Self-organization in the urban context of Groningen

Stimulating and obstructing conditions
A case study of Europapark and the SuikerUnie terrain in Groningen

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"Every art is concerned with bringing something into being, and the practice of an art is the study of how to bring into being something that is capable either of being or of not being."
(*N.E.*: 1140a1-23 in Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Foreword

I have written this thesis in the context of the study, Environmental and Infrastructure Planning at the University of Groningen. After an interesting education period, I am happy to present you my findings in this research report. For my graduation I was asked by the University to observe a particular topic in spatial planning.

During my Bachelor of Build Environment at The Hague University of applied sciences, I had the opportunity to focus on real estate economics. The focus was partially on the integration of different interest of different stakeholders involved. As a result, I became interested in how different management levels are interrelated to each other in spatial planning. Until then I had only studied projects on a micro-level. This experience motivated me to gain more knowledge about the connection between political and societal interests. In addition, I wanted to know how these interests were transformed into spatial interventions. I found the opportunity to broaden my perspective in the master, Environmental and Infrastructure Planning.

My motivation to research the topic of self-organization was strengthened by lectures about complexity science and recommended literature during my pre-master program. A pitch, discussing the case of Almere Oosterwold, at one of the meetings with regard to the graduation trail was enough to persuade me to focus on this topic.

I was triggered by the fact that until a couple of years ago, master plans were based upon long term land utilizations. Policy by then was focussing on long-term thinking. I started to wonder how the municipality as well as the designer of the idea of Almere Oosterwold could shift public tasks to future residents of the area and achieving their governmental objectives in the same time. My supervisor recommended me to look for different cases in the context of Groningen.

During my research process, I got the opportunity to better understand what self-organization means in the urban context of Groningen and its degree of complexity. I have enjoyed this research process very much, because I slowly started to understand to topic more and more. I saw initiators being very enthusiastic about their initiatives. However, I have experienced this research process as sometimes being very challenging. It is a topic you could easily be drown in as there are so many different perspectives related to it.

A priori, this research report is written the context of the completion of my education. Beside this objective, I hope this research will help people dealing with self-organizing processes, to develop a broad perspective of what kind of conditions they should be aware off.

I see it as a privilege that a group of twelve people was willing to share their knowledge with me. In particular: the municipality of Groningen. Civil servants were willing to help me to find the right stakeholders to interview. Also the discussions I had with my supervisor, sometimes while enjoying a cup of coffee, and the useful feedback she gave me, made a valuable contribution to this final research report. I would like to say thank you to all the people who have made their contribution to this research.

In particular: Dipl.-Ing. Dr. K. Gugerell

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Abstract

This research gives insight in why self-organization emerges and what conditions are affecting the process of self-organization. In doing so, actors involved in initiatives or willing to become involved in initiatives, could become aware of what kind of conditions might stimulate or obstruct the process. By giving more insight in processes of self-organization the quality of such processes could be improved.

This research objective could be transformed into the following research question: *What conditions are stimulating or obstructing the emergence of self-organization and the ensuing process of self-organization in spatial development plans in the city of Groningen?* The main question will be answered by the following sub-questions: How have urban development strategies developed over time and what conditions stimulated paradigm shifts and self-organization in this context? How do stakeholder networks develop and what are cross-sectoral connections between macro, meso and micro level? What are governmental obstructing and stimulating factors/institutions in when room is given to bottom-up initiatives with regard to urban planning in the municipality of Groningen? What kind of important non-governmental conditions have affected self-organizing processes? What kind of subjective conditions and spatial characteristics play a role in the outcome of a self-organising urban planning process?

The first phase of the research, the literature review, provides useful data to create a broad perspective with regard to the topic of self-organization. The second phase, the first round of interviews, provides useful data regarding the localisation of self-organization in the practical planning context. The third phase, the case study of Europapark and the SuikerUnie terrain in Groningen, provides data about the processes of self-organization in a temporary and a permanent situation.

The results show the economic crisis, political movements as well as societal changes stimulate the emergence of self-organization. Self-organization emerges as a result of the fact that the government is shifting tasks to the society as well as the market. However, initiatives could also based on personal drivers. The second group of different conditions like, funding issues, interests, issues regarding ability and competences, the quality of the network, and changing institutional frameworks become relevant during the process itself. The research revealed these objective conditions are highly affected by a third group of conditions. These are subjective conditions like triggers to start an initiative and the effect of a momentum. Also spatial conditions could be used to trigger people to meet and as a result, start to work out ideas. The importance and impact of the conditions discussed could change over time. Several conditions could influence the process simultaneously.

The research revealed self-organization is emerging in a traditional capitalistic context and existing governmental and institutional structures. Compared to the approach of the bright side of self-organization often discussed in literature, reality is way more complex. It seems like, society is not always ready to start to organize themselves. Due to reduced financial resources provided by the national government, governments need to accept, financial support from the market as well as the society is needed to achieve their goals. As a consequence the local government should focus on achieving objectives in dialogue with the society as well as the market. This shift in responsibilities leads also to a shift from a representative democracy to a democracy based on decision-making in dialogues. To give room to self-organization, on a national scale, changes in the financial sector are needed to find suitable financing options for short-term initiatives. Also initiators on the local level should set up a realistic business case to improve the success of the initiative.

Actors involved should be aware of the fact there are groups of people in society being able to organize themselves around an objectives and groups who are not. It is recommended to research to what extent harmful groups have difficulties in organizing tasks by themselves and what they need to get along with groups having little difficulties. It might be possible organized groups help less organized groups. This research has focussed on conditions which currently affect the process of self-organization. It could be relevant to research a change in conditions as it might provide useful insights in how the importance of conditions changes along the process.

List of abbreviations

Abbreviation		Dutch Abbreviation	
CAS	Complex Adaptive System	**CAS**	Complexe Adaptieve Systemen
CPC	Collective Private Commission	**CPO**	Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap
P	Pillar	**P**	Pijler
Rli	Council for the Environment and Infrastructure	**Rli**	Raad voor de leefomgeving en infrastructuur
WRR	Scientific council for government policy	**WRR**	Wetenschappelijke raad voor het regeringsbeleid
Ye	Young Entrepreneur		Beginnende ondernemers
Descriptions of companies which are made anonymous			
Company 1	CPC-consultancy		
Company 2	Project developer with social focus		
Company 3	Strategic management consultant		

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Introduction

On the 23th of April 2014, the Council for the Environment and Infrastructure launched a new report called *"de toekomst van de stad, de kracht van nieuwe verbindingen".[1]* Two years earlier, The Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency launched a report called: *"vormgeven aan de spontane stad: belemmeringen en kansen voor organische stedelijke herontwikkeling"* (Buitelaar *et al.* 2012).[2] Both publications show an array of citizen's initiatives and discuss the different roles local governments and even provinces or regional board should and could play. These reports show citizens are increasingly involved in urban development processes and policymaking is more focused on bottom-up approaches.

As also mentioned in the report of the RLI, if the national government steps back, it is not naturally that civilians will take over these tasks. Therefore other drivers are needed such as wishes and ideas (Rli, 2014). Furthermore, where does it end? Yet, it is not clear how local initiatives whether could or should contribute to urban regeneration on the long term (Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edelenbos, 2012).

But there is more going on. As a result of the economic crisis and subsequently the collapse of the real estate market a lot of building plots are still undeveloped. Project developers do not longer prefer long-term land development (Bouwfonds, 2014). A response to this can be found in an organic approach. In an organic approach professionals do not decide the final outcome of the project and attention is paid on the process instead of the content of the project. It is about following the market demands and to respond to these demands. However, the definition of organic urban growth is interpreted differentially (Duivesteijn, 2012): While Almere goes that far by asking landowners to become completely self-sufficient, other cities only deal with bottom-up initiatives. Citizens participate in processes. By developing master plans in a more organic way with no final outcome in mind. Sometimes they also make use of a complex adaptive systems approach (CAS): It is a twofold approach wherein a certain amount of robustness takes care of the stimulation of investment while there is still enough room to adapt to changes along the process (Rauws et al., 2014). One part, beside non-linear development, contextual interference and coevolution, of this CAS approach is self-organization (Rauws et al. 2014).

I. Problem statement

Generally speaking, governmental organizations need often a lot of time for changing their institutions and behaviour (Balducci et al., 2011) and, according to Boonstra & Boelens (2011), local governments are not used to adaptive forms of planning. As our society becomes more complex due to an increase in bottom-up initiatives, governments need to become more adaptive in these processes (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). In this context they refer to self-organization. Boonstra & Boelens define this process as: *"initiatives for spatial interventions that originate in civil society itself, via autonomous community-based networks of citizens, outside government control"* (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011, p-100). This definition points out three critical points namely: "originate in civil society", "spatial intervention" and "without government control". But is it possible to act without any governmental interference orr does the society need a combination of socio-technical and institutional systems (Balducci et al., 2011)? Nederhand, Bekkers and Voorberg (2014) expect it is not. The society should always rely upon what is called: the shadow of the law (Nederhand, Bekkers

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[1] "The future of the city, the power of new connections".
[2] "Designing the spontaneous city, obstructions and opportunities for organic urban growth"

and Voorberg, 2014). This statement is supported by the WRR. They state: *"Allen leren dezelfde les: het system als geheel is onbeheersbaar en begrip van de onderdelen van het system leidt niet tot een beter begrip van het system als geheel, maar er gelden wel degelijk spelregels die een vorm van ordening aanbrengen in de chaos"* (WRR, 2012, p-40).[3]

But what exactly, should this governmental role contain within self-organizing processes? In other words: What needs guidance or institutions?

II. Research objective & research questions

The objective of this research is, to give insight in why self-organization emerges and what conditions are affecting the process of self-organization. In doing so, actors involved in initiatives or willing to become involved in initiatives, could become aware of what conditions might stimulate or obstruct the process. This research aims by giving more insight in processes of self-organization the quality of such processes will be improved. Since similar difficulties are found in the city of Groningen, the scope of the case study will be on this context. I selected two cases in Groningen: The case of Europapark and the case of the SuikerUnie terrain. This research objective could be transformed into the following research question:

What conditions are stimulating or obstructing the emergence of self-organization and the ensuing process of self-organization in spatial development plans in the city of Groningen?

The main question will be answered by discussing the following sub-questions:

1. How have urban development strategies developed over time and what conditions stimulated paradigm shifts and self-organization in this context?
2. How do stakeholder networks[4] develop and what are cross-sectoral connections between macro, meso and micro level?
3. What are governmental obstructing and stimulating factors/institutions in achieving long-term goals when room is giving to bottom-up initiatives with regard to urban planning in the municipality of Groningen?
4. What kind of important non-governmental conditions have affected self-organizing processes?
5. What kind of subjective conditions and spatial characteristics play a role in the outcome of a self-organising urban planning process?

Societal relevance

What is stated above assumes citizens are always willing and able to organize an initiative all by themselves. But self-organization is also remarked as dividing a society. According to Uitermark, a successful bottom-up initiative is remarked as an initiator is having access to a strong network. Initiators should focus on well-stated people (Uitermark, 2012). He states: "*Inzetten op zelforganisatie benadeelt mensen die moeite hebben zichzelf te organiseren en bevoordeelt mensen die daar minder moeite mee hebben*" (Uitermark, 2012).[5] At the moment it seems like the municipality is unaware of advantages, challenges and societal consequences of self-organization. Despite this image, the municipality is promoting self-organization.

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[3] "Everyone learns the same lesson: The holistic system is uncontrollable. Understanding parts of the system does not lead to a better understanding of a holistic system, but there are certainly rules contributing to a certain amount of order in a chaotic situation"
[4] A connection of different people involved in a process. According to Castells (2004): a connection of nodes
[5] "betting on self-organization harm people having problems to organize themselves, while people without these problems will be favoured"

A better understanding of the concept of (guided) self-organization, focussing on organic urban growth and insights in obstructing and stimulating factors might help to better define the role of different actors involved. Especially the governmental role needs to be redefined when bottom-up initiatives are preferred but not set up. A more societal aim of this research could be that new revealed insights of guided self-organization regarding organic urban growth could have new educational values for other cities and regions willing to implement similar concepts with regard to achieving societal, environmental or economical goals on meso and macro-level.

Scientific relevance

A self-organizing process is a bottom-up approach. A bottom-up approach leads to an informal network of actors. The government is acting in a formal network of actors. In a self-organizing process networks created on different levels could be connected. In this way, self-organizations could contribute to some extent to the economic robustness (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). The more actors involved the more complex a situation becomes. Situations become more complex because the more actors involved the more perspectives and opinions there are. Self-organization comes from complexity theory. According to Haken & Portugali (2005, p-88) self-organization is: "*A property of open and complex and far from equilibrium systems(...)In particular, they attain their order spontaneously*". Sooner or later in the context of urban development, informal networks will meet formal networks as a city is built up out of different networks (Portugali, 2011). Bridging gaps between those networks could lead to new forms of democratic institutions (Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edelenbos, 2012). This research contributes to a better understanding of this gap between practice and literature.

Nonetheless, to integrate those networks, it is important to understand each network. This research shows differences and similarities between temporary and permanent self-organizing networks. In both networks a certain amount of chaos is promised to arise if short-term processes are running (Portugali, 2011). The chaos theory states in the first place that actors involved are acting in a certain stable status. Once something changes in this status, a temporary instable status will arise. Based on this new situation, the actors involved start to look for solutions to come to an increased stable situation again (Haken, 2012, p- 16). If networks become stable over time, a view upon a solution could be found to connect networks on different scales.

III. Ontology

More and more citizens organize projects themselves varying from small short-term projects to large long-term and even permanent projects. Despite the on going debate on the role of the municipality in bottom-up initiatives (Vos, Volkskrant, 2013), this research is conducted from an independent perspective. This perspective is chosen; as it is still not clear in what perspective guidance needs to be placed. It is not for sure the local government should do guiding activities. The research itself reveals shows different perspectives of actors involved and provides recommendations.

Literature used in the literature review is mostly written during the 20th of 21st century. Only paradigm changing researches from earlier epochs are used. This timescale is chosen as most relevant changes have taken place during this epoch.

This research focuses upon relatively large-scale self-organizing projects in the area of Groningen. That is because these projects do really have an impact on municipal long-term goals. Either it is in terms of financial benefits or spatial interference. In this research, the self-organized system is a group of citizens and or entrepreneurs in the urban area of Groningen. It is a way of

bottom-up development of vacant land either it is for a temporary or non-temporary purpose. There is no final view and there is little governmental guidance.

What are left out are sustainable energy initiatives in Europapark. This research focuses on three initiatives in Europapark: CPC-projects[6], Semi professional initiated projects and a professional initated project. The case of SuikerUnie terrain focuses on the current group of stakeholders, acting in the process.

The characteristics are seen from an economic, societal, political and spatial perspective. Other perspectives are, only when interrelated, taken into account.

IV. Reading guide

This thesis is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the 'why' part and what is researched. Chapter one starts by exploring the research field of planning traditions and places self-organization in a broader perspective. The next paragraph explores three current debates and goes into detail of relevant characteristics in a self-organizing process. The second part of this literature review discusses complexity theory and makes links with practical situations. This chapter ends with a conceptual model. The third chapter discusses the 'how' part. It explains what kind of research methods have been used to answer the research questions. The fourth chapter contains the empirical part of the research. It discusses the results. The chapter starts with describing the situations in both the cases. Based on a case study of two selected cases in the urban context of Groningen, conditions, which affect self-organization, are identified. It explains what kind of conditions have affected the emergence of self-organization and conditions, which have become relevant during the process itself. The concluding part encompasses an interpretation of the results. It reflects on the theories discussed in chapter one and two. The chapter continues by formulating answers upon the main question. The final chapter contains recommendations for the three perspectives discussed and further research. Finally, a reflection is given upon the research process (see Figure 1).
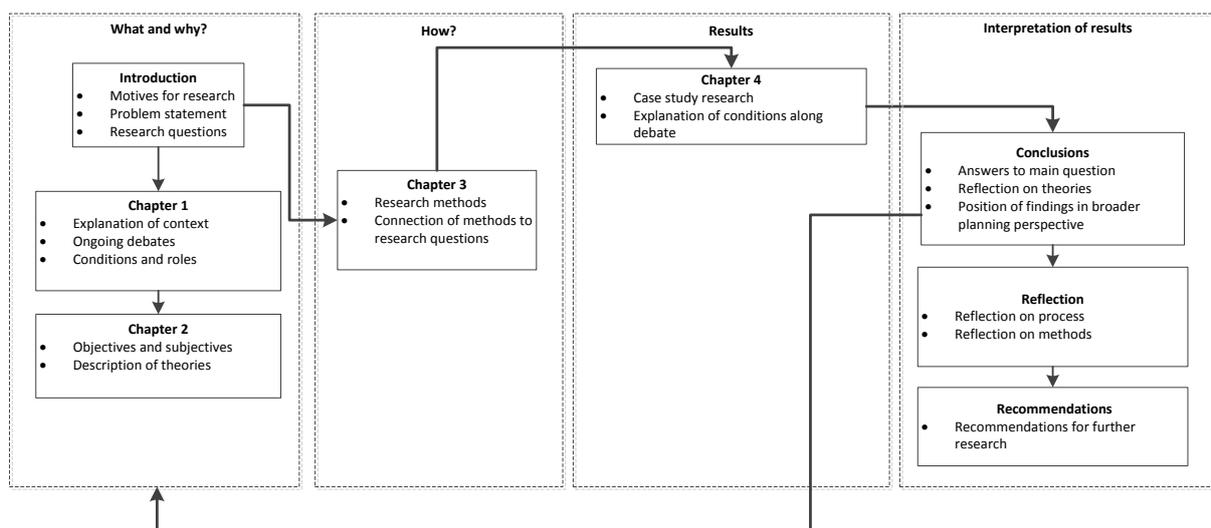
Figure 1. Reading guide showing the structure of this research report.

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[6] Collective Private Commission

1. Dealing with a new urban development approach

The current status of planning is placed in a post-modern era. Portugali (2011) notes that modern times are left behind. That is because science is no longer able to put a finger on the evolving society (Alfasi & Portugali, 2007). A city is no longer considered a machine but an organism (Batty, 2011). Three debates are discussed: a fundamental discussion about change in governance and how a city is seen, the emergence of societal networks and changing economic situations. On the one hand there is the phenomenon of globalization but on the other hand also the phenomenon of glocaliszation, where the latter refers to is an increasing amount of local initiatives (Portugali, 2011).

1.1. Self-organization in the urban context

Self-organization is seen on different scales and seeks connections between these scales as well as between formal (e.g. governments) and informal networks (Johnson, 2012; Portugali, 2011). Castells (2004) explains a network as a connection of nodes. A network is also non-linear and transforms over time. Some nodes by then become less or more important to the network (Castells, 2004, p-3). Social systems are an example of what a network involves.

Examples of visible outcomes of these social systems are: Business improvement districts (BID), initiated by a group of office users or tenants of shops in a shopping street, who take care of the living environment on street level. By improving this quality they hope to improve their sales volume (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). Other examples are: local sustainable energy initiatives, realisation of green zones/ parks by civilians and the revitalization of cultural heritage by villagers and/or entrepreneurs. The latter example refers to the transformation of a former military village in England into a neighbourhood and the renovation of the former Helpman Energy plant in Groningen into an architect office and location for creative multimedia entrepreneurs (Ruimtevolk, 2013; Team4 architecten, 2014; Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edelenbos, 2012).

Definition

In literature self-organization is defined in different ways. A few of them are cited below. These ones are chosen as they show self-organization is approached from different perspectives. Most authors focus on self-organization itself. Prokopenko's definition touches upon the current discussion about new roles for actors involved in the process. And hence, upon the question: Should processes be guided or not? Boonstra & Boelens and Allen have formulated a more applied definition of self-organization whereas others used a scientific approach.

- According to Prokopenko (2014, p-4), guided self-organization is explained as follows: "*Leverage the strenghts of self-organization while still being able to indirectly affect the outcome of the self-organization process*".
- According to Chettiparamb (2013, p-22), "*the spontaneous formation of order within systems, be they physical, biological or social, without the presence or help of external forces*"
- According to Portugali (2008, p-256), "*Self-organization is a property of open and complex systems: open in the sense that they exchange matter, information and energy (...) complex in two senses: (…) parts are so numerous (…) no technical way to determine causal relations (…) parts form a complex network of interaction*"
- According to Boonstra and Boelens (2011, p-100), "*initiatives for spatial interventions that originate in civil society itself, via autonomous community-based networks of*

> *citizens, outside government control".*

- According to Allen (1996 in Teisman et al, 2009, p-97), "*in a complex system of interdependent entities the decisions made by individuals, or by collective entities representing certain localities, lead to the emergence of large scale structure, which is not anticipated in their thinking, and which later will in fact determine the choices which are open to them".*

Although no single definition for self-organization is formulated there are common features. It is described as something that emerges out of itself without the help of others. It is a non-linear process, the process contains large amounts of uncertainty, and networks are based upon open systems and it is about interaction (Portugali, 2011). Examples of self-organization are related to biology and physics but also in computer systems and other mechanic systems as well as social systems (Prokopenko, 2014). Boonstra argues that self-organization and participation are not the same. The government initiates participation whereas civilians initiate a self-organization process (Boonstra & Boelens 2011).

As this thesis focuses on urban development, a definition for social self-organizing systems is the most relevant. Self-organization in an urban context is visible in many ways and is seen from different perspectives: an economic, spatial and socio-political perspective (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). Interference in a correct way is only possible when the systems dealing with are entirely understood (Johnson, 2012). Why self-organization emerges and where is comes from is explained along previous planning traditions.

1.2. Planning traditions and the position of participation

One of the earliest forms of self-organization can be found during the first establishments of human settlements in the Dutch river delta (Boelens, 2010a). Other examples are the formation of the Water boards in the 12th century to protect the country against flooding. From 1901 on, this self-organizing organizations where subsidized by the government. By offering labourers a higher living standard, employers believed workers would stay healthy for a longer time (van der Cammen et al., 2012). The latter example was a result of the industrial revolution in the Netherlands and goes in parallel with the example of the voluntary participation of farmers in diary and agriculture corporations which aim it was to realise an open, beneficial production of products (Boelens, 2010a). This all resulted in the establishment of housing corporations. Building activities took place first in class related groups during the pillarization and later for the less fortunate people. Corporation do still exist today (Boelens, 2010a). In Theology a tradition is explained as: "*the transmission of customs or beliefs from generation to generation, or the fact of being passed on in this way*" (Oxford, 2014). Planning traditions change as a response of dissatisfaction, exogenous factors or political endeavour (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). By analysing the debates the role of participation has grown over time.

After WOII, which involved a strong governmental interference, the focus was on command and control governance. It is a way of top-down planning with blueprinted plans (de Roo, 2013). Boelens (2011) call this: " *from the inside out".* Friedman and Hudson (1974) describe this as "the tradition of rationalism". Planning in this way is a rational way of decision making by using a set of instruments. Participation during this time meant: Involve people in the process but do not let them make contributions to the content (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). Friedman & Hudson (1974) at this time marked the emphasis on humans as a key element in planning. In the 1970s there is a growing awareness of human behaviour in cities and their experience of certain places in cities (Portugali, 2011) However, Mannheim in 1935 made a distinction between *functional rationality* and *substantial*

rationality. The latter refers to a location-based solution where the first one refers to a general solution (Friedmann & Hudson, 1974). Etzioni already stressed the importance of an overall approach. He made a linkage between spatial planning and societies. Within societies he stressed the isolation of people (Friedmann & Hudson, 1974).

On a certain moment in the 1970s, citizens living in cities start to protest against the negligence of the government to take care of the living environment. As a result, the concept called "*bouwen voor de buurt*"[7] emerges. This was the first form of participation after WOII in the Netherlands (van der Cammen et al., 2012). The then governing new left cabinet of Social Democrats (1960s) left room for this (Boonsta & Boelens, 2011). The second shift is corporate governance. This emerges in the 1980s after the financial oil crisis in the 1970s. In the 1980s the Netherlands faces enormous socio-economic and environmental challenges (Boelens, 2011). As a consequence of lacking financial commodities within municipalities, the Dutch government is forced to privatize several governmental organizations (de Roo, 2013). Also public-private partnerships emerged. These are collaborations between governments and private companies (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011).

Thirdly, after 1990 the focus shifted to shared Governance. A communicative turn took place. More attention was paid on what citizens concerned (de Roo, 2013). As a result of failures in the Dutch Polder Model[8] in terms of harming powerless and multi-cultural citizens and backroom politics, a new form of participation funded by the government as a response to distrust called participatory budgeting emerged (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). John Friedman (1993) in his paper: *Toward a Non-Euclidian Mode of Planning* concludes decisions can no longer be based on scientific knowledge alone. People should think of new ways how to relate knowledge and action. He stressed by that time the importance of the local level. It becomes a normative way of planning (Friedman, 1993).

The current Dutch way of planning

The current state of planning next to the traditional top-down form of planning is post-policy governance. It encompasses a form of adaptive planning in forms of coalitions or self-organization (SO) or complex adaptive systems (CAS). It is remarked by a strong bottom-up approach and goes beyond the institutional context (de Roo, 2013). Previous planning approaches had more or less predicted outcomes and processes. Post-policy goes hand in hand with uncertain processes and outcomes. Boelens (2011) calls this: "*an outside- in approach".* It refers to emerging actor-networks in the society itself. In planning theory these processes are called complex systems (Portugali, 2011). This new approaches are not a replacement of existing approaches. It depends on the situation which approach suits best (de Roo, 2013). To show in what context self-organization is emerging the next paragraph will explain the current Dutch way of planning.

The current Dutch planning culture is based on bureaucratic systems rather than political systems. The system is marked by a hierarchical approach supported by an underlying system of legislations and rules. The national government creates policy documents and leaves room for the creation of Master plans by provinces and or municipalities. All levels are related to each other. Public projects are funded by the national government, which helps on request. The focus has moved from building houses to strengthening the competitive position. It is more about quality of the living environment (Faludi, 2005). Plans are approached in a more comprehensive way. Think of housing, nature, water and commercial buildings (Rauws et al., 2014). This form of master plans has become

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[7] Building for the neighbourhood
[8] Collaboration model wherein as much as possible stakeholders involved in the project participate in the process (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011; Boelens, 2011).

less popular in the Netherlands. One of the reasons for this is the economic crisis (Rauws et. al.*,* 2014). Now the Dutch government wants to encourage citizens to build houses individually based on their own preferences (Faludi, 2005). This implies, just what Rauws et al. (2014) imply planning needs to be more flexible. Currently plans are not able to adapt to changes along the process (Rauws et al.*,* 2014).

Strategies to answer upon this are: The idea of the spontaneous city, which was published in 2010 and Organic development (Rauws et al., 2014). They stress the importance of urban transformation is based on actual priorities of citizens and entrepreneurs. A city is approached as a marketplace of supply and demand. The concept is based upon four principles: zoom-in, be flexible, create collective values and use a user approach (Ernsten, 2010). This paragraph shows, three debates are relevant is relation to self-organization: the economic crisis, political changes and societal changes. This based on the relation Boonstra & Boelens (2011) show between these three debates.

1.3. Three debates

Governments have started to support bottom-up initiatives and seeing it as worthwhile those citizens will take over governmental tasks. It has become part of their policy (Boonsta & Boelens, 2011; Nederhand, Bekker & Voorberg, 2014; Schinkel, 2012). Sørensen (2006) argues as a response to a shift from government to governance that many governments are looking how to carry out their new role, she points out the strengthening effect of public and private partnerships on the formation of society. It is what she calls: "*the current transformation of politicians from sovereign rulers to metagovernors*" (Sørensen, 2006, p-99). She provides governments with a management approach for these kind of systems called: Metagovernance. This term is explained as follows: "*Metagovernance is a way of enhancing coordinated governance in a fragmented political system based on a high degree of autonomy for a plurality of self-governing networks and institutions*" (Sørensen, 2006, p- 100). What she refers to is the enhancing network society and growing amount of bottom-up initiatives and the shift from government to governance.

According to Castells: "*social structure is made of networks powered by microelectronics-based information and communication technologies.*" (Castells, 2004, p-3). Where human in the past connect places by crossing the oceans by ship or plane, human mostly living in the Western world now possess a smartphone or other device which gives them access to a self-organizing global network of open or closed virtual sub-networks (Castells, 2004).

Although this shift is overloaded with positive signs, Uitermark (2012) argues, stimulating self-organization is also a result of the lacking financial resources at municipal organizations as a result of the current economic situation. A bottom-up approach is seen as an answer to continue stagnated projects by governments (Uitermark, 2012). By using the capacity of civilians, projects can still be realised (Nederhand, Bekkers & Voorberg, 2014).

The first debate: Economic perspective
Uitermark (2012) states: the lack of financial resources at governments and private companies leads to self-organization. Due to the economic crisis governments have less financial resources. Therefore the local government transfers tasks to the market and the society (Rli, 2014). They see self-organization as a solution to stagnating urban projects (Uitermark, 2012). Boonstra & Boelens (2011) cite Krugman (1996) in their paper by explaining his perspective of a self-organizing economy. He states that economies organize themselves in time as well as in space. Companies prefer to run a

business on the most accessible place and nearby their needed commodities (Portugali, 2011, p-20). Krugman (in Boonstra & Boelens, 2011) states that especially cities with no strong institutional framework leave room for market forces.

The second debate: Socio-political perspective – The concept of Metagovernance

Visible structures are the outcome of underlying social and political structures and networks. The current decision making structures have become more horizontal and interdisciplinary. Since the late 1990s the state has become differentiated, fragmented and needs to make use of institutions with an overall perspective. Due to societal changes and economization a government cannot act on an individual base anymore (Boonstra &Boelens, 2011) The response to this is a collocation of formal networks. A second transition is the increasing collaboration between public and private parties. This shift to governance has blurred the lines (Sørensen, 2006). Government, also as a result of a lack of financial resources reduces their role in processes (Rli, 2014). Governments have a less hierarchical position and become part of a network or take a facilitating role (Teisman et al., 2009). This process from government to governance is earlier explained as metagovernance and creates opportunities but also problems. All these types do exist in society and all three types are interacting in self-organizing processes. As a consequence all types do meet different cultures and different worlds. It is about the connection of a systematic world and a societal world (Derksen, 2014). This is the most crucial point as this is the point a process can be stimulated or obstructed.

In relation to a reduced role of the government different advantages and disadvantages are identified (Table 1). On the one hand, self-organization provides opportunities for citizens to influence decisions and processes in general. People get the opportunity to decide how they would like to live. By working out initiatives, citizens learn how to act in participatory processes. On the other hand if the role of the government reduces, then also their influence decreases. There is a risk; well-educated people will overrule less skilled people. Furthermore the amount of closed communities is likely to increase (Sørensen, 2006).

Opportunities:	Disadvantages:
− More channels for citizens to influence decision-making processes − Channels increase possibility for citizens to influence specific processes − More space for different life styles − Citizens develop participatory skills	− Decrease in ability of governments to influence decision-making process − Less publicity upon the decision-making process − High skilled stakeholders (professionals) get more influence in the process compared to citizens still developing these participatory scales − Development of internal communities

Table 1. Opportunities and disadvantages of metagovernance. Source: Sørensen, 2006.

Governments promote self-organization and self-management but also try to guide these processes. They do so by designing strategic frameworks, by monitoring the processes including process outcomes and involve a certain amount of discipline (Sørensen, 2006). According to Nederhand, Bekkers & Voorberg (2014), the government is often involved in self-organizing processes. They are involved to help to structure the governing processes. The concept of metagovernance is seen as an option to govern these processes. It is seen as a way of providing some help in governing self-organizing processes. In self-organizing processes, self-governing networks are seen (Sørensen, 2006).

The concept of metagovernance explains four ways of self-governance to manage this complex situation and plural view (Sørensen, 2006, p. 101). The biggest difference between these cited aspects is the governmental involvement (Table 2). In a hand-off situation, the government has only an indirect say in the political, financial and organizational context where in a hands-on situation the government is directly involved (Nederhand, Bekkers & Voorberg 2014; Sørensen, 2006).

With framing is meant the design of laws, which leave room for individual design. Other options are the creation of win-win situations. Storytelling stresses the importance of identity. Storytelling in this context is seen as a way to influence actors involved. The aim is to implement a standard strategy by shaping the past and future situation. In the third situation, the government takes a neutral role. They participate in the process to promote activities. The opposite concerns the fourth situation wherein the government fully participates in the process. Everyone is treated equal (Sørensen, 2006).

Hands-off	Hands-on
− Hand-off framing of self-governance − Hand-off storytelling	− Hands-on support and facilitation − Hands-on participation

Table 2. Four ways of governance in relation to metagovernance (Sørensen, 2006).

The third debate: A society of networks

Information and knowledge has always been the foundation for power and the basis of an economy. But information and knowledge need to be transferred to other stakeholders involved. For centuries people transferred knowledge by ships or planes and by mail. But when the industrial society became mature, time was ripe for a new generation. That happened when microelectronics-based communication technologies were introduced. When such a technology was implemented well, people were able to connect with others all over the world. Suddenly networks became flexible, scalable and had to survive probable attacks. This has resulted in a network society wherein almost every civilian in the western world has access to Internet. The power of each network is determined individually but important are the network capacities of institutions, organizations and social actors (Castells, 2004).

Currently societies are built around these kinds of technologies. Mostly in forms of communication- networks which has an impact on the paradigm of the 20th century (Castells, 2004). One of the favours of this technology is the possibility to integrate different knowledge domains. It is what Hadorn et al., (2007) calls: Trans disciplinary. Due to the flexibility it is possible to connect and distribute knowledge. This became even stronger when the wireless applications were introduced.

But next to these technological developments that have created a network society, according to Castells (cited, 2004, p-15) there were two other crucial contributions (Table 3).

Two crucial contributions:
- Crises and restructuring of industrialism (two modes of production - capitalism and statism) - Freedom oriented cultural movements in the late 60s and early 70s

Table 3. Crucial contributions. Source: Castells, 2004, p-15.

