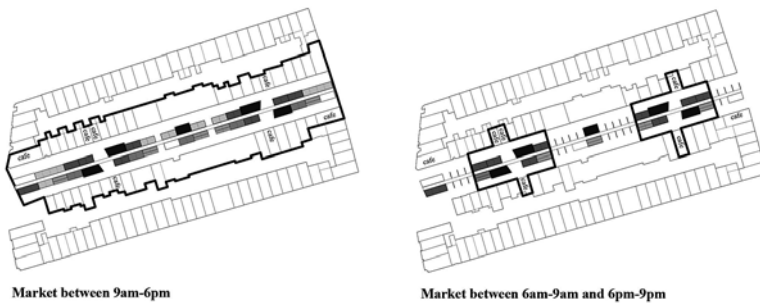


Figure 12. New spatial organization proposed for Albert Cuyp Market: spatial transformation during day and night, showing the market activity during day and centres of public activity during night.

and the spaces reserved for early morning-late night stalls will be grouped around the public squares together with the special buildings and existing restaurants, so that when the market shrinks after primary hours, its commercial and recreational activity will be concentrated around these nodes, leaving the rest of the street quiet. The nodes of public activity will repeat along the length of Albert Cuyp Street in order to maintain the vitality of urban space along the street after the closing hours of the market and later into the night.

Albert Cuyp Market, despite its weaknesses and shortcomings, is a much-visited market with dense commercial activity. The intervention to change the design and work-

Conclusion: Application of Alternative Development Strategies through Spatial Design

Inspired by Lefebvre's *Right to the City* and Harvey's *Territorial Distributive Justice*, and adopting their principles as guidelines, a design strategy is generated to transform Albert Cuyp Market. The design aims to create spatial opportunities to include low-income groups into a wealth-generating economic structure of the city and to increase their use of a socio-economically advantaged urban location. In other words, it aims to create space for disadvantaged groups in an urban geography that is mostly dominated by privileged groups.

The proposal is an integrated design, which aims to give a holistic answer to questions of spatial quality, rental rates, working hours, flexibility, building materials, construction costs and incomes (figure 13). Different stall typologies are introduced in order to offer vendors choice according to their varying needs. Although lower priced stalls will be rented by vendors with lower incomes and higher priced ones by those with higher incomes, the stall differentiation does not imply an absolute one-to-one correspondence between the income level of a vendor and the stall s/he has in the market, nor does it dictate a preset social division in the market. On the contrary, it is expected that as a result of this organization, different income groups will co-exist in the same urban space generating wealth from a single economic structure, and opportunities will be created for the low-income groups to climb up the income ladder as a result of their integration into the market.

Moreover, the new design also establishes a more efficient spatial layout and circulation pattern so that the commercial spaces will be used at their full economic potential; it guarantees better quality public space both during and after the market hours by introducing a non-commercial program and reorganizing the logistics of market preparation. The patterns of use and division of time are re-interpreted in order to better

fit the working hours of the market to the new daily rhythms of Amsterdammers, and to create a place in the market for new or low-income vendors. The proposed design reorganizes the entire working system of the market, including its spatial elements and their arrangement, its socio-economic and administrative structure, and its temporal dynamics and patterns of use (figure 14).

The complex and stratified nature of cities and of society necessitates an interdisciplinary approach to the formulation and execution of urban design interventions. The dialectic relationship between space and society, referred to at the start of this paper, presents design as a powerful tool to generate solutions to social, political or economic challenges, and as the only means to spatialize development strategies. On the other hand, the spatial definitions of a design intervention should be based on evidence produced by disciplines that study human behaviour, community dynamics, social geography, urban economics, so on and so forth. Similarly, the space that is the product of this design can only function effectively if it is supported by legislation, governance, and administrative systems. Almost everywhere in the world marketplaces are among the most important public spaces in a city. Because they merge commercial and public activity, and bring people from different sections of the society together, they are

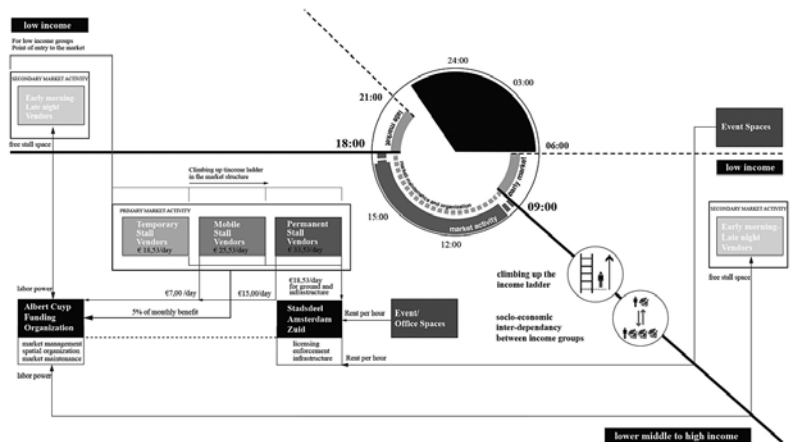


Figure13. New operational mechanism proposed for Albert Cuyp Market: showing the relationship between different stall types, day and night dynamics, and money flow.



Figure 14. Aerial view of the proposed Albert Cuyp Market.

key urban locations. Therefore, they also present a great potential to realize local urban interventions so as to achieve more global effects across the whole city.

NOTE

1. The article is based on the author's masters thesis 'Socio-Economic and Spatial Re-Organization of Albert Cuypmarkt: Integration of Low-Income Groups into Wealth-Generating Urban Structures', completed in Technische Universiteit Delft, Delft School of Design- Urban Asymmetries Graduation Studio, as a part of the Master of Science Diploma on Architecture, Urbanism and Buildings Sciences, on 10 November 2011, under the supervision of G.J.B Bruyns, H. Plomp, D. Sepulveda Carmona. For further information and visual materials please visit: <http://repository.tudelft.nl/view/ir/uuuid%3A846868b1-6aad-4d27-b257-35cc09a0bdc0/>.

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