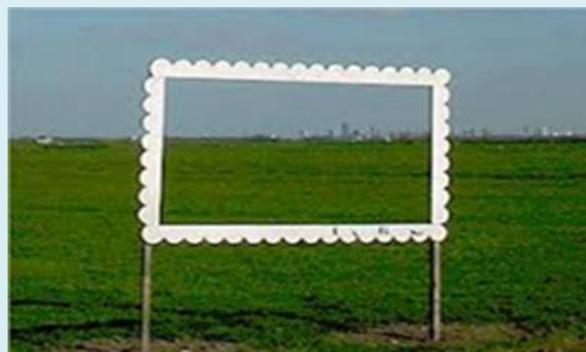# Communicative interventions and perceived socio-spatial resilience of area development processes over time:

Dutch case-studies of Midden Delfland, Nieuw Balinge and Delfzijl-Noord

MASTER THESIS

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NEDERLANDSTALIGE SAMENVATTING

In deze samenvatting wordt een overzicht gegeven met de aanleiding, de theorie, de opzet, de conclusies en de discussie ten aanzien van dit onderzoek op basis van drie sociaal-ruimtelijke planologische casestudies. Deze uitgebreide samenvatting is in het Nederlands, zodat dit onderzoek toegankelijk is voor alle betrokkenen.

In dit casestudie-onderzoek staan drie gebiedsprocessen centraal, waarbij in het nabije verleden een algemeen als succesvol ervaren participatieve interventie heeft plaatsgevonden. De hoofddoelstelling was om te onderzoeken hoe de keuze van lokale overheden voor een dergelijke interventie in samenhang met andere bestuurlijke strategieën in een gebiedsproces kan bijdragen aan een positieve beleving van sociale en ruimtelijke veerkracht van het gebied en het proces. Er is hierbij uitgegaan van ervaringen en percepties van betrokken sleutelfiguren vanuit de overheid en de samenleving.

De volgende casussen vormen de basis van dit onderzoek:

1. De gebiedsvisie van Midden Delfland (Zuid-Holland)
2. Project Ontwikkeling Militaire Terreinen Nieuw Balinge (Drenthe)
3. Groen voor rood-project Delfzijl-Noord (Groningen)

De aanleiding van dit onderzoek ligt in een 11-tal vraaggesprekken met professionals op het gebied van het organiseren en faciliteren van participatieve interventies in gebiedsprocessen in het voorjaar van 2013. Deze experts deelden onafhankelijk van elkaar de mening dat een succesvolle participatieve interventie gekenmerkt wordt door 'gedeeld eigenaarschap' en 'gezamenlijke verantwoordelijkheid' van de uitkomsten. Een andere bepalend kenmerk van het succes van dergelijke interventies bleek het plezier beleven in het participeren, samenwerken en betrokken zijn. Hierbij rees bij de onderzoeker de vraag hoe de wederzijdse bewustwording en de onderlinge veranderende energie tussen de deelnemers door verloop van tijd zich zou ontwikkelen en hoe dit wellicht ook impact zou kunnen hebben op buitenstaanders die deze ervaring niet hadden gedeeld. In andere woorden, veranderen dergelijke

ervaringen mensen en hun grondhouding ten aanzien van toekomstige samenwerking of andere toekomstige acties, of zijn dit soort effecten alleen maar van tijdelijke aard?

Aan de basis van dit onderzoek staan twee wetenschappelijke planologische theorieën: de Communicatieve Planologie Theorie (CPT) en de theorie van Complex Adaptieve Systemen (CAS). In CPT staan participatie, samenwerken en dialoog tussen overheden, maatschappelijke organisaties en burgers centraal. Sleutelelementen van CPT zijn onder andere: het gebruik van gezamenlijke verhalen, de rol van dialoog in kennisacties, wederzijds leren, gebruik van lokale kennis, de creatie van gedeelde betekenissen, gelijkwaardige toegang tot informatie, netwerkdynamieken en het gezamenlijk zoeken naar feiten. In CPT is bevonden dat deelnemers aan processen waarin wordt gebouwd aan onderlinge consensus, zich concentreren op het creëren en articuleren van gezamenlijke strategieën. Door het creëren van gezamenlijke waarden behalen ze gelijktijdig wat ze zelf, maar ook anderen nodig hebben. De CAS-theorie kan worden samengevat als een meervoudig gelaagd en aangesloten evolutie- en transitieproces van open systemen, die vanuit chaos op een niet-lineaire adaptieve wijze bewegen en zich richten naar nieuw voordoende ordelijke systemen. De CAS-theorie is gerelateerd aan de complexiteitswetenschap. Een essentieel aspect hiervan is evolutie door de tijd: vanuit het huidige 'zijn', naar toekomstige 'wording'. De CAS-theorie plaatst de CPT in het huidige 'zijn', en veronderstelt daardoor dat de CPT niet toekomstbestendig zou zijn. De CPT beweert echter het tegendeel: communicatieve planologie is in staat radicale verandering te benaderen en te absorberen en kan daardoor bijdragen aan sociale en daardoor ruimtelijke veerkracht. Dit zou mogelijk zijn door het benutten van het aanwezige sociale kapitaal van de participanten, hun vermogen om nieuwe kennis te creëren en de samenstelling van de groep en het netwerk aan te passen door de tijd.

Het conceptuele kader van dit onderzoek (zie figuur 1, pag. 11) is op een aantal kernelementen van deze theorieën gebaseerd: het gebruik van een communicatieve strategie op een bepaald moment in de tijd; de niet ingecalculeerde sociale, fysieke, economische en politieke effecten als gevolg hiervan door de tijd; de verandering van de context door de tijd, en; de waargenomen sociaal-ruimtelijke

veerkracht van een bepaald gebiedsproces en gebied een aantal jaren na de participatieve interventie.

Bij bovengenoemde casestudies is in de eerste plaats gekeken naar het aanvankelijke ruimtelijke vraagstuk, de samenhang met de lokale historische context en het hoe en waarom van de participatieve interventie. Vervolgens is gekeken naar de afgesproken uitkomsten van de interventie en hoe de deelnemers de interventie beleefd hebben. Centraal stond hoe sleutelfiguren die hebben deelgenomen aan de participatieve interventie of betrokkenen zijn geweest in het gebiedsproces direct erna, de bestuurlijke rol van de overheid hebben beleefd in de vervolgontwikkelingen door de tijd. Hierbij is er specifiek gekeken naar de niet ingecalculeerde sociaal-ruimtelijke 'tweede en derde orde effecten', zoals bijvoorbeeld het ontstaan van nieuwe netwerken en samenwerkingsverbanden en bepaalde ruimtelijke ingrepen. Daarnaast is er ook gekeken naar veranderende formele en informele instituties (bijv. besluitvorming, procedures, regels, normen en waarden) welke van invloed zijn geweest op het verdere verloop van het proces. Verder is er gekeken naar invloeden en processen van buitenaf die het proces door de loop van de tijd hebben beïnvloed of er in vervlochten geraakt zijn geraakt. Ook is uitgediept hoe de verantwoordelijke overheden en instanties de aanvankelijke gezamenlijke afspraken hebben uitgevoerd. Met de uitkomsten hiervan als onderlegger, is uiteindelijk gekeken hoe sleutelfiguren de toekomstbestendigheid, de veerkracht, van het gebiedsproces en het gebied zien en ervaren en wat daarbij de rol van de verantwoordelijke overheden en/of instanties is geweest.

HOOFDVRAAG VAN DIT ONDERZOEK:

Hoe hebben de deelnemers de sociaal-ruimtelijke impacts van de communicatieve interventies en de daarop volgende gebiedsprocessen van Midden Delfland, Nieuw Balinge en Delfzijl Noord waargenomen en beleefd en wat zijn hun verwachtingen en wensen met betrekking tot de toekomst van deze continuerende processen (uitgedrukt in de terminologie van 'sociaal-ruimtelijke veerkracht')?

SUB-VRAGEN

1. Wat was het ruimtelijk vraagstuk dat ten grondslag lag aan het besluit over te gaan tot een communicatieve interventie (achtergrondinformatie)?
2. Hoe ontvouwde het ruimtelijke ordeningsproces zich door de tijd (input sleutelfiguren en achtergrondinformatie)?
3. Wat waren de afgesproken doelen van de communicatieve interventies en hoe zijn deze gerealiseerd?
4. Wat waren onvoorziene 'tweede en derde orde' effecten van de communicatieve interventies?
5. Wat waren andere invloedrijke processen en gebeurtenissen die het proces hebben beïnvloed of er in verweven zijn geraakt?
6. Wat waren de overheidsrollen en – strategieën door de tijd?

Het is in beginsel onmogelijk om een objectief totaalbeeld te geven van lokale werkelijkheden, omdat werkelijkheden individueel en/of sociaal opgebouwd zijn en gestoeld zijn op verschillende interpretaties. Daarnaast ligt het buiten de reikwijdte van dit onderzoek om een compleet overzicht te geven van de sociaal ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen door de tijd en de onderliggende oorzakelijke verbanden. Dit onderzoek legt het accent op de ervaringen, waarnemingen, interpretaties en weergaves van sleutelinformanten vanuit de overheid en de samenleving op basis van interviews in combinatie met schriftelijke historische procesinformatie, onder andere op basis van beleidsnota's, internet, lokale kranten en tijdschriften. Het belang van de uitkomsten van dit onderzoek ligt met name in de betekenis die de sleutelinformanten geven aan de maatschappelijke en publieke keuzes, besluiten en de hierop gebaseerde feitelijke sociaal-ruimtelijke acties. Het interviewdeel van het onderzoek heeft betrekking op inzichten van sleutelfiguren van een bepaald tijdsmoment: voorjaar 2014.

CONCLUSIES MIDDEN DELFLAND

In 2005 resulteerde de 2,5 dag durende Future Search Conferentie in een gebiedsvisie voor de daarop volgende 20 jaren. De 125 deelnemers destijds waren zorgvuldig geselecteerd op basis van

hun belangen en hun investeringspotentieel in het proces. Deze participatieve interventie liet naast de geplande vervolgstappen ook een door de deelnemers sterk gedeeld gezamenlijk verhaal en verwachtingen na over een potentiele participatieve toekomst. Zonder uitzondering hebben alle informanten de interventie als betekenisvol en krachtig ervaren. Tot aan vandaag de dag is men nog steeds enthousiast over de sociaal verbindende dynamieken tijdens de interventie en ondersteunt men ook de uitkomst: de Gebiedsvisie Midden Delfland ® 2025. In de 9 jaar na de interventie heeft de lokale overheid de leiding genomen over de uitvoering van de tijdens de conferentie gemaakte afspraken. Zij heeft hierbij een mix van bestuurlijke meer of minder participatieve strategieën gehanteerd. Met name met betrekking tot een aantal niet voorziene externe processen die in aanraking kwamen met het gebiedsproces, heeft de lokale overheid samengewerkt met overheden van omringende stedelijke gemeenten. Verder bleek uit de interviews dat de conferentie en het daaropvolgend gebiedsproces de formele en informele instituties hebben beïnvloed, waardoor nieuwe lokale organisaties en programma's zijn ontstaan (bijv. Groengoud, Kringloopboeren), er zichtbare ruimtelijke structuren zijn ontstaan die representatief worden geacht voor de identiteit van het gebied (nieuwe gemeentehuis, conferentiecentrum en biologisch restaurant 'Op Hodenpijl') en sociale effecten, zoals nieuwe netwerken en brede onderkenning van het belang van het gebied en de cruciale rol van de agrarische sector hierbij. Uit de interviews bleek ook dat de algemene perceptie met betrekking tot de rol van de lokale overheid is dat de gemeente met name het accent heeft gelegd op het verankeren van het belang van het gebied en het gebiedsproces in de omliggende stedelijke regio. Vanuit dat oogpunt is het belang van het Midden Delflandgebied voornamelijk vastgelegd in de regionale formele instituties en is er minder aandacht geweest voor het actief blijven betrekken van lokale belangenorganisaties en gecommitteerde groepen. De sleutelinformanten gaven bijna unaniem aan dat daarom niet zozeer de inhoud, maar het proces een participatieve herijking en transformatie nodig heeft om als succesvol en van toekomstig sociaal-ruimtelijk potentieel, ofwel sociaal-ruimtelijk veerkrachtig, te kunnen worden gezien. Tegelijkertijd werd ook breed erkend dat de lokale overheid de inbedding van het Midden Delfland gebied in de processen en daarmee in de formele instituties van de omliggende stadsregio's stevig en succesvol heeft verankerd. Verder werd breed erkend dat de lokale agrariërs een spilfunctie moeten krijgen in de noodzakelijke sterkere toekomstige verbinding tussen platteland en het omliggende stedelijke gebied. Een paar sleutelinformanten onderstreepten het belang van het verankeren van een formele status van het gebied om het weerbaar te kunnen maken tegen de opkomende verstedelijking en andere onvoorzien mogelijke toekomstige bedreigingen.

CONCLUSIES NIEUW BALINGE

In 2008 vond in Nieuw Balinge een participatieve interventie plaats (DLG-Schetsschuit) waarbij vier partijen met sterke financiële belangen (DLG, Gemeente Midden-Drenthe, Provincie Drenthe en Natuurmonumenten) tot een overeenkomst kwamen met betrekking tot het omliggende gebied, waaronder het terrein van het munitiedepot. Hoewel Natuurmonumenten in deze overeenkomst eigenaar werd van het munitiedepot, werd er naar een alternatief gezocht voor een mogelijke natuurbestemming, zodat Nieuw Balinge niet nog verder geïsoleerd zou raken in haar ontwikkelingsmogelijkheden. Inwoners van het dorp Nieuw-Balinge en andere geïnteresseerden werden eind 2009 uitgenodigd om mee te denken over de bestemming van de bunkers van het munitiedepot Nieuw-Balinge. Een commissie bestaande uit een vertegenwoordiging van het dorp Nieuw-Balinge en Natuurmonumenten selecteerde het museum-initiatief 'Het MMan' van de Stichting Joodse Werkkampen. Tijdens dit proces, maar ook in de latere uitvoeringsvoorbereidingen is het Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge altijd nauw betrokken geweest. Op dit moment (voorjaar 2014) is de uitvoering van de Schetsschuit-overeenkomst nog steeds actueel en van direct financieel belang voor de betrokken partijen. De uitkomst van de tweede participatieve interventie, het museum-initiatief, wordt praktisch actief ondersteund door Gemeente Midden-Drenthe en Natuurmonumenten en in mindere mate door de provincie. DLG is hierbij niet langer betrokken, omdat verdere betrokkenheid buiten haar formele werkveld ligt. Tot dusver is de realisatie van zowel de Schetsschuit-uitkomsten als het museum nog geen feit, met als aangewezen medeoorzaak de huidige economische en de

woningbouwcrisis. Bij het museuminitiatief lijkt ook het ontbreken van een goede verbinding met de provincie een rol te hebben gespeeld bij het tot dusver onsuccesvol verkrijgen van de benodigde fondsen. Een belangrijk niet vooraf ingecalculeerd gevolg in deze casus was de realisatie van de nominatie voor een monumentale status van de gebouwen op het munitiedepot. Dit kenmerkt een volledige omslag van de aanvankelijke publiekelijke en overheids- mind-set: van sloop naar bescherming. Verder bleek uit de interviews dat het participatieve museumproces heeft geleid tot verbetering van de lokale relatie met Natuurmonumenten en tot bestendiging en uitbreiding van bestaande netwerken, zoals nieuwe samenwerkingen van het bestuur met verschillende organisaties (bijv. SME en DPA) en de gemeente. Verder zijn er als positieve gevolgen een aantal lokale initiatieven genoemd die hebben geleid tot ruimtelijke verbeteringen binnen de gemeente. Tot dusver zijn de lokale verwachtingen ten aanzien van de realisatie van het Schetsschuitakkoord en het museum voornamelijk positief. Vanuit het theoretisch kader beschouwd, ervaren op dit moment de meeste sleutelinformanten beide processen als sociaal-ruimtelijk veerkrachtig. Er zijn echter ook voorzichtigere prognoses en minder positieve uitspraken gedaan, omdat tot dusver de aanvankelijke doelen van beide processen nog niet zijn gerealiseerd. Er is bijvoorbeeld uitgesproken dat om een algemeen meer positief beeld te genereren ten aanzien van de participatieve kant van beide processen, het mogelijk eerst nodig is om één of meer van de aanvankelijk afgesproken doelen succesvol te realiseren. Hierover kan gezegd worden dat de instituties zich voorzichtig positief ontwikkelen, maar dat deze ontwikkeling zich zou kunnen versnellen na eventuele eerste succeservaringen. Met betrekking tot het MMan-initiatief wordt de rol van de lokale overheid algemeen als betrokken en coöperatief gezien, hoewel het tegelijkertijd erkend wordt dat de banden wel telkens opnieuw moeten worden aangehaald. De rol van de provincie daarentegen wordt als op een te laag pitje beschouwd en zou actiever en meer ondersteunend moeten zijn om de benodigde fondsen te kunnen binnenhalen.

CONCLUSIES DELFZIJL-NOORD

In 2011 vond er in Delfzijl een participatieve interventie plaats (DLG-schetsschuit) om een strategie te vinden voor de duurzame vergroening van de wijk Delfzijl-Noord. Dit werd in 2012 opgevolgd door het participatieve Groen-voor-rood project met als oogmerk een duurzame invulling te geven aan een braakliggend terrein midden in de wijk. Anders dan in de voorgaande casussen is met name dat er niet alleen een participatieve interventie is geweest, gevolgd in meer of mindere mate door een participatief proces, maar een transitie van de rol van de overheid naar een algemene en brede participatieve opstelling in haar sociaal-ruimtelijke beleidsstrategieën. De invulling van het braakliggende terrein middels een multifunctionele tuin is een experimentele pilot met betrekking tot deze roltransitie. Door het omstreden bestuurlijke en politieke recente verleden van Delfzijl hebben lokale inwoners een tweeledige grondhouding ten opzichte van de gemeente en haar politiek ontwikkeld. Het gebrek aan vertrouwen en scepticisme zijn nog vaak overheersend, hoewel tegelijkertijd ook wordt ingezien dat de overheidshouding zich momenteel ontwikkelt naar een opener en coöperatievere basishouding. Vooral van de oudere generatie wordt gezegd dat men sceptisch is en vasthoudt aan het beeld van de verzorgingsstaat. De pilot van de multifunctionele tuin is desondanks een voorbeeld geworden op lokaal, regionaal en nationaal niveau als inspiratiebron en leermogelijkheid voor een experimentele participatieve overheids- en publieksrol. Daarnaast heeft het ook een persoonlijk en lokaal leerproces opgeleverd voor alle betrokkenen en heeft het de sociale binding tussen de betrokken vrijwilligers binnen en buiten de wijk verstevigd. Niettemin kwam naast de benodigde balanceer-act van de gemeente tussen lokaal vertrouwen en wederzijdse verwachtingen, ook een ander punt aan het licht: onvoldoende aansluiting van lokale overheid bij de lokale werkelijkheid (bijv. de lokaal aanwezige of afwezige drijfveren, competenties en praktische vaardigheden). Alles samengenomen kan op basis van de interviews worden gezegd dat de informele instituties met betrekking tot de door de gemeente aangenomen participatieve en faciliterende rol, zich voorzichtig positief ontwikkelen. Doorgeredeneerd kan ook worden geconcludeerd dat de multifunctionele tuin als pilot van deze transitie, voor het moment wordt gezien als sociaal-ruimtelijk veerkrachtig. de

betrokken lokale vrijwilligers zien de realisatie van de tuin als een groeimodel. Ze verwachten dat als de tuin meer zichtbaar en concreet wordt, steeds meer lokale mensen zich bij het project aan zullen sluiten. Deze ontwikkelingen staan echter nog in de kinderschoenen en lijken vooralsnog kwetsbaar om verschillende redenen, zoals bijvoorbeeld: de onzekere financiële basis, de steeds veranderende groepssamenstelling van vrijwilligers en de prille nieuwe rolverdeling en vertrouwensrelatie tussen de gemeente en wijkbewoners. Er kan geconcludeerd worden dat nieuwe rolverdeling een verder doorgaande dialoog en stapsgewijs experimenteel leerproces inhoudt voor alle betrokkenen.

In alle drie casestudies werd duidelijk dat niet alleen de fysieke realisatie van de betreffende ruimtelijke uitdagingen, maar ook het proces hiernaartoe als belangrijk werd ervaren om met betrekking tot de sociaal-ruimtelijke vraagstukken tot een positieve rolperceptie van de verantwoordelijke overheden te kunnen komen. De vraag is echter of de nadruk ten allen tijde op participatieve en communicatieve strategieën moet worden gelegd, of dat dat ook andere instrumentele aanpakken en strategieën kunnen bijdragen aan een als goed ervaren sociaal-fysieke realisatie van dergelijke vraagstukken. En uitgaande van mogelijk verdergaande participatie, hebben lokale betrokkenen de juiste competenties, strategieën en voldoende overzicht om een gebiedsproces te verankeren op andere dynamische bestuurlijke en geografische niveaus? Uit literatuuronderzoek blijkt dat het gebruik van hiërarchische elementen in participatieve processen verdedigbaar is uit efficiëntie-overwegingen. De discussie over legitimiteit versus efficiëntie van sociaal-ruimtelijke overheidsrollen en -strategieën is lastig, omdat deze impliciet subjectief is en gestoeld is op percepties, waarden en normen. Dit roept verdere vragen op, zoals: hoe weeg je praktische efficiëntie-overwegingen met het democratische legitimiteitsvraagstuk? En vanuit het oogpunt van macht: wie maakt deze afweging? En hoe bepaal je welke strategieën praktisch het meest efficiënt zijn? Wat zijn daarbij de uitgangspunten?

Vanuit deze discussie ziet de gemeente Midden Delfland zich geconfronteerd met een balanceer-act. Deze bestaat enerzijds uit het strategisch verbinden van de gebiedsvisie met de overkoepelende en constant veranderende belangen vanuit de randstad en anderzijds uit het betrekken van de lokale belangengroepen en -

organisaties. Hierbij bestaat het risico van zowel teveel interne als externe gerichtheid om het ruimtelijk vraagstuk zowel sociaal als ruimtelijk te borgen. Bij de uitvoering van het museum-initiatief in Nieuw Balinge is deze discussie niet aan de orde, omdat de lokale overheid geen trekkersrol, maar een ondersteunende rol heeft. De Schetsschuit-overeenkomst wordt door de vier betrokken partijen binnen de context van de economische crisis nog steeds als legitiem en als efficiënt ervaren, hoewel wel het gevaar is onderkend dat de geloofwaardigheid voor de buitenwereld ten aanzien van de realisatie na het verstrijk van de jaren op het spel zou kunnen komen te staan. In de casus van Delfzijl-Noord speelde de discussie tussen legitimiteit en efficiëntie vooral in het directe verleden en in mindere mate op dit moment, doordat de lokale overheid in haar nieuwe rol gehoor heeft gegeven aan het eerdere lokale ongenoegen. Hier blijkt dat nu vooral de kwetsbare vernieuwde vertrouwensrelatie tussen de gemeente en de inwoners van de wijk een voorlopig blijvend aandachtspunt is. Algemeen kan worden geconcludeerd dat ieder gebiedsproces een eigen historische en lokale context heeft, welke is ingebed in de complexe dynamieken van meerdere bestuurlijke en geografische niveaus door de tijd. Vanuit dit perspectief is het noodzakelijk om de door de participatieve interventie aanvankelijk gegeneerde lokale verwachtingen ook lokaal te benaderen. De discussie over welke overheidsrollen en strategieën legitiem, efficiënt en binnen de bestaande context haalbaar zijn, zou daarom vooral een lokale en regionale aangelegenheid moeten zijn. De uitdaging hier is om de 'verhalen' van de betrokken lokale groepen en organisaties waar mogelijk op het hetzelfde spoor te houden als de 'verhalen' van de betrokken lokale en regionale overheden. Door onderlinge (zelf-) reflectie van alle betrokkenen zal, ook als er geen overeenstemming is over bepaalde proceskeuzes en -stappen, op deze wijze tenminste de basis worden gelegd voor wederzijds begrip en vertrouwen. Dit zal bijdragen aan een breder gedragen sociaal-ruimtelijke werkelijkheid in een steeds veranderende dynamische werkelijkheid vol met toekomstige onzekerheden.