What are revealed again, are economic recessions and political movements and conflicts. What is discussed earlier as well is the importance of time and space. With the introduction of digital networks, time and space were placed in another daylight. Space could be seen in two perspectives, one digital perspective and one physic perspective. The latter perspective contributes physically to a network and has an influential effect. A digital node has no effect on a physical network (Castells, 2004). Time in digital networks is important for financial transactions. Here again the economic part is discussed.

Of course, these transitions in technology have contributed to globalizations and affect cultures, but as this research focus on local networks this is not further discussed (Castells, 2004).

Self-organization is a process people try to understand but, up-scaling, departmentalisation and creating new networks is not without risks. Reductionists created these processes. These processes take place to reach a certain amount of clarity. Due to generalizations, elements whether they are known or unknown are left out or overlooked. Even vanishing small elements can be crucial. It is possible to leave details out but then it is important to know what the limitations of such a definition are, what is left out and why (Richardson & Tait, 2010). Sørensen, (2006) writes another critical note. On the one hand citizens have a greater say in decisions made by self-organized networks, on the other hand governmental actors loose authority in decision-making. The generation of self-organized networks threatens the connection of all self-organized networks to a larger community. Meta-governance could serve as an umbrella (Sørensen, 2006).

Another critical aspect with regard to self-organization is the inequality in societies. Self-organizations will succeed if initiators know the way in the governmental organization. Often people are well educated and have a strong network. In neighbourhoods with social problems, people have not always the capacity to start to organize things by themselves. If more and more facilities are arranged by self-organization then these facilities are not accessible for everyone anymore. As a result, increasing differences within the society (Uitermark, 2012). He suggests, linking well functioning and struggling networks can decrease this difference (Uitermark, 2012).

1.4. Conditions & roles for self-organization

As in every development process, different roles and conditions can be identified. Different authors have identified different roles and conditions with regard to self-organization (WRR, 2012; Boonstra, Vogel & Slob, 2014; Nederhand, Bekkers, Voorberg, 2014; Susskind, 2008; Gray, 2008). Different actors involved in a process have different interests. In order to run an effective process over the year different techniques have emerged to speed up the process, as that is often the problem (Gray, 2008).

Conditions

Nederhand, Bekkers & Voorberg (2014) identify a several conditions for self-organization. They start by saying an **incentive** is needed which interrupts the current situation. A self-organizing process emerges as a response to identity threatening developments. The process starts if someone starts to work out an idea (Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edelenbos, 2012). Furthermore initiators need a **trigger**. There must be something to focus on. One of the most important factors in relationships is trust. Trust helps to integrate a project into the community. By doing so, actors involved make use of social capital.

Another condition is **exchange of data** in terms of ideas and information. It is about keeping people involved (Comfort 1994 in Nederhand, Bekkers & Voorberg 2014). Other factors refer to mergence of information fragmentised in different documents and available on different locations. Therefore it is important to make use of digital databases and platforms.

Furthermore it is seen as important to protect a process by **inserting a little bit of guidance**. Often ideas of non-state actors are difficult to implement because of a lack of power and resources. Sometimes these resources are difficult to bring together (Nederhand, Bekkers & Voorberg 2014). It is important to generate **vital actor relations**. These vital actor relations can be creates by the use of network management (Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edelenbos, 2012). In an urban context, the more actors involved the more complex the situation becomes. Therefore it is important to make sure actors

interact and collaborate. In literature this is called vital networks. In this vital networks, actors involved search to a solution together. They are constantly in dialogue. Therefore different techniques are possible to implement (Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edelenbos, 2012; Susskind, 2008). This will be further discussed later in this chapter.

Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edelenbos (2012) in their paper cite Healey (2006) by stressing the importance of **institutional and relational capacity**. Here, a link is found with the later explained network theory. They state, network management activities are one of the most important things as they bring actors together. In the processes the focus relies upon joint-fact finding and mutual gains. This is also mentioned in the paper of Nederhand, Bekkers & Voorberg (2014). They add that this is even more important when a particular activity takes place in a field, which was traditionally governed by the government. They end by addressing the **gap** between policies and the room needed for initiatives to evolve autonomously. In the whole process, actors work with existing structures and new structures. These structures need to find each other. This gap needs to be bridged. They call it the space between disciplines and rhizome. Connecting actors could be done with a rhizometic working approach. With a rhizome seen from a municipal perspective is meant: the municipality sets up the rules and conditions but these rules and conditions leave room for local initiatives. A municipality needs to find local networks and try to become part of these networks which out losing their own vision (Boonstra, Vogels, Slob, 2014).

Roles

Boonstra, Vogel, Slob (2014) identify four roles: the initiator, the navigator, the pioneer, and disciplinarian. The roles and dilemma's discussed are relevant for Almere but provide a good overview (Boonstra, Vogel & Slob, 2014). For the connection of the municipality and local actors, the pioneer and the navigator are the most important (Boonstra, Vogel, Slob, 2014). The initiator initiates the project. This initiator drives on its own motivation and ignores existing frameworks, protocols and appointments – motivation is based on short-term opportunities. This role is also explained as being a puller. Pullers are the initiators of the project. They are willing to guide the project through the process. They stress that not only civilians start an initiative but also NGO's (non-profit organizations) or social entrepreneurs take the initiative (WRR, 2012).

The navigator helps the initiative through the departments of the municipality. This role has no final view but changes his/hers way depending on the situation. More persons are involved in this role. The pioneer is a person who makes sure a created path will be standardized. This role tries to find solutions to transform ad-hoc solutions into logics. The disciplinar has a strong focus on institutions. This actor makes sure everything happens within the by the government created framework of institutions and policies. Makes intensive use of regulations (Boonstra, Vogel, Slob, 2014).

In a process there could also be connectors. A distinction is made between internal and external connectors. Connectors are able to connect different networks together. This could be informal networks (civilians) and formal networks (governments). But also on a one to one level, this connector could link different actors together as well (WRR, 2012).

The internal connector is someone who is participating in a local network. Due to its abilities or developed competences or professional life, this actor is able to communicate with actors in a formal network from an informal standpoint. As this actor know the way in the complex institutional world. It is about network qualities (WRR, 2012).

The external connector is used when internal connectors are not present. This is translated in the role of coordinators in neighbourhoods. The actors are appointed by municipalities to support local initiatives. They know these networks very well (WRR, 2012). A disadvantage of this external connector is the risk of the grey area. Because when to act as a coordinator and when to act as a civilian? Most initiators are people working in government related sectors. Furthermore, the shadow of the law is meant in a supportive way. Also the hierarchical aspect comes into play as the government support with subsidies. The researchers asked for more empirical research as this study was conducted by two case studies. No attention was paid on the Groningen case. Like the study intended, there are differences between different municipalities (Nederhand, Bekkers & Voorberg, 2014).

2. Complexity theory

This part of the state of the art encompasses the theoretical background of the transitions discussed in the former chapter. It discusses philosophical debates of Parmenides, Plato and Aristotle and connects these debates to the current era. This is included as currently governmental organizations see societies in different perspectives and see other truths compared to citizens. In the current era, attention is paid on the relation between techne, episteme and phronesis. This discussion is highly relevant for this time as actors involved create single unique networks. This explanation is followed by an in-depth explanation of complexity theory, network theory and chaos theory related to self-organization.

2.1. Philosophy of science

Why going back to ancient times? Because by then philosophers already studied and observed their living environment and enunciated this to folks and their followers. As red in the first part, after WOII a strong top-down approach was used. Governments by then make use of blueprinted plans, a rather rational approach. In the nineties the communicative turn took place meaning that more attention was paid on what citizens concerned and what was suitable for a particular place (de Roo, 2013). As aforementioned, due to rationalisation, crucial details were and still are overlooked. It addresses also the difference between objective and subjective knowledge. The Oxford dictionary (2014) explains objective as follows: *"a person or their judgement)* **not influenced by personal feelings or opinions** *in considering and representing facts"*. Subjective is: "**based on or influenced by** *personal feelings, tastes, or opinions"* (Oxford dictionary, 2014).

Parmenides, Plato and Aristotle

The linkage between these three philosophers can be found in the same poem of Parmenides[9]. Plato (427-347 B.C.) as well as Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) used sentences of Parmenides in their own work (Stanford, 2012). The first proposition touches upon the shift from rational planning to communicative planning (the bottom-up initiatives). The second proposition is about certainty. Stakeholders involved in the process currently accept more are more they have to work with a certain amount of uncertainty and unpredictability (de Roo, 2013, p-44 and 52). Plato used an objective approach. His persuasions where based upon observations and experience. Aristotle used a subjective approach. His persuasions where based upon ideas and logics (de Roo, 2013, p – 58). The

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[9] Poem of Parmenides:*"What Is is; for it is to be,/ but nothing it is not".* Later he states: *"what must be, what must not be, and what is but need not be"* (Stanford, 2012).

relevance of the connection between an objective approach and a subjective approach can be explained with the debate of Flyvbjerg.

Techne, episteme and phronesis

The former chapter discussed the upcoming importance of citizen intervention in development processes. It is important to stay in dialogue with people directly affected. It is what Flyvbjerg calls: a phronetic organization (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Aristotle already stressed the importance of local knowledge by saying that subjective knowledge is most important to draw conclusions. Phronesis is about local values and context dependent information. It is practical wisdom (Flyvbjerg, 2006; van Dijk 2011). Next to phronesis, the practical knowledge, he discusses episteme and techne. With episteme, scientific knowledge is meant. This kind of knowledge is based on principles and is not affected by time and space (Flyvbjerg, 2006). We need to make use of laws of nature while designing buildings (Newton's law of gravity) (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This approach is what Plato believed as being the truth. Techne is described as art. Flyvbjerg (2006) points out Aristotle's statement of techne. He says: "*every art is concerned with bringing something into being, and the practice of an art is the study of how to bring into being something that is capable either of being or of not being....*" (*N.E.*: 1140a1-23 in Flyvbjerg, 2006). In practice, this can be translated to the work of consultants. Companies consult consultants to come up with a solution for their particular problems they face. Since every system is unique, no straightforward solution should solve these problems satisfactory (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Richardson & Tait, 2010). These consultants need to change their role to process advisors and leave their rational approach of addressing problems behind (Flyvbjerg 2006; Richardson & Tait, 2010).

By looking at bottom-up initiatives, depending on the scale and difficulty, there is always a relation between techne, episteme and phronesis. Phronesis is the ethical aspect of techne and episteme. By leaving out Phronesis, the real world is left aside (van Dijk, 2011).

2.2. Complexity theories of Cities

Urban processes have become more complex as a result of an increased involvement of citizens. Therefore theories, which are originally based on natural processes, have become relevant to apply on urban processes (Portugali, 2011). The gap between this paragraph and the next paragraph is the difference between the hard science and the soft science. The origins of complexity are in the hard-science (physics) where a city with the social structures is part of the soft-science (Portugali, 2011). Complexity theory in general states that information and data are not bounded anymore. Since data can be transferred from one place to another easily, these systems are open (Alfasi & Portugali, 2007). As briefly mentioned in the former chapter, the fragmented parts are numerous and therefore there is no order or stability. The patterns are non-linear and unclear. These order and stability can be realized by self-organizing systems on a small scale and not by external planners (Alfasi & Portugali, 2007).

A city

According to Johnson (2012) a city is explained as a system of subsystems. This is how a city is seen in this thesis as well. In a city, families are living, businesses are running, citizens are moving by foot, car, bicycle or public transport. These activities can be categorized in macro, meso and micro level activities (Johnson, 2012). This means all spatial and social patterns and layers in a system form their own system (Figure 2). Together they form a city. Every sub-system in a city generates revenues,

which can also change over time. It is a multi-level system wherein e.g. people travel and pay transportation fees or people pay for their mortgage (Johnson, 2012, p- 162-165).

The City   *Macro-levels*
↕
physical and social subsystems
↕
retail, industrial, residential, transportation, education, etc subsystems   *Meso-levels*
↕
families, businesses, clubs, societies, etc subsystems
↕
individual objects, people, etc   *Micro-levels*
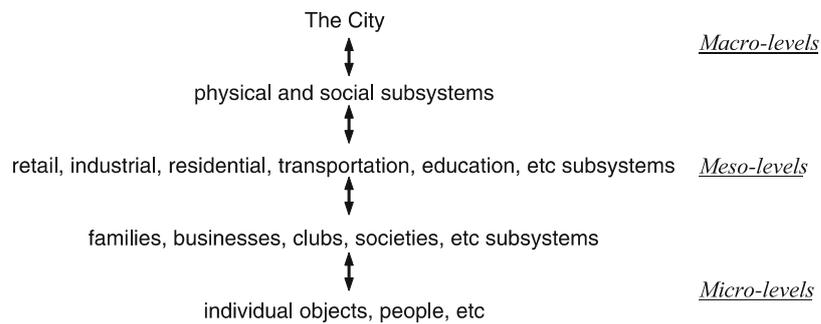
Figure 2. Urban system. Source: Portugali et.al, 2012, p-154

Creating a network is inevitable. But if a system starts to work independently, a policy change is needed. Current policy structures could obstruct the concept of self-organization. Figure 3 illustrates this. The cones illustrate the sub-systems (Johnson, 2012, p- 162-165).
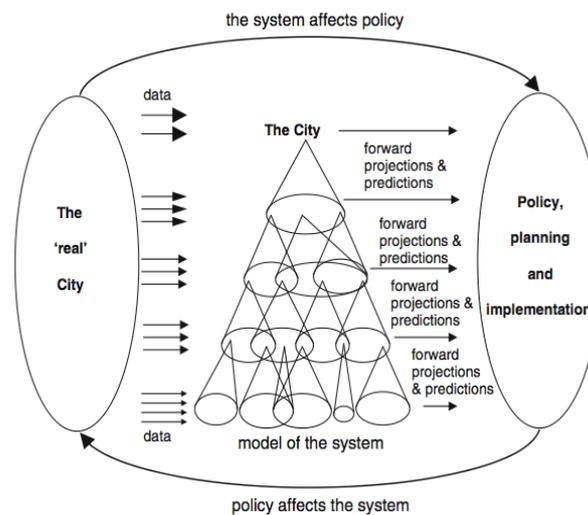
Figure 3. Policy can obstruct new ways of urban development. Source: Johnson in Portugali, et al, 2012, p 166

Portugali (2011) explains a city as a dual complex system because of the presence of spatial and societal layers. He stresses the importance of the fact that both are dual-complex systems themselves. Within each system are complex systems as well (Portugali, 2011). The final outcome of such a process floats on technological innovations, socio-economic changes and lifestyle trends but also on capacity and demand (Rauw et al., 2014) and hence, as earlier mentioned, political backgrounds.

Worth noting is, a city as explained above is not always seen in this way. From the 1950s and 1960 on studies were also focussed on Structuralist- Marxist and Humanistic cities (SMH). A division was made between a scientific approach and a social approach. (Portugali, 2011). SMH cities had a strong focus on the social aspect. This Marxist city had a strong capitalistic focus whereas Humanistic cities focused more on the role of place and space (Portugali, 2011).

Dissipative and autopoietic cities

Complexity theories of cities are divided in two forms, long-term and short-term. The long-term contains dissipative cities and synergetic cities and addresses a top-down as well as a bottom-up approach (Portugali, 2011). Short-term cities will be discussed later. Table 4 shows characteristics of dissipative and autopoietic cities.

Dissipative cities are cities existing of open social systems. These open systems are built up out of numerous sub-systems, which organize themselves. These sub-systems interconnect with each otherThis kind of city makes use of vital networks wherein a lot is possible to achieve (Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edelenbos, 2012). This could also be explained as a synergetic city. This is a city wherein interaction, interrelation and synergy between sub-systems take place (Haken, in Portugali, 2011). Johnson (2012) states that current theories regarding networks focus on one-to-one connections but in the meantime other connections are made as well.

The origins of this theory can be found in physics in the Bernard Experiment in the 1960s. This experiment revealed that molecules in a disordered state in a non-equilibrium state found a certain amount of order themselves. It revealed for the first time that cells are not isolated from their environment and therefore belong to an open system. To order themselves a certain amount of creativity is needed (Portugali, 2011, p-53). These kinds of systems can be explained in forms of cities as discussed in Juval Portugali's (2011) book but also in form of a complex governance system as discussed in Geert Teisman's book (2009). Just like other systems, complexity theories have evolved as well. One thing did not change in this evolution. The economic approach stayed. Economy is still an important driver. Still, cities exist and evolve where a fruitful surface exist for economic functions (Portugali, 2011).

Next to these open systems, there are closed systems. These systems are called autopoietic systems. Autopoiesis means self-production. It is about the development of one particular system (Prokopenko, 2014). It is an inward oriented social system with closed boundaries. The group of actors involved is small. It is maintained by itself and forms an individual identity. On a certain moment the inward oriented system will stabilize and reproduce itself (Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edelenbos, 2012). It is what Prokopenko (2014) calls: *"These entities are in a continuous realization of their self-production"* (Prokopenk, 2014, p-23). In the urban context a self-organizing system could be a bus company offering public transport services in a city on an infrastructure network (Johnson, 2012).

Characteristic of Dissipative cities	Characteristic of Autopoietic cities
Open social system	Inward oriented social system
Interconnections sub-systems	Self-sustaining
Highly dynamic/ Vital network	Forms own identity
Wide boundaries	Stabilizes itself
New structures + processes	Narrow bounded
	Limiting variety of ideas + amount of actors

Table 4. Characteristics of Dissipative and Autopoietic cities. Source: Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edelenbos, 2012

Complex Adaptive Systems

A way to apply this flexibility and open systems in projects is to make use of a complex adaptive system approach as briefly aforementioned. In short: CAS. It shows similarities with organic urban growth. In this strategy, developers, by developing on a smaller scale, respond to actual economic situations and demand (Rauws et. al., 2014). It found its origins in Complexity Science. In this approach, changes during the process are not failures anymore because this approach leaves room

for this. As it comes from complexity science the same characteristics are seen. Within this CAS approach Non-linear development, Contextual interference, Self-organization and Coevolution could take place (Table 5) (Rauws et al., 2014, p- 135). A difference between this approach and other approaches are the scale. These approaches are related to a particular place and to a particular time. The right column provides suggestions of guiding aspects in a particular uncertain process. The last property, coevolution means that evolutions are interdependent. This means that changes are influenced by different factors and not only by one single cause (Teisman et al., 2009). Rauws et.al. (2014), links the strategic level to the local level (the level where upon the plans are implemented). They do so by suggesting four criteria. These criteria are: work on a small scale, use an incremental process, make sure they are carrying structures and use rules, which leave room for bottom-up implementation (Rauws, et.al., 2014).

Properties of a CAS approach	Implications for spatial planning and governance
Non-linear development • cause–effect relations are disproportional • systems may shift fundamentally in structure and function	Adaptive strategies • remote (in time and space) causality between planned interventions and associated outcomes • designs have to be vital under different circumstances
Contextual interferences • search for best possible 'fit' with environment	Maneuverability • room for change • exploring likely development paths
Self-organization • developments emerge out of the interaction between actors without external coordination • the ability of systems to self-stabilize and self-innovate	Facilitation • support and create conditions that stimulate autonomous, self-unfolding urban developments
Coevolution • a two-way process between actors manipulating a system and systems changing in response to these manipulations	Guiding the 'becoming' • stimulating or mitigating specific feedback loops

Table 5. Overview ways to implement a CAS approach. Source: Rauws et al., 2014, p. 135

2.3. Network theory

The network theory can be approached in different ways. According to Haken's approach, a network is a collection of numerous pairwise connections. These networks could be free of scale (Haken, 2012). Another approach could be that network theory focuses upon the relationships among people or organizations. It could address communication patterns. By analysing communication patterns, obstructions within these communication patterns could be revealed and improved (UTwente, 2014).

In a network according to Castells (2004), different nodes are working together. This collaboration of numerous parts is called: Synergetics. This numerous parts could be cells (biology), Isotopes (Physics), but also people or groups of people (Haken, 1979,1983, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996 in Portugali, 2011). Haken considers the use of synergetics in governing complex systems (Haken, 2012). Synergetics try to reduce the complexity of networks. The earlier acknowledge Bernard Experiment can be explained by this theory. In the experiment of Haken, unstable elements are the basic elements. Just like in networks, on a certain moment a transformation emerges wherein some nodes become useless and others become more important. This order is reached by a certain amount of strong order parameters, which govern the process. The strongest parameters will win from the weaker ones. This is what Haken (2012) calls: *the slaving principle.*

In practice the same is visible, in a self-organizing systems there are a lot of individuals and just a few governing parameters. Based on what individuals do, the behaviour of governing parameters is determined. Next, governing parameters determine the behaviour of the individuals (Haken, 2012). Before Haken introduced his slaving principle little attention was paid on circular causality as a result of a global focus (Portugali, 2011).

A translation to social processes is found in Flyvbjerg's paper: *Rationality of Power* (2003). In his study the following sentence said by Francis Bacon is included: "*not only is knowledge power, but, more im- portant, power is knowledge*" (Flyvbjerg, 2003, p-319). The one who has the power decides how information is meant (Flyvbjerg, 2003).

Relationships

Within these networks different kind of relationships could emerge. This could be a symmetric relation, a directed relation or a mixed relation. It explains a one-to-one relation (binary relation) or different storylines. The original network theory is based on pairwise connections. But Johnson nuances this by saying that some relationships cannot become into being or reach a desired part by only creating a pair relationship. Sometimes more elements are needed in the same time for example in an orchestra (Johnson, 2012, p- 162-165). It is clear; one actor should hold this small network together. That is why these networks become multi-dimensional (n-ary relations). Johnson (2012) calls this a relational simplex. In a relational simplex, no layer is strict. It is a dynamic process (Johnson, 2012). See Figure 4.
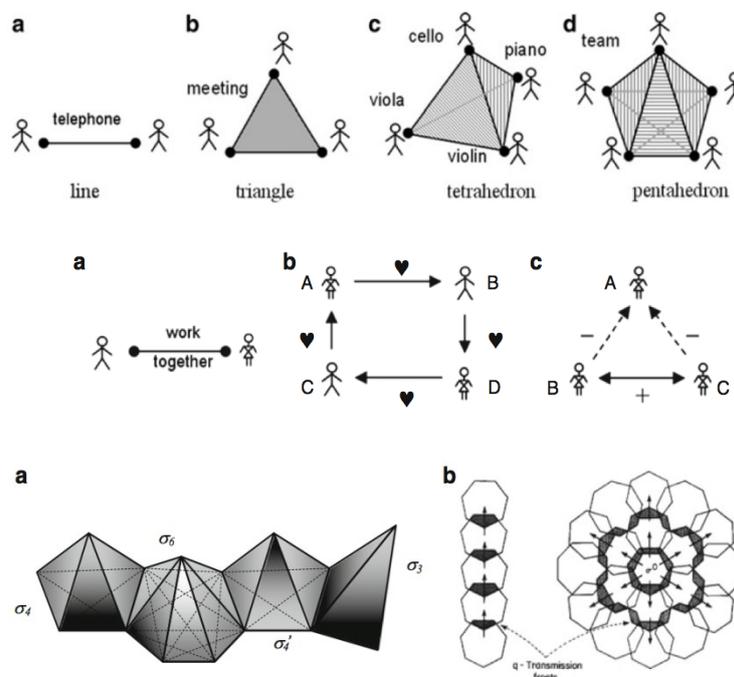
Figure 4. Emergence of networks. Source: Johnson, 2012, p-161

Making use of spatial characteristics could also stimulate building relationships. Alfasi & Portugali (2007) in their paper "*Planning rules for a self-planned city*" used the pattern language of Alexander (1977) as foundation for a study of specific spatial characteristics for self-organization. As current planners deal with placements of new elements next to existing elements, this distinction has been made. This is seen most often. The effect of this interference could be local (e.g. view and landscape) or global (e.g. effect on public and open spaces) (Alfasi & Portugali, 2007). The local effect addresses the relation between buildings. The global effect addresses the relation between buildings and their surroundings (Alfasi & Portugali, 2007).

Alfasi & Portugali (2007) also discuss the role of infrastructure to connect people. Appleyard (1980) also researched the influences of roads on public interaction. He states that streets also activate

community activities (Appleyard, 1980). He also stresses the importance of exclusion of people and suggests a bottom-up approach as well (Appelyard, 1980). The amount of density in a street affects the amount of contacts across the street. A revised study conducted by Bosselmann, Macdonald and Kronemeyers in 1999 was published in 2007 and came to the same conclusion like Appleyard. People living in a street with a small amount and frequency of vehicles have more contact across the street compared to streets with a large amount of vehicles (Bosselmann, Macdonald and Kronemeyers, 1999). Why this is important could be revealed from the quotes in Figure 5 below. These interaction might lead to sharing ideas. This sharing of ideas could be a starting point for the emerging of an initiative.
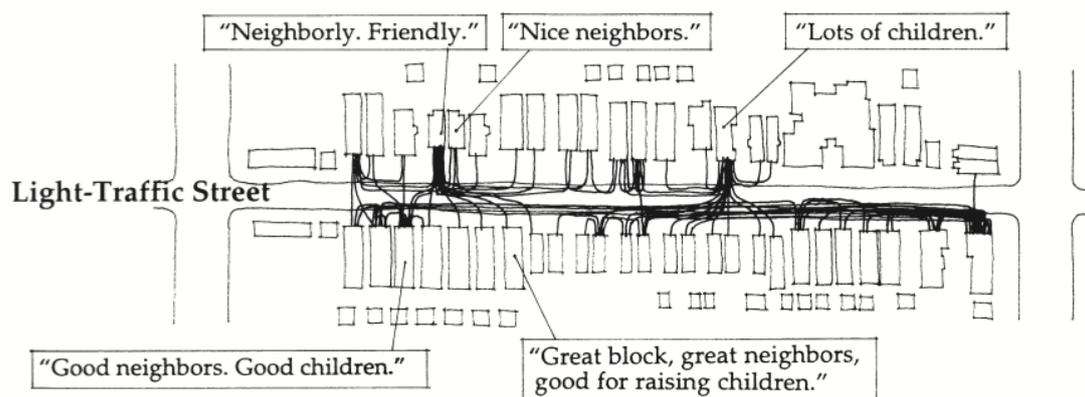
Figure 5. Connectivity on street-level. Source: Bosselmann, Macdonald and Kronemeyers, 1999, P 172.

2.4. Actor network Theory

Compared to the original network theory, actor network theory focuses on relations between actors involved as well non-human elements (Boelens, 2010b). This comes closer to real life situations. It is based on believes that human interact with their environment. A relation emerges based on a specific connection. The relation consists of humans, objects, subjects, and nature. In advance it is never clear what initiates the relation. This could be one of those aspects. Roles and dominant actors could change over time (Boelens, 2010b). The aspects just mentioned are similar to complexity theory as well as networks. Indeed, uncertainty leads to complexity and changes over time are similar to network theory. Boelens (2010b) cites in his paper four steps from Michel Callon (1986), which should lead to a successful outcome.

1. Problem: What is the issue? Who is involved?
2. Interest: Terms of commitment? How are the actors interest served?
3. Enrolment: How to convert common interests into potential associations?
4. Mobilization of supporters: wide support for interest?

The Actor network theory reveals how power emerges. Furthermore the Actor network theory focuses also on the interaction between different levels (micro/macro). The strength of this theory is the ability to include all aspects apart from humans.

Boelens argues, next to all positive sides of this theory, there are some shortcomings. He mentions three of them. The first one has to do with the implementation. Plans needs not only to be analysed, but also implemented. The second thing has to do with all human and non-human factors

involved. The last group needs to be represented by humans. Therefore they are not really actors involved but more aspect to be aware of. It is what Boelens (2010b) calls: mediated factors.

The third point stresses the importance of prosperity. Consider not only the interest of current generations but also of next generations (Boelens, 2010b). In Boonstra & Boelens (2011), Boelens states that actually networks cannot be predicted in advance but just evolve during the process.

2.5. Chaos theory

The complexity theory finds his origins in chaos theory (Portugali 2011). Although trough years a lot of models are designed to find ways of chaos, Cartwright already warned for a fake security (Portugali, 2011; Cartwright 1991).

As briefly introduced in the former paragraph, synergetics, elements in chaos find their order spontaneously. As explained, complex systems exist of numerous individual parts. As a result of synergetics such a transformation starts from a chaotic situation. It founds its roots in nonlinear dynamic systems (Haken, 2012; Thiétart & Forgues, 1995). In this situation, for example humans, walking on a square and chose all a different way to reach a certain point.

There are two forms of chaos namely: Global (macro) and local (micro) (Portugali, 2011). Another theory closely related to chaos theory is the fractal theory. Fractal theory studies the way of order where chaos theory studies the way of chaos. This is exactly what happens in cities in short-term complex systems. Sometimes there is chaos, e.g. in rush hours and sometimes there is order. Short-term complexity contains chaotic cities and addresses a bottom-up approach. The macro level is seen as city level, where the micro level is seen on street level. For example: the movement of cars (Portugali, 2011).

Chaos Theory implies everything is consistent. When a situation changes from order to chaos it is not said the new way of order is of the same level as before. More likely, the level of order has increased in quality (de Roo, 2013). What the final outcome of this transition will be cannot be predicted (de Roo, 2013).

Cartwright (1991) implies it is due to the complexity of humanist systems impossible to understand these systems. Chaos theory implies explanations of chaos could be found in simple systems (Cartwright, 1991). He refers to Gödel's child while saying in his footnotes that chaos is consistent over a certain amount of time and with a certain amount of space but becomes inconsistent on a larger scale (Cartwright, 1991).

Economic situations could be explained as a chaotic situation. It leaves room change (de Roo, 2013, p- 71-72). The latter happens at the moment. Inter alia, due to economic change, room was created for self-organization and CAS approaches (Rauws, et. al., 2014).

Conclusion of literature

This literature studies shows two different schools in planning with regard to self-organization. The first part discusses the self-organization as an outcome of economic and political changes. The outcomes of the historical analysis of event shows, political and economic drivers as well as technological drivers have had an effect on today's' view on project development. These events place self-organization in a context and have created room for bottom-up initiatives. The second part discusses how theory which originally of natural processes returns in today's societal processes as a result of a move to bottom-up approaches in planning. The theories as explained in the second part help to understand the processes discussed in the first part. Due to an increasing amount of actors and small (sub) networks, projects have become more complex. Actors involved are still looking how to connect these small sub-networks to an overall network. Related to this complexity emerges chaos due to an increasing amount of networks. One general thing is important to this research that is: governments form societies and societies form governments. The same is relevant for the way policy is designed.

Studies pay attention on the positive sight of self-organization. Less attention is paid to failing self-organising projects and what the obstructing conditions were (Schinkel, 2012; Uitermark, 2012).

The literature review reveals also the awareness of different roles in a self-organizing process and stresses the importance of a governmental role but also the collaboration between these actors. Next to the involvement of actors, spatial characteristics have an influence on the generation of self-organizing processes. Next to these positive signs, scientists warn for inequality in society if governments concentrate too much on self-organization. By attempting to understand these complex processes and attempts to simplify them, actors involved need to be aware of overlooking important details.

Based on what is found in the state of the art it is important to create and expand the overview of stimulating and obstructing conditions in self-organising processes. To let self-organising processes succeed within the local governmental boundaries, it is worthwhile researching these kinds of factors. Hence, governments will always be a part of the development processes. Therefore, for them it is important to know in which way they stimulate or obstruct the process. The latter just needs to be avoided. It is not the question what needs to be guided but from the perspective of what room within the framework could be given to local initiators? What guidance do they need to succeed?

All elements discussed above could be summarized in the conceptual model (Figure 6).

Conceptual model

Room for bottom-up intiatives
Increasing amount of actors involved

- Technologies   - Societal changes   - Economic crisis   - Political movements

Projects have become more complex

Time

Citizens influence government
Mostly citizens with strong networks triggered by interuptions

Overall-network

Entrepreneurs
Subjective feelings
Reality
Motivations

Mutual gains
Subjective feelings
Reality
Motivations
Low density streets
Citizens

City (sub-networks)
Macro
Meso
Micro

Government
Objective reality
Institutional frameworks & legislation
Awareness of inequality

Government influences citizens
Sets out the lines e.g. using CAS approach

Current situation

Model based on Johnson, 2012, p. 166

Figure 6. Conceptual model. Partially based on. Johnson, 2012, p. 166. On the left side, it shows the contextual elements. It shows how the current context was created over time. The right side explains the interaction between the society and market as well as the government. The model shows entrepreneurs as well as citizens could come up with ideas. The government, on the other hand, could also stimulate the society as well as the market to come up with ideas. Entrepreneurs and citizens could also merge their interests. The middle part of the right side of the model shows, a city consists of different sub-systems. The city is seen as the overall network. Sub-systems could act on a micro, meso and macro level.

3. Research methods

One of the most fundamental parts of this research report is the methodology used. This chapter explains how this research has been worked out. This explanation makes it possible, if appreciated, the research process can be repeated. A funnel principle is applied on this chapter. This means first, the entire research process is explained. In a sequence the qualitative research and methods used are explained in detail.

3.1. Overall process
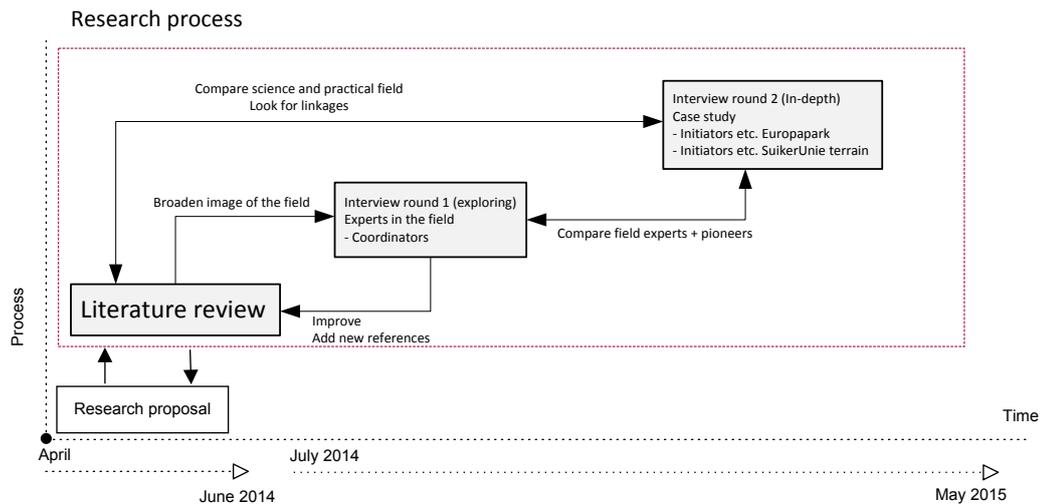
Figure 7. Research process

Epistemology

The research methods are positioned as shown in Figure 7. To get an idea of this field first a literature review was conducted. This literature review is used to broaden the image of what kind of research already has been done and to look for more on going debates. As not all information is published or available via digital sources, an interview round with exploring interviews with experts was added to the research process. This helped to broaden the images of the field including failing projects and to make connections between the field and literature. Also, this offers the opportunity to add new references to the literature review and improve the current literature review. When this round was finished and the literature review reviewed, a second round with interviews was conducted to gather more in-depth knowledge. These in-depth interviews were conducted within two cases in Groningen: Europapark and SuikerUnie terrain (see hereafter in this chapter). Based on the collected data, a comparison of different views (municipality, market, residents) upon the self-organizing process was made. This reveals differences and similarities and shows connections between different working fields. Also a connection was made between scientific theories and the practical situation. The connection of research questions to the methods used could be found in the appendix 1A.

Empirical research

Roughly a division can be made between qualitative and quantitative research. By doing a quantitative research it is getting to know little knowledge from a large amount of data where as a qualitative research approach is about getting to know a lot from a relatively small amount of cases. In this research a qualitative research approach is used as it suits the objective of this research (Vogt,

Gardner & Haeffele, 2012). Namely, providing stimulating and obstructing conditions in a self-organized system.

What can be created without guidance? Seen from this perspective, a quantitative research should not have provided representative information, as every context is unique. This also applies to city level. Generally a qualitative research approach is about digging on one particular place. Get to know more in depth knowledge about one particular case. In this research is focussed on the case of Europapark and the case of the SuikerUnie terrain.

3.2. Case study research

A case study is done as the topic chosen asks for trans disciplinary research. It means that several scientific fields as well as policy fields should be integrated in research to achieve a reliable result (Hadorn et al., 2007) Planners become more and more conscious of the fact that future planning is based on present and past, inter alia, social, political events. The topic of self-organization cannot be seen isolated from its context and covers several sectors e.g. governmental, business sectors. The question is to research what is going on in the field (Thomas, 2011).

Therefore, a multiple case study is chosen to see if there are differences in conditions for temporary and permanent self-organising projects. Furthermore it provides the opportunity to compare an initial project status to a mature project status. By doing a comparative analysis contrasting aspects and similarities can be revealed (Yin, 2003). The *subject* of this case study is based on local knowledge. In this context this means the case is connected to the study field of spatial planning and contains aspects related to this (Thomas, 2011). As the cases chosen are located in the municipality of Groningen the data needed is nearby. Thomas (2011) makes a distinction between the subject of study, and the case to study.

The *subjects of study* in this thesis are Europapark Groningen and SuikerUnie terrain. The *case to study* in these cases is the implementation of self-organization. These cases are used to see how self-organization works or have worked in these contexts. These two particular cases have been chosen as both projects contain self-organizing processes. Furthermore, both cases have not been topic of research related to self-organization that often.

Cases: conditions

One of the characteristics of self-organization processes is the uniqueness of every case. By following the main question, the case chosen should meet a few conditions. As self-organization is still undefined, it is important to be aware of going of route. The people involved could be citizens, nongovernmental organizations, governments, private companies and more. First, by choosing cases located in the same municipality, the same institutional context is applicable. Second, to see what projects could learn from each other, linked to the municipality chosen, a comparison is made between locations for temporary and contemporary initiatives. Third, since, future planning is based on present and past events, to investigate stimulating and hampering factors during the process; the project should have a development history. Whether or not it is a short or a long one.

Cases: purpose

The purpose of the case study as an empirical research approach in the first place was to scope the thesis research domain (Yin, 2003). Thomas describes five different purposes for using a case study approach: Intrinsic, Instrumental, Evaluative, Explanatory and Exploratory (Thomas, 2011). Yin (2003), discusses also the descriptive purpose of case study.

In this thesis, the case study was primary used for an *explanatory* purpose because it explains what was stimulating the process and what affected the process negatively. It is about the interrelationships of different drivers coming from different stakeholders. In the end all drivers either positive or negative will meet at one place an affect the final outcome of the results. In the case of Europapark, stakeholders involved can already look back and evaluate parts of the process. In the case of the SuikerUnie terrain, stakeholders currently involved in this initial state, can explain the ideologies they have regarding the final outcome

However, the case study starts with the *descriptive* purpose. The descriptive purpose was used to describe the scope and depth of the case study (Yin, 2003). Furthermore the case study could reveal why in a particular context this approach did work or not (Thomas, 2011). Another purpose of a case study, which is applicable for these cases, is *evaluation*. In both cases the development approach has changed over time. Room was created for bottom-up initiatives. As the new approach is still going in both cases, it is not possible yet to draw final conclusions upon this process change.

A third purpose of a case study is *exploratory*. The cases are used to explore the process of self-organization in a particular context. The process is seen from different perspectives and explores why the process on a certain time was successful or not. What were important drivers? Here, a connection can also be made between science and practical knowledge. What kind of connections can be identified to connect these kinds of fields?

In this research report, the case studies have been used for different purposes. The first one is for drawing the picture (Thomas, 2011). This means the case study is used to make the theory, addressed in the theoretical framework more concrete and reveal linkages between different working fields. Second, the case study is used to test the theories. On a scientific level, self-organization comes from complexity theory, network theory and chaos theory. These theories are tested in this research.

A Diachronic study

The data needed could be analysed to find important conditions to guide to let the self-organizing process be successful. Based on what is previously discussed, two cases in Groningen have been selected. Both cases answer the conditions. The questions aforementioned will be answered by analysing the process in a diachronic study for both cases. This means, the study will show change over time (Thomas, 2011). By showing change over time linked with actual drivers for that time, insight is given in what kinds of conditions were decisive. Although relationships found could be a representative, no statistical tests were conducted to test the strength of these causal relationships.

The last part of this diachronic study is a comparison of the two cases researched. Based on this comparison a list of important conditions is created. A division is made between conditions already found in former scholars and conditions found in this diachronic study. The final outcome of this study is a paragraph of this thesis containing a list of important conditions for self-organization. To conduct this diachronic study a several research methods are suitable. The figures (Figure 8) below show per case the starting points.
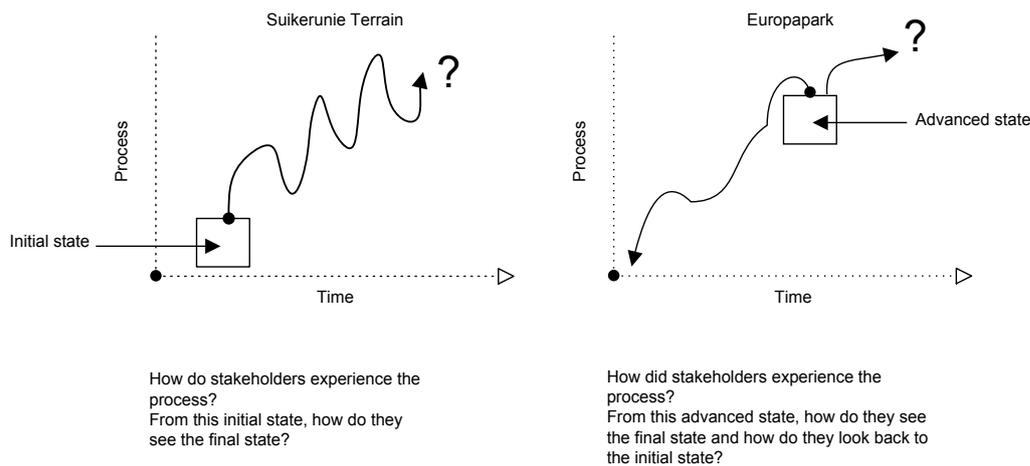
Figure 8. Research principles

3.3. Overview methods and data

First round of semi-structured interviews

First, interviews were conducted with professionals in the field (Table 6). This interview had an exploratory purpose. This was done to gain information not published in scientific journals, magazines or books. Interviews were semi-structured as this method was used to gain new information instead of confirm the information already conducted by literature review. Data conducted was examined and placed next to the dedicated literature review. As a result of this, the data found in the literature was supported by the data collected from interviews.

First round of interviews			
Contact	**Professionalism**	**Company**	**Date**
Participant 1	Director Policy & design	Local government	30rd of July 2014
Participant 2	Social entrepreneur / Community Builder	Society / market	18th of August 2014

Table 6. Overview of interviewees for first round of interviews.

Second round of semi-structured interviews

The second round of interviews was conducted with interviewees connected to the case of Europapark or the case of SuikerUnie terrain (Table 7). In this interview round, initiators, important actors, coordinators of the municipality were interviewed. After the stakeholder analyses based on available literature was conducted. This is taken as a starting point for the rest of the research. Stakeholder's views were all analysed and compared to each other.

The information conducted was transcribed and coded. This coding process involved looking for important events, important changes in the process. Furthermore, obstructing and stimulating conditions were distilled. The list of codes could be found in the appendix 1B.

Based on these results the theoretical framework + expert view was interpreted to the empirical part. A caveat needs to be placed here. Only the key stakeholders in the process were interviewed.

Second round of interviews			
Contact	**Professionalism**	**Company**	**Date**
SuikerUnie terrain			
Participant 3	Coordinator	Local government	24th of September 2014
Participant 4	Social entrepreneur	Market	9th of December 2014
Participant 5	Social entrepreneur / professional consultant	Market	10th of December 2014
Participant 6	Professional consultant	Market	17th of December 2014 5th of February 2015
Europapark			
Participant 7	Coordinator	Local government	24th of September 2014 11th of December 2014
Participant 8	Coordinator	Local government	24th of September 2014
Participant 9	None	Citizen	19th of December 2014
Participant 10	Professional consultant	Market	19th of December 2014
Participant 11	Professional consultant	Market	6th of January 2015
Participant 12	Professional consultant	Market	12th of January 2015

Table 7. Overview interviewees for second round of interviews.

Contacts at the municipality were seen as a starting point to reach more key-actors involved as in advance it was not clear which stakeholders were involved in one of the selected cases. The second round of interviews started with a group conversation with three civil servants involved in one the selected cases and the researcher. For the case of Europapark, interviewees were selected based on recommendations of one of the civil servants involved in the group conversation. Interviewees in the case of the SuikerUnie terrain were selected based upon recommendations conducted from the first round of interviews and by attending an event on the SuikerUnie terrain. Due to practical constrains, not all initiatives were included in this research. For both the cases, it was not possible to interview all actors involved. In Europapark, there are plans for housing and a cafe. The supporters association of FC-Groningen in collaboration with FC-Groningen will develop the new public cafe. There are plans for two more apartment blocks. One block is prepared for healthcare services on demand and one block is planned to shelter professionals in the field of multi media. On the SuikerUnie terrain, the focus has been laid on initiators who are currently active on the terrain. Others have been left aside.

4. Results and analysis

For the empirical part of this thesis two case are analysed. The SuikerUnie terrain in the West part of the city centre and Europapark in the Southeast part of the city centre were selected (Figure 9). Both plans are located in the municipality of Groningen and will develop incrementally. Apart from their differences in scale there is a difference in time. The SuikerUnie terrain provides room for temporary self-organization with regard to entrepreneurship. The zoning plan for Europapark provides room for self-organization for an indefinite time. In both cases many different readings of self-organization are found.

Figure 9. Location of SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark in the city of Groningen (layer based on www.mapbox.com)

4.1. The SuikerUnie terrain

The SuikerUnie terrain is located in the west part of Groningen (Figure 9). It was home to the SuikerUnie factory, which has been in operation till 2008. After the factory was closed, an area of approximately 130 hectares became vacant since a long time. However, the terrain stayed inaccessible to citizens. Except from the facilities within the sieve building, there are no facilities on the terrain. The terrain is part of the zoning plan of Ruskenveen. It is proclaimed as a place without a goal for the coming years (Gemeente Groningen, 2012a; Gemeente Groningen 2012c).

Since 2009, the municipality of Groningen owns the property of the SuikerUnie terrain (Muller, 2013b). While by then the municipality had no detailed plan provided for this area, the municipality bought the land to prevent ground speculation and competition between project developers. Indeed, in the same time on a national scale the economic crisis affected the municipal's financial ability to develop new areas. As a result of this, the municipality decided to use this area the coming 15 to 20 years for experimental purposes (Muller, 2013b). The terrain is reserved for temporary initiatives. This means from a municipal point of view, the terrain is seen as an opportunity to see how far they could reduce their role in spatial development processes (Muller, 2013b). Apart from the acquisition of the terrain, the municipality does not intend to invest any more money in the terrain (P1, 2014, p4:3).
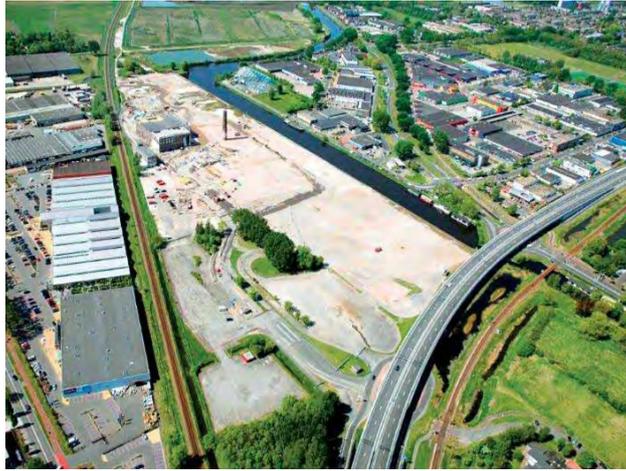
Figure 10. Concrete part of SuikerUnie terrain (Ploegid3,2014)

Between 2011 and 2014 the municipality undertook several attempts to develop the terrain. First, a competition was held. This idea was already based on the willingness of locals to organize ideas themselves. Fifteen competitors where selected by an independent jury. The jury chose fifteen ideas out of 180 ideas. These fifteen ideas were seen as promising but not yet feasible. Next to this the ideas selected did fit into the ambition the city of Groningen has with regard to sustainable development. Most ideas were related to urban farming, sustainability and green space. The topics were of value for the municipality because in 2007 the municipality set up a policy framework of becoming a sustainable city (Gemeente Groningen, 2007). Two reasons are relevant to mention why the competition did not work out as expected. The first reason has to do with the bid for the Floriade 2022. Next to these fifteen ideas the municipality ran a parallel trail to bid for the Floriade 2022. The second reason has to do with different ideas within the group itself. There were also developing ideas of an Anti-squat organization. None of these ideas have been successful so far. Until today, due to incremental drop-out, only one initiative, the Wolkenfabriek, a winner of the competition is operational.

In the beginning of 2015 the municipality selected an occupier manager to develop the front part of the entire terrain. By doing so, the role of the municipality decreases. This occupier manager is being asked by the municipality to further develop the terrain on the front side in collaboration with bottom-up initiatives (Figure 10).

4.2. Europapark

In the South part of Groningen a new area called Europapark is under development (Figure 9). On this location, originally mixed development was planned. Different quarters were reserved for housing, office buildings, for leisure activities and education. This urban renewal plan of 43 hectare is planned upon the location of the former Hunze energy plant, which was closed in 1998 (Gemeente Groningen, 2013b). The highway A7/N7 bounds the total planning area on the north side, the railway line on the west side and the current industrial areas on the east/south side. Apart from two parcels, the municipality owns the property rights for all vacant plots. The municipality made a lot of pre-investments for the terrain for the preparation of roads, sidewalks and cycling paths and sub-surface facilities.

Until 2008 the municipality was approaching this plan as they were used to. Urban development was based on long-term planning. In advance the entire plan was designed. The

responsibility for developing the office park was giving to a group called a developing combination (Russchen, 2006). Every square meter was planned and no room was left over for additional ideas. By 2008, due to the economic crisis, the municipality faced a decreasing demand for office space. In this process the municipality was advice by market parties to revise the zoning plan (Gemeente Groningen, 2012b). From a municipal point of view between 2008 and 2010 the case of Europapark was a turning point in the shift form blueprint planning to adaptive planning in Groningen. Politicians used this case to explain to civil servants not to think in final views anymore but in what an area is already offering and who is interested in this area to live or work in.

Figure 11: Plan Europapark. Source: Municipality of Groningen, 2014

Figure 12: Overview Europapark. Source: Groningen van Boven – Koos Boertjes fotografie, 2014

By 2013, as a response to the economic crisis, demographic changes and the changing role of the local government a revised adaptive zoning plan[10] was revealed (Gemeente Groningen, 2013b). This plan does not include the train station area. The new plan leaves room due to the economic crisis and shifts in roles for new permanent initiatives initiated by residents and or entrepreneurs. Currently different groups of actors are developing individual projects. The approach is project based. Initiatives should contribute to the quality of the area as well as the city. The role of the municipality therefore is still significant. To meet the conditions stated in chapter three (methodology), this case study will focus on three projects currently in a developing state.

The aim of this plan is to create a multifunctional area wherein residential and leisure and commercial activities are combined. Flexibility is a prior condition. Next to these surface activities, opportunities for achieving the municipality's energy ambition for 2035 to become energy neutral have been examined. 100% thermal energy storage is recommended for this area (Gemeente Groningen, Energy Valley, 2012a). The interviewees selected for this case study are all related to development in a particular part of the location (Figure 11+Figure 12). The table below gives a short overview of the cases.

Europapark	SuikerUnie terrain
Permanent self organization	Temporary self-organization
Project-based approach	Overall approach
Self-organization seen as strategy after economic crisis, demographic changes	Intention for self-organization from the beginning of the process
Government plays a big role by saying yes or no to the initiators	Little governmental involvement. Bigger role for occupier manager
Initiatives are assessed upon their impact on the area as well as on the city.	Initiatives should fit into ambition of four themes like craft, art, events and food
Focus on land utilization	Focus on developing the terrain

Table 8. Overview of general characteristics of the cases.

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[10] Zoning plan being able to respond to a continuously changing context and changing market demands (Municipality of Groningen, 2013).

4.3. Timeline

The timeline aims to give insight in how economic as well as political conditions on the macro-level have been affecting the developing processes in Europapark as well as the SuikerUnie terrain (Figure 13). The upper line shows national political events and economic events. It reveals the Dutch cabinet is already shifting tasks to the market from the 1990s on. Tasks were deregulated as well as decentralized to the market. The national focus on liveability shows in 2007 the emergence of a policy framework for a sustainable city on a local level. In 2010, when the new cabinet was formed, the focus became to rely on simplicity in regulation and making room for bottom-up initiatives. When this thesis is written, the focus of the national government is still upon shifting tasks to the municipality. The most well known example is the shift of the health care services to the municipalities. The national focus on public private partnerships was seen in the case of Europapark. A development combination, which was set up in 2006 to develop Europapark office park could be seen as an example. It shows how the municipality level is responding to national political decisions, when different coalitions were formed and dissolved. Also events in 2011 show the affect of an alderman's decision on CPC-processes. The initial decisions with regard to the SuikerUnie terrain were made after the economic crisis, were the case of Europapark still has to deal with decisions made in the economic climate of the 1990s. In general the timeline shows a focus on decentralized tasks after 2010.

The second timeline shows the activities regarding the development of the SuikerUnie terrain. The timeline shows, all activities took place after 2008. Between 2011 and 2013 most attention is paid to the competition held by the municipality. A lot of freedom is given to society. In 2013, the focus shifts to new approaches to develop the SuikerUnie terrain. In 2014, existing initiatives do response to the new focus of the municipality. The municipality takes steps to transfer occupier management to the market.

The third timeline shows the activities regarding the development of Europapark. This timeline shows a much longer development process. The national focus on public-private partnerships is also seen in 2006 on a local scale. Not all initiatives did emerge as a result of the economic crisis in 2008. Also other conditions stimulated the emergence of self-organization like the perseverance of citizens. It took five years to develop the first CPC-project in Europapark. In 2011 and 2012 the timeline shows the policy framework sustainable city is implemented in the case of Europapark. Since 2013, as a result of a revised the zoning plan, more plans are designed and developed. It shows more building activities will continue in 2015.
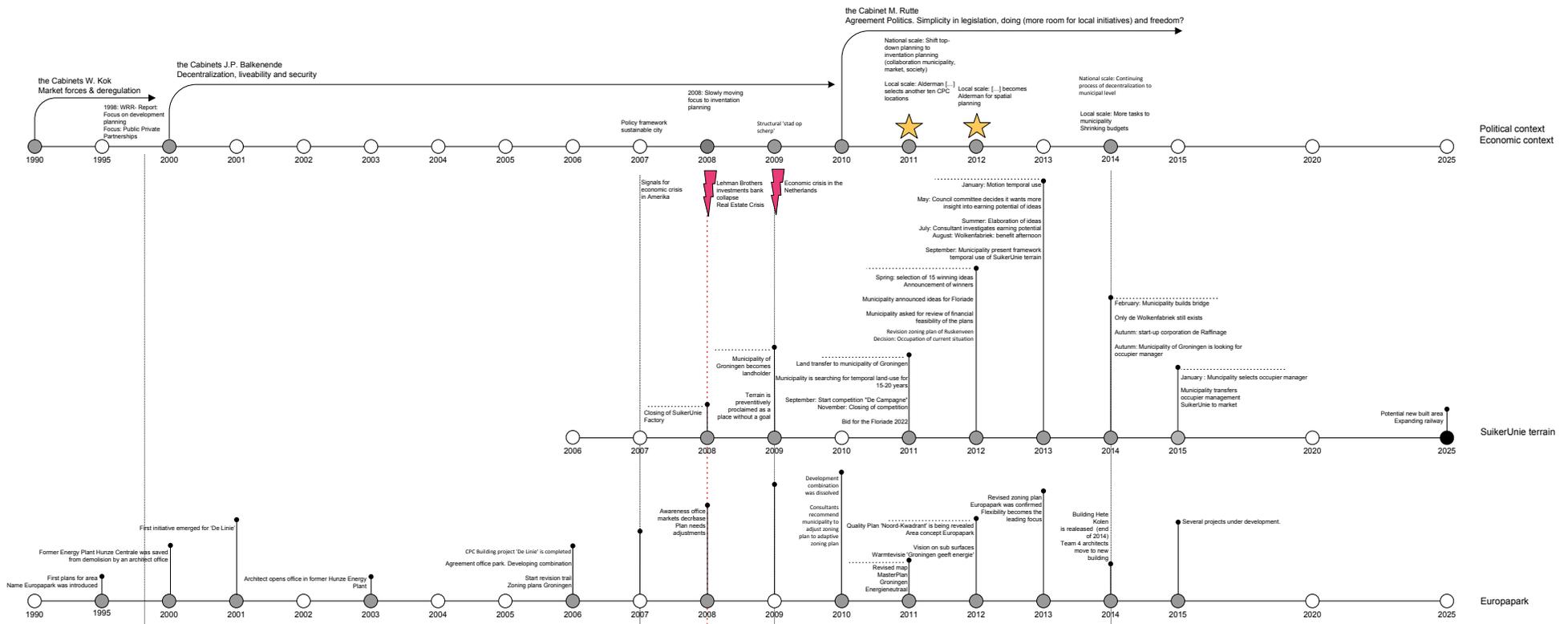
**Figure 13. Timeline showing events on macro scale, showing events in the case of the SuikerUnie terrain as well as Europapark**
Source: de Roo, 2013; Interviews; nos, 2010: http://iturl.nl/snIxrL; Muller 2013b; Municipality of Groningen, 2007,2012b,2013b; Rijksoverheid.nl, http://iturl.nl/snAtj5; Team4 architecten, s.d; Van Rooy, 2012.

⭐ : Decisive events on local governmental level

⚡ : Decisive events on macro-level

4.4. Residential and entrepreneurial initiatives in Groningen

This paragraph connects the different stakeholders involved to eight different initiatives. The municipality initiates some of the projects. Others are initiatives of the market or from citizens. The table (Table 9) shows an overview of all initiatives involved in this research. It discusses why the initiatives were initiated, how it was initiated, who was the initiator and which actors were involved. Furthermore, the table shows several characteristics of the initiatives and how they were funded. All initiatives emerge out of different interest as well as from different perspectives. People have different readings about self-organization.

By comparing the SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark, roughly a division could be made between entrepreneurial initiatives contributing to one shared vision on terrain scale and initiatives regarding a shared vision on project scale. On the SuikerUnie terrain initiatives are related to new emerging markets in arts, crafts, events and food (De Raffinage, 2014a). In Europapark, the current emerging initiatives are residential. Initiatives emerging on the SuikerUnie terrain are all for temporary usage of the terrain. Some are for a few weeks or months and others are for years. All initiatives in Europapark are for an indefinite time. All initiatives cover some parts of self-organization but all are not entirely organized without any professional or governmental involvement. All initiatives still need to be approved by the municipality. The latter shows self-organization in practice meets existing institutional structures. Indeed, in both of the cases the municipality holds the property rights. In Europapark a private actor owns the property rights for only one plot.

During the interviews questions raised like "*Ik was eigenlijk benieuwd naar wat jouw definitie was (...) Praten we namelijk over hetzelfde dan?*" (P 8, 2014, p38:3-4).[11] And, "*En wat bedoel je dan met zelforganisatie? Van wat voor soort?*" (P 4, 2014, p59:18).[12] Due to the fact actors involved had different readings about self-organization, their perceptions differed as well. Different perceptions lead to different expectations because this is related to interests people may have. For example: on the SuikerUnie terrain price-winning actors had different ideas of what the overall vision should be. Therefore it was difficult to come to an agreement. The initiatives on the SuikerUnie terrain are entrepreneurial. People have an idea or ideal and are searching for a place to work out their ideas. Overall, the focus is currently on sharing knowledge, being complementary and supporting others in developing their ideas. On the SuikerUnie terrain a process of enlarging room for self-organization and reducing room for self-organization over time was seen. Compared to Europapark, there is no structure and no plan in advance. The occupier manager was the first one who came up with a vision for the location. Within this vision, room is reserved for bottom-up initiatives.

In general the initiatives, which currently emerge in Europapark are residential. People involved are looking for a different place to live and prefer a bigger house. Self-organization therefore is only lasting for the time the initiative is under development. Afterwards the self-organization in its original form does no longer exist. In some cases only several parts continue. The CPC-projects in Europapark can be identified as a self-organization because everything is based upon achieving an objective in a group of citizens. All decisions are made by the group of citizens itself. *"Je neemt zelf het initiatief, bent zelf opdrachtgever en bepaald zelf wie je in de arm neemt om jou te helpen"*(P 11, email, 2015).[13] A different approach of self-organization is seen in the project, which was initiated by an architect. Next to the room, which was reserved for the architect office itself,

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[11] "Actually, I was curious about your perception of self organization (...) do we talk about the same thing?"
[12] "And what do you mean by self-organization? What kind of?"
[13] "You take the initiative, you are the client and decides who is going to help you"

room was available for other functions. A coalition of professional actors was built around the space left within the building. Participation of different actors is needed to create a feasible process. Due to the long-term process and the extend of the risks, smaller start-up companies were not able to participate. Professional actors interviewed say CPC is one of the most well known examples of self-organization. *"want CPO is denk ik vanuit zelforganisatie wel net een heel goed voorbeeld"*(P 12, 2015, p225:51-52)[14] Furthermore, as a group, people take the initiative, are client and decide who is taking part in the team. However they are not friends, they are building partners. This relationship ends when the houses are completed. When the structures are set-up potential other participants are invited to join. The collaboration between these actors lasts for the time the project is under development. When the houses are finished, intensive partnership between the actors involved is rejected. Furthermore people have more freedom with regard to the quality standard of their house. A different project developer builds a coalition of people having a shared interest around a specific building project. They share a particular facility, which is preferred by all people involved.

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[14] "From the perspective of self-organization, CPC is just a good example"

Different readings of self-organization	SuikerUnie terrain				Europapark			
	2011: **Competition 'de Campagne'**	**2011 - …..** **Wolkenfabriek** *(Shift-in restaurant)*	**2014** **De Raffinage Cooperation**	**2015:** **Self-organization under occupier management**	**'CPO-De Linie'** **2005-2006**	**'CPO-Europapark'**	**Neighbourhood with privately shared facility**	**2008 – 2015** **Solid Hete Kolen' offices**
Trigger for self-organization	Government had no plan for location Wish of municipality to experiment with stepping back.	Searched for a place for people to meet and to share ideas. See restaurant as best option for this	Signals of municipality to appoint an occupier manager. Willingness to strengthen the position of initiators currently operating on the terrain.	Citizens have shown not to be able to develop the entire location. Tasks primary worked out by the government do no longer suit to the municipality. Further development of the terrain asked for professional approach including a commercial perspective.	Participants were looking for a more spacious house. Participants prefer to implement individual living preferences. The citizens who were involved preferred to live close to the Oosterpoort neighbourhood.	Municipality asked one of the citizens to gather a group of people willing to set up a CPC process. Participants are looking for a new house. Participants prefer to implement individual living preferences.	Sharing the facility is seen as an opportunity to realize dreams of people involved. Furthermore they want citizens involved to care about the nice things like the design and materials. Meanwhile the professional actor will arrange the necessary permits.	The architect office was looking for a more spacious location. It was made available because of the adaptive zoning plan.
How it was initiated	The municipality asked the society to come up with ideas. A group of fifteen people was selected by the municipality. Citizens want to create a location to work, to spend leisure time and to add missing values.	Initiator participated in competition. It was one of the winning ideas	As a response to municipal decisions 'de Wolkenfabriek' continued to grow and has become part of the corporation 'De Raffinage'. Additional temporary activities on the terrain.	Municipality decides to appoint an occupier manager. To select this occupier manager, a competition was held.	Citizens took the initiative in collaboration with a consultant. Because of the willingness of one alderman, civil servants changed their attitude.	The municipality selected ten new CPC locations. One of the locations is Europapark. People preferred a different location. People do CPC because they have a shared interest. One or two enthusiastic people initiated a process.	Professionals form group of future house owners and or tenants with a shared interest they cannot afford as an individual. The communal facility stays communal. It is inspired on the German form: Baugruppe.	An architect initiated the 'Hete Kolen' building. This multi functional solid combines living and working. Coalitions where formed by market parties. The project was only feasible when other partners were willing to participate.
Initiator	**Government** Municipality of Groningen	**Society** A citizen (one of winners of competition)	**Society** Four citizens all involved in Wolkenfabriek	**Government** Municipality of Groningen	**Society** A citizen (a group of citizens).	**Society** A citizen currently living in 'De Linie'	**Market** Project developer	**Market** Architect + project developer
Partners involved	Citizens + professionals + Floriade coalition	Three other citizens	Consultant Three citizens Young entrepreneurs	Occupier manager (professional stakeholder) - Young entrepreneurs - Creative initiators - School boards	18 individual families Company 1 (help was asked by citizens)	Amount of families: to be determined Company 1 (help was asked by citizens)	A group of citizens sharing a collective interest	Professionals - Housing corporation - Building partners
Characteristics	Experiment with regard to shift from government to governance Initially no shared interests No business competences Initiators did not become a group Parallel trail: The municipality of Groningen in collaboration with a strong team of professional developers competed with other municipalities to win the bid for the organization of 'de Floriade 2022'.	Cooks rent this place for one night Small professional business attitude with regard to entrepreneurship Little help of professional consultants Initiators with a wide range of ideas and visions with regard to the city	Based on sharing utilities and knowledge. Based on reciprocity Seen as starting point for new initiators starting doing business on the terrain Entrepreneurs participate in cooperation but stay independent Administered by the Dutch Chamber of Commerce	Stakeholders were earlier involved to advice initiators Professional view on development of the terrain Willing to collaborate with initiators. The selected occupier manager becomes responsible for the development of the SuikerUnie terrain for the coming fifteen to twenty years.	Initiator was involved in project: ' Kwintterrein' Difficulties in gaining property rights Fluent people knowing how to succeed. Group members are building partners during building process. No shared interest after completion All groupmember participated in foundation."CPO De Linie".	Initiator was involved in project: 'De Linie' Difficulties in gaining property rights Fluent people knowing how to succeed. Group members are building partners during building process. No shared interest after completion From foundation to association because of participation and ability to have equal participation	Professional approach Shared utilities during operation phase. E.g. a pool, a sauna, an additional apartment for over-night guests, a workshop.	Idea was initiated by architect/developer. Professional approach. No shared space Collaboration based upon feasibility of project
Funding	Private funding (competition) Government + companies (Floriade)	Funded by crowd funding Non-profit	Non-profit thinking	Arrange cash flows between municipalities, occupier manager and initiators	Subsidy Individually financed by mortgages	Subsidy Individually financed by mortgages	Private funding: mortgages Collected revenues (shared utility).	- Private funding

Table 9. Description of initiatives on SuikerUnie terrain & Europapark.

4.5. Relationships between actors and their roles

A stakeholder analysis could provide useful insights in who is involved, how actors have become involved in processes and why they are involved. Next, it indicates how different management layers are connected to each other. With regard to self-organization it is a useful instrument to show self-organizing processes in both of the cases are not operating entirely independent. Furthermore it helps to consider whether an initiative could be called self-organized or professionally developed. For both cases two different time slots are shown to make clear how a network could change over time. Different conditions could contribute to this change.

Stakeholders involved

In general, in Europapark more professional and financially strong actors are involved in developing processes compared to the SuikerUnie terrain where most of the actors are young entrepreneurs or citizens. Professionals manage the projects in Europapark. In comparison, initially on the SuikerUnie terrain professionals had only the role of being consultant. The role of the professional is enhanced during the process. Former experiences on the SuikerUnie terrain have shown professional involvement is needed. These actors have less financial resources.