CONTENT

ABSTRACT

This research is on base of a multiple case-study approach regarding three Dutch area development processes that started whit a generally as successful perceived communicative intervention: 1. area vision of Midden Delfland, 2. PrOMT (Redevelopment of Military Areas Project) Nieuw Balinge, and; 3. Project 'Green for red' in Delfzijl-Noord. The central focus is on how the initial choice of local governments for a communicative intervention, eventually in combination with later other strategies, can contribute to perceived future socio-spatial resilience of the spatial challenge at stake. It is particularly emphasized how such proceedings affected the local and regional institutions, as they are the base of further choices, decisions and actions regarding the local socio-spatial realities. The conclusions indicate how key-actors perceived the future socio-spatial resilience of the three area development processes and discuss the efficiency and legitimacy of the applied governance roles and strategies.

Key words: *Communicative planning - Complex Adaptive Systems – area development processes-governance roles and strategies- evolving formal and informal institutions- socio-spatial resilience*

1. INTRODUCTION

In spring 2013, I interviewed 11 professional specialists of facilitating and organizing communicative interventions (participatory sessions) in spatial area development processes. Those interviews formed the base of a my Individual Research Training (IRT) which is a mandatory research practicum trajectory of the Research Master Regional Planning at the RUG. One of the main findings of this IRT was that all interviewed professionals shared the general experience that successful communicative interventions are characterized by 'shared ownership' of the outcomes and to it related tasks and, therefore, 'shared responsibility'. Furthermore, according to the professionals, most of such successful communicative interventions shared the essential characteristic of *pleasure* or *fun* of the participants in their participation, mutual collaboration and commitment. My intuition told me that during such successful meetings a new sort of kind of energy and awareness was raised, but at the same time I realized that such energy is rather difficult to grasp and cumbersome to make tangible. However, this feeling left me wondering how such positive energy would evolve through time and what it would do with the people at a certain moment later on in time that previously experienced it. In other words, I remained puzzling with the question whether such experiences change people and their basic attitudes with regards to any kind of collaboration or other actions in the future, or maybe instead the other extreme, would this momentary energy simply evaporate through time? Whatsoever, I realized that I had to elaborate these thoughts and, therefore, I searched existing planning literature for theoretic more tangible and applicable concepts that might serve to set up a theoretic framework in which the of socio-spatial effects of a communicative intervention could be incorporated within an evolving time perspective. This search brought me to two main contemporary planning paradigms: Communicative Planning Theory (CPT) and Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS).

The communicative turn in planning implies that the previous predominant subject-object rationale in planning theory has been replaced by a rationale on the basis of inter-subjective communication and, ideally, of the speech conditions of Jürgen Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action (TCA).

In paragraph 2.1, a concise overview is given about the TCA in order to relate this to CPT and the latest paradigm in planning of CAS. CPT is developed for a substantial part by Judith Innes and her collaborators. The nature of TCA is merely philosophical, normative and idealistic, whilst CPT is above all empirically grounded. Both theories have in common that they deal with discussions in the public sphere holding on to certain speech conditions. The latest planning paradigm is related to Complexity theory and Systems theory in which the notions of (CAS) and the to it related concept of resilience are central. In the ongoing planning discussion this paradigm is supposed to have thrown over the communicative paradigm, because of its inclusion of evolution through time, which is supposed to be lacking in CPT. As a response, Innes & Booher (2010) argue that communicative planning as a shared learning strategy instrumentally can be an excellent means addressing CAS and nourishing (social) resilience.

So far, CPT has been based primarily on Anglo-American studies and, therefore, provided no studies of how the aftermath of a communicative intervention in Dutch contexts might affect the outcomes of spatial planning processes. This research makes a first attempt to complement the existing CPT by providing systematic and empirically grounded evidence how key-actors of area development processes in Dutch contexts perceived socio-spatial resilience several years after the communicative intervention. A particular emphasis is on the role and strategies of local governments with regards to the realization of the during the intervention aimed outcomes, unforeseen factors that impacted the processes, and the second and third order effects of the interventions. In addition, it is studied how the proceedings through time affected the formal and informal institutions of the key-actors (for example, policies and plans and norms and values), as they are the base of further choices, decisions and actions regarding the local socio-spatial realities. The conclusions of this research give an indication of how key-actors perceived the future socio-spatial resilience of the area development processes and discuss the efficiency and legitimacy of the applied governance roles and strategies. In the first place, this research will contribute to further discussion, reflection and future explorations of the usefulness and legitimateness of communicative strategies in spatial planning processes with or without combinations of other strategies. In the second place, this research provides deeper insights and, therefore, raises more awareness about how spatial planning processes also have unintended second and third order effects next to the intended outcomes. For each case a study is made of what these effects can be like and how they can be perceived from a socio-spatial perspective.

This research concerns 3 Dutch case-studies with an area development process that is ongoing in the present, but that started with a generally perceived as being a successful communicative intervention in the past. The central aim of this research is to investigate how the choice of local governments for a communicative intervention, with or without a combination of other strategies in an area development process, can contribute to perceived socio-spatial resilience of the spatial challenge at stake. The real life experiences and perceptions of involved civil and public key-actors are central. Such key-actors are persons that participated in the initial communicative intervention or that had a major role in the subsequent area process and varied between regional and local politicians, regional and local public directors and officers, representatives of local or regional interest groups, and local inhabitants.

In this research the following Dutch case-studies are studied:
1. Implementation area vision of Midden Delfland (Zuid-Holland)
2. 'Project Ontwikkeling Militaire terreinen' (PrOMT; Redevelopment of Military Areas Project) of Nieuw Balinge (Drenthe)
3. Project 'Green for red' in Delfzijl-Noord (Groningen)

The following research question is central in this study:

How do participants retrospectively perceive the socio-spatial impacts of the communicative interventions and subsequent area development processes of Midden-Delfland, Nieuw-Balinge and Delfzijl-Noord and what are their future expectations and wishes regarding those ongoing processes in terms of socio-spatial resilience?

1. *What was the spatial challenge at the moment it was decided to do a communicative intervention (back ground information)?*
2. *How did the spatial planning processes evolve through time (input key-actors and back ground information)?*
3. *How were the spatial planning processes impacted by the communicative interventions (input key-actors and background information)?*
4. *What were the aimed outcomes of the communicative interventions and how were they realized?*
5. *What were the second and third order effects of the communicative interventions?*
6. *What were other influential processes and events that impacted the process or blended in the area development processes?*
7. *What were the roles and the strategies of the responsible involved governments over time?*

The discussion of how CPT and CAS notions can be intertwined and form the base of the theoretic framework of this research, is outlined in chapter 2. An explanation and reflection with regards to the applied methodology and the selection of the case-studies are described in chapter 3. In chapter 4, 5 and 6 the elaborations of the data-analysis of the three case-studies are set out. In chapter 7 conclusions can be found about the case-studies and discussions about efficiency and legitimacy of the use of different governance roles and strategies. In chapter 8, it is reflected how future similar research can be altered and be further expanded, in order to come to evolving socio-spatial planning insights, as well academically as societally. Finally, in chapter 9, an overview is provided of the references.

2. THEORY

2.1 THE COMMUNICATIVE TURN IN PLANNING VERSUS COMPLEX ADAPTIVE SYSTEMS

As Habermas' normative notions of ideal speech are at the core of the communicative turn it is started with providing a short overview of his TCA-philosophy. Habermas distinguishes two main forms of rationality: technical rationality and communicative rationality (Bohman et al., 2011). Contemporary society in his opinion has been overemphasizing the technical rationality (means end rationality) and consequently he developed 'a two-level social theory that includes an analysis of communicative rationality' (White in: Bohman et al., 2011). In communicative interaction 'speakers coordinate their action and pursuit of individual (or joint) goals on the basis of a shared understanding that the goals are inherently reasonable and merit-worthy' (Bohman et al., 2011) and are tied to the rationality of discourse. Habermas recognizes a broad range of validity claims which are not limited by the empirical truth, such as 'moral rightness, ethical goodness or authenticity, personal sincerity, and aesthetic value' (Habermas in: Bohman et al., 2011). He found three basic validity claims: 'the claim that the speech act is sincere (non-deceptive), is socially appropriate or right, and is factually true (representationally adequate)' (Bohman et al., 2011). To put it in other words: sincerity, rightness and truth. For meeting ideal speech situations Habermas (in: Bohman et al., 2011) identifies four presuppositions as the most important: '(i) no one capable of making a relevant contribution should be excluded, (ii) participants have equal voice, (iii) they are internally free to speak their honest opinion without deception or self-deception, and (iv) there are no sources of coercion built into the process and procedures of discourse. *Habermas acknowledges however that such discourses with full inclusion, non-coercion and equality in practice rarely can be realized and only function as a pragmatic idealization.* Habermas sees the development of society as a learning process. In a complex society, however, 'public opinion does not rule' (Habermas, in Bohman et al., 2011), but as Bohman et al. explain, it 'rather points administrative power in particular directions. That is, citizens do not control social processes: they exercise influence trough particular institutionalized mechanisms and channels of communication'. According to Bohman et al. (2011), we find in the TCA Habermas's normative philosophical conceptions combined and in interaction with social sciences.

The practical use of the communicative rationality and authentic dialogue are at the core of the grounded theory of Innes (Innes, 1996; Innes & Booher, 1999; Innes & Booher, 2002; Innes & Booher, 2004; Innes, 2004, Innes & Booher, 2010). According to Innes, key elements of collaborative participation are: use of stories, role playing and metaphors, role of conflict, the role of dialogue in knowledge actions, mutual learning, use of local knowledge, creation of shared meaning, 'bricolage', equal access to information, network dynamics, and joint fact finding (Innes, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2010; Innes & Booher, 2004; Innes & Booher, 2010; Gruber & Innes, 2005; Gruber et al., 2005). In addition, Innes (1999) found that participants of consensus building processes concentrated on creating and articulating strategies to get what they and others needed and, consequently, created new mutually shared values. Her research shows that collaborative participation could be used instrumentally to address complex problems and create an improved climate for future action. According to Innes (2004), authentic dialogue, self-organizing networks and institutional capacity are the main conditions of addressing complexity.

Another issue in planning that claims to turn over the current communicative paradigm in planning theory relates to Complexity theory and Systems theory in which the notion of CAS is central. CAS can be characterized as multi-layered and multiply connected evolution and transition processes of open systems which move from order to chaos in a non-linear adaptive way towards newly emerging orderly systems (De Roo, 2010). Complexity science, closely related to chaos theory, however, demonstrates patterns of behavior. These patterns focus on the whole of the system, rather than its parts, but do not allow future predictions about outcomes of specific actions or interventions (Innes & Booher, 2010). From a more practical perspective Healey (2003) argues that atomistic analyses do not grasp the fine grain of situational specificities interacting with broader dynamics. Therefore, it is important to understand complexity and diversity from a systems few.

An essential aspect of complexity science is evolution over time, from being to becoming. Emerging self-organizing network systems effectuate non-linear transition and adaptation within complex contextual environments through time. These connected but ever changing contexts are a part of a larger dynamic system (De Roo, 2010).

In systems thinking, communicative planning rationality is considered to be within a system which maintains its structure and function of which, however, the system's parts themselves do change. The communicative rationality, as such, is considered to remain in the 'being'. In complex systems also the structure and the function of the systems change and, therefore, includes the 'becoming' (De Roo, 2010). In relation to this, the question can be raised if and how communicative planning strategies could be used as instrumental tools in order to address transformations towards newly emerging systems and at the same time preventing negative and embracing positive aspects. In other words, could and should the communicative rationality be used to address planning issues regarding fundamental uncertain future socio-economic and political environments? Additionally, could and should the communicative rationality leap out of the in system theories considered system enclosure and, as such, attribute as a robust and dynamic means to planning strategies addressing CAS?

According to Innes & Booher (2010), communicative planning might be able to address and absorb radical change and, as such, contribute to resilience. They argue that it is robust, because of the use of its participants' social capital, and it is dynamic, because participants are able to create new knowledge and to change the group composition through time in order to generate unanticipated policies and practices. Social capital is referred to as 'the social glue- the networks of ties, information, trust and norms- that binds people and enables them to co-operate more effectively' (Putnam, 2000). Such robustness and dynamicity are both considered important elements of CAS. As Innes & Booher (2010, p. 36) argue: 'there must be many values, interests, perspectives, skills, and types and sources of knowledge in the process for robust ideas to develop and for the system to build

a capacity to adapt over time. A social system needs this variety, just as an ecological system needs biodiversity'. According to Innes & Booher the outcomes of communicative strategies, as in CAS, have second and third order effects which transcend the process and its agreed upon results. Such effects are non-linear, because in these processes outputs can be disproportionate to initial inputs. In the same line, Healey (2003) argues that communicative processes have process outcomes which should not be merely considered as a means to a substantive end. Such second order, or third order effects might generate 'ways of thinking and acting that may be carried forward into subsequent episodes of governance' as 'engagement in governance processes shapes participants' sense of themselves' (p. 111). This 'sense of self' might (Stoker, in: Brannan et al., 2006, p. 993) be 'evocative of notions of community, citizenship and empowerment' with the purpose 'to engage people in making their communities better places for themselves and for those around them' and can be defined as 'active citizenship'. According to Brannan (2006, p.996; 997) it is all 'about willingness to get involved and make a contribution to both political debate and social action' and in involving civic renewal in living spaces.

Furthermore, with regards to 'reality', De Roo (2010) argues that reality is perceived, inter-subjective and constituted by institutions which are no stable entities, but are in progressive process. From a social constructivist frame 'institutions are understood as the ensemble of norms, rules and practices which structure actions in social contexts' (Giddens et al., in: Healey, 2006, p. 302). According to Peters (in: Healey, 2006), institutions mobilize and regulate social action. Institutions might evolve as heuristics change. As such, institutions 'can enhance the adaptiveness and sustainability of the system' (Innes & Booher, 2010, p. 38) and, therefore, can be transformative (Healey, 2003) through relationships and interactions.

Cilliers et al. (in: Innes & Booher, 2010, p. 32) outline five features of CAS emphasizing particularly the relationships and the interactions:

1. *'Agents: the system comprises large numbers of individual agents connected through multiple networks.*

2. *Interactions: the agents interact dynamically, exchanging information and energy based upon heuristics that organize the interactions locally. Even if specific agents only interact with a few others, the effects propagate through the system.*
3. *Nonlinearity: the interactions are nonlinear, iterative, recursive, and self-referential. There are many direct and indirect feedback loops.*
4. *System behavior: the system is open, the behavior of the system is determined by the interactions, not the components, and the behavior of the system cannot be understood by looking at its components. It can only be understood by looking at the interactions. Coherent and novel patterns of order emerge.*
5. *Robustness and adaptation: the system displays both the capacity to maintain its viability and the capacity to evolve. With sufficient diversity the heuristics will evolve, the agents will adapt to each other, and the system can reorganize its internal structure without the intervention of an outside agent.'*

Following this line of theoretical reasoning, collaborative policy has many parallels with CAS, as Innes & Booher (2010) argue, including: complex networks of committees and task forces; nonlinear change; evolving understanding, knowledge and heuristics; testing ideas and iteratively revisiting all steps; diversity; interaction; interdependence; social intelligence, and; contingency. Also Healey indicates(in: Allmendinger & Tewdr-Jones, 2002, p.9), such parallels of CPT as 'planning is being undertaken among diverse and fluid discourse communities' and is 'developing a reflective capacity that enables participants to evaluate and re-evaluate' and is, therefore, adaptive through time and towards newly emerging systems.

When around CAS a flow of energy increases, also the instability of the system increases. As a consequence this might result in one or more tipping points which at their turn might result in bifurcations of future uncertain possible directions towards which the system might transform or through which a new system emerges (De Roo, 2010). In communicative planning processes including or excluding a certain stakeholder might form such a tipping point that completely changes outcomes (Innes & Booher, 2010). During such a transformation new discursive frames appear and 'diffuse to a range of arenas with sufficient effect to shift significantly the way resources are allocated and regulatory tools formulated and used' (Healey, 2006, p. 304). As structuring forces cannot foresee and plan precisely events and because of people's creativity and inventiveness, innovations and transformation to a higher level may occur (Healey, 2003; De Roo, 2010). Such transformations include evolving institutions, as argued before, and levels of awareness. Following the mentioned example, therefore, communicative planning strategies could not only be considered as possible instrumental tools to address CAS, but at the same time also be regarded as an implicit part of CAS.

Innes & Booher (2010) argue that communicative planning strategies are apt to address wicked problems: essentially unique multi-layered problems that have no definite formulation, for which no testable solutions are possible and which in essence occur in complex systems. They argue that such problems can be affronted by communicative process designs: an evolving dynamic process of self-organization, with ongoing dialogue, as an open and exploring art form with no demarcated boundary around planning or policy issues and as a series of stepwise iterative experiments. This parallels with three features of CAS that already have been discussed to some extent: non-linearity, coevolution and open systems.

Another key feature, 'self-organization' in a complex system, as De Roo (2010, p. 30) argues, 'means the spontaneous development of new structures as a result of feedback and forward mechanisms. This makes the complex system robust and flexible at the same time. The complex system does not just develop randomly but is path-dependent, i.e., development takes place under certain conditions that can be defined and that provide insight into the system and its development'. In such evolution, through a continuous and unpredictable amount of interactions between various nodes of the system which results in an evolution of emerging structures within or between systems (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011, p. 109), emergent self-organized complex networks are central. Furthermore, like Healey (2003) argued, such emergent networks produce

novelty and synergize. Such actor networks in ever ongoing transitional processes can be rather in control of their actions, but, however, do not control the dynamics afterwards, like the second and third order effects of communicative interventions (Innes & Booher, 2010).

Boonstra & Boelens (2011) underline that society is not a result of a central-government perspective and is dealing with its own diversity and dynamics. Emergent networks organize themselves in fluid and infinite variety of ways and its network groups form and deform continuously. In relation to this, Innes & Booher (2010) point out that all involved actors in such networks need to do all the steps of the process of process design themselves, in order to create a collective story and shared new values. This does not mean that professionals need to be excluded, as long as their proposals would be further developed and revised together with other group members. Also according to them, such self-organization is only possible outside hierarchical government structures. Also Healey (2003) argues that self-organization occurs through emerging social networks and stretch in multiple spaces and times rather than being just hierarchically constructed. According to her, in such emerging networks is experimented with 'projects and new kind of partnerships between actors within formal government and between formal government, the economy and civil society' (2006, p. 300). As such, it can be concluded that governments need not to be excluded from such emerging networks, but take a new and more equal position than its traditional controlling role. In other words, the role of government could be characterized by emerging forms of adaptive governance in evolutionary and actor-relational planning, which in its nature is context dependent and of which no definition can be made in advance..

Until now CPT has been mainly concerned by providing grounded evidence of the normative and the efficiency benefits of the application of communicative governance strategies in Anglo-American contexts. In the underlying studies evidence was provided that supportive and facilitative governments' roles towards processes and interventions are favorable for resilient outcomes. Like in Anglo-American studies, according to Van Rij (2008), also in the Dutch context the inclusion of local knowledge in communicative approaches is expected to enhance learning and coping with uncertain, dynamic and complex realities. However, she argues that in practice a process is often characterized by the use of a mix of hierarchical and communicative elements. According to Van Rij, both elements have their advantages and disadvantages. In her findings, the advantages are that communicative, network oriented approaches are more democratic, more organic (step by step) and are better supported by the involved parties. However, according to Van Rij, sometimes the use of hierarchical elements can be useful, as not all involved parties with interests in an area actually invest in the area. She continues by saying that only people that actually invest should be part of a policy network, in order to increase effectiveness.

In the Dutch context until now no empirical evidence exists of *overall* facilitating roles of governments on base of the communicative rationale, as is suggested in CPT, but rather of communicative interventions and processes. Although in some Dutch local contexts the first experiences are gained with regards to an overall communicative governance role of local authorities, as also the case-study of Delfzijl-Noord shows in chapter 6, so far there is no long term experience of such *overall* communicative governance roles of planning authorities. Therefore, as these experiences are new and, yet, no conclusions can be made about developments over time, it is too early to link them to the concept of resilience: the capacity to reorganize and generate opportunities in the face of unforeseen change, while maintaining or improving the performance on outcomes (De Roo, 2010). Whatsoever, in the Netherlands this discussion is getting ever more actual, particularly with regards to the retreating Dutch national government decentralizing many of its tasks to the provincial at municipal level in relation to recent plans of several municipalities restructuring existing governance boundaries towards an overall communicative government's role.

In this light, the emphasis of this research is on communicative interventions in three Dutch area development processes. Starting point is a spatial challenge of which a communicative intervention was a part at a certain point in time in the past. The objective of this research is to gain insights how in Dutch contexts government roles and strategies

impacted the development of area processes through time and how has been dealt with uncertainties, and as such, to contribute to the ongoing theoretical planning debate with regards to CAS versus CPT. At the core of this research are the experiences and perceptions of people that participated during the communicative interventions or that have been part of the spatial process directly after the intervention, because such perceptions give meaning to factual steps and proceedings of processes and provide the base for subsequent choices and decisions, or as Domahidy (cited by Bowen, 2006, p. 8) argued: 'it shapes believes that in turn shape action'. In contemporary Dutch contexts, such experiences and perceptions are also relevant as ongoing input for societal and academic discussion about effectiveness and legitimacy of the use of the communicative rationality, because they are actual and real.

As said before, and as also Allmendinger & Tewdr-Jones (2002) point out by referring to various examples and arguments in UK and USA-contexts, no generalization can be made of communicative approaches as they are very contextual, as is also the case with CAS. In this light, also Healey mentioned that an 'enormous diversity of governance contexts and actual process forms' exist (2003, p.110) and that attempts to translate communicative theory into practice must be based on context dependent, locally contingent and generated processes, because they cannot be based on a priori models (in: Allmendinger & Tewdr-Jones, 2002). However, as argued before, also the broader dynamics of such processes need to be emphasized, because they interact with situational specificities and provide the contextual fine grain of those specificities. In this light, it is relevant and interesting to learn about how in specific Dutch contexts particular historic proceedings led to a specific spatial challenge and led to the governance choice of a communicative intervention, how subsequent governance choices after such communicate interventions affected the subsequent proceedings of the underlying area development processes over time, which governance choices were made regarding other proceedings and processes that affected the area development processes and how at a certain point in time key-actors are perceiving future socio-spatial resilience of the central spatial challenges. As the key-actors of this research have been carriers of the area

development processes in various ways, from a communicative and CAS-perspective it is relevant to see how the way they were involved in the proceedings affected their basic attitude in terms of support and collaboration over time, in order to relate it to their perceptions with respect to future socio-spatial resilience of the spatial challenge at stake.

In order to achieve the objective of this study the following Dutch case studies were selected:
2. Area vision of Midden Delfland (Zuid-Holland)
3. PrOMT (Redevelopment of Military Areas Project) Nieuw Balinge (Drenthe)
4. Project 'Green for red' in Delfzijl-Noord (Groningen)

In the following paragraph, the theoretical framework of this research is outlined more in detail.

Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS)

TIME

CHANGING CONTEXT

Spatial challenge

Government as facilitator:

COMMUNICATIVE INTERVENTION

Area development process

Role of government

Unintended second and third order effects (social, physical, economic and political developments)

Influential factors external to the planning process

Realization of aimed outcomes (policies, plans)
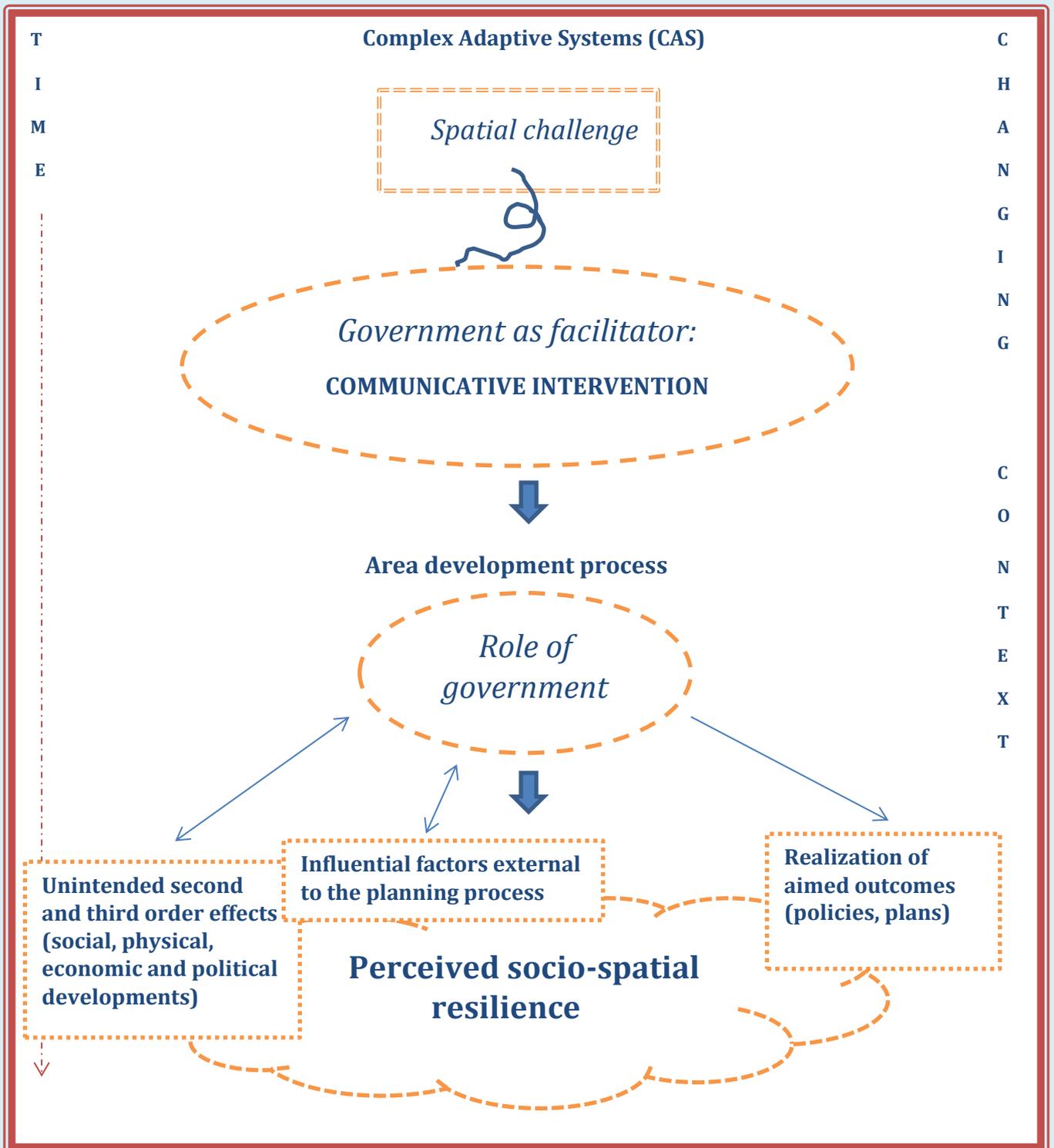
Perceived socio-spatial resilience

Figure 1. Conceptual model

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

With regards to the conceptual model of this research (see figure 1) a *spatial challenge* is defined as a perceived spatial problem or task to which a process is organized which i*s* 'essentially about shaping the future and managing urban and rural change in a way that benefits current and future generations' (Linden et al., 2004, p.11). At the core of this research are three different spatial challenges and to it related area development processes of which a communicative intervention has been an essential part.

A *communicative intervention* here is defined as an organized strategic participatory event or convention in planning processes in which a shared learning strategy is central in which participants 'make sense together in conversation' (Forester, 1982, p.131; Healey, 1992, p.236), create and articulate strategies to get what they and others need and, consequently, create new shared values together (Innes, 1999) in 'continuously interactive relationships between the parts and the whole' (Dobbins, 2009, p. 177). Key elements of communicative participation are: use of stories, role playing and metaphors, role of conflict, the role of dialogue in knowledge actions, mutual learning, use of local knowledge, creation of shared meaning, 'bricolage', equal access to information, network dynamics, and joint fact finding (Innes, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2010; Innes & Booher, 2004; Innes & Booher, 2010; Gruber & Innes, 2005; Gruber et al., 2005). Following CPT, it is assumed that a communicative intervention at a certain point in time results in the creation of shared values and stories and mutual agreed upon aims. However, in terms of CAS, it is also relevant to explore how formal and informal institutions of the authorities and of the public still correspond or might have diverged *over time* and how they impacted the *place related spatial planning processes*. Osstrom and North (cited by Berman et al., 2012, p. 87) define institutions as 'the formal legal rules and the informal social norms that govern behaviour and shape how individuals and organizations interacts'. According to Berman (2012), institutions are characterized by norms, cultural beliefs and rules. IDGEC, the Institutions Project of the International Human Dimensions Program (cited by Gupta et al. 2010, p. 460) define institutions as: 'systems of rules, decision making procedures, and programs that give rise to social

practices, assign roles to the participants in these practices, and guide interactions among the occupants of the relevant roles'. *CAS* here is defined as a multi-layered and multiply connected evolution and transition processes of open systems which move through from order to chaos in a non-linear adaptive way towards newly emerging orderly systems in which these connected but ever changing contexts are a part of a larger dynamic system (De Roo, 2010).The initial shared stories and perceptions after a communicative intervention are likely to evolve over time, because people are susceptible to new information, as '<place> frames are produced and reproduced constantly' (Van Dijk & Weitkamp, 2013, p. 6). Throughout the area development process the communication and sharing of perceptions within specific social groups with respect to new developments are likely to affect the mind-frames people use and, therefore, their basic attitudes to government policy and their behaviour with regards to the area development processes related developments (Dijk, van & Weitkamp, 2013). Therefore, the assumed roles of the governments over time, with respect to the realization of the aimed outcomes (policies, plans) of a communicative intervention or with respect to other influential factors outside the planning process that blend in, can be of mayor influence towards such basic attitudes and behaviour of initially involved parties and local people of the communicative interventions.

The concept of the *role of government* in this theoretic framework is defined as the applied governmental rationale on the scale between the technical (formal hierarchical) and the communicative rationale (collaborative and participative) (De Roo, 2010). Furthermore, the concept of *realization of the aimed outcomes* is defined as the fashion in which the shared aimed outcomes of the communicative intervention are realized over time. The concept of *other influential factors outside the planning process* is defined as on forehand unknown and, therefore, unplanned events and processes over time that, in combination with the towards them applied governmental rationale, are expected to be of impact on perceived future socio-spatial resilience.

Next to these concepts, also *second and third order effects* of the communicative intervention are expected to be of impact on the perceived socio-

spatial resilience. The second and third order effects here are defined as the non-linear effects over time that transcend the process and its agreed upon results (Innes, 2010) where a distinction can be made between positive and negative social, economic, political and physical effects. In order to be successful, communicative interventions as a form of participative planning, requires social capital (Nienhuis et al., 2011): the social glue- the networks of ties, information, trust and norms- that binds people and enables them to co-operate more effectively' (Putnam, 2000; Brannan, 2006, p. 995). Therefore, it is likely to expect that an outcome of such interventions is the reaffirmation of the existing horizontal connections between groups of people and societal organizations, also referred to as bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000), and the existing vertical hierarchical connections between societal groups and authorities, also referred to as bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000). In addition, during such interventions the existing social capital also provides the impetus for the creation of new shared values and shared aims with regards to the planning issues at stake. Therefore, social capital is not only a prerequisite for collaborative governance forms and 'for creating a liveable and safe living environment' (Morenoff et al. 2001; Nolan et al. 2004; Sampson et al. 1997; Hägerstrand 1982, cited by Nienhuis, et al., 2011, p. 98; Marin et al., 2012; Folke et al., 2005), but also an essential consequence. Changes in social capital through communicative strategies and the outcome of particular actions afterwards, might lead to improvements in social relations, structures of public and social governance and planning outcomes which can be referred to as socio-spatial innovation (Moulaert et al., 2013). Social networks continually stretch in multiple spaces and time through self-organization, as 'networks are characterized by constant change. This is caused by (1) changing contexts and (2) transactions that take place with every interaction, resulting in a redefinition of the relationship between the involved actors' (Boissevain, 1974; Capra, 2002 cited by Van Dijk et al., 2011). In this research, such forms of evolving self-organizing capital as a subsequent consequence of a communicative intervention, is considered as a *unintended second or third order effect* of the intervention and the to it related socio-spatial proceedings over time. Therefore, in the first place, it is relevant to explore how the proceedings in an area development process after a

communicative intervention have been of impact on self-organizing social capital, like new dynamic and complex collaborative networks and organizations. In addition, it is relevant to see until what extend the response of authorities was inclusionary or exclusionary with respect such evolving social capital in their subsequent planning strategies. In this research, institutional innovation is considered as another possible *second and third order effect,* as far it has not been implicitly part of the formal agreed upon results of the communicative intervention and the area development process. Institutions are at the base of social practices, interactions and the roles of the involved actors. In this light, informal institutional innovation can be regarded as reframed and evolving mind-sets. In addition, formal institutional innovation is reflected, for example, in change of policies, formal partnerships and new formal agreements. According to Van Dijk & Weitkamp (2013), institutions cause direct and indirect changes to the attitudes and the behaviour of involved people, the process and the spatial environment. Following this line of reasoning, the ever evolving process of institutional innovation over time (Salet, cited by Dembski, 2013) with regards to the in this research central area development processes is relevant, in order to see how the institutional consequences of a communicative intervention over time in relation to the role of the government in the subsequent processes are socially perceived to contribute to future spatial resilience. The last *second and third order effect* that will be emphasized in this research are concrete physical effects that not have been implicitly part of the agreed upon results of the specific communicative interventions at stake and the to them related area development processes, but that function as symbolic markers reaffirming new practical spatial situations representative for the spatial challenge at stake. Such symbolic markers are visible spatial interventions which provide new understandings (formal and informal institutions) of the transforming landscapes (Dembski, 2013). As such, such visible physical interventions might affect the institutions with regards the proceedings and forms of governance of the three area development processes that are central in this research.

Although in paragraph 2.1 an outline was given of CAS-theory, its dynamics and concepts will not be explicitly emphasized in this research. The

dynamics of ever evolving systems, as described in CAS, are considered as an implicit underlying reality and is an implicit part of the conceptual framework. Other core concepts of CAS, like open and closed systems, will not be identified nor described, as they are not considered directly relevant to discuss in this research-context. Instead, in this research, the by CPT-provided instrumental means of building in adaptive capacity in a self-organizing way over time in a process, is related to the CAS-concept of resilience. In general, it can be said that the concept of resilience, i.e., the capacity to reorganize and generate opportunities in the face of unforeseen change, while maintaining or improving the performance on outcomes (De Roo, 2010), is rather discussable. CAS-theory criticizes existing instrumental rationales (technical to communicative) to be static at a certain point in time, but in turn does not provide instrumental strategies to contribute to resilience over time. According to Davoudi (2012), the concept of resilience is becoming broadly popular, although there is a lack of clarity what it practically implies. In addition, he argues that it is a rather slippery and malleable concept. He mentions at least four critical issues in order to translate this concept to the social world (2012, p. 305-306). The first mentioned issue is related to the intentionality of human actions: 'adaptive cycles and their outcomes should be considered as tendencies rather than inevitabilities. This means that interventions in processes can indeed diminish, sustain, or enhance resilience'. The second issue is that the concept of 'self-organization' of CAS has 'ideological overtones as it refers to self-reliance' and 'is not a substitute for responsive and accountable governance'. Thirdly, Davoudi argues, like Pendal et al. (2010) that it is questionable how to define space by putting boundaries around systems and time by determining a starting and ending point, in order to measure resilience. And, how to define a system's boundary, as a 'bounded approach soon leads to exclusionary practices'? Lastly is the issue of power and politics and defining what a desired resilient outcome is and for whom. Referring to its outcomes it is of normative nature as it implies a judgement regarding resilience: 'to what ends?' According to Davoudi,'therefore, in the social context we cannot consider resilience without paying attention to issues of justice and fairness in terms of both the procedures for decision-making and the distribution of burdens and benefits'. Pendall et al. (2010) argue

that the CAS-theory is a trendy metaphor, can be called even a heuristic, and warn for its fuzziness. In line with Davoudi, also Kaplan (in: Pendall et al., 2010), underlines the normativity of the judgements regarding resilience, as they are tied to the outcomes of particular processes in which the *assumed* desirability and risk factors determine its resilience. Furthermore, Pendall et al. (2010) argue that the CAS-assumption of equilibria of a system and between systems is incompatible with continual adjustment, the ability to change and adapt as a response on pressure and stress which is at the core of the concept of resilience. Therefore, in the end, the philosophical and theoretical explanatory power of the concept of resilience is discussable, as in principal its character is normative and subjective. Furthermore, in CAS-theory reality implicitly reshapes itself and will adapt sooner or later by predominant autonomous processes and, as such, provides no explanatory logic for including normative value judgments of outcomes.

Instead, in practical real-life situations the normative interpretation of resilience can be indeed considered as relevant, as there are many context-dependent political, economic and social arguments why certain adaptation flexibility *while maintaining or improving the performance* might be considered necessary and might steer specific planning choices and actions. Therefore, next to the mentioned pitfalls of the concept of resilience, it also provides possibilities, as it does in the face of the chosen case-study approach of this particular research. The use of a highly stretchable concept of *perceived socio-spatial resilience* in time and space as a 'end result' of the theoretical framework, leaves room for unforeseen possible relevant context related interpretations, while more tight case-study boundaries might impede access to the unknown, unexpected essential factors outside the pre-defined boundaries. Furthermore, *socially perceived resilience* is integrated in the theoretical framework, because of its evolving time notion which is said to be lacking in CPT. Also, within this research-context, the normativity of the concept of resilience is considered to be rather meaningful in relation to institutions of the involved key-actors, as such institutions help determining their future choices, decisions and actions towards their living spaces.

The concept *perceived socio-spatial resilience* in this research is defined as 'the socio-spatial impacts

or perceived possible future socio-spatial impacts of the communicative intervention and the area process through time that, according the perceptions of the informants, might affect the capacity to reorganize and generate opportunities in the face of unforeseen change, while maintaining or improving the performance on outcomes'. This concept is operationalized by the final conclusions of key-informants about their expectations and desires with respect to the further future development of the socio-spatial processes and outcomes of the particular spatial challenges. These final conclusions are based on their perceptions with respect to the assumed roles and strategies of responsible authorities in changing contexts over time dealing with:

- ✓ the realization of the during the communicative intervention agreed upon aims
- ✓ influential factors external to the planning process
- ✓ on forehand unintended social, physical, economic and political effects (second and third order effects).

Following Davoudi (2012) and Pendall et al. (2010), in this way attention is paid to the by key-actors perceived justice and fairness in terms of both the procedures for decision-making, the distribution of burdens and benefits and the *assumed* desirability and risk factors, because it will be of impact on formal and informal institutions and, as such, is of importance with respect to their future choices, decisions and actions.

2.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

How do participants retrospectively perceive the socio-spatial impacts of the communicative interventions and subsequent area development processes of Midden-Delfland, Nieuw-Balinge and Delfzijl-Noord and what are their future expectations and wishes regarding those ongoing processes in terms of socio-spatial resilience?

SUB QUESTIONS
1. *What was the spatial challenge at the moment it was decided to do a communicative intervention (back ground information)?*

2. *How did the spatial planning processes evolve through time (input key-actors and back ground information)?*
3. *How were the spatial planning processes impacted by the communicative interventions (input key-actors and background information)?*
4. *What were the aimed outcomes of the communicative interventions and how were they realized?*
5. *What were the second and third order effects of the communicative interventions?*
6. *What were other influential processes and events that impacted the process or blended in the area development processes?*
7. *What were the roles and the strategies of the responsible involved governments over time?*

3. APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 CASE STUDY APPROACH AND SELECTION OF CASES

This research consists of three case-studies within the municipalities of Midden Delfland, Nieuw Balinge and Delfzijl. Before the explanation of why and how these cases were selected, it is outlined what a case-study approach is and why it is appropriate with regards to the underlying research question and the to it related sub questions, as is described in paragraph 2.3.

A case-study approach allows to tell a story in its diversity, its many-sides and complexity (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Following Swanborn (2003), a case study is an approach in which the history of origination, the changes through time and the structure of a phenomenon are intensively studied, described and explained by paying attention to many variables at the time. In addition, he argues that in a case study approach a distinction needs to be made between the central to be studied phenomenon and the carriers of the phenomenon. The case study approach befits the present research in a pre-eminent way, as shows the following:

- The emphasis of this research is on *the phenomenon* of the communicative intervention and the to it related area development process afterwards, with *the independent variables* of the realization of the aimed planning outcomes, the unforeseen socio-spatial outcomes and the role of the government with regards to this process and the *dependent variable* of the perceived socio-spatial impact and the future expectations at a certain point in time. In order to contextually embed this at one point in time measured social impact, an explanatory description is provided regarding the *structure* of the area development process and its *changes through time*.

- *The carriers of the phenomenon* in the present case-studies are key-actors that participated in the communicative intervention or were involved in the subsequent area development processes.

- In order to explain the emergence of the three communicative events that form the starting point of this study, it is essential to provide a historical context which urged the need of these interventions, or as Swanborn (2003) puts it: *the history of origination*.

As social science until now has not been able to generate predictive and general theories regardless of context, the intension of this research is to provide qualitative in-depth and detailed information about three unique cases, in order to learn experientially from concrete context-dependent knowledge. Although a strictly defined theoretical path would inhibit such learning, in this study a theoretic framework with predefined components was developed, as is described in paragraph 2.2. Such a framework is considered necessary, because a case is embedded in a complex reality which is individually and socially constructed and reconstructed in an ever evolving way. As such, a case-study approach is social constructivist in its ontology. Therefore, boundaries need to be delineated, as otherwise case-studies can be never ending. Furthermore, as such theoretic boundaries represent a choice and, consequently, inevitably are based on a subjective construction, for repeatability and feasibility it is necessary to make them explicit. However, in order to leave room for fitting in unique details and the unexpected, this research utilizes intentionally the rather stretchable, also called sensitizing concepts of 'second and third order effects' and 'perceived socio-spatial resilience', as are described in paragraph 2.2. According to Bowen (2006), such sensitizing concepts lack specification of attributes and provide no clear benchmarks to the researcher for exact substantive measurement of data. Instead, as Blumer (cited by Bowen, 2006, p. 1) argues, 'it gives the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances. Whereas definitive concepts provide prescriptions of what to see, sensitizing concepts merely suggest directions along which to look.' Therefore, such concepts rather imply a departure point for constructing analyses in grounded theories than ending points. The inclusion in a theoretic framework of such concepts can be effective for the analysis of empirical data and obtaining a profound understanding of social phenomena in hindsight (Bowen, 2006).

The implicit uncertainty and ambiguity of a reality which depends on 'history, goals, values, norms, convictions and knowledge, with every player in the game having a different perspective on both the problems and the available solutions' (Van Dijk, et al. 2011, p.974), make it on forehand impossible to map reality in an objective way, nor in its completeness. Realities are individually or socially constructed with different interpretations of the situations at hand. In order to make it possible to make specific choices, actors make heuristic simplifications of their actions and the context in which these actions take place. Often only afterwards such choices are given a rational justification (Van Dijk et al., 2011). While realizing such limitations, this research combines the experiences and perceptions of the informants with factual retrospective historical, process and policy background information. The reason of applying this approach lies in the meaning that such perceptions, despite their subjectivity, give to the factual steps and proceedings of the process and the base they provide for subsequent choices and decisions, as is also outlined in paragraph 2.2. Therefore, the challenge of this study lies in creating a coherent story that is as much as possible a reliable and objective representation of events and processes around the three core communicative interventions and the subjective perceptions of the informants with regards to these themes. However, it is realized that such an account still will not cover a complete description of events and processes, because people construct their renditions within a range of possibilities in which their conscious or unconscious choice of a specific rendition ultimately depends on their goals (Edwards and Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996; Lamerichs and te Molder, 2003; Sneijder and te Molder, 2005; te Molder and Potter, 2005 in: Van Dijk et al., 2011). As such, responses reflect individual experiences which might be influenced by, for example, personalities, specific interests or political agendas. In addition, between informants different levels of awareness are plausibly to be prevalent: expressed or factual behaviour can diverge and differ between persons. In this light, it is also important to underline that the responses to the interviews are a reflection of a 'state of mind' of an individual at a specific moment in time: the winter and early spring of 2014. Although generally can be said that social construction is based on a non-linear ever continuing process of social learning, this research is approached only in a 'cross-sectional' way (Hennink et al., 2011), at one point in time, due to practical time and means constrictions.

It will be impossible and out of the scope of this research to give exact measurements of the socio-spatial developments over time, for example, of social capital or evolving informal institutions. It lies also outside the scope of this research to give a complete analysis of causalities, for example, a limitative enumeration of socio-spatial effects that can be linked to the communicative intervention or to other (unforeseen) events, because such ideas and actions are embedded in an ever evolving flux of change and cannot be isolated to a single causality of a spatial change, as 'it is the combination of things, things that amplify or impede, and thus lead to one trajectory' (Van Dijk & Weitkamp, 2013, p. 7). Therefore, the conclusions of this research give an indication of how key-actors regarded these trajectories at a specific moment in time, and how its events and actions are perceived being able to contribute to future developments. In this way, this research contributes to further discussion, reflection and future explorations of how communicative strategies in spatial planning processes with or without combinations of other strategies can contribute to socio-spatial resilience, according to real life experiences and perceptions of involved civil and public actors. Furthermore, this research provides deeper insights and, therefore, raises more awareness about how spatial planning processes next to the intended outcomes, also have unintended second and third order socio-spatial effects, what these effects can be like and how they are perceived by carriers of the area development processes.

In the first place, the cases of Midden Delfland, Nieuw Balinge and Delfzijl-Noord were selected on base of the following criterion: an area development process that is ongoing in the present, but that started with a generally perceived as being a successful communicative intervention in the past. This criterion implied the paradigmatic value (Flyvbjerg, 2006) of the selected cases with regards to the in paragraph 2.1 outlined communicative and complexity paradigms. In the second place, the present selection was on base of the 'extremity' of the communicative events, because each selected communicative approach was unique in its kind: the 2,5 days during Future Search conference with 125 participants in Midden Delfland in order to define an

area vision for the following 20 years, the Schetsschuit in Nieuw Balinge with regards to the destination of the munition depot that was combined with nature development and housing issues and resulted in the Het Mann-museum initiative, and the design sessions with inhabitants of Delfzijl-Noord that resulted in a by the public governed multifunctional garden design and implementation process, as is described more in detail in paragraphs 4.2, 5.2 and 6.2. Following Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 229) such extreme cases 'reveal more information, because they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situations studied'. Directly related to this presumed extremity is also the 'maximum' variation between the communicative interventions and the to them related area development processes with regards to their, 'size, form of organization, location and budget' (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 229-230) as is set out in chapters 4, 5 and 6..

3.1.1 PREPARATION OF CASE-STUDY FIELD WORK [1]

The first step in anticipation of the case study fieldwork was theory development through literature study which resulted in the theoretic framework as is described in paragraph 2.2. The second step implied the design of a data collection protocol.