In Europapark there is little shared interest compared to the SuikerUnie terrain. In the case of Europapark it was often mentioned stakeholders are curious of what will be build on the adjacent plot. This is with regard to the value of the their own parcel. This indicates processes in Europapark are even more financially driven compared to the SuikerUnie terrain. On the SuikerUnie terrain, actors concentrate on sharing knowledge and sharing services.

In the case of Europapark, in CPC-projects, initiating citizens are highly educated, wealthy, eloquent and know how to deal with residential building processes (CPC-Europapark). This is because they have done it before. In one of the interviews it was mentioned, in all projects, there are pullers and followers. Pullers are people initiating the project. Followers are people who step in after the lines have been set. Initiators involve professionals, as they prefer to make use of technical knowledge. These citizens prefer a bit of a structure. A bit of structure with regard to planning and costs is related to a certain amount of insurance. See Table 10 below.

Characteristics of actors involved	
Europapark	**SuikerUnie**
Initiated by individuals	Municipality initiated competition
Eloquent people	Citizens start initiative
People are well arranged in terms of a having job	Entrepreneurial competences
Wealthy people	People are willing to arrange things themselves
People think process is complicated and complex	Small group (only 5%)
Need for a bit of structure (planning + costs)	Share ideal with others
Pullers and followers	Willing to share knowledge
Individual not able to finance process 100%	Initiated by organization (often professionals)
Perseverance	Initially not able to organize themselves
Curious about development on adjacent plot	No private funding available
No technical knowledge with regard to building houses	Often support of municipality
Highly educated	Involvement of professionals
Group of different educational levels	Young entrepreneurs involved
All coalitions involve professionals	

Table 10. Characteristics of actors involved

Relations between stakeholders Europapark

The network for Europapark of activities before the economic and real estate crisis below shows a planned organization (Figure 14). The office quarter was planned to develop by a development combination, a coalition of four different building contractors. The plan was based on blue print planning. It was a top-down approach with little involvement of citizens. Originally three different

developers should develop the neighbourhood 'De Linie'. Due to the economic crisis in 2008 and responses from the market, the municipality changed the strategy. Traditionally, the municipality has sustainable relations with project developers.
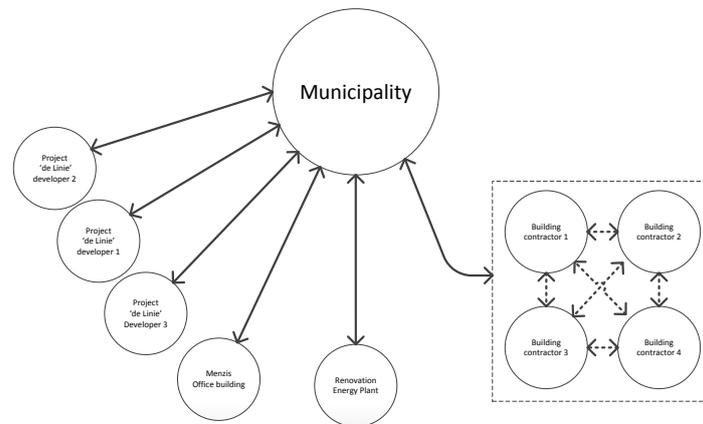
Direct collaboration with government

Collaboration between actors involved

Figure 14. Relations between actors before 2013 conducted from interviews and gemeente Groningen (2012b)

Due to the real estate crisis and the economic crisis, project developers had to revise their strategy. This leaves room for small new emerging developing companies. The network below shows the outcome of this change. Figure 15 shows the different initiatives in Europapark, which are developed, or under development. The municipality is in the middle. In practice, to present their ideas, initiators come to the municipality. In collaboration with the municipality, a proper location will be selected in Europapark. The municipality does not allow every idea. The municipality considers whether the idea contributes to the city or not. For initiators this is sometimes difficult to understand.

The network shows the municipality has, as a result of the change to an adaptive zoning plan, to collaborate with many different stakeholders involved (Figure 15). After the zoning plan was revised, the municipality was able to allow more different functions on the location. The initiators involve the municipality very early in the process. This helps to create political support. All actors have different backgrounds, interests and levels of professionalism. Figure 15 shows the municipality collaborates with national and international project developers, schools, the local soccer club, citizens and CPC-consultants. The latter is a company, which supports citizens who are willing to set up a CPC-process or who are in a CPC-process. The municipality to develop CPC-projects also approaches the company. The municipality makes land available. Figure 15 shows, there are collaborations between different market parties and citizens. Four of them are explained below.

- Collaboration CPC-consultants – CPC Foundation
- Collaboration CPC-consultant, Project developer and CPC – Association
- Coalition Project developer – Housing corporation – Architect
- Project developer – Architect – other consultants

The first collaboration emerged as the CPC-foundation had a demand for professional knowledge with regard to the building process. The second collaboration is an outcome of a negotiation process between the three actors involved. The existing collaboration emerged when all actors became aware of the fact collaboration could increase the overall quality of the project. Parcels could be designed in a more efficient way. The third and fourth coalitions are highly professional and are named self-organized by the municipality as they set up the coalitions without any governmental

involvement. The municipality is supporting these developments as such processes lead to costly projects the municipality would never have been able to build.
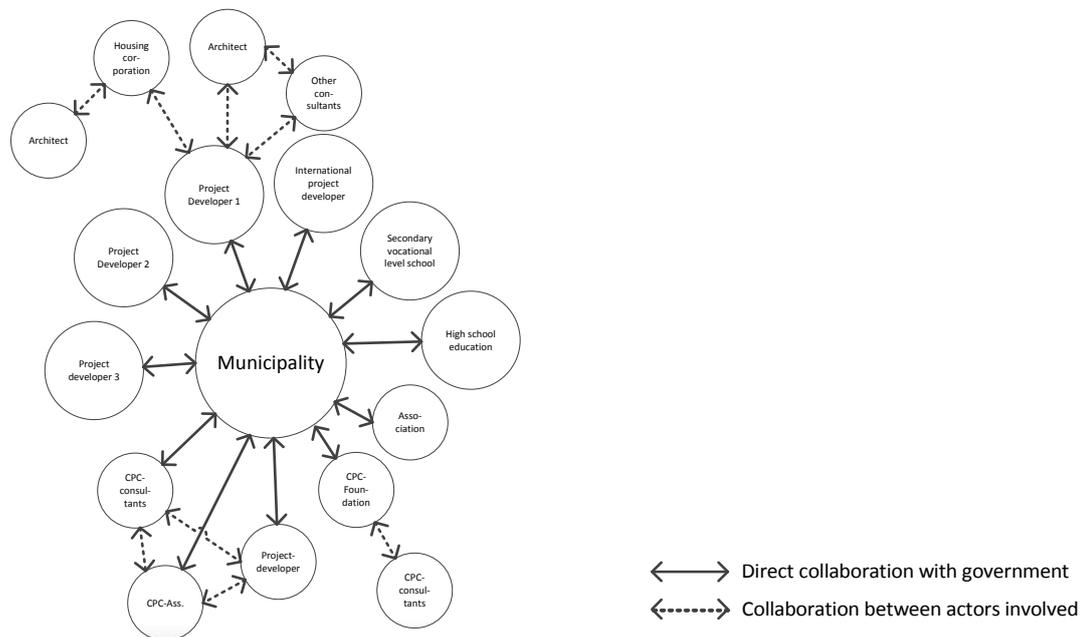
Figure 15. Relations between actors active in Europapark after revision of zoning plan

Relations between stakeholders SuikerUnie terrein

On the SuikerUnie terrain, a different way of collaboration and sharing of responsibilities is found (Figure 16). Compared to the case of Europapark where plots are being sold, the municipality owns the property rights. As the municipality had no plans for this location, the municipal decided to appoint the terrain for temporary usage. Therefore the municipality held a competition by the end of 2011. It was called: "de Campagne". [15] By asking citizens to come up with ideas for temporary usage of the SuikerUnie terrain, the municipality hoped private actors would develop the terrain. An independent jury chose fifteen winners and added a sixteenth winner. This sixteenth winner involves a coalition, which has been working in a parallel trail on the bid for the Floriade 2022. This was a group of professional actors and could be seen as a highly professional project development process. The additional fifteen ideas were all suitable for the Floriade. The fifteen winners had to design a shared plan together. Due to differences in perspectives and interests, this collaboration did not work out successfully. Initiatives have shown they are not able to do large investments to construct surface and subsurface infrastructure. Even though a consultant was involved to support the fifteen winners. This consultant[16], suggested the municipality to appoint an occupier manager.

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[15] de Campagne: Name of the competition the municipality ran in 2011.
[16] A company focusing on finding the shared interest of stakeholders involved. Emerged as a response to the conclusion, new developing societal ideas do not meet existing governmental structures. Aims to find the right solution for both the municipality as well as citizens (Ploegid3, 2014).
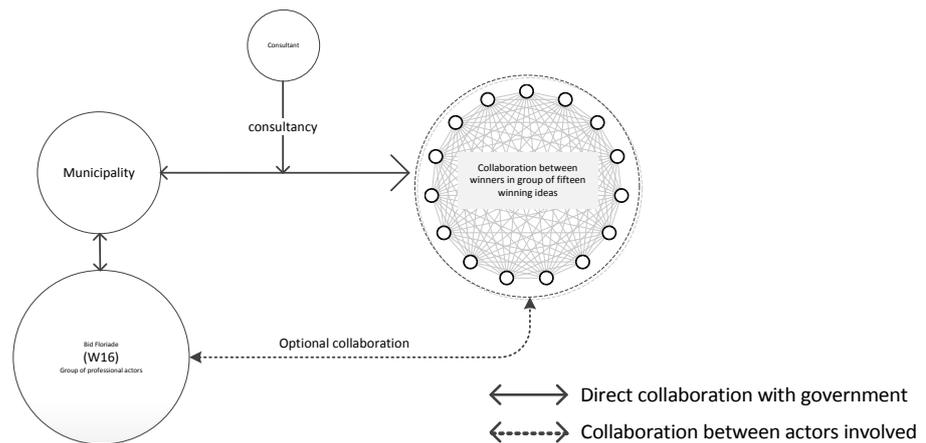
Figure 16. Relations between stakeholders, slightly after competition in 2012.

In 2015 a different collaboration structure was introduced (Figure 17). In this current network the role of the occupier manager is large compared to the role of the municipality. The municipality of Groningen selected an occupier manager at the beginning of 2015. As the entire terrain is 125 hectares, the occupier manager is only responsible for the development of the front side of the terrain. This front side could be compared with the size of fifteen soccer fields (Ploegid3, 2014). The municipality wants the terrain to be contributing to the city. The occupier manager is responsible for creating an attractive area that could be seen as an experimental area for new emerging companies operating in different sectors[17]. They are operating on the same level as the municipality does. They are the central stakeholders and will assess all initiatives. The municipality will take care of the other hectares. Ideas could be complementary. For example, when a tenant concentrating on urban farming is willing to set-up a biological market to sell their harvest. The front side could respond to this by setting up a market.

All initiators willing to develop their ideas on the SuikerUnie terrain will contact the occupier manager. Initially the municipality took this role. Initiatives could be short-term (ellipses) or long-term (circles). 'De Raffinage'[18] is a cooperation on the SuikerUnie terrain. Originally, this cooperation was set up with the intention to become the occupier manager. The founders of 'De Raffinage' therefore decided to follow a strategy, which is similar to direction of the municipal board. Based on the consideration of having enough knowledge on occupier management and enough revenues' to cover the risks they declined (De Raffinage, 2014b). However, they continued their strategy. The idea of 'De Raffinage' is based on sharing knowledge and reciprocity (De Raffinage, 2014a).

'De Raffinage' is divided into three pillars (p1-p3). It enables young entrepreneurs (ye) to participate in this cooperation to further develop their ideas by making use of knowledge and facilities of others. The occupier manager sees 'De Raffinage' as one of the initiatives on the terrain. The occupier manager will inform people about the possibility to connect to 'De Raffinage'. By doing so, 'De Raffinage' might provide them a start-up, which will enhance the chance to become a successful company. 'De Raffinage' is also willing to support temporary initiatives. As this structure is still in a developing state, the network above is an interpretation of what was told by the occupier manager. It shows different collaborations between actors. This could become more intense over time because the intention of the occupier manager is based on sharing ideas and interests (Ploegid3, 2014).

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[17] Sectors are: food, small manufacturing, knowledge & research, events, living & working, energy, points of interest (Ploegid3, 2014).
[18] 'De Raffinage' is a cooperation, which arose as a response to municipal actions. The initiator of 'de Wolkenfabriek' was advised by a consultant to become a stronger and bigger organization. The cooperation invites citizens to participate and to share knowledge. It is based on the idea of reciprocity.
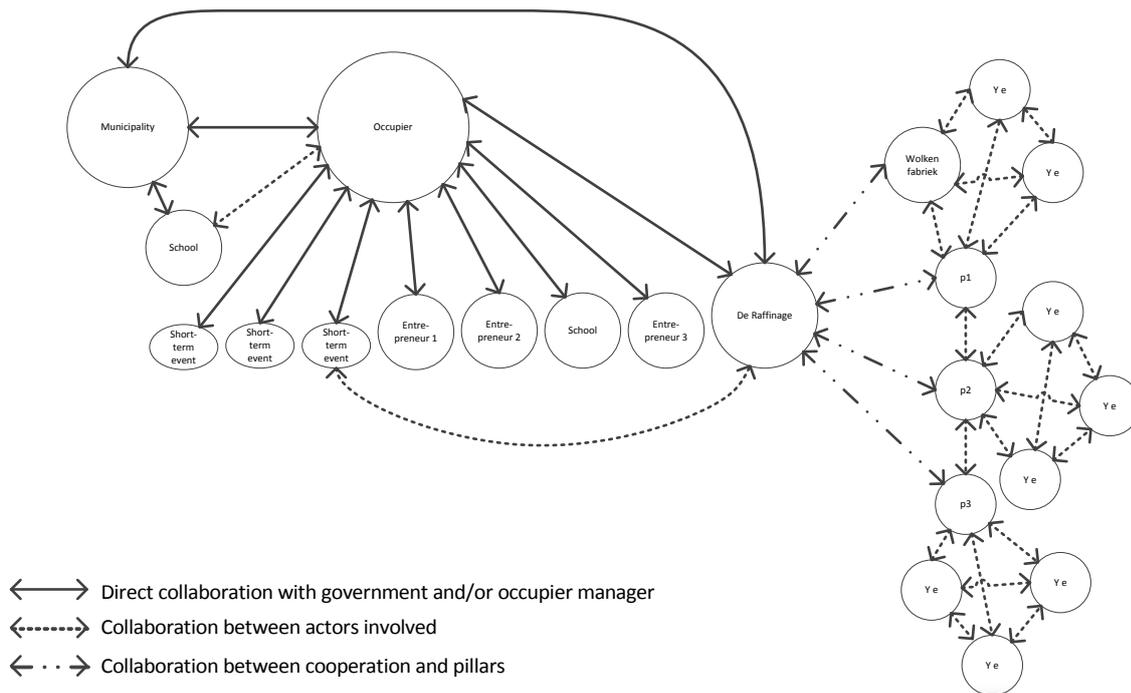
Figure 17. Relations between stakeholders 2015

Identified roles

The cases show, in self-organizing processes, different roles of actors could be identified. For example: the initiators, the professional consultant and the assessing municipality. In chapter one, four different kind of roles identified by Boonstra, Vogel & Slob (2014), were discussed. All four roles, the initiator, the navigator, the pioneer and the disciplinar were found in the case studies. Although these roles were identified for the case of Almere, some kind of similarities seems like to exist (see Table 11). Most of the professionals are creating coalitions. Civilians can form these coalitions but also professional coalitions can be set up. Most of the initiatives in both the cases are developed in coalitions of professionals and civilians. People connecting these groups are most of the time involved in the process itself. According to the WRR-report (2012), they can be identified as internal connectors. In both the cases, these actors have the ability to participate between the institutional context and the local context. By doing so complementary solutions could be found between formal networks and informal networks. External connectors were not identified in these contexts. This is because the internal connector is present at all times.

Role	SuikerUnie	Europapark
Initiator/pullers	First: Municipality Second: Civilians, are willing to do it differently	First: Civic initiatives in CPC-processes Second: Professional developers, willing to approach processes differently in coalitions.
Navigator / connector	**Company 3.** informs civic initiatives about governmental structures and how to guide their initiatives through the municipal organization.	**Company 1:** Sets up CPC-processes + advises during privately initiated CPC-processes. Serves in arranging financial resources as well as in arranging governmental institutions. **Company 2:** Sets up a coalition of different civilians having a shared interest for a particular shared facility. Serves them in arranging all institutional proceedings in name of the stakeholders
Pioneer	Occupier manager is creating standardized procedural structures for initiatives	**Company 1**: Through time, Company 1 has developed a standardized procedural structure for CPC processes.
Disciplinar	Civil servants are involved to look after the institutional framework and to approve permit applications	Civil servants are involved to look after the institutional framework and to approve permit applications

Table 11. Identified roles connected to cases

In the case of Europapark there are two different approaches. Initiatives initiated by citizens and initiatives initiated by professionals. These professionals all aim to serve market demands on a small scale. For example: a shared facility for a particular group of actors having the same preferences. On the SuikerUnie terrain the municipality was initiator in the first place. In the second place, one of winning initiatives called: 'De Wolkenfabriek' succeeded on the terrain. The initiator of 'de Wolkenfabriek', later partially initiated 'De Raffinage'. With regard to the role of navigator Company 1 as a consultant in guiding CPC-processes and Company 2 as a consultant in building coalitions around a particular living question could be identified. Both these companies, inter alia, help citizens through the institutional framework. The navigator had a major role in setting up 'De Raffinage'. Before 'De Raffinage' was set up, the navigator had a several conversations with civic servants to gauge what the plans of the municipality were. This navigator applied his professional knowledge and is acting as one of the four board members of 'De Raffinage'. Being a board member and using professional knowledge suggests 'De Raffinage' is a professional organization. It shows the role of the navigater is very important for initiators to succeed. As a pioneer, the occupier manager was initiated. This occupier manager has a vision for the development of the front side of the terrain. Within this vision there are some structured lines. Within these lines there is still a large amount of space for initiatives to develop. Company 1 is a company, which supports CPC (Kuub, 2015). The Collective Private Commission noticed a lack of knowledge and therefore decided to involve external advice. Company 1 could also be identified as a pioneer. Through time, Company 1 has developed several procedures with regard to CPC-building processes. They have set up a process structure, initiators could use in CPC-building processes. The quality of the procedures has improved by adding new data from new experiences. In general, a self-organizing process in not initiated by a governmental organization. However, Johnson (2012) showed, the government could provoke citizens to come up with ideas. For example: by running a competition. Similarities are seen in practice. The municipality takes the role of the disciplinar. The municipality will assess whether actions undertaken on the terrain will meet the regulations.

Changing roles of stakeholders

Different conditions let the stakeholder networks change over time. This is what the network above shows as well. The economic crisis was leading in the case of Europapark. In the case of the SuikerUnie terrain the network did change because of collaborative issues. In terms of network theory, nodes in a particular network can become more important or less important over time. This is applicable on the cases. The amount of tasks has decreased for the municipality. As earlier mentioned the municipality is no longer able to finance all projects individually. Involvement of the market is needed. The latter is a national trend. Currently all actors and most frequently mentioned, the municipality, are looking how to fulfil this new role. "*Maar het is ook iets wat we nu aan het uitvinden zijn hè*"(Participant 3, 24th of September 2014, p38:57). [19] Striking is the contradiction between the municipality and the market. While the municipality tells she is still researching the topic of self-organization and looking for their role, market parties point out very precise and concise what they expect the government to do and what they could do to improve the opportunities for self-organization. Most of the time, their suggestions are based upon their own experiences with municipal involvement. Below, next to the role of the municipality roles of professionals and private actors were identified with regard to the cases.

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[19] "But it is someone we are just inventing though"

In the case of Europapark, the role of the municipality did not change, only their attitude did. The municipality is still taking responsibility for assessing the initiatives. However, due to exogenous conditions the municipality has become more flexible in approving permits. The municipality has become more flexible because they wanted to response to changing market demands. The municipality has become a communicative partner during the process, is earlier involved and makes decisions in dialogue with the market. The approach changed from top-down to bottom-up. This changing perspective let some questions arise. *"als je als gemeente bijvoorbeeld niet wat vrijer wordt in het toestaan van programma's wat is dan het kader waar je op toetst?"* (P 12, 2015, p220:56-57).[20] For example: with regard to the points of assessment. If there is no longer a set institutional framework, zoning plan or structure vision, for consultants is might be challenging to identify to what set of rules the plan must meet. To avoid confusion, a set of assessing criteria should be set up in collaboration with both the municipality and participating actors. This stresses the importance of a dialogue.

Within the field of professionals, four changes are going on which are all related to Europapark. First, the content of their role as consultant is changing into creating coalitions. Bring people having a shared interest together. Examples of such companies are Company 2, Company 1. Also formal coalitions of professional actors are formed by professional actors and not by the municipality. It is more about sharing knowledge and comparing individual interests. People are more willing to collaborate. A caveat can be placed here. In Europapark next to this approach also individual operating project developers are developing projects. Secondly, the field of professionals is changing. Companies like Company 2 are coming up with new concepts for maintenance of public spaces. Furthermore they come up with idea for taking over municipal tasks. From a governmental perspective this tents to privatization[21]. This new young companies provide a mirror for the existing companies. Often, companies, who do exist for a long time, use standardized structures. By comparing both approaches, the field might change. Third, due to the emergence of self-organization and people lacking the right competences to have a successful process, a new working field starts to emerge. This field consists of companies willing to coach self-organizing processes. This movement was already discussed in the paper of Richardson & Tait (2010). They say experts are no longer experts in finding the right solutions for complex issues. They are rather creators of coalitions. Fourth, the moment of becoming involved as a professional in the process differs. This is explained in detail later on.

The prevailing network shows, the role of citizens expanded. For professionals the opinion of future residents has become more important and therefore they decide to involve them earlier in the developing process. Also the municipality has become aware of the fact citizens could have a greater say in processes. The following remarks this. In September 2011 the prevailing alderman announced, he wanted to select another 10 CPC locations in the city of Groningen. Nowadays the municipality is allowing Collective Private Commission. Especially with regard to this concept the role of the citizens has expanded. Also in the project initiated by Company 2, citizens are given a greater say regarding final designers decisions.

The role of the municipality on the SuikerUnie terrain was multiple. The municipality was facilitating, owning the property rights, occupier manager and assessor. The occupier manager has taken over the tasks for facilitating and occupying management. What is left for the municipality

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[20] "If for example the municipality is not loosening the rules for approving programmes. Then what will be the framework you will be assessing on?"

[21] Task transferred from the government to the market (Van der Steen et al., 2013)

apart from the property rights is the assessing role. Due to the involvement of an occupier manager, the development of the SuikerUnie terrain is professionalized. According to the perspective of the market, civil servants involved could change their attitude. Consultants experience the attitude of civil servants as approaching processes from the perspective of rules. They assess whether a particular action is allowed or not. This was mentioned in both of the cases. An example with regard to Internet posts on the terrain remarks this attitude. "*maar we hebben daar internetpalen opgezet. De eerste vraag die we krijgen, heb je er een vergunning voor?*" (P 6, 2014, p126:23-24).[22] Professionals prefer the municipality would see the positive contribution the actions they undertake to improve the quality of the SuikerUnie terrain in the first place. This attitude does not fit into the idea of the SuikerUnie terrain as being an experimental area for the municipality to see how far they could step back (Muller, 2013b). Interviewees referred to the municipal organization and traditional hierarchy as an underlying reason for this. Furthermore they tipped upon the competences traditional civil servants have developed. These competences are different compared to the competences asked for how city development works nowadays.

The role of professionals expanded because experiences over the last couple of years did show the scale of the terrain is too large for citizens to overlook. The first network showed only involved of consultants on demand. In the prevailing network, much more professionals are involved like the occupier manager. 'De Raffinage' shows also characteristics of a professional attitude. Indeed, a strategic management office participates in this cooperation. Also on the SuikerUnie terrain initiatives emerge who are function as an organization that supports others to work out their initiatives successfully. For example 'De Raffinage'. Actors taking part in this cooperation have access to a network of other initiators who can provide useful answers for new ones.

The role of the initiators did not change. What did change was the group of actors and how the group is formed. In addition, the background of the actors did change. Apart from one initative, the group of winners did not make it to develop their initiatives. They were unable to come to an agreement. This was because the municipality created the group. Furthermore different interests and ideas between the winners, financial reasons and knowledge played a role. The current group is emerging from inside out based on a shared interest. Actors working out an initiative are young entrepreneurs. Some of them are able to make investments others are not. However, these actors could be complementary to others.

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[22] " but we have installed internet posts. The first question asked is: Have you got a permit for this?"

The debate

In both of the cases there is a relation between the municipality, the market and society. One debate, which can be found in the introduction of the cases and the stakeholder analysis, is the relation between the economic crisis and the emergence of self-organization. What is seen in the cases is, on the one hand, professionals as well as citizens start to take over governmental tasks. *"doordat je zegt van 'goh ja gemeente waarom moeten jullie eigenlijk dit gebied gaan onderhouden, waarom doen wij dat niet zelf?"*(P 10, 2014, p171:42-43).[23]. On the other hand, citizens start to come up with ideas how parts of the city could be further developed. The market introduces new business cases and looks for new funding concepts as governmental budgets are lowered. Social entrepreneurs are willing to make small contributions to the economy. The government welcomes these ideas.

Van der Steen (2013) describes four transitions (Figure 18). From the perspective of the national government a top down movement is happening by privatization and liberalization to the market and a call to the society to take over governmental tasks. The government decides which tasks the society has to arrange. From bottom-up the society as well as the market become more active in setting up initiatives without any governmental involvement. This is named: Active citizenship and social entrepreneurship. Rli (2014) support the debate of Van der Steen (2013). The underlying reasons discussed, like the economic crisis, having a need for something as well as responding to market demands, can be connected to model of Van der Steen (2013). Next to conditions, which stimulate the emergence of self-organization, there are conditions, which become relevant to be aware of when the initiative is under development. This case-study end by discussing subjective conditions which strongly affect the way people experience the objective conditions. Similarities of the conceptual model were found in the model of Van der Steen, 2013. In this model the shift of governmental tasks to society is called: "*vermaatschappelijking*". [24] The interpretive part of this case study will be build up around the debate, van der Steen (2013) discusses.
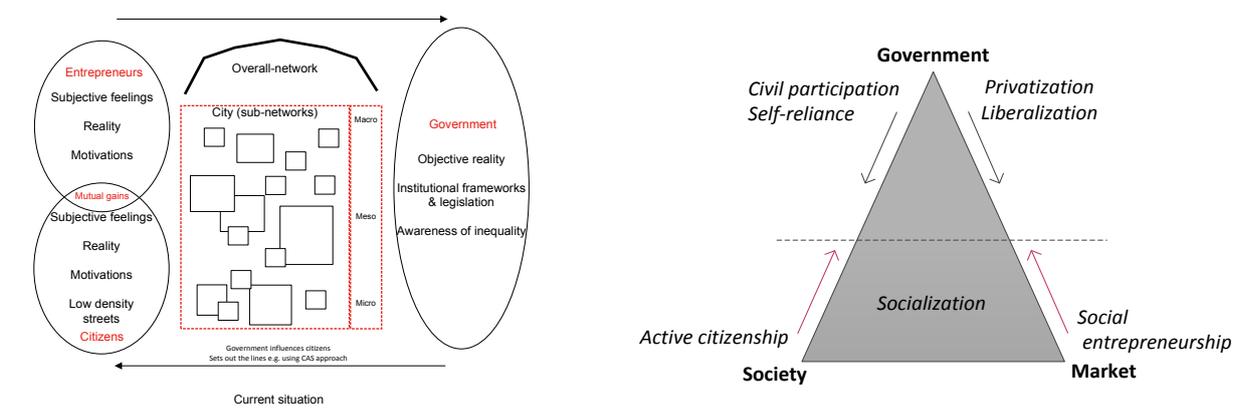

Figure 18 Connection of conceptual model (left) based upon Johnson (2012) to model of Van der Steen et al., 2013.

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[23] "just because you say ' well yes municipality, why are you going to maintain this area, why do we not do it ourselves?"
[24] socialization

5. Exogenous macro-conditions stimulating the emergence of self-organization

In the state of the art, the debate around the economic crisis, the debate around a decreasing role of the government and the debate around the network society were discussed (Table 12). All three debates are seen in the two cases and are supported by examples found in the cases. Below, all three debates are briefly introduced to indicate how they are affecting the emergence of processes in both the cases.

5.1. The economic situation in the Netherlands

The economic situation in the Netherlands at the moment is a crisis situation. Remarks of this crisis are also visible in the municipality of Groningen. The city centre shows empty buildings for retail and building locations stay undeveloped. Interviewees mentioned the economic crisis as one of the reasons why self-organization is currently emerging. *"Je ziet ook dat een crisis situatie dit soort processen heel erg voedt. "* (Participant 3, p37:28). [25] The next point to discuss is the shrinking ability of the government to make public investments. The national government is transferring less financial resources to the municipality while the amount of tasks for the municipality continuous to growth. As a consequence, the municipality has to search for new opportunities to arrange all tasks. This leads to shifting tasks to the market as well as the society. Three civil servants of the municipality of Groningen confirm this by saying: *"Ik denk dat het onvermijdelijk is. Omdat we als overheid niet meer die middelen hebben om dat alleen te kunnen gaan doen* (P 3, 2014, p55:57-58).[26]

The economic crisis could be the prior reason for self-organization. The economic crisis and the real estate crisis can be the prior condition for the municipality to reconsider the zoning plan and change it into an adaptive zoning plan. Traditionally, the municipality of Groningen developed in collaboration with a stable group of project developers. Due to the economic crisis, the perspective on project development has changed. This change leaves room for new developing companies attending the market. As a result, new residential projects are currently under development. Because of financial reasons, the municipality would have never have enough economic capacity to build this project on their own. As a result, the quality of the location will increase.

The economic crisis could also have an indirect effect on self-organization. In a crisis situation, no revenues are available for a new plan because other master plans need to be stabilized. This shows the crisis situation contributed indirectly to the room, which was created for self-organization.

Several characteristics of people's behaviour in crisis situations were mentioned. First, crisis situations in general lead to delays in building processes. People become scared and start to hesitate about financial decisions and market transformations. This was also mentioned in line with Collective Private Commissions[27] (CPC). After 2008 immediately after the start of the crisis, it was difficult to get CPC projects financed. Second, when individuals are all in the same boat, a shared interest emerges. *"maar crisis leidt er wel toe, dat we mekaar wat gaan opzoeken (…) en soms ook opener zijn"* (P5, 2014, p96:9-10).[28] Also sociological theories discuss triggers with regard to the formation of groups. It is part of interdependency. A common destiny brings people together (de Vos, 2003). In conclusion, on a macro-level the economic crisis has contributed positively to self-organization. On

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[25] "Crisis situations feed processes like this"
[26] "I think it is inevitable. As a government we do no longer have enough resources to do such things on our own"
[27] Collective Private Commissions: A small group of private actors (citizens) who build their houses together, based on the actors' living preferences. Sometimes also the design of adjacent public space is included.
[28] "Due to crisis situations, people start to meet (…) and sometimes, people become even more open".

the meso- and micro-level, to a certain extent, is has obstructed the process of self-organization. If initiators are not able to make investments themselves, they depend upon the willingness of banks or other financers. In general, in financial insecure times, most companies are not willing to invest in risky projects.

5.2. Hands-off approach of government

Both cases show a different approach of the local government. Civil servants agree that the governmental way is changing from top-down to bottom-up. The government facilitates such processes. *"meer willen faciliteren in plaats van opleggen"* (P 12, 2015, p220:41).[29] The shift to the society asks for a different approach of governance by the local government. Processes become more complex because more actors are involved in the decision making process. For example on the SuikerUnie terrain were a network of private actors is collaborating. Metagovernance[30] could be seen as a concept to manage this complexity (Sørensen, 2006). In general, the municipality is willing to continue city development in collaboration with companies and citizens. This means, for the SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark the municipality stays open to ideas from citizens (Muller, 2013b). To a certain extent the muncipality becomes part of the coalition (Teisman et al., 2009). With regard to the concept of Metagovernance, a division can be made between hands-off and hands-on situations. In on hands-off situation the government is only taking care of the institutional framework and has an indirect say in political, organizational and financial contexts. On the contrary, in a hands-on situation the municipality is directly involved. In conclusion, within the same institutional context two different approaches of self-organization are seen. On the one hand the government is closely involved because of economic and political reasons. The municipality is still dealing with a major amount of rate with regard to the land utilization. On the other hand in other areas the municipality has, apart from acquisition of the land, not done any investments so far. This makes it financially possible to allow temporary development on the location.

5.3. Community building

Due to technological changes, people are able to reach like-minded people on a wider scale. For example: by the use of social networks (Rli, 2014). There is also access to a large amount of information on the web. This same web offers people the opportunity to connect to platforms and share information. *"Bijvoorbeeld als je met een professionele ambtenaar praat een stedenbouwkundige dan zegt die "tja, ik heb niks meer te zeggen, mensen die zoeken het op internet op en die komen bij mij, en die vragen is dit goed?"* (P 5, 2014, p88:34-36).[31] Citizens are able to find a lot of information on the Internet. Citizens therefore have become able to be more powerful in processes (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011) This makes them more critical. Here the question will arise whether civilians are able and competent enough to arrange such things by themselves. The market or the government could provide assistance if people are not competent enough. Methods like storytelling or other participation methods are not mentioned as such in practice. Also in the case study this changing attitude was mentioned. For example people want to have a say in how their houses look like: *"mensen accepteren het niet meer. Het is maar goed ook hoor"* (P 10, 2014,

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[29] "Willing to facilitate instead of to impose"
[30] Suggested concept to how unstructured processes can be coordinated (Sørensen, 2006)
[31] "If you talk to a professional civil servant, an urbanist, he will say: 'I have nothing to say anymore, people look up information on the internet and come to me to ask whether I do agree or not'"

p171:6).[32] This has led to a shift from a supply-driven market to a demand-driven market. In a demand-driven market, houses and other buildings are being built in close collaboration with the final user. Initially it is response to market changes.