Firstly, a selection was made of a gatekeeper and additional key-informants per case. Several professional experts with regards to the organization and facilitation of communicative interventions were approached with the request to provide possible suitable cases on base of the criteria as mentioned in the previous paragraph. Subsequently, after the actual selection of the cases to be studied, these experts were asked to appoint a 'gatekeeper' (Hennink et al., 2011) for each case. In all the cases these gatekeepers appeared to be public officials that were closely involved in the communicative intervention and the following processes. Next to relevant background information (policy documents, relevant websites and booklets), these key-informants also provided names of possible relevant additional informants. The

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[1] The methodology steps of the paragraphs 3.1.1, 3.1.2 and 3.1.3 are based on Yin (2009, p. 123).

selection criteria for the informants diverged somewhat per case. For the Midden Delfland case the informants were selected on base of the importance of their roles during the process (initiators and precursors) and their occupancies and specific interests (representatives of public authorities, local interest organizations, entrepreneurs, nature and environmental organizations, entrepreneurs and farmers). For the Nieuw Balinge case the selection of informants consisted of the representatives of the four stakeholders that reached the agreement at the communicative intervention (Dienst Landelijk Gebied, Natuurmonumenten, province of Drenthe and the municipality Midden-Drenthe) and, in addition, a member of the selection committee of initiatives for the rezoning of the munition depot grounds, the subsequent museum board and workgroup of the Het MMan-initiative. For the Delfzijl Noord-case, next to the municipal project leader, the section consisted of pivotal district volunteers and a community worker that are currently contributing to the realization of the multifunctional garden (for a complete overview of the informants, see Appendix A).

Secondly, semi-structured interviews were formulated on base of the sub components of the theory: the how and why of informants' involvement in the communicative intervention and the subsequent process, the facts and the perceptions with regards to the realization of during the intervention agreed upon aimed outcomes, the second and third order events, the unforeseen events and processes that impacted the area development process and the socio-spatial impacts in terms of perceived socio-spatial resilience. The first layer of these questions was formulated in a rather general and open way, in order to invite informants to tell in their own spontaneous authentic words their experiences and, as such, to leave out the researchers influential bias as much as possible. The second layer existed of additional 'probing' (Babbie, 2010), a technique of a nondirective phrase or question used to encourage an informant to elaborate on an answer, in order to guide answers more specifically to the subcomponents of the theoretical framework. A division was made between perception related questions ('how did you experience it', 'what do you think about it', 'how would you like…') and fact related questions ('what event happened when').

The third step was the design of a quality procedure to make the process as explicit as possible. Therefore, a protocol of a chain of evidence was constructed with regards to each case-study: theory and references, questions on base of the theory, database with background information, interview recordings, interview transcripts and coded interviews and finally the analyses per case on base of these elements.

3.1.2 FIELDWORK AND DATA COLLECTION

The actual fieldwork took place in the period of February- April 2014, on base of in the previous paragraph mentioned steps. The first step resulted in the collection of background documentation which was initially provided and suggested by the key-informants and later on by the remaining informants and autonomous web-research, including: existing studies, policy documents and local newspapers. The second step resulted in semi-structured in-depth interviews with 26 key-actors and informants involved in the communicative interventions or the to the area development process related proceedings directly after: 12 regarding the Midden Delfland case, 8 regarding the Nieuw Balinge case and 6 regarding the Delfzijl-Noord case (see list Appendix A). As each informant had a specific role or interest in the process, next to the pre-designed questions during the interviews tailor-made questions were formulated in line with the specific responses and positions of the informants. After the first interviews the initial selection was extended, because new relevant informants emerged for obtaining additional relevant information. The selection of informants was not further extended at the moment a certain level of information saturation became evident and no new relevant information was expected to come to the surface. The in the previous subparagraph outlined protocol of the chain of evidence was effectuated according to the initial set-up.

3.1.3 ANALYSIS, REFLECTION AND CONCLUSIONS

After data collection the research process proceeded by an assessment of each single case. In this research the cross-sectional and descriptive analysis is performed on base of the multiple perspectives, experiences and expectations of public and civil informants and of a factual rendering of events and processes in a historical sequence. These findings were connected to the background documentation analysis and to the research question and sub-questions on base of the theoretic framework. Each component of the theoretic framework was studied and described on base of the explanations that were provided by the informants, in order to get at the track of explaining processes (Swanborn, 2003). Sub question 1 and 2 (as can be seen in paragraph 2.3) were addressed by providing a brief background description of the area and the spatial challenge at stake and overview of how the spatial planning process evolved (formalized process steps and actions, unforeseen interfering processes, interventions and events) by analysing policy and plan documents, internet documentation, and during the interviews provided information, including booklets, articles and papers. The relevant events and actions are scheduled in a timeline in paragraphs 4.1, 5.1 and 6.1. Sub question 3, 4, 5, and 6 (as can be seen in paragraph 2.3) were addressed by analysing the perspectives and the perceptions of the informants through interview transcript analysis. The interviews were coded according the components of the theoretic framework (see paragraph 2.2). Subsequently, these components and their interdependence were analysed and resulted in subparagraphs for each case-study (see chapter 4, 5 and 6). In the analyses the informants remained anonymous. When it appeared to be relevant, lacking or unfounded information was complemented with additional internet research, mails and telephone calls with informants.

Furthermore, the initially developed theory was somewhat adapted on base of the analysis. The most important example of such an adaptation is the re-definition and operationalization of the concept of '(social) resilience'[2] towards the final

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[2] ' (Social) resilience' initially was defined as 'the capacity to reorganize and generate opportunities in the face of unforeseen change, while maintaining or improving the performance on outcomes. This capacity might be reinforced by 'social memory' and 'social capital' (Folke et al., 2005; Pendall et al., 2010). Social memory here is referred to as social experience of dealing with change (Folke et al., 2005) and social

definition of 'perceived socio-spatial resilience', as is outlined in paragraph 2.2. Between the case-studies no mutual comparison was made, as each case represents a contextual reality in its own diversity and complexity. However, in order to mark these differences, the conclusions and the discussion are made as well on a single as a cross-case base (see chapter 7).

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capital here is referred to 'the social glue- the networks of ties, information, trust and norms-that binds people and enables them to co-operate more effectively' (Brannan, 2006, p. 995).

4. MIDDEN DELFLAND

4.1 GENERAL BACKGROUND DESCRIPTION: EVENTS AND PROCESSES

In September of 2005 a group of about 125 representatives of the state, the province of South-Holland, municipality of Midden Delfland, surrounding municipalities, entrepreneurs, farmers, nature and recreation organizations, water boards and citizens assembled in a newly build farming stable in the midst of the lands of Midden Delfland in order to develop a new area vision (Midden Delfland, 2005).
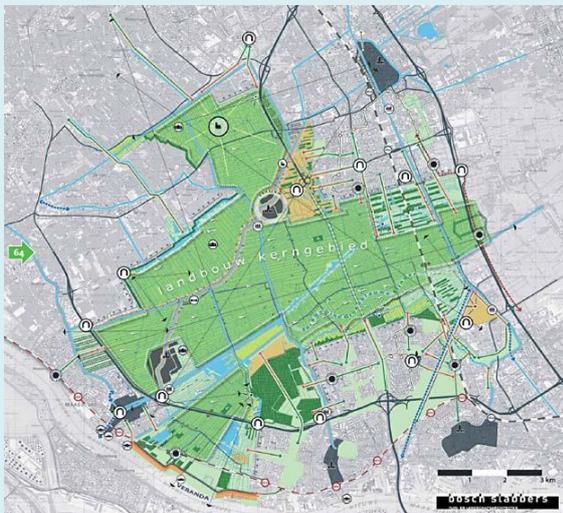
Map 1. Midden Delfland. Source: Groenendaal, 2009

Before going more into this communicative intervention and its following-up, for a deeper understanding it is important to start with a concise overview of events and processes through time as an indispensable decorum of this event which explains the urge of it and influenced its sequel (see figure 2).

Since 1977 the Midden Delfland area, existing of the municipalities of Maasland and Schipluiden, had been under the protection of the Reconstruction Law. This law protected the area against urbanization and blending in the neighbouring urban areas of Delft, Schiedam, Vlaardingen, Westland, Rotterdam, Den Haag and other surrounding urban municipalities. The main aim of this law was to form a buffer zone in order to keep the area open and green for agricultural and recreational purposes and to prevent cluttering by, for example, greenhouses (Gemeente Midden Delfland, 2009b). As a reaction, in the same year the foundation of the Midden

Delfland Association, a cooperation between local inhabitants and farmers, became a fact. This association was founded in order to guard the interests of the Midden Delfland area by participating in the reconstruction commission and its policy work groups. In the 1990's the predominant emphasis of this association shifted from policy towards promotion of the area (Midden-Delfland vereniging, 2014). In the early 2000's a broad municipal reorganization discussion took place within the region. The idea at the outset was to combine seven municipalities in one municipality 'Westland'. With the expiration of the reconstruction law in 2009 as a flashing dot on the horizon, the Midden Delfland Association realized that this composition of municipalities could form a serious threat to the area of being engulfed by greenhouse expansion from the Westland area. As it was realized that the formation of one responsible local administration could prevent such developments, a smart play of local political forces, originating from the Midden Delfland Association, perpetuated the fusion of the municipalities of Schipluiden and Maasland. As a consequence, the small-scale rural municipality of Midden Delfland in the midst of large-scale urban areas was realized in order to protect its open and green areas. Here started the search of the municipality how to further realize such protection. One of the strategies was the implementation of the in the years 2000 established covenant between Delft and Schipluiden which delineated a 'red-green'-construction: assignment of cluttered greenhouse areas for housing and industrial expansion to Delft in exchange of support of strengthening the agricultural green area of Midden Delfland. In the same line, also was lobbied for support of the urban administration of Den Haag and Rotterdam. In addition to these achievements, the municipality realized that a broadly supported integral area vision was needed for designing concrete and broadly supported policy strategies for the nearby future. As the municipality administration was new and not yet enclosed in embedded routines and previous choices, the search for how to realize a broadly supported vision provided the opportunity to adopt a rather open-minded and innovative strategy. After a public tender, the council agreed to contract a consultancy bureau to manage and design the participatory process of the development of the area vision for Midden Delfland. A qualified management group of local and experienced people was established, in order to

guide the preparations of the bureau in the run to the 2,5 days during communicative event. This group was under final supervision of a commission of the local council. In September 2005, the 2,5 days during Future Search conference resulted in the substantive impetus for the integral area development vision Midden Delfland 2005-2025. Subsequently, the Area vision Midden Delfland ® 2025 was finalized in a period of only two months in order to being able to present it to Queen Beatrix during her work visit to Midden Delfland in November of the same year.

In the meantime the development of simultaneous processes autonomously proceeded which would eventually entrench with the sequel of communicative event and the area vision process. One important process was the realization of the since several decades discussed controversial highway A-4 that would traverse the Midden Delfland area from Schiedam to Delft. In 2006 the signing of the A-4 covenant ascertained the realization of this highway. The 6 years during negotiation process, in which arrangements were negotiated regarding quality investments for the area between Delft and Schiedam in order to compensate the negative effects of the A-4, resulted in the Integral area Development program of Delft and Schiedam (IODS). Until today, the to the IODS related financing for compensation purposes constitutes an important impetus for the actual realization of the assignments of the Area Vision Midden Delfland ® 2025. Another important development in 2006 was the foundation of the 'Groenfonds Midden-Delfland' by Delft, Den Haag and Midden Delfland. This foundation was established in order to maintain and develop an open agricultural landscape with high environmental and cultural values and to strengthen urban-rural relations through education and recreation (De 12Landschappen, 2014). In 2007 the Program Randstad Urgent was launched by the ministry of Transport and Water management. This program incorporated the A-4 process as well as the project 'Beautiful and vital Midden Delfland' (Ministry of Traffic and Water management, 2007). The administrative triangle of the minister of agriculture, the provincial representative of South-Holland and the municipal alderman further substantiated this top-down project of 'Beautiful and vital Midden Delfland'. In this context, following the advice of the land architect and a group of scientists, the partnership of the Hof van Delfland became

established in the period of 2008-2010 with the support of the same bureau that initially prepared the Future Search Conference. In this partnership sixteen governments collaborate with entrepreneurs and organizations to maintain and develop a valuable area for locals and tourists who come also from the surrounding towns. The plans and projects concern, for example, connections between the cities and rural Midden Delfland area, the quality of the green area and the promotion of the area (Programmabureau Hof van Delfland, 2014) and have a considerable overlap with the area vision that was developed in 2005. Another relevant development with regards to the sequel of the communicative intervention was that in 2011 the main involved alderman left the scene by accepting other employment. He was broadly considered the ambassador and the supercharger of the area development process and, according to many informants, his departure meant an irreparable rupture in the communicative continuation of the process. Finally, in 2015 the abolishment of the existing area of the city regions Rotterdam and Haaglanden is planned in order to form the metropolis region Rotterdam-Den Haag. Within this metropolis 24 municipalities will join forces to improve the international competiveness of the region (Metropoolregio Rotterdam Den Haag, 2014). This development is broadly regarded as a possible future threat for the continuation of the mentioned current cooperatives, and, therefore, for the future of Midden Delfland.

Although some of the following events and developments were not directly agreed upon during the Future Search conference, they are considered being direct results of the communicative event of 2005. In the period of 2007-2009 the municipality of Midden Delfland developed the Landscape Development Perspective Midden Delfland ®2025 (LOP) in collaboration with neighbouring municipalities, water boards, citizens, entrepreneurs and stakeholders. In this LOP the formerly developed Area vision Midden Delfland ® 2025 is elaborated towards concrete strategies and actions (Midden Delfland, 2009a). In the same period, in 2008, Midden Delfland was nominated and accepted to be a 'Cittaslow'-municipality. 'Citta-slow' is an Italian initiative of making a worldwide network of municipalities demarcated by a benchmark of embracing sustainable entrepreneurship and lifestyles (Cittaslow International, 2013). This nomination was based on an idea that was

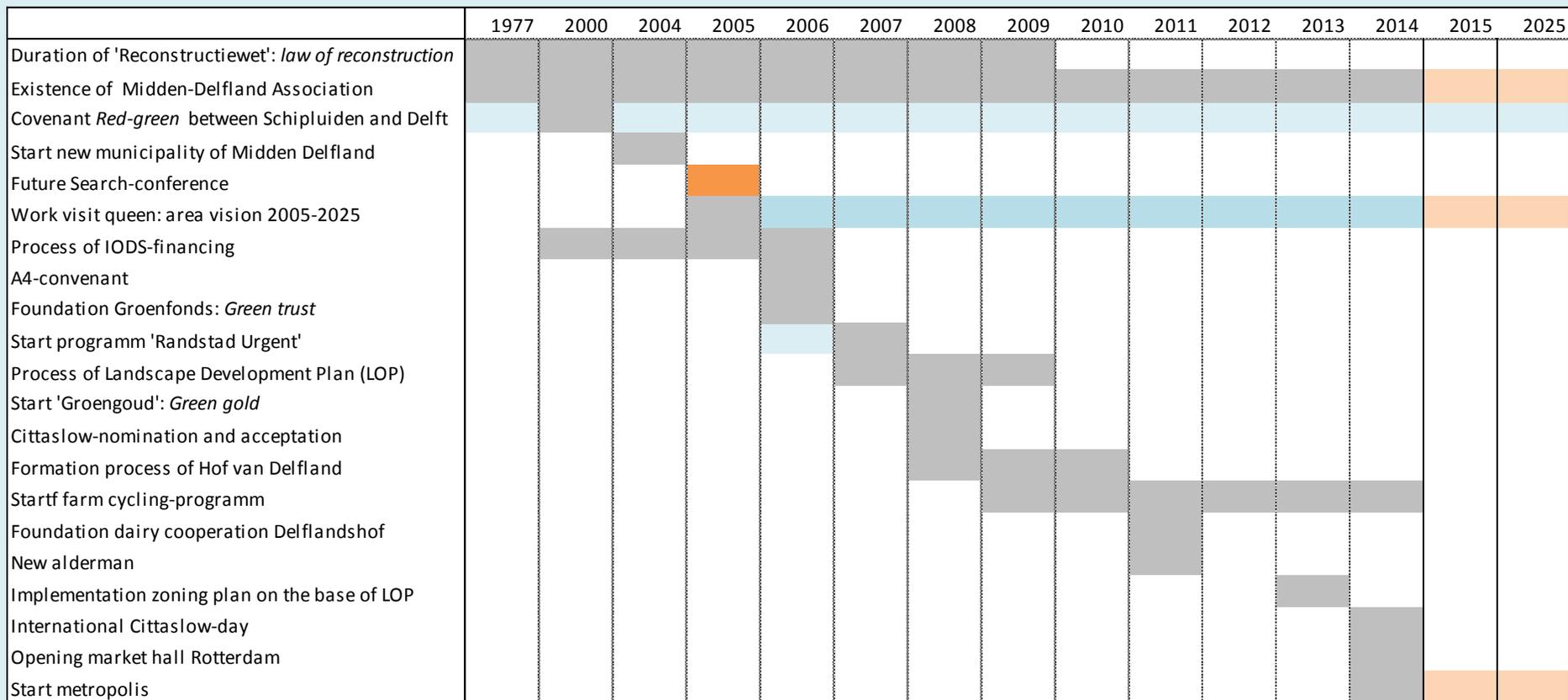|	1977	2000	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2025
Duration of 'Reconstructiewet': *law of reconstruction*															
Existence of Midden-Delfland Association															
Covenant *Red-green* between Schipluiden and Delft															
Start new municipality of Midden Delfland															
Future Search-conference															
Work visit queen: area vision 2005-2025															
Process of IODS-financing															
A4-convenant															
Foundation Groenfonds: *Green trust*															
Start programm 'Randstad Urgent'															
Process of Landscape Development Plan (LOP)															
Start 'Groengoud': *Green gold*															
Cittaslow-nomination and acceptation															
Formation process of Hof van Delfland															
Startf farm cycling-programm															
Foundation dairy cooperation Delflandshof															
New alderman															
Implementation zoning plan on the base of LOP															
International Cittaslow-day															
Opening market hall Rotterdam															
Start metropolis															

Figure 2. Time line of Midden Delfland case

launched during the Future Search conference and of which no-one at the time knew its actual meaning and implications. In June 2014 for the first time the yearly organised international Cittaslow day will take pllace in several Dutch municipalities, including Midden Delfland. Another often mentioned initiative that was realized in 2008 that can be linked to this nomination is the foundation of 'Groengoud'. This foundation which consists of a of collaboration between entrepreneurs and local organisations that try to maintain and strengthen the culture landscape of Midden Delfland. The aim is to stimulate sustainable entrepreneurship in combination with the maintenance of area qualities which are based on the Area vision Midden Delfland ® 2025, the LOP and the governance direction of the 'Hof van Delfland' (Groengoud, 2014). A series of other small-scale initiatives was said to be linked to the Cittaslow nomination and Groengoud, as will be further explained in paragraph 4.4. Likewise, in 2009 the agricultural lobby organisation 'LTO Delflands Groen', the municipality Midden-Delfland and the province of Zuid-Holland initiated a collaboration through launching the Program of Cycling farmers initiated in order to reinforce financially ground-bounded and organic agriculture in Midden Delfland (Kringloopboeren Midden Delfland, 2014). Another initiative that can be linked to the communicative event was the establishment of the new dairy cooperation Delflandshof that is exploring possibilities of selling designated 'regional Midden Delfland milk'. This cooperation is also exploring possibilities how the future planned development of the opening of the market hall of Rotterdam in October 2014 can contribute to reinforce the city-country connection by specific regional product marketing. Lastly, this overview closes by mentioning the realization in 2013 of the formal municipal zoning plan on base of the in the LOP defined strategies and actions in close cooperation with farmers.

Central in the following paragraph is the actual communicative event of the Future Search conference: a concise explanation of the approach of the Future Search and an outline of the proceedings regarding the conference and the resulting planning aims.

4.2 THE COMMUNICATIVE INTERVENTION AND RESULTING PLANNING AIMS

The in 2004 newly instituted municipality of Midden Delfland was looking for a method 'to restore urban-rural relations' and to formulate a working future strategy for the area. After a tender in which four consultancies participated. one consultancy bureau was selected by the local council to organize a process towards the formulation of the area vision. Subsequently, this bureau worked on base of the 'Future Search' (FS) philosophy and method and describes it as follows:

'Next to a conference model FS is above all a philosophy to design and guide processes of transformation in which the 'common ground' is explored in vision and ambitions which will be the base of the formulation of concrete actions. By holding on to strict process principles it will be achieved that involved people will take responsibility for their collective assignment and the to it related actions in order to realize the mutually discovered common ground. The commitment and the obviousness for the effectuation is much higher than is achieved by more traditional strategic action planning conferences.

The pivot point in this transformation approach is a conference of 16-20 hours, divided over three sequential days. During the preparation of the conference much attention is being paid to the formulation of the central assignment and to the (personal) invitations of participants in order to make sure that the whole 'system' is participating during the conference.' (KaapZ, 2014).

In order to safeguard the quality, the run towards the conference took almost a year of preparation. A specific management group was composed of 7 key-actors with expertise of governance, the area, communications and transformation management. During a period of five months these people were not only invited to think along, but also to accept actual responsibility for the process in order to become personally liable and carriers of the process. In this way room was created for a tight process which was referred to by some informants as a 'military operation' and 'a rigid format letting go of substance'. All people with interests and the

possibility to act were invited, including people that thought not having specific interests in area development, like local employers. Great care was also taken in the deliberate exclusion of possible bystanders in order to prevent them to torpedoing the raised group energy. The actual conference took place on base of the 'sleep twice principle': a participative workshop of three days and two nights with as underlying objective to get enough time to overthink and elaborate what has been done during the meeting and to internalize the achievements. According to a public informant, this is a step that is 'often overseen by governments'. During those three days a mix of people worked intensively together 'with open folding doors with a view on Maasland', being a symbolic reminder for the area of interest. According to all informants, the process and the results of the conference have been a huge success and experience as never before 'in which everything fitted together' and 'chemistry' was originated between different groups. After three days everyone went home 'cheerfully', 'full of energy', 'euphoric', 'loaded', 'motivated' and last but not least 'with a shopping list' of specific agreed upon actions each participant accepted responsibility for.

In the following months a small group of people, including the mayor, designed the final Area Vision Midden Delfland ®2025 on base of the building stones of the conference. The particular leverage of this rush was a work visit that Queen Beatrix was willing to pay to the area in order to celebrating her 25-years governing jubilee. In November 2005 the Area Vision Midden Delfland ®2025 was formally perpetuated by handing it to the Queen.

The municipality was given the responsibility to frame an executive organization through:

- 'a platform that guaranties the involvement of parties as much as possible. In other words: during the implementation of the area vision will be worked in a comparable participative way as during the origination of it
- a quartermaster that receives the responsibility of the process management
- an administrative project group that facilitates the quartermaster'

(Midden Delfland, 2005, p. 52)

This above mentioned platform would not receive formal mandate to make decisions, but would prepare decision making by means of consultation and coordination. Formal decisions were reserved to the authorities.

Furthermore, the implementation framework consisted of five specific assignments for the period 2005-2008:

1. '*Substantial elaboration*: developing and determination of the LOP
2. *Strengthening urban-rural relations*: developing and designing of connections between Midden Delfland and its surroundings and the establishment of the 'Portals'
3. *Identity*: elaboration of a marketing plan that settles the image and identity of Midden Delfland
4. *Elaboration instruments*: developing and implementing of an effective ground instrument, a developing instrument and financial funding
5. *Anchoring*: organizing that existing organisations are sufficiently equipped to realize the ambitions of Midden Delfland (governance, juridical and financial anchoring)'

(Midden Delfland, 2005, p. 53).

In the following paragraph the realization of this platform and these assignments and how this is perceived are discussed more in-depth.

4.3 REALIZATION OF AIMED OUTCOMES OVER TIME

Directly after the formalization of the Area Vision Midden Delfland ® 2025, a strategic advisor was assigned to compose an implementation program concerning the five assignments mentioned in the previous paragraph. This quartermaster was positioned under supervision of a special commission of the municipal council. The main subjects of this program were: area economy, area marketing and area management. In the following the emphasis will be on the realization of the platform and five assignments.

The in the previous paragraph mentioned platform, or 'area council' was not realized after all. Although severe discontent and disappointment was expressed regarding this failure by several civil informants, nobody of them could explain exactly why the achievement of this assignment did not work out. However, the responsibility for this failure was generally appointed to the municipality. During the interviews with public informants it was mentioned that the municipal council might have felt threatened to be overruled by such an area council. It also became clear that municipal directors at the end did not endorse the importance of such an area platform as the formal council was supposed to have a mandatory legitimacy of representing the area interests. Furthermore, the assumed quartermaster was broadly considered being a 'blue-print' technical kind of professional and, as such, not being enhancive of collaborative efforts.

The first assignment to develop and determine the LOP was realized during a two years during participative process in the years of 2007-2009. The LOP was perpetuated by the signatures of the surrounding municipalities in 2009. In 2013 the municipal zoning plan was actualized on the base of LOP through a merely participative process that included all farmers of the area.

The second assignment of strengthening the urban-rural relations received a high level of administrative attention. As the strengthening of relationships can be considered as an ongoing process of continuous work in progress, it is impossible to provide a final judgment about its proceedings. However, the municipality authorities put a serious effort in embedding the rationale of the green area of Midden Delfland in the formal institutions of the surrounding urban municipalities and, so far, seems to have been rather successful. As can also be seen in the time line overview of paragraph 4.1, in 2000 the administration signed a 'red-green' covenant with the municipality of Delft which was implemented in the consequent years after, founded in 2006 the 'Groenfonds Midden Delfland'- trust with the municipality of Delft and Den Haag, embedded in 2007 the top-down project 'Beautify and vital Midden Delfland' in the Randstad Urgent Program of Den Haag and Rotterdam and in the consequent years of 2008-2010 established a partnership with 16 surrounding municipalities by the foundation of the Hof van Delfland. Next to this formal achievements, the importance of good personal

relationships with executives of Den Haag and Rotterdam were also underlined regarding the embedding of the rationale of the green Midden Delfland area in the urban.

Related to the second assignment was the objective to realize in collaboration with surrounding municipalities physical entrance portals in order to connect the agricultural core area with the urban. In reality the realization of these portals became upgrading of specific existing places through a rather diffuse program of loose parts, 'trying to make something out of it' together with local entrepreneurs. Mentioned examples are a pancakes farm including tourist & recreation information and an art portal with gallery in the landscape. The general realization was referred to as a 'cumbersome challenge' that is still in progress.

The third assignment of identity building by making a marketing plan is being realized by initiatives like the foundation of the 'Stichting Groengoud' and the new membership of the municipality to the 'Cittaslow'-network. The Groengoud-collaboration between local organizations and entrepreneurs promotes actively regional food products and B&B accommodations. The municipality provided courses to stimulate B&B's in the area. Consequently, the last ten years the number of B&B raised from 4 to 70. In addition, 'Stichting Groengoud', amongst others, developed a water sports platform, organized public events and designed recreational and culinary routes. Groengoud was also involved in the implementation of a during the conference formulated task of mapping the rich, but diffused knowledge about the culture history of the Midden Delfland polders and to unite this information in specific booklets aimed at policy makers and municipal directors. One of the informants argued that after ten years the actual realization of a series of such booklets provoked an 'enormous kick'. According to the informant, it 'is the state of the art to mold raised energy into useful building stones' as in her eyes was done with this historical information. The contribution to the identity building of Midden Defland by the membership of the Cittaslow-network still is regarded at in opposing ways. Although the 'Cittaslow'-nomination was mentioned during the conference and was formulated as a goal in the area vision, most informants did not know in advance what it actually meant and. I was said that it was just accepted to be named in the area vision, 'because it sounded

nice'. Until today about 100 persons became official supporters of 'Midden Delfland Cittaslow' of which 30 are local entrepreneurs. Several civil informants share the image that the 'Cittaslow'-status somehow is an administrative 'directors toy'. They indicated that participants of the conference were not involved in the specific actions that were taken to achieve it. Once it was referred to as 'keeping up appearances without using intrinsic possibilities of connecting people'. However, it was also referred to that in the local musical of Schipluiden song lyrics suggested feelings of proud to this newly acquired status. According to several civil informants, this newly acquired status is 'nice, but is not internalized yet in the area, and needs some time'. According to public informants, this status gives an 'identity that is growing'.

The fourth assignment of elaborating a ground instrument is realized. This instrument aims to keep agricultural land available for farmers and to remediate greenhouses. The financial coverage is met by IODS-supplies, in this way partly compensating the A4-highway.

With regards to the fifth assignment of governance, juridical and financial anchoring can be shortly and generally said that formal and informal anchoring is achieved by the establishment of the previous named formal and informal public and civil collaborations and the realization of the formal institutions, like the LOP, the municipal zoning plan and the linking to the IODS-financing.

This paragraph can be concluded by saying that the area vision is considered still actual and valid by all informants. Today, the previous feared blending in to the urban is no longer felt as a real problem, as the surrounding cities are impregnated of the importance of the Midden Delfland area. Instead, some of the informants stressed the contemporary 'inside threats' of 'cluttering', 'weak management' and 'physical constructions and uses that badly fit in the landscape'. This shift of attention and other social and spatial unforeseen and unplanned side effects and how they are perceived are reflected on more in-depth in the next paragraph.

4.4 SECOND AND THIRD ORDER EFFECTS OVER TIME

In the theoretical framework, see paragraph 2.2, second and third order effects are defined as the unintended non-linear effects through time that transcend the process and its agreed upon results (Innes, 2010) with a division between positively and negatively perceived spatial and social effects. In this light, the embedding of the area vision in the formal institutions of the surrounding municipalities and urban areas can be regarded at in two different ways. Firstly, as showed in the previous paragraph, it is a direct outcome of the planned steps and the communicative intervention in order to realize the second assignment of the area vision: strengthening the urban-rural relations. As one of the informants also endorsed, the 'conference was the motive for positioning neighbouring municipalities in favour of the area' and achieved as a successful consequence the 'commitment of surrounding municipalities'. Secondly, however, it can be also partly considered as nonlinear effects that transcend the process and its agreed upon results, as the possibilities of embedding the area vision in the Randstad Urgent Program, the new collaboration of Hof van Delfland, the vision of Hof van Delfland or in the 'landscape consultation table of Hof van Delfland', could in no way been foreseen in advance and cannot be regarded as an intrinsic part of the process. In the same way, at the time of the conference it was neither known that the IODS-compensation money would provide the main financial impetus for the realization of the assignments of the area vision. These finances have not been leashed to the area vision, although they do have a big overlap, because of the parallel trajectories through time. These were opportunities that appeared 'on the road' and that were skillfully recognized, helped shaping and grasped by the local authorities in order to meet the set assignments. According to an informant, this could be considered an ongoing and 'fluid process', as governance developments are continuing, like 'the strengthening connection between Rotterdam and Den Haag' which might provide new opportunities for Midden Delfland.

Other examples of organizational institutionalization that during the interviews were referred to as second and third order effects of the Future Search Conference are: the centrality of the themes of the

area vision on the yearly organized Midden Delfland-day by the Midden Delfland Association in the three consequent years of 2006-2008; the framing of the Cycling Farming Program in 2009; the establishment of the dairy cooperation Delflandshof in 2011, and; the new (small scale) advice role of the local culture history group towards the local planning department.

A concrete physical spatial second or third effect that was several times indicated by informants was the realization of 'Op Hodenpijl': a Bourgondic place in which a combination can be enjoyed of the themes of nature, culture, health and wellbeing. Although the initiative already existed before the Future Search conference took place, the informants referred to this locally celebrated initiative several times not being realized without the conference. The conference provided the impetus to the promoters and the planning department of the municipality and, as such, constituted the leverage for realization: 'the conference woke us up, raised awareness and turned us to action. It stimulated us and pollinated for a precious area'.

Photo 1. Conference centre Op Hodenpijl

Photo 2. Organic restaurant with regional products

Another physical spatial spin-off that according to several informants would not have been realized

without the conference is the new town hall in Schipluiden. This town hall symbolizes the surrounding landscape and, therefore, is considered to giving a rural identity to the municipality.

Photo 3. New townhall Midden Delfland municipality

A still to be realized physical visible second or third order effect would be the effectuation of the idea of a food council by the dairy cooperation in the new market hall Rotterdam that will be opened in late 2014.

Next to the more formal, organizational and visual second and third order effects, during the interviews also informal, personally internalized shifted institutions came to the surface, as well for public as for civil key-actors. In the next overview a recital of responses is provided to the question of what personal and social gains (next to the visible physical results) were a result of the conference and the to it related processes:

'personal inspiration'; 'new insights and knowledge'; 'learning how to operate in a network'; 'more open attitude towards citizens'; 'looking with other eyes to the area'; 'got in love with area'; 'looking back with feeling of pleasure'; 'strengthening of social and formal institutional networks'; 'creation of chemistry between many creative people from the area'; 'satisfaction'; 'learning moment'; 'awareness raising'; 'municipality grew in new networking role'; 'distance between authorities, farmers and citizens is diminished and became more transparent, particularly during the serving period of the alderman that was present at the conference'; 'learning process of shared responsibility'; 'new social connections'; 'proud of regional products'; 'more general support for farmers, although farmers themselves took no many

initiatives…'; 'strong identity'; 'enthusiasm'; 'loaded energy'; 'new bases of trust' and last, but not least: 'it raised expectations'.

Generally, it can be said that it had a shifted mindset as result: participants of the conference underlined the area, accepted their own and new responsibilities, found broadened cooperative networks and got a higher awareness of the importance of the farmers for keeping the area green and open.

Whatsoever, the conference also raised expectations that were not met. An important disillusion, mentioned several times during the interviews, was the failed realization of the in the area vision defined collaborative platform, the so called 'area council'. It was generally expected that the during the conference shared and mutual collaborative effort between the local authorities and civil participants, instead, would last through time. As this was not realized as originally was agreed upon, people still nowadays feel excluded and see the area development process as a merely administrative process of 'anchoring'. Although the general commitment to the area and the area vision nowadays is still high, towards the municipal authorities this failure resulted in a growing civil skepticism, diminishing trust and in sharpening political relationships, as is also demonstrated by the next quote: '<During the Future Search Conference> people made statements about their commitments: what will I do to make it a success? There is great commitment of all stakeholders, people experience ownership. There was to come a Midden Delfland area council, and there it went wrong. Organizations and the municipality would pull the cart together, instead it was pushed towards hiring a quartermaster of a big agency and other authorities, it disappeared over the horizon and out of the hands of the owners. In a certain sense it meant a bankruptcy. We are back in the old governance culture, the old government role in which the municipality determines and decides. The commitment was neglected. The feeling of ownership still broadly exists, but also broad frustration that it was taken out of our hands.'

Several informants indicated that next to this 'shift in the participation grade', the authorities also failed to clearly communicate the governance steps they made in collaboration with the surrounding urban municipalities.

Another negative second or third order effect that was mentioned is that the engagement of farmers in Groengoud and the Cycle Farming Program is merely based on financial incentives that were suggested to contribute to the further enhancement of welfarism of farmers, instead to ownership and responsibility towards the area. In order to demonstrate the lack of farmers commitment to the landscape, examples were mentioned of cluttering and new stable constructions that fit badly in the landscape. In addition, also local entrepreneurs feel wronged in relation to the support the farmers get from the IODS-sources.

In the following paragraph an overview is provided of the actual perceptions of the public and civil informants, with the in the previous paragraphs described proceedings as a starting point, with regards to the perceived socio-spatial future of the Midden Delfland area.

4.5 PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIO-PLANNING IMPACTS IN RELATION TO AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

According to several informants, even before the Future Search Conference had taken place, strong commitment to the area and to it related social capital was already present in Midden Delfland. It was said that the 'close community' and 'the many and intensive contact moments' was a direct consequence of the implementation of the Reconstruction Law in the period of 1977-2009 and the to it related foundation of the Midden Delfland Association in 1977, as is described more in-depth in paragraph 4.1. Therefore, in line with the theory of paragraph 2.1, social capital in the particular case of Midden Delfland is not only a result of the Future Search conference, but was said to being also an important prerequisite for the success of the conference and for the embedding of the area vision formally and informally in the process afterwards. Also nowadays, ten years after the conference, entrepreneurs and area organizations like Agricultural Association Vockestaert, Nature Monuments, Midden Delfland Association, 'LTO-Delflandsgroen' (Agricultural and horticultural interest Organization) are still seriously engaged regarding keeping the area green and open. However, as stemmed from the interviews, 'the

energy is not the same as ten years ago'. The during the conference renewed and strengthened collaborative relations nowadays find themselves in another phase: they have 'another character' and put 'other accents', as the 'political and societal core are mingling' and 'political relationships are getting sharper'. For example, several directors of the Midden Delfland Association are now also politically active and are profiling some of the Association's standpoints by political activities. In this context, the discussion of the compensation of just farmers versus other entrepreneurs by IODS-compensation financing is very actual. However, it is broadly recognized that in the process after the conference social capital expanded, like the onset of new relations and extended networks. Also, new social innovative structures of public and social governance emerged, like the establishment of Groengoud, Cycling Farmers Program, Hof van Delfland, dairy cooperation 'Delflandshof' and the Cittaslow-status of the municipality. In this light, the often referred to crucial role of the alderman during and after the conference was notable. He was being referred to as the indispensable 'flag carrier' and 'ambassador' and without his commitment to the process and to the farmers, the process could not have been as successful as it has been. In other words, as one of the informants argued: 'specific persons make the difference'.

The composition of the planning department and its directors, other involved authorities like the responsible water board of the area and neighbouring municipalities, societal organizations and social groups changed through time. Inevitably, newly engaged people have not been part of the learning process that was constituted by the Future Search Conference and it was argued that as with the time 'people go, the energy disappears'. In addition, as shown in the previous paragraphs, according to the informants a division has arisen between the administrative public government efforts and the civil efforts during the process.

Generally, it can be said that the by the informants indicated characteristics of the institutions and bonding horizontal social capital, were favourable for maintaining the Midden Delfland area open and green. However, the vertical bridging social capital of civil groups and the societal organizations with the local authorities is broadly considered to have lost strength, as illustrates the next argument 'it

worked well for the past 10 years, but now is a tipping point, it needs a new boost'. As a consequence, it was said that social relations are affected by the sharpened political reality in the area. Except from one informant, all unanimously agreed that a participative moment of recalibration is highly desirable, possibly in a smaller form of the former Future Search conference. As an illustrative example, one public informant argued that 'in order to hold on to the energy, it is needed to organize a second event. It is really time, a second phase is needed, because people left and the energy evaporated. The landscape and the people made progress, but it should be repeated. The government bounces back in its traditional role and the previous achieved connection expires. I guess, it isn't realistic to expect it to endure 9 years'. Another public informant argued that 'the area vision is almost 10 years old now. Now it may be time to freshen up, to go back in the loft with people in order to commit again, to make a new wedding vow, to put the thermometer in it and to take the dust of and to give it new power, inspiration and reinforcement'. It was broadly recognized that the Area Vision of Midden Delfland ® 2025 itself is not at discussion, or as some informants argued: 'the area vision indeed was consolidated. But it was not only an area vision, it were also 100 committed people' and 'the connection with the area exists. It is all about the social, you need again people that are willing to be carriers <of the vision>'. Therefore, it was also argued that a second conference should have another focus: 'people do not have the same candour, they are beware and defend their own interests. A broad balance should be formatted, with new urgencies and a new agenda as the circumstances changed. There is the chance that the municipality of Midden-Defland will not exist after 5 or 10 years. As Midden Delfland is only a small player, it needs to be taken care of that the power will be maintained that independently exists outside the political constellation. Next to a logical spatial story, also a societal connecting power is needed to keep the vision alive and mutually shared in a possible future new restructured municipality' and 'the implementation of the area vision needs new oxygen. You need to find new nutrition, but should not repeat the conference. A meeting of one day could do in order to define the yield so far and to determine what fell off the cart and to revitalize themes and subjects were necessary'. In addition, in order to realize it was argued that 'you always

need leaders, followers, doers, thinkers and so on. Invest on awareness-raising, not only on effectiveness, efficiency and cost calculations. You need someone that provides mandate, an ambassador, a director that takes the lead. You have to stop thinking of what you could lose, you have to think of what you could win, otherwise you will never innovate. You need people that realize that, an inspiration. Nobody can do this alone, you need to invest on this, you need each other to realize this'. In other words, the shared ownership and responsibility and, therefore the role division of all involved should be at the core: not just the content, but also the process is considered to need a re-transformation in order to strengthen the socio-spatial resilience of Midden Delfland.

Furthermore, it was broadly recognized that there is the need for a stronger future connection of the countryside with the urban surroundings. Therefore, according to several informants, this time the local farmers should be included: 'after 10 years that passed since the conference, you need also to take care that a substantial part of the farmers will be involved in the evaluation and the recalibration moment, not only the precursors', because as is pithy summarized by another informant: 'Midden Delfland exists by the virtue of milk and cows'.

Finally, some informants indicated the fear that the present lack of a formalized status of the area, like a 'landscape park or buffer zone' or the 'juridical anchoring in the Metropolis Region' in the future might threaten the area. It was, for example, argued that for now the status of the Midden Delfland area is consolidated, but 'with the back towards the landscape' and that 'in a possible newly restructured municipality interests will be broader and form a possible threat'.

5. NIEUW BALINGE

5.1 GENERAL BACKGROUND DESCRIPTION: EVENTS AND PROCESSES

In October of 2008 representatives of 11 stake holder groups worked together to in a 'Schetsschuit' ('draft boat')[3] in order to combine an integral solution for several spatial and simultaneous challenges that were at stake in the surroundings of the small village of Nieuw Balinge. The main players of this communicative intervention were the state (DLG), the province of Drenthe, municipality 'Midden-Drenthe', the local operating national organization Natuurmonumenten (Nature monuments) and the local interest association 'Plaatselijke Belang Nieuw-Balinge'.

Before going more into this communicative intervention and its following-up, for a deeper understanding, like in the previous chapter, it is indispensable to start with providing a historical decorum of this event by a concise overview of events and processes through time that explain the urge of it and influenced its sequel (see figure 3).

Map 2. Nieuw Balinge and surroundings. Source: Kaarten en Atlassen (2014)

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[3] A 'Schetsschuit' is a by DLG generated method of a design atelier in which experts on spatial planning collaborate together with inhabitants, entrepreneurs and representatives of interest organizations in the search of solutions for complex spatial assignments (DLG, 2011a).

The village of Nieuw Balinge is relatively young. The origination of this 'peat village' lies in the late 19th century and was a consequence of the predominant peat extraction activities in the area (Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge, 2014a). In 1913, the local interest association Plaatselijk Belang 'De Vooruitgang' was founded with as goal to defend the interests of the village inhabitants and to enhance liveability with as central motto: 'do not do anything separately what can be done jointly' (Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge, 2014b). Also today, this association is said to be very active and is said to be representing 95% of the inhabitants of the village. Its main activities are the organisation of the youth club, theatre and the community centre, but also many other activities related to local liveability receive its full commitment. The village is experienced as a 'unite community' having a rich association reality. This is particularly demonstrated by the existence 42 associations amongst the more or less 1000 inhabitants.

In the crisis years of the 1930's, a series of labour camps were installed in the province of Drenthe, in order to reclaim the surrounding peat areas for agricultural purposes. One of the was in Mantinge in the Broekstreek, a hamlet near Nieuw Balinge. In the beginning these camps were mainly populated by unemployed Westerners (Plaatselijk Belang, 2011). At the time, the Royal Heidemij Company (Heidemij) was an important professional engineers office involved in the organization of these work camps. During the war in the period of 1942-1945, next to the unemployed also Jewish man were deported to the camps under the premise to work in the area, but actually as an in-between-step towards their later deportation to the destruction camps in Germany.

After the second world war the 'cold war' preluded a new époque of deteriorated relations between the 'west' and the 'east'. As a consequence, a number of secretive and from the air invisible munition depots were constructed in the Netherlands, including the munition depot near Nieuw Balinge. After the fall of the wall in Berlin in 1989, which meant the end of the cold war period, the Ministry of Defence started to reconsider the use of 53 military areas in the Netherlands.

More or less in the same period, in 1992, the nationally reputable nature management association 'Natuurmonumenten' launched the

plan 'Plan Goudplevier'. This plan embraced the on the national level first large-scale extraction of farmland for bringing it back to the original state of nature. The idea to connect four relatively small nature areas by buying agricultural land in between, resulted in the current nature area 'Mantingerveld' (900 ha). At the outset, the process of realization was prepared solely with local and regional authorities and, therefore, was experienced by the actual private land owners as an unadulterated coup. Also the inhabitants of Nieuw Balinge and Broekstreek were rather negative about the plan, as they feared further zoning isolation being encapsulated by merely nature (Planbureau voor de leefomgeving, 2014; DLG, 2008). According to one of the informants, a letter of Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge to the national office of Natuurmonumenten capsized the initial process and was the starting point of a growing collaborative attitude of Natuurmonumenten with regards to the local inhabitants and land owners.

In 2004 the rural area agency DLG of the ministry of EL&I received the assignment of the ministry of Defence to organize the release process of the now 53 formally redundant military areas and to find new zoning destinations. This project was called PrOMT. As most of these areas are situated in nature areas they were merely assigned 'green functions' like nature and recreation (DLG, 2008).

In 2004, both the Plaatselijk belangen of Nieuw Balinge and the Broekstreek started a collaboration with Natuurmonumenten regarding the project named 'Project VeurUutzicht'. The collaboration of project was aimed at the practical realization of placing farmers land fences, digging fens, planting fruit trees and hedges in the villages Nieuw Balinge and Mantinge and the to it related hamlets. In the subsequent years the local inhabitants experienced an ever more open and cooperative attitude of Natuurmonumenten, especially in relation to the previously mentioned troublesome start of Plan Goudplevier. This shifting mind-set between those parties opened the doors towards deeper collaboration as a few years later would be the case.

In 2008 the Schetsschuit-intervention was organized, being the communicative intervention at the core of this case-study. The main objective was to design a plan to release the area of the munition depot of Nieuw Balinge, one of the 53 areas that

were previously mentioned. In combination with this, the Province of Drenthe also gave as the assignment to establish an ecological connection between Mantingerveld and the forests of Gees. During one day 11 stakeholder groups participated in making a draft design integrating solutions to both central assignments. This resulted in a cooperation agreement between DLG, the municipality Midden-Drenthe, the province Drenthe and Natuurmonumenten for the following years (DLG, 2008) that will be outlined more in detail in the following paragraph.