The municipality changed the zoning plan into an adaptive zoning plan because of market demands, which did not fit into the existing zoning plan. In this way earlier requests of different stakeholders could be approved. Another company is currently developing a concept wherein final users design a group of houses as a group. Others attempt to build coalitions around a particular spatial related question or shared interest in a particular facility. For example: a shared workplace.

The use of Internet simplifies the search for like-minded people by the use of online platforms. In practice, this is not seen on a large scale. Extraordinary was, interviewees on the micro-level where stronger focused on governmental help compared to actors on the meso-level. In both the cases actors on this level preferred little governmental interference. *"Maar je ziet dat ze ja allemaal ook naar buiten stappen, zich ergens mee gaan bemoeien en dat hoeft, eigenlijk hoeft dat, ik heb die betutteling ook niet nodig dus."* (P5, 2014, p88:24-25).[33] It shows, it is difficult for the municipality to identify were citizens or entrepreneurs are up to. Often, people chose for safe routes and routes they are familiar with. By doing so, they have overview of the entire process.

	Exogenous conditions on macro-level	
	Stimulating conditions	**Obstructing conditions**
Economic conditions	Changing real estate market Economic capacity of municipality	Crisis situation makes private investors cautious in providing funding
Governmental conditions	Political support for design of adaptive zoning plan	Changing role of local government
Societal conditions	Changing societal attitude and use of internet	Inexperience of citizens involved

Table 12. Exogenous conditions on a macro-level affecting self-organizing processes.

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[32] "People do not accept it anymore. It is a good thing though"

[33] "You see, they all go outside and intervene. They do not have to do that. I do not need it".

6. Conditions affecting the process of self-organization

The previous part discussed macro-conditions, which contribute to the emergence of self-organization. This part drives upon conditions the society and the market will take into account when the initiative is taken and under development. In this process questions arise regarding the funding, interests and ability, willingness and competences of actors involved (Figure 19). This part will end with the institutional framework. Also the role of spatial conditions is discussed in this chapter, as spatial conditions could also be a trigger for self-organization. Spatial conditions could also affect the process of self-organization.
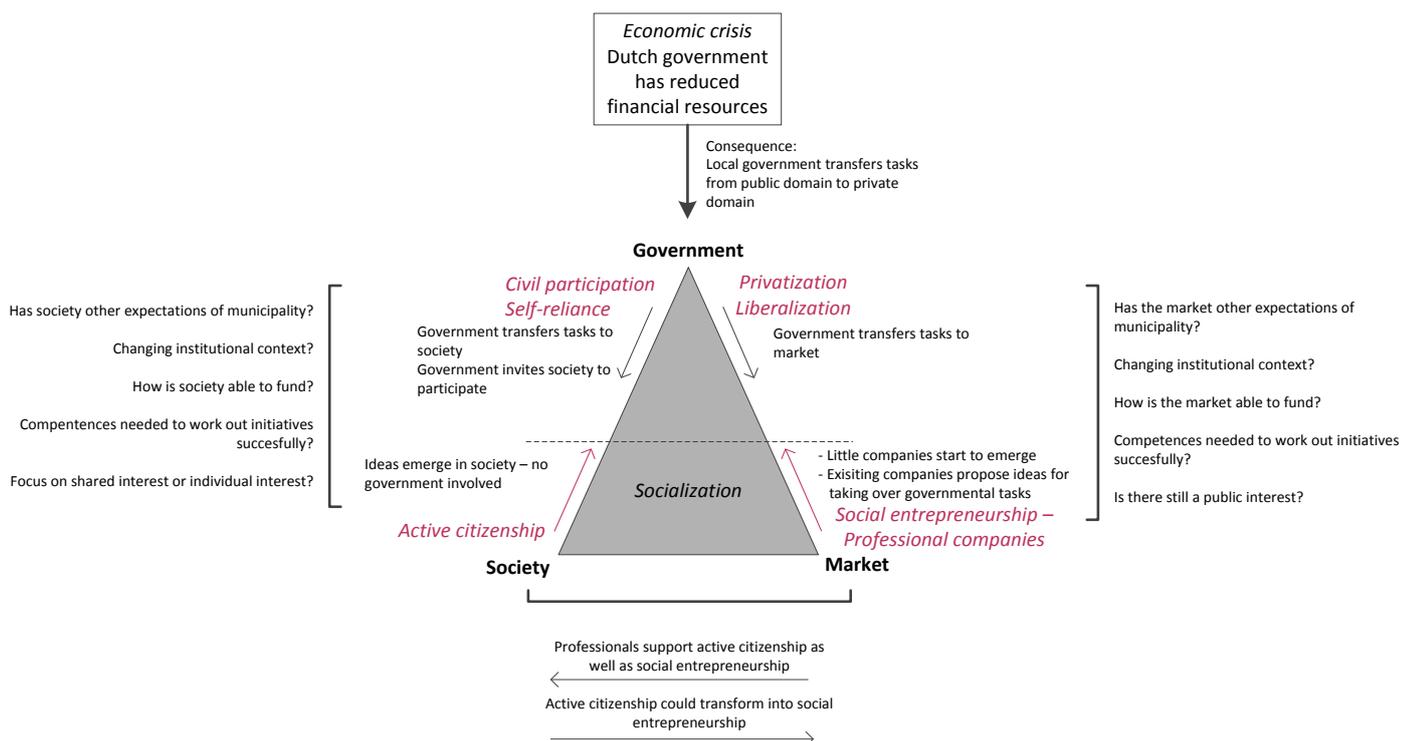
Figure 19: Overall principle of questions and conditions emerging during process of self-organization. Based upon Van der Steen et al., 2013

6.1. Funding the initiatives

Governments are transferring tasks to the level of society as well as the market. On a national scale the Dutch government has to lower their expenditures (Van der Steen et al., 2013). Signals given by civil servants indicate the municipality is supporting private initiatives because of economic reasons. The local government sees active citizenship as well as social entrepreneurship as opportunities to arrange governmental tasks just like urban renewal in collaboration with the society and the market. *"We hebben wel allerlei taken erbij gekregen zoals stedelijke vernieuwing maar, daar is geen geld meer bijgekomen"* (P 1, 2014, p6:32-33).[34] It is a logical sequence. Getting more

tasks while the financial resources do not increase makes the municipality become interested in private funding possibilities. An example is stopping the Provincial CPC-subsidy in Groningen. If the government is not supporting local initiatives because of financial reasons, the market and citizens

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[34] "More tasks, like urban renewal have been added to our program, while the amount of financial resources did not increase"

are expected to pay the initiatives differently. Questions arise about the ability of the society as well as the market to fund these tasks (Van der Steen et al., 2013).

Financial considerations

The topic of funding options is important to mention with regard to self-organization as, initiatives in the case study have shown they cannot continue if there is no funding. In The Netherlands, at least little investment is needed to start-up the initiative: *"Nou financiering is tegenwoordig, de sleutel hè (…) dus je kan een goed idee hebben (…) maar is die ook te financieren?"* (P 6, 2014, p124:10-11).[35] To find out why new approaches are necessary, financial considerations are discussed below (see Table 13). Self-organizing processes are very risky to invest in, as these initiators are not able to cover and oversee the risks at stake. This shows, self-organization is emerging in a highly capitalistic context with very deep-rooted structures and related networks that are difficult to transform. "*Heel vaak gaan kosten voor de baten uit*"[36] (Participant 1, 30rd of July 2014, p3:8-9). The relation between willing to finance processes and individual interests was explained as follows: *"mensen en organisaties zijn wel financieel gestuurd, want uiteindelijk kom je toch weer heel vaak daar bij uit hè (…) Maar uiteindelijk als je verlies maakt op een project wordt een project gewoon niet gerealiseerd"* (P 12, 2015, p218:32-33 + p218:38-39).[37] Discussions are seen in the market with regard to an overall transformation of the financial sector. The cases show similarities with what is happening on more different local levels in the Netherlands (Rli, 2014).

Funding options could be approached from the perspective of governmental investments, investments made by the society and investments made by professional companies. In the perspective of the government the recoup of pre-investments is a major issue. Temporary investments like on the SuikerUnie terrain are a new kind of investment for investors. Temporary initiatives could become permanent if they prove to be contributing to the city. These investments are uncertain with regard to the retransfer of the investment. If the government has not a major need to recoup investments, space could be provided to initiators, which are not able to make large investments. Investments like in Europapark are for an indefinite time. In recouping these pre-investments the municipality considers whether they should accept every initiative or not. Indeed, another initiative might be more contributing to their overall objective like recouping the pre-investments. However, transferring property rights to private actors leads to a more balanced land balance. It gives the municipality the opportunity to make public investments when necessary. Indeed, major investments like a parking garage were previously done by financially strong stakeholders in long-term investments. This is no longer possible when only small stakeholders are involved. *"Ja dat is het lastige. Een individu kan dat niet opbrengen"* (P 3, 2014, p54:60).[38] This asks for a new financial approach in doing public investments.

In the first phase of interviews it was mentioned, private investors as well as banks need to change their attitude towards self-organizing processes. Their attitude is seen as an obstruction in self-organizing processes. Financial considerations for new emerging initiatives are based upon existing economic structures. During one of the interviews the underlying reason for the issue described came up. Financial institutes are often part of a broader network of companies and/ or pension funds. Therefore they have a large responsibility towards a large group of people.

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[35] "Nowadays, funding is the key (...) you may have a good idea (...) but it is possible to fund?"
[36] "Very often, costs come before revenues"
[37] "humans as well as organizations are financially driven(...)But in the end, if you make a financial loss, projects will simply not be build".
[38] Yes, that is the difficulty, a single person is not able to carry these investments"

On a project scale different considerations are being made. First, investments for permanent initiatives are often large. Large investments are related to high risks for investors. Therefore they prefer to have a certain amount of certainty in advance. In the same time, these investors could play a decisive role in planning processes as they decide whether they invest or not. This decision is partially based upon the trust the investors has in the investment.

Furthermore, due to its professional approach the market is designing plans based upon what is profitable for other actors involved. For example: a higher density leads to more residential object to sell. This leads to a higher land value. It is balance between the willingness of supporting societal initiatives and the generation of profit.

The society makes different considerations with regard to investments. This is because actors involved have different starting points. Compared to actors involved in permanent situations, in temporary situations initiators experience a certain amount of uncertainty. They experience this uncertainty, as the municipality gives them not enough clearness regarding the decision-making process.

Interviewees involved in a temporary situation are focused on what kinds of investments are really needed. Why in some situations stakeholders are more cautious compared to other situations is for the following reason. Investors take into account whether the initiator is able to oversee the risks and able to pay back the loan. Furthermore, the initiative should be long lasting enough to pay back the loan. Sometimes initiators have no financial resources to invest. If financial resources are available, financial considerations are based upon how long the initiative could continue. In permanent situations like in CPC-processes the development process asks for pre-investments. These pre-investments are used for the designing process. Participants in CPC-processes are not able to make these pre-investments out of private resources, as the investment is too high. Initiators consider a CPC-process in relation to the opportunity to design a custom-made house for a fair price. Initiators should be financially strong enough. Furthermore participants do not dare to take the risks. As a response to the debate previously discussed, citizens as well as the market start to look for new and different ways of funding. In both of the cases different concepts from society as well as the market for funding have been implemented or taken in consideration.

	Self-organization in a temporary situation	Self-organization in a permanent situation
Consideration of government	Initiatives which becoming embraced by city possibly stay	Large pre-investments need to be recouped
	Low costs for a municipality provided space for initiators not being able to make large investments	Inability of citizens to make large investments
	Consider what investments are necessary to make	Takes municipality the risk to acquire the land of Private actor?
		Allow an initiative or wait until a larger one comes by
		Selling parcels of land makes new investments, made by the municipality, possible
Considerations of market	Insurance for funding by citizens Covering of risks	Insurance for funding by citizens Covering of risks
	Time to pay back the total loan	Individual interest of investor or prior to interest of project?
		Investors need to make profits
Considerations of society	Little amounts of money available. Evaluate whether investments are necessary or not	Are potential CPC-candidates financially strong enough?
	Possibility to recoup investments	Flexibility in building a house and possibly saving money or a standard home build by project developer

Table 13. Financial considerations from the perspective of government, market and society.

6.2. Funding in permanent situations

For funding self-organization in permanent situations, several financing concepts were found. Table 14 provides an overview of these financing concepts. Figure 20 shows from which perspective these concepts are approached. The concepts are further discussed below.

Perspective	Kind of investment	Stimulating	Obstructing
Government	Pre-investments	Building activities could start immediately	Municipality must gain enough profit out of selling parcels of land to achieve a closed land utilization. High risk taken over a long exploitation period
	CPC-subsidy	Makes funding of preliminary phase of CPC-processes possible.	Because of economic reasons subsidy is no longer available. A search for new possibilities for preliminary funding starts.
Market	Shared funding	Stimulates privatization Aim to reduce costs for tasks in public domain	Risk of emergence of inequality is society
	'Plankostenfonds'[39]	Development of CPC-processes	Plot should be residential already Every individual should give guaranty Every individual should give a pledge
Society	Private funding (mortgages)	Continue of process	Lack of official documents needed to get a mortgage. Attitude of banks in providing mortgages
	Early involvement of Building contractor in CPC-process	Bank to provide mortgages	Concept bounds participants in CPC-processes early in process in choice with regard to the building process.

Table 14. Financial resources used when self-organization is applied in a permanent situation.

Three different perspectives on funding in permanent situations

Traditionally, local governments made major pre-investments to make areas ready for development. Due to major pre-investments[40] building activities on acquired land could start immediately. In the current economic climate this would have been evaluated as too risky by the government. Indeed, due to these major pre-investments the municipality must gain enough profit from selling parcels of land in order to achieve a closed land utilization. This has become uncertain, since there is a revised zoning plan, which contains a large amount of uncertainty with regard to future functions on the locations. Indeed the function on the parcels affects the value of the ground. In the previous zoning plan and master plan all functions were set. In this period, the municipality based their investments upon future sales of real estate.

From the perspective of the market, ideas for funding can be separated in funding small scale and large-scale initiatives.

For small-scale initiatives, private companies suggest concepts like collecting garbage and taking care of public space. It is connecting private and public interests. For the case of Europapark this is seen in collaboration with developments on adjacent building plots. The transfer of governmental tasks to market parties is called privatization. Normally the government initiates this. In this case it seems like, the market makes suggestions for tasks to privatize by the government. A private company suggest a new business model. In this business model residents arrange it by themselves by contracting private companies for ten to fifteen years. They expect this contract represents a present value. The present value, the contract represents, could be translated into revenues, which could, for example, be used to improve the quality of adjacent public space. The aim is to improve the liveability and spatial quality of the area. An effect of this approach on the long term, if the scale of the initiative improves might lead to social segregation, because it could affect property values. Furthermore if potential residents are not willing to participate in the contract, it is not yet clear what the consequences will be.

CPC-processes are one of the initiatives taken by citizens. However, such a building project goes hand in hand with a large amount of development costs. Like costs for design, costs for

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[39] A fund set up by municipalities and banks to fund pre-investments regarding cpc-processes.
[40] Investments made by the local government for surface and subsurface infrastructure before the land is being sold to the market and to private actors

consultancy. Residents are not able to make these investments on an individual base. Therefore other ways of funding by support of the market in this process are needed. Since the province stopped to support CPC-processes by subsidizing them, the market has come up with an alternative. With regard to alternatives for subsidies, a bank and other partners have set up a fund called: '*Plankostenfonds*'. This fund is specially designed for the funding of preliminary costs, which has to be made before a building constructor is being chosen by the CPC-association. However, to get a funding by the '*Plankostenfonds*', a lot of formalities are needed.

From the perspective of society, different funding options do exist as well. Citizens are involved in CPC-processes. On an individual scale citizens involved fund their house with a mortgage. Normally, banks will only providing mortgages for finance CPC processes after a cooperation agreement including a building contract is shown. Since in CPC-processes the formally asked documents by normal building processes are asked as well, people participating in CPC-processes should give the bank insurance in a different way. For example by showing them the project is well thought out by hand over a construction costs model and planning. During the economic crisis in 2008 it became very difficult to get a funding for CPC-processes. Furthermore it might be possible participants are not able to sell their current property.

Until the beginning of 2000 a subsidy of €50.000 assigned by the province of Groningen made preliminary investments like architect and consultants costs possible. When no subsidy is available, people should make these investments by themselves. However, as mentioned before, for most people involved this is too risky. This subsidy made it possible to do these investments and had a stimulating effect on the group. Otherwise people would not have participated in the plan. This shows, in this case a subsidy was a stimulating factor for CPC-processes. However, due to governmental economization, this provincial subsidy has stopped.

Another option, initiated by citizens, as is the early involvement of building contractors in these processes. Here the market integrates with societal initiatives. Advantages of this approach are: having someone who guarantees for funding when needed. For example in the case of Europapark, the municipality was only willing to acquire the land for the CPC-association when they did not have to carry the risk. Furthermore, early building contractor involvement saves process time as this contractor can already share his professional knowledge with regard to building techniques. However, early involvement of a building contractor might lead to limited design options. Therefore other methods are preferred.
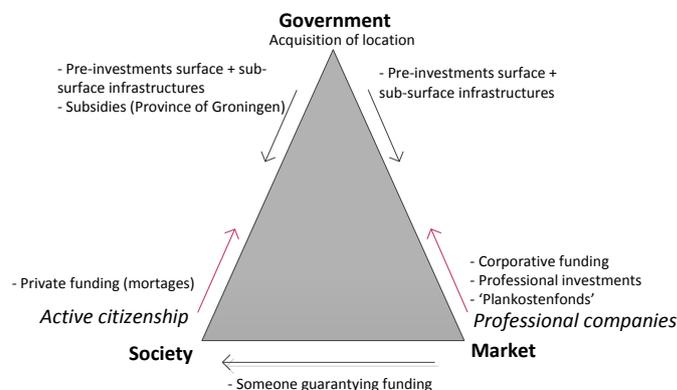

Figure 20. Financial resources permanent situation per perspective. Based upon Van der Steen et al., 2013

6.3. Funding in a temporary situation

Similar to a permanent situation, in a temporary situation the government, the market and the society are involved. All groups are involved in investments on the terrain. Also for this situation different ways of funding are found. Table 15 shows these ways of funding.

Perspective	Kind of investment	Stimulating	Obstructing
Government	None	Market and society to come up with new ideas for funding. Approach initiatives as starting businesses	Start-up of initiatives during competition. No construction of sub-surface infrastructure
Market	Shared funding	Shared risks for investors.	People should be willing to take part in the concept.
	Micro-credits	Stimulates emerges of small initiatives	Risks with regard to repayment
Society	Crowdfunding	Shared ownership. Makes investment in initiatives possible	If there is no need for funding. Funding is asked for a project no one is interested in.

Table 15. Financial resources in a temporary situation

**Three different perspectives on funding in temporary situations**
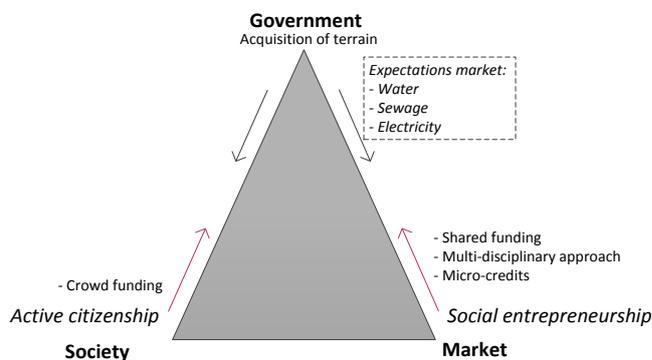
Figure 21. Financial resources temporary situation per perspective. Based upon Van der Steen et al., 2013

Compared to a permanent situation, different funding options are mentioned (Figure 21). This is because in this case it became clear citizens are not able to fund the initiatives individually. Due to the temporary development, investors are cautious in providing short-term loans. They are not willing to take the financial risks, as initiators are not able to oversee the risks of the initiatives. By following the debate of seeing self-organization as an outcome of economization, investors seems not prepared yet for this new approach. Therefore it is tough to get a funding by a traditional bank. Traditionally banks are willing to invest but only over a long term, which increases as the amount of loaned money rises. This is seen as an obstruction and therefore the market as well as the society is searching for new ways of funding like crowd funding and shared investments. Although the municipality is not doing any investments, the market believes the government should arrange sub-surface facilities. Water, sewage and electricity are seen as public domain. It is seen as a basic facility. The market sees financers have difficulties in providing loans for temporary development. Furthermore, initiators are not always capable enough to write a proper business plan. With a proper business plan, the initiator could convince financers. In the interviews shared funding, a multi-disciplinary approach and micro-credits were mentioned as alternatives for funding.

For finance of initiatives options are open to financing concepts where overall profit is more important than individual profit. For example eight to ten initiatives are contributing to the total profit. Together they fund shared utilities out of the overall profit made. This leads to a multi-disciplinary approach. In this approach different interest of actors involved are taken into account. The shared approach contains elements of private interests. Due to this concept, initiators with little private funding resources get the opportunity to run their initiative while financially stable initiators contribute a bit. Their contribution is based upon their capacity (Offermans, 2006). Common goals

can only be achieved if everyone is willing to contribute. Another option is getting a micro-credit. A micro-credit is a small loan of at least 50.000 euro for people willing to start a company (Qkredits). This credit is only provided when the business case is categorized as healthy and promising. Initiators should have a certain amount of entrepreneurial mind set. This could be way more promising, if the business start with a healthy realistic business case and a loan.

This loan could be based upon the ability to pay. This means entrepreneurs pay for the loan what they are able to. The amount could increase over time. Micro-credits are seen as an alternative for the difficulties by getting a business related loan (Qkredits, s.d.). However, professionals, interviewed for this research think, the municipality should embrace this concept and be the negotiation partner of the bank. "*En waar ze in zouden kunnen faciliteren is op het gebied van microkredieten. Dat daar zeg maar banken in dit geval ook enthousiast zijn om zeg maar ook kleinere ondernemingen nou ja mee te financieren*" (P 6, 2015, p241:45-47).[41] The municipality should assess the business cases first. This shows also in self-organization, on a certain point the municipality becomes involved again. Market parties explain why micro-credits are preferred above subsidies. In reality, initiatives are often supported by subsidies. "*het is eigenlijk meer een subsidieverhaal aan het worden dan dat het echt ondernemers zijn.*" (P 6, 2014, p114:52-53).[42] A critic note was mentioned regarding the use of subsidies. Subsidies could help initiators to set up their initiative. However, when the subsidy has become part of the budget, initiators have to look for alternative ways of funding when the subsidy is being stopped. This might lead to funding issues. It shows, people involved do not approach the initiatives from an entrepreneurial perspective. They have a dream or an ideal. To realise that dream a realistic business case is needed. Subsidies in the first place, do not contribute to that statement.

One option for funding from a societal perspective is crowdfunding. Crowdfunding is asking the crowd by posting the idea on an online platform to invest in the project. Crowdfunding networks can growth organically as well. Starting with relatives and friends. Later on also strangers could become interested (Douw&Koren, 2015). Several platforms in the Netherlands and even worldwide are providing options for this way of financing. However, crowdfunding is a useful instrument for ideas, which are already in a concrete state. A pitfall of this instrument is that sometimes it is initiated too early. There are examples of crowdfunding actions for projects, which do not even exist. Furthermore money is collected for an initiative someone thinks there is a communal need while there is no need. For example collecting money for a statue, which is not yet allowed to place in public space (sociale vraagstukken, 2015). Consideration to chose for crowdfunding is the possibility of having shared ownership. However, this option will work better, if the initiators have already gained some publicity with earlier initiatives. The success of the previous project will convince people their money will be spend in a good way.

	Self-organization in temporary situation	Self-organization in permanent situation
Stimulating conditions	Alternative funding options like crowd funding and micro-credits	Pre-investments made by municipality
	Shared funding. Initiators contribute based on what they able to	CPC-processes: early involvement of building contractor
	Try to set up healthy business cases instead of providing subsidies	Long-term traditional funding concepts are possible
		Emergence of new business models
		Awarded subsidies for CPC-processes
		Shared funding shared utilities
Obstructing conditions	No pre-investments made by municipality	Cautiousness of banks to private mortgages for CPC-processes
	Short-term development is too risky for investors to invest in	No longer available provincial subsidy for CPC-processes
	Lack of financial resources on micro-level to make pre-investments	CPC processes: participants have difficulties in selling current properties
	Civilians are not able to make large investments for public facilities	

Table 16. Overview stimulating and obstructing conditions with regard to funding.

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[41] "And where they could facilitate in, is in micro credits. That in this case, banks will become enthusiastic to fund small businesses with such a funding"

[42] "It is becoming more a matter of subsidies instead of entrepreneurial"

6.4. The impact of interests

The previous part discussed the issue of funding a project. Reasons why professionals are not willing to fund had to do with the issue of financial interests. This part discusses the condition of interest more in depth. The effect of interests with regard to self-organization could be interpreted in different ways. On the one hand, if more governmental tasks are moved to the market and society, these two groups become responsible for serving their individual interests as well the public interest (Figure 22). The importance of being aware whether the public interest is still served within the private domain becomes more important (Van der Steen et al., 2013). On the other hand, in the cases it was revealed, interests could stimulate as well as obstruct a self-organizing processes. In both cases it was seen, when actors involved start to see, sharing their interest could be even more fruitful, the overall quality of a location could increase.
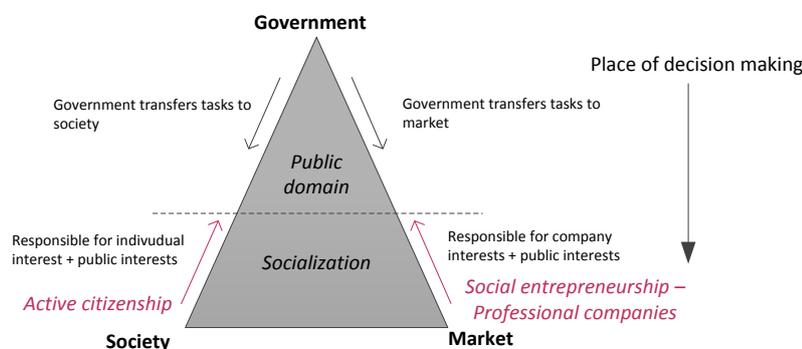
Figure 22. Interests per perspective. Based upon model of Van der Steen et al., 2013

Outcome of the debate

First, with regard to the debate of seeing self-organization as an outcome of economizations of the municipality, former political decisions were being made within governmental institutes. This place of decision-making is moving to the private domain (Figure 22). Traditionally the municipality is taking care of the public domain and aims to treat everyone equally. If society as well as the market becomes responsible for tasks in the public domain equal threatening of society could not be guaranteed. The discussion will emerge whether the initiative serves the public domain or is serving only the people involved.

The other interpretation of interest is found on the level of the cases. The municipality of Groningen moves the development of both locations to the market as well as the society. The market and the society are invited to share their ideas with the municipality. However on both locations the municipality is also dealing with recouping their investments. It is not said; recouping funding is a prior interest of the municipality. This shows interests could become less or more important over time. *"dingen worden natuurlijk heel erg versneld op een moment dat er een belang ligt om een besluit te nemen"* (P12, 2015, p222:2-3).[43]

Focus on shared interests

In general self-organization is seen in relation to shared interests and individual interests. Connecting different interest is seen as a stimulating condition to increase the quality of a larger area. If

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[43] "Things are obviously very be accelerated at a time when there is an interest to take a decision"

everyone is willing to speak out the individual interest, actors involved could start to look at how these interests could be complementary to each other. Contradictory interests could lead to discussions and delays in the process. The example discussed below in Textbox 1 shows, keeping driving upon an individual interest will not work out if nobody in this group gives up the individual interest. The example of what happens if there is no shared interest was found in the case of Europapark.

The municipality of Groningen had selected a particular location in Europapark for a CPC-project. A potential initiator was not interested in the location selected by the municipality but in another parcel. This location is much more attractive to live because it has two important objective characteristics like water and green. As this location was so interesting to build upon, another company was also interested in this plot. This means two different projects were developed in the same time. One plan was initiated by the CPC in collaboration with a CPC-consultant for a low-density area meaning around 13 free parcels on 4000 square metres. And one high-density plan meaning robust city houses and apartments designed by developer. The timeline shows until 2012/2013 both did not know they were designing plans for the same parcel. Until two civil servants communicated with each other and brought the groups together. After discussion, which was obstructing the process, about the division of land all three parties decides to integrate their project into one vision upon this area to achieve one spatial quality (Kuub & Rizoem, 2014). As a result, more insurance are implemented and the process is running again.
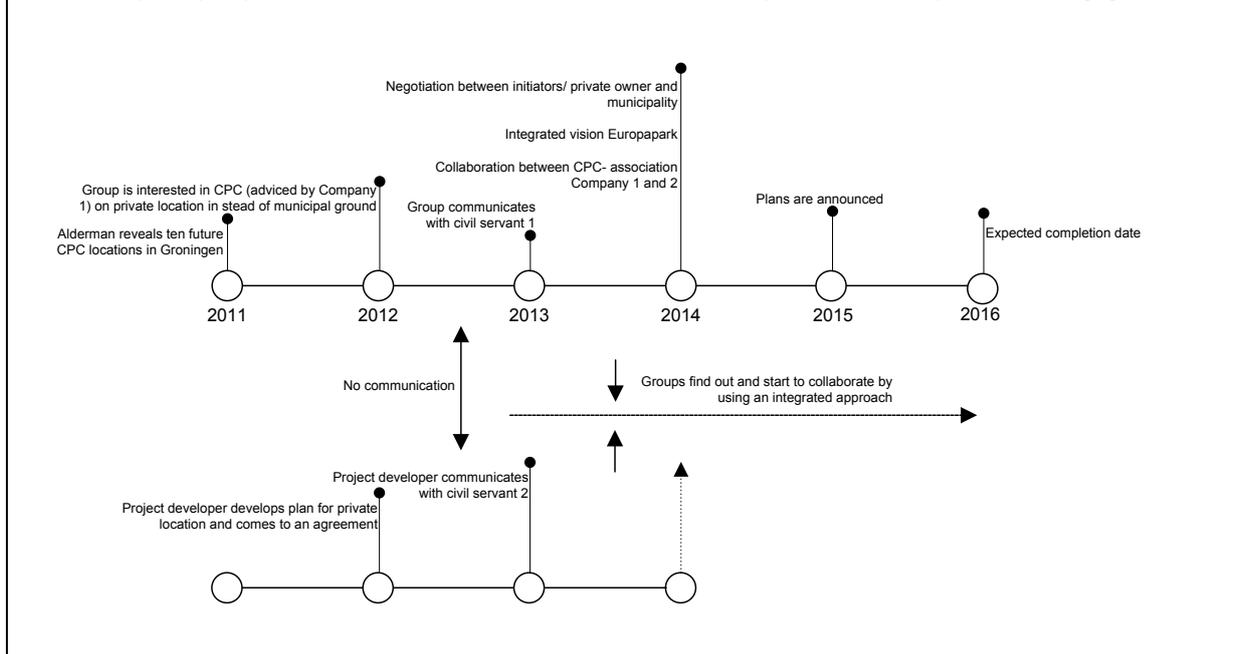
Textbox 1. Example of sharing interests

If socialization continues, the amount of tasks in the public domain shifting to the private domain will increase. An important condition to achieve a successful outcome of self-organization is that others do not force it. People start to collaborate because they have a shared interest. The next example shows, self-organization is not something someone could impose. The municipality tried to form a group out of fifteen price winners. Although the municipality had good intentions by this, this approach failed as the group did not become a group, as there was nothing to share. All individuals had different interests. Some kind of concurrency accorded. People did not agree upon the relevance of one ideal toward the ideal of someone else. The importance of sharing the same interest as a stimulating condition as well as the issue of imposing tasks, was also revealed in the case of the SuikerUnie terrain. The example continues upon what happened after the municipality had presented the winners of the competition. In this process the strongest, in this case, 'de Wolkenfabriek' continued. Others, after a trail of consultancy dropped out.

After a while a new group was formed on the terrain as a response to the municipality who was by then announcing their wishes for an occupier manager.

Next to sharing the same interest, a multi-disciplinary approach is also seen as a potential business model. Since there is no school for entrepreneurship, it could be worthwhile to have locations where entrepreneurship could be learned. "*dat ondernemerschap en zelforganiserend vermogen hoort eigenlijk thuis in de opleiding van mensen*" (P 1, 2014, p12:4-5).[44] This stems from the image that people miss the right competences to set up an initiative. Why this could be relevant tips upon a broader trend. *"de kenniseconomie daar gaat het wel goed mee hè (...) maar de rest van de economie daar hebben we het niet over in die kenniseconomie*" (Participant 6, 2014, p128:27-29).[45] Currently much attention is paid on the knowledge economy. This economy is saturating. More attention should be paid on the industrial economy.

Potential pitfalls: Exclusion

Although sharing interests and connecting interests are stimulating conditions for self-organizations, people should be aware of becoming overruled by others. It is as Van der Steen et al., (2013) discusses as well as Uitermark (2012), the issue of segregation in society. The issue is often ignored in practice but signals of the issue were seen in the cases. For example the maintenance of public space, which is created by a CPC-project. Another example is the accessibility of the SuikerUnie terrain. Only people who currently work on the terrain have access. Sørensen discusses this issue in relation to metagovernance. Citizens, which have more professional knowledge, will be more able to achieve their goals compared to others who are not that competent (Sørensen, 2006).

Van der Steen et al., (2013, p-35) places the importance of activity above exclusion by saying: *" Het gaat niet om het vinden van meerderheden en het deugdelijk omgaan met zwakke belangen van minderheden, maar om activiteit".*[46] However, at this moment is it more important to generate some building activities because other interests, like financial interests, are more important. Building activities are seen as a condition to make people become interested in an area. To achieve this activity the government should realise people are not always able, competent enough or willing to arrange issues by themselves.