Map 3. Militairy munition depot Nieuw Balinge. Source: DLG (2008)

In addition, in 2009 these four main parties organized an information meeting for the inhabitants of Nieuw Balinge and the to it adjacent Broekstreek. During this meeting all interested inhabitants of the area were invited to come with ideas for a new destination of the munition depot of which the ownership was allocated to Natuurmonumenten, in concordance with the in 2008 realized agreement. During the days after the meeting a local committee of volunteers was constituted, in order to judge and select the best idea. Over 50 ideas were handed in to this committee. At the end, the idea of the Stichting Joodse Werkkampen (Jewish Labour Camps Foundation)[4] was selected for realization. The core of this idea is to establish a museum with

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[4] Stichting Joodse werkkampen was founded in 1999 with the aim to provide insight into the history of the Jewish labor camps in Drenthe and to give an impetus to the collection of new facts, materials and knowledge (Joodse werkkampen, Herinneringskamp Westerbork, 2008)
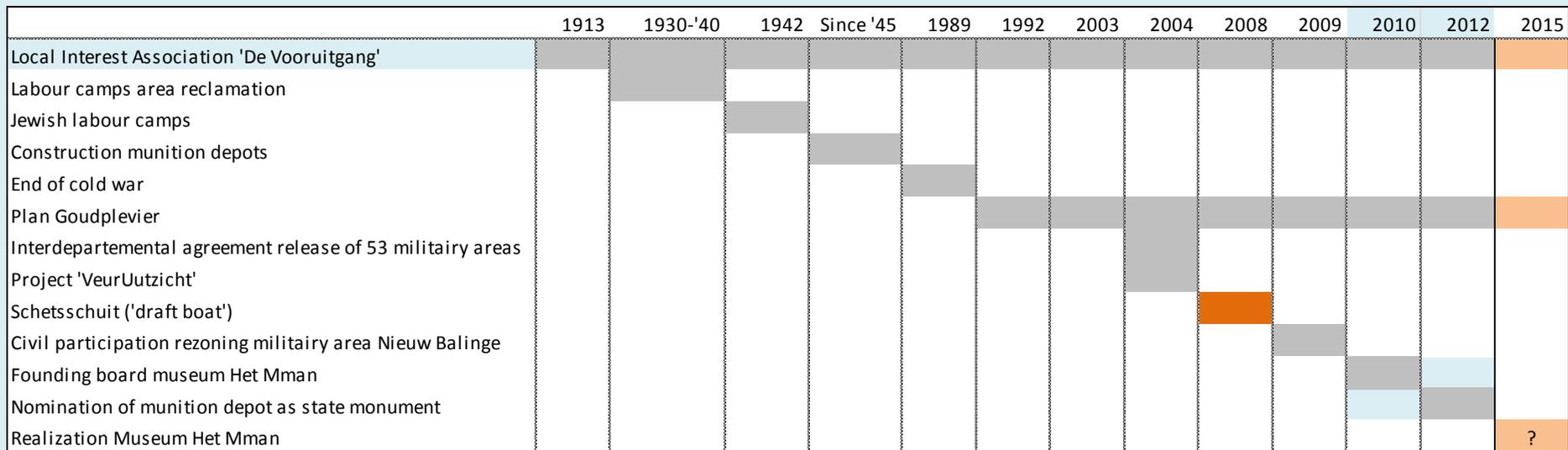
	1913	1930-'40	1942	Since '45	1989	1992	2003	2004	2008	2009	2010	2012	2015
Local Interest Association 'De Vooruitgang'	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
Labour camps area reclamation		▓											
Jewish labour camps			▓										
Construction munition depots				▓									
End of cold war					▓								
Plan Goudplevier						▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
Interdepartemental agreement release of 53 militairy areas								▓					
Project 'VeurUutzicht'								▓					
Schetsschuit ('draft boat')									▓				
Civil participation rezoning militairy area Nieuw Balinge										▓			
Founding board museum Het Mman											▓		
Nomination of munition depot as state monument												▓	
Realization Museum Het Mman													?

Figure 3. Time line of the Nieuw Balinge case

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the name of 'Het MMan' on the territories of the munition depot about 'threatened existence'. The aim of this museum initiative is connecting the history of the Jew-baiting and the cold war with contemporary threats to humans (Werkgroep Het MMan, 2012).

Central in the following paragraph is the actual communicative event of the DLG-Schetsschuit: an outline of the proceedings regarding the Schetsschuit, a concise explanation of the applied interactive design-approach, the resulting planning aims and the consequent museum initiative of Het MMan.

5.2 THE COMMUNICATIVE INTERVENTION AND RESULTING PLANNING AIMS

In 2004 the section of Land Management of DLG accepted the assignment of the ministry of Defence to find new destinations for 53 redundant military grounds of which 5 were in the province of Drenthe. The prevalent idea was to sell these areas as much as possible to private parties, unless there were severe reasons to sell them to area management organizations. This market approach did not work out, because many of these areas were to closely located to nature areas and, as such, present to protection restrictions. Consequently, together with the province and involved municipalities was searched for spatial possibilities for re-destination of those areas. In 2008, the province of Drenthe was concerned with the purchase of a big farm near Nieuw Balinge in order to relocate it and use the land for the establishment of a connection between the four nature areas Mantingerzand, Hullenzand, Lentscheveen and Martensplek. This was a delicate process, because the cumbersome start of Plan Goudplevier still was present in the local memory. In the same period the municipality Midden Drenthe dealt with other issues: the illegal housing in recreational houses in the area and the wish to legalize this situation, and the problem of the application of 'space-for-space-rights'[5] that led to

badly allocated compensation housing in the area. In order to solve those issues the local authorities were legally dependent on the authority of the province. After a dialogue between the province, the municipality and a big land owning insurance company in the area, it became clear that certain agricultural grounds could be released in order to make the re-localization of the farm possible. Natuurmonumenten at the same time was interested in the ownership of the former munition depot as a buffer zone between the surrounding nature areas. This whole situation provided a window of opportunity for these four parties to make a plan in which the different interests could be addressed integrally.

Until then the section of Land Management of DLG was merely used to apply technical and business like approaches in their management of ground affairs. The by the Spatial Design section of DLG presented communicative and more integral approach of the Schetsschuit provided a new perspective on how also could be dealt with such affairs in a more participative way. The core of the Schetsschuit-method is to design integral out-of-the-box solutions for complex spatial challenges within existing frameworks in collaboration with design experts, authorities, stakeholders and local inhabitants. This intensive collaboration usually takes place in a short compressed period of 1-3 days. Next to innovative solutions, the presumed advantages are also the procurement of a broader view, shared objectives, a general support for the solutions and the saving of time (DLG, 2011a).

In October 2008, a specific Schetsschuit of one day was organized, with regards to the previous mentioned problems and assignments. In total representatives of 11 organizations were present. Next to the mentioned four main parties, also representatives of organizations with less direct interests were present, like private land owners organizations and Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge.

The final collaboration agreement consisted of a financially advised and complex construction in

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[5] The space-for-space regulation has as aim to improve the spatial quality of rural areas by eliminating landscape marring agricultural buildings of which the agricultural function will

be removed. As compensation for the demolition of these agricultural buildings compensational housing may be realized through space-for-space-rights (Provincie Drenthe, 2011).

which each of the four main parties had its own share and responsibility. The in this agreement formulated spatial plan globally consisted of the following elements:

1. *DLG:* the sale of the munition depot to Natuurmonumenten and the obtainment of space for space rights by realization of the demolition of the bunkers and the sale of two houses that are on the munition depot

2. *Natuurmonumenten:* the sale of grounds and space-for-space rights in order to make realization of new rural quality housing possible, in exchange for the realization of a nature connection zone and for obtaining the ownership of the munition depot

3. *Province of Drenthe*: the provision of subsidies for nature realization in the newly to be realized nature connection area

4. *Municipality of Midden-Drenthe*: the implementation of the space-for-space rights on 7 building lots for rural quality houses at the edge of Nieuw Balinge with a direct view on the surrounding nature areas (DLG, 2008).

In this way originated an regional approach for further development of nature and the munition depot. By the design of tailor made approaches also other problems were solved, like the legalization of the illegal housing in recreation houses and the allocation of space-for-space rights.

Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge did not agree with an eventual nature function of the former munition depot as they another time feared Nieuw Balinge to becoming isolated by formal nature zoning areas. Next to this, Natuurmonumenten also acknowledged the culture-historic value of the grounds and, therefore, provided room for alternative destinations on the 19 ha of the munition depot. As a consequence, Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge organized in collaboration with the four main parties an information evening for the inhabitants of the areas in order to provide the possibility to respond to the outcomes of the Schetsschuit. During this evening it was decided to make a public call in the local newspaper and on the regional radio for possible new destinations of the former munition depot. During the following days, many ideas were handed in for the concrete

use of the bunkers and the grounds of the munition depot, like, for example, a wine storage, a cheese farm, practice space for local bands and Landall Green parks. Subsequently, a local volunteer committee was constituted spontaneously in order to select the best idea. As most of these ideas reflected private interests rather than social interests, they were not approved for realization. Instead, the idea of the Stichting Joodse Werkkampen (Foundation Jewish Labour Camps) to start a museum was selected and considered of general added value, as during the Second World War there had been several Jewish Labour Camps just a few kilometres from the location of the munition depot. Moreover, the area of the munition depot were considered to reflect somehow the same ambiance as the former labour camps: fences and desolation. At the core of this idea was to show the completion of a circle of time: from nature to nature reclamation area (with the history of the labour camps and the cold war in between) after almost a century back again to nature like in the early 1930's.

In the following paragraph the at this moment still prevalent realization of the components of the agreement and the Het MMan-initiative and how this is perceived are discussed more in-depth.

5.3 REALIZATION OF AIMED OUTCOMES OVER TIME

The following aims are considered to be successfully completed: the nature development process (although the factual realization of new nature still needs to be realized), the relocation of the farm and the legalization of permanent living in recreational houses.

However, due to the economic and the housing crises the development of the 7 spacious housing lots (1500 m²) at the edge of Nieuw Balinge until now turned out to have been impossible. According to an informant, a market investor should provide the solution, as in this context no government authority is willing to accept the involved risks by making pre-investments. In 2013, the local government decided to take over the responsibility of the province regarding the project of the 7 building lots and to pro-actively develop a new municipal spatial zoning plan. The local government

assumed to have the highest financial interests regarding the factual realization of the housing lots. In the beginning of 2014, during the fieldwork of this study, the local government was involved in a dialogue with a real estate development agency. In case the local government would realize the sale of at least 3 of the 7 building lots, the real estate development agency would buy the remaining 4 lots. If this operation would not succeed, the local government decided to proceed with the development of the new municipal spatial zoning plan. With regards to this, it is important to underline that usually a spatial zoning plan is only adapted after the urge of a concrete spatial plan. Therefore, the current way of proceeding implies a new way of working. Despite the mentioned crises, as well local as regional public informants assume this project to be promising, because they argue that in the rural surrounding area the released farms are always used for new construction of luxurious land houses. This fact, in combination with the generally adopted assumption that the concept of housing construction at the edge of a 1000 ha sizing nature area is unique in Drenthe, makes that the public informants are positive with regards to the future realization of the building lots. However, as the proceedings of the agreements of the Schetsschuit did not work out simultaneously through time as initially was aimed, one public informant also expressed the fear that it will become unexplainable 'why after 10 years the houses still need to be built, while the other aspects of the process are already concluded'. The informant continued by saying that this casus was considered a 'nice casus for a space-for-space pilot, meant as an example', but 'still has no tangible results' 'which is an odd proceeding, taking into account that the space-for-space regulation exists since 14 years and the pilot since almost 7 years'.

In order to make the realization of the Het MMan-museum possible, Stichting Joodse Werkkampen requested Heidemij for process support and the financing of a number of process steps. As during the Second World War Heidemij had a role in the organization of the labour camps for the unemployed Westerners and also continued its proceedings after the Jewish men were deported to the camps with as final destination the destruction camps in Eastern-Europe, nowadays these proceedings are considered a black moment in the history of the company. Therefore, Heidemij changed its mission and at present provides support to people in changing and improving their living

environment in a physical and social way.[6] In this light, the Stichting and Heidemij established a collaborative relationship that goes back to a decade before the initiative of Het MMan. With regards to Het MMan, they composed a group of initiators: Stichting Joodse Werkkampen, SME (Military Heritage Foundation), DPA (Dutch Peace Army), local government, regional government, Natuurmonumenten and a professional quartermaster from the museum world. Next to the workgroup, also a museum board was constituted with directors of Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge, Plaatselijk Belang Broekstreek and the Stichting Joodse Werkkampen.

The museum workgroup and board were faced with a few serious setbacks. Firstly, in 2012, SME realized the nomination of the munition depot as formal state monument with the formal support of Natuurmonumenten, being the owner of the munition complex. After this realization, SME decided to withdraw as they achieved their main aim and, in addition, they felt that the process of museum realization took too long. Secondly, at the outset, a museum expert was hired as a quartermaster, in order to organize an integral approach and an investment budget. At the time, the first museum concept needed the considerable start investment budget of 2,5 million euro. As in the museum concept various organizations with different back grounds are involved, it resulted impossible to obtain subsidies for one overall project. Furthermore, an insurmountable disagreement raised about the substantial organization and mandate powers between the museum board and the quartermaster. In 2013, this resulted in the resignation of the quartermaster. Finally, a proposed collaboration with the museum Kamp Westerbork resulted in being unsuccessful, because Westerbork took the position that the current concept is too fragmented and complex to be realistic.

After these setbacks the museum board decided to lower the start investment budget and to adopt a

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[6] The central idea here is that if people are surrounded by enthusiastic professionals, then their ideas get closer to reality. The Heidemij-professionals voluntarily assist civil initiatives by offering their knowledge, process expertise and extensive network (Heidemij, 2014).

modular growth model approach towards the realization of the museum. In order to breathe new life into the museum concept the board adopted several new strategies: hiring a fundraising office on base of no pay-no cure; fundraising of each involved organization by addressing its own followers; making it more 'robust' and 'broadening it' by extending the network and involving new parties, for example, by including the RUG-university, secondary schools and the human rights organization 'Amnesty International', and; 'anchoring it' by involving the surrounding villages by establishing a local workgroup of describing the 'history of origination' of a century of landscape history from nature-to-agriculture-to-nature. In this light, also a museum board member argued that 'this year (read: 2014) a first concrete result is needed, for example the reconstruction of a barrack or an army vessel section, otherwise alternatives should be regarded at seriously…'

Although some of the socio-spatial unforeseen and unplanned side effects were already somewhat appointed in this paragraph, as they impacted the realization of the planned aimed outcomes, these effects and the perceptions regarding them are explicitly highlighted in the next paragraph.

5.4 SECOND AND THIRD ORDER EFFECTS OVER TIME

An often mentioned unforeseen physical effect is the achieved nomination of a monumental status of the constructions on the munition depot area and therefore its conservation. The initial idea during the Schetsschuit was to demolish all constructions on the munition depot grounds and to remove all the roads, fences and bunkers. However, due to the during the Schetsschuit and the subsequent process afterwards established connections between parties, the awareness of the cultural and historical value of the munition depot grew and resulted in a complete new mind-set: from demolition to conservation. According to a public informant, the importance of this type of collaborative processes lies in such mental shifts.

Photo 4. Ground covered bunker. Source: DLG (2011b)

Other concrete activities that were mentioned to transcend the agreed upon results of the Schetsschuit-intervention are the restoration of a sluice and the visual upgrading of several dams and the Middenraai (central road along which the village of Nieuw Balinge originated). These spatial improvements were based on drafts of a local inhabitant that were approved by the local authorities, Natuurmonumenten and the Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge. It was said that this recent shared approval would not have been realized without during the Schetsschuit reinforced relationship.

Furthermore, as a consequence of the evolved mind-shift with regards to the cultural and historical value of the munition depot, two big cultural events ('Culturele Uitdag' and 'Drentse Fietsvierdaagse') were organized on its grounds, of which one attracted over 3000 visitors. Local people were very enthusiastic about this proceedings and, therefore, was said to br likely that such happenings will be organized again in the direct future.

Although the realization of the Het MMan-initiative is not realized yet, another several times mentioned possible future 'positive' effect is that the municipal administration has pronounced to provide the permission to local unemployed people to assist the proceedings of the museum after realization.

The 'survival' of the munition depot provoked active involvement of local schools by, for example, educational tours on the complex and personal commitment of inhabitants by, for example, voluntarily lawn mowing. Such initiatives are said to be on the base of informal self-organization and mutual trust.

Also the reinforcement and extension of existing networks are often mentioned, for example, between collaborative parties as mentioned in previous paragraph, but also between villages within the municipality, like Witteveen and Mantinge. In the words of an informant, the Het Mman-initiative 'established new connections between people that they would not have been able to realize by themselves'. In addition, Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge expressed to be positively impressed by the new governance role of involved parties and the ongoing improvement of the local relation with Natuurmonumenten. A mentioned sign of the goodwill of Natuurmonumenten was the allowance of noisy events on the munition depot grounds.

Expressed unforeseen negative effects are the ongoing excessive time and money input since the Schetsschuit-intervention and the to it related growing scepticism of two of the three involved authorities. One of the informants stated that 'if I on forehand would have known how proceedings would evolve, I would probably not have participated. The bigger and broader you make an assignment, the more difficult it gets, despite the possible societal use and value'. In this light, another public informant argued: 'I see it as change money for the suffering that the Plan Goudplevier initially caused, like the by own hand from nature reclaimed agricultural grounds that were all of the sudden given back to nature without involving people, or grubbing trees on farm court yards without any notice, and for the development restrictions in the area due to the presence of the munition depot'. In this context of slow and unforeseeable proceedings, it was also argued that the 'energy of Schetsschuit is not very much alive anymore'. However, it was also admitted that this energy might return after an eventual successful realization of one of more of the agreed upon aims.

In the following paragraph an overview is provided of the actual perceptions of the public and civil informants with regards to the socio-spatial future realization of the components of the Schetsschuit-agreement, as are described in paragraph 5.2, and the museum initiative Het MMan.

5.5 PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIO-PLANNING IMPACTS IN RELATION TO AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

5.5.1 AGREEMENT SCHETSSCHUIT

The four involved main parties remain optimistic with regards to the realization of the formal agreed upon aims of the Schetsschuit, as can be seen in paragraph 5.2 and as also show the following statement: 'You have to work on keeping on to the current involvement of the parties. The risk factor is acceptable, because the museum group is persistent, the province has space-to-space rights of which they need the monetization, and Natuurmonumenten wants to develop nature. The municipality is in the midst of this, nobody just can step out'. With regards to the specific realization of the building plots and the space-for-space rights was said that 'the project seems to have high chances, as in the rural area free coming plots of farms are directly used for building new houses' and 'this project is unique in form and quality and can be found nowhere else in Drenthe'. With regards to nature development the province and Natuurmonumenten 'are abound in conversation' and in an full swing process of realizing the finances of the aimed nature development. However, the time loss in the realization of the aims of the Schetsschuit-agreement shifted the informal institutions of representatives of the formal organizations towards being less supportive of collaborative approaches, as is described more in-depth in the previous paragraph. However, the realization of the agreements is still supported by the four main parties and in full progress. In order to successfully realize it, the involved parties pro-actively searched for creative possible solutions in order to cope with the changing circumstances through time, as can be seen more in-depth in paragraph 5.3. It can be concluded that the perceptions are positive with respect to achieving the final realization of the agreement.

5.5.2 HET MMAN-INITIATIVE

Also long before the Schetsschuit took place, commitment to the village and to it related social capital were already present in and around Nieuw Balinge, at least in the form of the local interest association Plaatselijk Belang 'De Vooruitgang' and the 42 associations within the village, and as is

outlined more in-depth in paragraph 5.1. Informants were explicitly positive about the commitment and the efforts of Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge with regards to the museum-initiative, as is demonstrated by the following statements: 'Nieuw Balinge has an active Plaatselijk Belang. There are many volunteers, they are in the midst of it and self-motivated. People are always active when it is needed, that says something about Nieuw Balinge, everything is always possible. People have a strong sense of community. That is one of the positive aspects of the museum: when they need volunteers that will be realized'; 'the needed material and the volunteers are present', and; 'there is plenty of energy and enthusiasm'. In this light, Stichting Joodse Werkkampen made effectively use of the locally existing social capital by including two main representatives of Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge and Broekstreek in the museum board. Furthermore, the board is also expanding its network by 'making contact with various parties in the context of the cold war in order to get more robust' and by further involving local people through the foundation of the local history workgroup. According to one informant, this work group 'was realized in no time' and 'that's all right, although it will have to prove for the future, but I have a good feeling about it'. In addition, the museum board and local inhabitants are positive about the future potential of the new adaptive and organic growth-model approach and argue that 'it has a good chance of succeeding, especially because of the new direction as we let go of the grand, and first start by realizing components', as was also described in paragraph 5.3. However, another essential pre-condition is still lacking behind, i.e., funding. The perceptions regarding the realization of funding diverge, as is illustrated by the following statements: 'it is cumbersome to achieve subsidies as a total project, because of a combination of involved parties. Everyone now is busy with obtaining funding from their own followers, it is fragmented, but has more chance to succeed'; 'I think it will be difficult to organize the needed investments, as the museum is too much a collection of different components and will turn out to become a collection complex rather than a museum', and; 'the grow model has a possible potential, but in the current economic circumstances, it has hard to make any predictions'. Although Het MMan is broadly considered to have 'a substantial potential and having a good network',

one key-informant argued that the focus has been too much on the content, rather than the process which is 'now is outpaced by time'. The informant added that in order to achieve this 'a board with an overall view is needed…' and 'now after the economic crisis the government mind-set has changed. Embedding is still possible, but you'll have to adapt to that, you 'll have to be able to step aside the original plan, that is always the case. Whatsoever, a momentum has got lost'. In this sense, the museum board seems to have still too little bridging (vertical) social capital, but is aware of that as is illustrated by the following argument: 'the municipality has heart for the initiative. However, we have to keep them involved and that takes a lot of effort' and 'we need to proceed together with the municipality, Natuurmonumenten and the Het MMan-board and go hand in hand to the province in order to also involve them'. It can be concluded that until today, the board has been adapting its strategies in order to be able to face the changing circumstances (for details see paragraph 5.3) and to make the Het MMan-initiative feasible. However, it will need time to prove if the statement of one informant 'it needs time and it should be given time' turns out to be true or false with regards to actual realization.

6. DELFZIJL-NOORD

## 6.1 GENERAL BACKGROUND DESCRIPTION: EVENTS AND PROCESSES

In 2012, the local authorities of Delfzijl distributed post card invitations to 800 households in the district of Delfzijl-Noord with the following message:

'Dear inhabitant,

There are quite a number of fallow plots in North. Do you think they deserve a (better) interpretation? Eventually, it could be also a temporary interpretation. Could you think of urban agriculture or a flower pick field? Or do you say: 'I have got complete other ideas?' Register yourself to joining the project 'Green for red' ...'

The aim was to find 15-20 inhabitants for collaboratively thinking out a new destination to the more than 3 hectares sizing fallow plot in the midst of the district.

Before going more into the process that followed, like in the previous chapters, a start is made with providing a concise overview of events and processes through time that urged the need of the design sessions and that influenced its sequel (figure 4).
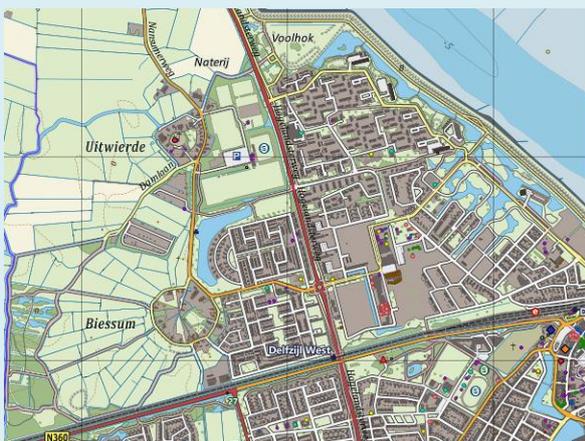
Map 4. Delfzijl-Noord (on the right side of Delfzijl-west) Source: IFV (2012)
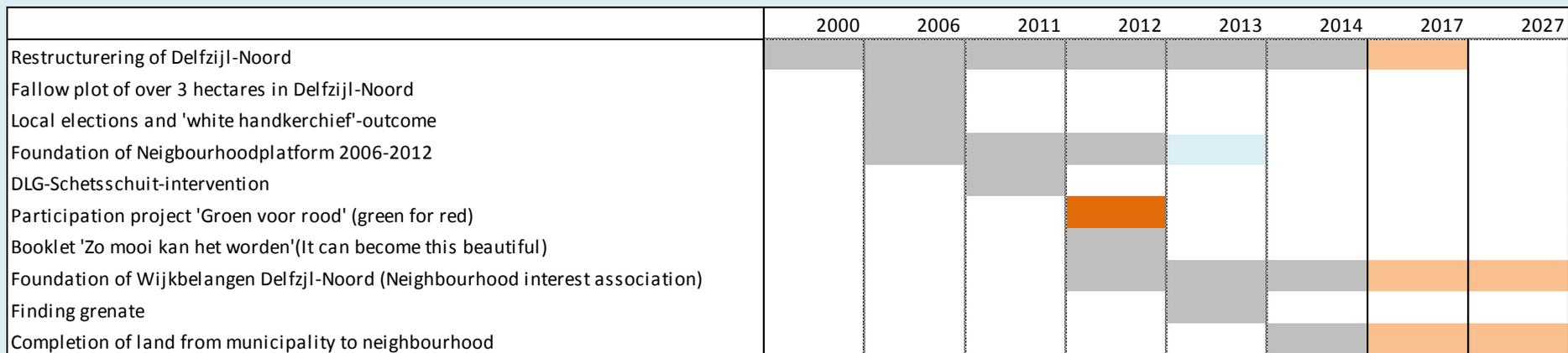
The district of Delfzijl-Noord is divided in 7 neighbourhoods: Bornholm, Vestingsbuurt, Landenbuurt, Rif-en zandplatenbuurt, Kwelderland,

Polarisbuurt and Schrijversbuurt. In 2010, the district of Delfzijl-Noord counted around 6200 of the 26.500 inhabitants of Delfzijl (Straatinfo, 2014).