	Temporary self-organization	Permanent self-organization
Stimulating conditions	Economization of government + willingness to have activity on vacant land.	Economization of government + willingness to continue urban planning
	Focus on shared interest and complementarity in formation of corporation	Working prior to the shared interest when working in coalitions
Obstructing conditions	Actors involved having different interest.	Working prior to individual interest
	Based on interests the group does not come to an agreement	Differences in interest of society, market and government

Table 17. Overview stimulating and obstructing conditions with regard to interests.

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[44] "Entrepreneurship and self-organization should be part of people's education"

[45] "the knowledge economy is doing well (...) but the rest of the economy is not discussed in this knowledge economy"

[46] "It is not about finding majorities and properly dealing with weak interests of minorities, but about vigour"

6.5. Ability and competences

Previously, conditions like funding and interests are discussed if tasks shift to the private domain. By looking at the left side of the model of Van der Steen et al., (2013), the shift from tasks from the government to the society and the market is discussed. If the government expects citizens to take over more governmental tasks, it could be questioned to what extend people are able, competent enough and willing to fulfil this active citizenship. Can citizens rely on themselves? Indeed, it is not said, people will take over these tasks automatically (Rli, 2014). People will not take over these tasks automatically as they need a trigger to become motivated. Previously it was already discussed, people have to look for alternative ways of funding as an important condition for developing ideas if the government is not supporting them anymore. Next to the issue of funding there is the issue of being able or willing to arrange tasks individually. The ability could be explained in terms of knowledge and competences (Figure 23). A red line through all initiatives and interviews was, initiators involve professionals on a certain point. This means from the perspective of society, people are not always able or competent enough to pick up these tasks or to bring their own initiative further. This process of professionalization is not straightforward and could be seen in different ways. On the one hand professionals could be asked by citizens to support. On the other hand professionals could initiate a project and involve citizens. Furthermore, the moment of professionalization is affected by factors like competences, the lack of financial resources and scale. When people are not competent enough, the project stagnates on a certain point.
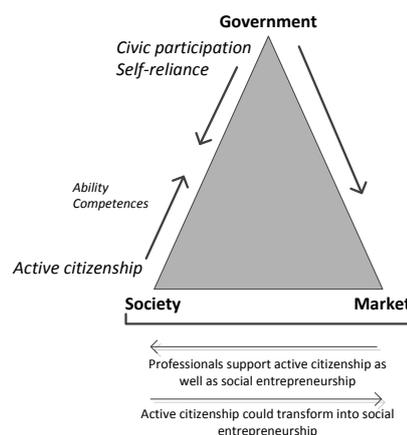
Figure 23. Positioning ability and competences. Based upon Van Der Steen et al., 2013

Competences and scale

One of the factors affecting the moment of professionalization and losing ownership either permanent or temporary is related to competences people involved have developed. First, do people possess the right competences to develop a house or to develop their ideas? The discussion about competences is relevant as self-organization is related to ownership. Ownership is one of the characters mentioned for self-organization. The longer the initiator could be owner, the longer an initiative could stay a self-organization. Most of the time people discover a lack of professional knowledge regarding building activities or entrepreneurship. Citizens do not have the level of insight in building processes like professionals. Furthermore, setting up a successful business case is evident. This can be explained from different perspectives. From a professional point of view: By not speaking the right language, building contractors might overrule the person sitting in front of him.

Table 18 gives an overview of stimulating and obstructing conditions with regard to competences and ability.

From a municipal point of view, due to a lack of knowledge with regard to urbanism and urban conditions, the urban quality preferred by the municipality cannot be secured. With regard to entrepreneurship, mostly relevant for the SuikerUnie terrain, people have less or no experience in writing a convincing business plan. Convincing business plans are needed when external finance is preferred. Business plans are also the baseline of becoming a healthy company. This topic is therefore relevant with regard to the discussion of professionalization in relation to changes for self-organization. In the article of Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edelenbos (2012), this issue was addressed as well. Also the importance of vital-actor relations was stressed. Citizens or non-state actors as they are named in this paper, often have difficulties in finding the right connections or become overruled by professional actors (Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edelenbos, 2012).

Next to competences for initiators, also professionals need to develop new competences. These competences are related to collaboration with different disciplines and different kind of groups. No longer only professional organized groups collaborate with the municipality. Also creative artists do. In the first round of interview competences with regard to self-organization were identified. Competences mentioned were: "*be creative, be entrepreneurial, to have courage and making use of local power*" (Participant 2, 2014, P28-p29). This indicates competences people have developed or developing is seen as a relevant key condition to stimulate self-organizing processes.

Theoretical foundation why competences are important is found in the relation between knowledge and power discussed by Flyvbjerg (2003). What is revealed from this analysis is, the more relevant knowledge is available the longer self-organizing processes could exist as being independent and be developed as was meant by the initiator.

The second component affecting the moment of professionalization is scale. Scale levels seem to have influence on the ability of people to set up a successful self-organization. Scale can be seen as a physical scale in term of the size of the area. Scale can also be seen in terms of a complex process. On a small scale like upgrading a green space, people are able to oversee the process, to gain enough revenue by collecting money and to indicate what tasks have to be done. When the project involves building houses, a few components come at stake: technical knowledge, knowledge of planning, financing and long-term collaboration. Here a link is made with the former discussed topic, the competences. The moment where upon an actor is no longer able to organize the process on a particular scale by himself depends on what kind of competences this person possesses and how this actor is using this competences.

	Self-organization in a temporary situation	Self-organization in a permanent situation
Stimulating conditions	Collaboration between entrepreneurs in cooperation	Involvement of professionals in the process
	Involvement of actors with professional experience.	Collaboration between professionals and citizens
	Possessing the right competences within formed coalition	Possessing the right competences within formed coalition
		Small scale development
Obstructing conditions	Lack of right competences with regard to entrepreneurship in beginning of process	Level of scale in terms of complexity
	Missing the right competences to set up a proper and convincing business plan	Professionals might be able to overrule inexperienced people
	Level of scale: difficult to oversee entire project	

Table 18. Overview stimulating and obstructing conditions with regard to competences and ability.

Four types of professional involvement.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph professionals are involved in self-organizing processes. This thesis distinguishes four different types of professional involvement. Figure 23 shows professionals could become involved in different ways. The first three types discuss options wherein the initiative for professional involvement is taken by the society. Only in the fourth type professionals take the initiative. In the first type, actors involved in an initiative learn during the developing process. These actors are often highly educated and are often eloquent people. In literature this is called civic learning (Biesta et al., 2013). People learn by doing it. The gained knowledge is used during further development of the same initiative or used in other initiatives. The next time an initiative is set-up the starting point of the initiator will be on a higher level. *"Nee, die mensen hebben in wezen ervaring in zo'n proces, dus die voelen zich prima bij zo'n proces want die hebben dat al een keer doorlopen"* (P 3, 2014, p53:27-28).[47] The results show that the same people are active in different initiatives. These people feel comfortable in self-organizing processes. In the second type, the professional supports the initiative on a temporary base. The professional is asked to support during a particular phase of the process. This could be in the beginning, in the middle or in the end of the process. When the professional is involved in the beginning of the process, the professional supports the initiators to start-up. Initiators at a later state could also ask professional help. *"En op het moment dat het natuurlijk over huizen gaat, is het denk ik in eerste instantie een soort ideaalbeeld van 'Ik wil daar heel graag wonen' wat eventueel na een tijdje geprofessionaliseerd wordt. En dan misschien wel weer een ideaalbeeld wordt"* (P12, 2015, p227:2-3).[48] For example when the process becomes more complex or integrity must be guaranteed. When the process becomes manageable for the initiators again, the role of professionals decreases again or disappears. In the third type, the professional becomes involved and stays involved. The professional is willing to bring the initiative further and is willing to spend time on it. The initiative could transform into a professional organization. Sometimes the professional takes over several tasks. By then it is still self-organized because it is still managed by the initial initiators. This was seen in initiatives were initiators were facing a lack of the right competences. This type is seen in entrepreneurial related initiatives. In the fourth type the professional is the initiator. These are often small companies, which respond to market demands in providing different concepts of project development. In this context the professional is a project developer, architect or consultant. In this type the professional sets out the lines and presents basic ideas to the society. People interested in these ideas could become involved and work out these ideas in collaboration with the professional. This was seen in initiatives related to housing.

Type of professional involvement	Perspective	Characteristics
Civic learning	Citizens	Citizens involved in process learn by doing it.
Temporary professional support	Citizens	Professional provides temporary support
Professional stays involved	Citizens	Professional becomes involved and stays involved
Professionally initiated	Professional	Professional provides plan and responses to market demands

Table 19. Four types of professionalization seen in practice.

With regard to scientific theory, this process could be linked to network theory. In what is discussed above, it is shown different nodes (actors) are involved in processes. Furthermore there are different relations. Both the topics discussed above are related to abilities of humans. Therefore the network of actors around a process affects the moment of professionalization. Meaning that, when actors

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[47] "People have experience and feel comfortable in such a process"
[48] "Initially an ideal picture does exist. 'I would really like to live there'. Eventually, after a while it is being professionalized. And maybe it returns to an ideal image again".

involved in the process use their professional knowledge in a non-professional environment, a self-organizing process by citizens is more likely to succeed. This shows vital actor relations is an important condition to succeed. Furthermore, the scale of the initiative could affect the moment of professionalization.

The role, strength of this role and importance of the role can change over time. Also the relation can change. At the same time, this change for citizens is an obstruction for the municipality. For the municipality it was confirmed a several times, it is difficult to indicate whether they have to act like they act to companies or to non-professional actors.

6.7. A changing institutional context

The current national government has embedded the ambition for leaving more room and freedom for local initiatives in their political programmes. In practice, the society as well as the market is more and more involved in working out tasks, which originally belong to the public domain because the government is willing to reduce the amount of tasks. This strengthens the argument of Van der Steen (2013) who is saying: *"Het gaat niet om meer ruimte voor de burger, maar om minder doen door de overheid"* (Van der Steen et al., 2013, p-36).[49]

If the national as well as the local government start to ask more from the society as well as the market, it cannot be avoided the governmental organization itself should respond to transitions. By taking into account institutional difficulties within the private domain, the government could contribute to the further development of self-organization. Citizens as well as the market come up with new ideas based upon their own perspective and reference framework, which do not always, meet the existing institutional context. Table 20 shows an overview of governmental conditions, which obstruct or stimulate the process.

	Self-organization in a temporary situation	Self-organization in a permanent situation
Stimulating conditions	Political support for self-organization	Revision of zoning plan into adaptive zoning plan with no final views in advance
	Attitude of municipality with regard to clarifying role of municipality	Support of alderman in processes
	Clarify future development process	Selection of CPC locations by alderman
	Willingness of civil servants to support local initiatives	
Obstructing conditions	Risk based approach of government	Institutional framework before 2013
	Sectoral thinking of municipality/ difficulties in communications /Hierarchical structure in municipality /	Sectoral thinking of municipality/ difficulties in communications /Hierarchical structure in municipality
	Willingness to create a group	Search for a new role of the municipality
	Search for a new role of the municipality	
	Alderman needed to guide ideas trough municipal organization	

Table 20. A changing institutional context.

If the municipality is asking more from the society as well as the market, it cannot be avoided citizens as well as the market will have other expectations of the government. Indeed, obstructions and stimulations will emerge on the point where these different perspectives meet. The municipality has a risk-based approach because they have a large responsibility if something happens. The market, on the other hand, thinks opportunity-based. As a consequence, a noncommittal-approach is needed (Figure 24). The latter is difficult to achieve within the municipal organization. *"het handelen vanuit vrijblijvendheid en even van grof naar fijn werken is soms heel lastig bij een gemeente"* (P6, 2015, p243:22-23).[50]

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[49] **"**It is not about providing more space to civilians. It is about the government doing less"

[50] "At a municipality it is sometimes very difficult to deal from the perspective of a noncommittal-approach and to work from coarse to fine"

With regard to conditions in the institutional context three issues have often come forward: the issue of a hierarchical organization structure, the importance of political support from civil servants as well as aldermen and flexibility in zoning plans.
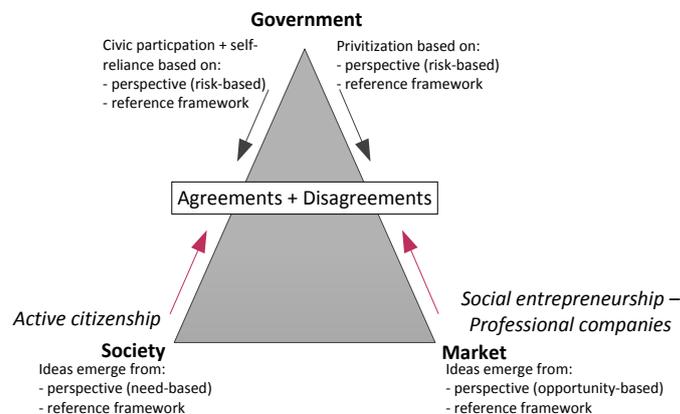

Figure 24. Differences in perspectives. Based upon Van der Steen et al., 2013

Structure of municipal organization

With regard to the municipal organization, the structure of this organization and how the organization is currently functioning was mentioned as an obstructing condition in both of the cases when ideas were proposed to the municipality. The quotes below show decisions are made on a sector base. The integral way of thinking which is important for self-organization to relate issues to spatial design is not there anymore but should be there to optimize processes in terms of time saving measurements. *"en het is opvallend dat ze, ze hebben bijna stuk voor stuk niets meer met elkaar te maken, ze zitten allemaal vanuit hun sector doen ze iets hè?"* (Participant 5, 10th of December 2014, p104:45-46).[51] A more applied example is found in the next quote . *"En ik zat met [...] om tafel van de gemeente. En de CPO-vereniging zat met iemand anders om tafel. En dat heeft zo'n vier a vijf maanden naast elkaar gelopen"* (P 10, 2014, p178:54-55).[52] When the municipality finally brought both groups together, room was created to start a new collaborating process. This resulted into a shared development vision for a selected part of Europapark.

The underlying reason mentioned is the municipal organization structure. Traditionally the municipal structure involves different layers and different departments. The fact that these departments are not either integrated nor communicates, leads to different perspectives, perceptions and expectations. However, civil servants who frequently speak to the market and the society support the perspective of becoming more flexible. The municipality is very cautious in giving room for bottom-up initiatives. "*het is hartstikke voorzichtig. Mag van mij allemaal veel vrijer*" (P 8, 2014, p59:40).[53]

Political support

Very frequently during the interviews the role of the municipality included the importance of political support from aldermen as well as civil servants (see Textbox 2). This condition is relevant for all kind of bottom-up initiatives.*"Hè, als een wethouder het helemaal niet belangrijk vindt, dan merk je ook dat de ambtenarij daar ook minder naartoe loopt"* (P 6, 2014, p127:19-20).[54] If the alderman is

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[51] "It is striking, they have nothing to do with one another anymore, everything they do is based on the perspective of their sector"
[52] "I talked to [...] of the municipality. The CPC association was talking to someone else. That has been two parallel trails for approximately four to five months until"
[53] "It is very cautious. It should be much freer if you ask me"
[54] "If an alderman is thinking it is not important at all, then you will notice, civil servants will follow this statement"

supporting an initiative, there is a high change civil servants do as well. It is important, initiators have to impression civil servants are helping them to achieve their goals. This shows it is important that civil servants or aldermen are willing to help initiators through the institutional organization. *"nou wat ook helpt, en dat is het geluk ook van het terrein, Is dat we nu een wethouder hebben(…) dat hij ook wel ziet dat de stad dit nodig heeft"*(P6, 2014, p127:10-13).[55] Also in the case of Europapark an example of the importance of support of an alderman were found. What is meant is, civil servants work in a political environment. When the board is not giving any securities, civil servants are cautious in making decisions.

A neighbourhood, De Linie was developed and built in the early 2000s. Initially, the municipality preferred a traditional process with project developers. This process was already running. It was not until 2004, before an alderman decided to create political support for this CPC project. First, this was because the group met all the conditions like, a strong group, enough revenue and it was part of the policy. As it was part of the policy it can be questioned why the civil servant did not want to sell parcels of land to this group. A plausible reason could be the traditional way of thinking culture within the municipal organization itself. In 2002/2003 one of the project developers decided to drop out because he did not agree upon the institutional framework, which was very strict. This event created room for the initiators to undertake another attempt to become in the possession of land. The process continued and finally in 2004 the municipality decided to allow the group to take part in a drawing of lots. The initiator of 'De Linie 'became interested again in doing another CPC project. Compared to 'De Linie', by now, the municipality just stimulates CPC-projects through the entire municipality. Two interviewees, both involved in CPC-projects confirmed this. However, CPC has become better nown over the last couple of years. What was seen in the example described above, the alderman brought back the energy into the group.

Time line proces 'De Linie' based on information conducted from interviews with CPC association and Company 1.
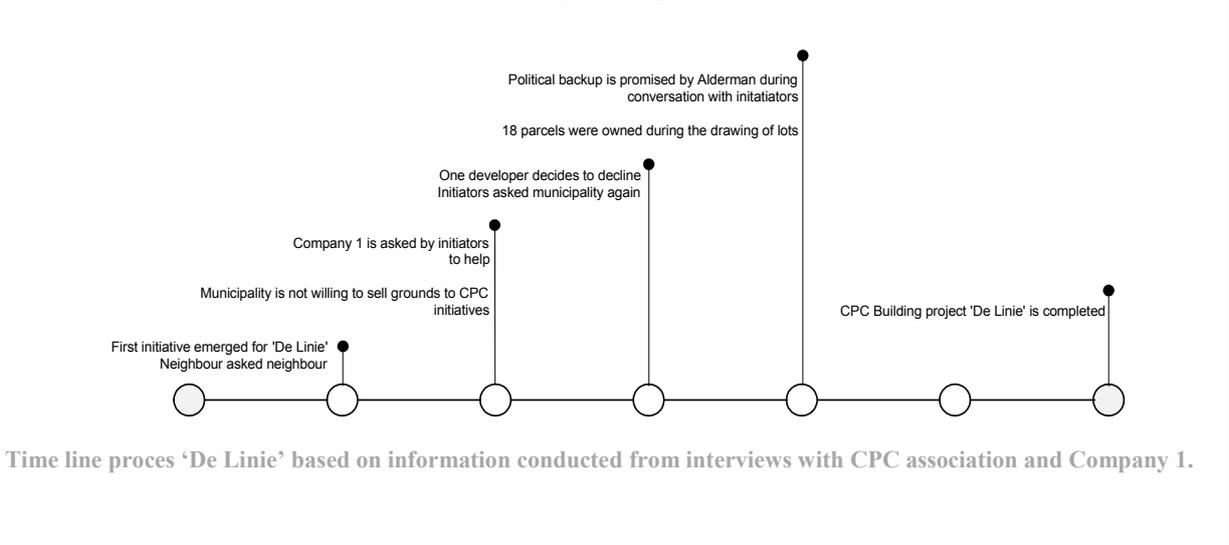
Textbox 2. Example of the importance of political support. Image shows example of process.

Flexibility in zoning plans and the role of the municipality

The previous paragraphs show willingness of the municipality is of influence on the success of initiatives. The municipality of Groningen provides political support not only in 'ad hoc' solutions but is also stimulating self-organization in a broader perspective. As a consequence the existing procedures ask for a change too. As a result of economic and societal changes existing zoning plans are turned into an adaptive zoning plan. An adaptive zoning plan is not prescriptive in terms of functions but adapts to a changing market context. Current developments on the location show this has worked stimulating. In this process self-organization was used as a solution to continue the development of the terrain. This argument is seen more often in the current economic context (Uitermark, 2012)

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[55] "Well, what helps as well is, and that also the luck of the terrain, is that currently we have an alderman(...) who sees as well the city needs this "

Contradictory, people interviewed on the market side mentioned the importance of a clear list of rules. This is something an adaptive zoning plan provides in a less comprehensive way. Rules, in their perspective give initiators certainty with regard to the assessment framework. When the framework is set, it is not necessary to spend time anymore on setting up guidelines. Furthermore, when a straightforward set of assessment criteria is provided, it becomes easier for an architect to design a building, which meets the assessment criteria, set up by the government. People suggest setting up assessment criteria in dialogue with the municipality at the beginning of a project to be able to deal with these difficulties. Therefore it is seen the civil servant is involved early in the process.

Although the flexibility given has led to more building activities, it has also worked in an obstructive way. Giving more flexibility to the market or society asks for a different attitude of the municipality as well. The municipality is still searching for her new role. This searching process sometimes leads to delays in processes.

However, in the temporary situation the existing situation is being occupied (Gemeente Groningen, 2012b). What was thought to be a stimulating context did not work out in the end because actors involved were not able to collaborate. Furthermore, all the ideas selected did not fit into the existing zoning plan. The market as well as the society is providing creative ideas to realize facilities. For example: flexible Internet posts. The municipality is acting like this as they have a major focus on safety measurements (Muller, 2013a). Since they are responsible for the entire terrain this is not an extraordinary attitude. However, searching for ways to fasten the permit application procedure could help local initiators to continue their activities. The municipality is assessing these initiatives along the existing institutional framework. It could be worthwhile to focus on the goals to achieve on the location and to find out in dialogue how these goals could be achieved. The first step was taken by appointing an occupier manager. The municipality is also searching for her new role in this changing context. *"we zijn niet gewend om zelf de straat op te gaan en acquisitie te plegen (...) daar heb je een soort commerciële blik voor nodig"* (P 3, 2014, p39:8-11).[56] The municipality chose to focus on what belongs to a governmental organization and to make use of the knowledge available in the market.

6.8. Spatial conditions

On the one hand spatial conditions could be one of the conditions why citizens start-up an initiative. On the other hand spatial conditions could become an obstruction in the process when people are no longer able to oversee the entire plan (Table 21).

Spatial conditions could play a role in the emergence of self-organizing processes. The government provided space for self-organization and invites the society to come up with ideas (Figure 25). Sometimes this is a response to what the market demands. In literature signals were found for this role. Although spatial conditions could not assure self-organizing processes will emerge, they could be seen as an inviting condition for self-organizing processes. Spatial conditions are also one the strategies professionals could use to stimulate self-organization. Only clues for the theory of Alfasi & Portugali (2007) were found in the cases. If spatial conditions could be used to stimulate people to start organize particular tasks by themselves, then the government could use this as a strategy to stimulate self-organization also on the scale of communities. Thoughts about this are

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[56] We are not used to go on the street and to commit acquisition (...)therefore you need some kind of a commercial view"

already there with regard to the design of cities. *"dat is misschien planologisch wel interessant, dat je steden zo inricht dat het mogelijk wordt gemaakt"* (P 1, 2014, p13:11-12).[57] Then it is about spatial conditions, which stimulate self-organization. But also about conditions which help to continue self-organization.
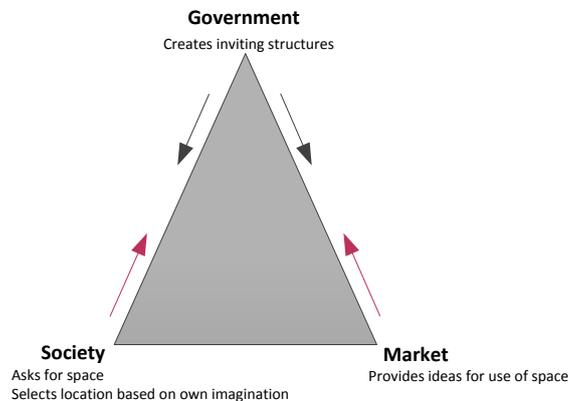

Figure 25. Relation between spatial characteristics and self-organization. Model based upon Van der Steen et al., 2013

Spatial conditions stimulating and obstructing self-organization

The quality of public space in terms of green space and the possibility to build a house adjacent to waterfronts are factors, which makes it attractive for people to become interested in a particular area. Locations in an attractive green environment and or adjacent to water are more on demand compared to other locations. However, this objective characteristic could be placed in a broader perspective. It could be used as an inviting strategy. *"Dat gebruiken ze als een soort verleiding voor mensen om het interessant te maken om zich daar te vestigen"* (P 8, 2014, p44:43-44).[58]

What was discussed and already frequently mentioned as an obstructing condition from a municipal perspective is the aspect of alienation. *"Wie zullen mijn buren zijn"* (Participant 8, 24th of September 2014, p50:54).[59] This question was asked with regard to the future land value. On a municipal level the question was asked: "*maar continue bij elk initiatief heel goed kijken van, 'wat betekent dit nou voor het gebied en voor de stad?'. En levert het uiteindelijk wel een meerwaarde op?*" (P 8, 2014, p49:49).[60] This shows the municipality still has a major say and is selective in what kind of initiative should fit into the existing context. When the area continues to develop the municipality becomes stricter in what they allow. *"Ja het breidt wel voort op wat er staat"* (P 7, 2014, p50:20).[61] The room for self-organization shrinks over time.

This could be linked to Alfasi & Portugali (2007), the contribution of buildings to a particular area depends on three characteristics, the physical quality, the function and operation and its general appearance. The physical quality involves element like, size of the building, amount of stories. The functions and operations is what are happening within the building. General appearance is related to materials (Alfasi & Portugali, 2007).

Spatial conditions could also inspire people. For example: the emptiness of the location inspires people to develop ideas related to sustainability. Answers why people develop ideas with regard to sustainability were based upon the certain amount of popularity this topic has in society. Furthermore emptiness let people think the possibilities are infinite on a location. However,

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[57] "maybe that is interesting for spatial planning, that cities are designed to make it possible"
[58] "They use it as a kind of seduction to interest people to settle there"
[59] "Who will become my neighbours?"
[60] "but at all times, looking very intensive to every initiative, 'what does this development mean for this area as well as for the city of Groningen?'And does it deliver added value in the future?"
[61] "Yes, it is based upon the existing context"

emptiness is also associated with a low degree of building activity. This could be interpreted as: the area is not attractive to settle. In this situation people need a certain amount of creativity to see the potency of an area.

However the scale of the terrain was mentioned as an obstructing condition. Due to its size it is complicated for initiators to oversee the entire terrain. Large-scale projects ask for major investments in public facilities. Initiators are not able to make these investments. As a result public facilities will be developed incrementally.

However, these experiences start to count when people have access to the terrain. This access is not self-evident. Historical elements, which have lost their original function, could now be experienced as being obstructing. For example: a fence. Users of the terrain experience this fence as a major obstruction for the emergence of activities on the terrain. Why the municipality does not allow everyone to access the terrain is related to safety measures and responsibilities. The municipality takes full responsibility when accidents come across. Such measures could have an impact on the possibilities of a location.

Continuing self-organization

Spatial dynamics were mentioned in a broader perspective. Spatial dynamics make an area attractive to live, work and invest in. Different elements could generate this attractiveness. Building residential areas and adding public facilities will achieve attractiveness. By doing so activity will be more spread out over the day. This affects the way visitors experience an area. *"Ja, de dynamiek wordt groter, de sociale veiligheid neemt enorm toe"* (P 12, 2015, p220:9).[62] Furthermore the liveability will increase as well when projects start to develop.*"Hè dat het van de grond komt, dat het wat leefbaarder wordt, want wat dat betreft is het een kale vlakte"* (P 9, 2014, p161:28).[63] When there are no dynamics or building activities it is difficult for people to imagine how it would be to live or work in a particular area. "*dus je moest een behoorlijke fantasie hebben om te zien dat het zo mooi zou worden zoals het nu is"* (P 7, 2014, p145:50-51).[64]

Initiatives bringing spatial dynamics could be useful for other investors. Dynamics bring people and potential customers to a location. That makes an area interesting for other initiators who can bring in more revenues. Spatial dynamics are being used as a development strategy. Spatial dynamics could be obstructed by spatial elements. For example: a gate. The accessibility of a location has an impact upon how people move through a city (Batty, 2011). This means when a location has a good accessibility, dynamic is likely to emerge. For example: in terms of a local economy.
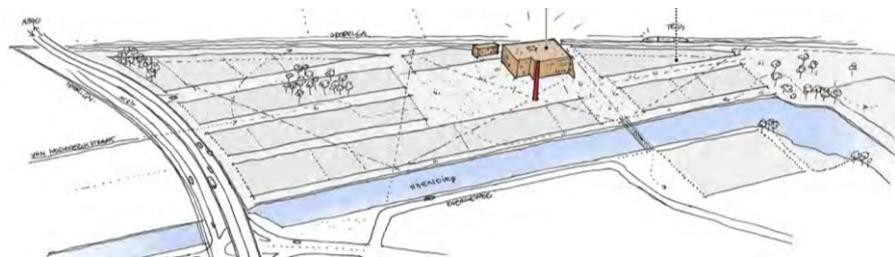
Figure 26. Creating meeting places. Source: Ploegid3 (2014)

Spatial conditions could create meeting places for people. In the article of Alfasi & Portugali (2007) it is stated, more public buildings will increase alienation. Also de Vos (2003) makes a plea for locations

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[62] "Yes, dynamic enlarge, social security increases"
[63] "it should become a bit more liveable because now it is a barren plain"
[64] "A huge fantasy was needed to see how beautiful it was going to be though"

for people to meet as this increases the possibility for people to meet. These meetings should result in collaborations. The same idea is being applied on the SuikerUnie terrain. The occupier manager is willing to create an open square. Furthermore, the current sieve building should become the canteen of the location (Figure 26). Both the open square and the canteen are meeting places. It is the intention these meeting places will provoke collaboration. For the case of the SuikerUnie terrain this suits to the idea of being complementary to each other. The terrain should develop organically during the coming fifteen to twenty years. To trigger people to start to develop initiatives on the terrain, some spaces are intentionally left open. This generates dynamics on the terrain. *"Bijvoorbeeld de leegte van het terrein en de leegte van het gebouw die is heel inspirerend voor mensen, daar ga je echt creatieve ideeën van krijgen"* (P 4, 2014, p78:31-32).[65]

	Self-organization in a temporary situation	Self-organization in a permanent situation
Stimulating conditions	Spatial conditions trigger ideas for self-organization. Spatial conditions could affect the content of an idea	Spatial qualities like green space and waterfronts
	Spatial dynamics used as strategy by occupier manager to make area attractive	Spatial dynamics in terms of building activities and living activities
	Make location easily accessible for people	Facilities like supermarkets and healthcare makes an area interesting to live in
	Create meeting places	Small scale development on project base and single plots
	Make a logical path for citizens to reach the area	
Obstructing conditions	No public access to the location.	No physical reference frame for potential residents of an area
	Large scale which is difficult to overlook for actors involved	Impact of adjacent buildings on value of parcels.
		No meeting places + a monotone building program
		Potential final view of municipality
		The more initiatives have been worked out, the stricter the municipality becomes

Table 21. Spatial conditions which could have a stimulating or obstructing effect on self-organization

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[65] "For example to emptiness of the terrain and the emptiness of the building. That is what people inspires"

7. Subjective conditions

In the previous paragraphs objective conditions were discussed which affect the process of self-organization. The way people experience these objective conditions is affected by subjective conditions. *"de invloed op deze objectieve elementen werd extreem beïnvloed door de psyche van de mens"* (P 12, 2015, p223:8-9).[66] *"Reality is a construction of our brain"* is what Immanuel Kant enunciated. With a subjective condition is meant, the way people experience a process, a particular area or think about how it could become. It could also be a trigger for people to start up or support a process. Apart from the governmental who shifts tasks to the society, self-organization could also emerge from the society itself. This is called active citizenship. Both sides were seen in the cases. Self-organization is then emerging in terms of active citizenship as well as social entrepreneurship
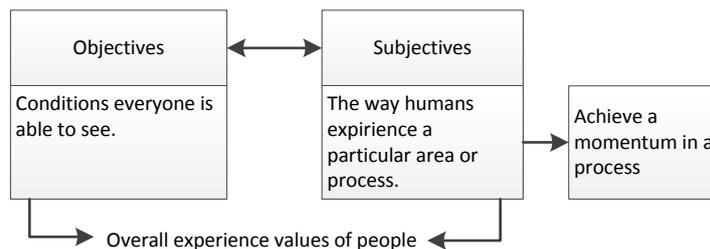

Figure 27. Relation between objectives and subjectives

In practice subjectivity is called: The experiential value. This experiential value is affected by the emotional state of people. These experiences could have a positive effect on the progress of a process. For example: when a momentum is achieved. On this point everyone involved is convinced the project will succeed. In the cases two kinds of subjective conditions have come forward: triggers to start an initiative and the achievement of a momentum (see Figure 28).
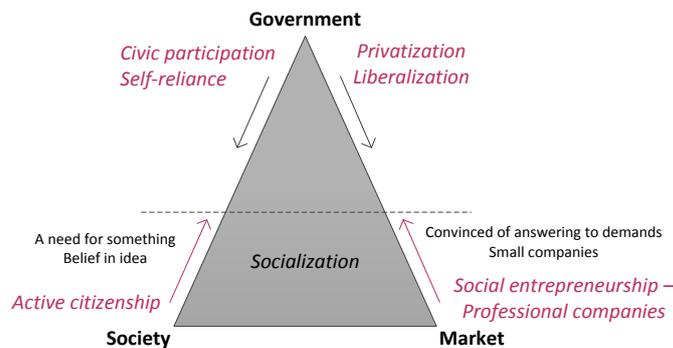
Figure 28. Principle triggers to start an initiative. Model based upon Van Der Steen et al., 2013

7.1. Triggers to start up an initiative

As mentioned before, as long as there is no reason for starting to organize processes independently, people will not start up a process. In both the cases there was always an underlying motivation to start-up a process (Table 22). Not all initiatives are outcomes of governmental decisions. Initiatives could also emerge based on different motives. It is what Van der Steen et al., (2013) calls: *Active citizenship*. Underlying reasons for active citizenship could be private or public. With regard to self-

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[66] "The impact of these objective elements is extremely affected by the human psyche"

organization, which, involve living, underlying reasons are often private. The ambition could also be partially private. The other part of the ambition could be shared with others. Sometimes people start-up initiatives based on private experiences with regard to the improvement of the quality of healthcare at home for the ones who need it. Here a private experience is placed in a broader perspective. In this way other can profit from this underlying private experience.

When the initiative involves an entrepreneurial initiative, people often share an ambition. This ambition could relate to sustainability. In the case of the SuikerUnie terrain people see the empty locations as an opportunity to develop their goals, wishes, ideas and ideals. Initiators are looking for a place to work out their ideas and see the SuikerUnie terrain as a suitable place. *"Je ziet ze gewoon denken van WOW!!! Wat kan hier allemaal. En uhm ja dat zie je eigenlijk iedereen doen."* (P 4, 2014, p78:37-38).[67]

Furthermore the ambition could be an ideal view. Sometimes people have a strong willingness to change a particular situation. These people feel there is a need to change an existing situation. They have a strong willingness to change the situation and to let the terrain flourish. People involved do honestly believe something could emerge on this location. Out of this belief initiators put energy.

Characteristics like water and green space are objective conditions. This means most of the people are able to see this. However the effect these objective conditions have upon how a particular actor is experiencing the area depends on subjective conditions. For example an empty location will only be experienced as empty and undeveloped when a group or a single person has a need or demands for vacant land. The municipality selected the location for CPC. However, the CPC-association preferred to build on a more attractive area. "*Wij wilden op dat […] stuk, hier aan het water. Dat is natuurlijk veel aantrekkelijker*" (P 9, 2014, p159:34-35).[68] People experienced this green star location as being more attractive.

Permanent	Temporary
Experience of dynamics	Governments: presents what is possible
Get something which is to achieve differently	Goals, wishes, idea + ideal
Shared interest	Empty space
Personal experience to improve quality	A strong willingness to change a situation
Create something different	Enhance power trough collaboration
A house for a fair price	There is a need
A need for vacant land	Feeling something could emerge

Table 22. Triggers to initiate an initiative

7.2. The power of a momentum[69]

Processes could stagnate for different reasons. For example: Different approaches of the same proces, not sharing the same interest or not willing to collaborate."*Ik vond niet dat die sessies zo waren dat er meer energie kwam*" (P4, 2014, p72:3).[70]Conflict situations are not contributing to a successful project. "*Ja, want dat werkt ontwrichtend zeg maar. Dat is, contraproductief is dat*" (P 9, 2014, p168:30).[71] In both the cases there was a certain point were upon the process continued or did start-up again in a revised form. A momentum was achieved. *"Dus iedereen heeft een soort vibe van*

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[67] You just see them thinking like wow! What is all possible here. And yes, actually everyone does it.
[68] "We wanted on the [...] parcels, here near the waterfront. Of course those were way more attractive"
[69] The term a momentum was mentioned in one of the interviews. As this term covered also statements made by other interviewees, it was decided to use this term.
[70] "I did not think these sessions brought more energy"
[71] "Yes, let's say, because it works disruptive. That is, it is contra productive"

'wauw, we zijn bezig, we gaan!" (P 12, 2015, p222:16-17).[72] This is a subjective condition for bringing back the energy in processes. The characteristic of feeling the energy is that it contributes to the willingness of actors involved to make choices and decisions. It is important these energy is felt on all layers involved in the process.

In particular in both the cases, bringing in the energy and to achieve a momentum into the municipal board led to break troughs in processes. The willingness of an alderman is important to bring in the energy into the municipal board. But before the moment is created all stakeholders at stake on different levels should see the relevance of a project. *"in de raadzaal is het belangrijk om die positieve energie erin te hebben"* (P 10, 2014, p1814:41-42).[73]The importance of this was also stressed in the literature review. Signals were found in the different important roles identified in self-organizing processes by Boonstra, Vogel and Slob (2014). In the first round of interview, a different attitude of an alderman was suggested as being important. *"Ik moet laten zien dat ik er voor hen ben. En dat maakt dat er een goede relatie ontstaat"* (P 2, 2014, p31:3-4).[74] By visiting the initiators the alderman shows, he or she believes in the success of the initiative.

Examples

A momentum in a group of initiators could be achieved by the time an alderman decides to support active citizenship. It shows when a momentum is achieved within the municipal board, meaning, they are convinced by the ideas, it is important to keep this energy.
Furthermore, if the initiators are enthusiastic about the CPC-process then they could bring over their enthusiasm upon others. "*we gaan samen ons eigen huizen bouwen! en, geweldig!"* (P 11, 2015, p204:5).[75] Enthusiasm could help to involve people and to create a group feeling. However, most followers join because a certain amount of insurance with regard to planning and financial structures is provided. "*meer van nou hartstikke goed dat het CPO is, maar ik wil eigenlijk gewoon mijn huis bouwen*" (P 11, 2015, p19:19-20).[76] Potential participant in CPC-processes should have the idea the project will succeed. However, a momentum could also be explained as a moment were upon actors involved lose trust.

In one situation (Textbox 3) it was seen, the enthusiasm of the municipality was not shared with the actors involved in a process. A momentum therefore is also based on the perspective people have. *"Die mensen dachten,' ja wat zijn we nou eigenlijk aan het doen?'"* (P 5, 2014, p84:53).[77] People had lost trust in the plan, felt not taken seriously and decided to drop out.

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[72] "So, everyone has some kind of a vibe, 'Wow, were are being busy, we go!"
[73] "It is important to have the positive energy within the boardroom"
[74] "I have to show to them, I will be there for them. That is what creates a good relationship"
[75] "We are going to build our houses together! Amazing!"
[76] "More, well incredibly good it is CPC, but actually I just want to build my home"
[77] "The people thought, what are we actually doing?"

> 2012. The competition
> The fifteen winners were trying to collaborate but then the municipality came up with a sixteenth winner. The bid for the Floriade 2022. When the competition was running, the municipality decided to bid for the Floriade 2022. A land-marking event like the Floriade could make major contributions to the city (Muller, 2013b). For example new infrastructure is applied and some buildings in this case the SuikerKas plus[78] will be conserved. The winners saw this rather professional approached process as overruling the competition. As a result people felt mislead and the energy flew out of the group. During the interviews it was mentioned, someone should not create a group in self-initiating processes. It should emerge organically, because then the group is formed around a shared interest. The municipality has provided some help for the initiators to set up a business case. This help was needed, as people were not able to do this by themselves.
>
> 2014. Introduction of 'De Raffinage'
> By the end of 2014, four initiators set up the corporation 'De Raffinage'. Potential entrepreneurs willing to contribute to the development of the SuikerUnie terrain, were invited to participate in this corporation. It was a response to activities with regard to appointing an occupier within the municipality. A lot of enthusiastic people visited the first meeting, which was initiated by the four founders of this corporation.

Textbox 3 Example of negative and positive effect of a momentum on the same location

The example shows, people having a lot of perseverance made it to come to an alternative. They turned a negative experience into something positive. In this new initiative, energy was brought into the group.

Several quotes found in practice support the need for enthusiasm in initiatives to succeed. Enthusiasm gives energy and energy provides room for ideas.

> *"Wat ik ontdekte was een enorme energie. Dus mensen met waanzinnige ideeën,"* (P 5, 2014, p92:2).[79] Also other pronouncements support the argument the momentum is important for the success of an initiative. *"dat merken we wel als we met elkaar praten (...) dan hoor je dat ze mekaar ook aansteken. Dat ze zeggen van 'oh, dat is fantastisch wat jullie doen, wij kunnen wel"* (P 5, 2014, p92:25-26).[80] This shows, a group should not be created but formed around shared interests.

It is important to keep this energy to continue the initiative. "*maar het momentum, het subjectieve deel eigenlijk, dat moet je als team proberen vast te houden*" (P 12, 2015, p223:33).[81]

	Self-organization in a temporary situation	Self-organization in a permanent situation
Stimulating conditions	Achieving a momentum to generate energy and room for discussion and decision making	Achieving a momentum to generate energy and room for discussion and decision making
	Group feeling	Group feeling
	Trust project will succeed	Trust objective will be achieved
	Feeling enthusiasm of others which makes other enthusiastic too	Feeling enthusiasm of others which makes other enthusiastic too
	Experience dynamics on a location	Experience dynamics on a location
	Initiators believe in potency of location	Initiators see potency of location
Obstructing conditions	Loss of Energy because of indifferences	Loss of Energy because of indifferences
	No group feeling	Feeling individual interest are most important
	Feeling not being taken seriously	Feeling not being taken seriously

Table 23. Subjective conditions

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[78] Planned transformation of the sieve building as part of the plan for the Floriade 2022. SuikerKas plus should have become an urban nursery garden for experimental purposes in water, energy and health (Muller, 2013b)

[79] " What I discovered was a enormous amount of energy. People having outrageous ideas"

[80] "That is what we notice when we have a conversation (...) Then you will hear people inspire each other. They say 'o, it is fantastic what you do, then we can"

[81] But the momentum, the subjective part, that is what a team should try to keep"

8. Conclusions & discussion

The aim of this thesis is to provide an overview of stimulating and obstructing conditions for self-organizations. The focus is upon initiatives, operating on the scale of urban development. Nowadays all different kind of local initiatives reveal in urban areas. Forced by changes in market demands, the municipality focuses on short-term development instead of long-term development. The municipality realises it becomes more beneficial to them. In general, economic and political changes are pointed out as conditions, which feed self-organizing processes. The results show in general the same conditions affect permanent as well as temporary initiatives.

8.1. Conclusion

The results show, independent operating self-organizations where only the society is involved do not exist on the scale of urban development. Often, the municipality as well as professionals are involved. The society as well as the market takes initiative to develop parts of urban areas. Activities are based on underlying motivations. Self-organizations, which aim to contribute to urban development, do not succeed so far without involvement of professionals. The society faces a lack of essential competences and knowledge. Furthermore, an individual is not able to make major investments and to carry the risks for these investments. The extent to which these conditions are present is a group of actors determines also the moment of professional involvement. Another important condition is the achievement of a momentum. It is preferred a group of actors is formed around a shared interest. Actors need to feel the energy and need to have faith the initiative will succeed. The results also show that actors do have a preference for a particular location. Although self-organization cannot be assigned to a particular location, the government still assigns places for self-organization. Next to non-governmental conditions also governmental conditions affect self-organizing processes.

The hierarchical structure of the local government and formal procedures bring delays in developing process. Also existing policy structures affect the process of self-organization. The government still assesses permits on existing structures. Compared to temporary initiatives, the municipality sticks more to the institutional framework when it comes to permanent initiatives.

To conclude, there are conditions, which are important before and during the process. The economic crisis contributes positively to the emergence of self-organization. The results show, a lack of essential competences, a lack of knowledge and private financial resources are obstructing non-governmental conditions during the process. An initiative can be stimulated when the group involved achieves a momentum. The deep-rooted prevailing governmental structures are a governmental obstructing condition during the process. Convicted aldermen and civil servants willing to contribute stimulate self-organizing processes.

8.2. Discussion

In this research conditions are categorized into three categories. This is done to show that different conditions play different roles in the process. Not all conditions have an impact at the same time. The first group of conditions are exogenous conditions on a macro level. These conditions answer the question why self-organization is emerging. The second group answers the questions with regard to conditions, which affect the process itself when the initiative is already taken. The third group are conditions, which have an impact on how the objective conditions will be experienced by people involved. Based on the results found in this research it cannot be said to what extend different conditions have contributed to the final outcome of processes as, it is always of combination of different conditions. Although no quantitative research was conducted a weighting is connected to this conditions. This is done to give an idea how important conditions are during the emergence of the initiatives or during the process. The weighting shows that the extend to which a condition affects the process is not straightforward. The weighting is based on a scale from little impact, moderate impact, and much impact to major impact. Table 24 shows the differences between temporary and permanent initiatives.

		Permanent	Temporary
Exogenous conditions on macro level			
	Economic drivers	OOOO	OOOO
	Political drivers	OOO	OOO
	Societal drivers	OOO	O
Conditions, relevant during process			
	Funding	OO	OOOO
	Interests	OOO	OOOO
	Competences and ability	OOO	OOOO
	A changing institutional context	OOO	OO
	Spatial conditions	OOOO	OO
Conditions, which affect the success of the objective conditions.			
	Subjective conditions	OOOO	OOOO

Table 24. Overview of conditions found in practice which positively or negatively affect self-organization

Definition of self-organization

The results show that due to exogenous conditions self-organization emerges. Compared to what is found in practice in literature self-organization is clearly described. The way self-organization is defined in literature differs from the definitions found in practice. However, similar underlying drivers were found in practice like, based on personal drive and idealism, shared interest, organically grown, highly uncertain processes and open systems (Portugali, 2011). Most important condition for self-organization mentioned was: without any help of external forces. In practice this external force is identified as the local government (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011; Prokopenko 2014). Based on the question asked with regard to a definition by interviewees it can be concluded in practice no clear definition of self-organization exists. A lot of unclearness exists in practice about what is meant by self-organization and how people should approach such a process. In most initiatives the society, the market as well as the local government are involved. Therefore it could be questioned to what extend self-organization according to the definitions found in literature could work for spatial

planning. In addition is could be questioned whether and to what extent there is actual self-organization. In some cases self-organization could be better seen as a start-up mechanism. With a start-up mechanism is meant, one or two people initiate an idea. When it becomes bigger and bigger, it transforms into a professional organization with characteristics of a professional company.

The overall debate

The three debates discussed in literature (economic crisis, political changes and societal changes) are similar to the exogenous conditions found in the empirical research. The national government provides less financial resources to the local government. As a result, the local government is no longer able to develop the city without financial support of others. In order to find new ways of funding, the local government invites the society to come up with initiatives. In addition, initiators need to bring their own funding. This is why self-organization is not a spontaneous movement but an economic driven transition. What is described in the introduction and in literature is similar to what is found in practice. However it is experienced as such by the local government. For the market as well as society is it not always clear self-organization is overwhelmingly economic driven. The economic crisis has had a major impact on the government to make different decisions regarding spatial planning. According to de Roo (2013), chaotic situations as a result of an economic crisis create room for change. An economic situation could be explained as short-term complexity as the situation is expected to change over time. By looking at the planning traditions in the Netherlands, changes are always forced by political or economic conditions. Also in the municipality of Groningen, the political decisions had much impact on spatial planning in Groningen and were forced by economic transitions. To a certain extent is seems like the government, nevertheless forced by economization, now accepts processes in spatial planning will take longer, will develop organically and will have unpredictable outcomes. In practice it is shown, this is a difficult transition. However, it should be added, these political decisions could also be forced by market changes. Generally in literature self-organization was discussed in the light of the economic crisis. Since an economic crisis is likely to recover it cannot be predicted what the role of self-organization will become in future spatial planning processes. However, results show self-organization is not entirely economic driven. Sometimes initiatives are truly based on intrinsic motivations of people as some initiatives emerged before the economic crisis. Self-organization becomes activated when people are dissatisfied about situations or have the feeling they can do better. However, the initiatives seen from this point of view were all private based and had no communal interest.

Conditions during the process itself

The conditions discussed in literature are similar to what is found in practice. This is interesting to see as this shows conditions as described on this level are not as unique for every case as expected. Also similar roles of actors as described in other research reports were found in the cases. Next to an incentive, a trigger, exchange of data, inserting a little bit of guidance and institutional and relation capacity, conditions like funding, different interests, competences and ability, a changing institutional context, spatial conditions and subjective conditions should be added to this list of conditions. This list does not pretend to be complete. Compared to what is discussed in literature, reality is way more complicated. In practice initiators really need a long breath and a lot of perseverance to workout their ideas. The issue of exchange of data, which is about keeping people involved in an initiative, is due to the need of perseverance difficult in practice.

Funding

One major issue, which was not discussed in literature, is the issue of funding initiatives. Especially in temporary initiatives, funding is a problem. Yet, investors are not used to these new demands for funding. The existing funding alternatives do not fit into these new demands and ask a certain amount of insurance. For inexperienced initiators it is very difficult to meet these criteria. In practice also the importance of a strong network of actors was stressed. It was already mentioned in literature but practice stressed the importance with regard to funding even more. Therefore permanent funding has a moderate impact and in temporary processes it has a major impact. During the first round of interviews the need for new perspectives upon financial concepts was already mentioned. Professional actors in the case study strengthened this. This still capitalistic driven market needs to transform as well. Professionals make a lot of suggestions in terms of new concepts. It seems that the market slowly accepts they have no other option then to get along. In the current situation, the society, in particular, entrepreneurial initiators had not enough private funding to start-up their initiative. Furthermore, the ideas could have been more based on a business case. By setting up a business case, initiators get insights in what they are be able to invest in their initiative. Initiators do not always realise, there is a time between the initiation of an idea and the moment where upon the proverbial 'door' could be opened. The time in-between needs to be bridged with private funding. When enough funding is provided, initiatives have a bigger chance to survive.

Interests

As discussed in literature, the issue of interests and shared interest is also found important in practice. This issue had a major impact in a temporary situation. Indeed, processes stagnated due to indifferences in interests. Also in permanent situations the issue of interests is at stake. Uitermark (2012) discusses the debate around exclusion of harmful groups in society. In practice, interviewees are not yet very worried about the idea of exclusion in society as a result of self-organization. They stress the positive contribution of self-organization. Self-organization is only seen on a small scale. The municipality says they are willing to help people who are not able to develop initiatives themselves. The market expects the municipality to take this role. Nonetheless, it is something to be aware of and actors involved should make arrangements about. It shows, actors involved do not yet entirely oversee the risks and consequences of the emergence of self-organization.

Competences and ability

Nederhand, Bekkers and Voorberg (2014), expect, citizens cannot develop initiatives with regard to spatial planning on their own. The practical situations show this is right. The debate in practice is discussed in the light of the importance of possessing the right competences. In practice the focus is on entrepreneurial competences. The learning factor in processes is one of the most important conditions. This is shown by the fact that citizens involve professionals. Furthermore, professionals see it as their tasks to support citizens. As people are always treated by the local government, it is not strange initiators are lacking important competences with regard to spatial planning. Indeed the municipality has always taken responsibility in this. However, since self-organization could also be explained as a competence, people could improve their skills. When initiators start an initiative they are not used to a particular process. There is a lack of experience. The results show, the formation of a network around a shared interest increases in quality during the process. People learn how to deal with the process when they step into initiatives more then once.

According to chaos theory (Portugali, 2011), processes can increase in quality over time. This quality is achieved by going through a transition. The lack of competences and ability can be seen as such a process. It is a process of learning by doing. This shows conditions, which are experienced as being obstructing by actors involved, could reduce in impact over time. However citizens mostly prefer guidance. Professional actors do not prefer governmental interference. Professional actors are familiar with the world they work in. Most citizens are searching how to deal with processes related to spatial development. The importance of this was discussed in relation to keeping the self-organization alive and not giving the idea out of hands. However, a certain amount of professional involvement will be needed in a large amount of situations. People still need professional knowledge to develop their ideas when these ideas enlarge. This shows that what the municipality prefers is not what citizens are ready for at the moment.

The roles (initiator,navigator, pioneer and disciplinar) as discussed in literature by Boonstra, Vogel and Slob (2014) were not mentioned as such in practice. However similar roles were identified. In practice there is not really a clear definition of roles of actors involved. However, it is often seen, professionals take the role of connector or navigator.

A changing institutional context

Processes in the Dutch planning context have always been strongly guided by the local government. Urban planning processes are very much based on institutions. The impact on self-organization as such was not discussed in literature but came forward in the empirical research.

The results show cross-sectoral thinking within the municipality itself is not embedded yet. Still, civil servants working on the same institutional layer but on a different department think differently. Where literature is already questioning whether the communicative approach really helps a society forwards, the government is still busy with making internal and external changes to work more interactive. Although some civil servants standing close to society use new approaches, others still think very sectoral. Although the municipality stimulates self-organization, they are very cautious in allowing initiatives. Metagovernance as explained by Sørensen (2006) provides different approaches for different ways of guidance. However, in practice this approach is hardly seen. The municipality is still searching for her new role in bottom-up processes. It seems like they are not familiar with metagovernance. Governments are interested in self-organization. Compared to practice, literature is already one step ahead. In practice, from a municipal point of view it was found, blueprint thinking is deep rooted in the municipal organization. This makes it difficult to search for their new role in processes. Furthermore, prevailing institutions are based on these existing structures. The gap between the government and the initiators as discussed in literature is therefore also seen in practice. What Johnson (2012) states in theory is true for practical situations: According to complexity theory, if sub-systems start to operate on an independent base, it could become relevant to make adjustments in prevailing policy structures. With regard to the interest of the municipality, in permanent situation this impact is larger compared to a temporary situation. Indeed, according to the slaving principle, the large group of individuals determines the governing parameters. This is based upon the fact that the strongest parameter will win from the weaker one. Based on the argument different components are affecting a network.

Spatial conditions

In literature spatial conditions were discussed in the light of meeting other people willing to join in an initiative. This way of using spatial conditions were also found in practice. In practice spatial

conditions were more seen in the light of making an area attractive for potential initiators. The role of spatial conditions was more at stake in permanent situations as here the interest of the municipality is larger compared to a temporary situation. The contribution to the city is more important in permanent situations. Therefore in permanent situation this has a major impact on what is allowed compared to temporary situations. It seems like, in some situations professionals to steer particular processes use spatial conditions as a strategy. It is used to bound particular areas for self-organization. By linking the subjective conditions to this statement, it shows, it is not said processes will work in this way. People should also experience an area as such.

The importance of subjective conditions

In literature the importance of subjective conditions was discussed in the light of the awareness of different opinions. The practical situation shows, the impact of subjective conditions is large. With the inclusion of civilians the issue of ontology becomes relevant. Every citizen has its own perspective upon the world (De Roo, 2013). It becomes more complex because people have all different kind of interests. The intervention of citizens in a particular project in spatial development calls Flyvbjerg (2006) a phronetic organization. The practical knowledge helps to understand what is really going on in a particular place. In practice the importance of this condition and the impact it could have on decision-making was shown. It seems like, the government is not always aware of the importance of subjective conditions in processes. The subjective conditions could affect the importance of objective conditions. People mentioned the importance in terms of indifferences in opinions and a loss of faith a project will succeed. In a permanent as well as a temporary situation subjective conditions had a major impact on the process.

8.3. Reflecting on complexity theory.

A theory originally based upon observations of natural processes is now applied on cities. A city is built by humans and therefore artificially created (Portugali, 2011). Questions could be asked to what extend theories can be applied on artificial processes. Indeed, the results show, self-organization in the urban context is not the same as what is meant with self-organization in science. However, the results show characteristics of the formation of networks and the emergence of chaos.

The results found in this research show, the processes can be explained on the basis of complexity theory and the Actor Network Theory (ANT) (Boelens, 2010b). These theories help to understand why these conditions affect self-organization and why there are differences between self-organization in permanent situations and self-organization in temporary situations. Long-term complexity theory is often used to better understand processes in cities and urbanism (Portugali, 2011). Long-term complexity is related to autopoietic and dissipative cities (Meerkerk et. al., 2012). Short-term complexity is related to chaotic cities and fractal cities. Characteristics of both are seen in the empirical research.

Collaboration takes place is open as well as in closed networks. In the end, all activities, which function as a sub-system, have an impact on the entire overall system. The entire overall system is the city itself. It shows different kinds of self-organizing processes could emerge within the same municipality. This is not surprising since the principle of a city is based on inter-related subsystems that form a city together. However, this indicates, a city is not entirely autopoietic or dissipative. The results have shown a city could have characteristics of both. The government

approaches two different processes in a different way. This explains why a government cannot use one straightforward approach in self-organizing processes.

According to Castells as explained in Portugali (2011), multi media has strengthened the formation of networks. However networks formed in the cases where not primary formed due to the availability of digital media. In practice it was seen most networks emerge by sticking together. Johnson (2012) describes binary and n-ary relations. Often, it did start by people saying to someone else they are willing to set up an initiative (binary). The described emergence of a network and adding of more people (n-ary relations) is not strange since self-organizing processes could only be successful if they are formed out of itself and not by a top down approach. How the n-ary relations develop and who is involved, could be linked to professionalization. Indeed, the different types of people involved depend on the competences of people already involved and needed professionalism. This affects the way a network develops.

The results have shown it is not possible to implement self-organization. According to the ANT there must be a specific connection. In practice a network is build up around a shared interest. This shows why a government cannot implement self-organization. The ANT states roles and domination could change over time (Boelens, 2010b). With regard to interests, eloquent people and professionals have a major say in self-organizing processes. The market takes over tasks from the government and supports the society. However, when the place of decision-making moves to private domain, the law of the most powerful starts to count. The results show networks change over time. As a consequence, the formation of the networks is unpredictable.

According to ANT, during this change, the formation of a network as well as the order in dominance change. The insight, a network could change over time means a transition takes place. During this transition, processes experience a certain amount of chaos. The learning by doing trails of citizens as well as the search for a new role of the government can be explained by these theories. According to complexity science, networks of actors become more complex if the responsibility for initiatives moves to the society. There is an increased uncertainty with regard to how much the initiative will cost, how much time is needed and what the outcome will be. Furthermore, different interests come at stake.

Complexity science could provide useful structures for the funding issue. Although the term complex adaptive system (CAS) was not mentioned as such in practice, the permanent situation already shows characteristics of a CAS. In practice there is also a need for a bit of structure in processes. On the one side the system is robust and interesting enough to ensure investment and on the other side flexible enough to leave room for bottom-up initiatives (Rauws et al., 2014). In the cases it was often mentioned, finances were an underlying driver regarding the success of plans. Furthermore, considerations made by professionals (including banks) were based upon the ability of initiators to take and oversee the risks. This shows in areas where large investments ask for robust structures, which provide a certain amount of insurance with regard to investments, it could be interesting to make self-organization possible within these structures.
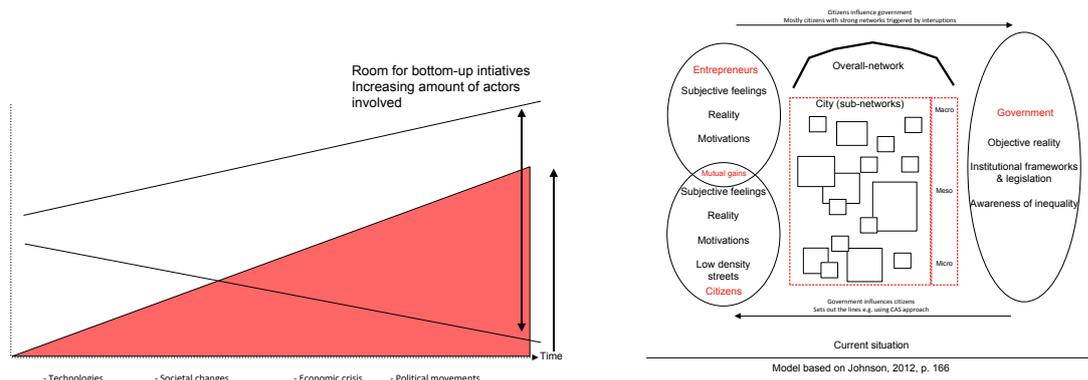
Figure 29. Conceptual model as designed after discussion of state of the art.

Figure 29 shows the original conceptual model. Based on the results found in this thesis, several adjustments could be made. In the cases, changes were affected by societal changes, economic changes as well as political changes. Technological changes were not mentioned in particular. This political changes need to be split up in national governmental changes and local governmental changes. In the case study it was seen, changes on the national level affect the local government in the first place.

The degree of complexity, which has emerged as a result of these changes, is also visible in the cases. People are searching how to deal with these processes.

In practice, the municipality has stimulated the emergence of self-organization in the first place. The municipality has invited the society as well as the market to come up with ideas. Later on, when the processes are running, the society as well as the market starts to ask for institutional changes. However, at this point it becomes difficult to see whether a project is a self-organization or a professional development process. The model was designed from a municipal perspective. When the model is approached from a professionals' perspective or an entrepreneurs' one, also objectives could be part of the left side. These professional actors are inter alia, involved to connect different organizational levels (Figure 30).
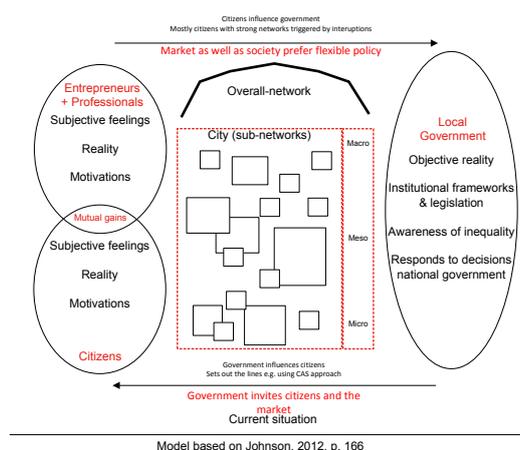

Figure 30. Revised right part of conceptual model.

8.4. Consequences for the Dutch planning context

In this paragraph, conclusions drawn from this case study are connected to the spatial planning context. By placing these findings in a broader perspective the characteristics and issues found show similarities with other experiences. By using a funnel principle first it is seen in this planning world different definitions exist.

Democratic change

As far as it is known, self-organization is emerging on a small scale. Opinions about the importance and strength of self-organization differ. This shows, self-organization is not yet an embedded way of approaching processes in practice. Starting an initiative asks for being brave and being persuasive to the municipality. *"Als je het doet, vinden ze het wel goed maar van te voren, als je het zou vragen dan ze zeggen van 'nee' weet je wel"* (P 4, 2014, p66:52-53).[82] They are cautious because of internal interests. This in relation to the obstructing conditions found creates a difficult field to work in.

In practice there are two groups of people who approach self-organization differently. People thinking in a hierarchical way think the impact of self-organizations remains small. On the contrary, people thinking in networks believe self-organization is promised to make fundamental changes. The emergence of self-organization is not something to ignore. Self-organization therefore seems like not to be a trend but a fundamental transformation in society. The scope of this process was not discussed and found in the literature review but came into forth after the first and second round of interviews were conducted. This could be related to the characteristics of open networks. These open networks are difficult to identify.

An example is found in energy transitions. In both sectors the traditional companies started to complain because of financial reasons. In here self-organizations, like the energy network have shown to be able to compete to long existing systems. The same is now slowly emerging in planning context as well. As a consequence current operating companies should start to evaluate their business models.

People do no longer accept top-down decisions and want to arrange things themselves. The access to a large amount of digital information contributes to this point. However it should be nuanced. Not everyone is willing to arrange things themselves. This is what Sørensen (2011) also explains. Network governance is a perspective same as hierarchical is a perspective. We move from a representative democracy to a direct democracy. This means a move from democracy based on politics to a democracy based on dialogues. "*We krijgen echt een hele andere democratie (...) Die representatieve democratie past hier absoluut niet meer bij*" (P 2, 2014, p23:48-49). [83]

Related to the fundamental democratic change, municipalities should learn how to deal with these transitions. The organizational structure of the municipality does traditionally not leave enough room during negotiations to make decisions in an efficient way which suits to bottom-up processes. Where market-parties make a lot of informal documents and drafts, documents and processes within the municipality do quicker become formal. This change into a more facilitating government asks for a revision of the current working approach within a local government. An approach more based on trans-disciplinary decision making structures. Civil servants already willing to work in a rhizomatic way should be supported by aldermen. Also initiatives do need support from aldermen to let the process continue. Changes in approaches ask for changes in policy structures. Decisions with regard to what is allowed and what is not, should be based on a dialogue. In the current approach the

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[82] "If you work out your idea, the municipality is persuaded, but if you should ask them in advance: they would say no"
[83] "We really get a totally different democracy (...)Absolutely, that representative democracy does not fit to this anymore"

municipality is approving or disapproving permits based on existing structures. In a new approach, in dialogue several criteria should be formulated where upon projects could be assessed by the municipality.

In the interviews it was mentioned, citizens and entrepreneurs experience the municipality as an organization, which is still thinking in a sectoral way. This is experienced as having an obstructing effect on the process. Although the municipality has already made some improvements with regard to the integration of different fields, it is recommended to keep improving this integration. To make bottom-up processes more efficient, social entrepreneurs as well as citizens prefer civil servants should think is favour of the initiative instead of in favour of the prevailing policy framework. This will help to give inter alia, fragile initiatives the opportunity to emerge.

During this research it was found, the municipality of Amsterdam is currently offering civil servants the opportunity to learn how to deal with bottom-up initiatives. Since the results show processes are less unique than expected, the municipality of Groningen could also look at the current working approach of the municipality of Amsterdam. Their learning program called: 'de nieuwe Wibaut' could provide useful lessons to take notion of, or transfer to the municipality of Groningen. When information of Amsterdam is transferred to Groningen, the methodology should be adjusted to the context of Groningen. In this program civil servants are educated in how to get on with processes in society. As mentioned earlier in this report, in this program, participants focus on competences like collaboration, trust, entrepreneurship, and releasing tasks (Gemeente Amsterdam, s.d.).

Finally, one of the reasons why projects do not continue is because of funding issues. Finance companies do ask a certain amount of assurance when initiators ask for a loan. Initiatives should run for at least five years to cover a certain amount of assurance. As initiators do not know for how long their initiatives will run, it is difficult for them to get a loan. The existing funding instruments do not longer fit to current transitions in the market. Therefore the market should look for new ways of funding these initiatives, as the existing system does not fit into this emerging context anymore. It should be said that, this recommendation should be seen in a broader perspective. Since banks and other investors have interest in for example pension funds, this change should be approached from an overall perspective.

8.5. Reflection on process

The final part of this research report discusses the positive points and points to improve with regard the research process. Furthermore, it explains what could have done differently if particular aspects were known in advance. The paragraph ends by discussing the extend to which the results are convincing. This study is unable to encompass the entire scope of initiatives. In this research only a limited group of stakeholders was interviewed. Results are based on qualitative data. The collected data is drawn from two cases. A group of twelve key stakeholders is interviewed for this research. These interviewees have explained from their perspective what was obstructing or stimulating the process. Interviewees involved in the same initiative did not always agree. Actors involved have different readings of what self-organization is and what it means to them. To avoid talking about different things, in every first interview the notion itself is discussed.

The research is conducted in the urban context of Groningen. As a consequence, results cannot be generalized to all initiatives in the Netherlands. However, results could be valuable for initiatives in the context of Groningen. Furthermore, the research was conducted in a time, wherein both cases were fully under development. This means, results are time fixed. Therefore is it possible

when this research is conducted again in a couple of years, other perspectives and results could be found. However, the results found in this research show a lot of similarities with what is found in other studies as discussed in the state of the art.