In 2000, the municipal authorities and the housing corporation started an about 10-years during restructuring trajectory in Delfzijl-Noord regarding the demolition of 1600 houses, because of population decline (Binnenlands Bestuur, 2012). The subsequent massive demolition of housing blocks implied partly out- migration and, as a consequence, the disappearance of the at the time present neighbourhood associations. According to current inhabitants, in those days people received out of the blue a letter announcing the demolition of their houses within an undefined period of several years. It was said that for some people this meant a long period of uncertainty and waiting (in some cases up to 10 years) and for others being replaced two or three times.

The fundamental non-communicative approach of the local authorities and the involved housing corporation, in combination with the last decade's eventful political reality of Delfzijl, caused deep frustrations and mistrust of the inhabitants of Delfzijl-Noord towards the local authorities. In 2006, the peak of the political crisis was reflected by the resignation of the mayor and the aldermen after ongoing 'white handkerchief' public protests in the town hall. The election outcomes the same year were expressive: more than 4000 people had given blank votes. This signal, at long last, was taken seriously and marked a reversal in the authorities' attitude towards the public. As a positive response, in the same year the municipal authorities founded a district platform and installed an 'area producer' ('*gebiedsregisseur*'), as an intermediary between the municipality and the district inhabitants of Delfzijl-Noord, in order to compensate for the disappeared neighbourhood associations and to reinforce mutual communication and regain trust.

During those same years, Delfzijl was facing an autonomous process of population decline ('*krimp*'). The *krimp* trend, which also implies the loss of houses, facilities and associations, deteriorated the financial position of the municipality. Particularly in Delfzijl-Noord, this had a visible negative impact on wellbeing. In 2006, a land plot of almost 4 hectares in the midst of the district was left as wasteland, because of the ongoing restructuring activities. This and other fallow plots in the district left a 'sense of

	2000	2006	2011	2012	2013	2014	2017	2027
Restructurering of Delfzijl-Noord	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▒	
Fallow plot of over 3 hectares in Delfzijl-Noord		▓						
Local elections and 'white handkerchief'-outcome		▓						
Foundation of Neigbourhoodplatform 2006-2012			▓	▓	░			
DLG-Schetsschuit-intervention			▓					
Participation project 'Groen voor rood' (green for red)				█				
Booklet 'Zo mooi kan het worden'(It can become this beautiful)				▓				
Foundation of Wijkbelangen Delfzjl-Noord (Neighbourhood interest association)				▓	▓	▓	▒	▒
Finding grenate					▓			
Completion of land from municipality to neighbourhood						▓	▒	▒

Figure 3. Time line of Delfzijl-Noord case

deprivation and dissatisfaction and hence public discontent' (DLG, 2012, p. 4). Initially, the *krimp* trend was not recognized and its effects were confused to be related to the poor political and administrative decision making of the early 2000's.

A decade later, when the *krimp*-phenomenon generally was accepted as being an autonomous irreversible trend, the local authorities expressed their aspiration to convert the to *krimp* related challenges into chances. Subsequently, in 2011, Delfzijl-Noord was appointed as a municipal pilot area for the transition of urban areas to 'green village landscapes', or in other words for 'green for red'. This pilot was also supported and facilitated by the ministries of EL&I and BZK. In 2011, during a DLG-Schetsschuit-intervention of one day, a mix of representatives of the municipality, the housing corporation, external experts, social organizations and inhabitants searched for a strategy for the sustainable 'greening' of Delfzijl-Noord. The central question was how to approach and use the arisen space surplus in the district in the advantage of the inhabitants, in order to improve social cohesion, liveability, healthy lifestyle, civil participation and ecological values. In addition, the strategy was supposed to become future-proof, flexible and financial feasible (DLG, 2012a). The outcome of this Schetsschuit-intervention was a general strategy dealing with k*rimp* and public participation which later on was translated in the 'Actieplan dorpen en wijken, 2012-2022' (Action plan villages and districts, 2012-2022).

In 2012, the inhabitants of Delfzijl-Noord were invited by the municipality to participate in the search for a new destination for the degenerated fallow plot in the middle of their district. This project was baptised 'Groen voor rood' (green for red). After the registration of about 25 interested inhabitants, two subsequent participative design sessions resulted in a concrete proposal for a publicly governed multifunctional garden in order to make the district a more attractive living area. This proposal in the form of a booklet was distributed to the inhabitants of the district and at its turn triggered more people to get involved in the implementation of the plan.

Also in 2012, inhabitants of the district decided to replace the in 2006 by the municipality founded and directed district platform by the through inhabitants directed advocacy organization Wijkbelangen

Delfzijl Noord. Until today, this advocacy organization, next to many other district improvement related activities, has a prominent role in the implantation of the multifunctional garden .

In 2013, the finding of a grenade in the soil of the fallow plot and heavy rain falls delayed the by the municipality organized proceedings of ground preparations with a couple of months. This delay caused a step back in the still very early and vulnerable renewed relationship between the district inhabitants and the municipal authorities.

At the end, in May 2014, the completion of the land from municipality to the district inhabitants was perpetuated and, as such, the formal handing over of the responsibility for the ground and the garden implementation became a fact.

Central in the following paragraph are the motives for the two design sessions, a concise description of the proceedings of the search for a new destination for the fallow plot in the middle of Delfzijl-Noord and the outcomes in terms of planning aims.

6.2 THE COMMUNICATIVE INTERVENTION AND RESULTING PLANNING AIMS

The municipality had zoned several empty places throughout the city as green spaces with a temporary nature. Since it is not clear how long the *krimp* will continue, the municipality choose for a structure in which it would be rather easy to fit in 'red' in the 'green', in case it in the future this would turn out to be necessary again. The strategy was to hand over the management of the ground to the inhabitants of the district for a period of 15 years. Starting point of the municipality was to provide the basic preparation of the waste land and to assume a mere advising role in the subsequent years. The project and the facilities were to be financed and organized by inhabitants and social organizations of the district. In this context, the fallow land near the Brede School in the midst of the district was appointed as a pilot area (DLG, 2012b).

In April 2012, a postcard was sent to over 800 households within the district inviting the inhabitants to participate in making a collaborative design regarding the main fallow land plot of the district. The fallow plot had been a source of nuisance and

irritation for a period of 6 years, as the following statements plainly illustrate: it 'gives some sadness to the district', 'it is a desolate place with high winds', 'it is rough and dirty', 'in the summer the weed gets to up to one meter high' and 'it is a junk spot'.

A group of 25 inhabitants registered to the pilot project and jointed the first interactive design session. During this meeting the foundation of the project group 'Groen voor rood' was concretised which, until today, consists of inhabitants, representatives of Wijkbelangen Delfzijl-Noord, social organizations and the municipality. On base of the result of the meeting (30 proposals) the municipality made a basic design and a financial estimate.

In a second meeting, 1,5 month later, the work group made a selection of preferences for a multifunctional community garden. This selection was divided in the following subprojects:

- butterfly garden, flower garden, 'experience' garden for enjoying colours and fragrances particularly for the adjacent retirement home
- soccer field/playground for kids/ hang-out place for youngsters/ field for dogs to run
- central plaza/ open air theatre
- school garden
- animal meadow
- fruit orchard

(DLG, 2012b).

According to expectations of the involved inhabitants, the garden will provide a general meeting place, but particularly for the elderly and youngsters.

The municipality accepted the responsibility for constructing the water features. The further management was adopted by the inhabitants under the by the municipality imposed pre-conditions of cleanliness, safety and entireness. This multifunctional community garden is meant to be for a cross-section of the population, including the adjacent retirement home and school, or as one informant stated: 'for people between 0-100'.

Map 5. Design multifunctional community garden. Source: DLG (2012b)

As the realization of the aimed outcomes still is in full progress, in the following paragraph the process around the realization of the multifunctional community garden, including unforeseen interventions, incentives and barriers and the to it perceptions are discussed more in-depth.

6.3 REALIZATION OF AIMED OUTCOMES OVER TIME

According to an informant, the plan 'Actieplan dorpen en wijken, 2012-2022', the municipal strategy dealing with *krimp* and participation, as also mentioned in paragraph 6.1, is an aimed outcome of the Groen for red trajectory that started with the Schetsschuit-intervention. This aim was not mentioned in the previous paragraph, though, because it was not an aimed outcome of the two interactive design sessions regarding the rezoning of the wasteland. According to the same informant, this governance role reversal is regarding the entire municipality in order to involve and connect people. The intended multifunctional garden of Delfzijl-Noord initially was the inspirational pilot towards this plan, and at the end has become part of the plan. It articulates the newly assumed governance role of the local authorities, as the following passage illustrates:

'In a municipality that is shrinking every year, with a government that is getting smaller and impending major changes, it is necessary to ensure that the municipality serves the interests of our citizens as much as possible. That asks something of the municipality, but also of the inhabitants. As the local government, we would like to collaborate more with our inhabitants. To think out together solutions to problems and to collaborate with regards to initiatives concerned with keeping Delfzijl and its surrounding villages liveable, safe and attractive.

Only together we can reach the realization of these plans: inhabitants, companies, institutions and governments. We can only keep our area attractive by giving form to the future of our region in a collaborative way. That requires a different role of the government: leave hold of in confidence. Because in close-knit communities people care for each other. A meddlesome government will not fit in there. Residents know to find initiatives that are important to them. Together they call for each other. As the government we want to make these initiatives possible, but not to adopt them. The initiative of the resident remains his initiative. As the government it fits us to take a facilitating stand in confidence. Sometimes strong support is needed, sometimes a little push is working better, or just let go' (Gemeente Delfzijl, 2013, p. 3).

In order to support the realization of the multifunctional community garden, the project group, as a first step, established the Facebook page 'GROEN voor ROOD -Delfzijl', as a 'means to communicate everything: the proceedings, the causes of delay and the call for free plants'. The group meets weekly and is actively involved in communicating with the district (like being present at the open days of 'De Brede School') and the municipality, fundraising and collecting plants.

Next to the project group, also other inhabitants of the district contribute in different ways to the realization of the garden. For example, youngsters are involved through the in the Brede School located youth centre. They do not join the weekly meetings, but came with a plan for their own subproject. In addition, inhabitants provided plants

from their gardens or offered the use of their allotments for the temporary storage of plants for the period the wasteland was not yet formally handed over to the inhabitants of the district.

In the summer of 2013, a grenade was found during the preparations of the grounds by the municipality.

The consequent delay of several months caused a severe augmentation of mistrust of already sceptical people within the district. Particularly the project group was very angry, because of the lack of any communication from the municipality about the cause of the delay. According to several informants this setback regenerated somehow the gap between the inhabitants and the local authorities, although, it was also admitted that 'the situation now is better than 10 or 20 years ago'. However, as was argued, 'when there is something important, you are just excluded for a while, although you are around the table. It depends very much on the persons you have to deal with, also within the local administration'.

Also today, there is still much uncertainty. The project group searches actively possibilities to collect the needed financing for the realization of the garden. Until 2012, the district Delfzijl-Noord was on a national level labelled as a deprived district in need of specific attention. In 2010, the inhabitants in collaboration with the 'Landelijk Samenwerkingsverband Aandachtswijken' ('National Collaboration Platform Attention Districts') took the initiative of applying for local and provincial subsidies for the start of 'inhabitants enterprises'. These enterprises are based on a English method which implies a way of earning money that is being re-used within the same district. The regional and the local authorities responded to this application with the provision of an amount of € 200.000 (from a on a national base provided funding source: the so called 'Vogelaarpotje'). As these enterprises are still to be established, a possible connection with the multifunctional garden is explored and is perceived to be possibly beneficial to its realization. Furthermore, a financial expert within the project group is attempting to qualify for funding from local enterprises and industries. Another feasible possibility which disposition is in progress, is a collaboration with NOVO, a care organization that provides different forms of support, guidance and treatment to children and adults with an intellectual disability (NOVO, 2014).

The process, until now, is characterized by an ongoing changing composition of the project group. Initial expectations that were not met during the first interactive design meeting, resulted in the first withdrawals. Also elderly people often are calling in sick. In relation to the latter, one informant stated that the elderly can be 'good for support, but not as a driving force'.

Generally, it can be said that there is still a lack of trust and scepticism towards the municipality. A mentioned reason for this is that Delfzijl-Noord is a relative 'grey' district that provides housing to many elderly people who are said to be sceptical about the project. An informant argued that 'in the past the administrative role was supply oriented and nowadays you have to indicate more yourself what you need. Youngsters deal with this in a complete different way than the elderly. Young people understand better that they can play an active role. Elderly people are used to a welfare state and keep their heels in the sand.' As a response to this attitude, the involvement of the municipality in the Groen voor rood project is an intentional means of regaining trust, establishing an open dialogue, taking people seriously and involving them. In this light, the municipal project leader has several contact moments a week with the project group.

On the one hand, the multifunctional community garden is said not to be very alive still in the district, because it 'has been waste land for such a long time that people do not feel involved anymore'. On the other hand, it was also stated that there 'are also many enthusiastic people and people watching from the side line saying that *it will end up in nothing, but in case it will end up in something, I'll be willing to help*'. Generally, the hope was expressed that 'people get over their negativity when the garden becomes concretely visible', like happened during an tree planting event in the spring of 2014, when over 20 people spontaneously joined the activity, including a land scape organization.

In the following paragraph an overview is provided about second and third order effects that were identified by the informants of the Delfzijl-Noord case and their perceptions with regards to those effects.

6.4 SECOND AND THIRD ORDER EFFECTS OVER TIME

An unforeseen effect was that the pilot of the multifunctional garden became an exemplary project on local, regional and national scales. Delegations of the ministry of BZK, the regional *krimp* network (Knowledge Network *Krimp* Northern-Netherlands) and engineer agencies came to the project group in order to learn about it. In addition, as the members of the project group were asked to give presentations to those formal delegations, the completion was perceived as being an enormous 'self-victory' learning experience: 'I am here because of the handwork, but had to do all of the sudden a presentation. If I had known that in advance, I would have never participated. But now I am proud of it'. Informants also indicated that the project raised awareness about social responsibilities that can be addressed together: 'if you can make your home nice and also your garden, then you can do that also for the district'. Furthermore, it provided new and deepened mutual connections within the project group, as is illustrated by the following quote: 'Delfzijl-Noord is small. We knew each other superficially, but we didn't know each other's capacities. Now we do, that is amazing and wonderful. I benefitted personally, I was surprised by things, we solved problems together and we had to educate professionals. It is a personal learning process. You get to know each other, social contacts that is what it is all about'.

Photo 5. Design of inhabitant

Also an involved administrative officer argued that the Groen voor rood project meant a personal learning process: next to obtaining knowledge of the human nature, he developed the ability to combine physical and social projects. This resulted in the

officer's own project advice agency directed at neighbourhood renewal.

Photo 6. Taking out plants of a house garden
Source: Facebook GROEN voor ROOD-Delfzijl (2014).

In addition, three project members had a free pruning course offered to them by the landscape organization Gronings Landschapsbeheer and perceived this as an unforeseen personal privilege of being involved in the project.

Photos 7 and 8. Pruning course. Source:
FacebookGROEN voor ROOD -Delfzijl (2014)

Another unforeseen positive effect was that, in December 2013, members of the service club Round Table 69 of Delfzijl organized a donuts action and connected to the project. With the gaining fifty nut and fruit trees were purchased for the multifunctional garden. In April 2014, they voluntarily helped to plant these trees along with the volunteers of Groen voor rood project, Landschapsbeheer Groningen and spontaneous bystanders.

Photos 9, 10, 11 and 12. Planting nut and fruit trees.
Source: Facebook GROEN voor ROOD-Delfzijl (2014)

Finally, it was perceived as positive that a Turkish man became actively involved and is expected to involve more members of the Turkish community. According to an informant, an eventual multicultural setting of the project would be particularly beneficial for the Turkish community, as it might improve its current language delay.

In the following paragraph an overview is provided of the actual perceptions of the public and civil informants with regards to the socio-spatial future realization of the multifunctional community garden.

6.5 PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIO-PLANNING IMPACTS IN RELATION TO AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Local mistrust towards the municipality is still under the surface, as is shown by the reactions on the proceedings of the removal of the grenade, as is described in paragraph 6.3. Also the predominant presence of elderly people, who are 'used to a

welfare state and keep their heels in the sand' contributes to slower evolving institutions towards a 'participation state' than is wished by several informants. Generally, the perception of most informants is still restrained regarding the local government. Several times it was argued that the administration is involved because of its 'scoring impulse' to yielding small success moments in favour of the administration. One informant illustrated this by arguing that 'when this works out, that will be thanks to the persistence of a small inhabitants group, while the administration will yield the credits'. She continued by saying that 'whatsoever, I will remain involved on long term notice, as my house here is unsalable, it won't pay anything'.

In addition, it was argued that many local people do not feel fitting in the administrative meeting culture and are merely doers. They have no understanding for the time the process takes, nor the competences or drive to organize and structure the process. The main drive of many is to work with their hands in the garden together with other people from the neighbourhood. One informant illustrated this by saying that 'it is important to keep people involved, and not stopping them too much. The problem is that when you want to bring in your energy, it often gets distracted to side affairs. You need to keep doing what you like doing. You need all sorts of people: doers, thinkers and deciders'.

In this light, it was also expressed that the municipality, next to providing a process facilitator, should appoint a more practical referee as an extra bridging link with the district, like an employee of the green management department. Ideally, this should be someone from the district who knows the different neighbourhoods, its people and its ambiances.

The following examples are illustrative with regards to the shifting governance role of the local government, as is also described in the previous paragraphs: the foundation of the district platform in 2006; the organization of the Schetsschuit-intervention in 2011; the start of the Groen voor rood project in 2011, and; the long term plan Actieplan dorpen en wijken 2012-2022. However, as is described in paragraph 6.4, informal institutions of authorities and the public still regarding the new participative roles of both have a way to go, and as is also illustrated by the next quotes: 'the

participation state still needs to be propagated, as it is new and still not present between the ears of many people' and 'many people are still rather negative, as they had to move 2 or 3 times. There is still a lot of nostalgia'. However, it was also argued that the basic attitude of the local government towards the citizens has faced a complete reversal in comparison with 10 years ago 'and although it is not covering yet the whole district, it is expanding like an oil stain. People see that things are about to happen and eventually they will come on board. This will expand the <multifunctional community garden> group by bits and pieces and will need still a couple of years, as well for the local government as for the local inhabitants'. Or as another informant argued: 'people do need some time to get used to it, not everyone is able to just make an image, they have to experience it first' and 'in the neighbourhood exists a lot of energy, experience and competences and I have confidence that it will turn out all right over a couple of years'.

With regards to the physical realization of the multifunctional garden, there is still uncertainty about future sufficiency of finances and volunteers. However, involved informants are also positive: 'in North we concretize many things, also by extra money inputs, because the people are very active'. In this moments one project member is charged with fundraising in the direct environment, like the supermarket in the neighbourhood, the chemical industry and other local and regional possible sources. According to interviewed project members, the main strategy of holding on to involvement is by actively and positively informing people, for example, by Facebook, by involving local youth care, by newspaper articles.

With regards to future socio-spatial realization it is hoped and expected that as soon the first angles of the garden become more concrete and visible, it will expand like an oil stain within and outside the district, and, as such, will accelerate evolving informal institutions towards more participative governance roles of all involved parties. As one informant argued: 'if people see that you are acting, I trust that more of them start to think positively'.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

7.1 CONCLUSIONS

The central aim of this research was to investigate how the choice of local governments for a communicative intervention, with or without a combination of other strategies in an area development process, can contribute to socio-spatial resilience of the spatial challenge at stake, according to real life experiences and perceptions of involved civil and public key-actors. The three selected cases of Midden Delfland, Nieuw-Balinge and Delfzijl-Noord showed very different processes with each its particular dynamics and evolutions over time, as is set out in chapters 4, 5 and 6. Therefore, the conclusions of this research are context dependent on base of locally generated and contingent processes. In addition, whenever relevant also the broader dynamics of each particular process are addressed, because they interact with situational specificities and provide the contextual fine grain of those specificities (Healey, in: Allmendinger & Tewdr-Jones, 2002). Whatsoever, the communicative interventions that formed the starting point of each unique case had one thing in common: the aim of consensus building with respect to concrete aims and plans regarding a specific spatial challenge.

7.1.1 MIDDEN DELFLAND

In the Midden Delfland case, in 2005, the Future Search Conference of 2,5 days resulted in an area vision for the coming 20 years. About 125 people were selected to participate on base of their representativeness of specific interests and their actual investment potential in advantage of the process. It was said to be an unique happening in the Netherlands, as never before so many people at once were included in a communicative event. Following Van Dijk & Weitkamp (2013), mega-events often leave a legacy in the form of planned and unplanned structures and represent strong comprehensive stories about potential futures. In this light, also the big and unique event of the Future search Conference left a similar legacy which raised future expectations among the participants. All interviewed key-actors experienced the Future Search conference as a very powerful and meaningful intervention and until today, with no exception, the key-actors are still enthusiastic about the socially connecting dynamics of the intervention and supportive of the outcome of the area vision.

The initial inclusion of these key-actors raised their expectations of further future inclusion in the governance of the area development process. This was only realized partially. In the 9 years after the intervention local authorities took charge of the implementation of the aimed results. As can be read in paragraph 4.3, these aims were implemented through a mix of governance forms, of which some were more communicative and including than others. With regards to a number of unforeseen formal outside processes that touched and blended in until some extent in the formal realization of the area development process of Midden Delfland, the local government merely collaborated with partner authorities of the surrounding municipalities and cities, rather than with local groups and organizations, as can be read in paragraphs 4.1 and 4.3.

The identified second and third order effects showed that the conference and the subsequent area process had unforeseeeable social and spatial impacts which, on the one hand, positively affected formal and informal institutions, like local organizational institutionalization which resulted in new organizations and programs; visible physical structures representative for the identity of the area, and; social effects in the forms of, for example, renewed bonds of trust, enhanced commitment and new social networks. However, on the other hand, also negative effects were identified, like: inclusionary expectations that were not met, growing civil scepticism, diminishing trust which resulted in sharpened political relationships over time, as can be read in paragraph 4.4. As also Nienhuis et al. (2011) argued, a prerequisite for the success of the conference was the inclusion of existing bonding and bridging social capital. As was also set out in paragraph 4.4., the conference resulted in the reaffirmation of those forms of social capital. In addition, also new social relations and social innovative structures of public and social governance emerged and reinforced the embedding of the area vision formally and informally in the process afterwards. However, these renewed and strengthened collaborative relations changed over time and obtained a sharpened political character. Next to this, it was indicated that the ongoing

change of the formal and informal group compositions of the participants of the conference over time inevitably implied that newly engaged people were no part of the learning process that was triggered initially by the conference.

Altogether, it is impossible to say exactly until what extent participation during the Future Search intervention or inclusion or exclusion in the following process affected the formal and informal institutions of the involved actors. However, during the interviews it became clear that the conference and its unforeseen sequential did shift the mindsets: participants of the conference underlined the area, accepted their own and new responsibilities, found broadened cooperative networks and got a higher awareness of the importance of the farmers for keeping the area green and open. With regards to the role of the authorities in their strategies over time, as is set out more in detail in paragraphs 4.1 and 4.3, it is generally perceived that it is has been deployed more at embedding and anchoring the area development process in the processes of the surrounding city-region and, therefore, in regional formal institutions, rather than in involving local interest organizations and committed groups and, consequently, in their informal institutions. Therefore, on base of the interviews it can be concluded that at present the vertical bridging social capital of civil groups and the societal organizations with the local authorities is broadly considered to have lost strength.