Because of the time frame it was not possible to involve more actors. Therefore only limited perspectives have been included in this research. To validate the conditions found it could be worthwhile to focus on one particular initiative in a particular case and interview more stakeholders involved in the initiative. Furthermore, this research was conducted while processes were still running. As a consequence, no final outcomes of decisions made could be examined.

The process of this research started very efficient. A broad range of literature was found. Based on literature, it was possible to discuss different perspectives, including critical notes with regard to the context wherein self-organization is taking place.

The next step, the selection of the cases focuses on the urban context of Groningen. However, during the selecting process it became already across, people have different readings about what self-organization is. During the interviews this step back was made by first discussing the interviewees' perception of self-organization. When the selection was made, the first round of interviews provided useful information to approach the selected cases with a critical attitude. In hindsight, it would have been useful to add an investor or bank to the first round of interviews as in the case study the impact of the economic situation was stressed.

As this research was not conducted within the organization of the municipality of Groningen or other professional organization it was uncertain, whether non-published data could be added to this research or not. For the case of the SuikerUnie terrain access was given to non-published data. However in the case of Europapark, access was not given. With regard to the formation of a group of interviewees, one civil servant from the municipality of Groningen was very willing to provide contact details. This has been very useful and time saving in this research. In hindsight, it would have been worth to consider doing the research from within an organization because, in the time taken for the interviews it is not possible to share all relevant information.

The stakeholders within this group were very enthusiastic and willing to share their information. The broad range of data, which is shared in these interviews, has proved to be very useful. However, for stakeholders involved it was sometimes difficult to identify what conditions had affected the process. In different projects interviewees were in the middle of a process.

The data analysis is executed in the program Nvivo. The search for the right codes was time consuming. It was difficult to group the different issues discussed in the interviews. When the list of codes was conducted it was possible to code all transcripts. The results found were all transported to an Excel document to further categorize the codes. In hindsight it would have been worth to consider keeping the interviews a bit shorter and more focused to the topic.

It was difficult to find the right structure for this thesis. As there were so many different conditions, an additional step in making categories was needed to make the document more structured. Furthermore, initially the focus was too much on a detailed level. Therefore an additional step was taken to approach the cases in a more general way.

9. Recommendations for further research

Although the outcomes of this research show interesting results, there are some clues for further research to strengthen the conclusions found in this research.

Exclusion of harmful societal groups

The research revealed, often highly educated people are involved in self-organizing processes. These people often know how to deal with a municipal organization and are in the possession of a strong network of stakeholders. As a result of the emergence of self-organization other issues become relevant to be aware off. In history different private coalitions were transformed into governmental organizations to avoid civilians became excluded from particular facilities. When the government is expecting citizens to take over municipal tasks it becomes interesting to consider to what extent this leads to problems in harmful societal groups. It might be possible, just like Van der Steen et al., (2013) states, moved tasks will come back to the municipality in a different formation. The planned economization will then be less than planned. It is therefore recommended to research to what extent harmful groups have difficulties in organizing tasks by themselves and what they need to get along with groups having little difficulties. It might be possible well-organized groups support less organized groups.

Changing conditions

This research has focussed on conditions, which stimulate the emergence of self-organization and on conditions, which become relevant to be aware of during the process itself. Since only self-organizing initiatives have finished with regard to CPC-processes, in the cases research, no conditions could be identified which become relevant after the initiative is running for a couple of years. Research therefore has not yet focussed on conditions, which could become relevant when an initiative is running for a longer time. Signals for a change in conditions are found but no time was reserved to work out this group of conditions. It could be relevant to research as it might provide useful insights in how the importance of conditions changes along the process. For example when new initiatives emerge out of existing initiatives, other conditions might become relevant to take into account.

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Appendices

Appendix 1A. Connection of research questions to research methods

The table below shows an overview of what kind of methods have been used to find answers upon the sub-questions. The middle column explains on what kind of material the method was applied. The right column shows how the results are included in the research report.

Method	Material	Product
How have urban development strategies developed over time and what conditions stimulated paradigm shifts and self-organization in this context?		
• **Literature review**	• Research reports and/ or papers addressing this topic and make the connection with self-organization and organic urban growth • Research reports/ books discussing the definition of a city or urban area	• **Time-line** of how urban development strategies did develop and what kind of conditions contributed to this. • Plus, how the definition of urban development has changed over time / or not
How do stakeholder network develop and what are cross-sectoral connections between macro, meso and micro level?		
• **Literature review**	• Explaining theories (books and papers addressing how patterns and networks develop and work • Explanation of definitions • Minutes (case) • Reports (case)	• Explanation of underlying theories (general) • **Flowchart** as result of stakeholder analysis. Insight in relations (cases) • **Timeline** overview network development cases
• **Interviews round 1** • **Semi- structured interview**	• Information about the process of adding stakeholders from an independent perspective	• Insight in linkages between external factors affecting network development • How this kind of patterns work (linking network theory to cases). • Some examples of reality • Some examples of failed and succeed projects and why. • Helps to get a better understanding of these kind of processes • Helps to explain better what is going on in the cases.
• **Interviews round 2** • **Semi-structured interviews**	• Initiatives (initiators) in Europapark. Two CPC projects, Building project, multi functional solid • Initiative on SuikerUnie terrain (initiators) • Coordinators municipality for SuikerUnie and Europapark	• Based on the knowledge conducted, the flowchart and timeline created based on literature will be sharpen
• **Comparative analysis**	• Stakeholder analysis case 1 and case 2 + relevant theories	• **Overview** linkages theories and case 1 and case 2
What are governmental obstructing and stimulating factors/institutions in achieving long-term goals when room is giving to bottom-up initiatives with regard to urban planning in the municipality of Groningen?		
• **Literature review case related**	• Minutes • Reports of process • Statistics (e.g. house market sales) • Former scholars/ studies	• **Timeline** overview appearance of factors influencing process of self-organization. • **Overview** of moment where institutions were seen by participants as obstructing or stimulating • **Flowchart** address linkage national factors and local factors
• **Interviews round 1**	• Professionals working in the field with self-organising projects (social entrepreneur)	• **Mapping** the value of government involvement from different perspectives. From their point of view, what should be the government's role and what should they provide in this collective commissioning project?
• **Interviews round 2 semi-structured interview**	• Project coordinator of SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark at the municipality of Groningen • Interview from market perspective • Interview from societal perspective	• **Mapping** obstructing and stimulating factors from their point of view.
• **Comparative analyses**	• Based on available knowledge (literature, group discussion and interviews)	• **Compare** kind of factors for SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark and try to find out why influential or not.
What kind of important non-governmental conditions have affected self-organizing processes?		
• **Literature review**	• Government reports and websites search for important • News in new paper archives (link to primary source)	• **Overview** of important social, political, economical changes in epoch 1990 – now • **Overview** of important process changes for SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark related to

	• Minutes and reports of SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark referring to endogenous factors • Former scholars/ studies	self-organization in epoch 1990 – now • **Connection** between exogenous and endogenous factors. (Written evidence or possible connections)
• **Interview round 1**	• Professionals working in the field with self-organising projects	• **Provide** an overview of conditions that could affect the process and how it's possible to distil these ones out of the process. This is useful for further searching in the cases.
• **Interview round 2 or semi-structured interview**	• Project coordinator of SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark at the municipality of Groningen • Interview from market perspective • Interview from societal perspective	• **Ask to point out** connection of exogenous factor affecting self-organising process in SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark. This is used to complete the timeline
• **Comparative analyses**	• Based on available knowledge (literature and interviews)	• **Compare** kind of drivers for SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark and try to find out why influential or not.
What kind of subjective conditions and spatial characteristics play a role in the outcome of a self-organising urban planning process?		
• **Literature review**	• Earlier research reports about spatial characteristics related to self-organization processes in urban development. • Zoning plans / minutes / decision reports specifically related to SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark	• **Overview** of possible spatial characteristics affecting the development process • **Overview** characteristics mentioned in reports for SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark
• **Interview round 1**	• Professionals working in the field with self-organising projects	• Improving the overview of spatial characteristics as driver of self-organizing processes.
• **Interview round 2**	• SuikerUnie terrain. Actor who has a clear view of the process • Europapark. Actor who has a clear view of the process	• Information about role of spatial characteristics in process related decisions in the case of SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark.
• **Comparative analysis**	• Based on available knowledge (mostly interview based)	• SuikerUnie terrain and Europapark. What was influential and why?

Table 25. Overview research methods.

Appendix 1B. The coding system

All interviews were transcribed and analysed by using a coding system. For coding the transcriptions the program NVivo was selected. The program was chosen, as this was the best available option for the conditions wherein this research was conducted.

The codes were first predefined based on the interview guides. During the coding processes the overall list of codes was formed step by step. After the coding process was finished, all codes were placed into six groups (Table 26). The case study has placed these conditions into three main groups.

Code group	Codes
Perspective of actors	Actors and collaboration Shared interests Effect of interests Role – municipality Role – private actor Role – professional
Perspective self-organization	Dilemmas Characteristics of self-organization Perceptions of self-organization Types of self-organization
Conditions obstructing and stimulating	Effect spatial characteristics Municipal organization Institutional framework Marketing Difficulties Creation of a momentum Political support Triggers for self-organization Scale
Financing	Concepts of finance Financial considerations and objectives Improve financial flows
Transitions	Impact knowledge and skills Improvement of knowledge – initiator New procedural approach Professionalization
Background information	Area related characteristics Autonomous and demographic transitions

Table 26. Overview codes

Interview participant 1- 30 juli 2014

Interviewvragen:
1. Vanuit uw werkveld, hoe ziet u zelforganisatie gedefinieerd worden? Staat u achter deze definitie of zou deze nog anders geformuleerd moeten worden?
2. Wat is uw ervaring als het gaat om zelforganisatie?
3. Kunt u zo'n proces eens omschrijven?
4. Hoe ziet u zelforganiserende patronen ontstaan?
5. Hoe zit de relatie tussen het beleid en zelforganisatie in elkaar?
6. Waarom maakt een gemeente soms wel en soms geen ruimte in het bestaande beleid voor zelforganisatie?
7. Hoe ziet u de relatie tussen zelforganisatie en lange termijndoelstellingen?
8. Hoe ziet u de relatie tussen zelforganisatie en wet- en regelgeving?
9. Hoe zou u zelforganisatie in de context plaatsen en linken aan het verleden en toekomst?
10. Wat zijn de consequenties voor de rolverdeling wanneer zelforganisatie de manier van ontwikkelen is
11. Risico in het verleden met uitbesteden dat marktbelang teveel ging gelden in plaats van maatschappelijk belang. Hoe ziet u dat?
12. Wat ziet u als voornaamste problemen in een zelforganiserend proces?
13. Welke zaken hebben jullie zelf ook eerder over het hoofd gezien en zijn bij een evaluatie proces naar voren gekomen?
14. Hoe ziet u de relatie tussen het micro-meso-macro niveau als het gaat om de bijdrage die lokale initiatieven kunnen leveren aan de maatschappij? Hoe worden deze lagen in de praktijk over het algemeen met elkaar verbonden?
15. Zijn er zaken om echt rekening mee te houden wanneer het onderwerp zelforganisatie van toepassing is?
16. Wilt u nog iets toevoegen aan dit interview wat nog niet aan bod is gekomen maar wel van cruciaal belang om te noemen?

Bedankt voor uw medewerking en tijd.

Appendix 2B.

Interview participant 2 – 18 augustus 2014

Interviewvragen:
1. Kunt je kort iets over jezelf vertellen?
2. Vanuit jouw werkveld, hoe zie je zelforganisatie gedefinieerd worden? Sta je achter deze definitie of zou deze nog anders geformuleerd moeten worden?
3. Wat is jouw ervaring als het gaat om zelforganisatie?
4. Kun je zo'n proces eens omschrijven?
5. Hoe zie je zelforganiserende patronen (netwerken) ontstaan?
6. Welke verschillende aanleidingen voor het ontstaan van een zelforganiserend proces heb je gezien?
7. Wat zijn in netwerken vaak optimalisatiefactoren en/of faalfactoren?
8. Wat zijn de consequenties voor de rolverdeling wanneer zelforganisatie de manier van ontwikkelen is?
9. Wat is volgens jou de kracht van zelforganisatie?
10. Wat zie je als voornaamste problemen in een zelforganiserend proces?
11. Wat zijn voorbeelden van een geslaagd en minder geslaagd zelforganiserend proces? Welke factoren waren hierbij het meest van invloed?
12. Waar liggen volgens jouw vooral de kansen voor zelforganisatie?
13. Wat zie je als voornaamste risico's in een zelforganiserend proces?
14. Welke lessen met betrekking tot zelforganisatie heb je tot nu geleerd?

15. Hoe zie je de relatie tussen het gemeentelijk en nationaal beleid en zelforganisatie?
16. Waarom maakt, vanuit jouw perspectief, een gemeente soms wel en soms geen ruimte in het bestaande beleid voor zelforganisatie?
17. Hoe zie je de relatie tussen zelforganisatie en lange termijndoelstellingen van een lokale overheid?
18. Hoe zie je de relatie tussen zelforganisatie en wet- en regelgeving?
19. Hoe zou je zelforganisatie in de context plaatsen en linken aan het verleden en de toekomst?
20. Hoe zie je de relatie tussen het micro-meso-macro niveau als het gaat om de bijdrage die lokale initiatieven kunnen leveren aan de maatschappij? Hoe worden deze lagen in de praktijk over het algemeen met elkaar verbonden?

21. Wil je nog iets toevoegen aan dit interview wat nog niet aan bod is gekomen maar wel van cruciaal belang is om te noemen?

Bedankt voor uw medewerking en tijd.

Appendix 2C.

Interview participants 3 – 7 – 8 - 24 september 2014 (Gesprek in groep)

Gelegenheid geven tot voorstellen.
Ik leg uit wat mijn onderzoek inhoud en waarom ik dit onderzoek doe.

Interviewvragen:
1. Wat betekent zelforganisatie volgens jullie? Waar baseren jullie deze definitie op. Wat kenmerkt zelforganisatie volgens jullie? Wat verwachten jullie van zelforganisatie?
2. Kunnen jullie de projecten SuikerUnie en Europapark toelichten? (Doelstelling, betrokkenheid van actoren, bestemmingsplan).
3. Wat waren de uitgangspunten bij deze projecten?
4. Wat houdt jullie rol als gemeente in bij het proces van SuikerUnie terrein en Europapark?
5. Wat waren de verwachtingen in het begin? Waardoor werden deze verwachtingen gevormd? Wat is van deze verwachtingen uitgekomen?
6. Wat ging er goed in het proces bij deze projecten met betrekking tot zelforganisatie? Welke factoren hebben hieraan bijdragen?
7. Wat waren de moeilijkheidsfactoren zowel inhoudelijk als proces gerelateerd? Waarom was het moeilijk?
8. Hoe is het proces door de tijd veranderd? Waardoor is het veranderd? Waarom veranderde het proces?
9. Zijn er nog andere kenmerken (bijvoorbeeld ruimtelijk) van invloed geweest op het proces of het uiteindelijke ontwerp?
10. Wat zouden jullie bij een volgend project anders doen met betrekking tot zelforganisatie?
11. Hoe kijken jullie terug op het proces?
12. Wat verwachten jullie van de toekomstige ontwikkeling (15-20 jaar) op het SuikerUnie terrein en Europapark?
13. Zijn er documenten beschikbaar waarin het proces is gemonitord of vastgelegd? Is het mogelijk om daar inzicht in te krijgen zodat ik hier een analyse van kan maken? Koppeling aan autonome factoren e.d.

Bedankt voor uw medewerking en tijd.

Appendix 2D.

Gesprek participant 4 -9 december 2014

Gelegenheid geven tot voorstellen.

Ik leg uit wat mijn onderzoek inhoud en waarom ik dit onderzoek doe.

Interviewvragen:
1. Wat betekent zelforganisatie volgens u. Waar baseert u deze definitie op. Wat kenmerkt zelforganisatie volgens jullie? Wat verwachten jullie van zelforganisatie?
2. Kunt u het project de Wolkenfabriek nader toelichten? (Doelstelling, betrokkenheid van actoren, bestemmingsplan).
3. Wat waren de uitgangspunten bij dit project?
4. Wat waren de verwachtingen in het begin? Waardoor werden deze verwachtingen gevormd? Wat is van deze verwachtingen uitgekomen?
5. Wat ging er goed in het proces bij deze projecten met betrekking tot zelforganisatie? Welke factoren hebben hieraan bijdragen?
6. Wat waren de moeilijkheidsfactoren zowel inhoudelijk als proces gerelateerd? Waarom was het moeilijk?
7. Hoe is het proces door de tijd veranderd? Waardoor is het veranderd? Waarom veranderde het proces?
8. Zijn er nog andere kenmerken (bijvoorbeeld ruimtelijk) van invloed geweest op het proces of het uiteindelijke idee zoals het hier nu staat?
9. Waarom bestaan jullie als initiatief nog wel en zijn de andere niet meer doorgegaan?
10. Wat zouden jullie bij een volgend project anders doen met betrekking tot zelforganisatie?
11. Hoe kijken jullie terug op het proces?
12. Wat verwachten jullie van de toekomstige ontwikkeling (15-20 jaar) op het SuikerUnie terrein?
13. Zijn er documenten beschikbaar waarin het proces is gemonitord of vastgelegd? Is het mogelijk om daar inzicht in te krijgen zodat ik hier een analyse van kan maken? Koppeling aan autonome factoren e.d.

Bedankt voor uw medewerking en tijd.

Appendix 2E.

Gesprek participant 5 - 10 december 2014

Gelegenheid geven tot voorstellen.
Ik leg uit wat mijn onderzoek inhoud en waarom ik dit onderzoek doe.

Interviewvragen:
1. Wat betekent zelforganisatie volgens u. Waar baseert u deze definitie op. Wat kenmerkt zelforganisatie volgens u? Wat verwacht u van zelforganisatie?
2. Kunt u het project [.....] nader toelichten? (Doelstelling, betrokkenheid van actoren, bestemmingsplan).
3. Wat waren de uitgangspunten bij dit project? Waarom ontstond het?
4. Wat waren de verwachtingen in het begin? Waardoor werden deze verwachtingen gevormd? Wat is van deze verwachtingen uitgekomen?
5. Wat ging er goed in het proces bij deze projecten met betrekking tot zelforganisatie? Welke factoren hebben hieraan bijdragen?
6. Wat waren de moeilijkheidsfactoren zowel inhoudelijk als proces gerelateerd? Waarom was het moeilijk?
7. Hoe is het proces door de tijd veranderd? Waardoor is het veranderd? Waarom veranderde het proces?
8. Zijn er nog andere kenmerken (bijvoorbeeld ruimtelijk) van invloed geweest op het proces of het uiteindelijke idee zoals het hier nu staat?
9. Waarom bestaan jullie als initiatief nog wel en zijn de andere niet meer doorgegaan?
10. Wat zouden jullie bij een volgend project anders doen met betrekking tot zelforganisatie?
11. Hoe kijken jullie terug op het proces?
12. Wat verwachten jullie van de toekomstige ontwikkeling (15-20 jaar) op het SuikerUnie terrein?
13. Zijn er documenten beschikbaar waarin het proces is gemonitord of vastgelegd? Is het mogelijk om daar inzicht in te krijgen zodat ik hier een analyse van kan maken? Koppeling aan autonome factoren e.d.

Bedankt voor uw medewerking en tijd.

Appendix 2F.

Gesprek participant 6-17 december 2014

Gelegenheid geven tot voorstellen.
Ik leg uit wat mijn onderzoek inhoud en waarom ik dit onderzoek doe.

Interviewvragen:
1. Wat betekent zelforganisatie volgens u. Waar baseert u deze definitie op. Wat kenmerkt zelforganisatie volgens u? Wat verwacht u van zelforganisatie?
2. Wat waren de uitgangspunten bij dit project? Waarom ontstond het?
3. Wat troffen jullie aan?
4. Wat waren de verwachtingen in het begin? Waardoor werden deze verwachtingen gevormd? Wat is van deze verwachtingen uitgekomen?
5. Wat ging er goed in het proces bij deze projecten met betrekking tot zelforganisatie? Welke factoren hebben hieraan bijdragen?
6. Jullie stelden voor om duidelijke kaders te stellen om het proces vorm te geven, op welke wijze hebben jullie dit van de grond zien komen? En welke kaders zijn er naar aanleiding hiervan gesteld? Ook staat er in dat de rol van de gemeente niet altijd duidelijk was. Waar lag dat aan?
7. Wat waren de moeilijkheidsfactoren zowel inhoudelijk als proces gerelateerd? Waarom was het moeilijk?
8. Hoe is het proces door de tijd veranderd? Waardoor is het veranderd? Waarom veranderde het proces? Gaan deze goed samen met de initiatieven op het terrein?
9. De gemeente heeft natuurlijk ook bepaalde ambities op het terrein. Hoe ziet u die terugkomen in het proces?
10. Zijn er nog andere kenmerken (bijvoorbeeld ruimtelijk) van invloed geweest op het proces of het uiteindelijke idee zoals het hier nu staat gefocust op zelforganisatie?
11. Wat zouden jullie bij een volgend project anders doen met betrekking tot zelforganisatie?
12. Hoe kijken jullie terug op het proces?
13. Hoe kansrijk schatten jullie zelforganisatie in?
14. Hoe ziet u de risico-ontwikkeling rondom zelforganisatie?
15. Wat verwachten jullie van de toekomstige ontwikkeling (15-20 jaar) op het SuikerUnie terrein?
16. Een collega van u is ook betrokken bij zelforganisatie in het Europapark. Kunt u wellicht iets vertellen over de verschillen in zelforganisatie die u ziet hier op het SuikerUnie terrein en in Europapark? Waarom denkt u dat die verschillen er zijn?
17. Zijn er documenten beschikbaar waarin het proces is gemonitord of vastgelegd? Is het mogelijk om daar inzicht in te krijgen zodat ik hier een analyse van kan maken? Koppeling aan autonome factoren e.d.

Bedankt voor uw medewerking en tijd.

Appendix 2G.

Gesprek participant 7- 9 december 2014

Op het SuikerUnie terrein wordt een andere vorm van zelforganisatie toegepast dan in het Europapark. Waarom zijn deze twee vormen zo verschillend binnen dezelfde gemeentelijke organisatie?

Waarom is de gemeente zo voorzichtig met dit soort plannen?

Wat zijn de ruimtelijke waarden precies in het Europapark?

Wat waren de institutionele beperkingen toen jullie het bestemmingsplan wilden wijzigen naar een meer flexibelere vorm?

Hoe zie u de verdere ontwikkeling van het gebied?

Hoe zit het met de totale ambities van de gemeente? Wat is de invloed van deze wijzigingen op de ambitie van de gemeente m.b.t. het Europapark?

Bedankt voor uw medewerking en tijd.

Appendix 2H.

Interview participant 9 -19 december 2014

Gelegenheid geven tot voorstellen.

Ik leg uit wat mijn onderzoek inhoud en waarom ik dit onderzoek doe.

Interviewvragen:

1. Wat betekent zelforganisatie volgens u. Waar baseert u deze definitie op. Wat kenmerkt zelforganisatie volgens u? Wat verwacht u van zelforganisatie?
2. Op welke vlakken beschouwt u CPO als een vorm van zelforganisatie en op welke vlakken niet?
3. Welke verschillen ziet u tussen CPO en andere vormen van zelforganisatie?
4. Wat waren de uitgangspunten bij dit project? Waarom ontstond het?
5. Wat waren de verwachtingen in het begin? Waardoor werden deze verwachtingen gevormd? Wat is van deze verwachtingen uitgekomen?
6. Wat ging er goed in het proces bij deze projecten met betrekking tot zelforganisatie? Welke factoren hebben hieraan bijdragen?
7. Wat waren de moeilijkheidsfactoren zowel inhoudelijk als proces gerelateerd? Waarom was het moeilijk?
8. Hoe is het proces door de tijd veranderd? Waardoor is het veranderd? Waarom veranderde het proces? Gaan deze goed samen met de initiatieven op het terrein?
9. Welke belangrijke procesmatige verschillen ziet u in dit project ten opzichte van de voorgaande CPO projecten waarbij betrokken bent geweest?
10. De gemeente heeft natuurlijk ook bepaalde ambities op het terrein. Hoe ziet u die terugkomen in het proces?
11. Zijn er nog andere kenmerken (bijvoorbeeld ruimtelijk) van invloed geweest op het proces of het uiteindelijke idee zoals het hier nu staat gefocust op zelforganisatie?
12. Wat zou u bij een volgend project anders doen met betrekking tot zelforganisatie?
13. Hoe kijkt u terug op het proces?
14. Hoe ziet u de verdere groei van het Europapark en met name dit project?
15. Heeft u nog opmerkingen die wel relevant zijn voor mijn onderzoek maar die nog niet ter sprake zijn gekomen?

Bedankt voor uw medewerking en tijd.

Appendix 2I.

Perspectief ontwikkelaar.

Gelegenheid geven tot voorstellen.
Ik leg uit wat mijn onderzoek inhoud en waarom ik dit onderzoek doe.

Interviewvragen:
1. Wat betekent zelforganisatie volgens u. Waar baseert u deze definitie op. Wat kenmerkt zelforganisatie volgens u? Wat verwacht u van zelforganisatie?
2. Op welke vlakken beschouwt u CPO als een vorm van zelforganisatie en op welke vlakken niet?
3. Welke verschillen ziet u tussen CPO en andere vormen van zelforganisatie?
4. Hoe ziet u zelforganisatie naast de reguliere manier van ontwikkelen?
5. Wat waren de uitgangspunten bij dit project? Waarom ontstond het?
6. Wat waren de verwachtingen in het begin? Waardoor werden deze verwachtingen gevormd? Wat is van deze verwachtingen uitgekomen?
7. Wat ging er goed in het proces bij deze projecten met betrekking tot zelforganisatie? Welke factoren hebben hieraan bijdragen?
8. Wat waren de moeilijkheidsfactoren zowel inhoudelijk als proces gerelateerd? Waarom was het moeilijk?
9. Welke institutionele beperkingen komt u tegen bij CPO?
10. Hoe ziet u dat banken omgaan met deze nieuwe vorm van ontwikkelen? Wat voor verandering zijn er volgens u nodig om de financiële belemmering op te lossen?
11. Hoe is het proces door de tijd veranderd? Waardoor is het veranderd? Waarom veranderde het proces? Gaan deze goed samen met de initiatieven op het terrein?
12. Welke belangrijke procesmatige verschillen ziet u in dit project ten opzichte van de voorgaande CPO projecten waarbij betrokken bent geweest?
13. De gemeente heeft natuurlijk ook bepaalde ambities op het terrein. Hoe ziet u die terugkomen in het proces?
14. Zijn er nog andere kenmerken (bijvoorbeeld ruimtelijk) van invloed geweest op het proces of het uiteindelijke idee zoals het hier nu staat gefocust op zelforganisatie?
15. Wat zou u bij een volgend project anders doen met betrekking tot zelforganisatie?
16. Hoe kijkt u terug op het proces?
17. Hoe ziet u de verdere groei van het Europapark en met name dit project?
18. Heeft u nog opmerkingen die wel relevant zijn voor mijn onderzoek maar die nog niet ter sprake zijn gekomen?

Bedankt voor uw medewerking en tijd.

Appendix 2J.

Interview participant 11 -6 januari 2015
Perspectief CPO begeleider.

Gelegenheid geven tot voorstellen.
Ik leg uit wat mijn onderzoek inhoud en waarom ik dit onderzoek doe.

Interviewvragen:
1. Wat betekent zelforganisatie volgens u. Waar baseert u deze definitie op. Wat kenmerkt zelforganisatie volgens u? Wat verwacht u van zelforganisatie?
2. Op welke vlakken beschouwt u CPO als een vorm van zelforganisatie en op welke vlakken niet?
3. Waarom starten mensen een CPO? En waarom is het aantal CPO projecten toegenomen?
4. Wat waren de uitgangspunten bij dit project? Waarom ontstond het?
5. Waarom en wanneer hebben de mensen in de gevallen van de Linie en nu in het Europapark aangeklopt voor hulp?
6. Wat waren de verwachtingen in het begin? Waardoor werden deze verwachtingen gevormd? Wat is van deze verwachtingen uitgekomen?
7. Wat ging er goed in het proces bij deze projecten met betrekking tot zelforganisatie? Welke factoren hebben hieraan bijdragen?
8. Wat waren de moeilijkheidsfactoren zowel inhoudelijk als proces gerelateerd? Waarom was het moeilijk?
9. Welke institutionele beperkingen komt u tegen bij CPO?
10. Momenteel worden CPO projecten ook meer ontwikkeld op een integrale wijze met ook groenonderhoud e.d., hoe schat u de kansen en beperkingen in van deze ontwikkeling in het Europapark?
11. Hoe belangrijk is subsidie in het van de grond krijgen van CPO projecten?
12. Welke belangrijke procesmatige verschillen ziet u in dit project ten opzichte van de voorgaande CPO projecten waarbij betrokken bent geweest?
13. De gemeente heeft natuurlijk ook bepaalde ambities in dit gebied. Hoe ziet u die terugkomen in het proces? Ziet u hierin een verschil met CPO op particuliere grond?
14. Zijn er nog andere kenmerken (bijvoorbeeld ruimtelijk) van invloed geweest op het proces of het uiteindelijke idee zoals het hier nu staat, gefocust op zelforganisatie?
15. Wat zou u bij een volgend project anders doen met betrekking tot zelforganisatie? Welke lessen uit de Linie passen jullie nu bijvoorbeeld toe?
16. Hoe kijkt u terug op het proces?
17. Hoe ziet u de verdere groei van het Europapark en met name dit project?
18. Heeft u nog opmerkingen die wel relevant zijn voor mijn onderzoek maar die nog niet ter sprake zijn gekomen?

Bedankt voor uw medewerking en tijd.

Appendix 2K.

Interview participant 12 -13 januari 2014 – 10:30 uur.

Interviewvragen:
1. Waarom zijn jullie vanuit de Energie centrale naar dit nieuwe pand verhuisd?
2. Wat betekent zelforganisatie volgens u. Waar baseert u deze definitie op. Wat kenmerkt zelforganisatie volgens u? Wat verwacht u van zelforganisatie in relatie tot de ontwikkeling van gebieden als het Europapark?
3. Op welke vlakken beschouwt u het project Hete Kolen en het nog te ontwikkelen middengebied als een vorm van zelforganisatie en op welke vlakken niet?
4. Waarom ontstonden deze projecten?
5. Wat waren de uitgangspunten bij deze projecten?
6. Waar bestaat de hulpvraag vaak uit. Tot op welk niveau zou zelforganisatie kunnen bestaan volgens u?
7. Wat waren de verwachtingen in het begin? Waardoor werden deze verwachtingen gevormd? Wat is van deze verwachtingen uitgekomen?
8. Als jullie een project organiseren zoeken jullie zelf de partners erbij. Hoe ziet zo'n projectorganisatie er uit? Wat gaat hier goed en wat kan er beter?
9. Jullie onderneming focust veel op de gebruikerswensen. Hoe vertaald zich dat naar een proces?
10. Wat zijn nu juist hulpvragen van eindgebruikers? Wat zou onder zelforganisatie kunnen worden geschaard en wanneer is professionalisering nodig?
11. Wat zou de rol van de architect kunnen zijn in een proces van zelforganisatie?
12. Wat ging er goed in het proces bij deze projecten met betrekking tot zelforganisatie? Welke factoren hebben hieraan bijdragen?
13. Wat waren de moeilijkheidsfactoren zowel inhoudelijk als proces gerelateerd? Waarom was het moeilijk?
14. Welke belangrijke procesmatige verschillen ziet u in dit project ten opzichte van het project van de energiecentrale en de projecten nu waarbij betrokken bent geweest?
15. Momenteel worden ook op het Europapark meer ontwikkeld op een integrale wijze met ook groenonderhoud e.d., hoe schat u de kansen en beperkingen in van deze ontwikkeling in het Europapark?
16. De gemeente heeft natuurlijk ook bepaalde ambities in dit gebied. Hoe ziet u die terugkomen in het proces?
17. Zijn er nog andere kenmerken (bijvoorbeeld ruimtelijk) van invloed geweest op het proces of het uiteindelijke idee zoals het hier nu staat, gefocust op zelforganisatie?
18. Wat zou u bij een volgend project anders doen met betrekking tot zelforganisatie? Welke lessen uit de Linie passen jullie nu bijvoorbeeld toe?
19. Hoe kijkt u terug op het proces?
20. Hoe ziet u de verdere groei van het Europapark en met name dit project?
21. Heeft u nog opmerkingen die wel relevant zijn voor mijn onderzoek maar die nog niet ter sprake zijn gekomen?

Bedankt voor uw medewerking en tijd.

Appendix 2L.

Telefonisch interview participant 6- 5 februari 2015

Interviewvragen:
1. Hoe gaat de organisatiestructuur er uit zien? Is er bijvoorbeeld een flow-chart beschikbaar die de positie van alle (huidige) partijen weergeeft?
2. Wat is de positie van [......] in de structuur die opgezet gaat worden? [......] Hoe gaat u hier als beheerder mee om?
3. Wat is de rol van de gemeente?[....]. Hoe ziet deze verschuiving er nu uit? Is er bijvoorbeeld een rolomschrijving beschikbaar die ik zou kunnen gebruiken?
4. De gemeente gaat [......] beheren maar hoe verhoudt zich dat tot de initiatieven?
5. Hoe lopen de financieringsstromen op het terrein?
6. Hoe gaat de contractvorm eruit zien voor de initiatiefnemers?
7. Hoe kijken jullie in de nieuwe visie tegen zelforganisatie in relatie tot de ambitie en (financiële)doelstelling van de gemeente aan?
8. Hoe ziet jullie aanpak eruit? Gaan jullie bijvoorbeeld een voorinvestering doen om structuren aan te brengen op het terrein?

Bedankt voor uw medewerking en tijd.