With regards to future socio-spatial resilience of the area development process the interviewed key informants almost unanimously indicated that not so much the spatial content, i.e. maintaining an open and green area, but the governance process needs a recalibration and an inclusionary re-transformation on a local level. However, it was broadly acknowledged that the local government embedded the perpetuation of the Midden Delfland area well in the processes and formal institutions of the surrounding city regions. In addition, it was generally expressed that local famers should play a pivotal role in a necessary stronger future connection of the countryside with the urban surroundings. A few informants stressed the importance of the realization of a formalized status

of the area in order to protect it in an ongoing transformation of the socio-spatial reality full of future uncertainties.

7.1.2 NIEUW BALINGE

In Nieuw Balinge, in 2008, the communicative intervention had a complete different character and consisted of two subsequent events. Initially twelve parties participated in an interactive DLG-Schetsschuit session. During the session it became clear that only four parties (DLG, Province of Drenthe, municipality of Midden-Drenthe and Natuurmonumenten) with strong business interests were the key parties for achieving a mutual agreement with regards to particular developments of the area. The inclusion of representatives of local inhabitants at that point was said not to be essential for the outcomes of the process.

Unlike the Future Search Conference in Midden Delfland, which was based on a predefined philosophy and carefully prepared methodology, the proceedings after the Schetsschuit session in Nieuw Balinge were more tailor-made and spontaneous. As is set out more in detail in paragraph 5.2, the communicative following-up in 2009 consisted of a local contest of ideas of a new destination of the munition depot grounds. A spontaneous raised local committee selected the initiative of the museum Het MMan. The local interest organization Plaatselijk Belang was actively involved in the organization of this procedure and later on engaged in the workgroup of Het Mann in order to further work out the realization of the initiative. The realization of the agreed upon aims of the first event, the DLG-Schetsschuit, is still in progress and of direct financial interest of all involved parties. The outcomes of the second event, the museum-initiative, until today, is practically supported and facilitated by partners of the Schetsschuit-agreement: the local government, Natuurmonumenten, and in a less extent the province. Nowadays DLG is no longer involved, because further involvement is considered to be outside its formal scope.

As can be read in paragraph 5.3, according to the key-informants, the realization of the new destination of the munition depot grounds until now has also been inhibited by the recent and initially

unforeseeable economic and housing crises in combination with lacking bridging social capital with the regional government in order to get access to funding. In the case of Nieuw Balinge an important unintended and unforeseen second and third order effect was the symbolic effect of the realization of the monumental status of the physical present constructions of the munition depot. It implied a complete new mind set shift since the initial Schetsschuit session: from demolition to monumental conservation. Furthermore, the second and third order effects of the process towards a new destination of the munition depot grounds resulted, parallel with the Midden-Delfland case, in reinforcement of existing social capital and the extension of it by existing networks, new collaborations within the board with outside counterpart organisations and the local government, enhanced commitment of local inhabitants and a further improving relation of local inhabitants with Natuurmonumenten, as can be read more in detail in paragraph 5.4. In addition, other positively regarded and mentioned unplanned socio-spatial side-effects of the proceedings after the Schetsschuit- intervention were several local initiatives that led to some spatially desired improvements within the municipality.

The local expectations with respect to future realization of the Schetsschuit-agreement and the museum-initiative were said to be predominantly positive, and following the theoretic framework can be determined as being expressive of a prevailing predominant perception of socio-spatial resilience of both processes. However, as the same simultaneous processes after several years still not have met the initial aims, also more careful or less positive expectations were expressed, as can be seen in paragraph 5.5. It was mentioned, for example, that in order to re- establish a general positive view on the communicative side of the area process a possible precondition is to realize some success experiences first with respect to the realization of the agreed upon aims. It can be carefully said that informal institutions are evolving and might accelerate after success experiences, but for now still evolve at a cautious pace. Today the processes of the realization of the Schetsschuit-agreements and the museum of Het MMan are still in full swing. Regarding the Het MMan-initiative the role of the local government is broadly considered as cooperative and committed, but is said needed to

be perpetuated continuously. Instead, the role of the province until now is considered very low profile and should become more active and supportive in order to achieve more probability to get access to funding in order to successfully realize Het MMan.

7.1.3 DELFZIJL-NOORD

Delfzijl-Noord, as only case, was not only faced with two subsequent communicative interventions in 2011 and 2012, and an ongoing communicative process, but is dealing with a rather recent overall governance transition of local authorities with regards to socio-spatial issues: towards a new collaborative role on base of trust, instead of control (Gemeente Delfzijl, 2013). The realization of the pilot of the multifunctional garden, as an experiment of this implicit role transition of all involved parties, is in its initial progress.

As is set out in paragraphs 6.1., 6.3 and 6.5, on base of past proceedings the last two decades the inhabitants of Delfzijl-Noord developed ambiguous institutions and, therefore, the public basic attitude towards the local government and politics is characterized by a predominant lack of trust and scepticism. Although key informants indicated that local people nowadays ever more recognize, acknowledge and appreciate the changing formal institutions and collaborative open attitude of the local government, however, as the example of the unforeseen event of the hand grenade showed, only one set back still can easily cause a bouncing back in previous less positive mind sets regarding the local government. Especially the elderly people are said to maintain a lack of trust and scepticism towards the municipality, as they have been since a life time used to being entitled to depend on the government in terms of local facilities. Next to the balancing act of the local government with regards to local trust and mutual expectations, also another point of attention came to the surface: according to key-informants the local government does not take sufficiently into account the present or absent motivation and skills of the locals and there is no sufficient connection with local experienced reality. In other words, competences and discourses of locals do not always converge with those of the local governments, and vice versa, as can be also read in paragraph 6.5. Therefore, it can be concluded that the bridging capital between local

government and the inhabitants of the district is strengthening, but also still is very fragile.

Anyway, as a mentioned second or third order effect, the pilot of the multifunctional garden became exemplary on local, regional and even national scales and provided an inspirational learning opportunity for those that got in touch with it. Furthermore, the project provided personal and social learning experiences, as well for administrators as for locals. It was also recognized that the project strengthened the local binding social capital between the volunteers within and outside the district, as is set out in paragraph 6.4.

In order to bridge the previous mentioned vulnerable bridging social capital between local inhabitants and the local government, the latter is actively investing in order to improve mutual trust relations. Altogether, on base of the interviews, it can be said that the formal and informal institutions with regards to a governance transition towards more equal and participative public and civil roles, are cautiously developing in favour of this transition. In the same line can be concluded that the multifunctional garden as a pilot of this transition, at least for the moment, is perceived as being socio-spatially resilient by all involved groups. The involved local volunteers expect the implementation of the multi-functional garden to be a growth-model. In addition, they expect that the garden will becoming ever more concrete and visible and will trigger the acceleration of evolving local informal institutions towards being more positive and supportive. However, these transitions are still in their infancy and for the time seem rather vulnerable for various reasons, as, for example the uncertain finances, the continuous changing volunteer group composition and the early governance relation between the local government and the district inhabitants. Finally, it can be concluded that the renewed governance relation between those parties implies an ongoing on mutual dialogue based incremental learning process for all involved.

7.2 DISCUSSION

In these case-studies area development processes were central with a commonly perceived as successful communicative intervention as starting point. It was studied how the processed developed over time and what roles involved formal authorities assumed and how they acted with respect to the challenges that came on their way. Furthermore, key-actors identified and indicated socio-spatial impacts over time and their expectations towards the future about the spatial challenge, but also about expected social impacts and support. But why is perceived socio-spatial future resilience with regards to these case-studies relevant? In other words, why was it relevant to study the perceived socio-spatial impacts or perceived possible future socio-spatial impacts of the communicative intervention and the area development process over time? In relation to this, what is the added value of studying the capacity to reorganize and generate opportunities in the face of unforeseen change, while maintaining or improving the performance on outcomes?

In terms of the concept of resilience can be said that *reorganization and generation of opportunities in changing circumstances* was practically realized in all three cases. However, it is discussable if this is particular of these three case-studies, or whether this is always the case, as realities implicitly ever evolve and adapt to any circumstances. Furthermore, as already pointed out in chapter 2, the meaning of *maintaining or improving the performance on outcomes* is substantially normative. Therefore, it may be most legitimate to base conclusions about socio-spatial resilience on the outcomes through time and the value given to them by involved key-actors. Such evolving institutions of the involved groups of people are not only essential in relation to their individual and group mind sets and basic attitudes, but are also of influence to their subsequent actions. Shared institutions and stories within or among groups, be it between local people, organizations or public officers, define along the experienced reality and their decisions towards it (Innes, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2010; Innes & Booher, 2004; Innes & Booher, 2010; Gruber & Innes, 2005; Gruber et al., 2005). In all case-studies it turned out that not only the content, i.e., the factual physical realization of the spatial challenges at stake, but also the processes how to achieve them were considered important for realizing positive perceptions about the roles of the involved parties and about the planned and unplanned outcomes. So in socio-spatial terms it can be said that in order to maintain the engagement and shared ownership and responsibility that were initially said to be generated

during the communicative interventions and to get supported outcomes which are perceived as successful, the communicative emphasis during the realization of such area processes needs to be on both the content and the process. Then new questions arise, like: are communicative strategies indeed indispensable for long term by key-actors perceived socio-spatial resilience, or can it also be achieved by a mix of other instrumental approaches and strategies? And, for example, do public participants, as inhabitants of a certain area, have the competences, strategies and sufficient overview how to embed (results of) a process on different governance and geographic scales?

According to Healey (2003), communicative processes have process outcomes which should not be merely considered as a means to a substantive end, but also to other values, like notions of community, citizenship and empowerment and engaging 'people in making their communities better places for themselves and for those around them' (Stoker, in: Brannan et al., 2006, p. 993). In addition, as Van Rij (2008) argues, other advantages of communicative and network oriented approaches are that they are more democratic, organic and better supported by the involved parties. However, she continues by arguing that the use of hierarchical elements can be useful to increase effectiveness, as not all involved parties with interests in an area actually are able to invest in the area and, therefore, not all of them should be part of a policy network. With regards to this discussion of strategies in relation to processes and outcomes, generally can be said that no value can be attached to any outcome in an objective way. It is all about institutional values and norms and to them related perceptions of the involved public and civil actors (as well as the researcher).

On the one hand, legitimacy of strategic instrumental choices, for example, can be in Habermassian ethical and subjective notions like moral rightness, ethical goodness or authenticity, personal sincerity, and aesthetic value, or as Innes (1999) underlines, the pursued creation of values that transcend the individual level. On the other hand, as is argued by van Rij, 2008), efficiency reasons might also legitimize the use of more direct practical direct approaches based on formal legal and hierarchical notions. This discussion between legitimacy and efficiency is rather tricky, because of its subjectivity and normativity and raises many new

questions. How to weigh practical reasons with notions of legitimacy? And what about the notion of power: who is to decide which side tips the scales? And in terms of efficiency: how to know which strategy or mix of strategies is most efficient? Furthermore, is the perception of the majority of in a process involved people democratically and normatively determinant or are the tangible physical end results more important? The answers are complicated, as they depend on perspectives, of informal and formal institutions, decisions and actions of different individuals and social groups.

In the case of Midden Delfland, the choice of the local government to direct the main focus on regional embedding, rather than on local involvement, can be regarded as practically defendable, because the expanding city-region with its own diverging interests potentially form an important risk towards keeping the Midden Delfland area open and green. The local government feared that the involvement of local groups and organizations could have hampered the proceedings regarding such regional embedding, as local focus until now has been mainly directed inwards the area. Furthermore, the legitimacy was said to be in following the procedures of the formal dualistic political system. Although local key-actors expressed their discontent with regards to their insufficient inclusion in the area development process over time, they also acknowledged that the regional embedding has been successfully implemented so far. However, the perception of almost all key-informants was that the by local government applied strategies should have been more inclusionary over time, while at the same time there were also multiple interpretations and doubts about such realization. Following Van Dijk & Weitkamp (2013) the Future Search Conference left a legacy of social strong comprehensive stories about potential future inclusion in the perpetuation of the area development process. The research showed that by being included in the initial Future Search Conference and, in addition, in its formal agreed upon aims (the so called 'area council', as can be also read in paragraph 4.2), raised *socially* inclusionary *expectations*. On base of the interviews, it showed that the spatial outcomes and the formal institutional perpetuation of the process locally were not really at discussion. Instead, the choices of the local government in favour of a more hierarchical and political dualistic role division in order to be more efficient, did not meet the during

the conference raised inclusionary expectations of local key-actors. Whatsoever, following the line of reasoning of Dembski (2013), it can be concluded that the local government of Midden Delfland here is faced with a balancing act between, one the one hand, strategically connecting to the overarching interests of the Randstad and, on the other hand, involving the interest groups and local organisations of Midden Delfland. Such an balancing act might bring along the dangers of 'parochialism', i.e., being to internally focussed, vs. strong anchoring in the city-region but failing local connections, as is experienced by most key-actors now.

In the case of Nieuw Balinge, not the local government, but the Het MMan workgroup has the main responsibility of realizing the development of the munition depot area. With respect to efficiency this workgroup was said, unlike the previously mentioned local government of Midden Delfland, to be too internally focused and, therefore, having spoiled the initial opportunity (before the start of the economic and housing crises) of regional embedding in order to get access to funding. With regards to legitimacy and inclusion or exclusion the key-informants did not express any concerns, as the local government is unanimously perceived to be cooperative and facilitative with respect to the proceedings related to the realization of the museum. Furthermore, the initial agreement of the Schetsschuit is still considered as very actual and realistic by the four involved main parties, both in legitimacy and efficiency terms, as is set out in paragraphs 5.3 and 5.5. However, the danger was expressed that the agreement could lose its credibility for the outside world, because of the long time that passed since its initial settlement and the also today ongoing uncertainties regarding its realization.

In the case of the pilot process of the multifunctional garden of Delfzijl-Noord the discussion about legitimacy and efficiency was actual in the recent past, rather than being a contemporary issue, except for the in paragraphs 6.1 and 6.3 mentioned unforeseen event of the grenade, when local people were not sufficiently informed by the local government about the planned proceedings and the consequent delayer. Instead, the renewed mutual trust relations between the local government and the district inhabitant were indicated as vulnerable and in need of ongoing attention, because the troublesome historical rooted relations between the

local government and the inhabitants, as can be read more in depth in paragraph 6.5. Therefore, the local government is faced with a balancing act between proceeding with the experimental governance role for all involved parties with implicit uncertain socio-spatial outcomes and building on extending mutual trust relations, in order to being able to deal mutually constructively with possible future disappointing results and setbacks. In this context, such trust relations can be strengthened by an ongoing open dialogue between the inhabitants of the district and the local government, because a stronger bridging connection between local and governmental realities would enhance further mutual trust and, in efficiency terms, the robustness of the cooperation.

Although not a central issue in this research, with regards to legitimacy of more inclusionary or exclusionary strategies, it is important to mention the structural selectivity of people that participate in collaborative events or processes (Nienhuis et al. 2011). Many times, participation is characterized by the inclusion of socially and professionally organized actors that have interests in and commitment to the area, as is also the case in the three case-studies of this research. In the Midden Delfland case, for example, most local farmers were not included in the Future Search conference or in the subsequent area process, but rather 'addressed' with particular instruments and strategies, as can be read in paragraphs 4.1, 4.4 and 4.5, while they are commonly regarded as the carriers of the Midden Delfland area. In all three cases, the local driving forces in the realization of the processes are predominantly persons that already were active in local interest organizations, as can be read in paragraphs 4.1, 5.1 and 6.1. In efficiency terms for the spatial realization of the processes a wider inclusion might not be needed, but for enhancing social capital and faster and more broadly evolving institutions, instead, might be a prerequisite. However, as was expressed and hoped for in the Delfzijl-Noord case, it might also be possible that social effects spread like an oil stain and makes further inclusionary practices superfluous. Following Dembski, it would be better to strengthening those norm holders who are open to change, without offending established institutions and actors' interests' (2013, p.2030). Although this is an interesting and relevant discussion, it lies outside the scope of this research. It implies a suggestion for further exploration in future researches.

Finally, this chapter will be concluded by saying that the case-studies showed that each area development process has its own historic and local context which is embedded in multi-scalar complex dynamics through time. Furthermore, the conclusions drawn for each case, on base of the perceptions of the key-actors reflect their formal and informal institutions and heuristics at a certain moment in time. Like the processes, such institutions are never fixed, but ever evolving over time (Salet, cited by Dembski, 2013). In this light, the initial expectations raised by the use of a communicative intervention in such an ongoing and fluid area process over time need to be addressed in a local contingent way. The discussion of what governance roles are legitimate, feasible and efficient within the contextual boundaries, should be not only a scientific, but rather a local and regional matter. Depending on the perspectives, different more or less inclusionary strategies are defendable, as have demonstrated the three case-studies. This discussion is based on the evolving institutions of the involved parties that are committed and engaged to the process. Their perceptions are at the base of their consequent decisions, steps and actions. On the one hand such decisions, steps and actions can reinforce and perpetuate each other, on the other hand, instead, they might also have mutually counteracting or opposing impacts. In this light, it would make most sense that this discussion is conducted among all that where involved in the communicative intervention or the in area process later on.

As the cases of this research demonstrated, for perceived socio-spatial resilience not only the successful realization of the spatial challenge is important, but also the governance choices along the process with regards to the roles and expectations of the committed and engaged actors. Following Innes (1996, 2004) and Innes & Booher (1999; 2002; 2004; 2010), the recognition of such local commitment can be established by an ongoing communicative attitude over time by generating context dependent learning opportunities: local open, authentic dialogue and discussion about the legitimacy and efficiency of particular governance choices and actions, being more or less collaborative, in order to prevent the extensive divergence of formal and informal 'stories' and to make the evolving institutions of the involved amalgamate as much as feasible. The challenge here is to keep the stories of involved local groups,

organizations and authorities as much as possible on the same track, in order to deal socio-spatially adequately with an ongoing dynamic reality full of future uncertainties. Socio-spatial planning that is 'undertaken among diverse and fluid discourse communities' (Healey, in: Allmendinger & Tewdr-Jones, 2002, p. 9) might develop a reflective capacity enabling the participants to evaluate and re-evaluate mutually and, as such, build in the process at least mutual understanding and trust, also when there is no mutual agreement about the actual chosen strategies.

8. REFLECTION

Fundamentally, capturing all causalities of the infinite multi-layered and multiple connected transition and evolution processes of existing realities is out of the reach and beyond comprehension. Also this research showed that it is impossible to catch a complete and objective overview of multi-scalar realities and the causalities between the ever evolving and transforming nodes and their intermediate components. Therefore, the renditions in this research of the current case-studies implicitly are incomplete and subjective.

For tangibility reasons, in this research reality reproductions are represented by existing artificial socially constructed delineations, like the formal multi-scalar geographical or governance boundaries of the municipalities and provinces of the three case-studies. In addition, in this research the informal heuristic simplifications of socially constructed realities are basically rooted, amongst others, in diverse histories, personal goals, political agendas, formal and informal institutions, knowledge and different levels of awareness of individuals and social groups. Furthermore, these social reality constructions reflect a particular state of mind at a certain moment in time of specific persons or social groups. Therefore, it can be said that this research filtered out temporary pieces of formal and informal locally constructed realities: a confined coalescence of existing formal delineations and institutions, and, informal individual and group stories and perceptions of key-actors of three Dutch municipalities in which a communicative intervention was part of a local area development process.

The present selection of key-actors meant an implicit selection of engaged and committed informants who were willing to contribute to the further development of their near living spaces. In this light, it might have been interesting as well to explore how less articulated inhabitants of the three municipalities could have been included in this research, in order obtain also insights about what they think of their near living space; the proceedings of the area development processes and the role of the involved parties; if and how their interests were somehow reflected, and; what they think of the future socio-spatial resilience of their communities. In addition, it would have been interesting to see until what extent eventual broader inclusion in the

area processes, according to them, would be of actual added value, as well in terms of outcomes, legitimacy and efficiency. In this way, as well the scientific as the local discussion could have been further nourished about the pitfalls and benefits of inclusionary and more hierarchical governance forms. Unfortunately, exclusion of such 'outsiders' in this research proved to be inevitable due to time constraints and, therefore, implies a suggestion for future research.

Starting from this limitation, the outcomes of this research still provides interesting and founded outcomes and insights for ongoing socio-spatial planning discussion, as well scientifically as locally, because of the solid base of information provided by the current key-informants. It was particularly striking how key-actors were actually willing to cooperate with this research. Most likely, this can be explained by their personal commitment to their living spaces and the to it related processes they have been involved in. Probably the outcomes of this research could have been even more convincing, if the research design and the analyses would have been made in conjunction with the key-informants through community based research and the use of participative action research methods. Next to preparative interviews, also interactive focus group discussions and round table discussions would have contributed to such collaborative research design. Ideally, such a design would have involved the participating actors in an ongoing mutual learning process in search of sharing and creating new (innovative) knowledge. Such shared knowledge creation and extension would have contributed to an acceleration of the mutual evolvement of existing institutions and could have resulted in a further development and broader understanding and support of future socio-spatial governance practices.

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3. Mr. H. Horlings, present alderman spatial planning Midden Delfland
4. Mr. G. Van Oord, former chairman Midden Delfland Vereniging (Midden Delfland Association); political chairman local party 'Open Groen en Progressief' (Open, Green and Progressive)
5. Mr. D. Post, entrepreneur and owner conference centre 'Op Hodenpijl', political chairman local party 'Mijn Partij'(My Party)
6. Mrs. E. Verkoelen, former director Milieufederatie (Environment Federation), present regional parlementarian CDA Zuid-Holland
7. Mr. A. Van der Berg, innovative organic farmer and member waterboard council 'Hoogheemraadschap Midden Delfland'
8. Mrs. P. Van Oord, chairmen cultural historic foundation 'Stichting Midden Delfland is mensenwerk'; editor in chief local paper 'Middendelflandkrant, and; municipal council member local party Open Groen en Progressief
9. Mr. A. Roodenburg, mayor Midden Delfland
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NIEUW BALINGE

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2. Mr. J. Schonewille, founder and chairman 'Stichting Joodse werkkampen' (Foundation Jewish labour camps)
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5. Mr. A. Wielinck, chairman 'Plaatselijk Belang Nieuw Balinge' (Local Interest organization Nieuw Balinge)
6. Mr. H. Duyverman, intendant 'Natuurmonumenten' (national nature organization 'Nature Monuments')
7. Mr. E. Arkesteijn, co-operator 'Koninklijk Nederlands Heidemaatschappij' (Royal Dutch Heather Company)
8. Mr. J. Van der Werf, board member museum Het Mann and 'Plaatselijk Belang Broekstreek' (Local Interest organization Broekstreek)

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3. Mrs. H.Held, volunteer multifunctional garden, stimulator orchard
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5. Mr. H. Van Dijken, community worker Stichting Welzijn Delfzijl (Foundation Wellbeing Delfzijl)
6. Mr. F. Boersma, volunteer multifunctional garden, accountant of multifunctional garden project

APPENDIX B: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BZK: Ministry of Internal Affairs

CAS: Complex Adaptive Systems

CPT: Communicative Planning Theory

DLG: Dienst Landelijk Gebied (EL&I Office of Rural Areas)

DPA: Dutch Peace Army

EL&I: Ministry of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation

Heidemij: Koninklijke Nederlandse Heidemaatschappij (Royal Dutch Heather Company)

IODS: Integrale Ontwikkeling tussen Delft en Schiedam (Integral area Development Program between Delft and Schiedam)

IRT: Individual Research Training

LOP: Landschapsontwikkelingsplan (Landscape Development Plan)

LTO: Land-en tuinbouworganisatie (Agricultural and Horticultural Organization)

PrOMT: Project Ontwikkeling Militaire Terreinen (Redevelopment of Military Areas Project)

RUG: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen (University of Groningen)

SME: Stichting Militair Erfgoed (Foundation Military Heritage)

TCA: Theory of Communicative Action